FIGHTING FROM THE MARGINS: DISCOURSE, SUBVERSION, AND REALISM

IN EARLY MODERN SPANISH NARRATIVE

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To Alisha, for her unending support.

And to Noel, Eleanor, and Valencia.
May you each be subversive in your own way.

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CHAPTER 1

FIGHTING WORDS: MARGINAL REPRESENTATION AND RESISTANCE IN THE

DISCOURSE OF THE AMERICAN CONQUEST

The contemporary understanding of the modern novel still depends, in large part, upon the development of early modern Spanish prose. Writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries advanced narrative as an artistic expression, elevating the novel to its preeminence as a literary genre. While most critics recognize the individual achievement of authors such as Miguel de Cervantes and Mateo Alemán, many continue to exclude Spanish works from discussions about the evolution of narrative fiction on a global scale. The first novels of early modern Spain are often considered to be individually brilliant anomalies that contribute little, if anything, to a larger literary tradition.[1] One way to counteract such claims is to first analyze how early modern Spanish novels differ from their narrative predecessors in order to show how the literary techniques pioneered during the Renaissance are an essential part of subsequent works. Unlike chivalric romances, the picaresque novels and *Don Quixote* develop a particular type of realism through the use of socially and economically marginalized characters. The prominence of these characters reflects concerns with the Spanish social order—concerns that have a broader presence in early modern society.

One approach to explaining what spurred this narrative evolution is by analyzing the important parallels between cultural and literary developments during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Renaissance brought with it advances in politics, military

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[1] See, as a prominent example, Ian Watt's *The Rise of the Novel*.

expansion, and world exploration. This was especially true in Spain. After over seven hundred years of regional warfare, Spain, although it was only just beginning to gain a sense of identity as a unified state, was already gaining ground as a European power and seeking to expand its borders. The imperial desire to colonize the world had a profound impact on all social ranks. The lower classes, in particular, saw the New World as a land of opportunities in which they could escape the rigid Spanish hierarchy and gain a lasting prosperity.

The early modern period marks a unique historical moment in which the entire Western concept of the world was evolving, and, as a result, the social makeup within individual countries began to shift. Because of the impact that global changes had on local cultures, the connection between the Old and New Worlds has been an important topic of literary studies. Many critics have explored how the intercontinental encounter and subsequent interactions influenced Spanish cultural production. While academic institutions have traditionally divided Hispanic texts between Peninsular and Latin American works, many critics have seen a growing need to move beyond these distinctions. As Rolena Adorno has stated, "Through a process of atomization, we have bracketed off certain authors and certain works, isolating them somewhat arbitrarily from one another as well as from the negative moral judgments that we make so easily of some" ("Discourses" 255). The common distinction between Latin American colonial writers and Peninsular authors is a convention of more recent years. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, those living in Spain and the American colonies all considered themselves to be subjects of the Spanish Crown, yet critical analyses often approach the early modern period using cultural distinctions that only appear in later centuries. Adorno

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affirms that "Bernal Díaz was neither a colonial nor a creole but a Castilian" ("Reconsidering" 142). The same can be said of other important figures of the Spanish conquest.

Bridging this oceanic gap opens the door for new approaches to the cultural developments of the early modern period. Critics have found a variety of approximations to this topic, perhaps the most common being to consider how medieval literature from Spain influenced the conquest of the New World and how other European works continued to influence Latin American authors of later centuries. In his *Books of the Brave* (1949), Irving Leonard was one of the first to propose the connection between chivalric romances and the mindset of conquistadors. Leonard attempts to explain why the Spanish, as opposed to other Europeans, conquered America in the way they did. He believes that an analysis of literature can explain some of the psychological influences that led conquistadors to act the way they did. After explaining the popularity that the chivalric romances had gained in Spain, Leonard notes, "As the energetic and adventurous element of Spanish society, the Conquistador could hardly escape the incitement of these fictional narratives, whether he was literate or not" (26). These books, he goes on to explain, inspired conquistadors to live out their chivalric fantasies in the New World.

Adorno explains that other critics have continued investigating this "most seductive topic," but she is not convinced about the historical accuracy of such claims ("Literary" 15). In fairness, Leonard himself admits that although he believes there to be strong corollary proof, his conclusions are "not demonstrable by documentary evidence" (26). Leonard and other critics find it important, for example, that conquistadors make

specific mention of the chivalric romances in their writings. Yet Adorno argues that such a reading is both selective and subjective. Speaking of an oft-cited passage from Bernal Díaz del Castillo's *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*, in which the soldier compares his brothers in arms to literary knights, Adorno contends that the conquistador's references are an attempt to find common ground to guide European readers through the unknown complexities of a foreign world:

> This statement, practically the sole evidence cited for the connection between chivalry and conquest, does not suggest that either the spectacle of America or its conquest made the conquistador feel like a knight errant. Rather it indicates that the novels of chivalry stood as an external reference point by which the sixteenth-century European reader could compare the account of a place unseen (America), as given to him by another reader (the reader-cum-writer Bernal Díaz) who shared similar literary cultural experiences. ("Literary Production" 16)

In fact, according to Adorno, Bernal Díaz later cites the romances in a negative context, proving that he clearly did not view the fictional heroes as behavioral models (16-17).

While other evidence has been offered to prove the connection between literary works and the conquistadors' deeds, none of it is any more tenable. Fernando Carmona Fernández, for example, compares the strategies and battle tactics of the chivalric heroes to those of Spanish soldiers in America. When Cortés uses stratagem and deceit, it is because these were part of the extolled skill set of Tirant lo Blanc. For Carmona Fernández, the fictional ideals of the tales of knighthood were previously ingrained within the conquistador mentality and simply awaiting a space in which the fantasy could

be lived out: "El Descubrimiento tuvo un primer efecto inmediato: ofrecer, de pronto, un nuevo espacio, un nuevo horizonte de lo mágico y extraordinario de la narrativa medieval, para una generación que, curtida en la última fase de la Reconquista española, se había forjado en los valores caballerescos y de las cruzadas medievales" (21). While it is doubtless that literature, as a vehicle for expressing broader cultural concerns, reflects the social influences of many conquistadors, the exact extent is difficult to accurately determine. There are far too many unknown cultural factors, and far too little documentary evidence to adequately establish a link between medieval literature and the conquistador mentality.

Other investigations have been more fruitful by approaching the influence and reception of Spanish texts within Latin American works. The dominating cultural weight of early modern Spanish literature permeated the colonial period and continues to be reflected in contemporary works. Whether Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz in her poetry or Jorge Luis Borges in his short stories, Latin American authors have continually rewritten the Spanish Golden Age in a New World context. While critical approaches to these works can be informative, interesting, and necessary, they do not paint the full picture of the transatlantic relationship. Solely concentrating on the way that European culture affected American literature ignores the dialectic relationship spanning the Atlantic Ocean. James D. Fernández affirms that such criticism "seems to represent syntactically a one-way bridge across the Atlantic and, to a certain extent, across time. This bridge, crossed by the proverbial torchbearers carrying the flame of civilization—its institutions, its energy, its masterpieces, the 'books of its brave'—is the bridge of patrimony" (970).

The risk run by such studies is that they could present this intercontinental relationship as one of cultural imposition rather than dialogue.

The need thus arises to analyze how Spanish literature has been shaped by Latin America. This is especially true when researching the early modern period. The rise in literary production during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was contiguous with transatlantic travel and commerce. The political borders of Spain were expanding across the ocean with economic and cultural ramifications for all levels of the social hierarchy. Some of the first attempts to uncover the unseen ties between Spanish literature and Latin American colonialism are based upon biographical information of early modern authors. Documents reveal that both Cervantes and Alemán were interested in traveling to America. Cervantes, as is well known, was denied passage, and instead he stayed in Spain where he produced his magnum opus. After gaining modest fame and fortune with his *Guzmán de Alfarache*, Alemán was able to move to Mexico, although conjecture abounds that underhanded transactions took place to secure permission for travel (McGrady 35-37). Armed with this information, literary critics have been inspired to search out references to the Americas in order to show the transatlantic nature of early modern novels.

Raúl Porras Barrenechea has gone so far as to claim that *Don Quijote* was "una sátira benévola del conquistador de ínsulas o de indias" (*El Inca* 238). Looking at the way that other critics have sought to indicate the real-life European models that inspired Cervantes's individual characters, Porras attempts to find similar figures from the New World. In his "Cervantes y el Perú," Porras raises the question, "¿La carta de un Gobernador del Perú a su mujer inspiró a Cervantes la célebre carta de Sancho Panza a su

mujer Teresa Panza?" (537). Other scholars have taken similar approaches to uncover the

American models for Cervantes's works.[2] A noted difficulty in such works is that they

can do little more than raise questions and conjecture about Cervantes's possible sources.

Fernández criticizes these scholars, contending that they "simply catalog words or objects

of American origin mentioned by Cervantes. Others seek to identify allusions to the New

World texts in Cervantes, even though the validity of those claims hinges on

unanswerable questions regarding his reading" (970). While this research represents early

attempts to investigate the mutual cultural influence of the transatlantic relationship, they

rarely further the knowledge of how Spanish letters were affected by the New World.

Another shortcoming of this approach is that while many studies have focused on

Cervantes, critics have largely ignored other authors. In addition to Cervantes studies,

there is a substantial amount of criticism about the presence of the Americas in the

Spanish *comedia*,[3] yet there are very few scholars who focus on the way that the New

World affected the picaresque novel. Although Alemán ended his days in America, and

picaresque works such as Quevedo's *La vida del Buscón* and Jerónimo de Alcalá Yáñez's

Alonso, mozo de muchos amos explicitly reference their protagonists' trips to the New

World, few critics have attempted to thoroughly investigate the topic. Valentín de Pedro

mentions the picaresque in his *América en las letras españolas del Siglo de Oro* (1954),

yet the two chapters dedicated to the rogues' narratives comprise only twenty of the

nearly four-hundred pages in his work, and, like many of the Cervantes studies, simply

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[2] Studies in this vein include works by Jorge Campos, Rudolph Schevill, Adolfo Bonilla, Valentín de Pedro, and José de Mesa.

[3] For a brief analysis of such works, see José R. Cartagena-Calderón's "Lope de Vega and the Matter of America."

lists references to the New World without any in-depth cultural analysis. More recently, José Ignacio Barrio Olano has discussed the presence of the Americas in picaresque novels, but he describes his short article as simply "una revisión de los personajes picarescos en su relación con las Indias" (n.p.) and only provides brief synopses of those characters that go to, or attempt to go to, the Americas. Bruno Damiani's "El nuevo mundo en la novela picaresca española" is a review similar to Barrio Olano's, and although he does conclude that allusions to the New World are part of a wider social commentary found in the picaresque, he does not elaborate.

In general, transatlantic studies seem to favor Cervantes's work over picaresque novels, and this is detrimental to gaining a broader understanding of the development of early modern narrative. While critics such as Carlos Blanco Aguinaga and Walter Reed see *Don Quijote* and picaresque works as radically different literary forms, Edward Friedman argues that they work together to define the modern novel. He explains that both *Don Quijote* and the picaresque responded to their literary predecessors by breaking from idealism in a way that "leads to a type of realism, but the realism is inflected by a consciousness of the creative process, which means that, from the beginning, realism is accompanied–or compromised–by metafiction" (*Cervantes* 12). This new type of realism serves as the foundation for the novel as a literary genre as reflected in later works and is best understood by considering the picaresque along with *Don Quijote*.

While attempts to trace the literary influence of the Americas in early modern Spain have heretofore failed to address the picaresque, the study of Cervantes and the New World has become more theoretically sophisticated in recent years. Rather than simply researching the specific references to the Americas, many critics now "explore the

manifestations of America in Cervantes, which are traceable not to quotations or

allusions or the books he read but rather to the air he breathed, especially during the

several years he lived in Seville" (Fernández 970). A host of critics have found new ways

to approach the broader cultural impact that the conquest of the Americas had on Spain

and, by extension, on Cervantes.[4] Mary Malcolm Gaylord, for example, has reanalyzed

the relationship between colonial documents and *Don Quijote* by focusing on the

discursive elements of the writings of conquistadors. She shows how the general concern

over the blurred distinction between history and fiction prevalent in Cervantes's novel is

also a principal concern of the accounts of the American conquest ("True History"). She

also compares Don Quijote to Hernán Cortés through speech act theory, concluding that

the aging knight's failure to do things with words makes him a parody of the successful

conquistador ("Don Quixote"). Her approach opens up the field of transatlantic studies to

examine not only *what* is said, but *how* it is said. Rather than simply look at how

Cervantes may have perceived and talked about America, Gaylord studies the way in

which his literature reflects discursive models of the colonial period.

In a similar way, Diana de Armas Wilson shows how the cultural changes

resulting from the Spanish imperial expansion into the New World are reflected in the

way that Cervantes writes his novels. Her *Cervantes, the Novel, and the New World* is an

insightful work that combines historical, sociological, and literary approaches to explain

how Cervantes recreates narrative within a changing social context. Taking from the

cultural theories of Nestor García Canclini, Antonio Cornejo Polar, and Ángel Rama

(who elaborated upon the idea of "transculturation" first explained in the 1940s by

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[4] See Fernández for a discussion of more of these critics (969-71). See also the collection
of essays *El Quijote desde América*, edited by Gustavo Illades and James Iffland.

Fernando Ortiz), Wilson shows that the novel developed as a result of the growing hybridization of early modern Spanish culture. Her study moves beyond purely literary matters to assess how colonial texts reveal more about the evolution of Spanish society resulting, in part, from the conquest of the New World.

While both Gaylord and Wilson have taken the first steps to move beyond the method of simply describing references to the New World, they also still show a preoccupation with establishing a more definitive connection between Cervantes and the Americas. Wilson focuses on "American signifiers" in Cervantes's work, even if they do not have an obvious importance to the overall meaning of the novel. She explains, for instance, that a mention in *Don Quijote* of the American silver mine Potosí (something that had become part of a common idiom of the time) symbolizes more general economic issues in early modern Spain (88-95). While Wilson's analysis of this signifier gives interesting and insightful historical context to the novel, it does not substantially touch on any major plot points. The need to focus on such a seemingly minor detail reflects how difficult it can be for scholars to find significant and substantial references to the Americas in *Don Quijote*. Gaylord explicitly mentions the challenges facing scholars who attempt to find New World connections in *Don Quijote*. She admits that her theses depend on things she "cannot support fully" ("True History" 215). Perhaps even more telling is the fact that Gaylord has, since at least the early 1990s, mentioned that she is writing a book on this very topic (see note in "True History" 214). In a manner befitting a baroque author, the promised book has yet to appear. The fact that the study has not been published speaks less about Gaylord's undeniable academic prowess than about the complexities of the topic. To approach the connections between the Americas and Golden

Age texts has entailed, in part, attempting to affirm a given author's intentions. It has meant attempting to prove that early modern writers were not only aware of the social, political, and cultural atmosphere of Latin America, but that these authors were interested enough in those matters to include them in the fiction they wrote. This task is particularly burdensome when one considers the relative silence about the subject in most texts, and especially in the major novels.

One way to avoid such pitfalls is to expand upon the approaches of Wilson and Gaylord by looking at the connection between Latin America and Spain in the larger context of cultural production. Through the theoretical models of cultural studies, it is possible to reorient the transatlantic focus on the way in which the social tensions present in colonial documents are mirrored in the literary works of early modern novels. This approximation divorces the intercontinental relationship from the unknowable intentions of any one given author. Through this view, it is no longer necessary to seek proof that Spanish writers consciously wrote the New World into their literary works. Instead, concentration can be placed on the way in which cultural transformations caused by the conquest of America affected Spanish society in a way that is reflected in new modes of artistic representation in Spain. Just as marginalized colonial figures found voice by reappropriating imperial discourse, early modern authors developed socially marginal characters in a way that created a new narrative realism.

The developments of cultural studies in the twentieth century can provide the theoretical framework for enriching early modern Spanish literary studies through the analysis of colonial documents. An extension of Marxist thought, cultural studies is concerned with the way that individuals, or groups of individuals, interact with dominant

powers. Cultural theorists analyze the way that ruling classes establish and transmit the

social norms that maintain the status quo and how such mores are challenged. An unequal

distribution of wealth and power forces certain members of society toward the margins,

and the field of cultural studies interrogates how these liminal figures interact with

centers of power. The framework provided by these theories can highlight how

conquistadors and authors of early modern narrative each used similar discursive

techniques in ways that raised questions about the rigid Spanish hierarchies.

The field of cultural studies is based, in large part, upon the evolution of Marxist

thought brought about by Antonio Gramsci. While Gramsci focused on the immediacy of

the workers' movement he led, his theories can be more widely applied to better

comprehend the way that centers and margins interact. While promoting the cause of the

Italian socialist party, Gramsci was imprisoned by the fascist government. During the

incarceration that would cost him his life, Gramsci wrote what have come to be termed

The Prison Notebooks. In these theoretical writings, one of the chief concerns is to

explain why his attempts to promote the cause of workers were stifled by a lack of

popular support. How could the fascist government that openly opposed the rights and

economic equality of workers garner the support of the lower classes? To answer this

question, Gramsci refines a theretofore loosely defined Marxist term "hegemony." While

he claimed to take the expression from Lenin, Gramsci's definition of hegemony is a

novel departure from typical Marxist theory (Femia 24-25). Gramsci defines hegemony

as the set of widely held cultural values and principles that uphold the political ideology

of a dominant social group. Unlike earlier Marxists, Gramsci is concerned with exploring

how domination is achieved not only through economic means but also through the

control of prevailing cultural concepts. Joseph Femia argues that Gramsci's writings are not succinct or entirely clear, and this has been one reason that the term hegemony is often misused or misconstrued. Femia explains that the term is often mistakenly conflated with any prevailing ideology: "Whenever certain Marxist analysts come across a situation involving (what they deem to be) the ideological predominance of a particular group or class, the term 'hegemony' is immediately adopted" (23). For Gramsci, the term is far more nuanced and is based on a "sophisticated analysis of mass psychology" (Femia 23). Beginning on a large scale, Gramsci explores the complex relationship between governing ideologies and the masses in a way that can then be applied to the way individuals react to hegemony.

By considering human consciousness and the non-material aspects of social superstructure, Gramsci radically breaks from more orthodox Marxists of his time in two ways. First, Gramsci moves beyond economics to studying human motives. Walter Adamson explains, "Whatever its intentions, classical Marxism never gave sufficient weight to noneconomic factors like ideology and culture in the reproduction of social relations. For the most part, Marx and Engels treated ideology narrowly as a belief system without being sensitive to the full range of its cultural manifestations" (175). Like any Marxist, Gramsci understood history as the product of class conflict caused by economic disparities. Yet in *The Prison Notebooks*, he studies how prevailing cultural ideas play a greater part in the general dominion of a particular social class. Gramsci is especially concerned with how ruling social groups shape cultural values in a way that controls individual consciousness. Maintaining social stability can be difficult in cases where the ideology of the prevailing powers differs greatly from the wellbeing of the

lower classes. According to Femia, Gramsci's "concept of hegemony embodied a hypothesis that within a stable social order, there must be a substratum of agreement so powerful that it can counteract the divides and disruptive forces arising from conflicting interests" (39). Establishing social order requires, among other things, that the oppressed hold the values of superior classes to be inherently true, however detrimental they may be to the lower classes.

In *The Prison Notebooks*, Gramsci uses the terms "state society" and "civil society" to distinguish between two forms of domination that are not meant to be mutually exclusive. Rather, both state society and civil society work in tandem to maintain the power of the ruling class. Their principal difference depends on the primary mode of domination. State society uses the power of the rule of law and the threat of violence to force citizens or subjects to fall in line with established norms. Civil society, on the other hand, works to instill a certain set of values and mores that favor a given class in the collective consciousness. While traditional Marxists had focused mainly on the state society, Gramsci explains that civil society has a far more prominent role to play in gaining or maintaining power. Moving beyond an analysis of economic structures, Gramsci examines how hegemony influences people psychologically. In particular, he sees that the forces of a civil society work in such a way that they ultimately divide individual consciousness:

> The active man-in-the-mass has a practical activity, but has no clear theoretical consciousness of his practical activity, which nonetheless involves understanding the world in so far as it transforms it. His theoretical consciousness can indeed be historically in opposition to his

activity. One might almost say that he has two theoretical consciousnesses

(or one contradictory consciousness): one which is implicit in his activity

and which in reality unites him with all his fellow-workers in the practical

transformation of the real world; and one, superficially explicit or verbal,

which he has inherited form the past and uncritically absorbed. (333)

Individuals are conflicted by what they really want and what they are told they should

want. The cultural institutions of civil society (churches, schools, etc.) combine to infuse

a constructed consciousness that may directly oppose what is in the best interest of any

one person or group. Hegemony involves a process whereby certain values and beliefs

become a type of "common sense" logic despite the fact that their practical function is to

uphold a particular class structure. While governments employ violence and the threat of

punitive damages as a means of coercion, Gramsci "recognized that hegemonic rule (or

the overwhelming predominance of hegemony over domination as the form of political

control) is the 'normal' form of government, at least in industrial societies, and therefore

almost infinite in its variety" (Adamson 173). The imposition of the ideals that uphold a

particular class's power has a more potent effect than the threat of physical dominion, in

part because these values can adapt to different social contexts.

It is important to remember that for Gramsci hegemony is neither predetermined

nor fixed. The values of a ruling class are not inherently adopted by the lower class, but

are learned, and this process often involves a type of struggle. He notes, for example, that

a given government will recognize the potential for subversion and go to great lengths "in

resisting and counterattacking whenever there is the least attempt at autonomous

organization of peasant labour, or any peasant cultural movement which leaves the

bounds of official religion" (213). Adamson concludes that "Gramsci's hegemony is not a static concept but a process of continuous creation which, given its massive scale, is bound to be uneven in the degree of legitimacy it commands and to leave some room for antagonistic cultural expressions to develop" (174). The goal of a dominant class may be to impose an undisputed hegemony, but challenges will naturally arise due to the inherent nature of class struggle. Gramsci's beliefs depart from more orthodox Marxists of his time by presenting the case that a workers' revolution needs to be based on something more than the physical confrontation with the bourgeoisie. Gramsci compares class struggle to warfare by distinguishing between a war of movement (military resistance) and a war of position (the attempt to enact or counteract hegemony). For Gramsci, the war of position must begin before a war of movement. It likewise must continue to be waged both during and after a successful military campaign, so that the proletarian revolution can eclipse the hegemony of the bourgeoisie. While Gramsci does not openly deny the importance of a war of movement, he makes it clear that the war of position is more important for the success and maintenance of a new government: "Political struggle is enormously more complex: in a certain sense, it can be compared to […] wars of conquest–in which the victorious army occupies, or proposes to occupy, permanently all or a part of the conquered territory. Then the defeated army is disarmed and dispersed, but the struggle continues on the terrain of politics and of military 'preparation'" (229). Not only does a revolution require military force, but it also must seek to conquer hearts and minds with new ideologies.

In a general sense, Gramsci's theoretical model is meant to give an outline of how such a revolution should be organized. As Femia explains, "Gramsci's concept of

hegemony provides the basis for a theory of the revolutionary party. For it falls upon an organized elite of professional revolutionaries and communist intellectuals to instill in the masses the 'critical self-consciousness' which will enable them to overthrow the existing order and develop a morally integrated society based on proletarian, collective principles" (56). It is possible, however, to apply Gramsci's global model on a smaller scale. The process whereby hegemonic values are instilled in a given class is brokered by small concessions on the part of dominators. A ruling class cannot impose its values wholesale. As Gramsci puts it, "Undoubtedly the fact of hegemony presupposes that account be taken of the interests and the tendencies of the groups over which hegemony is to be exercised, and that a certain compromise equilibrium should be formed—in other words, that the leading group should make sacrifices of an economic-corporate kind" (161). While for Gramsci this meant that space exists in which the cause of the proletarian movement can grow, it also suggests that, more specifically, the process of hegemony allows for a certain amount of subversive activity. Hegemony is thus, as Adamson notes, in a perpetual state of change. As norms and values are challenged and subverted, the dominant culture must adapt to maintain the status quo. Likewise, new techniques are developed to counteract hegemony, including the production of artistic works, such as literature, that can reflect a negotiation of cultural meaning by presenting ideas that exceed the bounds of the accepted hegemonic thought.

The constant give and take between the imposition of and opposition to the cultural values of dominant power structures constitutes the essential battleground for the class conflict that drives the evolution of history. Gramsci's work shows that identifying such struggles is key to understanding cultural developments within a given society.

Sources of resistance to hegemony can be seen arising in a number of different contexts, often including literary works.[5] Understanding that culture is formed through the interaction between centers and margins is a principal theoretical underpinning of the developments of cultural studies in the latter part of the twentieth century that continued to examine society from the perspective provided by a Marxist interpretation of history. Gramsci's theories raise questions about the way that class conflict is carried out in the form of the development of cultural formations. In the context of Spanish society in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, one can begin to ask how power was retained through cultural control. More importantly, it is possible to analyze how this social dominion was resisted by marginalized figures. Nevertheless, Gramsci's approach cannot be taken directly out of its original historical context.[6] Cultural studies takes up Gramsci's theories in a way that allows his ideas to be applied across different social situations. The approximations of contemporary cultural theorists provide models for rethinking the way that past cultures were shaped by the resistance to hegemony emanating from the social margins.

Currently, the field of cultural studies centers its focus on how a variety of media representations communicate hegemony and its discontents in different ways. While many theorists are more concerned with current political issues, their models can be

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[5] As Joshua Lund notes, even texts that have become accepted parts of the literary canon began as radical shifts from traditional modes of representation. He gives, as an example, *Don Quijote*. While the novel is now widely hailed as one of the greatest works of world literature, and definitely accepted as the most important in the Spanish language, it was initially a "transgressive generic hybridization" and a literary "heresy" (22).

[6] As James Joll shows, Gramsci's theories were heavily influenced by the immediate concerns of Italian politics, which makes many aspects of them specific to that socio-historical moment (see *Gramsci* and *Antonio Gramsci*).

applied to other time periods. In fact, these theorists often reference the Renaissance in order to illustrate the development of particular political concerns throughout history. Since they concentrate on the historical evolution of culture, their assessment of current structures is based on past models. These theorists' approaches give insight into the formation of particular cultures and explain the ways in which hegemony is propagated and resisted. They build upon Gramsci's idea of culture as a battleground of competing ideological outlooks in different social contexts and historical moments. Cultural theory contributes to transatlantic studies by giving scholars the necessary models to move beyond a simplistic analysis of the way society evolved during the period. Historical factors make it temptingly easy to conceive of early modern society as a homogeneous group unified in advancing the imperial project of the Spanish Crown. This does not recognize the unique interplay of different groups within Spanish culture of the time, each vying for power as the margins struggled to gain social significance. Likewise, early modern literature is often lumped together with the imperial aims of the Spanish Crown, and some critics have failed to see how these works reflect a more complex social makeup. Cultural studies provides the theoretical framework for examining how the cultural tensions found in colonial documents set the historical frame for the type of social struggles prominent in early modern Spain.

As an academic field, cultural studies began in England in the 1970's with the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies founded by Richard Hoggart. The theoretical underpinnings of cultural studies are based upon a Marxist interpretation of contemporary reality and a Gramscian analysis of culture (see Brennon Wood). Stuart Hall, one of the more prominent cultural theorists and successor to Hoggart as the

director of the Centre, explains that Gramsci's theories are not to be taken wholesale or

dogmatically, but rather provide the basis for rethinking contemporary problems:

> I do not claim that, in any simple way, Gramsci "has the answers" or
>
> "holds the key" to our present troubles. I do believe that we must "think"
>
> our problems in a Gramscian way–which is different. We mustn't *use*
>
> Gramsci (as we have for so long abused Marx) like an Old Testament
>
> prophet who, at the correct moment, will offer us the consoling and
>
> appropriate quotation. We can't pluck up this 'Sardinian' from his specific
>
> and unique political formation, beam him down at the end of the 20th
>
> century, and ask him to solve our problems for us: especially since the
>
> whole thrust of his thinking was to refuse this easy transfer of
>
> generalisations from one conjuncture, nation or epoch to another. (n.p.)

What Hall proposes is to move beyond simply mapping Gramsci's theoretical models

onto different situations. Instead, he urges others to use Gramsci's interrogation of social

formations to investigate the ways cultures are shaped through class conflict. In order for

the powerful to gain social control, they must establish a widely accepted ideological

model, one that might even go against a given logic or rationale.[7] Cultural studies does

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[7] Hall explains, for example, how hegemony cannot simply be understood from an objective, economic approach, using the example of the political dominance of Margaret Thatcher that was of particular concern to Hall and other cultural theorists and the primary audience he addressed in this essay: "How do we make sense of an ideology which is not coherent, which speaks now, in one ear, with the voice of free-wheeling, utilitarian, market-man, and in the other ear, with the voice of respectable, bourgeois, patriarchal man? How do these two repertoires operate together? We are all perplexed by the *contradictory* nature of Thatcherism. In our intellectual way, we think that the world will collapse as the result of a logical contradiction: this is the illusion of the intellectual—that ideology must be coherent, every bit of it fitting together, like a philosophical investigation. When, in fact, the whole purpose of what Gramsci called an

not look at how a particular political debate is won or lost, but how prevailing power

structures control the very terms by which such matters are disputed. Like Hall, other

cultural theorists have used similar theoretical models to understand the politics and

cultures of their own places and times. This is particularly true in the case of Latin

America. Scholars such as Cornejo Polar, García Canclini, Rama, and Hugo Achúgar (to

name only a very select few) have used cultural studies to explain the situation in

different Latin American countries.[8] Their theories are, perhaps, more apt for studying

the interactions between margins and centers. This relationship is, of course, a chief

concern of cultural studies in general, but it becomes even more important when

analyzing a continent that often finds itself on the world's economic, political, and

cultural margins (see Achúgar).

    Jesús Martín Barbero, in particular, has provided some of the most important

theoretical approaches that will be used here and in subsequent chapters to provide a

clearer view of the social tensions of early modern Spain emanating from the colonial

past of Latin America. From a biographical perspective, Martín Barbero is the perfect

model for examining the connections between Latin America and Spain. A Spaniard by

birth, Martín Barbero has lived, studied, and written about the cultural situation in Latin

America. This place of enunciation continues to have an important effect on how his

theories are used in relation to literature. He is more acutely aware of the cultural and

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organic (i.e., historically effective) ideology is that it articulates into a configuration different subjects, different identities, different projects, different aspirations. It does not reflect, it *constructs* a 'unity' out of difference" (n.p.).

[8] See Marc Zimmerman's *América Latina en el nuevo [des]orden mundial* for a more comprehensive analysis of the evolution of cultural studies in Latin America (21-45). See also Abril Trigo's "General Introduction" to the *Latin American Cultural Studies Reader* (1-34).

political histories of societies in both Spain and Latin America. From a methodological

standpoint, Martín Barbero uses cultural studies to relate theories of reception to a

broader discussion about the process of cultural formation. Like Gramsci, Martín Barbero

began his work with an interest in how cultural values and norms are established and

transmitted to the masses. This process, as Martín Barbero notes, is readily apparent in

Latin America, where cultural domination happens on both local and global levels. The

capitalist enterprises of the late twentieth century established a standard logic that was

taken as a type of "common sense" truth. This rationale, when unquestioned, led to a

"voracidad capital y la implantación de una economía que tornó irracional toda diferencia

que no fuera recuperable por la lógica instrumental del mal llamado *desarrollo*" (*Al sur*

9).[9] Martín Barbero, like other scholars, was originally focused on researching how the

ills of neo-liberal capitalism were propagated through mass media in Latin America and

increasingly passed off as the only economic "common sense."

The normative purpose of South American cultural studies has been to improve

living conditions for the masses. Scholars focus on hegemony in order to understand how

it can influence the way that people think and act, with the goal of fomenting a more

general resistance to oppression and increasing social justice. Investigating power

structures is the first step in determining how to implement a new way of thinking that

will contribute to democratic social equality. García Canclini, for example, advocates an

approach that would mean appropriating the media as part of a broader move to change

hegemony:

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[9] This type of "logic," for example, led to the establishment of the neoliberal hyper-capitalism in Argentina that, while originally hailed as a paragon of South American economic progress, led to the financial crisis at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

[…] al acercarnos al fin de esta década, en que la globalización de la

economía y de las comunicaciones se impone, nuevos mediadores sociales

(organismos ecológicos, de derechos humanos, movimientos étnicos,

populares urbanos) ensayan fórmulas inéditas para renovar el tejido social,

pero no saben qué hacer con los medios, cómo pasar de las acciones

microsociales a una reorganización de las políticas comunicacionales. ¿No

es hora, entonces, de pasar de las mediaciones a los medios? O sea:

reformular nuestros planes de estudio y nuestros desempeños públicos

para que lo que investigamos y enseñamos, además de renovar el

curriculum educacional y formar ciudadanos interculturales y

democráticos, logre que estos objetivos operen eficazmente en las

industrias culturales. ("De los medios" 7-8)

In other words, García Canclini studies hegemony with a focus on the transmitters and

believes that in order to effect social change one must take control of the means of

communication in order to theoretically instill the proper values for establishing a world

with more democratic and egalitarian ideals. This approach, however, views the

relationship between margins and centers as a top-down model in which cultural control

is the ultimate factor in the formation of social power structures.

Martín Barbero's analysis is similarly engaged in advocating social changes, yet a

bit more complex. At the outset of his career, Martín Barbero's primary field of study

was communication. As such, he views the process of hegemony in terms of how its

message is transmitted to the masses. He sees the development of new technology as an

important indicator of how communication plays an increasingly important role in cultural formations:

> Lo que vincula el debate cultural hoy, de un modo muy especial, *al campo de la comunicación* es que no sólo la modernización es identificada cada día más explícitamente con el desarrollo de las tecnologías de información, sino que tanto en la reformulación de la vigencia de la modernidad como en lo que en ella anuncia la tardomodernidad, la comunicación aparece como un *lugar* estratégico. (*Al Sur* 9)

Martín Barbero's thought begins to extend beyond that of cultural theorists such as García Canclini who focus on the transmitters and affirm that change must be effected from above. For scholars such as García Canclini, cultural revolution means changing the messages being transmitted.[10] For Martín Barbero, reception is not a passive process, but one that accounts for the creative power of the receivers. While he might certainly agree that certain messages should be changed in order to create a more egalitarian society, Martín Barbero recognizes that the resistance occurring through individual reception is the main drive for change.

Originally, Martín Barbero was not as interested in reception. In an interview with Omar Bravo, the Spaniard explains how his focus shifted. In a Columbian movie theater, Martín Barbero recounts, he and his colleagues sat scoffing at the melodramatic representation of the Mexican film before them. But Martín Barbero soon realized that the rest of the audience was thoroughly engrossed in a way that he could not immediately

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[10] For García Canclini, the possibility of cultural negotiation by the lower classes is diminishing in the face of an expanding global market: "en este fin de siglo confrontamos una reorganización de los mercados simbólicos y políticos en que se diluyen los espacios de negociación" (*Consumidores* 168).

understand. In a moment he describes as an "escalofrío epistemológico," his focus shifted

from the movie as a self-contained cultural production to the audience and their reception

of the film. He began to wonder not so much about what was being portrayed in the film,

but about how it was being perceived by the audience. This experience had a profound

effect on Martín Barbero's assessment of communication and the field of cultural studies

in Latin America. No longer did he see media as simply a form of propagating

hegemony, because the fact that a transmitter's message is dependent on the interpretive

duties of the receiver can be applied on a larger cultural scale. The major impulse for

many cultural studies had already been moving from viewing "la *comunicación* como

proceso de dominación" to one of "la *dominación como proceso de comunicación*" (*Al

sur* 83). Martín Barbero, using this new frame of reference, affirms that in such a process,

"no hay únicamente complicidad, también hay *resistencia y réplica*" (*Al sur* 83; emphasis

added). What other scholars had yet to realize was that any form of communication is

dependent on how a message is received. Even when the messages being transmitted are

hegemonic, the receiver is able to negotiate meaning. Although mass media may seek to

have a culturally homogenizing effect on society, each individual has the ability to

determine a message's meaning and broker his or her own relation to cultural values.

One area of study where such thought has been fruitful for Martín Barbero is in

his study of Spanish-language *telenovelas*. Until only recently, as he notes, it would seem

absurd for an academic to attempt to seriously focus on popular productions such as the

telenovela, because they do not seem to carry sufficient cultural weight. Such a prejudice

fails to acknowledge that "lo que hace el éxito de la telenovela remite—por debajo y por

encima de los esquematismos narrativos y las estratagemas del mercado—a las

transformaciones tecnoperceptivas que posibilitan a los sectores populares urbanos

apropiarse de la modernidad sin dejar su cultura oral" (*Al sur* 256). While one might

easily criticize the imposition of social norms propagated by these *telenovelas*, their

reception also allows viewers to retain a part of their own cultural traditions, some of

which may, in fact, go against the values of the ruling class.[11] One cannot solely look at

the message of mass media, one must also look at its reception.

As technology has expanded and been somewhat democratized, the possibilities

for such "resistencia y réplica" have grown exponentially, also leading to the need to

expand the focus and breadth of academic studies:

> Apenas estamos comenzando a sentir la necesidad del *desplazamiento*
>
> *metodológico* que nos dé acceso a la lectura que los diferentes grupos
>
> sociales llevan a cabo. Lectura en la que tratan de abrirse camino otras
>
> voces, una palabra que introduce *ruido* en los discursos del poder, y otra
>
> gramática en la producción de sentido, la que permite desde el lado de los
>
> dominados una activa y oblícua decodificación. (*Al sur* 84)

According to Martín Barbero, his methodology is similar to the reception theory of

literary critics like Hans Robert Jauss and Wolfgang Iser (*Al sur* 91-92). These theorists

propose a model of literary studies that recognizes the reader as a main component in

establishing the meaning of a work. The study of the creative process is expanded to

include the power readers have to give alternative interpretations of a text. Martín

Barbero develops such theories to include more than literature, focusing on how people

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[11] Chapter 2 will explore further how Martín Barbero elaborates on the social tensions created as a mass-media culture attempts to impose itself at the expense of popular culture. For him, the retention of popular culture represents a challenge to the dominant hegemony of a mass culture (*Communication* 89-93).

respond to other forms of mass media. This methodology raises the possibility for greater

insights into social and cultural formations by finding the ways in which the reproduction

of certain ideologies also includes a more subversive resistance on the part of individuals

through observation of a more sociological nature. While direct examination of social

practices falls outside the possibility for early modern studies, Martín Barbero's approach

provides a model for reexamining Renaissance texts as potentially subversive reactions to

hegemony. The letters, *relaciones*, and novels of inidividual authors are, in one sense,

"readings" of the socio-political atmosphere of the time. While Martín Barbero can focus

on the way that consumers interact with mass media, this approximation to the early

modern period in Spain involves examining how certain texts contend with the static

social hierarchy.

Far too often, no distinction is made between the writings of specific

conquistadors and the brutality of Spanish dominion in the New World, and at times

similar dispersions are cast on the literary works of that time. Even during the early

modern period, other European nations held a stereotype of Spanish imperial rule in the

Americas as cruel domination. A variety of works similar to Fray Bartolomé de Las

Casas's *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* provided the anecdotal

material from which such biases were formed. Las Casas's book and the writings of

others who denounced the misdeeds of conquistadors contributed to the formation of the

so-called "Black Legend" of the Spanish conquest that soon became prevalent in Europe

and still persists today.[12] The Black Legend does not fully account for the complexities of

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[12] One example of how the Black Legend continues in contemporary research is in
Ronald Wright's *Stolen Continents*. The book gives an explicitly biased viewpoint of the
conquest of America in a somewhat noble attempt to reclaim the indigenous point of

the conquest. Not only was Spain composed of a diverse range of ethnic groups and social classes, the arrival of Spaniards in America also created new opportunities for economic and social advancement. As Steve J. Stern has shown, "Disquiet over Black Legend caricatures inspired an array of revisionist works that yielded a more complex and subtle understanding of Spanish colonial institutions and policies, culture and ideas" (25). Stereotypes about the nature of the conquest have often caused many scholars (perhaps even some Hispanists) to erroneously label the writings of all early modern Spanish authors as part of the imperialist project. Such generalizations fail to see the way in which many of these texts represent the "resistencia and réplica" to the social domination of the time. Early modern literature was not simply a vehicle used to transmit established ideology, but, in some cases, served as a resistant reaction to hegemony itself. These writings, like those of many conquistadors, attest to the type of cultural negotiation explained by the theoretical approaches of Martín Barbero.

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view. In doing so, Wright claims that he ignores the already vastly chronicled tale of the conquistadors, although he does take some time to paint a bleak picture of their mentality as they entered the New World. His description of the rationale behind the Spanish conquest reveals a persistence of the Black Legend: "The achievements of Europe were technological, not social. It had the best ships, the best steel, the best guns; it also had conditions desperate enough to make its people want to leave and use these things to plunder others. Spain, in particular, was scarcely touched by the Renaissance; 700 years of war against the Moors had produced a warrior culture filled with loathing and contempt for other ways of life, not a new spirit of inquiry. The *reconquista* of Iberia, which ended in 1492, would be the model for the *conquista* of America" (12). From the viewpoint of a Golden Age scholar, it seems particularly important to take exception to his assertion that "Spain, in particular, was scarcely touched by the Renaissance" and that the *reconquista* produced nothing more than "a warrior culture filled with loathing and contempt for other ways of life, not a new spirit of inquiry" (12). While this may accurately describe a segment of the Spanish population, Wright is either unaware or misguidedly unconcerned with Cervantes's challenge to Spanish ethnocentrism or to the psychological introspection of Calderón, to name only two of the vast array of important literary developments resulting from renaissance inquiry in Spain.

The "resistance" being studied here should not be misunderstood as referring to some type of all-out proletarian revolution. Rather, early modern authors sought to broker imposed cultural values while avoiding outright confrontation. This type of opposition has parallels with recent trends of globalization studied by Martín Barbero. For him, globalization is not so much a new concept as a new term, since "hasta los años setenta [la globalización] se definió como imperialismo" (*Al sur* 103). Imperialism and globalization are both forms of cultural domination, differing only in that military force has been replaced by economic control though the expansion of capitalist markets throughout the world. They represent different manifestations of dominant powers seeking to solidify and extend their oppressive influence throughout the world. As such, Martín Barbero's analysis of the effects that globalization has on the center/margin interaction provides a new perspective for studying the ways that conquistadors challenged early modern hegemony by using the changes in the world to find a new space in which to seek social significance.

An important factor in the development of contemporary globalization has been the spread of technology. Forms of transportation, commerce, and communication have facilitated the ability to purchase, produce, and distribute goods. As a corollary of this process, these widespread global shifts "redefine[n] las relaciones centro/periferia" (*Al sur* 103). The forms of technology that assist in increasing world trade also make new forms of communication possible for the socially disenfranchised. While seeking to extend economic power, global market forces are also creating a space for marginalized voices to be heard. Lower classes are able to reappropriate the means of communication and broadcast their own, potentially subversive, messages. As the concept of the planet is

being redefined through globalization, those on the social periphery gain the capacity to renegotiate their place within an evolving world culture. A key component of the work of Martín Barbero and other theorists is that they determine the importance of global changes based on the way they affect local cultures. Globalization serves as the catalyst for a change that is cuasing such scholars to rethink relations within Latin American countries as well as between these nations and the rest of the world. This is more than thinking of the planet in international terms, it requires an entirely different form of thought. As Martín Barbero notes, citing Octavio Ianni, "el conocimiento acumulado sobre lo nacional responde a un paradigma que no puede ya 'dar cuenta ni histórica ni teóricamente de toda la realidad en la que se insertan hoy individuos y clases, naciones y nacionalidades, culturas y civilizaciones'" (*Al sur* 108). Global changes have had a profound impact on individual countries as well as on individuals who are redefining their relationship to the world and to their local and national cultures. One way to measure this evolution is by studying the shifts in cultural production. In Latin America, as in other countries undergoing forms of globalization, "la cultura emerge como el espacio estratégico de las tensiones que desgarran y recomponen el 'estar juntos,' los nuevos sentidos que adquiere el lazo social, y también como lugar de anudamiento e hibridación de todas sus manifestaciones: religiosas, étnicas, estéticas, políticas, sexuales" (*Al sur* 106). As a result of global changes, the relationship between centers and margins shifts according to the way that culture is redefined. The marginalized break from past precedents by reappropriating forms of communication in a way that effects a social renegotiation.

The manifestations of the "réplica y resistencia" to hegemony that Martín Barbero studies come in the form of audiovisual communication. Individual reception of media multiplies meanings and produces new challenges to social hierarchy. While the same forms of communication did not exist in colonial Latin America, a similar process can be seen wherein those speaking from the social margins consciously developed new ways to negotiate social meaning through the use of written discourse. The underpinnings of Martín Barbero's analysis of contemporary globalization give a focus for studying how conquistadors manipulated cultural models to broker a new social position. By first looking at how colonial texts reveal the negotiation of power that accompanied the conquest of America, an understanding of the wider social context can be extended to early modern Spanish texts to reveal how the development of the novel was dependent on a serious consideration of marginal figures. Here the approach to texts (literary or otherwise) as individual reactions to rather than a reaffirmations of hegemony is key to providing access to the social struggles within Spanish society that led to the creation of new literary forms.

To show how cultural meaning is negotiated in early modern texts, it is necessary to move beyond a singular analysis of the Spanish social context in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It would be an overgeneralization to assume that all actors of the Spanish colonial period could fit within one of two homogenous groups: oppressed Americans and imperialist Europeans. Individuals within each group represented a wide range of social classes. Many of the conquistadors, for example, were those Spaniards who, for one reason or another, had little or no possibility for prosperity at home. As they sought to make their fortune, they encountered the paradigm-shattering reality of the

existence of a New World. Just as globalization has caused individuals to rethink their place within society and the world, the Spanish arrival in America allowed the royal subjects to reconsider their own standing. The Americas offered new possibilities and opportunities that did not exist in Spain for many of the conquistadors. The rewards they gained, or hoped to gain, for loyal service to the crown in the New World emboldened the discourse they used in accounts of the conquest. The writings of many conquistadors show how they used discursive strategies to broker their position within Spanish society as they sought to secure prosperity for themselves and their posterity. Concentrating on the way that colonialists have studied this negotiation sheds light on the cultural and social context in which the early modern novel emerges.

Since the 1980s, discourse has been an important subject of Latin American colonial studies. As Rolena Adorno explains, the study of colonial texts was greatly enhanced by shifting the narrow focus on literature to a larger consideration of various forms of discourse. As even students at the most basic level learn, "literature" as a distinct form of writing is impossible to succinctly and unequivocally define. Furthermore, the inclusion or exclusion of writings as examples of literature depends on subjectively preconceived definitions. According to Adorno, moving beyond this ambiguous term and toward a more general focus on discourse allows for a broader understanding of cultural formations: "La noción de 'literatura' se reemplaza por la de 'discurso', en parte porque el concepto de la literatura se limita a ciertas prácticas de escritura, europeas o eurocéntricas, mientras que el discurso abre el terreno del dominio de la palabra y de muchas voces no escuchadas" ("Nuevas perspectivas" 11). This new perspective opens up the canon to the writings of typically excluded groups (primarily

indigenous authors whose forms of transcription was unappreciated and women whose works were often ignored) and widening the range of texts to be studied to include legal, personal, or historical documents.

Adorno cites Alfonso Reyes and Pedro Henríquez Ureña as some of the first scholars to take a step beyond a traditional notion of literature and focus on different forms of discourse. Their purpose in doing so (and here Adorno cites Roberto González Echevarría) was to "ubicar los orígenes literarios del discurso literario latinoamericano en las crónicas de la conquista de América" ("Nuevas perspectivas" 13). One reason for taking the *crónicas* as the basis for literary studies, and a step Adorno finds necessary, was to distinguish Latin American writing from that of the European metropolis in order to show that the New World tradition has unique roots and is not merely a secondary facsimile of a "cultura superior" (14). This initial approximation has been most profitable by widening the focus of colonial literary studies to include other documents from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that have proved to be crucial for understanding how writing developed in Latin America (14). While for Adorno such studies do not adequately account for all the complexities of defining the division between Latin American and European culture, they break new ground in colonial studies by expanding the canon to include previously ignored works. As a result, scholars also opened the door for applying new theoretical approaches to literary texts.

Prior to the shift of focus from literature to discourse, Latin American studies depended on the use of theoretical models based on historical and cultural examples that may not have directly applied to the situation in the New World. In particular, Adorno

cites the use of Hayden White's explanation of the relationship between historical and fictional writing:

> Bajo otra luz, la recuperación de las topologías de las formaciones discursivas pertinentes a la cultura colonial tenía un efecto liberador, porque demasiados de nosotros habíamos intentado responder a la pregunta sobre el estatus literario/historiográfico citando a Hayden White (1973, 1976). El problema con esto es que el mundo historiográfico decimonónico analizado por él no tenía nada que ver con las crónicas de Indias de los siglos XVI y XVII. (16)

The new and improved focus on discourse rather than literature gave these critics the tools they needed to apply White's theories to their own areas of study. It becomes much clearer, upon studying the *crónicas*, that while White's historical examples may have "nada que ver" with colonial Latin America, his theoretical model seems to be custom-made for studying the development of discourse in the New World. The *crónicas* reveal, for instance, how colonial discourse exemplified the blurred line between history and fiction. This approach to the discourse of colonial documents also sheds light on how historical works of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries anticipated White's theoretical models, something that becomes an important theme in the development of the novel. Colonialists have found that studying a variety of historical texts helps explain the context in which Latin American literature appeared, and this same historical information can be used to approach early modern Spanish works as well.

In addition to better understanding the relationship between historical and literary texts, this new wave of academics focusing on Latin American works became more

aware of the multi-vocality of colonial discourse. While postcolonial studies had begun to focus on the voice of marginalized indigenous tribes, a focus on the discourse of the colonial period refutes the image of Spanish conquistadors as a homogenous group of imperial colonizers. This realization has allowed critics to continue to find new voices within colonial writings and further analyze these in light of the developments of postmodern literary criticism (Adorno, "Nuevas perspectivas" 16). Coupled with the development of new literary models, the new focus on discourse has allowed critics to continually find new frames in which to situate and study literature.

When talking about the discourse of colonial texts, the possibility arises for confusion about the terms being discussed. The phrase "colonial discourse" has been used by scholars studying the documents of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, but has also been applied to analyses of many other historical and cultural contexts. As a result of post-modern, post-colonial studies, a wide variety of scholars from different disciplines have sought to understand how power structures have spread from European metropolises throughout the world with a colonizing effect. In July of 1984, the Group for the Critical Study of Colonial Discourse (GCSCD) was formed. According to Adorno, the group studied a wide range of different colonial activity, taking into account

> no less than half a millennium, assuming as a starting point the oceanic
> voyages of Portugal down the west coast of Africa in the fifteenth century
> and ending with today's postcolonialisms throughout the world.
> Considering the idea spatially, we discover that the referential worlds of
> colonial and postcolonial discourse include cultures and societies as

diverse as those of the Indians of South Asia and the "Indians" of South

America. ("Reconsidering" 140-41)

For Adorno, the breadth of the GCSCD causes it to view colonial discourse in terms that

do not adequately account for the specific complexities of the Spanish population of early

modern America: "Such sweeping grandeur is exhilarating in some ways, but I have

found that for the study of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish America, such an

expanse risks offering too much too easily and at too great a cost" ("Reconsidering" 141).

The main problem with this approach, for Adorno, is that while the GCSCD and

similar critics study many forms of colonization, they do so with a limited vantage point.

As Jorge Klor de Alva explains, "Evidently the specific modern and critical connotations

we give to these interrelated terms [colonialism and imperialism] come from the

experiences of the non-Spanish European colonial powers, especially Britain, as a

consequence of their primarily Old World experiences beginning in the second half of the

eighteenth century" (qtd. in Adorno, "Reconsidering" 141). This limited viewpoint of

colonialism "lump[s] together the symbolic practices of all variations of European

domination over other peoples and places across five centuries" (Adorno,

"Reconsidering" 142). For colonial studies, this means a further perpetuation of the

"Black Legend" as an overarching representation of all conquistadors and simultaneously

ignoring the complexities of the social infrastructure of early modern Spanish society.

The approach of the GCSCD would paint a picture in which the soldiers of the

early modern Spanish conquest were part of a homogenous body of colonizers. One of

the most important concepts learned by literary scholars who have broadened their focus

of the Latin American conquest to include other documents is that the discourse of the

period had many voices. An analysis of the writings of authors such as Bernal Díaz del Castillo and Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, among others, shows that the Spanish conquest was carried out and discussed by a wide range of people with varying degrees of participation and, in many cases, radically different viewpoints. In light of such differences, Adorno, who admits to having used the term "colonial discourse" without qualification in the past, gives a clearer definition of how it can be applied to the Spanish-American context of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: "I stand by my understanding of the discursive as representing polyvocality and synchronic, interactive, and dialogic practices that permit us to transcend the old certainties of an earlier literary history and contemplate the messiness of cacaphonic worlds" ("Reconsidering" 140).

A study of discourse during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, following Adorno's definition, does not overgeneralize Europeans as a single entity with identical goals of imperialist expansion. Instead, investigating colonial documents has allowed scholars to see how the Americas provided a space where new voices began to be heard. Some soldiers of the conquest gained greater rewards than they could have imagined obtaining back home. Likewise, other enterprising Spaniards were able to find their fortunes in the New World through commerce. The influx of New World riches allowed some of the typically disenfranchised members of Spanish society to gain wealth and a new cultural significance. As the fortune of those who ventured to the Americas continually increased, a new social position began to form. No longer content with a relegated position, those of newfound wealth felt their victories earned them the right to be promoted to the "primera liga" of social orders. Conquistadors used discourse to assert their claims to a share of the spoils of conquest in a struggle that was inherently

transatlantic. Not only did they appeal to Spanish authority to legitimize their claims, the rise of the new social class based on American wealth became a social concern in early modern Spain. The preoccupation regarding those who attained capital from the New World is reflected in both drama and narrative of early modern Spain. The figure of the *indiano* became a literary staple that was presented in varying (but most often denigrating) contexts.[13]

One example of the use of the *indiano* in early modern literature can be found in *Alonso, mozo de muchos amos: El donado hablador*, a novel that follows the early modern picaresque tradition of *Lazarillo de Tormes* and *Guzmán de Alfarache*. As will be shown in Chapter 2, the picaresque novel reflects individuals' struggles to negotiate their own space within society. It should come as no surprise, then, that the narrator-protagonist Alonso finds a mirror double in a group of *indianos*. As the protagonist Alonso begins his own trip to the Americas, the narrator Alonso notes the contrast between himself and the *indianos* with whom he travels: "partimos de Méjico y, con próspero viento venimos a Cádiz, trayendo nuestro galeón inumerables indianos riquísimos, a quien Dios había dado buena suerte para traer a España tantos bienes, cuando yo venía tan pobre, que con solo haber comido y con cien reales que alcancé de paga llegué a Sevilla" (146). The description of Alonso's shipmates highlights the new, prosperous condition of the *indianos* by contrasting it with the ruinous condition of the narrator-protagonist. Here, at the beginning of his transatlatntic journey, the novel juxtaposes the ambitious *pícaro* with the newly wealthy *indianos* that Alonso hopes to one day be, suggesting that both belong to a similar social group. Despite their economic

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[13] Both Lope de Vega and Juan Ruíz de Alarcón, for example, have plays in which the figure of the *indiano* is used. See Marcos Morínigo, Glen Dille, and Gerald Wade.

disparity, both the *indianos* and the *pícaro* attempt to improve their status within the traditionally static Spanish order.

One distinctive aspect of conquistadors that is revealed in certain documents from the New World is that while they were separated from Spain they pioneered a new social role. A study of these colonial texts reveals a discourse that focuses on a negotiation of social space, especially in the writings of those who participated directly in the military conquests of America. The soldiers who fought in the New World saw the possibility for economic and class improvement. Their loyalty to the crown during military campaigns earned them economic rewards beyond what they could have hoped to gain if they had stayed back home. The new social role that the conquistadors hoped to establish for themselves and their posterity was not necessarily easily accepted as a legitimate position within the established hierarchy. In terms of cultural theory, the discourse of these documents shows how the new group of conquistadors, like the upstart *pícaros*, had to struggle against hegemony to establish their cultural relevance and social status. At least two important factors kept many of the conquistadors from claiming a higher social standing. First, nobility was, and had been for some time, a trait primarily only attainable through the divine appointment of heredity or advantageous marriage. Second, as Carroll B. Johnson has shown in *Cervantes and the Material World*, the attainment and accumulation of wealth from any type of economic enterprise was despised. Nobles were supposed to show a disinterest in the accumulation of wealth.[14] Conquistadors had to fight against accepted social values in order to reap the rewards they felt they deserved as

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[14] On this topic, see Johnson's first and second chapters.

a result of their faithful service to God and country, and this struggle was carried out

through the development of discursive strategies, as evidenced by colonial documents.

Many of the participants in the conquest of America who sought to improve their

social class would not have been able to do so in Spain. As historians have shown, the

conquistadors were often made up of socially marginalized Spaniards seeking fame and

fortune through military ventures. In "The Origins of the Conquistadores of Mexico

City," Bernard Grunberg provides an analytical account of the makeup of conquistadors

during the early part of the conquest. He notes that other attempts to identify the genesis

of conquistadors have had many failings and refers to extensive research of archival data

to provide a more comprehensive description of the conquistadors who participated in the

battles to overtake the Aztec empire.[15] Grunberg explains that his focused approach on

one particular group of conquistadors allows him to give a more detailed account of what

he considers to be an archetype of other conquistadors to come.[16] His data clarify past

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[15] Grunberg explains, "The establishment of the corpus for this study stems from
utilization of sources cross-checked and confirmed, taken essentially from the archives of
Seville and Mexico City. Also consulted were the protocols of the notarial archives from
Mexico City and Puebla, the great, classic collections written between the middle of the
nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. Moreover, all the chronicles of the
conquistadores and those of the historiographers from the sixteenth century were used;
and to them were added contributions from recent works by Peter Gerhard, Peter Boyd-
Bowman, and others, wherever they were deemed irrefutable. In contrast to all previous
works, however, this study was based especially on the *informaciones* (or *relaciones*) de
méritos y servicios (service reports) that the conquistadores, their descendants, or their
assignees drew up to assert their rights or to request compensation for services rendered
to the crown. These documents, created between 1524 and 1627, are very difficult to
decipher. That explains why most historians have relied on certain transcriptions of lists
done here and there and often replete with errors." ("Origins" 260-61)

[16] See also Grunberg's *Dictionnaire des conquistadores de Mexico* for a more detailed
account of those individual conquistadors that could be identified.

misunderstandings about who the conquistadors were and the social roles they filled after the conquest.

Grunberg affirms that most conquistadors came from the Andalucía and Extremadura regions of Spain, while also noting that, "Most of them had no money, and joined forces to explore and raid the West Indies" ("Origins" 261). These conquistadors, many veteran soldiers from other Spanish conflicts, were attracted by the accounts of wealth and fortune in the New World: "They were primarily men who tried to find what they could not obtain in their native country" (282). The limited possibility for economic improvement in Spain inspired these men to seek new lands: "Most were poor, and wished to discover rich lands that would be ideal for colonization" (263). One common misconception that Grunberg refutes is that many of the conquistadors were, in fact, hidalgos. If so, that would suggest that conquistadors had at least some claim to Spanish nobility, but perhaps only lacked financial stability. As Grunberg shows, among the conquistadors of Mexico City the closest approximations suggest that at most 5.7% of the party was made up of hidalgos. What is even more interesting than this number is that many conquistadors later took upon themselves the title of hidalgo, despite the fact that they made no such claims prior to their military service. Grunberg attributes these attempts at social ascent as one of the reasons that the perceived amount of hidalgos is so much higher than it actually was: "In most cases the mistaken idea of their numbers came from the conquistadores themselves or their descendants; 20 or 30 years later, the latter often pretended to be hidalgos, though no trace of this status appeared in any previous documents. Thus in 1546-1547 Diego de Colio did not mention his *hidalguía*, but in 1560 he declared himself *Viejo hidalgo de buena limpieza generación*" (276). While Grunberg

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notes that relatively few of the conquistadors gained the financial rewards they sought, those who did (or at least their posterity) were able to use their wealth to assume more noble ancestry, something they would not have been in a position to do so under typical circumstances in Spain (277).[17]

The contrast between the conquistadors' ability for social advancement in the Americas and the living conditions of Europeans during the early modern period can reveal some of the underlying motivations for the desire to emigrate to the New World. Ronald Wright explains that in the Old World, especially for the lower, urban classes, life was not great:

> European secular government was a tangle of decayed feudal loyalties and personal ambition. The last proper roads had been built by the Romans more than a thousand years before. The rapidly growing cities were unplanned, ramshackle, without sanitation, seething with poverty and disease. If famine struck a region, the state was quite unable to provide relief. Life expectancy oscillated between the high teens and low thirties, lower than in the most deprived nations of today. (12)

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[17] As Grunberg notes, "It seems there was more to this practice than a mere obsession with hidalguía. The truth is, the system became corrupt. To be granted hidalgo status, it was necessary only to bring before the chancellery proof of membership in a family that had paid no taxes for at least three years and had maintained a military way of life, possessing arms and horses. Some descendants of the conquistadores could easily present such proof. Before drawing any conclusions, however, chancellery officials would have to find the documents supporting their claim. For others, it was just a question of time before the ancestor's mere assertion of being a hidalgo would be transformed into an established truth" ("Origins" 277).

Despite an obvious ideological bias in Wright's outlook, he gives some of the important (if somewhat hyperbolic) reasons why lower-class Spaniards would seek out a better life. Many of them, as Grunberg explains (276-82), had previously sought their fortune outside of Spain as soldiers, and the conquest in the Americas was a logical continuation of their goals. And according to Stern, among others, the image of the Americas, more so than opportunities on other foreign soil, represented "the magic of unparalleled riches" that could "open the door to lustrous social position" (12).

Stern distinguishes between three different motivating factors of the conquest, classifying each as a different vision of American utopias. The first two, which "hardly constitute a revelation," involve "the lust for gold and riches" and the "utopia of Christian conversion" (7-8). It is common for historical accounts to depict the social makeup of the conquest in terms of a dichotomy of financial greed and selfless evangelization. But Stern also recognizes a third "utopia of social precedence" that "implied three achievements: escape from stifling subordination and constraint in an old society, rise to a position of command and authority over human dependents and clients in a new society, and acquisition of a recognized claim to high honour or service that legitimated reward and social superiority" (8-9). This other vision of an American utopia constituted the negotiation of a new social status in contrast to those traveling to America for other purposes: "What emerged on the Spanish side of the conquest was a political struggle to define the terms of coexistence, collaboration, and contradiction among these visions and their relationship to a whole that included Europe's Crown and Church" (9).

As the Spanish empire expanded into the New World, various groups sought ideological, political, and economic predominance. That the religious and secular powers

were vying for control over the new continent was no novelty, but those directly involved in the military conquest began to gain separate prominence. Far from the direct influence of royalty, these soldiers were free, to a certain extent, to take what they wanted. They quickly began to carve out their own place of power within the burgeoning social makeup of the New World. Stern explains:

> Consider, for example, the interplay of wealth and social precedence within conquistador groups. In practice, the colonising groups quickly developed their own lines of hierarchy and seniority, their own distinctions between marginal beneficiaries and privileged inner circles close to a conquest governor or chieftain—a Cristóbal Colón (Columbus) of Hispaniola, a Diego Velásquez of Cuba, an Hernán Cortés of Mexico, a Francisco Pizarro of Peru, a Pedro de Valdivia of Chile. Those whose political connections or seniority placed them in the inner circle enjoyed superior rights to Indian labour and tribute. (10)

But while the relative wealth gained by some of the conquistadors in the New World gave them a foothold in the struggle for social ascent, they were still fighting against a dominant hegemony. Stern explains, for example, that among the conquistadors, "all understood their claims had drawn them into a political war to define who held the rightful reins of power in America, and with what purpose and restrictions" (12). This political struggle in America was the underlying cause of the religious condemnations of the conquistadors that formed the basis of the Black Legend that sought to prevent, in part, the social upstarts from gaining a reward for their participation in the conquest.

In order to justify their new economic position, the conquistadors had to negotiate a new space, and to do so they used discursive techniques that had previously been established to justify the search for wealth and religious proselytism in the New World. As the various European nations began expanding to colonial territories around the world, they each developed their own standards for what signified their dominion over the new territories. The Spanish were particularly tied to rituals that included some form of discourse, both spoken and written. On his first voyage, Columbus, as Patricia Seed shows, followed the customs of Roman practices that involved first marking physical presence by planting some type of banner, flag, or cross. This material manifestation was necessarily accompanied by a verbal pronouncement that, by royal order, was to be recorded in writing (184-85). Columbus further signaled the Spanish possession of the New World linguistically by assigning names to islands, many of which were already inhabited and of which Spanish explorers knew very little (198).[18]

The unique weight that the Spanish placed on discursive pronouncements as markers of colonial dominion becomes more apparent when compared to the way other countries claimed territory in the New World. The English, according to Seed, were much more concerned with physical possession through the edification of dwellings and the presence of permanent colonizers. While the justification for early modern English imperialism in America was also based on the authority of a royal pronouncement, it had to be accompanied by permanent structures: "Where Roman law distinguished possession from the right to possess, English law collapsed the two categories. Thus in English law and, interestingly, in English law alone, the fact of ownership creates a virtually

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[18] For more commentary on Columbus's voyage and the linguistic nature of the Spanish conquest see Tzvetan Todorov's *The Conquest of America*.

unassailable right to own as well" (190). This legal distinction between what constituted ownership of land caused certain conflicts between the colonial powers. The English felt justified in marking possession with edifices despite the fact that the Spaniards believed they had already staked their claim through verbal declaration alone (197-98). The Portuguese also had their own idea of what allowed them to establish their colonial presence in the Americas. At the time of the European colonization of the Americas, Portugal, unlike Spain, already had a long tradition of commercial expansion into Africa and Asia. The seafaring nation was much more practiced in the art of trade and negotiation, and its concept of expansion into the New World was based upon this mercantile experience rather than former military conquests: "In the Portuguese conception of dominion, imperial authority […] was usually asserted either by a formal agreement such as a treaty with the native inhabitants, or by informal agreements" (196). While the Portuguese used their experience in foreign commerce as a model for colonial expansion, and the English their legal precedents of physical possession, the Spanish were much more concerned with pronouncing the correct and appropriate words to signal their domination of the New World.

While the Black Legend of the conquest may lead one to believe that the Spanish were unanimously and unrepentantly in agreement about their God-given right to conquer the Americas, the debate over the correct verbal pronouncements to justify the conquest shows a general concern for determining the extent to which such imperialism was authorized. The prominence of this question simultaneously points to an overarching preoccupation that, perhaps, this right may not have actually existed. As Stern notes,

during the colonial period, imperialism in the New World was accompanied by intense

discussion:

> The politics of conquest yielded not only factionalism and an engine of
>
> expansion. It also provoked a half-century of bitter debate about values,
>
> behavior, and social policy. Within a generation, fierce denunciations of
>
> destruction and abuse by colonisers of all stripes punctuated a political
>
> struggle to define the rules and institutions that ought to govern relations
>
> between European and Amerindian, Christian and pagan, Spanish
>
> American colonizer and European monarch. (14)

This debate led to an evolution of the way in which the authority for conquest was

justified and pronounced. The primary document that permitted the Spanish expansion

into the New World came from the Papal Bull of 1493 granted by Pope Alexander VI. As

Seed explains, this document "gave Spain the exclusive right to present the Gospel to the

natives of the New World and guaranteed Spain's right to rule the land in order to secure

the right to preach" (200). The Spanish monarchs took advantage of this permission,

commissioning scholars who were able to expand the meaning of the papal bull to

include a more general approval for the conquest of the Americas. In response to

religious challenges that claimed that the Spanish conquest was moving outside the

bounds of Alexander VI's pronouncement, King Fernando requested that the canonist

Fray Matías de Paz and the jurist Juan López de Palacios produce a treatise to outline the

specific rights of the Spanish to conquer the New World (202). This document, which

was required to be read before any conquest, became known as the *Requirimiento*.

The *Requirimiento* gave a specific form to the words that would be pronounced by the conquistadors. The document establishes the ecclesiastical and royal authority granted by both the Pope and the Spanish Crown respectively. It was required to be read to the indigenous peoples about to be conquered, but there was not necessarily any concern as to whether or not it was entirely or even partially comprehended. Wright suggests that "the Requirement was largely symbolic, like crossing fingers while telling a lie. Sometimes it was read to empty streets and squares, even from ships at sea; seldom was it well translated. (Much of it is untranslatable outside a European context anyway)" (66).[19] The act of reading the document constituted a dramatic ceremony in which the symbolic authority was asserted through a culturally accepted form of discourse.

At its very core, the justification for the Spanish conquest was based on discourse. Both religious and secular authority was established over the American continent through a combination of written and spoken language. As a result, conquistadors developed a respect for the power of words, and discourse became a primary means of both asserting authority and justifying the obtaining and yielding of power. Perhaps the best historical example of how speech was used to shape the conquest comes from Cortés. If the *Requirimiento* represents an acknowledgement of the symbolic power of words during the Spanish conquest, Cortés shows how discourse was put into practice for individual gain. From the very outset of his most important military campaign, Cortés had to

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[19] For more on the *Requirimiento*, see Lewis Hanke, *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America*. Seed quotes Hanke as affirming that the document "was read to trees and empty huts. … Captains muttered its theological phrases into their beards on the edge of sleeping Indian settlements, or even a league away before starting the formal attack. … Ship captains would sometimes have the document read from the deck as they approached an island, and at night would send out enslaving expeditions, whose leaders would shout the traditional Castilian war cry 'Santiago!' rather than read the Requirement before they attacked" (204).

combine word and deed in order to legitimize his authority (Gaylord, "Don Quixote" 83-

85). While later celebrated as a hero of the conquest, Cortés was initially a renegade who

went against the order of his commanding superior, seeking personal fame and glory at

the Crown's expense. Although originally approved to lead an expedition to the interior

of Mexico by Diego Velázquez, the governor of Cuba, that permission was later revoked.

Nevertheless, Cortés ignored Velázquez's orders and organized men to go to battle.

Starting from this subordinated position as a disobedient soldier, Cortés was forced to

legitimize his unilateral expedition.

Cortés made use of discursive techniques to assert his authority despite having it

revoked by Velázquez. In his *Cartas de relación*, Cortés reports directly to the king about

the events of the conquest of Mexico. The fact that Cortés bypasses Velázquez in the

chain of command is justified through an explanation of the events that establish a direct

line of authority from the king to Cortés, completely cutting out the governor's power

over the conquistador.[20] Beatriz Pastor's analysis of Cortés's narrative has been

fundamental in showing how the conquistador used rhetoric to fashion his own self-

image. She explains that Cortés fuses content and form in a narrative that ties

justifications for the Spanish conquest of the Americas to legitimize his rebellion. The

conquistador links his authority to that of the King, Pastor explains, by consciously

manipulating historical facts to re-present himself as a loyal servant to the Crown:

> La coherencia y la lógica más impecable dan forma a este discurso
>
> fundamentalmente ficcional que, presentándose como veraz y objetivo al

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[20] For a more detailed description of how Cortés uses language to justify his actions
directly to the king in his letters, see Glen Carman's *Rhetorical Conquests: Cortés,
Gómara, and Renaissance Imperialism*, esp. 51-60.

amparo de la forma de la "relación", sustituye la exactitud de los hechos

por una ficción subordinada a un proyecto previo de justificación. Dentro

de esa ficción, se nos demuestra, a través de la ficticia lógica interna del

discurso, que la rebelión de Cortés contra un traidor como Velázquez se

justifica, y que no constituye una amenaza para el orden establecido, sino

un servicio ejemplar al rey. (172)

Not only does Cortés use his linguistic dexterity to paint himself as the ideal vassal,

within his *relación* he praises his own discursive skills. His words are consistently used

to rally his soldiers to battle or to convince natives of the divinity of his mission. When

Velázquez sends Pánfilo de Narváez to put an end to the campaign, Cortés's speech to the

soldiers convinces them not only to allow him to continue his conquest, but to disobey

their orders and join with him. These events are later corroborated by the equally

lopsided account given by Francisco López de Gómara, a trained historian who was

commissioned by Cortés.

The fictional quality of Cortés's words becomes more evident by analyzing one

aspect of the conquest that he primarily silences. The destruction of the Aztec empire was

dependent upon an odd series of translations. Cortés spoke through Gerónimo de Aguilar,

a priest who had been living among indigenous people and had learned their language.

Aguilar, in turn, spoke to Malintzin, a young, bilingual woman who spoke directly to the

Aztecs.[21] This convoluted line of translation makes determining the facts about the

conquest of Mexico a difficult prospect. In Cortés's letters, this process is primarily

effaced as the discourse is commonly presented directly, as if Cortés himself had no

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[21] For more on Malintzin, see Sandra Messinger Cypess's *La Malinche in Mexican Literature*.

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intermediary or problems of linguistic communication with others. This relative silence about the complicated, and undoubtedly confusing, chain of translation is an example of how Cortés is acutely aware of the power of words. In his *relación*, he is unwilling to concede linguistic powers to those around him, despite the fact that many indigenous accounts refer to Cortés himself as Malintzin, suggesting a more complex power dynamic between conquistador and translator than Cortés presents in his letters.

Cortés's *relaciones* are later corroborated by Gómara's historical account. At the time, the practice of writing histories without first-hand knowledge was not only common, but the norm. Rhetorical skill was valued over a thorough knowledge or personal connection to historical events. Gómara's education gave him the cultural authority to write an official history, but this did not mean that it was necessarily more objective than accounts given by witnesses with vested interests in portraying a specific view of the events. In fact, Gómara's primary source material, especially regarding the conquest of Mexico, was Cortés's personal testimony. This shortcoming was widely known and criticized shortly after Gómara's book was published, yet did not prevent it from being one of the most popular historical accounts of the American conquest in Spain (Wilson 82). The troubling issue that Gómara had no first-hand knowledge and only limited sources for his facts becomes further problematized when one considers that the distinction between reality and fiction in texts was not entirely clear at the time. Modern literary critics and historians have often cited this cultural curiosity, using it almost as a type of excuse for the naïveté of the early modern subject. Carmona Fernández, for example, cites the blurred line between fiction and reality as a motivating factor in the conquistador mentality (20-21). His analysis, taken to an extreme, would paint the

Spanish colonizers as a mass of quixotic figures, unwittingly perceiving the reality of the Americas through the lens provided by their literary fantasies. But such a conclusion is not entirely justified. The way that Cortés and Gómara change historical events for ulterior motives suggests that this distinction was not brought about through a simple confusion about the capacity of history. Rather, these accounts reveal that both conquistador and historian were aware of the capacity for history to create truth through an intentional manipulation of events.

In Pastor's view, Cortés fictionalizes the events of the conquest of Mexico in order to paint himself in the best possible light before the king. Gómara relied heavily on Cortés's problematic version of history. But while Gómara exercised creative powers to retell history, he did not believe that such authority should be universal. In a 1553 edition[22] of his *Historia general de las Indias*, Gómara's text includes something not found in any modern editions that I have consulted.[23] After his address to the readers and a note to any future translators, Gómara gives a list of "Los historiadores de Indias." He specifically lists two other *cronistas*, Pedro Mártir de Anglería and Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, along with Cortés and himself. While this could certainly not be considered a complete list by today's standards, Gómara goes on to affirm that these should be considered the only official historians: "Todos los demás, que andan impresso, escriven

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[22] I was able to view this early edition at the Newberry Library, thanks to funding from Vanderbilt University through its membership in the Newberry Renaissance Consortium.

[23] According to Jorge Gurría Lacroix, Gómara's history was first printed in 1552 but by 1554 six other editions had already been issued. The modern editions I have seen, and that did not reprint the note from the 1553 edition, include those edited by J. Dantín Cereceda (Calpe 1922), Gurría Lacroix (Ayacucho 1979), and José Luis de Rojas (Dastin 2000). While I have not been able to consult a first edition of the book, other early editions available in digital formats (including one at www.cervantesvirtual) show the same note reprinted in the preliminary material.

lo suyo, y poco. Por lo qual no estaran en el numero de historiadores. Que si tal fuesse todos los capitanes, y los pilotos que dan relacion de sus entradas, y navegaciones, los quales son muchos, se diriã historiadores" (n. p.) Gómara gives a clear statement distinguishing who is considered an official historian and those who "escriven lo suyo." His remark represents the predominant sentiments leading into the early modern period. Gómara supports the notion that the writing of history is, in great part, a duty of the official historian. He shows his belief in a need to have uniform, royally sanctioned accounts in order to avoid the possible diffusion of the historian's responsibilities to conquistadors who lacked formal rhetorical training.

Gómara's idea of historiography represents one aspect of the hegemony of his period. Yet at the same time, Gómara's own words indicate that this notion was being challenged. The need to reaffirm an official list of historians suggests the possibility that "todos los capitanes, y los pilotos que dan relacion de sus entradas, y navegaciones" were beginning to be considered as credible sources of the American adventures of conquest. Their first-hand accounts of the battles they waged, it appears, were being read as acceptable historical documents. Even Gómara's approved list includes Cortés, who earned his recognition through military prowess and not rhetorical training. The discourse of colonial documents shows how this hegemonic approach to historiography began to be challenged by conquistadors. Histories like that of Gómara's were, as he himself notes, not inclusive of all participants. Many soldiers of the conquest felt the need to correct the reports from which they had been left out, which meant confronting the centralized system for publishing historical accounts. The best-known case of such challenges is that of Bernal Díaz del Castillo. His *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*

has become one of the most important documents of the colonial period and criticizes

Gómara's discourse in order to promote an alternative version of the conquest of Mexico.

Bernal Díaz, a soldier under Cortés's command, explicitly states in his preface that his

primary objective is to correct the errors found in Gómara's history. His rhetorical skills

(or lack thereof) notwithstanding, Bernal Díaz claims to have a first-hand account that

trumps Gómara's formal training.

Regardless of Bernal Díaz's claims to having written the "verdadera historia,"

Adorno affirms that critics have found some problems with his work:

> Scholars who have looked into Bernal's strident and withering criticism of
>
> Gómara on matters of historical content and rhetorical style have
>
> discovered Bernal's comments to be either exaggerated or misplaced. The
>
> historian Ramón Iglesia's examination of the works of both revealed that
>
> on matters of substance Bernal and Gómara often gave virtually identical
>
> accounts and, in others, Bernal attributed to Gómara statements that he in
>
> fact had not made. ("Discourses" 240)

In light of these inconsistencies, two questions arise. First, why did Bernal Díaz fabricate

errors in Gómara's work? And second, if his primary motivation was not to right

Gómara's wrongs, why did Bernal Díaz write his history?[24]

Adorno believes that the attack on the factuality of Gómara's history is, crudely

summarizing, a smokescreen for the true motives of Bernal Díaz. While her analysis is

convincing and enlightening, another reason might also be possible. In the absence of any

official authority as a historian, Bernal Díaz was obligated to fabricate his own. He

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[24] For other possible answers to those questions than the ones given here, see Ramón
Iglesia's "Two Articles on the Same Topic," and Robert Lewis's "Retórica y verdad."

begins his history by admitting to his lowly position outside the accepted realm of official

historiography, yet simultaneously affirms the validity of what he is writing in contrast to

that of Gómara and others who never actually set foot in the Americas. Just as his former

commander Cortés was once subject to the command of Velázquez, Bernal Díaz finds

himself subordinated to the legitimacy of Gómara's officially sanctioned account. In

order for Bernal Díaz's version of events to be credible, he must fight against the

hegemonic discourse that discredits the individual accounts of conquistadors. It is not

enough to affirm that his account is true. Gómara's must also be false in order for the

untrained conquistador's *relación* to be necessary. Bernal Díaz seems aware that he could

not simply paint his history as an alternative, his discourse needed sufficient force to

discredit his opponent, because he was seeking a broader confrontation with traditional

practices of historiography. Gómara wrote from within socially and culturally accepted

parameters. Bernal Díaz knew that he must directly confront Gómara's authority or the

conquistador's history would automatically be relegated to the status of a marginal text.

The difficulties he later had in publishing his document attest to the challenges he was

facing.[25] Fighting from a marginal position, Bernal Díaz adopted the discursive strategies

of Cortés, inventing a justification and an authority for his history. By denigrating

Gómara, even when the accusations are either unnecessary rhetoric or outright

falsehoods, Bernal Díaz empowers himself and takes on the duties of the historian. He

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[25] It's worth noting that Bernal Díaz's text was ultimately not successful in either refuting the legitimancy of Gómara's account or securing proper rewards for conquistadors. The soldier's work was not published during his lifetime, and did not achieve the same level of popularity of Gómara's during the early modern period. This does not mean, however, that Bernal Díaz's history is irrelevant to a discussion of cultural negotiation. On the contrary, the resistance to Bernal Díaz's book represents the prominence of this conflict and the difficulties in challenging social hierarchies of the time.

uses similar tactics of fictionalization (using Pastor's terminology) in order to establish his credentials.

Adorno suggests that Bernal Díaz's ulterior motive was to contest the Black Legend that had spawned in Europe as a result of writings like Las Casas's *Brevísima relación*. Bernal Díaz's true issue with Gómara was that he did not sufficiently defend most conquistadors from such attacks (Adorno, "Discourse" 242-43). As Stern shows, the colonial period brought about a struggle between three factions, the newest of which was the emerging group of conquistadors who were beginning to gain an unprecedented economic and social foothold in the Americas. The spread of the Black Legend most directly affected the members of this group, painting them (with some degree of truth) as opportunists who used severe cruelty to brutally take what they wanted at the cost of American blood. But the ramifications of these stories went beyond that of social and moral embarrassment. Adorno gives evidence to prove that Bernal Díaz and his peers received their greatest economic benefit from the system of *encomiendas*. Through royal decree, Bernal Díaz and others were granted "the official consignment of groups of Indians […] to receive tribute and labor from them" (Adorno, "Discourses" 252). [26] The *encomiendas* rewarded faithful soldiers for their accomplishments and created the opportunity for social and economic improvement. Yet the use and abuse of indigenous labor forces was often occasioned by acts of brutality that were condemned by sympathetic evangelists.

In part due to the attacks from ecclesiastical leaders about the cruelties of the *encomenderos*, the Crown began to take control of many of these estates. The

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[26] For more on *encomiendas*, see Charles Gibson's *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule*.

government became less willing to allow for *encomiendas* to be passed on through inheritance. Since one of the main reasons for seeking a reward for one's service to the Crown was to establish lasting wealth for posterity (as the increased claims to *hidalguía* after the conquest show), the refusal to allow these *encomiendas* to pass into other hands was a serious blow to Bernal Díaz and his peers. Another formal soldier, Ruy González, more directly advocated sustaining the colonial structure that favored the conquistadors by writing a letter to the King in 1553 denouncing Las Casas's accusations of the *encomenderos*:

> Agora sacra [magestad] se nos ofrece otro muy grande trabajo y desconsuelo y no puede ser mayor porque toca en la almas: que un fray [Bartholome] de las casas que paso por esta tierra, y estuvo en las islas y tierra firme [,] en estas [partes] es conosçido por clerigo y frayle y agora obispo por V. [magestad] [,] que nos llama a los conquistadores tiranos y rrobadores y indinos del nonbre de xpianos [xriptianos]; y dize y afirma que todo lo que tenemos es ageno y que lo deuemos de qujtar de nros [nuestros] hijos y darlo a qujen el dize; y en el senorio de V. [magestad] pone escrupulo y que sin liçençia pasamos a estas ptes [partes], y otras cosas que engendran escandolo. (476)[27]

He goes on to defend the honor of the conquistadors and affirm their right to keep the rewards they had earned and to pass them on to their heirs. His discourse takes on a legal tone, as he cites both from his own first-hand testimony to affirm "nra desculpa e ynoçençia" as well as the King's own legal obligations, for that which he "prometio por

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[27] Many of the corrections and clarifications in the preceding quotation come from the editors of the cited edition, Arthur P. Stabler and John E. Kicza.

escrito firmado de Vro rreal nonbre" (476-7). This document also highlights an awareness of a new social group, since Ruy González always speaks in the first-person plural as if writing on behalf of all the conquistadors in his same situation.

Akin to Ruy González's complaint to the King, Bernal Díaz's text represents a decided effort to protect the institution of *encomiendas* by confronting the historical accounts of both Gómara and Las Casas. Bernal Díaz, Ruy González, and others like them were just beginning to emerge from traditionally marginalized social positions, and they were not happy with the attempts to take away their newfound prosperity. Cortés used his discursive abilities to invent his authority and simultaneously justify the Crown's patronage of the conquest of the Americas. Gómara used the supremacy of historical discourse to authenticate Cortés's account. And ultimately, Bernal Díaz appropriated Cortés's linguistic manipulation of history and attacked Gómara in order to gain legitimacy for his defense against the moral attacks leveled at him and other conquistadors by Las Casas. The concern in colonial studies with the importance of discourse sheds light on the way that competing social factions sought to either gain or retain power. In early modern America, language was used and manipulated in attempts to either reaffirm hegemony or fight against it. While traditionally the Crown and the Church had a dominating, albeit at times conflicting, control in European culture, the power gained by *encomenderos* threatened to establish a new social order, or at least to create a new opportunity for social mobility. Writers such as Ruy González and Bernal Díaz reappropriated discourse to negotiate a new cultural space within the static social order.

The subsequent chapters show how authors of the early modern period, like the conquistadors, developed new narrative techniques in order to provide a challenge to hegemony. Chapter 2 analyzes the development of the picaresque novels, primarily focusing on what are considered to be the prototypes of the genre, *Lazarillo de Tormes* and *Guzmán de Alfarache*. While previous literary works such as *La Celestina* include socially and economically marginalized characters, the picaresque is the first to put these figures at the forefront. Paul Julian Smith and Anne J. Cruz have explored the important relationship between picaresque novels and their social context. These studies, coupled with those by Benito Brancaforte, Judith Whitenack, and Nina Cox Davis explain the way that picaresque figures use established discursive models as a means of negotiating an improved position within the Spanish hierarchy.

An approach based on the cultural models explained by Martín Barbero reveals how the picaresque figure, like the conquistador, must fight against hegemony in order to gain social significance. Chapter 2 examines picaresque novels in light of the way discourse has been studied by Latin American colonialists. While the object is not to seek an obvious or intentional connection between the American conquest and the creation of picaresque novels, the chapter shows that the innovative narrative form arises out of a moment in history in which new strategies are being developed by upstart groups looking to gain a foothold in Spanish society. In both *Lazarillo de Tormes* and *Guzmán de Alfarache* the *pícaros* seek to subvert the Spanish hierarchy for purposes of social mobility by distorting perception through their narratives. As the picaresque narrator manipulates rhetorical models in order to construct a self-serving autobiography, the underlying irony of the *pícaro*'s account allows for more authorial freedom of

expression. The development of the picaresque narrative represents a new discursive model for expressing frustrations with the Spanish hierarchical order. Framing this literary discussion within the context of the global changes of the Spanish empire shifts the focus from seeing new techniques as purely an expression of artistic talent to recognizing its potential as a vehicle for broader cultural negotiation.

Chapter 3 applies this same approach to a study of *Don Quijote* to explore how a power struggle similar to those found in colonial documents is manifested in the relationship between the knight and his portly squire. Mark Van Doren and Gonzalo Torrente Ballester both suggest that Don Quixote's true profession is that of an actor. Extending this thought, if Don Quixote is an actor, his self-described job includes being Sancho's teacher. The relationship with Sancho is a complicated one, in which the knight possesses knowledge gained through his reading that he must impart to his illiterate squire. Sancho, however, has his own goals, and he interprets his role as a servant through his own specific worldview.

The student-teacher relationship is one that has been an important object for cultural studies, and the early modern period marks an important moment in the development of humanist education. Classical texts were used as models for proper grammar and rhetoric, but often the message of these documents subverted the object of education. Scholars of early modern England have, for some time, studied the important connection between humanist instruction and literary developments. Critics such as Alan Stewart, Richard Halpren, and Lynn Enterline have studied how early modern humanists used classical models that students of the period subsequently rewrote in literary contexts in a way that challenged the hegemony of the time. As Matthew Wyszynski has

explained, although parallels between educational practices in Spain and England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries abound, there is a notable lack of Hispanic criticism that focuses on this subject.

Understanding the relationship between the aims of humanist education and how it is represented in the Sancho/Quijote relationship sheds light on one of the ways that Cervantes approaches the interplay between centers and margins. While many forms of marginalization existed in early modern Spain, the representation of the squire and his master symbolizes new attempts to break down rigid social barriers (at least on a small scale). Just as conquistadors believed that through their military service they deserved increased respect and economic prosperity, Sancho believes his loyalty to Don Quijote will gain him a governorship. But Sancho never takes wholeheartedly to his role as outlined by Don Quijote. The squire does not want to follow the static structure of the romances of chivalry. Instead, Sancho attempts to negotiate his own space within the chivalric order, one in which he can reconcile the paradox of expecting the rewards associated with faithful knight errantry while declaring himself a devout pacifist and openly avoiding personal danger.

The discussion in the first three chapters culminates in Chapter 4 by exploring the relationship between the focus on marginal characters in early modern novels and the development of narrative realism at the ends of both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In *Cervantes in the Middle,* Edward Friedman shows how the first novels impacted later works by Benito Pérez Galdós and Miguel de Unamuno by developing a type of literary metaficition within a work that might otherwise be considered a piece of realism. Having considered how the inclusion of marginal characters was key to the

development of the novel as a new literary genre, Chapter 4 takes a similar approach with a different focus by examining how comparable concerns with class conflict can be connected to more contemporary developments of the novel.

As Friedman explains, the type of realism found in early modern fiction is mediated by metafiction. This is not only true in Spain, but also in Latin America. The Brazilian author Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis uses narrative techniques similar to those pioneered by early modern Spanish writers, beginning with his novel *Memórias Póstumas de Brás Cubas*. While Machado's characters are not socially or economically marginalized, they become so through the narrative form. A further progression of narrative can be seen in the late twentieth-century work of Chilean author Alberto Fuguet. In *Mala onda*, Fuguet exaggerates the narrative marginalization of his characters in a way that creates a different form of realism that contrasts sharply with the internationally and commercially successful Latin American magical realism. The goal in analyzing these texts is not simply to show how they are similar to early modern literature, but how these authors' different approaches continue to advance the evolution of narrative through further exploration of the shifting position of social and cultural margins and centers.

Approaching the writings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries through the theoretical frames of cultural studies shows how the first novels featured the interplay between social classes. A deeper understanding of the complex social makeup of the colonial period suggests that conquistadors were openly engaging in a broader struggle for social significance. Soldiers in America sought to gain a foothold in society by manipulating the historical discourse used to authorize the moral and legal authority of

the Spanish conquest so that it would apply to their individual claims to the spoils of battle. The struggle conquistadors faced in establishing their place within the bourgeoning social order of the New World is only one example of the increasingly apparent clash between margins and centers taking place in early modern Spain.

The alliance made between kingdoms in Spain in 1492 did little to eliminate the borders within the newly forming country. The oppressive influence of the Inquisition and the obsession for blood purity indicate the heterogeneous nature of Spanish society that persisted through the early modern period. While the conquest was opening up possibilities for social advancement in the New World, literature produced in Spain during the time attests to a growing frustration with living conditions for marginalized members of society. A study of colonial documents shows that many conquistadors were not content with their position and sought to use language a means for improving their lot. Similar struggles are represented in early modern novels. In order to focus on marginal figures, authors pioneered new narrative techniques that allowed them to raise social critiques without invoking the ire of censors. As a result, writers simultaneously provided a foundation of realism that became the basis for the modern novel as a literary genre.

CHAPTER 2

PICARESQUE PERSUASIONS: THE MARGINS OF EARLY MODERN SPANISH

GLOBALIZATION

At first glance, the relationship between the historical accounts of Spanish

conquistadors and the picaresque novel may seem tenuous. Despite the fact that the desire

to travel to America is a common motif among *pícaros*, and that Mateo Alemán, whose

Guzmán de Alfarache was fundamental in establishing the genre, eventually moved to

Mexico himself, few studies have looked at how the New World affected the

development of these texts. The occasional scholarship that broaches the subject does

little more than speculate in regards to various references to the Americas and neglects to

seriously investigate how these documents relate to narrative structure.[28] Given that the

presence of an implied author lays bare the literary nature of the picaresque

autobiographies, the tales might appear to be better examples of baroque linguistic excess

than cultural artifacts steeped in political commentary. Nonetheless, scholars such as Paul

Julian Smith and Anne J. Cruz have shown how some authors of the picaresque used the

autobiographical form to expose important social concerns of the period. These critics

consider the works within a political and cultural context that can be expanded to include

the impact of Spanish imperialism. Juxtaposing the fictional picaresque with the "true"

histories of early conquistadors provides another frame in which to situate the rise of the

early modern Spanish novel as a subversive reaction to hegemony.

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[28] See a more detailed discussion of this topic in Chapter 1.

This chapter will first explore the way that contemporary theorists have examined the influence of twentieth-century globalization in order to better understand how the anonymous *Lazarillo de Tormes* and Alemán's *Guzmán de Alfarache* react to the influence of imperial expansion within Spain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The cultural studies of Jesús Martín Barbero have shed light on how the expanding capitalist markets of modern globalization simultaneously created new forms of oppression while establishing the means for subverting the hegemony of a dominant culture. Analogously, the European exploration and conquest of the Americas radically changed the prevailing concept of the world within Spain, and the writings of early conquistadors that challenged the Spanish hierarchy developed narrative techniques that would later find their way into literature as a means for communicating subversive ideas. The picaresque explores the religious, ethnic, and economic fissures within Spain during the early modern period that marginalized large segments of the population through a strict social code. Spanish texts from the Middle Ages and throughout the Renaissance critiqued the corruption of clerical leaders, the inherent hypocrisy in the strict honor code, and the morally corrosive effects of wealth. The difference in *Lazarillo de Tormes* and *Guzmán de Alfarache* is that socially and economically marginalized figures become the main characters voicing such criticism. As the narrators seek to justify their own attempts to find economic prosperity, they reveal the internal aporia of the system in a way that anticipates the work of poststructuralist deconstruction. Although their intent is to reap the benefits of an unjust system through class mobility, their autobiographies weaken the power of the cultural values that uphold the rigid hierarchy. The purpose here is to show how marginalized narrators of the picaresque novel echo the writings of conquistadors

through a reappropriation of the prevailing discourse in ways that threaten to destabilize the entire social order.

The picaresque is a term that has been contested among literary scholars. Like any generic descriptor, certain problems arise when attempting to determine exactly which works fall within a given category. The confusion has been particularly grave for the picaresque, causing Daniel Eisenberg to ask whether the category even exists. Peter Dunn, Alonso Zamora Vicente, and Harry Sieber are among the most prominent scholars who have attempted to find a more precise description of the genre, yet even their studies fail to give exact parameters. Here, the term will be used within the context of *Lazarillo de Tormes* and *Guzmán de Alfarache*, without suggesting that it should always be limited to these works. For the present purposes, these narratives, often considered the first picaresque novels, provide a structure that is mirrored in subsequent picaresque texts.

The novels under consideration share particular attributes that allow them to be categorized within the same genre and which can be compared to the writings of conquistadors in terms of both form and content. In particular, each is a fictional autobiography written during the later years of the life of a *pícaro* or rogue. A temporal distance exists between the fictional narrator and his created version of his younger self. In the narratological term coined by Wayne C. Booth, an implied author has a strong presence that undercuts the validity of the rogue's account, making him an unreliable narrator. A wide disparity exists between the way the narrators portray their own lives and what readers come to understand about the protagonists' natures. Other common elements of the picaresque is that the protagonist leaves home for one reason or another and serves various masters through which a wide variety of social situations are

examined and often critiqued. A key part of the argument in this chapter will be to show

that the social commentary made by this literature comes, in part, by reappropriating

hegemonic discourse. The picaresque narrators voice literary, religious, and legal

language in an ironic fashion with risible effects that mask a subversive questioning of

the dominant sources of authority.

The two texts examined in this chapter initiate the picaresque genre, but other

works could also be studied for similar purposes. Quevedo's *Buscón* is often cited as one

of the preeminent examples of the picaresque, yet it falls somewhat outside the

parameters of what will be studied here. In *El Buscón*, there is a heightened tension

between author and genre as well as between author and character. In typical Baroque

fashion, Quevedo intensifies the complications of the picaresque narrative structure,

using intricate wordplay to add thick layers of meaning. The presence of an implied

author is exaggerated as the main character Pablos is condemned by the implications of

his own words for his social ambitions. An overbearing moral message is constantly

present as Quevedo uses Pablos as a metaphor for the need to castigate those seeking

upward mobility, revealing the oppressive nature of the work and its attempt to reaffirm

hegemonic principles.[29] Given that *Lazarillo de Tormes* and *Gúzman de Alfarache* begin

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[29] Edwin Williamson has noted that the conflict between the historical knowledge of
Quevedo and the result of his creation produces certain inconsistencies within the tale
that cannot be overlooked. Williamson notes that prior literary criticism has approached
the novel either as a unified, moral condemnation of picaresque aspirations or "as an
arrogant display of black humor directed against an inferior and despised social class"
(45). In his study, however, Williamson shows that despite Quevedo's obvious motives
of a moral nature, the form cannot prevent a certain critique from surfacing. As a result,
"Pablos occasionally wriggles out of Quevedo's coercive grasp and seizes a fragile
fictional life which follows the logical direction of his own ambition rather than the
vicious circularity of his creator's manipulations" (59). It seems that Quevedo, despite his

the picaresque, serious consideration of various other texts from the Spanish Golden Age will not be given here, since they did not have as great an impact on the establishment of the novel. Any of these works (especially the feminine picaresque) is appropriate for an analysis of how marginalized figures responded to the oppressive influence of social hierarchies and how Spanish culture changed as a result of an evolving concept of the world, yet they have never been considered major contributors to the concept of the modern novel to the same extent that *Lazarillo de Tormes* and *Guzmán de Alfarache* have.

Chapter 1 examines the ways in which scholars of the Spanish colonial period have rethought the social strata of conquistadors. The tension between Church, Crown, and upstart groups of conquistadors looking to gain prestige and fortune in the New World are evident in colonial texts. The historical frame provided by these documents reveals the ways in which social hierarchy was beginning to be questioned during the early modern period. Works such as Bernal Díaz del Castillo's *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* gave precedent to eye-witness account over the rhetorical authority of historians. Díaz's history directly confronts that written by Francisco López de Gómara. Although Díaz's challenge appears many years later, Gómara's introduction to his history reveals certain insecurities about the value readers placed on conquistadors' writings despite their lack of formal historiographical training. The challenge to hegemonic discourse provided by conquistadors surfaces again in picaresque works. *Lazarillo de Tormes* and *Guzmán de Alfarache* are literary manifestations of the belief that personal success can be valued by individual achievements (rather than through

intentions (whatever they may have been), cannot follow the model of the picaresque without contradicting, on some level, his own condemnation of class mobility.

bloodline succession) that is also found in the first-person narratives of the Spanish conquest in the New World.

The manipulation of historical events for an ulterior motive is a common motif in colonial texts. The writings of Hernán Cortés, Gómara, Bernal Díaz, and Bartolomé de las Casas, analyzed in Chapter 1, illustrate the way that a fractured social makeup created a variety of conflicting historical perspectives. The first-person account of Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca provides another example of how documents often labeled as historical relate to literary texts. In *Naufragios*, Cabeza de Vaca recounts his journey across what is now the southern United States and northern Mexico from 1528 to 1536. After an exploration led by Pánfilo de Narváez shipwrecked in present-day Tampa Bay, Florida, Cabeza de Vaca traveled through the Americas, surviving among the indigenous tribes for many years. His own history, published in Spain in 1542, is a fascinating tale of survival that reveals how Cabeza de Vaca developed an uncommon appreciation for the indigenous people he encountered. *Naufragios* is similar to the works of authors such as Bernal Díaz and Las Casas studied in Chapter 1 in that it lends credence to the authority of eyewitness testimony. By publishing his text, Cabeza de Vaca offers his own perspectives about the peoples he encounters, and provides another viewpoint on the process of Spanish colonization in the Americas. Beatriz Pastor differentiates between Cabeza de Vaca's autobiography and those of other conquistadors, by suggesting it speaks to the failures of the conquest in the New World. Whether or not *Naufragios* presents a direct challenge to imperialism, it implies the shortcomings of Spanish colonization. As Cabeza de Vaca and those traveling with him are gradually stripped of their connection to European culture, they move farther away from the "civilizing"

influence that their original mission of conquest was supposed to have brought to the indigenous people. After losing many of their companions, their horses, and their clothes, the casts typically playing the roles of civilization and barbarism are inverted.

Cabeza de Vaca's unique insight into indigenous culture and the narrative structure of his autobiography have vexed critics trying to understand its place within literary history.[30] David Lagmanovich has made the off-handed comment that *Naufragios* exhibits "algunos aspectos de la picaresca" without necessarily expounding upon the concept (35). Edgardo Rivera Martínez, in an attempt to exhibit the uniqueness of Cabeza de Vaca's work, has responded to Lagmanovich to refute a concrete connection between the picaresque and *Naufragios*. Rivera Martínez quotes Edwin Muir, who affirms that one objective of the picaresque is "to take a central figure through a succession of scenes, introduce a great number of characters, and thus build up a picture of society" (308). *Naufragios*, Rivera Martínez argues, fails to significantly connect with the greater concerns of a *pícaro* whose own "ecosistema" is the streets of European cities. Furthermore, the hunger that motivates Cabeza de Vaca is fundamentally disparate from that of the picaresque figures, since *Naufragios* deals with a historical account while the scarcity of food in the picaresque is a literary motif used to deal with social concerns. By using Muir's definition of the picaresque, Rivera Martínez's argument is doubly anachronistic. Given that no picaresque works been written when *Naufragios* was composed, a critical definition of the genre did not exist either. Rivera Martínez's assessment of the connection between picaresque works and *Naufragios* retroactively

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[30] For more detail about the way critics have debated the literary nature of *Naufragios*, see Robert E. Lewis, Lee H. Dowling, Trinidad Barerra, Enrique Pupo-Walker, and Antonio Carreño.

imposes a specific definition of a particular literary genre in order to disprove its relationship to a historical text. Furthermore, River Martínez misses the mark when denying the social implications inherent in *Naufragios*. While he is correct in asserting that Cabeza de Vaca does not deal with the same social problems revealed by the *pícaros'* travels, the conquistador's connection to the pressures of the Inquisition are more real than those encapsulated by the fictional authors of the picaresque. The hunger that motivated Cabeza de Vaca may not have stemmed from economic inequalities, but the danger he faced by presenting a vision of the Americas that contradicted that of the Crown should not be overlooked.

Cabeza de Vaca's intimate knowledge of the indigenous peoples he encountered is one of the reasons that the work continues to be studied. His account continues to serve as an important primary text for details about the Karankawa people, who lived on the southeast coast of modern-day Texas. Yet Cabeza de Vaca's history is not free of social tensions. The "Proemio" of *Naufragios* is a lavish profession of the castaway's devotion to the Spanish Crown: "Entre cuantos príncipes sabemos haya habido en el mundo, ninguno pienso se podría hallar a quien con tan verdadera voluntad, con tan gran diligencia y deseo hayan procurado los hombres servir y como vemos que a Vuestra Majestad hacen hoy" (75). Given that his ship was lost and the mission he and his companions were sent to accomplish failed, Cabeza de Vaca admits that all he can offer is "traer a Vuestra Majestad relación de lo que en diez años que por muchas y muy extrañas tierras que anduve perdido y en cueros pudiese haber y ver" (76). He alludes to his commitment to King and Country to justify his autobiography and reaffirm his connection with the culture from which he had been lost for ten years.

Naufragios is a tale of personal survival. Silvia Spitta notes that the ties of nationality break down quickly in the group after they are shipwrecked and face attack from unfamiliar people, and Cabeza de Vaca quotes Pánfilo Narváez as saying that "ya no era tiempo de mandar uno a otros; que cada uno hiciese lo que mejor le pareciese que era para salvar la vida" (114). Cabeza de Vaca uses the voice of his defunct commander to justify acts of survival that fall outside of the particular mandates of Spanish imperialism. As the narrative continues, it becomes increasingly clear that Cabeza de Vaca's survival depended on his ability to adapt to the customs and traditions of local cultures in the Americas, engaging in behavior that Inquisitional authorities could potentially consider heretical. Like any early modern Spanish writer, Cabeza de Vaca had to find a way to avoid punishment from censors, and does so, in part, by reappropriating the voice of his defunct captain.

The conquistador's ability to avoid the fate of most of his companions required that he immerse himself in the cultures of the people he encountered, and he recounts the process whereby he began to be revered for his ability to heal the sick and wounded. While in captivity, Cabeza de Vaca learns the customs of local shamans, which he describes to his reader in terms of Catholic rites. Thus he combines the practice of indigenous healing arts with the recitation of Catholic prayers. Although Cabeza de Vaca is far from the origins of his Church, his tale is replete with religious references. As he wanders on a particularly cold night, he encounters a burning tree sent from God to keep him warm, reminiscent of Moses's burning bush from which God spoke (154). As shaman, he resuscitates a dead man, using the biblical language of Lazarus's resurrection (158). Furthermore, his travails parallel the passion of Christ, complete with bleeding feet

(162) and a multitude of "disciples" that follow him at one point (175-85). Spitta notes that some scholars consider these religious references as a rhetorical technique Cabeza de Vaca utilizes in order to relate an unknown culture to his readers. Neverthless, Spitta argues that such an analysis fails to consider that Cabeza de Vaca obfuscates his relationship to and possible belief in the shamanism of the indigenous people among which he lived (321-22). Cabeza de Vaca could not logically have admitted to have "gone native" without risking the retribution of Inquisitonal authority.[31] He paints himself as a Christ-like figure in order to reaffirm his commitment to Catholicism. Cabeza de Vaca reappropriates religious discourse in *Naufragios* as a way of claiming authority for his association with the heretical practices of indigenous Americans. Tainted through association with a cultural Other, the conquistador must codify his actions within acceptable discourse. His text threatens to disrupt the accepted delineation between civilization and barbarity that justified the religious and military conquest of indigenous people, and he is careful to avoid an outright confrontation with the imperial authority.

Naufragios can thus be associated in both form and content to the picaresque, which fictionalizes the social tension in the account, and that of many other first-person narratives in which writers were forced to negotiate cultural discourse in order to walk the fine line between margins and centers. Religious, ethnic, and economic differences fractured early modern Spanish society, while the heavy-handed hegemony of the Inquisition sought to clearly define the hierarchy based on individuals' religious and ethnic origins. Many of the Spaniards relegated to the margins fought for social significance through first-person autobiography. The picaresque recasts such

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[31] For more on the subject of Spanish conquistadors living among indigenous tribes, see Carlos Jáuregui's forthcoming *Going Native*.

historiography within fictional novels, assimilating both their form and content and repeating their potentially subversive message.

Critics often debate the extent to which early modern texts of any kind exhibit subversive qualities. The intense censorship of the period prevented any direct attack against the social construct, leaving modern readers to doubt whether they are simply projecting their own sensibilities, failing to understand an author's intended message. A lack of consensus with regard to the use of the term "subversion" exacerbates this problem. The works in question here have been included because they present a type of social resistance, without suggesting that they present direct challenges to social hegemony or that they seek a complete cultural revolution. In contrast to the type of Marxist theories that call for the uprising of the masses as the only means for significant political change, subversion can appear in less obvious ways. Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punishment*, for example, focuses on prisons, schools, and hospitals as the locus of hegemonic power and social resistance. Rather than examine society in the broad terms of social classes directly competing for economic and political power, Foucault analyzes the more subtle instances of resistance.[32]

Along similar lines, William Connolly presents a theoretical approach to identity that suggests that subversive activity need not be intentional. Connolly examines the process of becoming as it relates to the formation of social groups and the emergence of identity politics, which is inherently dependent on recognizing individuals' collective unity and differences in relation to a greater whole. The formation of a new identity can

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[32] I owe a debt of gratitude to Paddy McQueen for suggesting this analysis of the nature of subversion as well as for bringing the work of William Connolly to my attention.

only arise from within the discursive framework of a culture that oppresses certain

deviations from the norm:

> A new cultural identity emerges out of old injuries and differences. But
>
> because there is no eternal model it copies as it moves toward new
>
> definition, and because it meets resistance from identities depending upon
>
> its neediness or marginality to secure themselves, the end result of this
>
> politics is seldom clear at its inception. Indeed, becoming often proceeds
>
> from inchoate suffering and hopes that are not crisply defined until a new
>
> identity has been forged through which to measure those injuries
>
> *retrospectively*. (57)

Just as the formation of new political movements may initially have no clear objective,

works from the early modern period often present potentially subversive material without

necessarily seeking a total cultural revolution. The picaresque novel, for example,

provides a critique of society voiced through the writings of an unreliable narrator, which

deflects any blame from political censors away from the historical author. This

misdirection, however, also weakens the strength of the criticism without negating its

subversive value. Such content produced during the conquest of the Americas and the

Golden Age in Spain may not have advocated direct revolution, yet they still questioned

the social hierarchy, in part by reappropriating discursive authority to further personal

agendas.

One important avenue for measuring the subversive quality of a text is in its

reception. The reader response theory of Hans-Robert Jauss has provided a new avenue

of study for literature by suggesting that readers have an active role in creating meaning.

An analysis of the reception of documents written by conquistadors can indicate the extent to which their concept of the world proved to be subversive. The object here is to examine early modern narrative for its value as a reception of the cultural milieu in which it was written, especially in regard to the challenges to hegemonic authority present in colonial writings. Far too often, literary fiction is considered for its ability to replicate hegemony and not as a reaction to oppression. Conquistadors' objections to a static social hierarchy are often overlooked, since their focus is to claim land taken through the brutal subjugation of the people they encountered in the Americas. Many often dismiss the subversive content of early modern novels as well, considering them to represent the same imperialist ideology that espoused the conquest. Reconsidering these narratives as an example of cultural reception, rather than a vehicle for the imposition of hegemony, resituates them within their political context and highlights both their seditious nature as well as their commitment to social concerns of the period.

A top-down approach to cultural studies focuses mainly on the way that hegemony is imposed and specific ideologies are instilled within the masses. The role of readers in creating meaning is as important when studying prose fiction as it is in examining colonial histories. All literature responds, in some way, to its contemporary cultural values. Comparing the writings of conquistadors to the development of the picaresque reveals how early modern writers reacted to the evolving political environment that concerned colonial writers. The objective here is not to prove that Golden Age writers had any intention to inscribe the struggles of conquistadors within their text. The point is to show how both literary and historical documents deal with similar cultural concerns and make use of parallel narrative structures to express broader

cultural concerns, especially through the reappropriation of dominant social discourse. Although the critics examined in Chapter 1 sought a one-to-one correspondence between New World writings and early modern Spain, a new approach is needed in order to show how Spanish imperialism affected literature in both form and content. The brand of cultural studies offered by Jesús Martín Barbero provides just such a methodology through its broader consideration of cultural production as a response and resistance to hegemony as globalization affects local cultures. The social changes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are a product of many factors, including an evolving understanding of the place of countries in the world and individuals within their respective societies. Twentieth-century theories of globalization offer insight into the effects that an expanding worldview had on local cultures. In fact, it should not come as a surprise that Spanish imperialism is often referenced as a historical metaphor for the developments of globalization in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Thomas Friedman begins his influential book *The World Is Flat* with an epigraph citing Columbus's journal from his 1492 voyage.[33] He then continues to reference Columbus, noting that while colonial exploration confirmed the earth's spherical shape, advances in communicational technology have re-flattened the globe. In a similar way, Richard Rodriguez's memoir and political commentary *Days of Obligation* plays off the original misrecognition of the

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[33] "Your Highnesses, as Catholic Christians, and princes who love and promote the holy Christian faith, and are enemies of the doctrine of Mahomet, and of all idolatry and heresy, determined to send me, Christopher Columbus, to the above-mentioned countries of India, to see the said princes, people, and territories, and to learn their disposition and the proper method of converting them to our holy faith; and furthermore directed that I should not proceed by land to the East, as is customary, but by a Westerly route, in which direction we have hitherto no certain evidence that anyone has gone" (1).

Americas as part of the Indian subcontinent as a point of departure for his analysis of globalization's effects on race in the United States (1–25). Globalization is often cited as a new form of imperialism, and scholars have argued the extent to which the terms can be conflated. (See Christina Fuchs for a summary and analysis of this debate.) While key differences exist between globalization and early modern imperialism, they have each had similar effects with regard to social hegemony.

Globalization refers to the modern force of capitalism in which expanding markets become the driving force for cultural change around the world. Seeking continual economic growth, corporate entities dislodge their identity from a single state and claim a stake in markets in various countries. As a result, individual local cultures are partially subsumed by the arrival of new products, services, and businesses along with their accompanying influence on social and political structures. Martín Barbero and other cultural theorists focus on the way that mass media is utilized to overshadow local, popular cultures in order to orient a particular country toward a unified national identity that favors the dominant economic powers (*Communication* 163-78). This process marginalizes traditional customs, framing them as inferior in favor of cultural practices more appropriate for further capitalist expansion.

Cultural studies theorists in Latin America have investigated the harmful effects of globalization, and Martín Barbero has added a new understanding of how mass media can be reappropriated for subversive means. One potential effect of globalized media productions is the elimination of local differences, yet it also provides the means for reinterpreting hegemonic communication through individual reception. A recent example is the use of social media. While the profit motive catalyzes the proliferation and

expansion of these web sites, they have simultaneously created the means for political upheaval against oppressive regimes around the world. Social networks even played a major part in the 2011 Arab Spring and continue to be a main form of communication among Chinese dissidents (Wee). This subversive reuse of mass media is the focus of Martín Barbero's research, and the theoretical framework of cultural reception he creates can be used to better understand the manner in which the Iberian Peninsula responded to the globalizing influence of Spanish exploration.

By focusing on the reception of mass media, Martín Barbero is able to analyze the way that resistance takes place through the reinterpretation of meaning. Rather than assuming that all cultural production is subsumed by the hegemonic influence of the dominant power structure, he recognizes the subversive power of the marginalized as receivers, and ultimately interpreters, of culture. During the early modern period, both in Spain as well as in the Americas, issues of ethnicity, religion, class, economic standing, and blood purity segmented the Spanish population, creating various marginalized groups. The dominant discourse of Church and State sought to bolster a particular hierarchical structure constantly destabilized by the fractured society. As seen in Chapter 1, the financial and social prosperity of conquistadors in the New World, who found the space to voice their discontent about their own marginalization through first-person narratives, further threatened the established order.

The bulk of the scholarship regarding Spanish imperial expansion in the New World has centered on the imposition of European values on indigenous populations. The oppressive dominion of Western culture in the Americas has had an undeniable impact, yet it is not the only change resulting from Spain's explorations. The arrival of Spaniards

in the New World also had a profound influence on the complex social makeup of the Iberian Peninsula. Understanding the effects of contemporary globalization provides a theoretical model for approaching the changes brought about by colonization. The conquest of the Americas was one of many factors contributing to important changes in early modern Spain. Nonetheless, the globalizing effects of the expansion into the Americas have not been fully studied in relation to the development of literature. During the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance, ideas about upward mobility shifted, in part as a result of conquistadors' claims to social and economic prestige. Furthermore, the literary texts of the time show how disenfranchised groups reappropriated hegemonic discourse in order to reorient margins and centers. Comparing current forms of globalization with the transformations of the Renaissance highlights how socio-political changes inscribed within literary texts fundamentally shaped narrative structures. The intention here is not to oversimplify the complexities of the socio-political atmospheres of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, or even the twentieth century. There are important differences that exist between the two periods, but none that completely obviate the benefits of comparison. Most importantly, during these disparate eras a common concern with the restructuring of social margins and centers appears. The work of cultural theorists such as Martín Barbero provides the basis for analyzing the impact of change during the Renaissance so far as it relates to modern globalization. Such a framework gives insight into how subversive activity takes place within the globalized world, not *despite* the imposition of ideology, but *because of* its oppressive influence. Changes in the global environment disrupt traditional structures, allowing marginal voices the chance to reassert themselves into the center.

Martín Barbero explains that a major impact of globalization is its creation of a

hybrid society. As he defines it, hybridization is the process whereby mass media, which

has its own particular ideological objective, influences local cultures that maintain an

active role as receivers in the process of communication, creating a proliferation of

unauthorized meanings from individual hegemonic messages. In one chapter of her book

Cervantes, the Novel, and the New World, Diana de Armas Wilson has argued that

hybridization is a key factor in the development of the early modern novel, but her

definition varies from that of Martín Barbero. Wilson's analysis of hybridization uses the

theoretical approach of Mikhail Bakhtin and an examination of the linguistic terms used

by Cervantes that symbolize a deeper connection linking his re-creation of narrative

structures and the influence of the New World: "The result is a Cervantine hybrid, a cross

between two different linguistic configurations which is sometimes, but not always,

asymmetric" (78). After briefly discussing some of the key moments along the theoretical

trajectory of the use of the term hybrid in post-colonial scholarship, Wilson affirms that

since the Graeco-Latin novel, hybridity has always been a key part of literary narrative.

The examination of Cervantes's work primarily focuses on language, as Wilson examines

"intentional linguistic practices that sometimes, though not always, smuggle in racial or

religious issues" (81). She focuses on two terms that she suggests may have been unique,

to some degree, to Cervantes, both of which refer to different monetary sources: cocoa

beans and the Potosí mine in modern-day Bolivia. Despite the incredible amount of

historical information she amasses, even Wilson admits that her conclusions are based, to

a degree, on conjecture.[34] Her analysis continues the previous critical tradition of

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[34] In discussing the presence of references in Spain to the cocoa bean as a monetary unit,

cataloguing New World references in Cervantes's work, advancing it by further

analyzing the socio-economic implications of his lexicon. The key contribution of

Wilson's study is pointing out the fact that Cervantes demonstrates an overt awareness

that both internal and external forces fractured the society in which he lived (86-87).

My own analysis differs from Wilson's, in part, by taking from Martín Barbero's

definition of hybridization as it relates to globalization. As Wilson explains, the hybrid

nature of Cervantes's texts consists in that they demonstrate his awareness of multiple

cultures and use of linguistic terms from the Americas to represent social marginalization

in Spain. Martín Barbero uses the term *hybrid* not to describe the acceptance of other

peoples, but to explain the effects that globalized economy has upon a local community.

His theory of hybridity shows how globalization is more than simply the expansion of

capitalist markets, given that it carries with it an ideological imposition that affects

cultural development: "Lo que ahora está en juego no es una mayor difusión de los

productos sino la rearticulación de las relaciones entre países mediante una

descentralización que concentra poder económico y una deslocalización que hibrida las

culturas" (*Al sur* 101). The economic effects of globalization expand into the realm of

individual cultures. The imposition of a dominant ideology fractures local customs to

create a dual identity that balances traditional culture with a globalized hegemony. Rather

than a wholesale imposition of a particular way of thinking, mass media is only capable

of creating fissures that can be exploited as the public takes advantage of its role as

interpreters to inscribe subversive meaning into messages.

Wilson notes that existing linguistic studies refer back to Cervantes as the earliest known
examples. These facts, she admits, however, are not conclusive evidence that the usage of
the term in Spain originated with Cervantes (81).

For Martín Barbero, the fracturing of modern society has been caused by the expansion of capitalist forces and the development of the nation state. As local cultures are subsumed by a large, national identity, particular individualities are erased. In his well-known study *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson has proposed that nations lack any actual unity because the the modern state is dependent on intangible forces beyond personal connections among individuals. Along similar lines, Martín Barbero studies how the imposition of a mass culture has sought to eradicate local differences, yet the failure to do so results in a hybrid society containing elements that both uphold and defy the imposed social order. Martín Barbero is, of course, not alone in analyzing hegemony and its epistemological implications. His research in this area is based, in great part, upon that done by the Frankfurt School. What Martín Barbero adds to the work of thinkers such as Theodor Adorno is to look beyond the way that hegemony is communicated, focusing instead on how it is strategically received: "The materialization of this unity puts all productions into the same schema and reduces the active role of the spectator to almost nothing" (*Communication* 44). The Frankfurt School takes the effectiveness of the imposition of certain values and ideals, to some degree, at face value, and the process of reception is effaced. Martín Barbero helps point out the manners in which hegemony creates a society with internal fissures and that individuals and groups are able to exploit these breaches in power structures in order to subvert a dominant ideology. It is no longer sufficient to study how an epistemology is imposed without considering how it is received, strategically replicated, and resisted.

Martín Barbero goes on to show how this process of resistance takes place in Latin America, but his analysis need not be confined to any particular place or moment.

Given that during its imperial expansion Spain was undergoing a process of social change similar to that of modern globalization as the notion of a unified nation was first beginning to form, it is unsurprising that similar types of resistance are present. Martín Barbero's analysis of mass media as a form of social resistance is dependent on ready access to the physical manifestations of the practices of popular cultures on a wide variety of levels. He has, for example, advocated studying contemporary culture not only through the aesthetic production of literature, film, or other artistic works, but also through individual and group responses to *telenovelas* and interactions in open-air street markets. Such work allows him to reassess hegemonic discourse by direct observations of how dominant discourse is reappropriated for subversive ends.

This same approach is more limited when studying early modern culture, since such access to popular culture is primarily limited to written documents. Furthermore, the most well-known works produced during that time have often been considered as extensions of the imperial objectives of the Spanish Crown. Yet as academics studying Spanish colonialism have found, the writings of conquistadors do more than simply reaffirm the dominant social structure. Similarly, the fictional Spanish prose from the period can be reconsidered for its subversive quality and as a response to the power structures. The heavy-handed censorship of the Inquisition hampered authors' abilities to directly oppose social oppression, yet social critique is still present. These fictional works re-create reality, and thus serve as an aesthetic reaction to hegemony. While there can never be any certainty as to whether the authors of early modern novels were familiar with conquistadors' histories, these writers can be considered "readers" of a culture steeped in the discourse of colonialism. The development of Golden Age narrative thus

serves as an artistic reception of imperialist Spain and the tensions between margins and centers present in writings about the conquest.

A variety of texts exist that reveal the rich cultural milieu of Renaissance Spain. Critics have used the writings of ecclesiastical and secular humanist writers to shed light on contemporary social concerns. Studies by authors such as Anne Cruz and Matthew Wyszinsky have used these texts to show how literature provides further examples of a response to hegemony. This is particularly true of the picaresque novels that display social resistance on two levels: the actions of the protagonists defy the hegemonic order and reclaim the epistemology of local cultural practices as they seek social ascent, while the potentially seditious content affects the form of the work, creating a narrative structure that threatens to destabilize the social hierarchy by delegitimizing hegemonic discourse.

Lazarillo de Tormes and *Guzmán de Alfarache* create a new type of prose fiction and also offer rich insight into the socio-political context of Spain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Rather than simply reinforce the dominant ideology of the time, these works establish the picaresque as a genre focused on the interplay between margins and centers. The exaggerated connection between the *pícaro* and his socio-historical surrounding has led many critics to study how these novels relate to fundamental shifts in the society of the early modern period. Harry Sieber explores how Lázaro's ability to use words allows him to create his own truth through writing (*Language*). As the *pícaro* begins his life outside his native home, he learns the discourse of his various masters, and is later able to manipulate the cultural and social signifiers for

his own benefit.[35] While Sieber is more interested in looking at language itself rather than its political importance, he begins to reveal how *Lazarillo de Tormes* reflects a resistance to hegemony.

Smith's approach to the picaresque incorporates Sieber's study to show how the genre focuses on the act of writing in a way that fractures the processes of narrating and reading. He makes use of modern theorists such as Derrida, Lacan, and Foucault to show the social implications of these early modern novels. Smith confronts the work of previous critics by attacking their reliance on "pictorialism" which causes "certain unexamined preconceptions concerning the nature of representation in literature" (79). The scholars that Smith presents relate the form of realism developed in fictional narrative to the plastic arts without any concern for the issues raised by the transition between visual and language-based expressions. The primary problem with pictorialism is that it causes critics to assume a type of "natural" unity and projects a certain coherence that they believe better represents reality (80-81). Smith's own approach looks closely at "a complex of overlapping relations […] between the individual and the world as presented in the text; between the writer and the reader as implied within the text; between the practice of writing and those non-discursive practices necessarily excluded from the text" (83). He thus shifts focus from pictorialism and makes use of Derrida's

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[35] For example, regarding his first two masters: "Lázaro learns something from each [master] about the nature of language. His initiation with the blind beggars in not an introduction to the world as such; it is rather his introduction to the beggar's discourse, through which an unseen world is articulated. This first *tratado* recounts the violent nature of Lázaro's semiotic initiation into the language of blindness and his appropriation a manipulation of its principal mode of enunciation (paradox), which he uses to destroy his master. The language of blindness is replaced in the second *tratado* by a sacramental discourse (a *verbum visible*), which Lázaro fails to read properly and which leads to his victimization by the priests" (*Language* xii).

concept of the *parergon*, or "the apparently secondary and subordinate term which is in fact essential to an operation or practice" (85). Through Derrida, Smith rethinks the relationship concerning vision and the written word and shows how the picaresque uses its margins (both social and literary) as its central focus.

This theoretical approach allows Smith to explain how picaresque novels anticipate postmodern philosophies. In the case of *Lazarillo de Tormes*, the scene where Lazarillo's younger brother is frightened by his own reflection (in the form of his father's complexion) prompts a discussion on the development of Lacanian subjectivity. Smith concludes that the subject matter of the picaresque provides some of the first glimpses into the "emergence of modern subjectivity" and is therefore particularly apt for analysis through postmodern theories (99). Similarly, the watchtower motif in *Guzmán de Alfarache*, explicitly referenced in the subtitle of the second part (*Atalaya de la vida humana*), anticipates Foucault's discussion of the *panopticon* as the reader uses the book as the vantage point whereby society can be analyzed and critiqued. The scenes in the picaresque serve as artistic representations of the concerns that will later be developed in postmodern theories. In *Discourses of Poverty*, Cruz applies Smith's methods in conjunction with a consideration of historical texts in order to link picaresque literature with early modern debates regarding the impoverished. She shows that authors of the picaresque (including those of *Lazarillo de Tormes* and *Guzmán de Alfarache*) display a distinct understanding of the development of institutions of charity outside of the Catholic Church to care for the poor. Cruz ties this early modern discussion of the poor to fiction without divorcing the socio-political context from the works' aesthetic function within the growth of early modern narrative. Cruz's work provides an example of how

the study of extra-textual historical and political documents can shed new light on the significance of literature. Her approach gives greater insight into the socio-political context by "rereading the picaresque novels through historicist, gender, and reader-response theories" in order to "acknowledge the material and symbolic bases on which the complex 'meaning' of a particular cultural community is founded" (xiii). The picaresque figures' marginal positions are key to understanding a nation divided by rigid religious, ethnic, and economic hierarchies. The *pícaro* serves as a literary *pharmakos*, a stand-in for the various secondary classes of the period that filled the social role once occupied by the leper (75-80). From this liminal position, these protagonists pose an indirect attack on the hegemonic structures that push them away from the centers.

The work of both Smith and Cruz can be advanced by considering documents from the colonization of the Americas to establish an additional historical reference for the development of the early modern novel. Furthermore, the theoretical approaches used by colonialists can be extended to form an appropriate framework for understanding how the picaresque develops new narrative techniques in order to subvert hegemonic discourse. Similar to the focus of Cruz's work, the concern here is not purely social, but also aesthetic. The writings of Spanish conquistadors contain insight about political changes, including an increased proto-capitalist outlook. They also exhibit a faith in the power that written texts, especially prose, had to create one's own truth and affirm a new status for the writer. The effect on fictional prose can be seen in the development of a form of realism that has been considered a key attribute of the novel. Many forms of marginalization existed within early modern Spain that undoubtedly motivated the creation of picaresque texts, and the histories of upstart conquistadors in the New World

provided a structure for opposing hegemonic discourse through first-person narrative. The *estatutos de limpieza de sangre* were meant to address the anxieties about underground Jewish communities following their forced conversion in 1492, by distinguishing between different segments of the Spanish population based on lineage. The issues raised in regards to *conversos* and blood purity are well documented in literature, including picaresque novels and Cervantes's work. The potential *converso* origins of many early modern writers are reflected in their socially marginalized characters. A variety of other elements, however, existed that fractured Spanish society, and studying the influence of Spanish imperialism provides further political and cultural context that highlights the ways in which the picaresque reappropriates hegemonic discourse for subversive purposes.

While it would be difficult, if not impossible, to accurately ascertain the religious lineage of either Cervantes or the anonymous author of *Lazarillo de Tormes*, the Jewish heritage of Mateo Alemán is more certain. Several scholars, including Donald McGrady along with Sieber and Cruz, have shown how Alemán's *converso* origins affected his writing of *Guzmán de Alfarache*. The trials facing Christians with a known Jewish lineage are inscribed in the life of Alemán's protagonist from the outset of the novel. As Guzmán recounts his heritage, he gives glowing praise to his parents, yet the influence of the implied author undercuts his words through double meaning. This contradiction leaves the reader with serious doubts about Guzmán's origins, doubts that McGrady believes are confirmed when the narrator describes his paternal relatives as "levantiscos," playing off the Spanish "levantar" suggesting their nature as thieves while referring to their origins in the Levant (101). Guzmán's status as a marginalized individual is even

more intensely connected with his heritage than in *Lazarillo de Tormes*. Alemán's protagonist belongs to a different economic class than the poor Lazarillo. As Cruz notes, throughout the novel, Guzmán does not suffer from the same conditions of famine and poverty as his picaresque predecessor (97-8). Both Cruz and McGrady affirm, however, that the Jewish origin of the *pícaro* is among the earliest factors in his life that make him feel like an outsider. Guzmán symbolizes, according to Cruz, the *converso* community that constituted an important "Other" within Spanish society. Cruz's analysis of the political situation underscoring Alemán's text points out the wider historical issues at play. Among these, Cruz examines the role of *conversos* within the social makeup. The distrust and uncertainty caused by anti-Semitic views led to Fernando and Isabel's expulsion and forced conversion of the Jewish population in 1492. While those who were converted were initially assimilated into Spanish culture, many still regarded them with suspicion. Cruz notes that the attempted incorporation of *conversos* led to greater distrust of a somewhat indistinguishable portion of the population (97). As these fears grew, they contributed to the justifications for the eventual imposition of the Inquisition and its censorship of artistic expression.

The literary production of early modern Spain can be seen as the reaction to the oppressive influence of the Inquisition. That is to say, that the Inquisition's oversight ratified certain forms of discourse while delegitimizing others, especially in regards to the self-expression of *conversos*. The authors who hoped to problematize issues regarding social structure were therefore forced to consider new tactics whereby their voices could be heard. The Inquisition's repression forced writers to think of innovative ways to communicate prohibited ideas as seen in narrative, poetry, and theater, where authors

developed new techniques that could convey subtextual messages and undermine authority. In addition to the religious, ethnic, economic, and social fractures within Spain, the exploration and conquest of the New World changed the cultural makeup in a way that allowed room for greater freedom of expression. Conquistadors provided a model for challenging the dominant hierarchy that is later reflected in early modern literature. The possible *converso* background of many Golden Age authors only partially explains their focus on marginal figures. Alemán, for example, seemed to have gained an important social consciousness during his post as inspector and judge at the mercury mines of Almadén, where he witnessed, first-hand, the horrific working conditions. He was additionally privy to the deplorable treatment of prisoners and galley slaves forced into labor for the King. Documents reveal his outrage as he angrily lashed out against the offending jailer and sheriff of the Usagre jail (Cruz 80). Alemán's duties not only allowed him to see the reality of the living conditions of the economically marginalized, but as Cruz notes, he also began to feel cynical about the government's inabilities to right these wrongs.

Alemán's attitude changed, however, as Cruz and Dunn have noted, when he became associated with some of the more important social reformers of his time. Among these was Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera who actively sought improvement for the care of the nation's poor through established secular institutions. Problems arose as responsibility for the impoverished masses shifted from church to state. The poor who had once been considered an integral part in the devotional act of almsgiving were becoming stigmatized for their lack of economic contributions (Cruz 16-17). Pérez de Herrera was among those who hoped to regulate and control begging in order to assure that those who

needed help would receive it. Cruz shows how the same type of changes that Pérez de Herrera proposed in his own writings can be seen in the work of his friend Alemán, such as the detailed descriptions of false beggars in *Guzmán de Alfarache* (I, 3, 2). This leads Cruz to assert that Alemán's focus on the marginal classes is not only due to his *converso* background, but also to his commitment to equality. She speculates that the comfort and wealth that Alemán found after emmigrating to America caused his social consciousness to wane and hence the third part of *Guzmán de Alfarache*, promised at the end of the second, was never published (117). Cruz's analysis shows that while Alemán's work was influenced by his *converso* heritage, he also responded consciously to the economic marginalization of the disenfranchised.

While Alemán's personal history provides insight into his possible motivations for writing *Guzmán de Alfarache*, it is neither possible to unquestionably ascertain his intention, nor is it necessary. Even if one could assume that *Guzmán de Alfarache* is simply an expansion of *Lazarillo de Tormes*, Alemán's text still picks up on the themes of marginalization and social mobility. Similarly, Alemán and the author of *Lazarillo de Tormes* may not have been interested in the debates regarding Spanish colonization, yet they lived within a society fundamentally shaped by the New World exploration. The society in which they write is steeped in imperialistic discourse that used religious and royal authority to lay claim to the Americas while simultaneously imposing a strict social order in Spain. The machine against which picaresque texts react is the same as the one that colonized the Americas and that certain conquistadors protested. In addition to *conversos*, several other groups within the Spanish society occupied a liminal position. Carroll Johnson, in studying Cervantes's body of work, explores how the material

realities of the period are inscribed within *Don Quixote* and other works in a way that reveals a concern with immediate political issues of the early modern period (a subject that will receive more attention in Chapter 3). The economics of land ownership prevented the accumulation of wealth among the lower class. Conversely, many wealthy *morisco* merchants were persecuted for their ability to accumulate capital and invest in money-making ventures. Social norms sought to perpetuate the dominance of a strict hierarchy, which led to the economic marginalization of the working classes and the eventual expulsion of *moriscos*. These cultural fissures existed before Spaniards first became aware of the existence of the Americas and continued to play a part in the way that the New World was explored and colonized.

As the Spanish Empire's borders grew, it simultaneously expanded the common conception of the world for all Europeans. Similar to how the development of the technology of communication continues to shift the way that people understand their relationship to others outside their national borders, early modern Spaniards were undergoing a process of reevaluating their place within a global community much larger than they had previously imagined. While the ramifications of the colonial conquests are radically distinct from those of the development of an expanded capitalist market, both had the dual effect of empowering the economic and political dominion of a particular sovereign power while simultaneously spurring new forms of communication that could be used to undermine the prevailing hegemony. The *relaciones* of conquistadors attempt to justify social mobility by referencing faithful military service to the Crown. Picaresque novels reenact the impact that such changes could have by creating protagonists who mirror the ambition of the early conquistadors. Only through the presence of an implied

author is the reader able to discern the narrator's true nature: "The *pícaros* seek to achieve through language what is unattainable in social reality; because literature is a paradoxically transparent mask, their words convey the structure of their consciousness and of their conscience" (E. Friedman, "Novel" 242). The *pícaro* is much more closely associated with the conquistador than the knights of fictional chivalric romance, because the Spanish colonizers also depended upon the written word for legitimacy. The *pícaro*, like the conquistador, writes to justify his ambition, but does so without ever having done anything worthy of advancement in the eyes of his fictional interlocutors (and perhaps many readers). He engages in a struggle against the discourses of power within society in order to legitimize his desires. In doing so, the narrator subverts the hierarchy that marginalizes him. The result of the *pícaro*'s subversion is the destabilization of the entire discourse upon which the superstructure is upheld.

Picaresque works respond to hegemonic forces by promoting the culture of marginalized figures through their protagonists. Martín Barbero explains that an important part of the historical process of creating a national culture depended on the transformation of the modes of transmitting knowledge. He explains how the increased persecution of witches was actually an attack on past traditions that resisted the institutionalization of knowledge in secular or religious settings: "Today we are beginning to understand that witches symbolized for the clergy and the magistrates, for the wealthy and the educated, a world that had to be eliminated. For it represented a world decentralized, horizontal and ambivalent which enters into radical conflict with the new image of the world designed by reason: vertical, uniform and centralized" (90). Witches were one extension of the harmful effects attributed to women who passed on

cultural traditions. The increased emphasis on the importance of formal education, and later the establishment of public schools, served to provide structure to learning and to reduce the "influence of parents, especially the mother who was seen as the one who conserved and transmitted superstition" (91). The importance of women within cultural practices can be seen as a threat to a patriarchal order seeking to solidify hegemonic values in a changing world. One way that these novels communicate a resistance to hegemony is through a figurative association of the *pícaro* with the feminine and particularly with maternal influences.

Critics of early modern Spanish theater have often noted the absence of mothers and wives in the *comedia*, yet they are consistently present in the picaresque. Both Lazarillo and Guzmán lose their fathers at a young age, and their mothers are more notably influential during their formative years. Despite the less-than-virtuous reputation of these meretricious mothers, the *pícaros* praise and revere these women. In a well-known episode, Lazarillo's illegitimate younger half-brother openly rejects his mostly absent father, unwilling to recognize his own image in the face of his progenitor. Aside from the Lacanian implications already documented by Smith, the episode also suggests a tendency to reject the world outside of the mother's immediate influence. And although both Guzmán and Lazarillo leave home at early ages, the lives they lead mirror their maternal upbringing and the marginal cultures their mothers represent. The *pícaros*' literacy suggests that they have attained a certain level of worldly knowledge and an ability to communicate between cultures. Yet their associations to their mothers' lifestyle indicate that they have not wholeheartedly rejected the cultural elements of the marginalized position into which they were born. The women they love represent the

folkloric practices maintained through a feminine influence. Lázaro's *caso*, as best as can be surmised, pertains to his consenting (either explicitly or tacitly) to his wife's dubious relationship with the Archpriest of San Salvador. Lázaro's outright acceptance of his wife comes complete with a rejection of what others might say about her deeds:

> Mirá, si sois mi amigo, no me digáis cosa con que me pese, que no tengo por mi amigo al que me hace pesar, mayormente si me quieren meter mal con mi mujer, que es la cosa del mundo que yo más quiero, y la amo más que a mí, y me hace Dios con ella mil mercedes y más bien que yo merezco. Que yo juraré sobre la hostia consagrada que es tan buena mujer como vive dentro de las puertas de Toledo. Quien otra cosa me dijere, yo me mataré con él. (176-77)

Lázaro claims to have found his good fortune at the end of his life, and this is due in part to his role as accomplice to his wife's relationship with the Archpriest. Retaining his fortune depends on following the counsel of the Archpriest to turn a blind eye with regard to the comings and goings of the cleric's household. Accepting and praising his wife, despite her faults, requires that Lázaro reject the social norms that attack women of her nature, and forever casts the *pícaro* to the social margins. His marriage also symbolizes a return to his childhood home led by a single mother of ill repute.

In *Guzmán de Alfarache*, the title character's relationship with women is more closely associated with a rejection of early modern modes of knowledge. Unlike Lázaro, Guzmán studies in a university. While his multiple allusions to classical texts certainly reveal the learning of an early modern humanist, Guzmán does not focus on the curriculum when recounting his years in school. Instead, he is more concerned with

examining the economic injustices of the educational system (II, 3, 4-6). Despite his

erudition, Guzmán fails to complete his studies and enter the priesthood as he had

planned, since "Habíame ya matriculado amor en sus escuelas" (II, 3, 4). The way that

Guzmán approaches the subject of his marriage could certainly be interpreted as a

diatribe against the malicious influence of love, and women in general. Yet his choice to

leave behind the educational system in favor of a wife confirms his connection with the

marginalized culture represented by the feminine influence rather than the structure of the

modes of knowledge humanist thinkers were developing. And no sooner is Guzmán

married, than his wife enters into adulterous activity for the mutual economic benefit of

the couple. Not surprisingly, this activity is exacerbated when his journey, like that of

other subsequent picaresque figures, completes its circular motion and he returns to

Sevilla and encounters his aging mother (II, 3, 5-6). Guzmán has eschewed ecclesiastical

training and secular education in favor of a marginal life symbolized by the nefarious acts

of his wife and mother. Later, having been rejected by women and imprisoned for his

crimes, Guzmán symbolically aligns himself with the culture these women embody. The

pícaro devises a stratagem whereby he obtains women's clothing, strips himself of

masculinity by shaving his beard, and dons the apparel to fool the guards. His association

with the feminine is compounded when, having nearly made his escape, a one-eyed guard

understands the plot and locks the front door. Guzmán is fittingly armed with a

"terciado," or an "espada corta y ancha, que le falta la tercia parte de la marca," that he is

unable to use (Alemán 873n44). The failure to defend himself with a diminutive phallic

symbol emasculates Guzmán, simultaneously marginalizing him for his lack of

masculinity and reaffirming his association to liminal popular culture transmitted by women.

The association of *pícaros* to the feminine is more than an emasculating gesture. It reveals an acceptance of a cultural form that lies outside the predominant ideology.[36] The narratives that Guzmán and Lázaro produce, however, do not reject all aspects of the prevailing hegemony. Instead, they utilize their understanding of letters to rewrite their own histories. One key aspect of these narrators' struggle is their attempt to undermine and destabilize the power structure that oppresses their ascendance. While the deeds of the picaresque protagonist appear to do little to subvert the overall social makeup, the narrator manipulates the discourse to put in doubt the legitimacy of hegemony. Nina Cox Davis argues that the picaresque narrator in *Guzmán de Alfarache* appropriates the language of his social superiors (religious, moral, legal, etc.) in a way that mimics and decenters their discourse: "By parodying the verbal authority of his judges with the circumlocutions of his oratory, he reveals their words to be no more reliable than his own discourse" (44). Edward Friedman notes that Lázaro's address of his "caso" to the interlocutor known only as *Vuestra Merced* creates "a doubly apologetic response" that "calls attention to the act of composition: as explanation, defense, confession, autobiography, reworking of the intertext, and ultimately as a rhetoric of irony. Lázaro's document calls into question, above all, the instability of the sign and the capacity of the

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[36] The importance that women play within the picaresque genre is, of course, compounded in those works centered on the female *pícaras*. The importance of mothers within the genre also has a life outside of Spain, as is evidenced in Daniel Defoe's *Moll Flanders*, which provides the interesting case in which the title character travels to the Americas and encounters the long-lost mother, only to find out she is also the mother of the man that Moll has married. See E. Friedman's *The Antiheroine's Voice* for more information about the female picaresque from the seventeenth century into the twentieth.

word to function in numerous and often contradictory systems" (*Antiheroine* xii). While the conquistador employs his noble deeds as a tool for elevating the value of his language, the *pícaro* devalues all language to even the playing field.

In both *Lazarillo de Tormes* and *Guzmán de Alfarache,* discourse is manipulated in a way that subverts hierarchy and transforms narrative structures. Just as conquistadors reappropriated contemporary historiography to communicate their desire for social mobility, the authors of the picaresque use a fictional tale to challenge the status quo, both political and literary. Protagonists' names in the picaresque offer insight into how chivalric romances are filtered through an ironic lens that magnifies the truth-telling capacity of first-person narration. The skewed perspective of the narrator/protagonist endows the works with a multiplicity of meanings, seen most vividly in the various "digressions" in *Guzmán de Alfarache*. While both *Lazarillo de Tormes* and Alemán's text provide examples of this historical shift in the form of the novel, the more expansive nature of *Guzmán de Alfarache* allows for many more textual examples to come from that work. *Lazrillo de Tormes* serves as the prototype for the picaresque and *Guzmán de Alfarache* furthers the themes of marginalization and the narrative structures that defy social hierarchies. An intertextual connection between *pícaros* and the knights of chivalric romances is obvious from the beginning of *Lazarillo de Tormes*. Lázaro, as narrator, chooses to begin his autobiography by recounting his humble origins, not unlike those of several of the fictional knights. Yet while the *caballeros*' deeds belie their lowly births, often revealing their hidden nobility, the presence of an implied author undercuts the *pícaros*' attempts to extol their own virtues. The ironic nature of the picaresque is revealed in the use of the name Lazarillo de Tormes. While the structure of the name

echoes fictional heroes such as Amadís de Gaula or Palmerín de Inglaterra, the characteristics of the moniker betray such a connection. The use of the diminutive "Lazarillo" rather than the biblical "Lázaro" undercuts the development of the adult narrator, constantly casting the character in the role of the destitute servant boy. Likewise, rather than represent the nobility of a great lineage or the accomplishments of a revered culture, Lázaro uses the place of his birth as his surname. The minor river is an inconsequential birthplace whose constant movement reflects the *pícaro*'s horizontal journey through Spanish society and a lack of connection to the cultural achievements of civilization typical of the birthplaces of the knights of chivalric romance.

Just as Tormes alludes to the inconsistencies of flowing water, Guzmán de Alfarache is a name devoid of social significance but brimming with subtextual meaning. The protagonist's given name is never revealed, only the one he chooses to take upon himself before leaving home: "[…] para no ser conocido no me quise valer del apellido de mi padre; púseme el Guzmán de mi madre y Alfarache de la heredad adonde tuve mi principio" (I, 1, 2). Taking on his mother's name is an important indicator of the true character of the *pícaro* and further distances him from past literary heroes in favor of the marginal culture embodied by his family. Furthermore, despite Guzmán's praise of his mother, his own retelling of her history makes her moral fortitude questionable at best. Guzmán is the product of an adulterous relationship, and although he claims that his mother's artifice allowed him to enjoy the luxury of having two fathers (one biological and one the unsuspecting cuckold), by taking on her name as his own, he reveals the illegitimacy of his own birth and his lack of a claim to heredity rights from either of the paternal figures. Rather than communicate an illustrious lineage, Guzmán's name

suggests his disconnect from the prevailing social order. Later he is able to quickly and easily change his name as it suits his ambitions, because it is nothing more than a false signifier without a signified.

Taking on names that allude to the heroes of the romances of chivalry is more than just an ironic jest. Lázaro, Guzmán, and their literary descendents are distorted reflections of the fictional knights-errant. Like those heroes, a *pícaro*'s tale often begins by establishing his humble origins. Yet as the knights' stories unfold, their true nobility is revealed. While names such as Lazarillo de Tormes and Guzmán de Alfarache pretend to mirror a particular status, the *pícaros* have no true honor. The use of such names for these protagonists, however, expresses a claim to nobility beyond what they deserve either by birth or deed. Perhaps it is for this reason that the title of Quevedo's picaresque novel, which is an obvious attack on the presumptions of other works of the genre, refers to the protagonist by the impersonal descriptor Buscón and despite his pseudonyms and false titles, readers know him simply as Pablos.[37] The use of names in *Lazarillo de Tormes* and *Guzmán de Alfarache* creates a literary link tying *pícaros* to *caballeros* that relates to the actions of the protagonists through an inverse correlation. The knights show their bravery through their devotion to upholding the ideals of a social hegemony while the *pícaros* fight for significance against that same power structure. More importantly, the knight proves his true honor through his feats of valor while the rogues' deeds reflect a dearth of

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[37] While various editions of all three works have, in different manners, altered the titles, the fact that they are commonly referred to as *Lazarillo de Tormes*, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, and *La vida del Buscón*, reveals the way that readers' receptions have focused on the importance that the names of the protgaonists have in the overall significance of the novels. The horizon of expectations, to use a term coined by Hans-Robert Jauss, in this case reveals how readers have come to understand that the first two novels focus on the importance of the protagonists and their claims to a noble birth while the third provides a more disparaging view of a character with social ambition.

nobility. Yet while the fictional heroes depend entirely on their swords, the *pícaros* take up their pens. In this sense, their actions are more akin to those of the conquistadors who manipulate their own narratives in order to claim royal privileges and prestige through their writing.

The idea that conquistadors modeled themselves after the characters of the romances of chivalry has been discredited (Adorno, "Literary Production"), but that does not mean that a connection does not exist. Within their own narrations, conquistadors refer to their own abilities and deeds in ways reminiscent of the romances of chivalry. Although the use of literature as a cultural reference point should not suggest that conquistadors had a worldview distorted in some quixotic fashion by fantasies of knight errantry, it does reveal how these soldiers chose to present themselves to their contemporaries. The link connecting fictional text and historical occurrence resonated in the Spanish imagination during the early modern period. Accounts of the conquest were often transmitted in the form of literature. *La Araucana*, for instance, endows both conquistador and the native Mapuche with characteristics of a typical tale of chivalry using the form of epic poetry to recount the history of Native-American resistance in Chile.[38] Alonso de Ercilla's work had a broad impact upon the Spanish imagination regarding the conquest and is mentioned as one of the books that inspired Don Quixote just as the more historical accounts of Cortez served as the basis for the heroic figure the

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[38] The description of indigenous characters reflects the European culture rather more than American. Diana de Armas Wilson's term "cross-cultural transvestism" to explain one episode within the *La Araucana* can be expanded to describe the characterization of the Mapuche people throughout the text (179).

aging knight imitates.[39] The distinction between history and literature was blurred during the early modern period, as continues to be revealed in the dual-meaning of the Spanish *historia*. Conquistadors took advantage of the power of narrative to re-create history to their own advantage. The *pícaro* is like the conquistador in that he takes up the pen to justify his social ambitions. Although he is a marginalized figure, the *pícaro* has the ability to write his own story. This gives him a certain power, not only because he enters into the world of the elite minority of the literate, but also because he can appropriate the voice of his social betters and destabilize their supposed dominance.

The *pícaro*-narrator uses his temporal distance from the character he writes about to distort the past and imply that a change has occurred. In *Lazarillo de Tormes*, the narrator suggests that he has finally found his good fortune and in *Guzmán de Alfarache* the *pícaro* claims to have had a spiritual rebirth. The first-person narration allows the narrator to select those elements that can best represent himself. As Edward Friedman notes, the narrator (and he refers specifically to Lázaro) orders and arranges the presentation of events in such a way that he gains the power to "manipulate the truth" (*Cervantes* 40). The picaresque genre thus plays on what Gaylord refers to as "the truth-telling capacities of narrative" ("True History" 215). The chivalric romances often followed conventions of historical prose and asserted their own truthfulness. Picaresque narrators do the same, and rely on the assumption that their words will be taken as objective truth despite several indications of their dubious veracity. A fundamental

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[39] Other participants in the conquest have developed a cultural significance that goes beyond the actions that can be attributed to them. La Malinche, for example, has become a symbol in Mexican society standing for such diverse elements as motherhood, prostitution, and rape (see Messinger). Cortez also appears in several literary texts in Spain during the early modern period (see Reynolds).

disparity exists between the way that a text's validity was measured during the early modern period and how it is currently assessed. The rhetorical tradition in which Alemán was trained gave credence to a document based on its internal value, without gauging it against external, objective truth. Conquistadors who lacked any authority to write history had to establish their own credentials within their writings, often relying on their first-hand experience as eyewitnesses. Their narratives assimilate the rhetoric of historiography in order to challenge history written by official chroniclers. In the picaresque, the narrator has a similar task to convince others of his own inherent nobility despite his low birth. To do so, he uses the form of the first-person biography that conquistadors had already established as a genre superior to the type of truth established in royally sanctioned accounts of the past. But the picaresque reappropriation of this discourse devalues the authority of hegemonic discourse by placing it in the context of a disgraceful *pícaro*.

Another rich source of historical first-person accounts from the early modern period is the inquisitional confessions of accused *conversos*. Their writings are motivated by the need to protect the author from further action by the Inquisition, and, like the picaresque, use discursive techniques to divert attention away from the possible misdeeds of the writer. They infuse the first-person account with the inherent fear of institutional retribution. David Gitlitz likens these documents to other autobiographic forms, such as the *relación* of conquistadors, because all of them have authors whose position is subordinated to an implied reader (54). Such first-person texts are written from a position of marginality in relation to the audience, and the writers must use what they write to sway the implications of past events in their own favor. These intertexts establish the

cultural ambiance in which the picaresque was produced and the way in which it engages with past forms of narrative. Picaresque novels envelop historical documents within the realm of fiction, adding another depth of socio-political meaning to the literature of the period.

Guzmán de Alfarache has long been considered for its value as a fictional confession. Yet a key debate among critics has been assessing whether the novel presents a true religious conversion or the machinations of a jaded rogue using his narrative to distort his dubious past. In analyzing the text, critics such as Francisco Rico, Alexander A. Parker, and Peter Dunn suggest that it is a fictional re-creation of religious confessions. Other critics, including Benito Brancaforte, Joan Arias, and Judith Whitenack, find that the work contains certain inconsistencies meant to highlight the ironic nature of Guzmán's words and cast doubt upon the protagonist's supposed penitence. The latter set of critics provides a framework for understanding how the picaresque uses discursive techniques to distort historical fact in the favor of the fictional author. Whitenack, for example, examines the way that *Guzmán de Alfarache* responds to the confessional literature typified by St. Augustine's *Confessions*. Despite what Guzmán's story purports to be, in recounting his life he often associates confession with hypocrisy. Whitenack notes, "The first mention of confession in *Guzmán de Alfarache* is in Part I, Book I, Chapter I, where the narrator is telling about his father's religious practices, including frequent visits to the confessional. […] He then goes on to describe behavior that suggests that his father actually deserved to be called a hypocrite" (49). Guzmán mimics the confessional structure not as a means of showing his true repentance, but in order to dissemble his ambitions for social advancement: "He seems to operate on

the social level from behind a mask that he has designed according to his perception of what might be acceptable to the rest of the world" (Whitenack 90). Guzmán adjusts his "confession" in order to gain sympathy and support from his fictive readers, who are the superiors he hopes will be sympathetic to his cause (Whitenack 87).

Understanding the dubious nature of the picaresque narrator's claims to a religious conversion is key to demonstrating how the fictional author establishes a model for subverting hegemony through a reappropriation of discourse. John C. Parrack has shown one way in which the historical context surrounding the production of *Guzmán de Alfarache* can shed light on the debate about his perfidious nature. Parrack argues that the picaresque is produced when "the absolute authority of the classics and the church eroded as the Middle Ages yielded to the Early Modern Period" (294). As a result, writers such as Alemán attacked the weakness of cultural authority "by articulating a new epistemology that empowers the experience of the individual subject over classical knowledge" (Parrack 294). While Guzmán is educated in a university, he does not replicate hegemony through his autobiography. Instead, the *pícaro* uses his knowledge to refashion himself through his narrative. Just as conquistadors broke from the authoritative model of the official chroniclers to write their own histories in the New World, the *pícaro* breaks from established protocol and uses language to subvert the hierarchy. The use of prose to construct a fictional reality both reflects the way that *conversos*' confessions attempted to defend the accused, as Gitlitz has shown, and offers a direct opposition to the Inquisition's use of violence to establish truth. As the *pícaro* struggles for social significance, the power structure is actively fighting against him. In *Guzmán de Alfarache*, a major threat to the success of deception is torture, a main instrument of the

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Inquisition that symbolizes a corporal reaction to the *pícaro*'s linguistic violence. Torture is used as the only instrument of extracting a "true" confession, as Whitenack notes (97). The veracity of many of these confessions, however, may be doubtful. Whitenack recognizes that the references to the effective use of torture to extract a confession deal mostly with those who have wronged Guzmán and "the narrator seems to relish his memory of their suffering" while the one instance of Guzmán's own torture only results in a reaffirmation of his innocence (96-97). The aim of torture, like Guzmán's confession, is not to derive truth from a source, but to create truth through the use of violence. The reader's only indication as to the truthfulness of the information confessed under torture, however, comes from the perfidious narrator who has a professed grudge against the torture victims.

In the early modern period, torture supposedly stabilized the order disrupted by heretics and the fractures caused by the threat of an internal Other. Within the novel, however, Guzmán either escapes any real confession at the hands of torturers or, no longer under duress, neglects to inform the reader of all the evil to which he may have confessed in such a situation. The *pícaro* reappropriates the truth-producing nature of torture to his own advantage and manipulates the results of forced confessions to incriminate his enemies and ratify his own piety. Guzmán's narrative deconstructs the truth-creating power of the Inquisition by using torture-based confessions for his own benefit. The Inquisition based the legitimacy of its punishment upon coerced confessions, and Guzmán co-opts this authority for his own ends. He ratifies his own version of history in a way that casts doubt upon the Inquisition's ability to create truth. He thus highlights the internal weaknesses and hypocrisies of using torture for social control.

In the storyline he creates, Guzmán remakes himself as a penitent convert who has received remission of his sins. To bolster his claim, his autobiography is filled with moral digressions that often seem to contradict his roguish nature. Critics who have sought to find unity within the novel have wrestled with the conflict between Guzmán's sermons and his moral diatribes. Additionally, the fictional narrator includes several interpolated tales that seem to detract from the rest of the story. Yet one should not assume that digressions are unique to *Guzmán de Alfarache*. While Alemán's work is a baroque exaggeration of narrative excess, *Lazarillo de Tormes* also provides the reader with information that is seemingly unrelated to the *caso* about which the fictional reader wants to know. The narrators justify their current predicaments by explaining the extrinsic social circumstances that have shaped their lives. For contemporary critics, these novels continue to pose problems when searching for cohesive plots. As Smith argues, the predilection for unity among scholars has urged them to argue for coherence in picaresque novels that the early modern authors may not have intended. Derek Lomax suggests that the medieval and renaissance publics were trained to understand texts primarily through sermons on biblical matters. They were taught that a particular passage of scripture contains a variety of meanings: "[E]very peasant in medieval Europe had drummed into him, week after week, the idea of taking a literary passage and interpreting each phrase in several different, but mutually compatible, ways. Naturally, he would apply the same approach to secular literature, and when offered songs or stories or plays would expect to find in them not one but several levels of meaning" (372). Rather than consider the *a priori* superiority of a unified narration, the picaresque celebrates the multiplicity of meaning in language. Picaresque narrators use the slippage between sign

and signifier as a way of gaining a foothold within the hegemonic discourse of early modern Spain by casting doubt upon the legitimacy of the language that supported the dominant hierarchies, thus highlighting the internal conflicts in discourse rather than "mutually compatible" meanings of a single text. The multiple levels of their autobiographies destabilize the linguistic order, yet also prevent an easily explained unity between the various elements of the novels.

Perhaps due to its brevity, *Lazarillo de Tormes* has received more attention from critics seeking to find unifying threads in the text. *Guzmán de Alfarache*, in contrast, professes a more intense fracturing, one that further complicates the picaresque genre and the traditional relationships between readers (both fictional and historical), narrator, and author. These fissures reshape the concept of narrative by highlighting the constructedness of the novel while simultaneously showcasing the gaps in the dominant discourse wherein subversive meanings are fostered. The multitude of elements that make up *Guzmán de Alfarache* may not sustain a cohesive plot, but they do allow the fictional narrator to engage with a variety of forms of early modern Spanish discourses including the religious confessions such as that of St. Augustine and *conversos*, the colonial *relación*, and the ideal literature of past fictional prose such as the chivalric romance and the *novela morisca*. While often it may appear that Guzmán is reaffirming the predominant ideologies regarding religion, ethnicity, or social hierarchies, the same fractures that cast doubt on the veracity of the narrator's tale reshape the way one must approach his use of language. Even when the *pícaro* seems to be supporting a preestablished social norm, its inclusion within the text makes for a potentially subversive message.

The concern over the literary space in which alternative meanings can be developed had been a concern for previous writers, such as the medieval Archpriest of Hita Juan Ruiz. In the beginning of his *Libro de Buen Amor*, Juan Ruiz notes that "si algunos, lo que non los consejo, quisieren usar del loco amor, aquí fallarán algunas maneras para ello" (10). The potentially seditious nature of his work, he writes, should not overshadow its "true" purpose: "E ruego é conssejo á quien lo viere é lo oyere que guarde bien las tres cosas del alma. Lo primero, que quiera bien entender é bien juzgar la mi entençión [...] E Dios sabe que la mi intençión non fue de lo fazer por dar manera de pecar nin por mal dezir; más fue por reduçir á toda persona á memoria buena de bien obrar é dar ensienpro de buenas costumbres é castigos de salvaçión" (10-11).[40] Alemán takes a similar tact by dividing his readership into the *vulgo* and the *discreto lector* and writing specific prologues for each group. Not only does this direct message to the readers allow Alemán to deflect criticism regarding the subversive quality of *Guzmán de Alfarache*, it also bounds the meaning of the novel within the realm of reader response. The *vulgo* is vehemently criticized for their lack of true understanding of the work, yet no indication is given as to who belongs within this group. The choice as to which prologue corresponds to which reader is left to the person holding the book. Readers must identify themselves as the *vulgo* that will take pleasure in the subversive message of the text or the *discreto lector* who agrees that "no [hay] libro tan malo donde no se halle algo bueno" (93). Alemán lays out an intended reading, yet places the burden of interpretation on the reader, thus avoiding any appearance of a direct confrontation with hegemonic powers. The condemnation of the *vulgo*, however, simultaneously validates their reading

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[40] See Fernando de Rojas's similar comments in the prologue to *La Celestina*.

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by admitting that the text does sustain those elements. A close reading of *Guzmán de Alfarache* must take into account its dual significance for both the *vulgo* and the *discreto lector*.

The multiple levels of meaning created by the literary frame of a "reformed" narrator shape how all the moral digressions and interpolated stories should be read. The fictional narrator makes explicit reference to the creative process involved in writing his autobiography from the opening lines of the novel. Two anecdotes that relate the narrative process to painting also bookend the text. Smith notes that "[t]he 'marginal' status of these anecdotes itself dramatizes the questions they raise. Placed before and after the action proper, they both assume the precedence and finality implied by their respective positions, and deny the authority they seem to possess by their exclusion from that same action" (100). A reader may find Guzmán's allegories to be needless distractions from the story of his life, yet they shape the work by suggesting how it should be interpreted. The first anecdote relates the tale of two painters commissioned to depict a horse. One artist focuses solely on the steed, while the other adds landscape and other superfluous elements. The simpler painting is preferred, because the additions were neither requested nor necessary. Guzmán concludes that the natural tendency of men recounting a story is to "enmascarla y afeitarla, que se desconoce" (I, 1, 1). Guzmán thus uses the story to condemn those who had accused his father for manipulating the truth. Nevertheless, the number of digressions (which includes the allegory of the painting), suggest that Guzmán is more like the painter who adds extrinsic material. Guzmán simultaneously condemns his father's persecutors and the structure of his own autobiography. Smith notes that the story additionaly raises the issue of reader reception:

"painting and text are both 'dialogic:' aesthetic production is originally implicated in and finally completed by active consumption and witness" (99). Not only should readers be dubious of the morality preached by Guzmán, they also have an active role in deciding the value, and ultimately the meaning of what is being written.

The closing parable continues this theme, by relating the story of a gentleman who is unable to recognize a painting of a horse turned upside down. Returned to its original position, the depiction is unmistakable, suggesting that oftentimes artwork is misidentified as something else simply because of a skewed perspective. The explicit lesson Guzmán pretends to give through the story is that imperfect men often misunderstand God's signs. Yet on another level it also examines how artistic expression relates to the process of communication. In terms of literature, the connection between writer and reader is mediated by other factors, including the way in which the author situates a text and the individual perspectives of the audience. *Guzmán de Alfarache* has numerous intertexts, including classical, medieval, and renaissance works. It reproduces religious, legal, and literary discourse of the early modern period. Yet the novel is not always a simple reflection of these various historical moments. For the fictional picaresque authors, the function of narrative is not simply to recount a story for either moral or diversionary purposes. The ulterior motives of *Guzmán de Alfarache* distort everything he says in the carnivalesque mirror of shameless self-promotion and a desire for social mobility.

Taken at face value, Alemán simply re-creates his contemporary setting by referencing various cultural phenomena. The interpolated "Ozmín and Daraja," for example, has often been discounted as a simple mimicry of the *novela morisca*. Yet a

closer analysis reveals how the picaresque frame reshapes the story in a way that raises

questions about social hierarchies and religious conversion. The romantic account of the

two Arabs contains certain elements that hint back to Guzmán's authorship of the text.

Although a traveling clergyman accompanying the *pícaro* supposedly tells the story, it is

Guzmán who chooses to include the tale within his autobiography. He also admits to

having strayed from the original version: "pareció haberla medido al justo, aunque más

dilatada y con alma diferente nos la dijo de lo que yo la he contado" (I, 1, 2). As he

presents Ozmín's attempts to reclaim Daraja during her captivity among the Spaniards,

the dubious nature of the rogue's autobiography is always present.

Despite the elegiac language regarding their love, the virtue of Ozmín and

Daraja's amorous relationship is called into question through association with the

narrative in which it is interpolated. The couple is praised for the chastity of a

quintessentially courtly relationship prior to Daraja's capture: "Habíanse visto y visitado,

pero no tratado sus amores a boca; los ojos parleros, muchas veces, que nunca perdieron

ocasión de hablarse" (I, 1, 2). The poetic phrase "ojos parleros" only appears in one other

passage from *Guzmán de Alfarache*, when he recounts the story of his parents' first

meeting: "Los ojos parleros, las bocas callando, se hablaron, manifestando por ellos los

corazones, que no consienten las almas velos en estas ocasiones" (I, 1, 2). The romantic

depiction of Guzmán's future parents as their eyes meet across a crowded room is

undercut by the social taboo of their affair. This initial encounter takes place,

significantly, during the christening of an "hijo secreto de cierto personaje" (125). The

illegitimacy of the child coincides with the adulterous relationship of the couple that will

lead to Guzmán's birth and the dubious religious conversion of the *pícaro* and his father

is reflected in the baptismal waters of the newborn bastard. The repetition of the phrase in recounting "Ozmín and Daraja" (and no other place in Guzmán's history), reminds readers of the textual framework in which deception, adultery, and false conversions are par for the course.

The *novela morisca* regularly praises rather than condemns Arabs. The heroes of these novels are routinely reincorporated within the Christian traditions of Spanish culture and lauded for their inherent goodness despite their barbarous upbringing. Whitenack has shown, however, that a comparison between "Ozmín and Daraja" and other similar works reveals certain disjunctions and displays how the *pícaro*'s account ultimately praises the Arabs' abilities to deceive others and gain favor within Spanish society. Ozmín often remits to deception, even when seemingly unnecessary. For example, when disguised as a gardener to gain entrance to the place where Daraja is being held, he uses the false name Ambrosio although the text notes that no one other than Daraja could possibly have been aware of his true identity were he to use his real name. Whitenack notes that Ozmín's lies differ from those of other literary heroes, since his do not lead to an increase in honor: "It is also important to note that the *moro* Ozmín's various disguises seem to punctuate his status as enemy and outsider in the Christian milieu, rather than reflecting the chivalric aim of earning glory before revealing one's name" ("*Alma*" 63). In Guzmán's hands, the romantic tale vindicates the manipulation of truth to improve social status.

In "Ozmín and Daraja," the concept of perspectivism, later brought up in the final chapter of *Guzmán de Alfarache*, is used to undermine the concept of the hegemonic Spanish hierarchy. Ozmín, disguised as a peasant, softly sings an Arabic song underneath

the balcony where Daraja sits with Doña Elvira. The Spanish noblewoman, unaware of

Ozmín's identity, comments that the gift for melody given to the "gente bruta" is lost

when used for songs in a foreign tongue that, to her, are "como el agua que llueve en la

mar sin provecho" (233). Daraja, aware of the true nobility of her admirer and the lyrics

of the song, replies with a short speech that makes use of the dominant ideology to which

Doña Elvira subscribes, yet uses her words to secretly communicate with her beloved:

> […] son las cosas todas como el sujeto en que están y así se estiman. Estos
> labradores, por maravilla, si de tiernos no se trasplantan en vida política y
> los injieren y mudan de tierras ásperas a cultivadas, desnudándolos de la
> rústica corteza en que nacen, tarde o nunca podrán ser bien morigerados; y
> al revés, los que son ciudadanos, de político natural, son como la viña,
> que, dejándola de labrar algunos años, da fruto, aunque poco; y si sobre
> ella vuelven, reconociendo el regalo, rinde colmadamente el beneficio.
>
> […] Vámonos de aquí, si te parece, que es hora de acostarnos. (I, 1, 8)

Daraja's comment seems to simply reinforce Doña Elvira's low opinion of the lower

class Arabs, but her language is undercut by the fact that readers know she has a more

subversive intention in her message. Although what Daraja says falls within dominant

ideology of early modern Spain, the narrator notes that "Bien se habían entendido los

amantes, ella el canto y él sus palabras y el fin con que las dijo" (I, 1, 8). Through their

veiled discourse, the two are able to identify themselves to each other and make a plan to

meet. Daraja agrees with Doña Elvira that the man they hear is part of the "gente bruta,"

yet both Daraja and the reader know that he means much more to her. As a result, the

concepts of inherent class differences that Daraja promotes are called into question, since

they are only part of a stratagem for communicating with her undercover lover. Like Guzmán, Daraja makes use of the discourse around her for a more seditious purpose that belies the face-value of her words and adds an element of social resistance.

Ozmín and Daraja have the ability, both linguistically and culturally, to manipulate signs within Spanish society in order to attain the relationship they desire. Their convoluted use of deception culminates in their baptism in which they take upon themselves the names of Isabel and Fernando in honor of Catholic royalty that serve as godparents for the sacrament. The relative peacefulness of the rite is at odds with the presence of the historical authors of the Inquisition's forced conversions and casts doubts upon Ozmín and Daraja's commitment to Christianity. Whitenack notes that the way Guzmán narrates the religious ordinance also differs from how other authors approach the typical resolution of the *novela morisca*: "In contrast to the *Guerras de Granada* or the countless conversion episodes in chivalric romances by Christian authors, in 'Ozmín and Daraja' there is no trace of praise either of Catholicism or of the conversion policies of Fernando and Isabel—all the more remarkable, as we have said, considering the narrator's constant interventions on other subjects" ("*Alma*" 65). Whitenack underlines the relation between the interpolated novella and the story of Guzmán himself: "The situation also reminds us of Guzmán's behavior in a hostile society where deception is the key to survival. It is perhaps hard to see how these idealized lovers can be compared to the *pícaro*, but all three resort to deception and false confession and finally a false conversion in order to attain their freedom" (*Impenitent* 119). The results of Ozmín's and Daraja's deceptions highlight the manner in which Guzmán the narrator hopes that his subversion of linguistic and social structures will result in acceptance from his readers.

"Ozmín and Daraja" is based on a literary tradition that lies outside of the picaresque, just as many other elements of *Guzmán de Alfarache* have obvious extrinsic sources. These texts gain a new layer of meaning as they are resituated within the picaresque narrative. Near the end of *Guzmán de Alfarache*, the *pícaro* unknowingly violates a set of ordinances known as the "Arancel de Necedades" (II, 3, 1). The 22 rules listed in the novel were reprinted in 1615 and attributed to Alemán, although another work, written by Quevedo and titled "Premáticas y aranceles" of unknown date circulated during the seventeenth century and included 36 more mandates (Alemán 742 n. 33). The ordinances presented in *Guzmán de Alfarache* prohibit a number of absurd acts, punishing "Los que orinando hacen señales con la orina;" "Los que cuando el reloj toca, dejando de contar la hora, preguntan las que da;" and "Los que sonándose las narices, en bajando el lienzo lo miran con mucho espacio como si les hubiese salido perlas dellas y las quisiesen poner en cobro," the final being Guzmán's transgression (II, 3, 1). The entire document is a mockery of legalese language that simultaneously calls into question the arbitrary nature of social conventions. Celine S. de Cortazar claims that the list "es una réplica humorística a los *avisos y guías* de comportamiento en la corte, tan de moda entonces" (321). The "Arancel de necedades" mocks the strict practices of the early modern period, equating them with some of the most absurd forms of behavior.

The exact source of Alemán's ordinances is not certain, and it is also not clear whether he, Quevedo, or another unknown author originally produced the 22 rules listed in *Guzmán de Alfarache*. Regardless, certain differences exist between those that Quevedo chose to publish and those within Guzmán's narrative. Considering the vast

differences separating Quevedo's *Buscón* and Alemán's novel, it is unsurprising that Rico

cites Don Samuel Gili y Gaya:

> […] los 22 primeros *ítem* de la *Premáticas y aranceles* —i.e., los del
>
> *Guzmán*— tratan "festivamente de descuidos ordinarios, pequeñas manías
>
> en que incurren toda clase de persona," mientras en los 36 restantes,
>
> "desde el § 23, estas observaciones que solo merecen una sonrisa
>
> indulgente y burlona, van desapareciendo y se convierten en la sátira
>
> mordiente de tipo quevedesco: busconas, venteros, tahures, mercaderes,
>
> sastres, médicos, escribanos, corchetes. Análogas observaciones sugiere el
>
> estilo; antes del § 22, nada hay que desentone de las maneras expresivas
>
> de Mateo Alemán." (Alemán 743n33)

The tone regarding the necessary punishments to be meted out also shifts along the same

division. The first ordinances conform with the preamble's stated mission to seek the

"reformación y reparo de costumbres contra la perversa necedad," with offenders often

given a certain length of time to reform. The version found in Guzmán prescribes no

serious punishments for offenders, whereas in Quevedo's ordinances the castigation can

be as extreme as a sentence of ten years in the galleys (18). The list given by Guzmán is

more forgiving in its punishments and avoids the sweeping generalizations regarding the

lower classes while Quevedo's rules more explicitly attack the marginalized. The final

item in the "Pragmáticas" certainly would never have made it into a narration authored by

Guzmán de Alfarache: "Asimismo, que los Mendozas, Enríquez, Guzmanes y otros

apellidos semejantes que las putas y moriscos tienen usurpados, se entienda que son

suyos, como la Marquesilla en las perras, Cordobilla en los caballos y César en los

extranjeros" (24). Whether Alemán, Quevedo, or some other author penned the original list of ordinances, their place within *Guzmán de Alfarache* is shaped by the *pícaro*'s motivation for self-preservation and his ambitions. The text does suggest that Alemán may have been working from a longer list, since Guzmán admits that he only recounts "algunas que me quedaron en la memoria" (II, 3, 1). Yet if Alemán had such a list, it would be laughable, considering the length of the rest of the work, to assume that he edited the ordinances to make them pithier. Those chosen correlate better to the overall message of the novel. They simply examine the absurdity of social mores by focusing on more risible behavior. The humor present in the ordinances included in *Guzmán de Alfarache* mocks the strictures of a static hierarchy rather than attacking those marginalized by cultural hegemony.

Like *Lazarillo de Tormes*, the structure of *Guzmán de Alfarache* requires more from the audience. They must read between the lines to determine the truth due to the perfidious narrator's obfuscation. The picaresque has been lauded for its establishment of a type of realism. But, as Edward Friedman shows, this realism is mediated by a metafictional form that consistently calls attention to the works' constructedness (*Cervantes*). The departure from past literary precedent contains a social challenge that can be related to the writings of Spanish conquistadors. While a direct correlation between the accounts of the conquest and the picaresque does not exist, they are related through a similar use of narrative structure to subvert social hierarchy. As the *pícaros* manipulate their autobiographies to create new truths, they reveal information about themselves and the society in which they exist that can be classified as a form of realism.

This type of novel rejects prior modes of ideal literature in order to more accurately depict those cultural practices it wishes to criticize.

The picaresque narrators do not directly confront the hegemony that impedes their social mobility. Instead, they reappropriate discourse in a way that subverts the entire social order. Their struggle for significance represents broader social conflict between margins and centers taking place during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. *Pícaros* stand in for the various disenfranchised and marginalized classes seeking their own cultural values in the face of an evolving global community. Similar tensions exist in prior works, but the picaresque is the first to embody the liminal characters as the primary protagonists within a new literary form. The influence of this clash between margins and centers becomes an important element of early modern novels and dictates the way European narrative develops. Cervantes continues this theme through the relationship of his primary protagonists, and the social discord that Don Quixote and Sancho Panza embody will be the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

STUDENT REBELLION: THE EDUCATION OF SANCHO PANZA

While early modern picaresque novels in Spain clearly have literary descendants around the globe, it is *Don Quixote* that is most widely recognized for its contribution to world literature. The narrative techniques established by Cervantes both re-created previous prose fiction and determined the course of development for the modern novel. The vast critical commentary on *Don Quixote* is a testament to and a natural result of its lasting impact. Yet the connections scholars have made between the tale of the mad Manchegan and the influence of imperial colonialism have been limited, because studies on this topic take for granted speculations regarding Cervantes's familiarity with the New World. A broader understanding of the Spanish conquest as an example of the contemporary concerns about social mobility, as discussed with regard to picaresque novels in Chapter 2, shows that Cervantes inscribes the process of hegemonic imposition and individual resistance within his text. In particular, Don Quixote's illiterate squire Sancho Panza serves as a prime example both of how early modern subjects sought to resist hegemony and how this larger cultural concern impacted the production of literature. As an unlearned peasant, Sancho begins his tenure without any knowledge of how to act as a squire, yet as he learns from his master he begins to reappropriate the discourse of chivalry to benefit his own aims of economic and social improvement. This process, which can be compared to forms of early modern humanist education, is better understood when placed within the historical frame of social change taking place in early

modern Spain, which came about, in part, as a result of the military and political

expansions into the Americas.

Renaissance humanism has been one of the most common focuses of historical

analysis in studying Cervantes and his contribution to world literature. Scholars have

assessed the similarities between *Don Quixote* and prominent humanists (most notably

Erasmus) to reveal Cervantes's cultural influences (see Américo Castro, Marcel

Bataillon, Alban K. Forcione, and Carroll Johnson, among others). In seeking such

connections, however, some critics have overlooked Cervantes's challenging of humanist

ideals. Specifically, few scholars have analyzed the more subtle ways in which Sancho

not only resists those aspects of his master's mission that lack material benefit, but also

how the squire comes to gain a form of control through a strategic imitation of the

chivalric discourse he has learned from his master. In doing so, Sancho becomes an

important player in developing the metafictional thrust of *Don Quixote*, one of the chief

elements contributing to Cervantes's overall renovation of prose fiction. A close reading

of the master/servant dynamic in *Don Quixote* reveals how early modern social conflicts

influenced the development of the novel as a genre. And an analysis of the conflict

between Sancho and Don Quixote within the context of historical conflict shows how

their relationship is more than a simple literary representation of class antagonisms. As

the squire gains control, he becomes a key element in the creation of the type of narrative

realism developed in *Don Quixote*, and the resulting contrast between the knight's

idealism and Sancho's realism is one of the fundamental aspects of the novel's

metafictional quality. But the squire also has a creative capacity and the ability to

manipulate those around him through a reappropration of chivalric discourse that has not

been adequately studied.

This chapter uses the context of early modern colonialism to explain the way in

which Cervantes inscribes class conflict and the subversion of hegemony within the Don

Quixote/Sancho Panza relationship and, accordingly, the way in which their interactions

affect the novel's structure. The writings of conquistadors reveal the extent to which early

modern forms of globalization affected class relations and created a physical and

metaphorical space for marginal groups to gain some form of cultural significance. The

picaresque novel takes from colonial documents the reappropriation of authoritative

discourse as a means of disrupting the hierarchical order as the protagonist seeks

redemption for his transgressions through narrative manipulations rather than true

penitence. While Cervantes's knight takes up arms in order to act out a literary fantasy

and restore an ancient, fictional chivalric order, his squire is motivated by the possibility

of material reward and social mobility. Like the conquistador and the *pícaro*, Sancho

believes in the possibility of a self-made man and he seems to trust that his actions will

justify his economic and social improvement, despite the strict hierarchy based on

bloodline succession. These historical and literary figures all exhibit a proto-capitalist

outlook and defy Renaissance hegemony by insisting that individual merit is measured by

deeds rather than lineage, but rather than directly rebelling against the prevailing social

order, they reappropriate various forms of discourse to subvert hegemony. Early modern

education provides an additional frame for understanding how Sancho strategically resists

Don Quixote's teachings, and the analysis of colonial documents provides the historical

context for understanding how Sancho reinterprets the ideals of knight errantry to gain social significance and suit his own economic interests.

One way in which *Don Quixote* focuses on social tensions is through its interrogation of the ambiguous space between truth and fiction that prose occupied during the early modern period as a form for both historical accounts and literary fictions. In "The True History of Early Modern Writing in Spanish," Mary Malcolm Gaylord compares Cervantes's preoccupation with the "truth-telling capacities of narrative" to the ways in which conquistadors' texts cast doubt upon the idea of historical veracity (215-16). The motif of reaffirming a text's validity, Gaylord notes, was common in the romances of chivalry, but also in the chronicles of conquest. She argues that narrative as a form was more closely associated with official historical accounts, and thus its use by conquistadors signaled their claim to the authority to alter the facts surrounding certain events, and its re-use in literature complicated the relationship between reality and fiction. For instance, Bernal Díaz del Castillo defies the authorized system of historiography in his *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*, by suggesting that his eyewitness account gives him a unique ability to rewrite the established history and that his text deserves greater credence than the official *relación* written by Francisco de Gómara.[41] This play on truth is taken up again in *Don Quixote* as an element of the text's metafictional nature, laying bare the devices of literary

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[41] The very recent study *Crónica de la eternidad* by Christian Duverger makes the bold claim that Bernal Díaz did not write *La historia verdadera*, instead affirming that it was Hernán Cortés who wrote the text. While the book is still not widely available in the United States, this argument does not change the analysis of Bernal Díaz here, given that Cortés can also be analyzed as a historical figure who was able to manipulate a historical narrative in order to justify his own ambitions (see Chapter 1 for a lengthier discussion of this matter).

convention causing the readers to focus on the act of writing and the novel's status as a text. Simultaneously, the novel questions the ways in which power structures create truth by authorizing certain texts and authors.

An analysis of the conquistadors' challenges that came through questioning the accuracy and authority of historical narrative is crucial to understanding how social conflict is inscribed in literary texts. An important attribute of early modern novels in Spain is that they reflect a cacophony of voices, refusing to establish a monolithic narrator upon which the reader can rely for the absolute truth. Both *Lazarillo de Tormes* and *Guzmán de Alfarache* reflect social struggle by presenting seemingly unified narrations that are fractured by a temporal distance and textual contradictions that cast doubt upon the reliability of each narrator. These fissures allow space for the *pícaros'* subversive reuse of discourse and reflect the key social conflicts presented in colonial texts. *Don Quixote*, in contrast, creates textual divisions through a multiplication of narrative voices. In his study of the novel, James Parr lists 11 distinct narrative voices.[42] His work not only shows the intricacies of Cervantes's novel, but also highlights the complicated internal divisions in the text: "It should become evident that we are not dealing with a simplistic recounting of events but with very complex and sophisticated

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[42] "The hierarchy of narrative voices and presences in *Don Quixote*, in approximate descending order of credibility, is as follows: 1) the extra-textual *historical author*, a presence; 2) the *inferred author*, whose presence derives from a synthesis of all the voices in and of the text—mimetic, diegetic, textual, and extra-fictional; 3) the *dramatized author* of the prologues; 4) the editor persona or *supernarrator*, who assumes obvious control in I, 8; 5) the *fictive historical author* encoded into the text by reference—a presence rather than a voice; 6) the *autonomous narrator* of "The Story of Ill-Advised Curiosity"; 7) the *archival historian* of the first eight chapters; 8) the intrusive *translator*; 9) the *reductio ad absurdum* of chroniclers, *Cide Hamete*, a presence rather than a voice; 10) the dramatized reader called *second author*, a transitional voice; 11) the *pen*, also a presence" (30-31).

narrative strategies that have disoriented and disconcerted professional readers for more than a few years" (5-6).[43] Parr goes on to affirm that the multiple levels of narration compete for authorial dominion, forming "a kind of mutual discrediting society, when they do not, as often happens, discredit themselves individually" (27). The resulting tension between conflicting narrators undermines authority in a subversive way, according to Parr, that can be related to the broader concerns about writing and communication during the early modern period.

Cervantes provides a social critique through his novel, but he does so by burying the message beneath several narrative layers. Form and content are fused in a way that disguises potentially subversive messages and reinvents the novel as a literary genre. Similarly, the conquest of the Americas provided the physical and rhetorical space whereby challenges could be raised to the established hegemonic order through the redefinition of historiography. The countless number of writers who lacked formal authorization and training as historians challenged the prevailing thoughts about historical authority and provided their own perspectives as eyewitnesses to the Spanish experience in the New World. Nevertheless, the connection being established here between colonial texts and *Don Quixote* is not simply about the presence of multiple

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[43] While citing eleven distinct voices in the narrative of *Don Quixote* may seem extreme, Parr refutes claims that greatly reduce that number, noting that it would diminish the artistic complexity of the novel itself: "Howard Mancing considers that the shadowy figure mentioned by Haley is Cervantes himself and he goes on to maintain that only three voices are perceptible within the text: Cervantes, Cide Hamete, and the Morisco translator. One may as well dispense with the latter two and state the bald fact that only the voice of Miguel de Cervantes is perceptible, for surely no one is deceived into thinking that any of the marionettes do more than mouth lines assigned them by their manipulator. But surely such a reductive view misses a major point, while also taking a step backward in approaching the complexity of Cervantes's narrative technique, thereby diminishing his achievement as a subtle and elusive artist" (30).

voices. It is about understanding how words are used by marginalized figures to fashion

new perspectives on reality. In the novel, the knight undertakes a mission inspired by the

fictional world of ideal literature, yet Cervantes places his protagonists amidst the rigors

of a more mundane social atmosphere. As Don Quixote carries on with his journey,

misapplying the lessons he learned from his books to a world unprepared for his text-

based madness, the resulting metafiction allows the reader a glimpse into the disjuncture

between literature and the daily life of early modern Spain.

While there is no evidence that definitively establishes the extent to which

Cervantes recognized the connection between his work and the Americas, he lived in a

society which was undoubtedly being reshaped as a result of imperial expansion in the

New World. Héctor Brioso Santos has voiced a common concern about the scholarship

which analyzes the American influence in Cervantes's work, using vitriolic irony to

accuse these authors of distorting historical fact in order to "*corregir* la *injusticia*

histórica de que uno de los autores más leídos del mundo no sea americano, ni del norte

ni del sur" ("Escuela" 123). His assault borders on the verge of a diatribe of a very

personal nature, insinuating that reading the American influence within *Don Quixote*

depends on an irresponsible lack of concern for the previous bibliography that, in Brioso

Santos's opinion, has already traced the most salient aspects of Cervantes's thought

decades earlier.[44] Citing Harold Bloom's denunciation of the "school of resentment" in

The Western Canon, Brioso Santos bemoans new advances in literary criticism that may

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[44] Here he mentions Marcel Bataillon, Antonio Vilanova, Leo Spitzer, Amado Alonso, José Antonio Maravall, Edward C. Riley, Francisco Márquez Villanueva, Manuel Fernández, and Anthony Close as the "[g]randes cervantistas" who have provided depth of scholarship into the scholarly mind of Cervantes, yet never feel the need to investigate his connection to the Americas ("Escuela" 120-21). See also Brioso Santos's *América en la prosa literaria española de los siglos XVI y XVII*.

threaten the scholarship of years past: "una cosa es hacer imaginariamente la revolución y otra destruir el *canon*, el *currículum* —en el *spanglish* de los pedagogos actuales— o la cultura occidental, que es siempre la víctima propiciatoria de todos los necios" ("Escuela" 125). He shuns any attempts to move beyond the more established scholarly approaches, and attacks the type of postmodern theoretical approximations that have motivated a new form of textual analysis.[45]

Oddly enough, many of the critics Brioso Santos refers to as "grandes cervantistas," have also been attacked for speculating with regard to the their analysis of the presence of Erasmian thought in Cervantes's works, beginning with Américo Castro's influential study *El pensamiento de Cervantes*. Francisco Márquez Villanueva marks Castro's work as a turning point in Cervantes studies, one that opened the path for contemporary analysis of Cervantes as an author seriously engaged with the intellectual debates of his time (123). Later, in *Erasmo y España*, Marcel Bataillon follows suit by affirming that "las tendencias literarias de Cervantes son las de un ingenio formado por el humanismo erasmizante" (43). To the extent that such scholarship became more prevalent, it was also criticized for its speculation about the books that Cervantes may or

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[45] Brioso Santos argues that when scholars such as Gaylord and Diana de Armas Wilson describe Cervantes as a type of cultural ambassador connecting the American and Spanish cultural experiences, this work "niega o mitiga las atrocidades cometidas por los españoles, la imposición del castellano a los indígenas, las iniquidades del colonialismo y los abusos del neocolonialismo actual, entre otras lindezas. Se trata de una suerte de diplomacia *amateur*, pero diplomacia al cabo y, por lo mismo, nada inocente" ("Escuela" 142). This attack, like many of Brioso Santos's, overstates the issue and, in a way that furthers his accusatorial tone and misses the point. When scholars such as Gaylord and Wilson refers to Cervantes's diplomatic nature, they are trying to move his literary thought away from colonialism, not as a means of excusing atrocities, but rather in order to refute claims that early modern Spanish culture unquestionably promoted the imperialist agenda of the Spanish Crown. They would place Cervantes, as I believe one can assume that most *cervantistas* would, among the leading intellectuals of his time who challenged various forms of social injustices.

may not have consulted when writing his opus.[46] Nevertheless, the scholarship continues

to yield benefits in the form of a greater understanding of Cervantes by taking for granted

the fact that humanist thought permeated the cultural structures of early modern Spain,

regardless of whether or not a particular author had any direct connection to those

teaching. In *Cervantes and the Humanist Vision*, Alban K. Forcione argues that

Cervantes was undoubtedly shaped by the prevailing humanist ideologies of his time:

"When the Erasmian vision informed his writings, Cervantes probably had no need for a

specific text to borrow from or to imitate. The vision had grown with him, and it was

authentically his own, transfigured by his own integrity, unique in its own right and

productive in its own distinctive way" (19). The lack of tangible evidence regarding

Cervantes's own familiarity with the particulars of humanist thought should not prevent

scholars from investigating how one of the most influential writers of early modern Spain

incorporated the scholarship of the European Renaissance within his work. At the very

least, Cervantes had a tacit understanding of the dominant philosophical opinions of his

time, and *Don Quixote* exhibits the work of an author who was well aware of the

prevailing socio-political debates of the period. And the ways in which Don Quixote and

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[46] Surprisingly, the most powerful critic of such scholarship turned out to be Castro himself, who renounced his prior work, in part because he recognized his tendency to project his own cultural and social sensibilities onto early modern humanism. Alban K. Forcione notes that Castro's work was based primarily on the historical interpretation of European humanism done by Jacob Burckhardt, which tended to present an "excessively secularized conception of the European Renaissance" (10). Such a viewpoint made it appealing for authors to attribute ideas of "unbounded individualism, audacious free inquiry, subversive ethical naturalism, heroic hypocrisy, and exhilarating liberation from confining religious traditions" to the humanist thinkers, and by extension, to Cervantes (Forcione 10). Partly as a result of the political and personal turmoil in Castro's life, he came to see the speculative nature of his work and the ways in which he was projecting his own ideology upon Cervantes. He came to vehemently oppose his own contributions in this field and that of any others who followed in his path.

Sancho maintain conflicting outlooks regarding knight errantry is better understood in the context of social resistance illustrated by colonial texts.

The early disputes that arise between the knight and his squire are caused primarily by Sancho's self-acknowledged lack of familiarity concerning books of chivalry, and are exacerbated by his insistence that knight errantry yield a material reward. The difference between how Don Quixote views his own mission and the economic aims of Sancho Panza is crucial to understanding the underlying disparity between the two characters. Don Quixote seeks to impart his knowledge upon his working-class neighbor, but the squire's mind is not a clean slate. Sancho reinterprets the new fantasy world of chivalric romance within his preconceived notions of the world and the changing Spanish economy. Rather than passively accepting what his master says, Sancho reinterprets the books to fit within his own worldview, often subverting the knight's aims and the concepts of chivalry. Sancho is not only a squire, he is a student, whose only access to understanding his duties is the vast knowledge of knight errantry possessed by Don Quixote, who serves as both master and teacher.

Using the conquest of the Americas as a frame for social contentions is key, given that many of the works that have focused on Cervantes's approach to humanist education tend to represent his literature as a mere reflection, rather than as a critical reaction to humanist thought. In *Continental Humanist Poetics*, Arthur Kinney dedicates a lengthy chapter to *Don Quixote*, and he provides ample evidence to show that Cervantes draws on the idea of *imitatio* present in the European education of the Renaissance. Don Quixote, he notes, is able to imitate the sources in his books, but in a way that prevents him from understanding his own immediate social surrounding. As evidence, Kinney points to the

contrast between the knight's erudite ability to draw on Hesiod's description of the

Golden Age of antiquity and his dependency on Greek mythology, rather than his own

experience, to describe his cultural surroundings as an iron age: "his description of his

own time—which he should know far better, know at *first* hand—is unrealistic, even

approaching the fantastic" (248). The knight looks to his chivalric romances and other

textual sources as examples to imitate, but, ironically, his book-knowledge, which at

times allows him to speak so eloquently, also prevents him from relating to the world

around him. Kinney looks to Erasmus's *The Praise of Folly* (*Moriae Enconium*), a

tongue-in-cheek work which mimics scholars, even Erasmus himself, as the source from

which Cervantes draws as he develops his knight (250). He goes on to note many other

classical and early modern sources that *Don Quixote* mirrors, including Herodotus,

Seneca, François Rabelais, and Jerónimo de Mondrangó, to name a few (250-51).

While Kinney provides an exhaustive list of examples and textual references to

connect Cervantes with the humanist tradition of the Renaissance, his analysis is not

unproblematic. Moving beyond the typical criticism of speculation, Kinney also fails to

provide a full analysis of how *Don Quixote* interrogates early modern humanism. That is

to say, that Kinney is more concerned with finding similarities than differences. He

assumes that Cervantes's skepticism is a natural reflection of the dominant thinking of his

period and does not assess how the re-creation of narrative in *Don Quixote* challenges

humanist thought just as it confronts literary conventions. Furthermore, the argument

suffers from a conflation of Cervantes, Don Quixote, and *Don Quixote*, as author,

character, and novel are subsumed into a single, identifiable whole that can be analyzed

and compared to the writings of early modern Christian humanists.

A similar issue arises in Kinney's treatment of the Sancho/Quixote relationship, which projects a harmony of thought onto the oppositional duo. In studying Cervantes's approach to *imitatio* as a form of learning, his differentiation between Don Quixote's imitation of novels to advance his chivalric mission and the squire's acceptance of his role as a means of obtaining an economic benefit is deemphasized as Sancho is portrayed as a true believer of his master's magnanimous goals:

> The Don's deliberate yoking together of precept and experience is reduplicated by the increasingly faithful Sancho Panza […]. Whereas greed first motivates Sancho to follow his mad master in Book I, his desire to govern a realm, to advance his family, slowly translates his initial skepticism into the possibility—he becomes insistent about this—of governing his own land. With him too what is conceived can be realized and, inversely, illusion can become delusion. By [Part] 2, the double act of imitation is his, for he imitates Don Quijote's imitation of knights-errant not only in his pursuit of adventures but in his transformation of Aldonza Lorenzo into Dulcinea—his own act of enchantment—and increasingly in his speech: in his defense of the Don (2.33), in his statement of the chivalric mission (2.49), and in his use of archaic language (2.72). He is the last in Cervantes' work to cite chivalric romances positively (2.74) and the one who, in the end, attempts to urge the Don to return to a fourth sally as shepherd-errant (2.74). (239)

Despite their original contrasts, as Sancho learns his role, Kinney seems to be arguing that the squire is beginning to accept, without issue, his master's ideological vision. It is

undoubtedly obvious that Sancho does begin to acquire the mannerisms of his master and adopts Don Quixote's idealistic vision of knight errantry. Nevertheless, the consistent verbal and physical abuse of Sancho by his master is proof that, despite their mutual influence, Don Quixote and his squire maintain deeply oppositional viewpoints, which they have difficulty resolving as they develop disparate interpretations of their chivalric mission. Sancho's acceptance of his role is constantly negotiated, whether it is with regard to his monetary compensation, or the adventures on which the two will embark.

The study of the interactions between Sancho and his master in relation to early modern humanism generally uses Cervantes's portrayal of the pair as a means of identifying the texts that informed the creation of *Don Quixote*. Rather than use humanism of the Renaissance as a frame in which to situate the novel, critics often scour the text for examples that will support the, admittedly unprovable, theories about the specific sources of the broader intellectual tradition from which Cervantes drew. Such an approach leads Antonio Vilanova to examine the duo in a very different way from that of Kinney by emphasizing their inherent opposition:

> […] por decirlo en términos rigurosamente erasmianos, Sancho es la personificación de los intereses exclusivamente terrenales del hombre mundano, frente a las preocupaciones puramente espirituales del hombre cristiano, cuyo absoluto desasimiento de las pasiones humanas, de las apetencias sensuales más legítimas, y hasta de las más imperiosas necesidades físicas, Erasmo ha identificado en los últimos capítulos de la *Moria* [*In Praise of Folly*] como una especie de locura propia de los espíritus genuinamente religiosos. (48)

Although he does not deny Cervantes's creative contribution to the Erasmian dichotomy, and admits that the opposition is not entirely exclusive in the case of Don Quixote and Sancho, Vilanova's work nonetheless does not move beyond the typical desire to find closer ties between *Don Quixote* and Erasmus. The relationship between Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, however, is more complicated than the simplified contrast presented by Erasmus. Cervantes does not passively reflect the ideology of his time, he reacts to it, with his own particular interpretation of how humanist theory fairs when confronted with fictional characters such as Sancho who mimetically represent the "real" world.

By inscribing the knight within early modern Spanish society, Cervantes's parody of chivalric romance gains new socio-cultural meaning from the political environment of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In *Cervantes and the Material World*, Carroll Johnson clearly points out the economic circumstances that condition the way Sancho learns his role as squire. Johnson describes, with great detail, how Sancho and Don Quixote are set in an era of competing economic ideologies—a time in which the established feudalistic order was being threatened by the competition of the nascent capitalism of the merchant class (*Cervantes* 23).[47] Sancho and other peasants were caught between working without real economic gain for the land-owning nobility and the wage labor of the merchant capitalist classes, and Johnson gives some examples to show how Sancho is partial to capitalism with its promise of economic wealth (*Cervantes* 25-26). This predilection for capitalism leads Sancho to internalize his master's chivalric code

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[47] See also B. W. Ife, who also sees the contrast of capitalism and feudalism in *Don Quijote*: "*Don Quijote*, is not only profoundly steeped in the social and economic reality of Hapsburg Spain, but has anachronism as its central theme. So we have two leaps of the historical imagination to make if we want to place Cervantes in context: back to the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries … and then beyond to that to the late medieval world of knight errantry" (11).

differently than how it is taught to him. Sancho's concept of chivalry is tainted by the economic situation that has made his life so unbearable that he is willing to follow a crazy fifty-something-year-old man with rusty armor into the dry Spanish plains in search of an island to govern. In many cases, Sancho is able to reconcile his economic goals with Don Quixote's chivalric aims, but his relation of signifiers to his own interpretation of knight errantry often comes into conflict with Don Quixote's, as Johnson points out in his analysis of the issue of Sancho's salary. Or as David R. Castillo puts it, the duo's main conflict is "el problema estructural que supone el choque entre los principios feudales de vasallaje y servicio y el principio moderno del trabajo remunerado" (173). Even more important, however, is to note the tension that arises as Sancho and Don Quixote each relate the figure of Dulcinea to their disparate objectives.

While the relationship of Don Quixote and his squire can, by no means, be said to intentionally mimic the tensions of New World conquest, it does reflect the prominent issues of the period in which social hierarchies were being questioned as marginal classes began to carve out space in which their own voices could be heard. The power dynamic of the Quixote/Sancho relationship is based on the literary precedent of chivalric romances (see Urbina), but the way in which Sancho challenges his master, especially through the reappropriation of the literary discourse used by the knight, reflects the broader social changes of the early modern period typified by the discord apparent in colonial texts, but certainly prevalent in other arenas. In *Don Quixote*, humanism is not exhibited simply in the way the knight acts, but also through his direct instruction of his squire. This transfer of knowledge is an important aspect of the novel, since Sancho's personal motivations for following the knight interfere with what is being taught.

Although Don Quixote has promised material reward, Sancho is aware that he must guide their journey toward the more profitable ventures, and he quickly learns that reappropriating the discourse of chivalry allows him to gain some control in this area.

Reassessing the Sancho/Quixote relationship within the context of a student/teacher dynamic provides a new frame for understanding the type of social resistance that is exhibited by the squire. Analyses of the connection between humanist education and the development of literature are common in early modern English studies, yet somewhat absent among the work of Hispanists. Matthew Wyszynski has shown a commonly overlooked connection between Renaissance education and the humor in *Don Quixote* by analyzing the *Progymnasmata*, popular rhetorical exercises used as a teaching tool throughout Europe. He shows that much of the humorous banter between Don Quixote and Sancho Panza is based on a common familiarity with the *Progymnasmata* among educated readers. Wyszynski explains that while this educational text has been widely studied in relation to English literature, its use in relation to Hispanic studies has been limited. There seems to be no justification for the divide between the ways in which scholars of English literature and scholars of Spanish literature approach the connection between the art of fiction and early modern learning. All authors would have passed, at one time or another, through the educational system of the Renaissance, and despite the political and religious differences, pedagogical practices in Spain were similar to those elsewhere in the continent. The same thinkers who had an impact in England were also present in Spanish society, including the important contributions of the Spaniard Juan Luis Vives. Scholars who study English literature provide theoretical models that can be applied to the study of Spanish texts. Their approaches reconsider the influence that early

modern education had upon the most prominent authors of the period, and analyze how the aims and failures of pedagogy are present within their works.[48] Although Hispanists have thoroughly investigated sources of humanist philosophy that influenced Cervantes, they have not sufficiently sought to understand how *Don Quixote* criticizes and problematizes such thought. In studying Sancho, scholars have analyzed how his relationship to Don Quioxte represents the teacher/student paradigm of Renaissance education, but they have not studied how the squire represents a broader struggle for social significance by subverting his master's teaching through reinterpretation.

A shift in focus from previous criticism concerning Cervantes's connection with Erasmus toward a more complete understanding of early modern humanism and its social implications can lead to a new approach. The theoretical framework established by scholars of English literature has been heavily influenced by the field of cultural studies, which is particularly interested in the connection between education and hegemony. Jesús Martín Barbero summarizes how cultural theorists have approached the social aims of humanist education and its relationship to propagating dominant ideologies.[49] He notes that in addition to treating students as "empty vessels," educators also aimed to rid their pupils of the vices instilled in them by their parents: "These are not mere utopian diatribes against the school, but an indication of the beginning of the diffusion of a sense of shame among the popular classes regarding their cultural world. This attitude will end up being a sense of guilt and depreciation of themselves in the degree that they feel

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[48] For a lengthier comparison of early modern education in Spain and England, see my "Higher Education: Pedagogy and Obedient Subversion in Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* and Lope de Vega's *La dama boba*."

[49] For another way in which cultural studies has approached education, see Richard Hoggart's *Working with the Past*.

irremediably trapped by this 'lack' of culture" (*Communication* 91). In this regard, early

modern Spanish education is comparable to that of other European countries. In

following with the humanist tradition, Spaniards used a curriculum typical of the rest of

the continent to instruct young boys. Primary education, including reading and writing in

the vernacular, was primarily done in the home at an early age, although, as Richard

Kagan notes, there is little historical documentation regarding exactly what happened

inside the home, and what can be gathered primarily involves only the most elite social

classes (5-6). Grammar schools from the period, however, provide much more evidence,

since they were the most prominent form of adolescent institutional instruction during the

period. While private tutors were still the preferred, ideal form of education, grammar

schools gained prominence as a means of educating those families without the means to

pay a teacher. Kagan explains that in Spain, as in other parts of Europe, "[…] Latin

grammar was the key subject […]. Reading was largely confined to Latin literature, and

the authors who were read are common to generations of schoolboys: Caesar, Cicero,

Horace, Livy, Virgil, et al. Instruction also included Christian doctrine as well as

geography, history, mathematics, philosophy, and rhetoric, although here too, classical

sources were preferred" (31). Learning Latin carried some negative connotations, as it

was associated both with forms of more secular learning (i.e., classical texts in Latin as

well as Greek and even Arabic) and the type of clerical work common to the merchant

class. Latin was thus somewhat shunned by the aristocratic elite, yet the introduction of

renaissance thought in the fifteenth century combined with the increased presence of the

bourgeoisie offspring in grammar schools perpetuated the prominence of Latin (Kagan

33).

This tension surrounding the curriculum exemplifies how the grammar school can be viewed as a locus of social conflict, since its growth included the increased education of the middle classes. As the popularity of grammar school education expanded, government officials grew increasingly anxious about the demographics of the student population. The rise of merchant classes in regard to economic power allowed them to send their children to gain classical training, in part as a means of increasing social honor. Kagan quotes the Spanish humanist Pedro de Valencia, however, who stated in 1608, that Latin-based education failed to give the practical training necessary for tradesman.[50] Such an attack can be more accurately understood as a veiled attempt to deny formal education to the masses: "On the surface, this unprecedented campaign against Latin schooling was a straight-forward effort to redirect the aims of early education. But it also entailed what could be called an 'aristocratic reaction,' an attempt on the part of the nobility and those who aped noble status to protect the interests, jobs, and even the unique culture of the social elite" (Kagan 44). Education afforded the economically empowered bourgeoisie with a way to increase the prominence of their family, thus subverting the dominant hegemony based on blood-line succession: "During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the spread of Latin education had allowed many commoners access to important positions in government and the church; in other words Latin had served, directly and indirectly, as an agency for upward social mobility" (Kagan 44).

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[50] "Nowadays every farmer, trader, cobbler, blacksmith and plasterer, each of whom love their sons with indiscreet affection, wish to remove them from work and seek for them a more glamorous career. Toward this end, they put them to study. And being students, they learn little but they become delicate and presumptuous. Consequently, they remain without a trade or are made into sacristances of scribes" (qtd. in Kagan 43-44).

The problematic nature (in a socio-economic sense) of early modern education

has been studied in relation to English literature, but within very limited cases in the

context of Hispanic texts. Wyszynski laments that fact that Hispanists have failed to

study, in any detail, the way in which Cervantes interrogates these humanist ideologies in

his novel, noting that English critics have been far less reluctant to see how renaissance

education affected early modern literature (179).[51] Such scholars have not only looked at

humanist texts in order to discover the possible influences in the works they study, but

have shown a larger interest in the way that authors such as Shakespeare used literature to

underscore the problems inherent in early modern educational practices. Richard Halpern

is especially interested in understanding the way that texts in classical languages were

used as linguistic models despite the potentially subversive nature of their content. Both

Erasmus and Vives, he notes, sought to use imitation of style as a form of education, one

which encouraged students to replicate the type of language to which they were exposed

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[51] Early modern pedagogy in England was very similar to that of Spain, especially with
regard to the social conflicts it engendered. Despite religious and political differences
separating the two countries, the leading educators subscribed to the same forms of
pedagogy, including an emphasis on Latin-based instruction for young boys. Richard
Halpern specifically points to the grammar school, above any other institution of
education, as a key site of ideological interpellation during the early modern period, but
also an important locus of social resistance. His book *The Poetics of Primitive
Accumulation*, analyzes pedagogical practices not only to document their historical
evolution, but also to analyze their socio-political implications. The methods used by
teachers to instruct and discipline students reveal some of the ways in which secular
power began to enact a type of epistemological violence so that young schoolboys would
conform to predefined humanist ideals. In part an opposition to the growing influence of
the merchant class, British humanist education of the Renaissance also emphasized the
importance of teaching Latin and, to a lesser extent, Greek. Although in England
members of the nascent bourgeoisie were the primary financial supporters of these
schools, classical texts were taught at the expense of developing the more practical skills
for merchants such as math and English literacy.

without necessarily reiterating the same content: "Mimetic assimilation was fundamental to all of humanist pedagogy. Histories and epic poetry were read for imitable *exempla*. The colloquies of Erasmus and dialogues of Vives were already proto-dramatic, and thus led naturally enough to the acting out of plays by Terence in the more prestigious academies such as St. Paul's school. Social rules, cultural *decora*, and literary style were all assimilable through imaginary identification and internalization" (33). He goes on to quote Erasmus, who stated, "For it is not by learning rules that we acquire the power of speaking a language, but by daily intercourse with those accustomed to express themselves with exactness and refinement, and by the copious reading of the best authors" (42). Such a pedagogical approach placed far greater emphasis on the role of literary form than content. Thus, as Halpern notes, Latin poetry could be used simply as a tool for learning metric versification as part of the larger project of fulfilling a humanist ideal, but only if students ignored the content: "[…] poetry posed special problems. Among these was the sense that the content or subject matter of Latin verse was often unwholesome for young boys" (46). Classical texts may have provided an ideal linguistic model, but they also dealt with complicated subjects such as gender and sexuality, that exceeded the aims of humanist pedagogues.[52]

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[52] The inevitable impact of such content upon schoolboys contributed to the often-subversive nature of early modern literature in England. Lynn Enterline has combined a study of the material practices of grammar school education with an analysis of canonical literary texts in a way that reveals the connection between humanist education's attempts to promote social reproduction and how students subverted such efforts. Specifically, she analyzes how schoolboys who were forced to imitate the characters of classical texts often found the more subversive elements in those poems, especially with regard to issues of gender performance: "Other school texts suggest, however, that learning to impersonate the role of a Latin-speaking *puer* could take unexpected turns. In 1565, an 11-year-old student at Winchester school, William Badger, wrote a poem entitled 'Sylvia loquitur.' In it, he speaks in the voice of a 'trembling' and 'terrified' Sylvia and calls his

While in both Spain and England corporal punishment was theoretically

discouraged, its use was common and often severe. Caning was the preferred form of

punishment, an act which, as Alan Stewart notes, was often associated with accusations

of sodomy on the part of the schoolmaster. Despite reservations by some humanists,

beatings were a regular part of education, something both Lynn Enterline and Halpern

affirm served as a ritualistic and even theatrical act in which headmasters and teachers

asserted their dominance, and thereby reproduced the social hegemony which renaissance

pedagogues sought to engender in their pupils. Physical violence, especially in relation to

schoolboys' hindquarters, was an important part of the theatricality of grammar school

education, which not only encouraged the imitation of texts but also the reproduction of

hegemonic practices with the constant threat of corporal punishment for those who failed

to conform.

Readers of *Don Quixote* will quickly recognize the relationship between learning

and violence that is a hallmark of the Sancho/Quixote relationship. The constant threat of

brutality facing Sancho for his failures to accurately portray the various squires who

populate the books he cannot read mirrors, to a degree, what early modern schoolboys

faced in grammar schools. This violence, however, can often be overlooked by those

studying Cervantes's portrayal of the master/servant dynamic. Salvador de Madariaga's

schoolmates an 'unhappy throng of boy-girls' whose complaints rise to the stars"
("Theatricality" 184). Enterline sees a similar reworking of the imitation of the female
voice in Shakespeare, specifically his remake of a story from Ovid's *Metamorphosis* in
Venus and Adonis. Her reading of Shakespeare draws on psychoanalysis to tie this
fascination with ventriloquized female voices (especially as it is later used in the male-
only stage of early modern England) to the physical acts of violence carried out as
punishment for boys who failed to properly imitate texts in the grammar schools. See also
Enterline's *Shakespeare's Schoolroom*.

concepts of Sanchification and Quixotification, as well as Kinney's conflation of knight

and squire fail to account for the physical tensions present very early on in the duo's

relationship. The potential for violence is only exacerbated in Part 2 by the Duke and

Duchess's involvement in Sancho's enchantment of Dulcinea and the supposed means by

which she can be released from the spell. Not only does physical brutality come to define

the knight/squire relation, it ultimately serves as one of the key motivating factors for the

novel's plot and its renovation of fictional prose through the development of narrative

realism.

While it is reasonable to assume that such violence is a natural manifestation of

the power hierarchy of any master and servant, in the case of Don Quixote and Sancho,

the castigation exceeds the bounds of such a dynamic. Don Quixote's correction of

Sancho can be more accurately correlated with the type of corporal punishments doled

out to schoolboys. The knight's beatings have a didactic purpose and are often associated

with Sancho's failures to conform to the squires of the books of chivalry, which Sancho

notes when he excuses Don Quixote's heavy-handed corrections with the phrase "ése te

quiere bien, que te hace llorar" (I, 20, 148). The phrase clearly marks the Sancho/Quixote

relationship as one in which correction is seen as a form of love and as part of a larger

desire to improve the squire as a person as well as an imitation of a character of the

chivalric romance.[53] Even Sancho can see that his master is not beating him out of anger,

but out of a sense of responsibility for the squire's well being. Sancho goes further,

noting that Don Quixote's reprimands are more severe than the typical harsh words a

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[53] One might also cite the example of Andrés, whom Don Quixote liberated prior to the recruitment of Sancho, for an example of the knight's sensitivity to the unjust beating of servants.

master reserves for a servant, and correlates this to the possibility for a greater economic reward as a result of his master's abuse: "suelen los principales señores, que tras una mala palabra que dicen a un criado, darle luego unas calzas, aunque no sé lo que le suelen dar tras haberle dado de palos, si ya no es que los caballeros andantes dan, tras palos, ínsulas o reinos en tierra firme" (I, 20, 148).

Using Don Quixote's apparent love to excuse his mistreatment of Sancho also alludes to issues of domestic violence. Adding a sexualized nature to Cervantes's portrayal of the master/servant dynamic approximates the nature of humanist schoolroom, which was often closely associated with charges of sodomy. Both Carroll Johnson (*Madness*) and Louis Combet have studied the homo-erotic tensions in *Don Quixote*, but placing it within the context of early modern education reveals how Cervantes depicts class conflict by focusing his narrative on Sancho's struggle to find his own significance within the ideology his master espouses. While elsewhere Sancho shows his disproval for his master's retributions, the villager also reveals here that he is keenly aware of Don Quixote's intentions to train a new squire as well as the stakes involved in the larger fight against hegemony.

An understanding of how the student/teacher dynamic functions for Don Quixote and Sancho must be preceded by a discussion of the curriculum the knight uses. His focus on the chivalric romance as the primary text is similar to the pedagogical focus in Spain, in that it included a component of armed conflict. Unlike humanist education of other European countries, the Spanish military mindset bore considerable weight on the way that pedagogues designed their institutions. Following the so-called "reconquest," Fernando and Isabel emphasized the importance of including elements of military

training in formal education. Such an ideology is vividly represented in Don Quixote's famous discourse on *armas y letras*, in which he expounds on a duality that was of chief concern to early modern Spaniards. Don Quixote begins his monologue in an inn, which he calls a castle, speaking to a group of people who have all conspired to lead him to believe that he is escorting the Princess Micomicona back to retake her kingdom. His words are meant to explain to those around him the importance of knight errantry. It should be remembered that although Don Quixote is considered mad for believing he is a knight, his consistent claim that his mission is to "resurrect" the profession is evidence that he is aware of his own anachronistic nature, and thus he is always ready to describe his mission to those he meets.

Don Quixote's speech about arms and letters is an important demonstration of his own abilities to use humanist rhetoric successfully as well as an indication of the type of lessons he is seeking to teach his squire. Wyszynski explains some of the ways that this discourse reveals the conventions of humanist rhetoric, yet he concludes that the speech provokes pity among the listeners and that readers of the early modern period would have found it to be humorous (184-87). Such feelings, however, do not derive from Don Quixote's inability to properly construct a speech, but rather, if there is any humor at all, it is a result of the incongruity of such wisdom proceeding forth from the madman. And although the knight's previous display of erudition in his account of the Greek Golden Age was humorously lost on the rustic shepherds, his discussion of arms and letters is more appropriately suited for his audience, which was made up of several noblemen who, the narrator notes, were predisposed to agreeing with Don Quixote on the matter.

Furthermore, the opening lines of his speech make use of double meaning to inflect metafiction in a way which surely must have sparked the attention of his listeners and should be carefully considered by readers: "Si no, ¿cuál de los vivientes habrá en el mundo ahora por la puerta deste castillo entrara, y de la suerte que estamos nos viere, que juzgue y crea que nosotros somos quien somos? ¿Quién podrá decir que esta señora que está a mi lado es la gran reina que todos sabemos, y que yo soy aquel caballero de la Triste Figura que anda por ahí en boca de la fama?" (I, 37, 311). The answer to this question is, of course, that no one could possibly enter the inn and believe that they were seeing a knight and royal princess. But by making this point, Don Quixote effectively juxtaposes the absurdity that others see in the way he is acting with the metadrama they themselves have participated in creating. In a sort of metatheatrical showdown, Don Quixote seems to be daring the others to blink, indicating to the reader that the knight is more aware of his surroundings than his companions think. And after his speech, his words are so convincing, that even though he begins speaking in the same chapter in which he was found mistaking wineskins for decapitated giants, all those listening eventually reaffirm his sanity: "De tal manera y por tan buenos términos iba prosiguiendo en su plática don Quijote, que obligó a que por entonces ninguno de los que escuchándole estaban le tuviese por loco. Antes, como todos los más eran caballeros, a quien son anejas las armas, le escuchaban de muy buena gana" (I, 37, 312).

Yet the entire monlogue illustrates one of the unique aspects of Spanish humanist education, in that it promoted both scholarly and military pursuits. Any discussion of education must consider the social prevelance of the Spanish armed forces during the period, the primary objective of which was to expand imperial dominion around the

world, including on the American continent. And the contentions present among the various factions vying for power in the New World have important correlations with the ways in which educational practices entailed both the reaffirmation of and resistance to the established social order. Sancho's own interpretation of this learning is problematized by his focus on economic interests. Situating the novel within the framework of early modern education reveals the ways in which Sancho is able to subvert his master's teachings through a strategic imitation of knight errantry, one which mirrors the social conflict brought about by soldiers in the New World who equated faithful military service with social mobility.

The socio-economic factors contributing to the evolving relationship between *Don Quixote* and Sancho Panza impact the novel and determine its innovative structure. Cervantes is dealing with issues that are both culturally sensitive, given the strict censorship of the time, and clearly unprecedented. The author's fresh perspective on the matter necessitated a new literary form. In studying the way that reality is represented throughout Western literature, Erich Auerbach focuses on the enchantment of Dulcinea in Part 2, including Sancho's role in devising the scheme and Don Quixote's reaction to the supposed transformation of his lady. Auerbach underscores the importance that Dulcinea's enchantment has on the development of narrative realism. While he is correct to note that Sancho's involvement is crucial to the episode, his analysis of the squire is far too limited. Sancho's ability to deceive Don Quixote in Part 2 to conceal the failure to deliver a message to Dulcinea in Part 1 is not the first instance of his ability to use creativity to manipulate his master. Earlier in their mission, Sancho uses his imagination to distract his master during the episode of the fulling mills. While Sancho has previously

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sought to dissuade his master from entering into danger, this moment marks the first instance in which the squire resorts to deception. The scene takes on greater importance when framed within the context of early modern educational practices. Sancho, who admits that his illiteracy has kept him ignorant of the world of knight errantry, shows that he, and not just his master, has the ability to create illusions. The squire is not content with simply playing the role assigned to him, his self-interest motivates him to take on a metadramatic role, negotiating the world of knight errantry, bending it to conform to his interpretation, and his actions contribute to the overall metafictional nature of the text.

In the darkness of night, when the sound of the fulling mills represents some unknown danger, Sancho uses two forms of trickery to keep Don Quixote's enthusiasm for adventure at bay. First, he hobbles Rocinante to prevent the horse and rider from moving, for the first time appropriating his master's reference to unknown sorcerers to explain the situation. Not only has Sancho learned the language of knight errantry, he has learned to use it to his advantage in a way that will evolve as the novel continues. And perhaps more telling, Sancho also creates the story of Lope Ruiz in order to further distract his master, which adds another level of metaliterary commentary to the novel. In many ways, Sancho's tale reflects the novel itself, complete with prologue, a vague opening setting in "un lugar de Estremadura," and references to imagined sources (I, 20, 142-43). Before getting to the plot, Sancho rattles off a few colloquial refrains in his typical manner, this time citing Catón Zonzorino, a mispronounced reference to Catón Censorino "the first important Roman writer" and a play on the word Zonzorino meaning "stupid rogue" (Cervantes, 142n21). The citation is a humorous display of the advice that a fictional Cervantes receives from a friend to simply add references to unknowable

sources as a way of displaying false erudition (I, 9). As the story continues, however, one

gets the sensation that Sancho's role is more inventive than he lets on. Although he

references the tale as something he had heard from another, he seems to suggest a more

personal connection to the protagonist, one that Don Quixote notices and questions. In his

response, Sancho once again defers to an external authority in a way that draws his

narrative closer to that of the novel in which it is found: "No la conocí yo […] pero quien

me contó este cuento me dijo que era tan cierto y verdadero, que podía bien, cuando lo

contase a otro, afirmar y jurar que lo había visto todo" (I, 20, 143). The idea of narrative

veracity comes up often in *Don Quixote*, most notably as a way of mocking such

affirmations in tales of knight errantry. In this case, however, it goes to further connect

Sancho's creative capacity to Cervantes's own redevelopment of narrative fiction. The

squire's story is a mirrored, metafictional double of the one being written by Cervantes.

The connections between the story of Lope Ruiz and *Don Quixote* have not been

lost on critics, but what the tale reveals about Sancho Panza's contribution to the novel's

formal structure has been overlooked. Anthony J. Cascardi views the episode as a display

of Sancho's lack of sophistication as a narrator in relation to the superior Don Quixote.

According to Cascardi, Sancho's need to recount each river crossing of the shepherd

highlights an inability to deliver the story in his own terms. Don Quixote, who is more

aware of the conventions of storytelling and authorial appropriation, is frustrated by his

squire's inability to summarize, thus interrupting and bringing about the premature

ending of the story (74-75). This analysis, however, fails to acknowledge the similarities

between the structure of Sancho's tale and that of *Don Quixote*. Cascardi takes for

granted Sancho's affirmation that his story came from another source, forgetting that the

narrator of *Don Quixote* is claiming to have done the same thing. One cannot believe that

Sancho is simply reciting a story he previously heard any more than one can take for

granted that the narrator of *Don Quixote* is simply relating a faithful, unmediated

translation of Cide Hamete Benengeli's narrative. To take Sancho's words at face value

and consider his narrative "naive" is to deny the ability the squire has gained to negotiate

within the context of Don Quixote's chivalric world. More importantly, this view ignores

the importance that Sancho plays in the novel on a formal level. *Don Quixote* may have

comic elements, but it is much more than a simple mockery of the idealist fiction of

chivalric romance. Cervantes reinvents narrative literature, in large part through his use

of metafiction (E. Friedman, "Novel" 237). In this scene, Sancho becomes an agent of

that metafictional element by producing his own tale. And while the plot differs greatly

from that of *Don Quixote*, its structure imitates the novel. The episode underlines the

importance of Sancho Panza in a creative sense. Not only does he serve as a contrast to

Don Quixote, but his resistance to his master's mission serves as a catalyst for the

metafiction that permeates the type of realism that Cervantes establishes as a key element

of the modern novel. Sancho has a creative capacity, revealed for the first time through

his invention of a tale as motivated by his fear of the mysterious sound of the fulling

mills.

Sancho's ability to create is underscored by the eschatological scene that follows

his narrative, in which he quietly relieves himself. Andrés Zamora has studied the

presence of excrement as a constant in world literature, especially how it has been

associated with tales of travel and discovery: "se desprende la sospecha de que en una de

las definiciones secretas del viaje, en alguno de sus incógnitos límites o extremos, en

ciertos arcanos de su principio y su fin, el componente excremental ocupa un lugar relevante" ("Odiseas" 269-70). Zamora considers various mentions of the removal of bodily wastes prior to a protagonist's journey in several key works of world literature. He notes that *Don Quixote*, however, does not quite fit into the normal pattern, in the sense that the moment of expulsion occurs while Sancho is actively inhibiting the progression of his master's chivalric trek ("Odiseas" 271).[54] While the only physical movement at the time involves Sancho's bowels (designated, as Zamora notes, by the verb "mudarse"), a more important symbolic journey is commencing with regard to the development of the squire as a character in the novel as well as his relationship to Don Quixote. Roberto González Echevarría is among several critics who have noted the improvisational quality of *Don Quixote*. He believes that the knight's first sally represents Cervantes's original intention to produce a shorter, novella-length piece, but that upon beginning the tale, the author realized he had found fertile ground for a longer narrative ("Improvisation" 70-71). From this vantage point, the second sally comes to be seen as the moment in which *Don Quixote* transitions from what Cervantes planned into a form of improvised narrative, and the inclusion of Sancho Panza as the knight's companion is crucial to this form of improvisation ("Improvisation" 72). Sancho's corporeal needs coincide with the moment in which he begins to involve himself in the improvisational nature of Don Quixote's chivalric tale.

The evacuation of Sancho's bowels symbolizes the beginning of his ability to create within the framework established by Don Quixote's reading of chivalric texts and

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[54] In another article, Zamora has also studied the ways in which excrement has been associated with the discovery of the Americas, serving as a symbol for the divide of civilization and barbarity that has always been central to Latin American identity ("Utopía").

highlights Sancho's importance in the ongoing creation of the novel and its innovative

form. Not only does Sancho's perspective differ from that of Don Quixote, the squire also

has the desire and ability to reshape the signifiers of knight errantry to conform to the

economic interests that motivate him. Sancho's struggle to gain control of the world Don

Quixote causes tension between servant and master. The episode of the fulling mills

demonstrates such conflict immediately following Sancho's display of creative deception.

Upon realizing their error, Sancho oversteps his bounds and begins to mock Don

Quixote's professed bravery. In response, the knight refers to his knowledge of the books

of chivalry in order to educate Sancho about his role as squire: "[J]amás he hallado que

ningún escudero hablase tanto con su señor como tú con el tuyo" (I, 20, 148). Sancho

follows up by asking Don Quixote whether any squire had received a salary in the past.

The question reveals Sancho's attempts to negotiate within the world of knight errantry

and underscores the principle struggle that will be carried out between the two.

While Don Quixote and Sancho dispute many issues throughout the novel, no

topic is more polemic than that of Dulcinea. Sancho's "reading" of the books of chivalry

(mediated through what he is taught by his master) focuses on the rewards attained by the

protagonists. Don Quixote's mission, on the other hand, is to restore the social order of

the Greek Golden Age, and he believes this can be effected through the resurrection of

knight errantry. His vision for a perfect future is embodied in the ethereal, idealized

Dulcinea. Don Quixote's and Sancho's disparate interpretations of chivalric romance

represent the conflicting messages contained within many of the works. Sancho

understands the world of knight errantry to represent the possibilities for social and

economic benefit in exchange for faithful service, something that can be justified within the texts his master cites.

Within the Spanish tradition, *El cantar de mio Cid* is a paramount example of a historically based literary hero whose brave deeds justify upward social mobility. Although the story begins with his tragic rebuff by the king he serves, the pseudo-historic figure's unbelievable strength and leadership earn him admiration and the promise of a royal lineage by means of his daughters' marriages to royalty. El Cid, as the archetypal Spanish knight, represents the most important values of the time period, but could also be seen as a representation of the possibility for social mobility. A comparison of this text with the more historical *Historia Roderici* reveals fundamental differences that point to an intentional rewriting of history to suit ideological aims. In the *Historia Roderici*, Rodrigo Díaz's loyalty to king, religion, and patria are far less evident. Reflecting a more accurate portrayal of the *Reconquista*, the Rodrigo Díaz of the *Historia Roderici* is willing to work with Arab rulers in order to obtain his goals. The transformation of Rodrigo Díaz from a historical knight to an epic hero reveals the influence of the ruling class ideology on the process of literary production.

The facts about the historical Rodrigo Díaz, as presented in *Historia Roderici*, reveal the literary intent of *El cantar de mio Cid* (whether conscious or unconscious) to reproduce dominant ideology. If one bears in mind the capacity for individual interpretations and receptions of a text, *El cantar de mio Cid* could easily be read as proof that through military conquest even a lowly knight, estranged from his king, can regain his master's favor and ascend socially through diligent service and military conquest. This type of "misreading" of chivalric tales helped form the mentality of the soldiers

involved in the Reconquest. Scholars such as Fernando Carmona Fernández have suggested that these literary tales colored the military mindset of Spanish soldiers. While the correlation between conquistadors and fictional knights has been somewhat overstated,[55] Carmona Fernández does make an important observation. If conquistadors saw literary knights as models to emulate, they also considered the financial and social rewards of crucial importance: "Como los caballeros artúricos desempeñan una doble función, una social —extender un nuevo orden: el de la monarquía católica española—, y otra individual —por su esfuerzo integrarse favorablemente en la jerarquía política de lo conquistado y, obviamente, en una sociedad inicialmente capitalista, el enriquecimiento personal" (14). While El Cid and his literary descendants typify some of the most hegemonic of social ideologies, many of their stories contain alternative, subversive readings that position personal ambition and heroic actions over noble bloodlines. This reading of *El cantar de mio Cid* and the chivalric romances almost certainly was not the intended message of the authors, yet it is not completely outside the realm of possible interpretations.

It is in this sense that Sancho reinterprets Don Quixote's vision of knight errantry, not unlike the manner in which early modern schoolboys emphasized the more subversive elements of classical texts or how conquistadors found a model for social mobility in accounts of military heroism. Cervantes's presentation of the knight/squire relationship includes dynamic characters whose disparate perspectives individualize their developments and lead them to their own conclusions about the importance of the tales of knight errantry. The tension created by their competing visions of chivalry not only

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[55] See the lengthier discussion regarding this matter in Chapter 1.

shapes the psychological evolution of each character for readers to witness, it also

contributes to the metafictional nature of the text. In order to express the potentially

subversive ideas about the evolving relationship between margins and centers, Cervantes

had to find alternative forms of expression, ultimately leading him to create a unique

brand of literary realism.[56] In this regard, Sancho Panza is not merely a foil against which

Cervantes can contrast the idealistic madness of his knight. As the squire implicates

himself within the chivalric world of his master, Sancho gains an important role in

shaping the novel's structure. Perhaps it is for this reason that the Cervantes who authors

the prologue seems to take so much pride in having created Sancho Panza. Furthermore,

in Part 2, those characters who have read the apocryphal *Don Quixote* note that

Avellaneda's most notable failure was his inability to accurately portray the squire. Chief

among these characters is Álvaro Tarfe, who, after having traveled extensively with the

duo in Avellaneda's version, describes the "false" Sancho as inherently lacking in

comparison to the one Cervantes created (II, 72, 854).

While many critics have commented that Sancho begins to take this role upon

himself as well, few have noticed how early he does so. The first indications of the

squire's creative capacity appear during the scene of the fulling mills, and Edward

Friedman notes that the next important phase in Sancho's development comes when the

duo travels into the Sierra Morena ("Mid-Section"). While in the mountains, Sancho

becomes aware of Dulcinea's true identity as Aldonza Lorenzo. Not only is he clearly

disillusioned by his master's choice of love object, this moment shapes Sancho's

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[56] A similar statement could not only be said about the picaresque, but also about *La Celestina* and other medieval and early modern works, all of which experiment with new literary forms in order to discuss edgy social issues.

subsequent actions. Oddly enough, it is Sancho Panza who is most disheartened by the physical reality (and more importantly the penury) of the knight's supposed lady. If Sancho is to attain his economic objectives, there is no room for Dulcinea, as is made most immediately clear when the duo encounters the Princess Micomicona. While Don Quixote views the disguised Dorotea as a damsel in distress, Sancho sees her as a means of gaining material wealth. In the episode that most clearly exemplifies Sancho's nature as a proto-capitalist and his awareness of early modern globalization, the squire imagines how aiding the distressed princess will work in his benefit. Unconvinced that her distant *ínsula* will please him, given the racial makeup he imagines it must have, he concocts a plan: "¿Qué se me da a mí que mis vasallos sean negros? ¿Habrá más que cargar con ellos y traerlos a España, donde los podré vender, y adonde me los pagarán de contado, de cuyo dinero podré comprar algún título o algún oficio con que vivir descansado todos los días de mi vida?" (I, 29, 235). Although the narrator quotes Sancho here, the squire is silently thinking and never shares this plan with the others. Perhaps Sancho, who is as aware as any other Spaniard of his social rank, understands the subversive nature of his plan to rise above his station as a poor laborer.

In any case, Sancho's plan for economic and social prosperity is frustrated in the next chapter when Don Quixote refuses to accept Princess Micomicona's marriage offer and the subsequent rewards for having married a princess. The rejection enrages the squire to the point where he verbally attacks his master and questions his actions: "¡Voto a mí y juro a mí, que no tiene vuestra merced, señor don Quijote, cabal juicio! Pues ¿cómo es posible que pone vuestra merced en duda el casarse con tan alta princesa como aquésta? ¿Piensa que le ha de ofrecer la fortuna, tras cada cantillo, semejante ventura

como la que ahora se le ofrece?" (I, 30, 244). Sancho punctuates the remarks by directly

attacking the fictional woman he knows is impeding the knight from accepting the

marriage and the accompanying rewards that would be showered upon the brave

companions: "¿Es por dicha más hermosa mi señora Dulcinea? No, por cierto: ni aun la

mitad, y aun estoy por decir que no llega a su zapato de la que está adelante" (I, 30, 244).

Considering that the conflict of many of Don Quixote's previous battles stemmed from

others who refused to affirm Dulcinea as the most beautiful maiden in the world,

Sancho's words are particularly antagonistic.

The clear tension brought about by the subject of Dulcinea colors the subsequent

interaction between the knight and squire, after their anger from the argument has

subsided, in which Sancho is asked to relate the circumstances of his trip to deliver the

message to Toboso. Don Quixote gives Sancho the cues he needs to concoct a viable

explanation for the speed with which the message was delivered, something he could not

have feasibly been done given both the time constraints and the fact that the squire had

left the written message behind. The servant tacitly accepts his master's words regarding

the magical way in which the horse was carried to Toboso. Yet Sancho refuses to play

along with Don Quixote's vision of Dulcinea, persistently referring to her material reality

as Aldonza Lorenzo. In asking Sancho to explain his travels, the knight requests the plain

truth of the matter "sin que añadas o mientas por darme gusto, no menos te acortes por no

quitármele" (I, 30, 247). Given such instructions, it may seem natural to paint Sancho as

a simpleton, unaware of his master's madness and either unwilling or unable to paint the

corporality of Aldonza Lorenzo in the light of Don Quixote's idealizing imagination that

produced Dulcinea. Yet, as the episode of the fulling mills illustrates, Sancho is capable

of invention, and the glowing praise he uses with the Princess Micomicona reveals his

ability to reproduce the language of courtly love. Furthermore, Sancho's description of

his encounter with Dulcinea is not a faithful retelling of historical fact, but, much like

Don Quixote itself, a mimetic, yet fictional, tale. Yet still, he refuses to praise Dulcinea in

order to please his master and avoid the type of violent retribution usually reserved for

those who defame the imagined damsel.

There is a strategic motivation involved in the way that Sancho deceives his

master about having made the journey to Toboso. In addition to evading any potential

retribution for having failed to deliver the message, Sancho is also attempting to disabuse

the knight of his love for Aldonza Lorenzo. The squire elevates the more admirable

qualities of the disguised Dorotea by disparaging his master's imagined version of

Dulcinea. The economic benefits that the Princess Micomicona represents control his

interpretation of the mission. His choice to deceive Don Quixote in this instance sets off a

chain of events that spiral out of the squire's control, but that ultimately have a crucial

impact on the developing tensions between the servant and his master. Immediately

following Sancho's lie, the duo are caught up in the events of the inn and Don Quixote's

subsequent caging, which prevents the matter from being pursued further. Given such

circumstances, Don Quixote is not entirely free to carry out his own agenda until he once

again leaves his home in Part 2. It is important to note that before doing anything else, the

knight sets forth for Toboso, perhaps in order to challenge the words of his squire.

Sancho invents the story of Dulcinea's "enchantment" in order to save face, and

by doing so becomes an important element of the novel's metafictional quality. A key

aspect of *Don Quixote*'s self-awareness as a literary text is Sancho's role in highlighting

the temporal realities that clash with the ideals of literature, most notably through the ever-present class conflict inherent in the master/servant dynamic. By creating an explanation for Dulcinea's enchantment, Sancho asserts his interpretation of knight errantry with a firm focus on economic gain rather than the love of a fictional woman. He also engages in the type of metadramatic action that creates new planes of fictionality and complicates the narrative structure of *Don Quixote*. The squire's deception is the result of his alternative "reading" of knight errantry and its economic benefits and represents the central conflict between the master and servant. With the Duke and Duchess, Sancho takes on a much greater role in terms of metadrama. The squire displays a newfound sense of authority, taking it upon himself to explain the virtues of knight errantry to the noble hosts. Furthermore, his insistence upon the veracity of his claims with regard to the trip aboard Clavileño reveals his ability and desire to direct the action around him. And it is Don Quixote himself, in a discreet aside, who effectively equates Sancho's obvious lie with the knight's own experiences in the Cave of Montesinos by proposing that neither question the veracity of the other's claims.

As the Duke and Duchess perpetuate the ruse, the knight/squire tension is more closely associated with the student/teacher relationship. Merlin's decree that Dulcinea might only be released from her enchantment by Sancho giving himself 3,300 lashings "en ambas sus valientes posaderas" can easily be associated with the type of punishments carried out in early modern grammar schools. This type of corporal violence is a common theme in *Don Quixote*, as the misadventures of the two very often lead to humiliating drubbings. The knight also physically punishes Sancho for lapses in speech and behavior. The abuse leveled against the squire possesses a didactic element that exceeds the bounds

of the typical consequences for imprudent servants. Don Quixote is not only aggressive because Sancho has failed fulfill his duties, but because the knight is trying to teach his illiterate companion to imitate the fictional tales of knight errantry. The physical nature of their relationship is thus more akin to the beatings of schoolboys, which, like Sancho's lashings, were also focused on the buttocks.

Merlin's explicit requirement that Sancho whip himself, however, changes the relationship between violence and education. Rather than being beaten by a superior for his misdeeds, Sancho becomes the executor of his own punishment. The episode dramatizes the process of ideological internalization to which humanist education aspired in which the punishment of a student led to a type of self-suppression through learned behavior. The violence levied against schoolboys was meant to instill within them knowledge about the proper ways to act within the constraints of a given hegemony. This type of learning, however, was not always entirely successful. While outright opposition brought about the physical punishments, more subtle forms of subversion were available. Sancho's reaction to Merlin is an illustration of the modes of cultural negotiation available even within the strictures of a heavily censored society. Sancho's first response is outright refusal, which only causes the Duke to threaten to withhold the promised governorship. Afraid to lose the reward he has sought throughout his tenure as squire, and still unwilling to completely accept the beatings, Sancho bargains with Merlin. Ultimately, the squire concedes that he will agree to flog himself on two conditions: that he be allowed as much time as needed and that Merlin keep count for him. This negotiation symbolizes how Sancho (as a reflection of an early modern student) is able to respond to dominant power structures. Although subordinated to the Duke, Duchess, and

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Don Quixote, each urging him to carry out the beating, Sancho is able to ameliorate his castigation by defining its limits. When first asked how he is carrying out his task, Sancho responds that the previous night he had struck himself several times on the rear with his hand. Sancho prudently controls the frequency and intensity of the lashings in order to protect his self-described soft hindquarters.

Later, Don Quixote, somewhat frustrated with his squire, attempts to dole out the punishment himself. Sancho, who to this point had only used passive forms of resistance, physically defends himself, and for the first time he gains the upper hand. Surprised, the knight declares, "¿Cómo traidor? ¿Contra tu amo y señor natural te desmandas? ¿Con quien te da su pan te atreves?" (II, 60, 794). Sancho's reply perfectly encapsulates his claim to individual freedom and social mobility, "Ni quito rey, ni pongo rey […] sino ayúdome a mí que soy mi señor" (II.60). He goes on to threaten his master against making any further such attempts on his person in a way that illustrates a mastery of the language of knight errantry, "Vuesa merced me prometa que se estará quedo y no tratará de azotarme por agora. Que yo le dejaré libre y desembarazado donde no, 'aquí morirás, traidor, enemigo de doña Sancha'" (II.60). These last lines come from a medieval ballad commemorating the Infantes of Lara. The illiterate Sancho has internalized some piece of literature and, much as Don Quixote does in other moments, cites it in a way that suits his reinterpretation of knight errantry. He adds an alternative meaning when citing the character "doña Sancha," the aunt of the infantes de Lara and an important protagonist of the *romance*. (See Amor "La supremacía de la mujer en la difusión romancística de la leyenda de los infantes de Lara"). Instead of referring to a literary figure, Sancho brings to mind his own daughter, Mari Sancha, whose wellbeing and potential social

improvement motivated his ambitions that led to his failed (or more accurately, sabotaged) time as governor. Here, "doña Sancha" is transformed from a literary figure in a medieval ballad to the symbol of Sancho's materialist interpretation of knight errantry.

Both through physical domination and literary knowledge, Sancho gains a form of control over Don Quixote. This episode marks a turning point, in which Sancho's emphasis on the importance of economic gain is given more deference. The next time the issue of whippings arises, Sancho asks the knight to put a price on the lashings, and agrees to complete them for pay. The conversation thus turns from moral obligation for the succor of a damsel in distress to a negotiation of wage labor. Although since their first sally Sancho had attempted to establish a set wage, for the first time Don Quixote is willing to establish a price: "ochocientos y veinte y cinco reales" (II, 71, 848-49).[57] As Carroll Johnson notes, "It has taken almost the entire second part of the novel to work out this interplay between the two protagonists, the crisis in their economic relationship crystalized in the question of salary and mercedes, and the relationship of both to Dulcinea" (*Cervantes* 35). Previously, the knight had refused any such conversation, stating that such matters were never discussed in the books of chivalry. Now, however, Sancho has shown that while his knowledge of those narratives may be limited to what he has heard from his master, he has gained the ability to reinterpret the text for his own benefit. Despite having gained this advantage, Sancho continues to manipulate the situation in his favor by only feigning to hit himself.

The switch from the high-minded ideals of chivalry to the material concerns of piecemeal salary appropriately accompanies the final chapters in which Don Quixote

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[57] This total is about one and a half years' worth of Sancho's pre-squire earnings, according to Carroll Johnson's calculations (*Cervantes* 20).

returns home defeated and eventually dies. As a teacher, the knight has failed to fully incorporate Sancho within his vision of a chivalric utopia, but Sancho has undoubtedly changed. The squire, like schoolboys of the early modern period, reinterprets the aims of his master's lessons, giving them a focus on social improvement through economic gain. The story dramatizes a broader presentation about the way that dominant ideologies are communicated to and resisted by the lower classes. Sancho's actions can be compared to the way that students subverted humanist education of the early modern period, but they also have parallels with larger social issues. The squire is not only resisting Don Quixote's attempts to assimilate him within a particular ideology based on the values of chivalric romance, he subverts that discourse in a way that emphasizes the potential for economic and social advancement that his master had promised him. Like the conquistador and the *pícaro*, Sancho has learned how to use and manipulate discourse in a way that helps further his ambitions.

Given the ending of the novel, some might conclude that Sancho ultimately fails to overcome hegemony in the sense that he never truly gains the island he wanted nor the social and economic mobility he desired. His stint as governor was only granted as part of a practical joke by the duke and duchess, and despite the squire's display of wisdom and unique ability to govern, his time in office only served to reaffirm the existing social order. Yet looking at the way Sancho interacts with his wife Teresa reveals another way to measure his success in his struggle for social significance. Within the context of early modern globalization, women represent the aspects of popular culture that retained local traditions and subverted the advancement of a larger national identity.[58] For Don Quixote,

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[58] See further discussion of this point in Chapter 2.

Dulcinea is the ultimate representation of his chivalric outlook, yet she is nothing more than an idealized fiction whose impact of the novel is a result of her symbolic, abstracted status. One might assume that Aldonza Lorenzo is the obvious "real-world" counterpart to Dulcinea, but she too is never present as a character within the narrative action of the novel. Sancho's wife Teresa, however, makes multiple appearances in Part 2, and her participation in the text more clearly demonstrates Sancho's social subversion as well as the clash between idealism and realism which is the basis for the metafictional nature of *Don Quixote*. The way in which Teresa changes as a result of her husband's interpretation of knight errantry illustrates the success Sancho has had in reinterpreting Don Quixote's ideals as a justification for social mobility.

While the presence of women in *Don Quixote* has been studied at great length and many have seen Cervantes's characters as proto-feminists, Teresa Panza has often been ignored. When she is an object of study, it is usually to describe the conservative arguments she makes as she tries to persuade her husband to stay home rather than follow Don Quixote on his third sally.[59] Given the typically feminist nature of many of the female characters in Cervantes's work, Teresa poses a problem for the postmodern critic because her rationale for asking Sancho to stay is founded in fundamentally conservative and anti-feminist rhetoric. In chapter 5 of Part 2, however, Teresa's presence is crucial to highlighting the development of Sancho's understanding of knight errantry as an avenue for social mobility and foreshadowing the more active role he will take in the next adventure. Another aspect of Teresa that has been overlooked is that she, like many of the characters in *Don Quixote,* is dynamic. As the situation changes in favor of Sancho's

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[59] See El Saffar, Wiltrout, Trachman, Falcón, Lloréns, Heid, and Ciallella.

ambition, Teresa shifts her thinking in a way that highlights the measure of success that can be attributed to the squire as he reinterprets the ideals of chivalry to suit his proto-capitalist objectives and speaks volumes about his ability to spread that desire to others.

Chapter 5 of Part 2 begins with a warning given by the text's translator but conveyed by the narrator, stating that the manner in which Sancho speaks in this chapter has put its veracity into doubt. This metafictional gesture serves not only to emphasize the chapter as an important marker in the development of Sancho's learning, one in which he becomes the teacher, but also to provide another narrative layer under which to hide the subversive message of *Don Quixote*. Throughout the chapter, the translator's opinion is repeated twice more, specifically just as Sancho cites some type of authority to justify his own social ambition, since his form of subversion is not outright resistance or rebellion, but reappropriation of dominant discourse.

The translator's warning is parenthetically inserted just after Sancho notes that "siempre he oído decir a mis mayores que el que no sabe gozar de la ventura cuando le viene, que no se debe quejar si se le pasa" (II, 5, 467). And again the translator's misgivings are interjected after Sancho quotes the preacher's words at Lent: "todas las cosas presentes que los ojos están mirando se presentan, están y asisten en nuestra memoria mucho mejor y con más vehemencia que las cosas pasadas" (II, 5, 469). Each of the quotations refers to an authority figure ("mayores" and the local priest) to bolster Sancho's argument that he should leave his home and seek greater fortune with Don Quixote. While the first affirms that he should take advantage of opportunities presented to him, the second is used to argue against Teresa, who is concerned that bloodlines will cloud any success Sancho brings home. Not only does Sancho show that he is willing to hope for the future

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possibilities for material reward that knight errantry offers, but he also espouses a belief in his fundamental ability to discard his previous class distinction in search of another. Both quotes, at least one most likely taken out of context, support this vision.

The citation of external authority to justify social ambition is particularly important as Sancho discusses his mission with Teresa, since her argument for him to stay is based, in large part, on popular sayings that reaffirm cultural hegemony. Louise Ciallella has noted that Teresa finds power in these proverbs. Referring to the Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of the carnival body, Ciallella argues that Teresa embodies the past, present, and future, while Sancho simply looks toward the future with the belief that he can erase his personal and ancestral roots and change social classes (280-81). The contrast is crucial to understanding how Sancho has developed. No longer can he be considered as a simple glutton bent on seeking material reward and corporeal pleasures. Sancho has developed his own personal philosophy, turning the ideas of knight errantry into an argument for a proto-capitalist form of equality. Not only does Sancho believe that nothing should impede his seeking the office of governor along with its financial benefits, he also feels that the achievement of such objectives will grant his family access to a higher social class.

The most basic interpretations on *Don Quixote* cast the idealism of the knight against the realism of his squire, yet chapter 5 highlights Sancho's "Quixotization." It is the contrast with his wife, who now takes on the role of the realist, that highlights Sancho's change from Part 1 to Part 2. But the clash between idealism and realism in chapter 5 is most emotionally evoked in the final paragraph as Teresa, aware of her husband's resolve to serve Don Quixote, weeps: "Y en esto comenzó a llorar tan de veras

como si ya viera muerta y enterrada a Sanchica" (II, 5, 470). Don Quixote's trespass against Aldonza Lorenzo is the he idealizes her to the point where she becomes an unrecognizable abstract based on masculine ideals of beauty. But despite the ideological implications of Don Quixote's actions, which ultimately reaffirm women's value based on beauty along with their dependence upon the strength and bravery of men, he never actually does anything which affects Aldonza. In fact, for all the reader knows, Aldonza is never even aware of the knight's existence. Sancho's absence from his family, however, results in very tangible hardships. Teresa worries about the resulting lack of both financial support and the masculine leadership necessary to conduct business such as marrying their daughter and educating their son. Here Sancho must justify his idealism not only in terms of literary motifs, as Don Quixote does, but also in terms of his family's physical, emotional, and social wellbeing.

One should not assume, however, that Teresa's tears signify her complete disapproval of Sancho's mission. Similarly, her use of popular proverbs to argue that Sancho should stay home should not be taken as proof that Teresa maintains any deep-seated belief in the importance of a social hierarchy. Like her husband, Teresa is aware of the growing importance of monetary gain within the economy of early modern globalization. Several times in chapter 5, Teresa tells Sancho that his job is to bring money into the household. Teresa is aware of the changing economic situation of her time and the importance that personal capital has for a family. And while she is initially resistant to Sancho's ideas of social mobility, upon learning he has obtained his governorship she changes her point of view. In her letter to the duchess, not only does she express her joy over having learned that Sancho has been appointed as governor, she also

seems to have accepted a new social role. In accordance with her husband's instructions, Teresa indicates to the Duchess that she will await a coach to carry her to court, but goes further to note what effect the new station has upon her standing in the town: "Yo, señora de mi alma, estoy determinada, con licencia de vuesa merced, de meter este buen día en mi casa, yéndome a la corte a tenderme n un coche, para quebrar los ojos a mil envidiosos que ya tengo" (II, 52, 750). Teresa's ready acceptance of Sancho's success shows that her previous arguments were not based upon a desire to uphold hegemony, but rather they came out of a larger concern that her husband's plans were not viable. Her use of these sayings were part of her discursive strategy as she sought to convince her husband to stay home. Upon receiving the evidence that the squire's idealism has yielded a reward, she becomes optimistic about their future.

Although the result of Sancho's governorship was certainly disappointing for him and his family, his time with Don Quixote was not entirely a loss. In terms of material wealth, Sancho did earn a modest reward. In Part I, he gains the 100 escudos found in Cardenio's discarded suitcase, which go directly toward the household budget and, as Caroll Johnson calculates, would account for about five years of Sancho's typical salary (*Cervantes* 65). Furthermore, the squire sends home the hunting outfit he received from the duke and duchess accompanied by the duchess's gift of a gold-laced coral necklace. Such rewards, along with other financial gains made by the squire, may not amount to enough for Sancho and his family to obtain a new social station, but they have permitted a certain freedom uncommon for those of their rank. Sancho has had the rare experience of traveling extensively outside of his village and has made some money while doing it. And more importantly, that measure of Sancho's success can be seen in Teresa. Upon his

return home, she expresses her disappointment that he is "desgobernado" but is pleased to hear that Sancho brings some money home with him (II, 73, 858). Teresa has not completely accepted the idea of knight errantry, but she does seem willing to enjoy its material benefits and, to some degree, to support Sancho's proto-capitalist outlook. This change from the beginning of Part 2 to the end is symbolic of Sancho's success in reinterpreting knight errantry to suit his particular objectives.

As Sancho learns from his master he becomes actively involved in metafiction, one of the most important aspects of the new form of narrative established by early modern Spanish novels. Edward Friedman notes that this periphrastic realism, or a type realism deferred by metafiction, anticipates postmodern theories about the novel and the genre's continued development in later centuries (*Cervantes*). Sancho provides a contrast against which Don Quixote's idealism can be measured, yet he also becomes a participant in the chivalric metadrama. To a much greater degree than his master, Sancho makes use of the discourse of knight errantry for politically subversive purposes. While Don Quixote's mission to return to a golden age is fundamentally conservative, Sancho's proto-capitalist vision is an important example a growing form of class conflict during the early modern period. The conquest and subsequent colonization of the Americas disrupted the static hierarchy in Spain, and the literary depiction of this phenomenon necessitated a new form. As the character in *Don Quixote* most concerned with economic and social improvement, Sancho is the primary representative of the way hegemony was challenged during the early modern period. His strategic reappropriation of chivalric discourse is a crucial aspect of how Cervantes establishes the modern novel.

The vast critical tradition surrounding *Don Quixote* helps provide a historical context for the dominant humanist ideologies of the time period, and a consideration of the cultural conflict brought about, in part, by imperial colonialism shows the important connection between the socio-political environment of early modern Spain and the development of innovative narrative structures. Sancho is a mimetic representation of a typical working-class Spaniard of his time who displays an ambition that is atypical of his peers, but representative of a growing section of early modern society. Sancho symbolizes the ways in which the development of capitalism was accompanied by an increase in personal freedoms and the ability for people to forget the burdens of their ancestral past and earn cultural significance based on individual effort. In order to communicate these social changes taking place in Spain, Cervantes and other renaissance writers had to find new literary forms. Ideal literature was insufficient for expressing the more complicated ways in which hierarchies were being challenged by marginal classes during the period. This intimate link between an expanding socio-political atmosphere and the development of literature not only defines the rise of the novel in Spain, but it also continues to be an important factor in the ongoing evolution of the genre.

CHAPTER 4

"AO VENCEDOR, AS BATATAS": NARRATIVE FICTION AND GLOBAL

CAPITALIST IMPERIALISM

The aim of this project thus far has been to analyze the ways in which the

conquest and subsequent colonization of the Americas brought about social changes in

Spain and that are reflected in the development of narrative fiction. As lower-class

soldiers sought to justify their ambitions, they challenged authoritative discourse in a way

that is later reflected in literature. The opportunities offered on the American continent

served as a catalyst for the development of nascent capitalism in Europe. In what can be

called a type of early modern globalization, the economic and political impact of the

European presence in the New World had major ramifications for local cultures in Spain.

Those soldiers who began to argue that their actions, specifically their faithful military

service, warranted economic and social advances for themselves and their posterity

illustrate the ideological shift. While their purpose was certainly revolutionary, their

methods for arguing their case were less direct. Rather than attack the larger power

structures that reaffirmed a static hierarchy based on bloodlines, soldiers such as Bernal

Díaz del Castillo reappropriated hegemonic discourse to posit themselves as the heroes of

the Spanish conquest of the Americas.

Both the picaresque and *Don Quixote* present characters who share the idea that

individuals have the capacity for upward mobility. What is important to note, however, is

that while conquistadors developed narrative techniques that highlighted those deeds they

considered to be commendable and worthy of royal recompense, the characters in early

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modern novels manipulate prose in order to mask their moral and social shortcomings. Whether it is the desire of *pícaros* to convince an interlocutor of the rogues' inherent goodness or Sancho's quest to become the governor of an island and marry his daughter to some nobleman, the actions of these characters affect narrative structure as they contend with a strict hierarchy. Compared to the idealistic literature of which most prior prose fiction was comprised, the picaresque and *Don Quixote* make use of socially marginal figures that not only challenge the norms of creative writing, but also those of hegemony. Similar to the attitude of conquistadors, the *pícaros* believe that through their actions they can achieve a higher social standing. Yet in contrast to the soldiers, the *pícaros* use words to dissemble their moral shortcomings as they seek to convince the fictional interlocutor that the rogue has experienced some sort of internal transformation. For Sancho, the process is comparable, but rather than create a written text, he reappropriates the discourse of his master, gaining some control over Don Quixote to dictate the parameters of their mission in a way which accelerates the metafictional thrust of the story.

    Don Quixote and the picaresque combine two important elements which are key to understanding the development of the novel as a literary genre: mimetic representation of society and a complex metafictional structure that consistently calls the reader's attention to the writing process and the status of each work as fiction. The result is the development of a new form of realism that has come to serve as the basis for the modern novel and that Edward Friedman refers to as "periphrastic realism": "The early modern displays of realism could be said to delay—or in the parlance of post-structuralism, to defer—mimesis. That is, as mediated by metafiction, the imitation of reality is, on an

initial plane, indirect—and inwardly directed—but never oblivious to the real world or to the society with which the characters interact" (*Cervantes* 16). This term is particularly important here, because it highlights the way in which the unique prose cannot be divorced from the attempt to accurately represent a contemporary reality, despite the seeming disjunction between metafiction and realism. The desires of early modern authors to inscribe sociopolitical issues within their text by including marginal figures does not occur coincidentally with the renovation of prose fiction, but is a key element in the creation of a new narrative structure. Friedman goes on to show how the nature of these novels had an impact on the later works of Benito Pérez Galdós and Miguel de Unamuno in Spain.

This chapter will take a similar approach by seeking to show how the forms and themes of the early modern period are continually present in more contemporary works. One additional focus, however, will be to analyze texts which engage with the narrative realism of early modern novels but also those which deal with social and cultural issues regarding the ascent of an imperial capitalist hegemony. *Don Quixote* and the picaresque were affected by a form of early modern globalization, and their characters found power to contest hierarchies through a proto-capitalist ideology. But if the rise of the novel in Spain is linked to the birth of capitalism, how does it respond in later years as capitalism becomes the entrenched ideology? And how do those novels which most strikingly exhibit the narrative structures of the picaresque and *Don Quixote* approach social and cultural concerns? One might say that the opposition to hegemony represented in literature by *pícaros* and Sancho is effective, in the sense that bloodline succession is no longer the dominating aspect of power structures. Nevertheless, the expansion of

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capitalist markets and the move of the bourgeoisie from the marginal merchant class to the top of the hierarchy bring about a different set of political injustices. So where does this leave the novel? The argument here is that the development of periphrastic realism in more recent centuries reveals a dialectical process whereby hegemony continues to be challenged through prose fiction. The writers studied in this chapter play off the structures developed in early modern Spain as they question the validity of a world market through their presentation of upper-class characters whose first-person accounts call into question the hegemony of global capitalism.

Just as the unique direction taken in the field of cultural studies by those who focus on Latin America has informed the theoretical approaches of this project to this point, more contemporary works of literature coming out of Brazil and Chile are studied here because they display a connection between developments in creative writing and the economic and social impact of globalization on peripheral cultures. Political commentary is closely related to narrative structure in the texts to be considered here: the Brazilian author Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis's novel *Memórias Póstumas de Brás Cubas* (1881) and the Chilean writer Alberto Fuguet's *Mala onda* (1991). Each of these texts presents the first-person account of an upper-class protagonist as a way of interrogating the impact of globalization upon individuals. Also, and perhaps more importantly, each author is explicitly trying to renovate prose and respond to what he saw as deficiencies in the form of realism taking place at the time. For Machado, nineteenth-century realism's misplaced faith in the power of words to faithfully depict the world needed to be called into question, and he does so by turning to the type of metafiction developed in *Don Quixote*. Through self-referentiality, intertextuality, and an increased focus on the role of

the reader, Machado creates a style unprecedented in his time. *Brás Cubas* presents an innovative structure that continues to baffle those critics trying to situate the novel within the literary landscape of Machado's contemporaries. Fuguet, on the other hand, is responding to the international commercial success of the Latin American Boom novels, which, to a degree, abstracted and idealized the folkloric aspect of South American cultures. Beyond taking the radical step of focusing on the wealthy offspring of those who most benefited from the military coup of Augusto Pinochet, Fuguet plays off the structure of picaresque pseudo-autobiography, inverting the model and highlighting the individual alienation of the protagonist Matías Vicuña.

The dialectic understanding of history offered by Marxist theory proposes that challenges to a given superstructure will ultimately be reincorporated back into and change the hegemony of the hierarchy in a way that advances society. In the case of early modern Spanish novels, the protagonists challenge the conception of an individual's social significance. By suggesting that one's actions (or the manipulated perception of one's actions) are a greater indicator of one's cultural value than bloodline succession, these characters display a proto-capitalist sensibility. The idea of the self-made man perfectly suits an ideology in which a person's value is directly correlated to economic gain as measured by a market, and in subsequent centuries has gone from being an idea used by marginal classes to gain freedom to being the dominant ideology around the world. Fredric Jameson notes that one of the defining attributes of late capitalism is that the market has moved from being a place of trade to a determinant of ideologies. He affirms that this thought pervades even the fundamental conception of social structure: "Everyone is now willing to mumble, as though it were an inconsequential concession in

passing to public opinion and current received wisdom (or shared communication presuppositions) that no society can function efficiently without the market and that planning is obviously impossible" (263). Jameson bemoans this acceptance of the market's importance among the political left, because it implies that even those who advocate social advancement through Marxist ideals have fallen victim to the hegemony of capitalism. And as the reproduction of ideology becomes a function of the market, a transformation occurs in the way in which hegemony is propagated. The early modern period is marked by the transfer of authority from religious to secular education as the dominant institution for ideological interpellation. Moving toward the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, however, that power moves to the dominant market forces as expressed through mass media (Matrtín Barbero, *Communication* 34).

The change from the early modern period, then, can be described in ideological terms as one in which capitalism shifts from the margins to the centers. Those historical actors gaining an advantage are those who argued for a change in the political conditions that previously prevented social mobility. Nevertheless, at the same time a series of other issues appears as the rising bourgeoisie enacts its own hegemony as a means of maintaining their newfound power. Part of this process entails spreading the influence of this hegemony throughout the world while increasing the likelihood of economic profit through capitalist ventures. Whereas imperial colonialism used religious justifications to claim the right to conquer other people through military might, capitalism advocates economic market expansion. As the spread of capitalism takes on a global nature, it maintains its own distinction between margins and centers in a way that happens on both global and local scales.

As the economic improprieties of a globalized market replace the physical atrocities of colonial conquest, literature also changes. The narrative techniques pioneered by early modern authors, which at one time pushed the boundaries of literary and social conventions, are eventually incorporated within the prevailing ideology. The once subversive style evolves and ultimately serves to uphold hegemony. Joshua Lund, for example, has examined *Don Quixote* as one example of a work that began as an exceptional example of prose fiction, but which now serves as the standard: "The transgressive, generic hybridization that once made the *Quixote* a heresy, we now call 'novel'" (22).[60] While *Don Quixote* clearly deals with controversial topics that have resonance to this day, it has also been accepted into the cultural milieu, at times in ways that mitigates it subversive qualities. The quixotic myth has inspired several derivative works, many of which focus on the less seditious aspects of Don Quixote's chivalric mission rather than the novel's multiple challenges to social and literary conventions. While the development of a type of realism in *Don Quixote* helps to express social concerns, in other contexts, realism might constitute a misplaced faith in the representational capacity of language.

One, if not the most, lasting influence of *Don Quixote* and the early modern Spanish picaresque consists in the type of realism they develop. As the previous chapters discuss, realism comes into play in these novels, in large part, through the presentation of

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[60] Lund may be overstating the case a bit, given that *Don Quixote* continues to resonate with readers since it deals with issues that are still polemical now. Walter Benjamin, writing of Baudelaire, notes that the continued relevance of the French poet's work in not due to some mystical universal nature of the work, but a result of the ongoing relevance of the author's subject matter. In terms of *Don Quixote*, issues of blood purity, religious expulsions, and female dishonor can be easily compared to contemporary concerns about race, otherness, and gender, and one could find similar analogies in the picaresque as well.

marginal figures. These characters struggle against society in a way that encapsulates a proto-capitalist vision similar to the social outlook established by conquistadors. The shift in setting of *Don Quixote* and the picaresque from the ideal world of chivalric and pastoral romances to the contemporary streets of Spain became an important aspect of the realism that these works established as a hallmark of the modern novel. Yet as Edward Friedman affirms, the realism of the early modern period is different from the realism of the following centuries (*Cervantes* 12). In the nineteenth century, for example, realism was taken to an extreme, as authors routinely attempted to re-create reality through extremely detailed descriptions. And as this type of realism is developed, it changes in both form and function. Friedman quotes Peter Brooks, who explains this realism as an "attempt as much as possible to reproduce the look and feel of the real thing" (*Cervantes* 107). While Brooks asserts that this type of realism is the "standard against with other modes […] are variants or deviants," Friedman affirms that early modern literature shows that such deviations were "built into the design" (*Cervantes* 107). As authors of the late nineteenth century begin to question the dominance of this style, they move back towards the type of realism established in early modern texts. That is to say, authors around the turn of the century begin to temper realism with metafictional qualities similar to those found in early modern narrative. They begin not only to reproduce the mimetic quality of *Don Quixote* and the picaresque, but also the more transgressive aspects, including the use of metafiction through self-referentiality to challenge social norms.

Edward Friedman provides an excellent example of the transition away from nineteenth-century realism in his study of Galdós's *El amigo Manso*. It is fitting to use Galdós's novel as an example of the differing modes of realism, because the body of his

work represents the transition from realism to modernism in narrative (*Cervantes* 178).

Throughout Galdós's career, Friedman shows, early modern literature becomes the

intertext for both story and discourse. While Tirso de Molina's Don Juan of *El burlador*

de Sevilla is the model for Galdós's Don Lope in *Tristana*, his Máximo Manso takes on a

quixotic personality as he confronts late nineteenth-century Spanish society. As an

academic, the world is idealized through Máximo's theoretical interests. His attempts to

defend and protect women earn him the reputation of a modern-day Don Quixote.

Likewise, the love he searches for eludes him in the same way that an encounter with

Dulcinea never occurs for Cervantes's knight. On a discursive level, Galdós's novel

incorporates the metafictional devices and multiperspectivism of both *Don Quixote* and

the picaresque. Máximo's first-person narration may appear to give a faithful, unbiased

representation of the story, but certain textual evidence calls that into question. Unlike the

other characters, Máximo views the world through the theoretical idealism of his

academic pursuits. His ability to accurately assess reality is put into doubt on multiple

occasions. Máximo himself notes this deficiency through his self-evaluation of the speech

he gives at a charity event. He has been asked to speak on the topic of Christian charity,

and Manso, far from being a dynamic public speaker, is apprehensive about the task.

Although he at first thinks things are going splendidly, "No voy mal, no señor. Me estoy

gustando, adelante…," the reader can soon tell they are not (293). His perspective is

tainted by the fact that he is more accustomed to evaluating academic writing than

dynamic oral address. He praises himself for sticking to what he knows well, and not

including "conocimientos pegados con saliva y adquiridos la noche anterior" (293). Yet

while Máximo may have felt good about the speech while giving it, the distance he

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maintains as a narrator allows him the hindsight needed to comment on how the talk lacked the necessary rhetorical flourish that comes later in the speech by his former pupil Manuel Peña. The gap between Máximo's self-perception and the actual events happening around him permeates the novel and leaves the reader with the sense that reality is no longer a stable matter that can be taken for granted. Much like the picaresque and *Don Quixote*, *El amigo Manso* accentuates the variability of individual perceptions of reality.

The metafictional elements of the opening chapter of the novel further establish the complicated relationships between narrator, text, and reader. The narrator's affirmation "Yo no existo" (1) defies realism in the nineteenth-century sense by having a character deny his own existence as a way of analyzing the writing process. The irony in the statement is similar to the Belgian artist René Magritte's *La trahison des images*. This realistic painting of a pipe bears the seemingly paradoxical inscription "Ceci n'est pas une pipe." The words clash with the viewer's initial interpretation by refusing to equate artistic representation with reality. The narrator of *El amigo Manso*, however, goes further, affirming, "Declaro que ni siquiera soy el retrato de alguien […] soy un ejemplar nuevo de estas falsificaciones del hombre que desde que el mundo es mundo andan por ahí vendidas en tabla por aquellos que yo llamo holgazanes, faltando a todo deber filial, y que el bondadoso vulgo denomina artistas, poetas o cosa así" (1). The adamant denial of the character's reality accentuates the novel's function as a transition away from the belief that words can adequately represent the world by insisting that a character can never be said, in the most existential sense, to exist. Furthermore, by having the narrator reject his own existence, Galdós lays bare the devices of his narration. Alluding to

Cervantes's prologue in *Don Quixote* Part 1, and prefiguring Miguel de Unamuno's

Niebla, the narrator declares that he has taken pity on his friend, a novelist who "había

escrito ya treinta volúmenes," and agrees to do the favor of taking the form of Máximo

(3).

This first, short chapter, which serves as a sort of prologue, demonstrates the work

as an heir of the metafictional elements of early modern texts. When Don Quixote meets

Ginés de Pasamonte, an avatar of the prototypical picaresque narrator, the knight wonders

if the rogue has finished writing his story, to which Ginés responds, "¿Cómo puede estar

acabado […] si aún no está acabada mi vida?" (I, 22, 165). The response is more than a

comment on the irony of the picaresque, it points to the fact that a first-person narrative

seems to never be completely finished. Although the picaresque presents contemporary

Spanish reality in a way that could be considered realistic, the internal aporia of the genre

is the fact that it is irrevocably open-ended, making the picaresque narrator a character

whose conflicts are never fully resolved. Thus, as Edward Friedman notes, the realism is

always deferred by the metafictional thrust which defies any attempt at a faithful,

mimetic representation of reality. While a large majority of the works from the nineteenth

century ignores the metafictional aspects of early modern texts, choosing instead to focus

on developing the realist mode, Galdós shows in this first chapter that he is taking the

opposite approach. When the non-existent form that later becomes Manso is entreated by

a fictionalization of the historical author, it is made clear to the reader that this novel

refuses to rely on the supposed mimetic capacity of the written word.

A similar process takes place in *Brás Cubas* through the account of the defunct

titular narrator. This Brazilian novel challenges narrative realism and anticipates the Latin

American *nueva narrativa* several decades before Jorge Luis Borges's earliest works. The text's style has a philosophical analogue in Quincas Borba's *Humanitismo*, summed up in Machado's later work about the quirky philosopher with the phrase, "Ao vencedor, as batatas" (*Quincas* 9). The philosophy is a parody of Auguste Comte's postivism that Quincas Borba declares to be a "sistema de filosofia destinado a arruinar todos os demais sistemas" (117).[61] The humor with which Quincas Borba proclaims the preeminence of his absurd philosophy mocks Comte's social epistemology based on scientific rationality. This harsh analysis of positivism corresponds to a critique of the nineteenth-century belief that reality could be accurately portrayed through a literary erasure of the author's influence within a text. Machado's novel goes on to further challenge facets of realism through his use of metafiction and ambiguity to increase the importance the reader plays in the role of interpretation. This has led Alfred J. MacAdam to note that "Flying in the face of Realism, Machado chose fantasy" (17-18). Like Galdós, Machado explores how realist fiction often glosses over the gaps between literature and reality. MacAdam's description of Machado's work as "fantasy," however, may not be entirely accurate. Machado himself notes that he does not hope to abandon a concrete connection to the world altogether: "A realidade é boa; o realismo é que não presta para nada" (Fitz, *Machado* 113n9). The important satirical nature of *Brás Cubas*, for example, is certainly grounded in the social and philosophical reality of the nineteenth century. Although both *El amigo Manso* and *Brás Cubas* react against the conventions of realism, they, like the picaresque novels and *Don Quijote*, relate themselves to reality in two important ways:

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[61] Although *Brás Cubas* quotations are taken from Josué Montello's 1997 edition, I have chosen to indicate the passages by chapter number or (Prologue) rather than page number. The relatively short length of each chapter makes the references easier to find in other editions this way.

"by evoking social reality […] and by illuminating the fabrication of story and discourse"
(Friedman, *Cervantes* 134). Saying that either *Brás Cubas* or *El amigo Manso* is "anti-
realist" does not signify a detachment from quotidian reality, but rather a challenge to a
literary movement that scholars have described as "realist."

The type of realism that is developed in *Brás Cubas* and other novels by Machado
has been compared to that of important early modern writers. Gregory Rabassa has stated
that, "It was Machado […] who condemned realism in the name of reality […] Brazil
would be the first American country, north and south, to have its own Cervantes, its own
Camões, its own Shakespeare" (126). Earl Fitz has also explored the connection between
Machado's work and that of Cervantes ("Reception"). Even the prominent Latin-
American author Carlos Fuentes has published an essay entitled *Machado de la Mancha*
in which he groups Machado along with other important authors who model their works
after *Don Quixote*.[62] This view of *Brás Cubas* coupled with Friedman's analysis of *El
amigo Manso* and its connection to early modern prose helps establish how the term
"realism" has been developed as it relates to narrative. The early modern novels' move
away from ideal texts included a renewed focus on the quotidian existence of marginal
characters. The picaresque and *Don Quixote* incorporate elements of the daily life of
Spaniards as an important part of their challenge to artistic conventions. Taken to its
extreme, this focus on mimetic representations of reality led to the widespread exclusion
of metafictional self-analysis in literature. The challenge to later forms of realism brought

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[62] Fuentes delineates two major groups, one close to Cervantes's work as "La Mancha"
(including Cervantes, Stern, Diderot, and Machado) and the other, part of the post-French
Revolution and Post-Napoleonic era as "Waterloo" (including Stendhal, Balzac, and
Dostoievski) (12-13). He lists various differences between the two groups, but qualifies
the distinctions he makes: "Estas divisiones teóricas pueden resultar rígidas, pero las
obras mismas son mucho más fluidas" (13).

about by authors such as Galdós and Machado recalls the initial movement toward

realism in the early modern periods and requires a reevaluation of the terms used to

describe disparate movements.[63]

Critics have used various modifiers to explain this difference in narrative style

between nineteenth-century realism and the periphrastic realism described by Friedman.

For William H. Shoemaker, *El amigo Manso* develops a form of "ironical realism" (qtd.

in Friedman, *Cervantes* 108). Gustavo Bernardo notes the difficulty that critics have had

in deciding the extent to which Machado's prose can be labeled as realism. John Gledson

ultimately concludes that Machado's work must be described using the more nuanced

term "deceptive realism," given that the author's novels beginning with *Brás Cubas*

differ greatly from those of his contemporaries (*Deceptive*). In many senses, Machado's

narrative style approximates the type of mimetic representation seen in early modern

works, incorporating metafiction into a biting description of contemporary society. In the

prologue, Brás presents his own story in a way that conjures the metafictional aspects of

Don Quixote. Later, the perfidious undertones of Brás's words bring to mind the

unreliable narrators of the picaresque novels and the attendant self-referentiality and

interrogation of the relationship between veracity and personal confession.[64] By placing

his character within the context of upper-class, nineteenth-century Brazilian society,

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[63] One could, at this point, debate the different ways in which the term realism has been used along with the various forms of realism and their attendant significance within literary history. Nevertheless, the object here is not to give a trajectory of realism, but rather to show how certain elements of early modern realism appear in later works, especially in those which are looking to renovate prose fiction in one way or another.

[64] For more on this in Machado's work, see Lucia Serrano Pereira's *Um narrador incerto*.

Machado is able to use the narrative techniques pioneered in the early modern period to challenge both the literary conventions and the sociopolitical hegemony of his time.

Machado's use of this style is more than an aesthetic preference. Like Galdós, he intentionally moves his narration toward the periphrastic realism of early modern works in order to challenge an unfounded faith in language's capacity to adequately represent reality. Yet not only is Machado reacting to a different literary tradition than the ideal romances preceding early modern texts, he is also working within the context of a radically different economic and social hierarchy. His use of metafiction allows him to more adequately explore the inherent hypocrisies in upper-class Brazilian society, including slavery and the dominance of a positivist ideology. One of the most obvious differences between the protagonist of *Brás Cubas* and the early modern novels is that Machado's narrator is part of the Brazilian upper class. From his youth, Brás is obviously not the underdog beaten down by society that Lazarillo, Guzmán, Don Quixote, and Sancho are. Cervantes creates characters who are among the most sympathetic in literary history. The case is perhaps a bit more ambiguous for picaresque characters, but the scenes focusing on their difficult childhood certainly elicit at least a modicum of compassion from the readers. But Brás is, from the outset, an entirely unlikeable character. While Sancho and the *pícaros* represent a proto-capitalist challenge to early modern hegemony, Brás is their turn-of-the-century analogue. He is the inheritor of the success of capitalism, and the representation of the shift in a dominant ideology as the bourgeoisie define the social power structures of the nineteenth century.

The specific historical context that serves as the setting of *Brás Cubas* has important ramifications for the novel. Gledson gives a thorough, detailed analysis of the

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relevant political and historical events taking place in Machado's work (*Ficção*). *Brás Cubas* captures the time in which the Brazilian economy moved reluctantly away from its dependency on the slave trade toward a form of British transnational capitalism. In this sense, the novel not only serves as a commentary on the particulars of Brazilian history, but as a critique of the broader changes that were beginning to affect the way individuals interacted on both global and local scales. According to Roberto Schwarz's book *Um mestre na periferia do capitalismo*, the structure and rhythm of *Brás Cubas* combine to outline the social atmosphere of Brazil. Schwarz illuminates the connection between the fictional autobiography and larger issues of the expansion of capitalism. Robert Moser notes that the unstated impact of Schwarz's book can extend to a wider consideration of the move from imperialism to globalization throughout the world.[65]

What Schwarz's study does not do is situate Machado's text within the contexts of world literary history and the development of the novel. While those who study Machado seem to unanimously agree that his narrative represents a radical departure from the literature of his time, a comparison of his work with early modern Spanish novels provides a new frame of reference for understanding how Machado contributes to

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[65] "[T]he relevance of Schwarz's theories on cultural incongruity and intellectual dependency extend beyond Machadian studies. Schwarz's model offers an alternative viewpoint for understanding the process of cultural consumption on a global scale, one that dialogues with, and problematizes, not only the 'anthropophagic' precepts of the Brazilian modernist movement (and the avant-garde response articulated by 'Tropicalismo'), but also the core issues of cultural hegemony and transnationalism currently being raised within post-colonial studies. Brás Cubas' (and, by extension, Brazil's) tragic flaw is that foreign values such as liberalism and citizenship remain undigested, and, therefore, are never incorporated into local reality in a meaningful way. Meanwhile, moral and ideological incongruencies become inseparable from the compulsions of a slavocratic, monocultural and favor-driven society. For, according to Schwarz, the inconsistencies of Brazil's third world 'backwardness' should no be perceived as an anomaly, but rather as an intrinsic part of modern life, as defined by the socio-economic terms set up by Western imperial powers" (537).

the genre. Furthermore, this method demonstrates the lasting influence of the picaresque and *Don Quixote*, and, perhaps more importantly for the present purposes, it illustrates the impact that globalized capitalism has had on the development of the novel. In Renaissance texts, marginal figures gain power by challenging hegemonic discourse through a process of reappropriation and reinterpretation. These characters use a proto-capitalist ideology to gain an advantage in their struggle for social significance. In later works such as *Brás Cubas*, the lead character's affiliation with capitalism links him to the social elite rather than the margins. As a result, *Brás Cubas* comments on the inadequacies of the economic model in a way that plays off the narrative structures of early modern Spanish texts.

  Brás Cubas exhibits some of the formal elements most defining of the picaresque novels and *Don Quixote*, but with certain changes that reflect the social and political situation of nineteenth-century Brazil, including Machado's displeasure with the literary realism of his contemporaries. Taking from *Don Quixote*, *Brás Cubas* presents narrative ambiguity and a concern with the division between theory and praxis. While one might reasonably compare Brás to Cervantes's idealistic knight, in terms of economic history, it must be kept in mind that the lineage of Machado's protagonist is more closely related to Sancho Panza. Although Brás's theories fail to have an applicable practicality, he does not exhibit the benevolence of Don Quixote. Instead, he represents the baser elements more normally associated with Sancho and the picaresque figures. The first-person perspective also draws him closer to the likes of Lazarillo de Tormes and Guzmán de Alfarache, but the increasingly evident tension between narrator and implied author highlights the antagonism between Brás and the reader. Furthermore, as the

representative of the dominant social class, criticism of the protagonist is a direct attack

on the economic structures of capitalism and the injustices associated with the prevailing

ideology.

Brás Cubas begins, like *Don Quixote*, with a direct acknowledgment of the

reader. In a prologue titled "Ao leitor," the defunct narrator takes an approach similar to

that of Cervantes by using these first pages to demonstrate that contemporary readers will

not be able to approach this work in the same way that they had perhaps become

accustomed to doing. Cervantes refuses, from the outset of his novel, to provide his

readers with very specific details. The effect is a generalization of the message along with

an acknowledgement that the narrator will not draw conclusions for the reader. Cervantes

never forces anything on his audience. Instead, he invites them to connect the dots, in

whatever order they choose, and allows for the possibility of finding a deeper meaning. In

Brás Cubas, this ambiguity is increased exponentially, to the point that the prologue

begins with a disclaimer: "Que Stendhal confessasse haver escrito um de seus livros para

cem leitores, coisa é que admira e consterna. O que não admira, nem provavelmente

consternará, é se este outro livro não tiver os cem leitores de Stendhal, nem cinqüenta,

nem vinte, e quando muito, dez. Dez? Talvez cinco" (Prologue). The statement marks the

narrative as fundamentally exclusionary. Not only does Machado's prose require more

from the reader, it is also clear from the beginning that Brás does not think highly of his

audience. And throughout the novel he seems almost upset with the difficulties of making

his message clearly understood.

By noting that few, if any, readers will have the sufficient capacity to understand

his work, Brás begins to reveal his antagonism toward the reader and Machado's

challenge to the prevailing ideas regarding the mimetic capacity of language. The outright refusal to provide specific details for the reader defies the literary conventions of nineteenth-century realism. In Chapter 55, titled "O velho diálogo de Adão e Eva," the narrator provides little more than character names, a series of ellipses, and a few other punctuation marks. If a deeper meaning can be found in *Don Quixote* by those who seek to read between the lines, *Brás Cubas* leaves nothing but that which lies in between. Later, after his exasperated outburst "Deus! é preciso explicar tudo," (138) Brás writes a chapter with no more text than the heading "De como não fui ministro d'Estado" (139). Furthermore, the next chapter, titled "Que explica o anterior" begins with the phrase "Há coisas que melhor se dizem calando" (140). Rather than provide excessive description in the vain attempt to adequately represent reality through language, Machado allows the reader to reach his or her own conclusions. Not only does language often fail to provide a clear picture, attempting to affix signifiers to a signified assumes a non-existent stable relationship between the two. Language, Machado suggests, may not only be inadequate for representing the world, at times it can do nothing more than obscure those things which "melhor se dizem calando." As a result, this is not the text for a casual reader, but requires active participation at every turn.

The refusal, on Brás's part, to provide certain details of his life, however, antagonizes the relationship between narrator and reader. The initial affront to the readers' ability to understand the narrative is exacerbated throughout the novel, as Brás shows his own inefficacy in finding a meaningful connection with the reader. Beyond revealing the protagonist as a particularly unsympathetic character, the conflict between reader and narrator is one example of Brás's consistent failure to connect theory and

praxis. His shortcoming in this regard marks him, in a way, as a quixotic figure. Throughout the work he claims to be caught up in one "idéia fixa" or another, perhaps the most defining being the belief that he can find some type of poultice which he believes "era nada menos que a invenção de um medicamento sublime […] destinado a aliviar a nossa melancólica humanidade" (2). Nevertheless, his inability to think of anything other than inventing this poultice, however, leads to a neglect of his person which results in his descent into delirium and his ultimate demise.

If Don Quixote's failure to understand his reality beyond the imagined world of chivalric romance is the basis of his madness, Brás's disease consists in a constant preoccupation with theoretical and philosophical ideas of one sort or another. But where Don Quixote's madness causes him to exhibit a type of selfless nobility as he seeks out fame as a means of restoring the order of knight errantry, Brás has more material concerns in mind. The reason for the poultice was not simply to cure maladies. Instead, similar to what Sancho Panza hoped to do with his master's *bálsamo de Fierabrás*, Brás notes that he sought benefits that mark his enterprise as truly capitalist:

> […] que me influiu principalmente foi o gosto de ver impressas nos jornais, mostradores, folhetos, esquinas, e enfim nas caixinhas do remédio, estas três palavras: *Emplasto Brás Cubas*. Para que negá-lo? Eu tinha a paixão do arruído, do cartaz, do foguete de lágrimas. Talvez os modestos me arguam esse defeito; fio, porém, que esse talento me hão de reconhecer os hábeis. Assim, a minha idéia trazia duas faces, como as medalhas, uma virada para o público, outra para mim. De um lado, filantropia e lucro; de outro lado, sede de nomeada. Digamos: — amor da glória. (2)

By labeling one face of his coin with both "filantropia e lucro," Brás reveals the often overlooked truth that philanthropy is based upon fundamental inequalities of wealth. One

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cannot be a philanthropist without first accumulating excessive amounts of capital within an economic system which assures that others can benefit from the benevolent donation of portions of that wealth. Furthermore, Bras's scheme marks his capitalist nature, in that even his most charitable acts are conceived as part of his desire to increase his influence within commercial and cultural spheres.

The idealism of Don Quixote, which allows Cervantes to critique the disconnect between literature and reality as represented in narrative fiction, is replaced in *Brás Cubas* by a capitalist tendency through which Machado interrogates the failures of the ruling class in Brazil. Perhaps this is most concretely portrayed in the disparate relationships each man carries on with women throughout the novels. While Don Quixote's idealization of Aldonza Lorenzo as Dulcinea certainly casts aside the realities of a woman, reforming her through the masculine ideals of chivalric romance, his devotion to her is unwavering and based on noble desires. One may question to what extent Don Quixote contributes to the imposition of patriarchal ideals through these actions, but by all accounts there is no direct harm to Aldonza Lorenzo. The women with whom Brás associates, however, do not always fare so well. Although he speaks fondly of his first love, a Spanish prostitute named Marcela, he is quick to dismiss the relationship in callous, material terms after his father puts a stop to the relationship: "Marcela amou-me durante quinze meses e onze contos de réis; nada menos" (17).[66] Likewise, while initially enamored of Eugênia, the daughter of a poor, provincial family, he quickly comes to see her physical and (perhaps more importantly) financial shortcomings. His negative impact upon these women is symbolically revealed toward

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[66] Although it could be nothing more than conjecture, one could perhaps argue the existence of a connection between the Marcela of *Brás Cubas* and the one found in *Don Quixote* (I, 14, 101-05).

the end of the novel, in which he encounters both of them, on the same day, at the end of their lives. Upon seeing him, Eugênia cannot even look at Brás, who has descended to the slums in the capacity of the magnanimous philanthropist. Brás quickly recognizes that the woman is unlikely to accept his charity, yet he does attest to her misery. Later that day, he finds Marcela in a hospital bed, "feia, magra, decrépita…" (158).

Affirming a parallel between *Don Quixote* and *Brás Cubas* does not mean that a rigid similarity exists between the titular protagonists. The figure of the knight is the basis of a romantic interpretation that has been used to advocate the dreaming of impossible dreams. Brás, on the other hand, represents the self-serving greed of the Brazilian oligarchy. This is perhaps best shown in Chapter 21, in which Brás falls from his mount and is narrowly saved from his demise through the intervention of a passing muleteer. The initial gratitude that Brás feels is interpreted in monetary terms as he resolves to pay the good deed with five gold pieces. In his brief interaction with the muleteer, Brás describes the internal debate in which he justifies subsequently lower payments to the man. After he finally resolves to give the man one silver piece, Brás notices the muleteer's presumably grateful reaction, and immediately senses that he has overpaid. Brás's love for money, and the disappointment he expresses upon losing it, apparently outweigh the potential joy he should feel for having cheated death.

The description that Brás gives regarding his own ancestry suggests how best to consider the character within the context of literary history. Although he notes that the celebrated *licenciado* Luís Cubas is the first ancestor to which his family normally admits, Brás begins his genealogy with Damião Cubas, a cooper. The shame Brás's family feels for having descended from the working-class Damião is evident in the lie Brás's father tells about the origin of their surname: "Como este apelido de Cubas lhe cheirasse excessivamente a tanoaria, alegava meu pai, bisneto do Damião, que o dito apelido fora dado a um cavaleiro, herói nas jornadas da África, em prêmio da façanha que

praticou arrebatando trezentas cubas aos mouros" (3). Brás Cubas admits that his family has made false claims to be the descendants of a heroic knight in order to mask their humble origins. One might draw that conclusion that Brás is similar to Don Quixote in this regard, given that both make false claims about knighthood. Nevertheless, the past that Brás family is attempting to obfuscate is more closely related to the social position of Sancho Panza or the narrators of picaresque tales. Brás symbolizes the dominant social ideology of nineteenth-century capitalist Brazil, an ideology that came about, in part, as a result of the challenge posed by the proto-capitalist tendencies of those early modern figures.

Lazarillo, Guzmán, and Sancho all represent the margins of Renaissance Spain. While each exhibits negative attributes, they are all, to one degree or another, sympathetic characters. The *pícaros*, for example, write their narratives with the implied purpose of convincing a fictional interlocutor of their inherent change over time. While the implied author works against them, undercutting, to a certain degree, their intended message, readers are able to identify the possible redeeming qualities of these rogues. Likewise, despite his lack of a formal education, Sancho displays both wit and wisdom, and it should be no surprise that historically readers have been drawn to the simple peasant. Although all of these characters are deeply flawed and display a propensity toward gluttony, avarice, and sloth, they are cast within the role of the social underdog. And to the degree that a reader agrees with their aim of transforming society, one might find a hidden virtue within their vice. The capitalist tendencies of these figures become the basis of their struggle for social significance and greater economic and cultural capital.

In contrast, Brás Cubas represents the development of globalized capitalism as the hegemony of nineteenth-century Brazil. As an emblem of the sociopolitical failures of the period, Brás inherits only the most negative attributes of the proto-capitalist early modern figures. Rather than use his narrative to garner support from his readers, Brás displays

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outright contempt, consistently insulting his audience's intelligence. The shift in social position from margins to center also influences the structure. Beginning with the prologue, *Brás Cubas* changes the relationship between reader and narrator. The first-person perspective suggests a connection with the formal aspects of the picaresque. In *Lazarillo de Tormes* and *Guzmán de Alfarache*, the function of the implied author is to undercut the affirmations of the narrators, revealing the truth behind their deceptions. The discerning reader can gather information such as the *picaros*' dubious heritage and insincere display of piety. This relationship changes in *Brás Cubas*, however, given that the narrator seems more forthcoming with regard to his own flawed character. The result is that the implied author plays a different function. Instead of revealing the truth behind Brás's lies, the implied author points toward a larger critique of nineteenth-century capitalism, which includes issues of slavery and economic disparity. The implied author manipulates the protagonist to show, as Gledson has concluded, that Brás Cubas is Brazil (*Ficção* 71).

It is clear from the prologue of *Brás Cubas* that the novel will challenge the conventions of creative writing. Throughout literary history, works have often been prefaced by some sort of analysis by the author or by some other commentator. In these preliminary texts the author will often attempt to move from behind the disguise worn as implicit author and reveal himself or herself to the reader. This is the case in *El Buscón*, for example, in which Francisco de Quevedo announces, "Aquí hallarás en todo género de Picardía (de que pienso que los más gustan) sutilezas, engaños, invenciones, y modos, nacidos del ocio para vivir a la droga, y no poco fruto podrás sacar dél si tienes atención al escarmiento" (xxv). Here, Quevedo seems to be writing a note to the reader, almost as if it did not belong in the text proper. Even the pagination of modern editions (using the lower case roman numerals) attempts to mark this prologue as an element that does not

belong to Pablos's narration that will follow. The sense that Quevedo, having finished

writing the work, has stepped outside of the novel's narrative tension, however, is only an

illusion. In fact, his authorial intrusion heightens the conflict between implied author and

the first-person narrator as Quevedo attempts to manipulate the reception and

interpretation of his text through intricate wordplay. In fact, it would be more accurate to

speak of a narrating voice of the prologue that is not quite Quevedo's but takes on a

literary function.

Unlike Pablos in *El Buscón,* the fictional protagonist narrates the prologue of *Brás

Cubas*. In *Lazarillo de Tormes*, the prologue's narrative voice shifts, almost

imperceptibly, from that of the historical author to the narrator himself. In contrast to

Quevedo, the author of *Lazarillo de Tormes* intentionally blurs the line between authorial

intervention and fiction in the prologue. Machado takes a similar approach and allows his

narrator to address the audience directly in a way that celebrates the prologue's

ambivalence as a frame for the novel. As an element that is both apart from and a part of

the text's body, the prologue provides an area where Machado can play with the

metafictional quality absent from the realism of his contemporaries, but present in the

works of early modern Spanish narrative. Furthermore, Brás's opening remarks are

highly metafictional, referring to the nature of his composition and its potential reception

by distinguishing between two types of readers: "gente grave" and "gente frívola"

(Prologue). This difference between these two classes of readers may call to mind

Guzmán de Alfarache, with its dual prologues, one addressed to the "vulgo" and another

to the "discreto lector" (91, 93). According to Nina Cox Davis, although the distinction

between "vulgo" and "discreto" may seem self-explanatory, Alemán categorizes these

readers not by an *a priori* designation, but as a result of how they ultimately understand the picaresque narration that follows: "those readers who exercise power over Alemán and his subject, in unfavorable judgments, are ridiculed as undiscerning—in effect, the *vulgo* […]. We must indeed wonder whether—as a corollary—'discretos' might not refer in fact simply to readers who favor the *pícaro*'s autobiography, regardless of its deception" (34). The result of the divided prologue is that "Alemán's explicit statements in his introductory passages regarding his narrator's linguistic abilities seem intended to guarantee guidelines for reading the *Guzmán*" (29). Thus, while Alemán provides the two categories, it is up to each reader to decide in which camp he or she belongs. By suggesting that those who read *Guzmán de Alfarache* in a way other than the explicitly stated intentions of the author are the *vulgo*, Alemán protects himself from censorship, by preemptively attacking certain readings of the novel. Yet, as is the case with the words of Guzmán, one can never be sure to what extent these prologues are reliable indicators of the truth. The subtext of the two prologues is that readers are not only asked to make an interpretational choice before reading the text, they are also forewarned that a subversive reading exists.

Likewise, the readers of *Brás Cubas* must choose whether they fit within the class of *gente grave* or *gente frívola*. But rather than base the comparison of the two groups of readers upon their interpretation of the moral message of the novel, *Brás Cubas* is more concerned with how they will view the work within the context of a larger literary history: "Acresce que a gente grave achará no livro umas aparências de puro romance, ao passo que a gente frívola não achará nele o seu romance usual." Yet his concern in making this statement has nothing to do with the reader's choice in this matter. Instead, either interpretation fails to explain the novel: "[E]i-lo aí fica privado da estima dos

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graves e do amor dos frívolos, que são as duas colunas máximas da opinião." Unlike Alemán who divides his readers as a way of suggesting a single acceptable reading, Brás rejects nearly all of his readers' opinions from the outset. Similarly, the first chapter begins with Brás refusing to follow the conventions of self-writing laid out by the picaresque, again defying the readers' expectations: "Algum tempo hesitei se devia abrir estas memórias pelo princípio ou pelo fim, isto é, se poria em primeiro lugar o meu nascimento ou a minha morte. Suposto o uso vulgar seja começar pelo nascimento, duas considerações me levaram a adotar diferente método" (1). This shift away from the pre-established form for fictional and historical autobiography epitomizes the way that the narrator's conflict with readers affects structure. In expressly refusing to conform to precedent, Brás makes it harder for the reader to contextualize the novel.

As the narration continues, the tension between Brás and his readers is heightened. The unsympathetic nature of the protagonist/narrator is part of what Schwarz notes as the basis for the social message of Brás Cubas: "[S]em prejuízo do raio de ação ilimitado, e, neste sentido, universal, a volubilidade do narrador e a série dos abusos implicados retêm a feição específica, ou, para falar com Antônio Candido, configuram a 'redução estrutural' de um movimento que a circunstância histórica impunha — ou facultava, conforme o ponto de vista — a camada dominante brasileira" (35). The mistreatment of the reader at the hands of Brás Cubas has a dual effect. First, he alienates the readers, allowing them to cast a critical eye toward Brás and the class he represents. Secondly, it plays into the development of a narrative structure in which conventions are discarded and the reader is forced to consider the novel in the context of linguistic instability.

Brás Cubas's actions not only confirm his position as a representation of the harmful ruling class, but the implied narrator makes it clear that his misdeeds are

symptomatic of the problems of prevailing ideologies. In recounting his childhood, for example, Brás speaks of his mistreatment of the house servant Prudêncio:

> Desde os cinco anos merecera eu a alcunha de "menino diabo"; e verdadeiramente não era outra coisa […] Prudêncio, um moleque de casa, era o meu cavalo de todos os dias; punha as mãos no chão, recebia um cordel nos queixos, à guisa de freio, eu trepava-lhe ao dorso, com uma varinha na mão, fustigava-o, dava mil voltas a um e outro lado, e ele obedecia, — algumas vezes gemendo, — mas obedecia sem dizer palavra, ou, quando muito, um — "ai, nhonhô!" — ao que eu retorquia: — "Cala a boca, besta!" (11)

Later, Brás encounters Prudêncio, now freed from his service to the Cubas family, and the once mistreated servant is now replicating the actions of the young Brás, repeating the phrase "Cala a boca, besta!" as he beats his own servant (68). The scene not only presents the cruelty inherent in Brás Cubas and those of his class, it demonstrates the pervasiveness of this behavior throughout the various levels of Brazilian society. Machado is not just criticizing a certain social group, but the broader ideology that nineteenth-century Brazilian capitalism propagated.

The nature of Brás Cubas and the hegemony Machado condemns is perhaps best illustrated through Quincas Borba's theory of *humanitismo*. A *reductio ad absurdum* of Auguste Comte's positivism, along with the various other -isms of nineteenth-century philosophy, *humanitismo* is a theory which propounds to bring down all other schools of thought, but basically does nothing to change society. This disconnect between thought and practice brings to mind the gap between theory and praxis in the character of Brás Cubas. Even as Quincas is explaining his master work, his actions undercut the supposed gravity of his philosophy: "A clareza da exposição, a lógica dos princípios, o rigor das conseqüências, tudo isso parecia superiormente grande, e foi-me preciso suspender a conversa por alguns minutos, enquanto digeria a filosofia nova. Quincas Borba mal podia

encobrir a satisfação do triunfo. Tinha uma asa de frango no prato, e trincava-a com filosófica serenidade" (117). The juxtaposition of Brás's jubilation over understanding *humanitismo* with the ponderous philosopher sucking on a chicken bone points toward the vacuousness of the idea itself and the general lack of teleology behind Brás's autobiography. Where the picaresque narrators have the clear objective of convincing an interlocutor of a supposed religious or moral change, Brás seems to have no purpose in his narration. As Schwarz notes, "[E]m termos de intriga digamos que natureza e posição da crise são insólitas: esta não tem caráter dramático, nem se prende ao momento da opção ideológico-moral, que está depreciado; vai aparecer mais adiante, na forma difusa do tédio, ligado justamente à *desnecessidade de optar*" (70).

Throughout the novel, Machado defies literary norms. He provides a mimetic representation of Brazilian high society, but relies on the caprice of a defunct narrator who refuses to explain the process whereby he is able to communicate to the reader. In order to challenge the realism of his contemporaries, Machado borrows from the themes and structures of early modern novels, recasting them in the light of shifts in hegemony. The move not only sets Machado's prose apart from that of his contemporaries, but, as Fitz notes, it anticipates the more well-known fiction of the twentieth century in Latin America:

> Machado may, moreover, be regarded as both the originator of "realismo mágico" in Latin American letters and as the first writer in Latin America to reject the basic tenets of realism and, in so doing, to create not only a "new narrative" but a new reader as well—and to have achieved all this some fifty to sixty years before Borges would do much the same thing with his later but better known *ficciones*.
> ("Internationalizing" 441-42)

Although it is only in recent decades that Machado's work has received considerable attention from critics, the style he inspired is part of the most widely read and commercially successful literature to come out of Latin America. And one might say that the announcement of Mario Vargas Llosa as the recipient of the Nobel Prize in literature in 2010 represents the lasting impact of the type of fiction descended from Machado's work.

The novels of the Latin American Boom period, however, have also come under criticism for their depiction of reality. These texts, especially those that are grouped within the genre of magical realism, tend to represent an essentialized version of Latin American culture, which can oversimplify the complex social structures of the various countries in the region. The market expansions that took advantage of the human and natural resources of Latin America threatened to eradicate local cultures as the potential profits of foreign investment began to trump the importance of maintaining folkloric traditions. The periphrastic realism of early modern novels and *Brás Cubas* evolves in works such as Gabriel García Márquez's *Cien años de soledad* by allegorizing Latin America, reducing it to the fictional microcosm Macondo. This move allows authors to use a style of realistic prose within a fictional world that celebrates the type of folkloric epistemologies that Western capitalism fails to appreciate. Magical realism finds political power by representing marginalized cultures, but in doing so threatens to overdetermine both Latin American and North American cultures into a false dichotomy. One might look to the ideological issues inherent in identity politics, which, while providing some benefits for marginal classes also solidify the dividing lines that are the root cause of social injustices. This theoretical model outlines the larger problems inherent in using

essentialized representations of a particular group for political purposes.[67] The natural

reaction of more contemporary writers has been to problematize the often facile depiction

of Latin America by looking at characters who not only appreciate North American

culture, but who use the increased means of communication to find the ways in which a

globalized economy allows for the diffusion of subversive elements that provide new

challenges to hegemony.

Alberto Fuguet is a founding member of the group of writers who identify as the

McOndo generation, a linguistic play combining García Márquez's fictional world of

Macondo and the iconic globalized presence of McDonald's.[68] To understand the way

that these writers approach culture, one might look to *Zona de Contacto*, a weekly

supplement to the *Mercurio* newspaper in Chile, of which Fuguet was one of the

editors.[69] The magazine, which appeared during the 1990's, was, in many ways, a

precursor to contemporary internet culture.[70] Aimed at Chilean youth, it offered

information and commentary about new literature, music, films, and television shows.

While the magazine does promote works coming out of Latin America, it seems to cater

to those who desire to know more about foreign cultures, especially as mediated through

the influence of the United States. While the knee-jerk reaction would be to consider the

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[67] See Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble* for an example of this critique in the context of representations of sex and sexuality. Stewart Hall's "Race: The Floating Signifier" takes a similar approach to explain race relations.

[68] For more on the development of McOndo see Alberto Fuguet and Sergio Gómez's introduction to the collection *McOndo* and Edmundo Paz-Soldán's "El escritor, McOndo y la tradición."

[69] I thank Cristián Opazo of La Universidad Católica de Chile for informing me about *Zona de Contacto*.

[70] The comparison is not mine, but one Fuguet related to me during a conversation in June of 2011.

magazine as a prime example of the advancing imperial domination of North American capitalism, a closer look reveals a more sophisticated analysis on the part of the editorial staff. *Zona de Contacto* goes beyond commercial propaganda for the expansion of a foreign culture. The magazine celebrates the more subversive aspects of a globalized culture, including the United States. Articles about *Pulp Fiction*, *Beavis and Butthead*, and the generation-defining influence of Kurt Cobain's Nirvana are printed alongside pieces questioning the notion of Chilean national identity and the relevance of required reading lists in Chilean classrooms.[71]

Anyone who has studied the Latin American literary tradition (especially as it is currently taught within North American universities) will easily recognize the inherent conflicts (both internal and external) facing those writers seeking to temper a South American national identity with the global influence of the United States. It was for this reason that the *Iowa Review* rejected one of Fuguet's short stories, claiming that it was "not Latin American enough" (Hidalgo). Fuguet's acceptance of a globalized culture is overlooked without considering which aspects he has chosen to accept. Fuguet's body of work can, in one sense, be viewed as an illustration of Jesús Martín Barbero's theory about cultural reappropriation. While profit surely motivated the expansion of United States cultural productions in a worldwide market, Fuguet, along with other authors of the McOndo generation, found value the more subversive elements of United States

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[71] While the only way I know of to access the magazines in their original form is in the archives of the Biblioteca Nacional de Chile in Santiago, selected articles have been reprinted in *Apuntes autistas*, ed. Alberto Fuguet. I owe a debt of gratitude to the Vanderbilt Center for Latin American Studies for funding a trip to Santiago where I was able to view these publications.

culture. In doing so, Fuguet also defies the themes and narrative conventions that had come to be accepted as the defining qualities of Latin American prose.[72]

Fuguet's *Mala onda* displays a challenge to the literary norms of the Boom within the first-person narration of Matías Vicuña. The novel complicates the idea of Latin American identity and presents the psychological ambivalence of a character caught between local and global cultures. While some have argued that, in general, Fuguet's work avoids serious political commentary, a closer examination of his development of narrative structure comments on the way in which *Mala onda* reveals the impact of twentieth-century capitalism on the rising generation in Chile including its socio-political ramifications. Machado responds to nineteenth-century realism by renewing the metafictional aspects of early modern novels, but Fuguet reacts to the abstraction of magical realism's allegorical representations of Latin America through a type of realism distinguished by the constant presence of mass media and commercialized, name-brand products along with references to specific historical figures and geographic locations. A comparison of *Mala onda* to the structure of picaresque works illustrates the way that Fuguet uses his prose to accentuate the mental isolation and social alienation felt by Matías as he balances his identity as a Chilean within a globalized economy complicated by the oppressive regime of Augusto Pinochet.

The fusion between form and content in the picaresque novels comes about as the relationships between reader, narrator, and author are filled with tension, multiplied, and complicated. Taken at face value, a narrator recounts his life to an unknown interlocutor

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[72] For more on how Fuguet's work fits within Latin American literary history, see María Nieves Alonso, Stéphanie D. Araya, Karin Hopfe, Patrick L. O'Connell, Cristián Opazo, and Diedra Reber.

of some higher social standing, but things are not as simple as they seem. The overt

presence of an implied author contends with the *pícaro*'s version of events, calling into

question the veracity of his account and laying bare the conventions of self-writing.

Reading between the lines, one may sense that self-interest has won out over historical

veracity as the narrator fashions a fictionalized protagonist through a manipulated tale.[73]

The temporal distance between the *pícaro* as narrator and as protagonist is key, as it

provides the aging rogue with the benefit of hindsight as he distorts his own life story to

cast it in the best light possible.[74] The implied author represents the overarching structure

that prevents the *pícaro* from achieving his objective of social ascent, and the narrative

itself symbolizes the individual struggle for significance within the rigid hierarchy. The

pícaro's only recourse is to reappropriate discourse of various types (religious, legal,

literary, etc.) as a means for justifying his pretensions (see Davis). His perceived ability

to use such linguistic registers for his own motives threatens to deconstruct the entire

hierarchy. In the face of early modern globalization, the picaresque novels develop a new

literary style that brings margins into the center in order to enact the means whereby

individuals gain significance through the subversion of dominant discourse. The narrative

structure of the picaresque mirrors the subversive nature of the character and the

transgressive nature of the text itself.

Such a shift in narrative focus is also apparent in Fuguet's writing, as well as in J.

D. Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye*, the explicit intertext of *Mala onda*. Both works

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[73] See Benito Brancaforte, Judith Whitenack, and Joan Arias.

[74] This chronological divide is often signaled in the text through the use of the diminutive of the protagonists name (i.e., Lazrillo, Guzmanillo) something that the narrator generally resists, preferring the standard from (i.e., Lázaro, Guzmán).

present the fictional autobiographies of upper-class youth who seek solace from the constant feeling of alienation by wandering through the streets of the respective cities in which they live. Rather than focus on economically marginalized subjects, these novels center on the alienating influence modernity exerts on twentieth-century youth and portrays their continued struggle for significance despite their access to cultural and financial capital. Salinger's text portrays certain attributes of the picaresque, yet adapts these to fit the cultural circumstances of the United States during a time of the increasing presence of corporate capitalism and its alienating influence.[75] In contrast to the picaresque, Holden Caulfield's narration does not emphasize the importance of the writing process. The engagement with past literature seems to take place despite the narrator's intentions. For example, *The Cathcer in the Rye* ironically acknowledges and simultaneously rejects the picaresque form in the first lines: "If you really want to hear about it, the first thing you'll probably want to know is where I was born, and what my lousy childhood was like, and how my parents were occupied and all before they had me, and all that David Copperfield kind of crap, but I don't feel like going into it, if you want to know the truth" (1-2). These lines appear to mirror those of the first chapter of *Brás Cubas*, but the difference in *The Catcher in the Rye* is that the narrator does not seem to be aware of how he relates to past literary works. Where Brás Cubas seems to be actively fighting against past precedent, Holden Caulfield is more concerned with his own story and not with its place in literary history.

Although he references his own writing, Holden's narrative seems to move away from focusing on his role as narrator. He seems more concerned with his own

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[75] For more on the picaresque nature of *The Catcher in the Rye*, see Edgar M. Branch, Carol Ohmann and Richard Ohmann, and William Riggan.

introspection than with analyzing the processes of creative writing. Holden is less concerned with the reader than Brás Cubas. He seems to be addressing someone, yet it is uncertain at which points he is addressing a particular person rather than simply using an informal "you" in place of the impersonal "one." In any case he seems fairly unconcerned with his reader, at one point casually noting "I forgot to tell you about that" (55). While the reader must determine whether or not the narrator's own self-interest taints the story, Holden seems unconcerned about convincing anyone about anything. His imprecise narration seems less calculated and more indicative of the fact that he is writing the narration while still a disinterested youth. Unlike other picaresque narrators, Holden relates a portion of his life only a few years after the events occur. This greatly reduces the temporal distance between narrator and protagonist. Structurally, *Catcher in the Rye* presents the voice of a youth in increasing isolation. His account seems to be written for no one in particular with no apparent purpose. In the time between the occurrence of the events and the writing about them, little has changed for Holden. He is still riddled with the same insecurities and uncertainties.

Using *The Catcher in the Rye* as his model, Fuguet manipulates the form established in picaresque prose to mirror the sociopolitical environment of the 1980's in Chile. The metafictional aspect of the early modern texts is the result of narratives that constantly point out their own existence as written objects. The narrator refers to his own capacity as storyteller, and the presence of the implied author lays bare the literary conventions used to manipulate the presentation of the *pícaro*'s past in an effort to provide a more accurate portrayal of the shaping and retelling of history. In *Mala onda*, however, the creative process is effaced as the narrator becomes increasingly isolated

within the narration itself. Just as Matías struggles to connect with those around him, as a narrator he is set apart from the multiple, distinct voices typically present in fictional autobiographies' division of narrator and protagonist, intrusion of an implied author, presence of a fictional interlocutor, and consistent exposure of literary devices. The dual voice of the narrator-protagonist is unified in *Mala onda* through the reduction of temporal distance in the novel. Unlike the *pícaro* who writes his story later in life, Matías narrates one day at a time as if the novel were part of a personal diary. The action of each day is recounted without any visible knowledge on the narrator's part of what the future holds. The opening lines, in fact, are narrated in the present tense, as are other sections, approximating a form of stream-of-consciousness. The erasure of temporal distance prevents the novel from being read as Matías's revisionist history seeking to impose a certain meaning onto the past. *Mala onda* consistently focuses on the current moment, referring to the past only in so much as it can be used to interpret and give significance to the present. Matías's psychological struggle is confined to the narrative constraints of the present tense as he strives to understand himself in relationship with the unstable historical past of his family and his country.

The early modern Spanish picaresque narrators consciously manipulate the past in order to obfuscate their prior transgression and their dubious ancestry. It is through the intrusions of an implied author that one can read between the lines and see what the *pícaro* is attempting to hide. In both *Lazrillo de Tormes* and *Guzmán de Alfarache*, for example, the implied author hints at the true nature of the narrators' meretricious mothers, and the possibility of a *converso* past. In *Mala onda*, the multiple voices are silenced as Matías readily admits to his own Jewish bloodline and his mother's affair

with an uncle. While an implied author is still present, there is no overt undermining of the narration's veracity. Matías willingly admits to his family's moral shortcomings. He also seems to take a certain amount of secret pride in admitting that he is aware of his mother's hidden Jewish ancestry (a fact of which not even his father is aware). For Matías, his Jewish heritage becomes a source of comfort and allows him to identify, to a degree, with figures like Holden Caulfield and Josh Remsen, the fictional Jewish punk rock artist from New York whom Matías reads about in *The Village Voice*. As Matías admits to those aspects of a *pícaros* life typically hidden by the rogue narrator, the function of the implied author changes, as it does in *Brás Cubas*, to reveal the connection between Matías's experience and broader social issues.

Mala onda moves further away from the complicated transmission of a message in picaresque novels by eliminating the presence of a fictional interlocutor. The unknown social superior of the picaresque establishes a power dynamic that clouds historical veracity. In *Cather in the Rye* the interlocutor is reduced to an unknown, yet somewhat familar, "you." This narratee is completely eliminated in *Mala onda*, and once more Matías is forced to stand on his own as his status of creator is consistently denied. Not only does his narration not speak to anyone in particular, the creative process is completely effaced, almost as if the text being read had actually never been written. At one point, Matías mentions that his classmate Luisa, who is both fascinated with and repulsed by the decadence of Matías's cohort, "siempre ha amenazado con escribir una novela sobre todos nosotros" (95). Luisa believes that one of Matías's friends would make a great literary figure. Matías disagrees, in a way that both posits himself as an ideal literary character and denies his function as author: "Yo estoy en absoluto

desacuerdo con ella: creo que yo sería un personaje literario mucho más interesante […].

Pero como la que se va a pegar la lata de escribirlo todo es ella, no puedo alegar

demasiado" (95). Paradoxically, Matías does not acknowledge the narration that is *Mala*

onda while he is discussing Luisa's hypothetical book. In fact, he describes writing such

a text (supposedly what he, as the first-person narrator, is doing) as a "lata," or bore.

Furthermore, the physical act of Matías writing the work is never mentioned within the

pages. The narrative structure of *Mala onda* emulates the alienating effects of

globalization by isolating Matías from the creative process.[76] In the same way that Matías

is unable to identify with the multitude of characters that surround him, the narrative

seems to deny his contribution to the physical writing of the novel, preventing him from

making a meaningful connection to the text or to the implied readers.

The narrative structure of *Mala onda* relates dialectically to early modern Spanish

picaresque that moves socially marginal figures to the forefront of literature. Fuguet uses

a style that incessantly distances itself from his upper-class narrator, moving him toward

the psychological and cultural margins. His attempts to reconcile the opposing influences

of local and global cultures fracture his identity and prevent him from fully developing a

psychological connection to either his home country or the mass culture marketed by

expanding capitalist forces. *Mala onda* serves as an example of the way that narrative

responds to the ever-changing dynamic of cultural margins and centers by moving away

from past literary forms in Latin America that, to an extent, idealized rural, folkloric

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[76] As Stéphanie D. Araya puts it, "Su principal interés pareciera descansar entonces en proponer un régimen discursivo singular que pone a prueba las tradicionales costumbres literarias realistas al anular, precisamente, la esperada distancia crítica del narrador" (186).

traditions. As a result, Fuguet contributes to the ongoing development of prose in a context beyond the borders of Chile and Latin America.

The thing that most strikingly distinguishes Fuguet's realism from that of his predecessors is the way he approaches mass media culture. A seemingly excessive description of commercial products, places, and people (many of which come from abroad) is constantly present in the mind of his protagonist. Some critics have viewed Fuguet's focus on the presence of a globalized market as evidence of the overtly commercial nature of his work.[77] Nevertheless, a comparison with early modern picaresque novels helps reveal the way that *Mala onda* interacts with hegemony. Matías is, in one sense, a postmodern *pícaro*. The shift from the metafictional structure of the picaresque toward the isolating first-person narrative is a reflection of the evolution of capitalism. The picaresque use of capitalist ideology to justify their desires for upward mobility is replaced by Matías's feeling of alienation in the face of a global market that is changing the landscape of his own local culture as well as the way he understands his own place in the world.

Fuguet's immediate commercial success has brought about a large body of criticism that his work has a purely market-driven motive. This negative assessment is exacerbated by his tendency to focus on wealthy youth who prefer going to the bowling alley in the upscale mall of the *barrio alto* and listen to Pink Floyd rather than protest the Pinochet dictatorship while singing Victor Jara songs. Luis E. Cárcamo-Huechante, for example, affirms that the emergence of the McOndo writers came about, in large part, as a result of an editorial decision to find young writers in Latin America with a global

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[77] See Luis E. Cárcamo-Huechante and Stéphanie D. Araya.

appeal. Cárcamo-Huechante further argues that this concern with the world market is reflected in Fuguet's narratives: "Las obras de Fuguet […] trasuntan una postura narrativa empeñada en establecer una relación simbiótica entre literatura y cultura de masas, en base a la inscripción de la representación literaria dentro de una ficción mayor: la de los medios masivos y el mercado hegemónico" (176). For such critics, the inclusion of popular culture and the common products and colloquial language of the upper-class youth is a tactic for increasing Fuguet's market share.[78]

This criticism is bolstered by Fuguet's heavy borrowing from Salinger, which, for some, suggests that *Mala onda* is more aligned with cultural developments in the United States than in Chile (Cárcamo-Huechante 196-200). Yet even within *Mala onda*, the narrative itself deals with such an attack through the relationship that Matías has with his high school literature teacher Flora Montenegro, who is an obvious representation of the Chilean left. The materials covered in her class, including a feminist reading of Jorge Luis Borges's "Emma Zunz," is complemented by the personal outings she takes with Matías to see musical performances of songs written by "Quila, los Inti, los Jaivas y el resto de la aristocracia comunista" (258).[79] Her own personal worldview is punctuated by a disdain for globalized market capitalism, as evidence by her dislike of Rio de Janeiro, the place where *Mala onda* starts and where Matías began the process of internal reflection that drives the narrative. In response to Matías's recounting of how much he enjoyed Rio, Flora responds: "No te puedo creer. A mí me pareció espantoso. Tanto turista y ese afán local de no asumir la identidad del país. Parece Miami. Si quieres

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[78] For more on this criticism of Fuguet, see María Nieves Alonso, José Leandro Urbina, Ivonne Cuadra, Karin Hopfe, and Aymará de Llano.

[79] Quila (Quilapayún), los Inti (Inti-Illimaní), and Los Jaivas are all part of the *nueva canción* movement which started in Chile with Violeta Parra but later spread throughout Latin America. Their folkloric protest music provided the soundtrack for the left's opposition to Pinochet and is an important element in the magical realist novel *La casa de los espíritus* by Isabel Allende.

conocer Brasil, tienes que ir a Bahia. Ahí está la verdad" (261). Flora's dislike of Rio
based on the tourists who go there reflects her belief that one can know the true Brazil,
and that Rio, due to its popularity, somehow fails to reveal the essence of, what
Brazilians would call, *Brazilianidade*. Her attitude overlooks the more complex issues of
Brazilian national identity through a blanket rejection of mass culture. She presumes the
ability to speak of a "real" Brazil, rejecting Rio as a simulacrum that falls outside her
own definition of Brazilian national identity.

Matías, whose own political attitude is ambivalent but certainly not apathetic,
discerns the problems in his teacher's sociopolitical outlook. Furthermore, the comment
she voices about *Catcher in the Rye* marks her inability to comprehend the way that
Matías defines himself within the world. Matías, who has only recently found out that his
mother is Jewish and who has already found ways to identify with Holden Caulfield on
various levels, is admittedly perturbed when Flora quickly dismisses the novel's
relevance:

De todas formas me pareció lamentable eso de querer poetizar y hasta

universalizar la problemática de un personaje que, seamos sinceros, no le interesa

a nadie. O sea, las peripecias y mañas de un adolescente judío malcriado y

autorreferente que se da el lujo de taimarse e irse a un hotel porque tiene los

bolsillos llenos de plata no pueden interesarle realmente a nadie. Excepto a los

críticos judíos, claro, que han inflado tanto el libro. (266-67)

Not only does her description of Salinger's novel insult Matías directly by disregarding
his feelings about the work, but in a sort of metafictional commentary, she is dismissing
the problems most important to Matías along with the type of narrative style that best
describes *Mala onda*. When Matías understandably interjects, "[N]o sé qué tienen que ver
los judíos en todo esto," Flora's speech devolves into an anti-Semitic rant, affirming that
"el llamado *establishment* literario neoyorquino está manejado por los judíos, eso lo sabe
todo el mundo" (267). The youth's obvious displeasure causes the teacher to ask,

"¿Tienes algún problema?," to which he quite rightly replies, "No, creo que al revés" (267). The scene ends with Matías, narrating in the present tense, deciding that "ésta será la última vez que la vea en mi vida. Aunque deba cambiarme de colegio" (267). Flora's conflation of *Catcher in the Rye* with the "[t]oda esa cosa sionista y norteamericana" exemplifies the latent critique *Mala onda* makes regarding leftist politics in Chile (267). The undiscerning rejection of all things North American fails to account for the clash between margins and centers happening on both global and local levels, including within the United States.

Matías may be confused as to where to look in order to understand his place in the world, but it is only because he does not accept the facile answers provided by either the right or the left in Chile. He is willing to accept the fact that he can identify with "un adolescente judío malcriado y autorreferente" (266) from New York. But this does not mean that Matías accepts the entire ideology of globalized capitalism. In fact, he seems more aware than his friends of the potentially negative effect of accepting North American culture. He is, for example, wary of when the North American Rusty joins their group. Rusty, whose father is a tire salesman from Ohio, seems so exotic to Matías's peers, but the protagonist is more skeptical. The distance Matías maintains from Rusty is more than a simple display of adolescent jealousy. It symbolizes the "in-betweenness" of Matías's cultural identity. While he cannot understand the leftist politics of his teacher, he does not fully accept the North American culture represented by Rusty.

Those who criticize Fuguet's work as a disingenuous, commercialized product that rejects the folkloric traditions of South America in favor of hegemonic global capitalism fail to see the nuances in Matías's acceptance and rejection of foreign cultures. While Matías struggles to understand his own identity, the older Alejandro Paz is a more psychologically complete version of a character whose identity is based on the reappropriation of the subversive elements of globalization. Paz is a university student who tends the bar at Juancho's, an establishment whose owner uses his connections with

members of the military junta to provide alcohol and drugs to the upper-class youth of the *barrio alto*, making it the preferred locale of Matías and his friends. Paz professes leftist politics, but unlike Flora Montenegro, he embraces certain aspects of North American popular culture. Not only is he the one who suggests *The Catcher in the Rye* to Matías, but Alejandro is obsessed with the United States. His dream to travel north, however, is far different than Matías's single experience vacationing in Miami with his parents. Instead, Alejandro wants an experience that involves some more marginal aspects of the culture of the United States: "Hay que ir solo. Recorrer USA en Greyhound, por ejemplo. Quedarse en pana en Wichita, comer un taco frente a El Álamo, dormir en un hotelucho lleno de vagos en Tulsa, Oklahoma. O ir a Nueva York, huevón; meterse al CBGB, cachar a la Patti Smith en vivo. Ésa es vida, pendejo" (69).[80] While the comment is similar to that made by Flora Montenegro with regard to Brazil, the difference is that Paz does not pretend that his trip will lead him to discover some essential aspect at the heart of United States. Instead, he lists wildly disparate experiences, that seem to be more about engaging in a process of personal discovery than in finding the essence of United States culture. Alejandro describes a journey that suits his personal taste and reflects the type of cultural influence the United States has had in his own life. And it is notable that he ends this imagined trip at CBGB listening to Patti Smith.

The reference to punk rock music by Alejandro, and throughout the novel (including the references to Josh Remsen), is an important indicator of those aspects that most fascinate Alejandro Paz. Patti Smith, an early and influential punk rock singer-songwriter, and CBGB, a club in New York responsible for bringing punk rock to the

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[80] For those unfamiliar with Chilean slang, "quedar en pana" means to be left without money, "huevón" is derogatory word that nonetheless is commonly used between friends, and "cachar" in this context means "to catch" or "to see."

United States, represent some of the more subversive manifestations of United States culture. They are examples of one way in which mass media is reinterpreted to undermine hegemony rather than reaffirm it. Punk rock music arose, in large part, as a result of the discontent of English youth during the era of Margaret Thatcher and, fittingly enough, at the same time in which the field of cultural studies revitalized Marxist theory to reassess the way that margins contend with centers.[81] While the initial reaction on the part of readers may be to consider Paz's anti-Pinochet politics and his desire to visit America as contradictory, further analysis of those things he chooses to embrace reveals that his views are perhaps less contradictory than those of Flora Montenegro. The flood of foreign investment that has historically exploited South American natural resources and physical labor is initially strengthened by a mass media which extends a neoliberal hegemony. Nonetheless, this same increase in communication allows Alejandro Paz to find and promote the more subversive elements of North American culture. And toward the end of the novel, as the plebiscite approaches, Alejandro is among those people who were sequestered by the government to prevent swaying the outcome of the vote. Alejandro's fate suggests this his variety of subversion is based upon a reappropriation of hegemonic mass communication is inherently more dangerous

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[81] It is interesting to note the origin of punk rock music in England, not only because it is contemporaneous of cultural studies, but also because its arrival in Chile came most likely through the music's success and distribution by North American record labels. In fact, other important bands appearing in Fuguet's work such as Pink Floyd (discussed later) also came from England but entered mainstream, global culture through the United States. This is perhaps even more important given the fact that Pinochet was brought to power in a CIA-backed coup, which was openly advocated by Henry Kissinger, while the most significant indicator of Pinochet's political legitimacy came through Margaret Thatcher's praise of the leader following his support in the war for the Malvinas Islands.

to the prevailing social order than Flora Montenegro's support of what Matías calls "la aristocracia comunista" (258).

Some critics have failed to contextualize those features of North American culture that fascinate Alejandro Paz and Matías, ignoring the fact that they often represent the counter-culture of the United States. The type of realism that Fuguet develops involves inundating the reader with references to products and people of both foreign and local cultures. But while all of these have come to Matías as a result of the extension of a globalized, imperial economy, many of them support larger social reforms of some kind. This is especially true of the music that is represented, something that has gone largely uncommented by critics in the study of any of Fuguet's work. In *Mala onda*, Matías enjoys Pink Floyd, a band whose music uses the 1960's focus on psychedelic experience for psychological introspection. Their albums *The Dark Side of the Moon* and *The Wall* are among the most influential and best-selling records in the history of rock and roll. Yet despite this market success, they offer a profound critique of capitalist culture with songs such as "Money," "The Happiest Days of our Lives," and "Another Brick in the Wall (Part 2)."[82] The influence of subversive, but commercially successful music is evident throughout Fuguet's work. The supplement *Zona de Contacto* contains various articles dedicated to Nirvana, almost certainly the most influential band within the grunge rock movement of the 1990s.[83] And in *Aeropuertos*, Fuguet's most recent novel, the

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[82] The last two songs are most often played together, and frequently confused as being a single composition. They offer perhaps some of the most recognizably subversive Pink Floyd lyrics, "We don't need no education. / We don't need no thought control. / No dark sarcasm in the classroom. / Teacher leave those kids alone."

[83] Grunge rock, which played off the punk rock movement, contains direct criticism of consumerism in music. Kurt Cobain, the lead singer and songwriter of Nirvana, directly confronts his own listeners and their commercial support of his music. In the song "In

protagonist Pablo does not get his name from Chile's most celebrated literary figure, but from the Radiohead album *Pablo Honey*, which contains one of the band's most well-known songs "Creep," which will almost certainly go down as the most iconic anthem of alienation of the 1990s.[84]

In *Mala onda*, a variety of such potentially subversive products from foreign cultures are present throughout the text, but Fuguet does not make their meaning explicit. Rather, Matías's narration reflects the youth's natural ambivalence about such things. He may seem drawn to these representations of counter-culture, but he is still in a process of self-discovery, and unable to fully comprehend what these items represent. Likewise, given that the presence of anything from outside Chile in *Mala onda* is, to varying degrees, the product of a globalized economy's influence, readers may find it hard to distinguish between which aspects support hegemony and which oppose it. But what is clear is that Fuguet is certain to show that Matías's process of self-discovery is dependent on walking the line between local and global cultures. The novel's political message becomes more evident as one understands the deeper meaning inherent in Fuguet's style of realism. Mimetic representation in *Mala onda* is not achieved through detailed descriptions of a room or the physical features of a person, but through the constant reference to specific corporate name brands, foreign literature and music, and geography.

Bloom," he sings, "He's the one / Who likes all our pretty songs / And he likes to sing along / And he likes to shoot his gun / But he knows not what they mean." And in "Smells Like Teen Spirit," he gives a damning voice to his entire generation with the words, "Here we are now, entertain us."

[84] To quote a few lines that epitomize the message of "Creep," "I don't care if it hurts / I wanna have control / I want a perfect body / I want a perfect soul / I want you to notice / When I'm not around / You're so fucking special / I wish I was special / But I'm a creep / I'm a weirdo / What the hell am I doing here? / I don't belong here."

These details help situate the reader in the world of Matías, who is bombarded by capitalist influences but who is able to find the culturally subversive elements that make their way to Chile through the increased communication of expanding global markets.[85]

If some critics have been unable to appreciate references to North American culture and their potentially seditious messages, readers unfamiliar with the geography of Santiago cannot fully comprehend the importance of movement within the city. Fuguet's references can seem almost monotonous at times, providing references to very specific street corners and physical features of the urban landscape, which, without context, seem to have no bearing on the importance of the novel. For example, the North American Rusty is said to be studying at Nido de Águilas (90). While the name suggests the private school's pretentious nature, Fuguet never explains that the school is widely recognized throughout Santiago by members of all social classes. Even a cursory glance at the current web page illustrates that the school educates students with a focus on United States culture. While the site can be viewed in both English and Spanish, many elements are only in English, including a breakdown of the word "eagles" as an acronym for the school, "Excellence, Academics, Globalism, Leadership, English, Success." The school naturally attracts the children of United States nationals, but it is also one of the most prestigious institutions for upper-class Chileans. When Matías notes that Rusty studies at Nido de Águilas, a lot more information is being conveyed than one might think. The cultural implications suggest that Rusty is, like his father, a part of the hegemonic imposition of United States capitalism.

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[85] Linda S Maier makes a similar argument in analyzing *Las películas de mi vida*, arguing that Fuguet's use of audiovisual mass media and digital communication reveals the way his characters fashion their own identity in-between the esseniallized vision of Latin American culture and the imperialism of United States hegemony.

While many critics have found Fuguet's references to geographic locations important, many have chosen to focus on how these places *lack* meaning. A major trend in studying Fuguet is to apply the approach of the French anthropologist Marc Augé and his theory of "non-places" (Maier, Pittenger, Cárcamo-Huechante). Augé argues that postmodern (or in his term "supermodern") society has created certain transitory areas that are intentionally devoid of the cultural meaning that would, for example, be inherent in a religious edifice.[86] Critics note that almost all of Fuguet's works include this type of place. *Mala onda* begins with Matías as a tourist in Rio de Janeiro and quickly moves to his time in an airport. The plot of *Las películas de mi vida* occurs while the protagonist is in an airport, on an airplane, or in a hotel during an extended layover in Los Angeles. And the most important scene of Fuguet's latest novel *Aeropuertos*, which is represented in the short film *Dos horas*, takes place in a newly built hotel next to the airport in Santiago during Pablo's layover on his way to Germany.

But the focus on these so-called "non-places" ignores the important way in which Fuguet also gives detailed descriptions of the places that his protagonists visit. In each of

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[86] "If a place can be defined as relational, historical and concerned with identity, then a space which cannot be defined as relational, historical, or concerned with identity will be a non-place. The hypothesis advanced here is that supermodernity produces non-places, meaning spaces which are not themselves anthropological places and which, unlike Baudelairean modernity, do not integrate the earlier places: instead these are listed, classified, promoted to the status of 'places of memory,' and assigned to a circumscribed and specific position. A world where people are born in the clinic and die in hospital, where transit points and temporary abodes are proliferating under luxurious or inhuman conditions (hotel chains and squats, holiday clubs and refugee camps, shantytowns threatened with demolition or doomed to festering longevity); where a dense network of means of transport which are also inhabited spaces is developing; where the habitué of supermarkets, slot machines and credit cards communicates wordlessly, through gestures, with an abstract, unmediated commerce; a world thus surrendered to solitary individuality, to the fleeting, the temporary and ephemeral, offers the anthropologist (and others) a new object, whose unprecedented dimensions might usefully be measured before we start wondering to what sort of gaze it may be amenable" (Augé 77-78).

these texts, his characters trace the *barrio alto* of Santiago, in a way that both J. Augustín

Pastén B. ("A Tale," "Neither") and Venodh Venkatesh ("Growing up") argue relates to

the ambivalence Fuguet demonstrates with regard to the influence of neoliberal

capitalism and its globalized influence in Chile.[87] As part of an ongoing project that

compliments this dissertation, I have proposed to further illustrate the way in which

Fuguet deals with space and movement in *Mala onda* through the creation of an

interactive web site, www.mapamatias.com.[88] The site uses the Neatline plug-in on the

Omeka platform in order to map the places visited, mentioned, or remembered by Matías

throughout the novel within the temporal context established by each chapter, and has

two purposes. The first is to provide a resource for those seeking to understand more

about *Mala onda*. Each place, as best as it can be located, is mapped along with a short

explanation of its importance, including a brief description of its extra-textual meaning

where necessary.[89] Furthermore, taken as a whole, the map gives a clear illustration of

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[87] As Pastén notes: "The value of Fuguet's *œuvre* resides not only in the fact that he is the first writer in Chile to offer such a clear view of the *barrio alto*'s geographical and social layout, especially in *Mala onda,* but the fact that he is undoubtedly one of the first authors to fictionalize the nascent signs of a society which, having been forced to adopt a new type of economic *modus operandi* – neoliberalism – witnesses the arrival of globalization and its discontents, with its multinationals, its McDonalds, its communication technologies, its cultural industry, and its individuals" ("Neither" 8). And according to Venkatesh, "Though critics have often pegged Fuguet as a malevolent purveyor of neoliberalism, I suggest that the representations of northamericanized space within *Mala onda* reflect at the very least an ambivalence towards accepting the United States within Santiago" (317).

[88] I am grateful for a Dissertation Enhancement Grant provided by Vanderbilt University, which allowed me to attend the Digital Humanities Winter Institute at the University of Maryland in January of 2013, where I gained the expertise to create this web site.

[89] One of the next phases of this project is to collaborate with readers who are more familiar with the Chilean landscape of the 1980s. Given that the novel is a representation of the past, it is impossible, without first-hand knowledge, to determine whether certain places are either fictional or if they no longer exist.

Matías's global view. Even to readers familiar with the work, it may seem surprising that

Houston, Dakar, and Indonesia all appear on the map. Yet references to places outside of

Chile are dwarfed in comparison to the map Matías creates of Santiago. The information

provided about the places mentioned in *Mala onda* exemplifies the depth of meaning not

immediately apparent in Fuguet's narrative.

One meaningful example comes during Matías's only venture toward the lower-

class parts of Santiago at the beginning of his Caulfield-esque tour of the city. As he is

taken south in the bus along Avenida Américo Vespucio, the last landmark he recognizes

is "esos bloques deslavados que se montan alrededor de la rotonda de Grecia" (301).[90]

The roundabout is situated along the street leading to the Estadio Nacional and was the

scene of one of the most memorable horrors of the military coup of 1973 in which it was

the bodies of victims of political repression that were piled up there, and not just the

cheap apartments known as *bloques* ("Querella"). Other critics have noted that Matías's

flight away from the safety of the "shopping" and "bowling" of Vitacura leaves him lost

and confused, not knowing whether or not he has wandered into the dangerous La

Pintana neighborhood where his family's maid lives (Pastén B. "Tale"). But the moment

in which Matías crosses into the part of the city he no longer recognizes is marked,

without any overt commentary, by an area representing the beginning of the Pinochet

dictatorship. Without knowledge of the importance of this geographic location, one might

not understand how this moment within the novel relates to the psychological exposition

of Matías's confusion. Matías, like Chilean society in general, is unsure how to

comprehend the world created by the Pinochet dictatorship. Although Matías is

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[90] On a sort of "meta-dissertational" note, I lived for six months in the apartment
complexes Matías describes here.

comfortable within the realm of the *barrio alto*, where his friends and relatives have benefited from the military junta's heavy-handed politics, when he ventures into the more marginal parts of the city, he is lost.

The map of the places visited and mentioned by Matías reveals the extent to which he forms his identity in relation to both the virtual community of the globalized world and the specific meaning inherent in the local culture. As a postmodern *pícaro*, Matías is confronted by a globalized, capitalist hegemony, and as an intelligent upper-class youth who is concerned with (albeit confused about) the political situation of his country, he is situated directly in between these two different cultures. But if Fuguet's work presents a North American influence on Chilean youth as a way of illustrating the potential for subversion within hegemonic mass media communication, the end of *Mala onda* seems to return Matías to the confines of his conservative home life. His flight away from his family is interrupted when he is caught in a political manifestation taking place in the city center to support the ousting of Pinochet through the plebiscite referendum which is the backdrop of *Mala onda*. As authorities converge with tear gas to disperse the protesters, Matías is fortuitously rescued by his grandfather, who finds refuge for them in the Club Unión. The men's club in the heart of Santiago is perhaps the quintessential symbol of conservative, patriarchal, capitalist power of the Chilean elite. Once safe, Matías's father comes around to collect him from the club, and they proceed to another locale where they indulge in the typical carnal pleasures of the wealthy, including alcohol, drugs, and expensive prostitutes.

Matías's first encounter with the sectors of the city outside the *barrio alto* and his second-hand experience with political repression are immediately juxtaposed with a

seeming acceptance of his father whom, to this point, Matías had readily despised. This change in attitude toward the paternal figure is accompanied, in the brief final chapter, by Matías's seeming approval of Pinochet's victory in the plebiscite. This apparently conservative ending is one of the primary reasons why readers and critics might find *Mala onda* to ultimately validate hegemonic global capitalism along with its effect in Chile through international support for a dictator. Yet a look to picaresque tradition might, once again, illuminate the way in which even a seemingly conservative ending does not invalidate the potentially subversive message contained within the body of a work. Due to the strict censorship of the time, picaresque novels were naturally reticent to put forth overtly subversive messages.[91] *Lazarillo de Tormes*, for example, was published anonymously. And within his narration Guzmán de Alfarache is consistently attempting to prove his own piety. The concern over censorship is often apparent in the prologues of subsequent picaresque texts as well, which, in one form or another, suggest that any subversive reading is an error on the part of the reader.

    Mala onda certainly did not face the censorship issues of authors who lived during the reign of the Inquistion, yet Fuguet does use the end of his novel to highlight the complexity of the political issues facing Chile at the time. One cannot dismiss Matías's actions throughout the text, nor his questioning of social and political norms by those who profess allegiance to both the right and the left. And this is perhaps best noted in the final words, as he describes his emergence from the "mala onda" in which he had recently found himself "Sobreviví, concluyó. Me salvé. Por ahora" (354). The ambivalence of these final words relates to the way Matías will only continue to debate

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[91] This is also the case, of course, in a large number of Golden Age works, especially the theater.

his situation caught between global and local cultures. The theme reemerges in Fuguet's later works, most notably, but not exclusively, in *Las películas de mi vida* and *Aeropuertos*.

In 2007, Fuguet created a short, experimental film titled *Matías va a terapia*. The movie shows segments of a conversation Matías has with his psychologist, who is never seen in the film. Even though such a scene never takes place within the novel *Mala onda*, Matías's attitude is the same, as he resists engaging in any meaningful way with the psychologist, and insists that he is only in the session because his mother forced him to go. In 2012, Fuguet directed another short film, *Matías se presenta*, in which Matías has a short conversation with friends followed by a montage of his rather mundane day. Watching these films one gets the sense that Matías, as a character, has not grown in any significant way. Whether these films are meant to represent events happening before, during, or after those of the *Mala onda*, they reveal the fact that Fuguet is still concerned with Matías as a representation of ambivalence and confusion among Chilean youth. Whatever sense of closure might be presented in the final pages of *Mala onda* is undone by the films, which seem to resist the teleological interpretation of the novel as a *Bildungsroman*.

If the early modern *pícaro* is a proto-capitalist who advocates personal advancement without regard for bloodline succession, the twentieth-century descendent is naturally the benefactor of capitalism, but one who is caught up in the negative effects of the global market and who must continue to struggle for social significance in the face of a new hegemony. Early modern texts established mimetic representation of the world as a defining attribute of the novel. Their inclusion of metafictional elements through self-

referentiality and a focus on the writing process itself combine with a more accurate depiction of contemporary cultural concerns in order to find new ways to communicate the evolving relationship between margins and centers. As characters representing classes normally excluded from literary works take center stage, they must find new narrative techniques in order to gain control within a hierarchical structure meant to prevent social mobility.

The evolution of the literary manifestations of the type of resistance presented in early modern works is linked with the development of realism within the novel. The writings of Machado de Assis and Alberto Fuguet respond, in very different ways, to what these writers perceive as a need to renovate narrative. The comparison of these texts with picaresque works and *Don Quixote* is beneficial for understanding the relationship between mimetic representation in literature and the development of prose, as well as the importance of early modern fiction. The sociopolitical context in which conquistadors were beginning to find the means whereby they could gain social significance through economic gain as well as through eyewitness narrations provides an important framework for understanding the connection between nascent capitalism and the rise of the novel in Spain. While one might extend this relationship to many other literary traditions (including other European countries and even different genres within Spain), *Brás Cubas* and *Mala onda* are particularly suited for showing how the novel continues to be tied to the development of globalized capitalism. By establishing the sociopolitical environment in which the first modern novels emerged, one can see the way that the interplay between margins and centers is one of the defining qualities of narrative fiction and how, although

it may not always be immediately evident, the genre's continued evolution is dependent

on a resistance to hegemony.

CONCLUSION

The field of cultural studies has built upon various forms of ideologically-oriented theory in order to provide a more thorough analysis of how margins and centers interact in the face of expanding global markets. While the hegemony of twentieth-century globalization may seem to have an overwhelming dominion as it spreads, it also opens up new possibilities for inter-cultural communication. Jesús Martín Barbero has shown the importance of considering individual reception when one analyzes the impact of mass media on local cultures. Although globalized communication may seem simply to reaffirm hegemony (and indeed, in many cases, that is likely its intended purpose), Martín Barbero focuses on those instances in which marginal cultures have found ways to reappropriate messages for subversive ends. An application of this theoretical approach to early modern Spain provides a new frame of reference for understanding the socio-political context that led to the literary innovations in narrative and the first manifestations of the modern novel. Spanish conquistadors exemplify some of the ways in which many early modern figures fought against a static social hierarchy. By establishing their authority as eyewitnesses of the conquest, these authors illustrate how language can be used to reframe historical events. Not only do conquistadors defy the authorized system for publishing historical accounts, but they also inscribe themselves within the hegemonic discourse of imperial colonialism to justify their own social ambitions.

While the intentions and effects of different soldiers' histories vary greatly, they all share an ability to manipulate narrative in their own favor. The rebel Hernán Cortés

recasts himself as the conquering hero in faithful service to the king. Bernal Díaz del Castillo defies historical authority by insisting upon the important role that the lower ranks played in the conquest in order to justify his claim to an economic reward for himself and his posterity. Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca uses religious terminology as a way of preempting criticism about the heretical activities in which he engaged while living among the indigenous population. In each case, the first-person perspective allows the narrator to use the type of hegemonic discourse, or the linguistic and narrative structures that perpetuate the dominant ideology and solidify the rigid hierarchy, in potentially subversive ways.

An understanding of the ways in which margins and centers interacted during the conquest sheds light upon the way in which picaresque novels present a similar struggle for social significance. The narrative structure of the picaresque, including the presence of an implied author, fictional interlocutor, and the split persona of a narrator/protagonist, inscribes the cultural tensions of the early modern period within a literary form. Conquistadors used their historical accounts to highlight what they considered to be praiseworthy deeds, but the protagonists of picaresque narratives devise techniques to distort perception in their favor. The intervention of the implied author reveals the deceptive nature of the *pícaros'* accounts. The result is a body of works that examine the social issues of the period and that interrogate the process of creative writing.

In *Don Quixote,* the social tension inherent in the narrative structure of the picaresque can be seen once again in the relationship between the knight and his squire. Although it has not been thoroughly analyzed previously, the ways in which Sancho resists his master's mission affect the novel's form by accelerating its metafictional

thrust. Don Quixote's mission to resurrect knight errantry and to bring back the ideals of the Golden Age of classical antiquity is inherently and fundamentally conservative. But Sancho possesses a proto-capitalist vision that distorts his understanding of his master's objectives. As the squire learns more about his role, he reapplies the values of chivalry for his own economic benefit. The control that he eventually gains over his master symbolizes the subversive nature of Sancho's reappropriation of the chivalric discourse and the importance of the plump peasant within the novel's narrative structure.

As one looks to more contemporary manifestations of the novel, the influence of the picaresque and *Don Quixote* is still evident. The refashioning of early modern Spanish narrative came about through the inclusion of socially and economically marginal characters whose proto-capitalist mindset provided a means for subversion. In later centuries, as capitalism becomes the dominant ideology, novels by Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis and Alberto Fuguet continue to play off the artistic forms of the Renaissance to reevaluate the ways that literature represents the relationship between reality and fiction. Each author seeks to correct the ways in which his contemporaries failed, in one form or another, to adequately represent the socio-political atmosphere of the period. Machado increases the tension between narrator and reader in *Brás Cubas* to criticize the social elite of his time. Fuguet's *Mala onda* relates dialectically to the picaresque by effacing the narrative process in a way that reveals the narrator's social alienation and accentuates the importance of commercial products, historical figures, and geographic locations in the development of individual identity in a globalized culture.

The evolution of prose fiction from the idealism of pastoral and chivalric romances to the first modern novels is intimately linked to the socio-political dynamics of

the Renaissance. In a form of early modern globalization, social conflicts in the New World had a crucial impact upon the local cultures of the Iberian Peninsula. The innovation of literary form is the result of writers who were seeking to find new ways to communicate previously incomprehensible ideas about how individuals related to society. Although they do not advocate for total social equality, the texts all argue for social progress, albeit often in very subtle and ironic ways. The influence of the first modern novels is present in more contemporary works, which show that the genre continues to develop in response to the ongoing tensions between margins and centers.
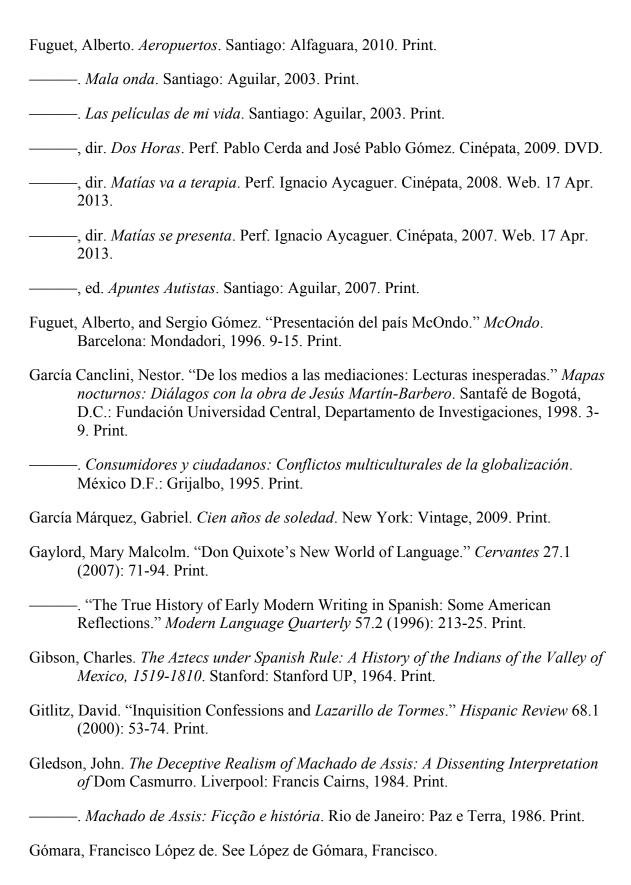
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