THE QUEST FOR BROTHERHOOD IN A TIME OF TURMOIL: GOLDEN-AGE LITERATURE AS THE MIRROR OF AN AGE

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ABSTRACT

The emergence of brotherhoods, or secret societies, has often been attributed to fundamental changes in society, especially to declining kinship bonds. The idea that associative bonds can in some way protect against adversity provides a useful starting-point for enquiry into the function of brotherhood in Golden-Age Spain. It has been noted that there was a significant increase in the number of pious lay confraternities at this period of enormous change, but much less is known about how the poor and obscure adapted to hardship and repression, and how successful were their attempts at survival, mainly because of lack of reliable sources of information. The present work investigates the development of brotherly ties amongst true marginal classes, and also those groups which, as is demonstrated, moved and mediated between the marginals and pious confraternities: academics and literary men. Pious confraternities and documented data are used in the first section to establish reference points from which to develop a system for interrogating, as primary historical sources, the abundant and varied literary output of contemporary academics. Traditional brotherly criteria established and described in relation to pious confraternities are then analysed in a variety of different social groups, to see if there is any common ground between them.

The thesis demonstrates at one level the validity of popular fiction as a primary historical source, providing the modern researcher with ample material for his inquiry into brotherhoods. At another level, the thesis establishes a close link between brotherly bonds and social turmoil, showing how corporate strength was used to protect the individual from forces over which he had no control. Finally, it emerges from the study that the most characteristic feature of all brotherhoods is not, as one might expect, a religious purpose, although on the surface this seems to be true, but the practice, in varying degrees, of organized crime or subversive activity. Furthermore, all the various groupings studied made an impressive contribution to contemporary popular culture. Through both oral and written traditions they established norms of behaviour and control, and transmitted the values and beliefs of the organization, thus ensuring the continuity of the culture, if not the original brotherhood. Our quest to find evidence of a striving after brotherhood at all levels of society concludes that the phenomenon existed, not as the exclusive structures generally implied by modern usage of collective terms (confraternity, guild, order, fraternity, secret society), but as a continuum of brotherly units.

Declaration

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

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The thesis addresses one thousand, one hundred and fifty books, theses, and articles. It is to the credit of the John Rylands Library, University of Manchester, that almost all of these were available through their services alone. It would be impossible to name every member of staff who aided in this task, and I should therefore like to thank those with whom I came into contact most often: John Laidlar (Head of Counter Services and fellow Hispanist); Alan Neville (for On-Line searches with Dialog databases); Barry White (for information retrieval both at database level and through personal contacts); Pat Cummings, Paul Holder, and Nigel Kimber (Information Office); Sue Bate (Law Librarian); June Woolley (Photocopying service); John Tuck (A-V Office), and Glenys Matheson (Keeper of Manuscripts). Understandably the library became a second home to me for a number of years, and I should especially like to offer warm thanks and appreciation to all the in-house staff who gave me support and hospitality, chiefly to Harry Saunders, Danny Ryan, Margaret Guerrieria, Margaret Peters, and Sandra Woodward.

Although it has not always been possible to accommodate the views of so many people, their comments and contributions have all shaped the final work. I hope that the present thesis justifies the interest and involvement of all these, and others too numerous to mention.

FOREWORD

In the interest of brevity, all references to confraternal patron saints have been shortened from Nuestro Señor to NS or Nuestra Señora to NS^{a}. Similarly, direct forms of address, such as Vuestra Merced, have been abbreviated to VM. Quotations from old Spanish texts have been modernized, unless this would interfere with the argument or interpretation of terms used, by adopting orthographical conventions: v-b; ç-z; i-j; f-h; g-j; q-c; rr-r; u-b; x-j; y-i; z-c. Accents have been supplied where these would be required in modern Castilian, and modern words have been substituted where suitable, as in ome-hombre; mesmo-mismo; ansi-así; nro-nuestro.

The major problem with a work which uses literary sources as historical evidence is in the sheer volume of data. One cannot present a case on flimsy evidence, and yet there is a risk in adducing so much evidence that the work becomes long, and the argument indistinct. In order to circumvent this problem, therefore, where more than two or three examples exist, or where it is thought that a few words of qualification might be appropriate, but not central to the argument, these have been included in Appendices. The same applies to quotations whose length threatens to disrupt the flow of ideas. In these cases, a gloss is given in the main text, with a reference to the Appendix for those interested in reading the original.

Abbreviated titles

If each footnote in the text which follows contained full references to works, the thesis would be unwieldy in the extreme. For this reason, abbreviated references have been used where possible, except in the case of secondary sources cited by other scholars, which I have failed to consult for myself. Full references are given in the Bibliography at the end of the work, in alphabetical order of Authors' or Editors' names. Anonymous works, or those of disputed authorship, are listed in the Bibliography under a shortened form of the title, as used in the text (e.g. Lazarillo, Academia Burlesca, Maladrós, Mazalquivi). Abbreviated references used in the text, notes, and Bibliography are as listed below:

AA Sevilla	Archivo del Ayuntamiento, Sevilla
AAL	Archivio Arcivescovile in Lucca, Visite Pastorale, vol. 26
ACA	Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Barcelona

ADC	Archivo Diocesano de Cuenca
ADS	Archivo Diocesano de Salamanca
Annales ESC	Annales, Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations
AGS	Archivo General de Simancas
AHDE	Anuario de la Historia del Derecho Español
AHDJ	Archivo Histórico Diocesano de Jaén
AHM	Archivo Histórico de Mallorca (Llibre de Clavaria)
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid)
AHPV	Archivo Histórico Provincial de Valladolid
AHPZ	Archivo Histórico Provincial de Zamora
AML	Archivo Municipal de Lorca
AMM	Archivo Municipal de Murcia
AMS	Archivo Municipal de Sevilla
AMV	Archivo Municipal de Valladolid
AMZ	Archivo de la Mitra de Zamora
BAE	Biblioteca de Autores Españoles
BALH	Biblioteca de antiguos libros hispánicos
BCB	Biblioteca Comunale, Bologna (l'Archiginnasio)
BSCE	Boletin de la Sociedad Castellana de Excursiones (Valladolid)
BMC	Biblioteca Mistica Carmelitana
CS	Constituciones sinodales
Dicc. Aut.	Academia Española. Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana, edited by A. de Pagés and J. Pérez Hervás (Madrid, 1726-39; 1925-6)
DC	Diversos de Castilla
Espasa Calpe	Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada, published by Espasa Calpe, 70 vols (Barcelona)
FO	Fondo Ospedale
INR	Novísima Recopilación
LA	Livres d'Actes
Mem. Hist. Esp.	Memorial histórico español, 50 vols (Madrid, 1851-63)
NBAE	Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
PE	Patronato Eclesiástico
PL	J.P. Migne, Patrologia Latina (Paris, 1844ff)
RABM	Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos
RAE	Obras de Lope de Vega, Real Academia Española, 15 vols (Madrid, 1890-1913)
RAE Nueva	Obras de Lope de Vega, edited by E. Cotarelo y Mori, Real Academia Española (Nueva Edición) 13 vols (Madrid, 1916-29)
RDTP	Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares
RHC Occ	Receuil des historiens des croisades: historiens occidentaux (Paris, 1844-95)
T I-III	Carmelo Viñas y Mey, and Ramón Paz, Relaciones histórico-geográfico-estadisticas de los pueblos de España hechas por iniciativa de Felipe II (Reino de Toledo), pt. 1, 1951; pt. 2 (2 vols) 1963

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Research experience includes Research Assistantship on bibliographical work in conjunction with John Rylands University Library of Manchester from October 1989 to March 1990; and presentation of a seminar paper to the Spanish Department: 'Can Golden Age Spanish Literature be used as a Historical Source?' Publications include two review articles for the Wellcome Unit for the History of Medicine in Social History of Medicine on Andrés Piquer, Las epidemias de Hipócrates. Con observaciones prácticas de los antiguos y modernos; and Luis García-Ballester et al, Medical Licensing and Learning in Fourteenth-Century Valencia. Papers published are based on a chapter of the present thesis: 'El licenciado Vidriera and the Glass Men of Early Modern Europe', in Modern Language Review (1990); and 'An Odd Kind of Melancholy: Reflections on the Glass Delusion in Europe (1440-1680)', History of Psychiatry (1990) (for details, see Bibliography).

For My Father, Charles Crossley

Through the night of doubt and sorrow
onward goes the pilgrim band,
singing songs of expectation,
marching to the promised land.
Clear before us through the darkness
gleams and burns the guiding light;
brother clasps the hand of brother,
stepping fearless through the night.

(B.S. Ingemann (1789-1862), translated by S. Baring-Gould (1834-1924)).

1. INTRODUCTION

Brotherhood as a social concept is a difficult phenonomen to define and delimit. Standard definitions include: 'companionship, friendly alliance; a fraternity, guild, society, or association of equals for mutual help, support, protection or action; the fellowship or communion of Christians with one another and with Christ; community of feeling uniting man and man'.[1] The purpose of this thesis is to examine the concept of brotherhood at different social levels; to investigate how people formed brotherly groups and for what purpose, and to evaluate common features in corporate groups for a given period. Was brotherhood always interpreted in a Christian context? Or was the goal of such union mutual help, protection or action? Because the word 'confraternity' seems to imply that the pious organization is the body to which we refer, it will be standard practice in this thesis to avoid using the word except in that narrow sense, and to use 'fraternity', when the wider issue of brotherly groups is our meaning. Historically, words used to denote fraternal bonds were not so limited in meaning. Brotherhood in the sense of a corporate group was most often rendered in the Spanish Golden Age by hermandad, universidad, or by cofradía.[2] Official usage indicates that the prime function (or net result) of association was that of companionship or solidarity, whether informally and implicitly perceived, or legally formalized within the group.[3] In the medieval period, hermandad had meant an assembly of persons united for the purpose of defence.[4] Golden-Age definitions accommodate the idea of Christian fellowship, and also communal fellowship between men of similar background:

> Comúnmente se entiende de los que tienen hermandad en alguna obra pía y religiosa... o se dijeron fratres los que se servían de un mismo pozo... como paganos los aldeanos que viven en un contorno y beben de una mesma fuente.[5]

Had the term taken on other shades of meaning at this time? What contemporary factors contributed to a strengthening of brotherly bonds, and what factors strained those bonds? In short, our task is to redefine the meaning and purpose of brotherhood in the context of Golden-Age Spain, overriding, for the moment, any preconceived notions about it.

Why should this period be of interest in our inquiry into the concept of brotherhood? It has been noted by modern scholars, having the benefit of hindsight, that the Spanish Golden Age demonstrated a

very distinct social order, comprising a community of so-called 'pueblos': an amalgam of hundreds of small corporate groups and communities, held together loosely by common economic circumstances, legal privileges, and shared allegiances to Church and Crown.[6] Life revolved around family, lineage, parish, village, confraternity, and guild, to which loyalty and fraternity were sworn. Each cluster was semi-autonomous, safeguarding its interests, and protecting its privileges. Bearing in mind our earlier definitions of brotherhood, it would seem to be appropriate to begin with the idea that such groups existed for mutual help, support, protection or action. If we accept the general idea that there was a perceived need for solidarity at this time, it is relatively easy to identify why collective representation had its attractions for the layman at a time of great social turmoil. Our period of investigation, commonly known as the Golden Age, spans the reigns of Philip II, Philip III, and Philip IV. This is an arbitrary time-span, its limits imposed more for convenience than because nothing of relevance to our study of brotherhood occurred outside those limits. It will therefore be necessary, from time to time, to look at events in medieval and early modern Spain which have a bearing on the thesis, to ensure a balanced perspective is maintained. Very approximately, then, our investigation will concentrate on the years 1540-1660.

1.1 A Time of Turmoil

What do we mean by social turmoil? This can best be explained by briefly summarizing contemporary political, religious, economic, social, and medical events. Spain's political problems included insurgency in the Netherlands, piracy in Spanish sea-lanes, and privateering in its overseas empire: problems which incurred costly military campaigns in the Netherlands, Italy, and Portugal, and naval battles against England, Morocco, and Turkey. There were periods of peace, however: France signed the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559; Portugal was annexed to Spain in 1580; the Treaty of Vervins again ended hostility with France in 1598; peace was made with England in 1604; and a twelve-year truce was agreed in 1607 with the Dutch. But war against the Dutch broke out again in the 1620s, and against France in 1635. Within Spanish dominions, meanwhile, there were revolts in 1640 in Catalonia and Portugal (the latter regaining its independence in 1668) and in 1647-48 in Sicily and Naples. Across the Atlantic, a convoy system had to be used to ensure that the fleet carrying gold and silver from the New

World escaped French, Dutch, and English freebooters and safely reached Seville. Deployment of huge reserves of manpower abroad, then, led to psychological and demographic changes at home, where the less able, the young and the old often had to adapt to life without the main bread-winner.[7]

The sixteenth century also saw far-reaching changes in Spanish religious life, with the development of a schism in the Western Christian world between Catholic and Protestant faiths. Orthodox Catholicism was controlled by several major developments, some of them peculiar to Spain. Decrees of the Council of Trent (1545-63) strove to reconcile the controversial issues of divine grace and free will which were threatening to divide Catholics. The rule that salvation was to be merited through faith, good works and a moral life stimulated many changes: new or reformed confraternities and sects began to practise their own particular version of orthodoxy. In some cases this attracted Inquisitorial suspicion, and systematic repression in much-publicized autos de fe. Together with mystics, Erasmians and "Lutherans", the alumbrados stressed the personal relationship between the soul and God, without mediation by persons or institutions. Deprecating a reliance on the sacraments and good works, they believed in the efficacy of mental prayer and "internal spirituality" as a means of attaining salvation. Some of Spain's famous mystics avoided permanent censure, but so-called 'alumbrado' cells in Seville and Valladolid in 1557 and 1558 were not so fortunate, nor was the movement led by Juan de Villalpando and a Carmelite nun, Catalina de Jesús, in 1575. According to Bennassar there were many such communities in the sixteenth century.[8] Use of the term alumbrado came, after the Edict against alumbrados on 23 September, 1525, to be synonymous with all kinds of heterodoxy. The inquisitors used it when they saw a threat of heresy or of independence of the institutional church. Thus Ignatius of Loyola, Juan de Vergara, Bartolome Carranza, Juan de la Cruz and Teresa de Avila were all accused of being alumbrados. But in origin and development, the alumbrados were totally independent of protestants. The Inquisition clearly differentiated between the two movements, some being charged with illuminism, and some with protestantism.[9]

The newly-formed Jesuit Order posed a harder problem for the Inquisition. Despite Jesuit involvement in secondary and higher education aimed at the defence of orthodoxy, they came under heavy

attack from secular clergy and other Orders, who suspected they harboured illuminist tendencies. In 1588 Luis Molina published Concordia Liberi Arbitrii, in which he disputed the need for pious works and recourse to the Sacraments in order to gain salvation, allowing man to choose his own destiny.[10] A fierce debate ensued on sufficient grace and efficacious grace. Meanwhile a witch-hunt against groups of questionable orthodoxy gathered momentum. Following Siliceo's appointment as Archbishop of Toledo in 1546, discrimination against conversos culminated in a statute which required his future clergy to be of pure ancestry. Philip II's approval of this measure gave official recognition to the association between Catholic orthodoxy and racial purity. The result was a peculiarly Spanish obsession with honour, and the concept of 'soy quien soy'. Meanwhile in 1545 an increasingly powerful Inquisition drew up the first Spanish Index, which imposed censorship on all printed material in Spain deemed 'heretical'.[11] This applied especially to books written or published outside Spain. Anyone found to have handled or owned such books risked the loss of his family's reputation, his property, and sometimes also his life.

The morisco population was not perceived to be as great a threat to orthodoxy as the converso, primarily because moriscos were largely engaged in manual and agricultural occupations, unlike the wealthy and powerful conversos; but the fact that they kept their racial culture alive by living in exclusive communities worried the Inquisition. Random acts of repression secured for the Inquisition a large proportion of Moorish lands and property. But it was increasing taxation on the morisco silk industry, and new export laws, which finally sparked off a fierce rebellion in the Alpujarras between 1568 and 1570, which culminated in their expulsion from the peninsula between 1609 and 1614.[12] When the moriscos fled, the Spanish economy was adversely affected by the loss of some 275,000 citizens, some regions being worse hit than others.[13] Valencia, for instance, lost a third of its population, but Castile's labour force was also badly affected. Prior to this event, the growth of international money markets was beginning to threaten the viability of Spain's fair towns: Medina del Campo, Seville, Burgos, Valladolid, Segovia, and Rioseco.[14] Fairs operated at set times in a year, and depended upon the availability of commodities for inspection before purchase. But movement of merchandise in Spain was hampered by poor roads, transport, and communications; by robberies,

wars and feuds; and by the diversity of economic structures in its many kingdoms (Spain alone had three distinct economies: Seville and the Americas; northern Castile oriented toward Flanders and northern Europe; and Aragon oriented toward the Mediterranean).[15] Caught in a general price rise at this period, Spain's policy of exporting raw materials (wool, silk, iron, cochineal) and importing manufactured goods and colonial produce led to a trade deficit, which Spain sought to balance by customs protection.[16] Such barriers merely added to a situation of increasing fiscal burden at home. It has been postulated that for Castile, the rise in cost of the new State was met by the labourers and the bourgeoisie.[17] The latter found an easier living was to be had by loaning money to the King than by sale of merchandise, especially when fairs were postponed and payment delayed until the arrival of the American fleet in Seville. Bills of exchange became the new instrument of commercial credit, and a guarantee of payment which also evaded the medieval ban on usury.[18] Spanish bankers (Espinosa, Ruíz, Morga), however, could not fund the King's war-chest <u>and</u> dabble in other expanding businesses (shipping, overseas trade, insurance). As a result of the general financial crises of 1557, and 1575, many financiers were bankrupted,[19] and the King turned to international capitalists: the German Fuggers, and the Tuscan Bonvisi and Balbani being prominent at this time.[20]

The introduction of commercial credit schemes is but one example of progress at the expense of outmoded religious dogma. Perhaps the most significant loss of face for the Catholic Church was seen in the sphere of medicine. Care of the body had always had a component of spiritual care. Valencian <u>furs</u> insisted that physicians and surgeons summon a confessor before treating the gravely ill, or at least warn the patient of his need for confession. The condition had long been required by the Church, causing conflict between the physician's interest in the health of the body and the priest's interest in the health of the soul.[21] Until at least the twelfth century, regular and secular clergy had practised medicine, but concerns about the shedding of blood, or even the killing of someone, together with the acting for gain and seeing things they "ought not to see", as well as their absence from the cloisters for study, paved the way for licensed medical practitioners.[22] Mental health, however, had traditionally been associated with sin,[23] and as such it remained within the province of the Church until the

sixteenth century, when incipient psychology, known as natural sciences, strove to overcome traditional scholastic views on personality and reason, civil rights and civil liberties.[24]

The effect of all these great issues on the average layman was to create a sense of insecurity - about his home, his work, his family, and his health; and also about his past, present and future. Brotherhood evidently offered him the security he lacked and a temporal respite from his problems, in return for merging his identity with that of other men with either a common interest or a common cause. The situation, late in the sixteenth century, was ripe for crisis and subsistence uprisings.[25] Plague and pestilence, famine, poor harvests and floods, produced a demographic crisis which manifested itself both in increasing numbers of deaths and migration away from cities. A climate of psychological tension and the unleashing of social conflicts focused on scapegoats and the need to appease Divine wrath. Hispanic life was dividing into what Yun Casalilla calls 'stagnant compartments'.[26] Given, then, that the Golden Age was a particularly worrying time for Spanish laymen, there seem to be two major reasons why they might have associated in fraternities, guilds, academies, secret societies, pious confraternities, and other groups: firstly, for mutual protection against a number of pressing problems - hunger, poverty, lack of work, erosion of rights; and secondly, through commitment to a higher goal: what Ross calls psychic reward.[27] Religious duties were of high priority and the only element always present, he says, in a multi-purpose organization such as the fraternity. Other purposes were mutual aid, burial and commemoration, fellowship and feasting, drama and ceremonial sponsorship.[28] In Ross's view, fraternity was essentially non-economic and voluntary. This distinguished it from a guild, which had economic, political, or governmental purposes, that sometimes eliminated voluntarism in the organization. What do we mean by voluntarism? Voluntary associations are organizations that people belong to part-time and without pay.[29] People are free from substantial coercion in choosing to join, to act as a member, and to leave.[30] The distinction between a fraternity and a guild on grounds of voluntarism and purpose is an important one, which will help in our search for brotherhood in Golden-Age Spain. There seems to be another possible distinction too. Speaking of English fraternities, Ross claims the fraternal idea was rigidly held by certain social strata and no others,

and that penetration of class barriers seems to have been negligible. As the suggestion that brotherhood had well-defined boundaries implies a departure from Christian norms of equality, the question of hierarchical stratification and exclusiveness evidently needs to be addressed in relation to discrete social groupings, in addition to voluntarism and purpose.

1.2 The Nature of Sources

Having established the aims of the present thesis, and theoretical considerations which might assist us in achieving those aims, it remains to describe a method.[31] A study of pious confraternities poses a different set of problems from a study of marginal groups, because of the comparative abundance of historical documentation on confraternities, compared with a relative dearth of historical data for marginal groups. Studies of pious confraternities are usually specific to a given area or type. For a profile of medieval brotherhoods in Europe, there is Meersseman's exhaustive work, which concentrates on Dominican-inspired laymen's confraternities in Italy. Dominican lay confraternities are also the subject of Schmitt's work, whilst lay Sacrament confraternities are the focus of works by Chill and Pecquet; and Davies and Rossiaud examine youth groups in France. Narrowing the field somewhat, other scholars confine themselves to one country, often to one social category in that country: Weissman probes Florentine lay penitents, and Pullan looks at Venetian Scuole Grandi. Jewish confraternities in Verona have been researched by Horowitz; Bideleux investigates popular lay confraternities in sixteenth-century Lucca; and Prosperi examines the confraternities of comforters in Italy. Studies relating to France have yielded works by Agulhon, Guibert, Dieterich, and Barnes on penitential confraternities in specified provinces or cities, and by Froeschlé-Chopard on Rosary confraternities.[32] Spanish confraternities have attracted rather less attention, as Sánchez Herrero observes:

> El estudio de las cofradías españolas a partir del siglo X, que puede considerarse como la fecha más antigua de su aparición, está aún por hacer. Existe solamente algún estudio sobre una cofradía en particular, o las cofradías de una determinada ciudad: Astorga o Cáceres; pero de la mayoría de las ciudades y pueblos españoles no sabemos nada.[33]

Flynn, Martz and Nalle have studied confraternities in Zamora, Toledo, and Cuenca respectively. Pedregal, Sánchez Herrero and fellow scholars

concentrate on Seville, whilst Christian, Alvarez Santaló, et al. have worked from a more anthropological base for Spain as a whole; and Llompart focuses on medieval Catalan penitents. Rumeu de Armas, Jiménez Salas, and Callaghan have perhaps devoted the most attention to pious confraternities in Golden-Age Spain, concentrating on their role in development of a social welfare programme. Studies of marginal confraternities, meanwhile, are still fewer. Paglia examines Italian prison confraternities, and Geremek, Chartier, Vincent, et al. concentrate on the French underworld. Conspicuous by their absence are studies dealing primarily with Spanish marginal groups. Lack of manuscript documentation has probably directed all the above-named scholars preferentially towards the orthodox confraternities, who left written records of their operations in archives and other institutions.

It is therefore proposed to collate information on pious lay confraternities in the first part of the thesis, to use as the model for enquiry into underworld groups. Some popular literature will be introduced, where relevant, to test the validity and establish the limitations of this type of source compared with historical evidence. As attention moves towards the marginal population, so the predominance of popular literary sources will increase, giving in effect a mirror-image of the chapters on confraternities, both in source materials, and in subject matter. The point at which sources and subject matter converge is a pivotal chapter on the men who created contemporary literature and history. Their importance to a study of this kind should become increasingly apparent as the work progresses. By using this mirror-reflection structure, it is not our intention to try to prove that marginal groups should be rigorously compared with confraternities, but rather, taking confraternal features as a starting point, to investigate the function and phenomenon of brotherhood in a wider context. Ross claims there is a hint of transitory organization of beggars, 'upright men', and their 'doxies' in the Elizabethan era for England, but certainly no suggestion that they had any idea that the guild form of organization had any promise for them. The inference is that marginal groups must have been based on the fraternity, rather than the guild. On the other hand, perhaps the model lies elsewhere? A third possibility is the secret society, defined by Ross as the antithesis of a voluntary society, whose policies are characterized by a particular kind of religious, political and social dissent from the

established order.[34] Clearly there will be overlaps between all three models, and our quest for brotherhood must look, particularly, for evidence of voluntarism, and for criminal (or subversive) activity. It is hoped that in applying a confraternal model to criminal organizations, we may add to what is a very little-known area of research, whilst at the same time, through discovering marginal associations, we may have to revise our view of the pious confraternity. Differences between these two foci - respectable and criminal - may not be as great as traditionally imagined. It may be possible to show that the pious confraternity was as capable of crime as the criminal organization was capable of philanthropy. But was their concept of brotherhood identical?

The research has been dictated partly by current theories of historical method. The discussion which follows should explain the background. By convention, historical sources are classed as primary or secondary. The work of Ranke in the nineteenth century gave increasing emphasis to primary sources. His scientific method required a rigorous definition of source material with adequate cross-referencing and annotation. Analysis of these data yields repeating patterns from which laws can be formulated and future events predicted. Political and economic historians are well-served by these sort of sources. They require exact quantitative data in order to reconstruct a factual account of the great men or the great many. But twentieth-century historians have contested the accuracy of primary sources within the earlier definition of the term. Thus, for example, chronicles written for the benefit of posterity tell only what contemporaries would have found worthy of note. But having the benefit of hindsight, what interests us today may be very different, since individuals are not aware of the constraints under which they operate, nor can they know how others will react to their own actions. Chroniclers also wrote to please their patron (often the king), and to satisfy contemporary norms of style. Spanish Golden-Age chroniclers are particularly untrustworthy, since their works reflect neo-Aristotelian rhetorical trends, which invest the factual matter with apparently contentious, distracting remarks and confusing cross-references. All of this impresses the modern reader as disagreeable pedantry.

Another primary source in Ranke's definition includes official publications such as published acts and pragmatics. But these, too, have limited value, especially as they usually survive in printed form,

with the possibility of interference, suppression, and error being introduced by a third party. They illustrate current reform attempts, but do not tell whether these were implemented or welcomed by the people. The issue of a municipal ordinance limiting, say, the wearing of yellow head-dress to prostitutes, does not reveal how the rest of society was dressed, nor whether the prostitutes welcomed this provision.[35] Another primary source subject to distortion is the autobiography, which suffers from selection and subjectivity. On the other hand, sources arising from everyday business, with no thought for posterity, suffer from minimal distortion: these include letters, diaries, and memorials, which can reveal the minutiae of daily life. Nevertheless, the fact that all the above sources, including letters and diaries, have been published imposes a limit on their value, because they contain only what was considered fit for public consumption: what governments were prepared to reveal; or what editors thought would gratify their readers. Private correspondence and unpublished works may be more revealing, but are still open to interference by a third party, and require more rigorous testing for authenticity.

In summary, there is no authoritative primary source. Most are in some way inaccurate, muddled, based on hearsay, incomplete, or intended to mislead. Depending on the required result, this is not an insuperable problem. The development of social history, defined today as the sum of the social relationships between many different groups in society, has thus dictated a modification of research techniques. Both the nature of sources and their interrogation differ from the purely quantitative or scientific approach. The definition of primary sources has been expanded to include theatre, costume, compilations of street-criers, tavern signs, folklore collections, architectural studies, archeological material (coins, stamps and pottery); paintings, maps, documents, letters, diaries, reports, travelogues, biographies, annals, novels, and the oral tradition of songs and ballads, jokes and anecdotes. The primary source we intend to concentrate on in the present study is creative literature, because it offers insights into the social and intellectual milieu in which the writers lived, as well as giving vivid descriptions of the physical setting. The more successful the author, the better he must have articulated the values and preoccupations of his contemporaries. Limitations of creative literature, however, arise as a result of the author's prejudices born

of his background and experience (eg. converso origins, prison sentences, etc.). It is proposed also to use the oral tradition of myths and legends, which will persist as long as they hold meaning for a particular culture. Tosh classifies these into two types: traditions about origins and great migrations, which teach the values and beliefs of the culture (cosmological statements); and those recounting the doings of particular groups and individuals, which validate prevailing social and political arrangements (political charters).[36] An awareness of this distinction may facilitate our understanding of this diffuse body of source material.

1.3 Source Interrogation

Clearly every type of source has certain strengths and weaknesses, but if enough different types were considered together, we might be able to approach something close to truth. Good research is not, however, a simple question of eclecticism. Much depends on how the sources are used, and on the researcher's understanding of his own limitations. There are three major limitations to a researcher's understanding of his task: firstly, there is the problem of psychological anachronism: the unthinking assumption that the mental framework with which people interpreted their experience in earlier periods was the same as our own. The next limitation involves specialization. The solution to a problem involving real people cannot be found within any one artificially-constructed academic boundary. Present-day segregation of knowledge into discrete compartments: scientific and artistic; learned and popular; history and fiction, dictates our choice to focus on our own specialist area, to the exclusion of all others. The danger is in blindly rejecting valid information because it falls outside that sphere. Can we afford for instance, to ignore the value of literary satire to a social history problem, simply because it falls into the realm of popular literature? Satire (and other humorous genres of popular literature) are only amusing because they criticise elements of our culture with which we are familiar.[37] This pigeon-holing of information is especially hazardous for a study of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when specialists were almost unheard of: a monk might also be a popular playwright, a political activist, and a medical man. As far as we are able, we need to adopt an inter-disciplinary approach if we aim to know a past culture. This requires a sounding of secondary sources in appropriate disciplines, which can direct us to

relevant questions to ask about Golden-Age Spain. Thus, for example, the persistence of blood-feuds in modern pre-literate societies can give us insight into blood-feuds and vendettas in the Spanish Golden Age. Anthropology can also explain how ritual and symbol mould collective and individual behaviour. The other major problem which besets the researcher - and indeed his audience - is a priorism. No researcher approaches his task without certain preconceived generalizations about the course of the human past. He may owe these notions to his membership of a Church, to his political sympathies, or to his own reading experience. He has therefore formulated a philosophy about his subject before he approaches it. Nineteenth-century historians were well aware of this problem. Fustel de Coulanges warned that if we approach a text with a preconceived idea, we shall read in it only what we want to read.[38]

In order to minimize shortcomings caused by psychological anachronism, academic boundaries, and a priorism, we need to develop a system of inquiry. We could begin with a narrowly-defined project based on a limited number of sources: the Cofradía de la Vera Cruz in Golden-Age Seville, for example, or the life and works of Salas Barbadillo. This is the most popular system for inexperienced researchers under pressure to produce results. According to Febvre, this type of research simply sets out to show that the writer knows and respects the rules of his profession.[39] It is for a more experienced researcher to make good use of his limited contribution to knowledge. The alternative is to use a problem-oriented approach. By initial reading of secondary authorities, we formulate a specific historical question: What was brotherhood in the Spanish Golden Age? With this question in mind, we may then study as many of our primary sources as is feasible.[40] As it is difficult to know in advance what sources are relevant, we must first select one source or group of sources (creative literature) and read the content, not in the direction where the work is leading (this is 'source usage'), but inquiring of the text: What was brotherhood? This is 'track usage', because the directions in which our enquiry can go are many.[41] By focusing attention in this way, not on what was said, but on what was unconsciously revealed (unwitting testimony), we will learn something of contemporary attitudes to brotherhood, assumptions of its aims, and the way it may have influenced how people lived. As the research progresses, the quality of information from unwitting testimony

improves, as our methods of inquiry improve. We must, therefore, be ready to modify our original objective, depending on how the source imposes its own rhythms, chronology and truth. As Le Roy Ladurie says, mastery by the source is preferable to mastery of the source, which serves only to confirm our a priori assumptions.[42] At the end of the data collection process, our original question has been qualified: What sort of people united in brotherhood? Why did they associate? Was their union democratic? How did they recognize one another? Was their major purpose a religious one? Were members always Christian? Was there an economic or political goal behind their organization? Was brotherhood a constant in society, or did it arise and change in response to certain factors?

Because track usage concentrates on unwitting testimony, which is outside the author's control, our method is not so hampered by the need to test for authenticity, but interpretation of the content does need linguistic fluency and a command of the historical context, to show what the words refer to. We must guard against reading modern meanings into the past. How, for example, do we understand 'plague'? Epidemiology and therapeutics have today broken down those groups of symptoms once classified generically as 'plague' into a number of diseases carrying less alarmist names, and thus obviating the need to use that fearsome word. And today, the word 'plague' has been adopted as a synonym for AIDS.[43] We can overcome this problem of interpretation by wide reading in Golden-Age published works. A knowledge of the historical context will also help us to assess the reliability of the texts. This can be gained from both primary and secondary historical sources, provided enough of both are consulted for a balanced view. The technique generally known as 'internal criticism' also takes into account the intention, experience, and prejudices of the author: was he a converso or other marginal? Who were his enemies? Who were his friends? Writers conversant with the underworld argot, such as Quevedo, would have used the word cofradía to mean muchedumbre.[44] We also need to be aware of culture-based assumptions which could distort the text. Thus, insiders to a given culture tend to take for granted much of what the historian most wants to discover. The historian of the Venetian carnival or papal ritual who turns to a sixteenth-century diarist for details, for example, may find no more than a cryptic reference to 'the usual festivities'.[45] Accounts by foreign travellers might be more

helpful, provided they survive critical examination for specific inaccuracies and general bias. Sometimes unfamiliarity with the cultural context leads to misinterpretation. Coryat, for example, describes a funeral attended by people he calls 'monks', the details of which suggest that they were in fact members of a lay confraternity, an institution with which Protestants were not acquainted, says Burke.[46]

1.4 Presentation

The result of our inquiry will validate a large number of facts about brotherhood in the Spanish Golden Age, but the significance of this material can only fully be grasped when the individual items are related to one another in a coherent presentation. There is nothing obvious about the way in which the pieces will fit together. The feat is usually accomplished as a result of trial and error. Since our aim is analytic, rather than descriptive, we should seek to answer the questions: Why was brotherhood so important at this time; and what was the effect on society's structure? There are two possible ways of doing this. One would be to write what Stone calls a mentalité. Exponents of this new method include Le Roy Ladurie, Ginzburg, Hobsbawm, and Davis. By interrogating texts in a new way, and with more searching questions: questions directed by reference to other disciplines; these scholars have reverted to the narrative mode of presentation, but with subtle differences from the older historical novel. The focus is not on the great and powerful, but on the poor and obscure; analysis is still a vital component of their methodology; they address neglected sources; and narration is influenced by recourse to other disciplines, the better to decipher the psychology and symbology of a past culture, which is their main purpose. However, as Stone says, current thinking still perceives narrative as unscholarly.[47] An example of this attitude is seen when, speaking disparagingly of 'pilgrimage studies' as "a perfect interdisciplinary subject combining history, sociology, theology and anthropology", Lodge terms contributions to the subject "nice little academic earners".[48] As the interdisciplinary, narrative trend has grown, however, so has the spectrum of intention. Some types of narrative target popular readers in preference to academic researchers, but they differ from the mentalités in one major aspect: psychological anachronism. Commenting on the spontaneous revival of this European literary current, Antonia Byatt explains:

> Varios escritores europeos que no teníamos contacto entre nosotros hemos apostado por retomar hechos históricos aparentemente sin importancia a través de los cuales componemos un argumento con protagonistas y valores de nuestros dias.[49]

Besides Byatt's Possession, others of this genre dealing with earlier historical periods include Sciascia, Death of an Inquisitor: one of his many works based on the methods of Voltaire, and of Manzoni, which Sciascia calls 'racconti inchiesti'; Umberto Eco, Il nome della rosa; Jesús Torbado, El peregrino; Anne Rice, Cry to Heaven; and Marguerite Yourcenar, L'Oeuvre au noir. Whilst all do an admirable re-creation of the period chosen, one cannot treat them as pure history in narrative form, because they must divulge more about the age in which they were written than about the age in which they are set. Nevertheless, historical novels have a value to social historians. The Gothic-style novel by Ann Radcliffe, The Italian, or the Confessional of the Black Penitents [1796]; The Reds of the Midi (1895), by Félix Gras; and Les Battus paient l'amende [1661], by the French playwright, M. d'Orvigny, all suggest that a type of confraternal penitent once existed, who was recognized by the colour of his habit, or by his adoption of the discipline. The novels also infer that penitents had a reputation for subversive activity. There is a chilling vignette of all these aspects of penitential ritual, in Victor Hugo's Lucrèce Borgia.[50] Sources such as these may be used at the beginning of our research, to determine what questions might usefully be asked of historical sources: what colours did penitents wear and why? How did they practise the discipline? Why were they feared or ridiculed?

Because of scholarly censure, then, we shall reject the mentalité, in favour of the other mode of presentation: the analytical one. This still uses neglected sources, it has recourse to other disciplines, and the focus is on low-life characters. There is, however, no story-line. Instead, the presentation will follow, within each chapter, a tripartite sequence: after a discussion of factors contributing to contemporary turmoil which had special relevance for the group concerned, historical evidence will be weighed against literary evidence, and a synthesis attempted of useful data, divided again into three subsections: social, religious and organizational. A few words of explanation here will clarify these categories. The social life of an organization is designed to provide for group solidarity, reinforced at the expense of

individuality by the use of identifying symbols of dress and behaviour, and rituals of feasting, mourning, drama and ceremonial sponsorship (see chapter 2). The question of exclusiveness comes into this category, since it is usually the case that a psychology of solidarity fosters rivalries and animosity towards outsiders. Whether this went so far as to perpetuate the clan-based blood feud is something which will have to be investigated. The second of our three criteria, the religious life of a corporate body, is deemed to be, for the moment, of a high priority and always present (see page 19 above). Assuming that this is so, we need to establish whether the religious duties were necessarily orthodox, and whether they were always present because of the need for a badge of respectability which served to fend off hostility. It might seem today, with the benefit of hindsight, that self-preservation in a time of turmoil was the only reason why religious duties featured so strongly in corporate bodies. But it was more often the case, in the Golden Age, that members genuinely believed in the efficacy of a corporate striving for salvation. This has always been the hardest point to grasp for outsiders to that culture. There were two well-defined religious duties for attainment of salvation in what were (nominally at least) Catholic societies: devotion and charity. As the balance between these two functions seems to change at this historical moment, it will be necessary to review the relative import in each group of ritual penitence, intercessory saints, and burial rituals, compared with mutual aid, poor relief and public welfare (see chapter 3). Group commitment to a religious goal should also reflect what was happening in the Church of Spain. As this was a period of intense reform, was contemporary popular fervour directed into public displays of conformity, in keeping with the tone of the Church Militant, or into personalized activities devoid of any priestly input? Was the latter kind necessarily heretical? Where did criminals fit into this? The third major criterion for associative life, internal organization, embraces administrative functions and constitutional arrangements, as well as executive and political power. What were the models for constitutional arrangements? Were brotherhoods always democratic, or was there a recognizable hierarchical structure? How exclusive were they? Could anyone become a member, and could he expect any economic or political advantage from joining? Was there a period of apprenticeship along recognized lines? Was a man free to leave if he wished, or what

conditions applied? In other words, the aim is to test whether a given organization was closer to a guild than a fraternity. An assessment of power and its use in the organization, together with any evidence of criminal activities, might help to identify it as a secret society. Finally, because of the importance to this thesis of the role of literature in providing historical data, each study of associative life in different social sectors will end by examining that particular society's mythical and cultural infrastructure, and its legacy for modern scholars (see chapter 4).

Besides having a tripartite structure within each chapter, the subjects selected for each chapter also fall into one of three broad classes: respectable, marginal, and outcast. In the outcast sphere are prisoners and those living by violence (valientes). In the twilight world were those ostracized by, if not actively excluded from, society. These were the gamblers, prostitutes, beggars, and madmen. Closely-linked with these groups in many of their dealings, and usually serving as a mouthpiece for them, were the literary men of academy and university, who constitute a valuable body of information for the present study of marginal fraternities. They form a bridge between the two major social sectors - religious confraternity and underworld secret society - though the difficulty in attempting to impose clear limits on these groups will quickly become apparent (see chapter 5). The justification for including prisoners is that they reflect a curious inversion of values in a study which, in examining pious establishment organizations and underworld secret societies, gradually reveals that all was not as it seemed. Far from finding a black-and-white situation, one begins to be aware of a sliding scale of respectability and virtue, peopled with saintly marginals and immoral gentlemen. None of them can be regarded as good from every point of view; all can be considered evil, from one standpoint or another.[51] On this scale, the role of prisoners is therefore of crucial concern to the question of brotherhood, since they were both object of confraternal charity and subject of their own constituted confraternities. The last chapter, then, will examine how prisoners benefited from the help of charitable confraternities, and whether this was always a better option than that of self-help achieved through the establishment of their own anti-society.

In summary, the study will endeavour to assess whether brotherhood could, and did, exist as discrete compartments in a society which current adversity had separated into factions (existing only for the purpose of protecting that particular group) or whether it genuinely strove for a universal brotherhood of men, even if this was envisaged in some Utopian after-life. In effect, was the trend in sixteenth-century Spain to look back on the early Christian Church ideal of brotherhood as a model; or had brotherhood developed into something more pragmatic, which accommodated an individual need for protection without the (declining) feudal bonds of brotherly love?[52]

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

[1] OED, s.v. BROTHERHOOD

[2] See page 377 below, on the Consulado de Burgos, which called itself: Prior y cónsules de la Universidad e Confradia de Santi Spiritus, de los mercaderes de la muy noble e mas leal Ciudad de Burgos (Basas Fernández, El Consulado de Burgos, 49).

[3] Cofradía/hermandad: "A group of equals bound by a common task, religious or profane" (Teodoro Ruis Jusué, 'Las cartas de Hermandad en España', An. Hist. Der. Esp. 15 (1938), 387-463, cited in Le Bras, Institutions ecclésiastiques, 414). For other definitions of confraternity as solidarity, see Barnes, 'De Poenitentibus', 14; and OED, s.v. CONFRATERNITY.

[4] See Cejador y Frauca, Vocabulario medieval, s.v. HERMANDAD: "el de alguna hermandad". On medieval hermandades, see page 109 below.

[5] Covarrubias, Tesoro, s.v. COFADRE. See also confrater, cohermano.

[6] See Kagan, Lawsuits and Litigants, 18; and Sánchez-Albornoz, España, un enigma histórico, 516. See also Nader, The Mendoza Family, 69.

[7] On the Spanish political scene, see Lynch, Spain under the Habsburgs; Elliott, Imperial Spain; Braudel, La Méditerranée; Parker, The Army of Flanders; Elliott, The Revolt of the Catalans; Pierson, Philip II; Rodríguez-Salgado, Changing Face of Empire; and Russell, Spain: A Companion to Spanish Studies.

[8] He adds that censuses show also a proliferation of beatas: 11 at Avila in 1561; 12 at Trujillo in 1557; and 35 at Plasencia in 1587 (Spanish Character, 76). The only truly heretical sect, the dexados, was led by Isabel de la Cruz and Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz in 1509-10. There was another group in Llerena (1570-82) and one in Seville (1620-30).

[9] Llorca differentiates between alumbrados ilusos, typified by Padre Jerónimo de la Madre de Dios, who were attracted by the idea of union with God through mental prayer, and who experienced illusory bouts of ecstasy; alumbrados más o menos corrompidos y culpables, who used the appearance of sanctity as a pretext for satisfying their baser passions, leading others to orgiastic behaviour, and rejection of all authority; and alumbrados histéricos, whose misguided pietism and indulgence in trances or ascetic practices not only led others to depravity, but also discredited the genuine mystics (Juan de la Cruz, Teresa de Avila, Luis de Granada, Juan de Avila, Francisco de Borja) (Llorca, La Inquisición española y los alumbrados, 200-9). See also Nieto, 'Nonmystical Nature of Alumbrados', especially 435-8, and 452; Andrés, 'Common Denominator of Alumbrados, etc.', 459-60; and Huerga, Historia de los alumbrados.

[10] See Ciriaco Morón and Rolena Adorno (eds), El condenado por desconfiado, by Tirso de Molina, 26-31, on the 'de auxiliis' debate.

[11] The effect on intellectual activity will be dealt with later (see page 153 below).

[12] On the Spanish religious scene, see Bataillon, Erasmo y España; Lea, History of the Inquisition; Sicroff, Los estatutos de limpieza; Domínguez Ortiz; La clase social de los conversos; Caro Baroja, Los Judíos; and ibid., Vidas mágicas e Inquisición.

[13] See Russell, Companion to Spanish Studies, 139.

[14] See Carande, Carlos V y sus banqueros, 295-49.

[15] Ehrenberg, Capital and Finance, 308.

[16] See Carande, Carlos V y sus banqueros, 144, 192.

[17] Ulloa, La Hacienda Real, 555.

[18] See Ehrenberg, Capital and Finance, 310. The ecclesiastical doctrine of usury exempted loans of princes and cities which served the common weal. Its use to mask other operations originated many phrases used as a substitute for usury: lucrum, interesse, remuneratio, premium; and in English, rewards, interest, gratuity, consideration (ibid., 43).

[19] Ibid., 91, and 125.

[20] For Spanish economics, see Basas Fernández, El Consulado de Burgos; Bennassar, Valladolid; Carande, Carlos V y sus banqueros; Ehrenberg, Capital and Finance; Espejo and Paz, Las antiguas ferias; Hamilton, American Treasure; Jeannin, Les marchands; Klein, La Mesta; Lapeyre, Simón Ruíz et les 'asientos'; ibid., Une famille de marchands; Ulloa, La Hacienda Real; and Vicens Vives, Economic History.

[21] The furs drew from canon 22 (Cum infirmitas) of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), which declared that physicians should advise and persuade their patients to confess (J.D. Mansi, Sacrorum conciliorum nova amplissima collectio (reprinted by Graz, 1960-2), v. 22, cols 1010-11, cited in García-Ballester, McVaugh, and Rubio-Vela, 'Medical Licensing', 42). See also Sant Vicent Ferrer, Sermons, edited by J. Sanchis Sivera (Barcelona, 1932), I, 209; and page 71 below, on lay confraternities.

[22] See Amundsen, 'Medieval Canon Law', 22-39. See also Amundsen, 'Casuistry and Professional Obligations: The Regulation of Physicians by the Court of Conscience in the Late Middle Ages', Transactions and Studies of the College of Physicians (Philadelphia), 3 (1981), 22-39, 93-112, cited in García-Ballester, et al, 'Medical Licensing', 43, n. 11.

[23] See Altschule, 'Acedia: Deadly Sin to Psychiatric Syndrome', 117-19; Midelfort, 'Madness and Psychological History', 11, citing Neaman, Suggestion of the Devil; and Penelope Doob, Nebuchadnezzar's Children. Conventions of Madness in Middle English Literature (New Haven, CT, 1974). See also Speak, 'Glass Men', 860-3; ibid., 'Odd Kind of Melancholy', 198; and Bigeard, La folie et les fous, 16. See Cervantes, Persiles, Book 3, ch. 20 (vol. 2, p. 188), on priests blessing the medicine administered to a mentally-disturbed patient.

[24] See page 107 below, and Ross, Assembly of Goodfellows, 260, on tension between 'the right to be different, and the right to be the same'.

[25] See Sánchez-Albornoz, España, un enigma histórico, 300; and Yun Casalilla, Crisis de subsistencias, 131-44, for more on the economic crisis.

[26] See Crisis de subsistencias, 99.

[27] Assembly of Goodfellows, 12.

[28] Ross, op. cit., 141.

[29] Ross, op. cit., 7, n. 13, citing Constance Smith and Anne Freedman, Voluntary Associations (Cambridge, 1972), viii.

[30] Ross, op. cit., 160, n. 30, citing C. Wayne Gordon and Nicholas Babchuck, 'A typology of Voluntary Associations', American Sociological Review, 24, 1 (Feb. 1959), 22-9.

[31] Historical method is a complex and changing discipline. My own methodology is based on a reading of the following works: Banks, History and Sociology; Blumenberg, Work on Myth; Burckhardt, Reflections; Hockett, Critical Method; Jaspers, Origin and Goal; Lesser, Fiction and the Unconscious; Nash, Critical Philosophy; Renier, Purpose and Method; Rockwell, Fact in Fiction; Round, Three Easy Pieces; Rubin, Teller in the Tale; P.J. Smith, Writing in the Margin; Stone, Past and Present; Todd, History as Applied Science; Tosh, The Pursuit of History; Waugh, Metafiction; and Weinstein, Fictions of the Self. I should also like to thank Professor Round for pointing out the importance of historical method in presenting a work of this complexity.

[32] For all these works, see Bibliography under the respective authors.

[33] 'Cofradías, hospitales y beneficencia', 6. Sánchez Herrero is alluding to works by himself and Gerbet respectively. See his bibliography on confraternities in specified towns and villages (n. 2).

[34] Ross, Assembly of Goodfellows, 63, and 83, n. 27, citing Jean Chesneaux, Popular Movements and Secret Societies in China, 1840-1950 (Stamford, CA, 1972), 3.

[35] See page 275 below, for more on this topic.

[36] The Pursuit of History, 184.

[37] A dictionary definition of 'satire' gives: 'A... composition in which prevailing vices or follies are held up to ridicule (OED, s.v. SATIRE).

[38] Cited in Renier, Purpose and Method, 219. Numa-Denis Fustel de Coulanges was a nineteenth-century historian who advocated the distancing of a narrator from his text, on which he should offer no opinion.

[39] Lucien Febvre, 'A New Kind of History', 1949, translated in P. Burke (ed.), A New Kind of History (1973), 38, cited by Tosh, The Pursuit of History, 99.

[40] Our study takes in some 500 primary sources, of which two-thirds are Spanish literature. Many of these sources contain an anthology of plays, poems, or novels, and so the true number of works involved is impossible to establish. Secondary sources comprise some 650 works, whose content is difficult to categorize, but falls approximately into the following scheme: Literature and Language 17%, Confraternities 16%, Religion and Magic 14%, Sociology 14%, History 10%, Medicine and Psychology 10%, Economics 6%, Underworld Studies 6%, Academia 3%, Art 2%, Law and Politics 2%.

[41] See Tosh, op. cit., 59.

[42] Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, The Peasants of Languedoc (Illinois, IL, 1974), 4, cited by Tosh, op. cit., 50.

[43] See Neville Hodgkinson, 'The Plague', The Sunday Times, 3 October, 1993, p. 1.10.

[44] See Hill, Poesias germanescas, 111, 'Vocabulario de germania', s.v. COFRADIA.

[45] See also Graham Coster, 'In My View', Sunday Times, 30 July, 1989, p. G4, on the 'inevitable Englishness and consequent limitations of English fiction'.

[46] Burke, Perception and Communication, 15-16. Coryat, Crudities (1611), 329. Burke's point is a valid one, but it is perhaps significant to add that Coryat knew of the existence of 'Companies or Fraternities' in other social sectors, especially the municipal one:

> These companies are neither more nor lesse then [sic] sixe to the end to answere the sixe partes or tribes whereof the whole citie consisteth: One Company being appointed for euery particular tribe (250).

See also 230, on the Fraternity of Jews in the Venetian Ghetto; and 227, on a procession of every 'Order and Fraternity of the religious men in the whole city'.

[47] Past and Present, 88.

[48] See David Lodge, 'You'll never walk alone...', Sunday Times, 11 April, 1993, p. 6.8, reviewing Pilgrimage in Popular Culture, edited by Ian Reader and Tony Walter. Lodge says the work is 'mercifully free from the post-structuralist jargon which encumbers a great deal of writing from the literary-critical wing of cultural studies, but it suffers from the corresponding vice of the empirical human sciences, a timid reluctance to make judgments and interpretations' (6.9).

[49] Regina Valenzuela, 'Antonia Byatt edita "Posesión", una novela de misterio literario', El País, viernes 27 de marzo de 1992, p. 31. Modern readers of the less intellectual type of historical fiction (represented by Jean Plaidy, for instance), are rather slower to abandon their fascination for kings and queens in favour of recognizing the merits of social history as trends (see Philippa Gregory, 'For Richer and for Poorer', Sunday Times, 10 December, 1989, p. G7).

[50] Lucrèce Borgia, III. 1-2, pp. 1048-58.

[51] See Daraul, Secret Societies, 11, on this topic.

[52] Secret societies can be religious, political, professional, economic and commercial. Their attraction is in their hermetic nature: 'Cada uno desea conocer un poco más que los demás. Quiérase o no, todos somos, en cierto sentido, conspiradores. Y cuando la sociedad es más secreta, y las dificultades de alcanzarla mayores, más apetece formar parte de ella' (Ferrer Benimeli, La masonería española, 25).

2. BROTHERHOOD AND OTHERHOOD: SOCIAL LIFE IN THE CONFRATERNITY

2.1 Fellowship and Feasting

2.1.1 Solidarity/Particularism

The purpose of this first part is to examine the concept of brotherhood as it related to the pious lay confraternity, and to assess the influences brought to bear on the confraternity both by Christianity and by religious traditions then considered by the Catholic Church in Spain to be unorthodox: popular religion, Protestantism, Jewish and Muslim faiths, all left some mark on the Catholic brotherhood. As a convenient point of departure, then, the Catholic confraternity will serve as a template from which to demonstrate similarities and differences with other brotherhoods, though this method does not seek to imply that the Catholic body came first. The early Christian model for the pious confraternity was the Religious Order. Confraternal ethos, in fact, leaned heavily on monastic codes and practices. Written contracts of mutual benefit (both spiritual and material) were drawn up between medieval religious houses, or between a religious house and individual laymen. Confraternity with the Cluniacs, for example, was a very prestigious honour, eagerly sought by the aristocracy, and often exploited by the monasteries to garner political influence. To formalize these obligations, the monasteries compiled books (libri vitae, libri confraternitatum) which contained the names of benefactors , living and dead.[1] In sixteenth-century Spanish lay cofradías, letters of confraternity continued to stress the mutual aspect of both temporal and spiritual obligation. An agreement drawn up by La Hermandad y Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de la Merced in Seville with their patrons, 'El Comendador, Frayles y Convento de la Merced y Redención de Cautivos' (1585), stresses the dual nature of the obligation:

> Somos concertados de hacer entre nos asiento y fraternal concordia para que Dios y su benditísima Madre la Vírgen Santa María sean servidos y su culto divino aumentado; para que las ánimas de los fieles difuntos reciban sufragios y holganza, y para que los buenos cristianos se animen a servir a NS y permanezcan en buenas obras, y la devoción de la Cofradía se aumente y conserve para siempre como esperamos y confiamos.[2]

The Cofradía undertook to celebrate nine fiestas a year in the monastery, with vespers, mass, sermons and procession through the cloisters with their richly-adorned statue. In return the monastery

sponsored the event with song and dramatic pasos, with spoken masses for deceased brethren, and obsequies at fiestas and funerals. Brothers shared a common sense of shame if one of them brought disgrace on the others; and possible loss of divine or civil patronage. On the other hand, reward for meritorious activity contributed to a treasury of spiritual merit. Weissman's study of Florentine confraternities proposes that a temporary suppression of individuality provided the brother with a rare and valued anonymity, which, strengthened by codes of secrecy, fostered an ambience of shared intimacy.[3]

The first and closest analogy with such a solidarity (shared secrets and obligations, and a common identity) is the family. This analogy has led scholars to examine the relationship between blood brothers and confraternal brothers. Did one bond of solidarity take precedence over the other? Could both exist simultaneously without detriment to either? A favourite, if now discredited theory, saw confraternities as replacement or reinforcement structures, re-establishing on a spiritual level the solidarity which was coming apart in daily life, or at least masking the effects of this disintegration. Attempts to explain the rise of artificial kin groups as compensation for the decline of the kinship bond must be treated cautiously, however. According to Peregrine Horden, bonds of kinship are always dissolving, whenever historians catch sight of them, be it in the ninth century or the fifteenth.[4] It seems more likely that confraternities were not substitutes for, but complements to other associative forms: artificial families of similar religious and political sympathies. As such, this extended family aimed at social protection, by cutting across family and status divisions, creating clientele networks and a wider patronage system. The confraternity office-holder could distribute assistance to suitably recommended people, who would respond with public gratitude towards the patron. Social tension might thus be dissipated in major cities by making rich and poor, master craftsmen and journeymen, mutually dependent. Regrettably, this ideal was rarely attained, as Bossy explains:

> Wider than the kin, free of its gerontocratic structure, an association of confrères and consoeurs, sometimes at least breaching the barriers of status, the fraternity practised the rituals of togetherness in this world and procured the salvation of its members in the next. Since the means of salvation were not in principle subject to the laws of supply and demand, there may seem no reason why all these

> groups should not have existed happily side by side; yet they rarely did. Friendship entailed enmity, and brotherhood... otherhood.[5]

Because of this tension, sworn brotherhood of the medieval guild and religious order, based on love, came to depend more in the sixteenth-century lay confraternity on friendship and caritas, which thus allowed for competition, usury, and exploitation - all are 'brothers' in being equally 'others'.[6] Clearly at one level there is room for comparison here with the family, whose power came from carefully-arranged marriage contracts. However, maintenance of social boundaries by exclusion of the socially or politically unwelcome was also fairly typical of contemporary non-blood brotherhoods: the guild, the religious order, and the lay confraternity. This internecine otherhood might be based on local, regional, or xenophobic differences. Spanish confraternities, for instance, held large, showy processions at Corpus Christi, whereas the Italian equivalent was apparently a quieter affair. A Spaniard in Cosenza at Corpus Christi inadvisedly accused the Italians of being poor Christians because they never accompanied the Blessed Sacrament on its procession through the city. In Spain, he boasted, all the nobility participated in the procession. 'Brother', retorted a bystander, 'here He does not need a bodyguard, for He is carried among friends'.[7] This raises an interesting question about national concepts of brotherhood, and whether the Spanish variety was more pugnacious than that of other nations. To some extent this question can be addressed by examination of confraternal statutes, for evidence of organized vengeance activities. In the Navarrese Cofradia de Sta María de Tulebras, members vowed to defend a hurt party, taking the law into their own hands if necessary: 'y si, en este empeño, muriere alguno de nosotros, sea tenido por todos nosotros como un homicida'.[8] In other confraternities group payments were received for murdered members without family on either the patrilineal or matrilineal side, and fines incurred by brothers for crimes committed were paid by the confraternity. This was not a peculiarly Spanish trait, for German brotherhoods seem to have practised the function earlier.[9] However, Flynn claims that traces of vengeance obligations lingered in southern European confraternities only to the end of the Middle Ages.[10]

Her theory needs to be re-assessed now within our broader notion of brotherhood, which also embraces underworld groups. It will also be helpful to use the less emotive interpretation of collective vengeance

activities as social justice. This can best be explained by reference to the two opposite poles of justice and charity. Justice is the recognition of and adherence to laws established to preserve order. It is negative, since for the most part it counsels abstinence; and collective, because it applies equally to all members of the group under its sway. Charity, on the other hand, consists of everything done to better social conditions, or rather to purge the evil produced by strict justice wherever it fails to eliminate social inequalities and extreme hardship. It is positive since it demands initiative and effort; it is individual since every single person can practise it in his milieu and as far as his influence is felt. In between is social justice, beyond strictly legal justice, and different from charity in that it is collective. As it is found within certain social groups, says Halbwachs, it could be called solidarity: that is, a morality of collaboration and mutual help.[11] Vengeance activities, then, formed just part of the confraternal ethos of solidarity. Most important in the establishment of this ethos was collective identification. This was not a phenomenon which developed by chance. Fines were levied on members defaulting at meetings or funerals, and there was generally a scheme of contribution to the spiritual and financial capital of the company. In addition, confraternities developed conventions of dress and insignia, and perpetuated rituals to keep the collective identity alive.

2.1.2 Ceremonial and Penitential Emblems

Confraternal dress typically comprised the monk's habit, with rope girdle and hood. Flagellant confrères throughout Europe wore tunics of serge, slit open at the back from shoulder to waist, capped by a cowl with a sharp point on top and no opening, except two holes for the eyes: 'an inquisitorial outfit designed to express anonymity of the most visible kind, and a gift to cartoonists', said Bossy.[12] Satirists also capitalized on their humorous appearance. Commenting on their tunics of black and white with pointed hoods (capirotes empinados or mochos), Fernández de Ribera likened them to chess pieces, and in Marcos de Obregón the eyes of an ugly innkeeper's wife remind Obregón of a 'capirote de disciplinante'.[13] There seems to be an element of fear or disapproval about this contemporary satire, which may have arisen as a result of confraternal shows of hypocrisy. For instance, vanity extended on public occasions to tying their lady's ribbon to their whips

to signal their 'suffering' for her (compare pages 76-7 below on penitentes de amor), or to the wearing of a distinctive, richly-pleated under-tunic of finest Segovian ochavo, its sleeves turned back to reveal a contrasting inner sleeve; and a hood so high that its peak almost disappeared from view. All this, said Santos in his costumbrista sketch, completed with a perfumed ribbon and folded handkerchief. The most fashionable tunics fitted the body tightly and often trailed a yard-long train behind, whilst hoods had to be reinforced for protection from rain.[14] Normally the tunic was white, symbolizing purity of intention, and, by evoking the baptismal robes, a re-birth of innocence. It was only when several penitential confraternities existed in one locality that other colours were chosen.[15]

The second unifying symbol concerned confraternal insignia: identification with a patron saint; possession of a regular meeting-place housing relics, cult objects, and specially-commissioned works of art. Sometimes there were badges or other personal objects of identification. Confraternities with international status often wore these on the shoulder, cap, or sleeve of their vestment.[16] Members of militant Marian confraternities[17] often wore a scapular, on which was fixed a tin plaque (pectoral) with an image of the Virgin and the legend: 'Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem', or eucharistic symbols. Besides wearing emblematic devices on clothing, confraternities boasted among their possessions a large array of processional paraphernalia, which had been rationalized by the late sixteenth century in the interest of preserving a more important distinction between parish-based and citywide confraternities. Thus for the banner, the terms pendón and cruz were most often seen in contemporary accounts of processions, as, for instance, in June 1623, when a procession in Madrid comprised: 'Treinta y seis pendones de las cofradías; sesenta Niños de la Doctrina, con ropas pardas, vela, cruz y ciriales. Después iban catorce cruces de las Parroquias'.[18] One can gauge the popularity of these banners in the early seventeenth century from a satirical cameo of a tailor: 'Cada pedazo de su vestido de diferentes retazos, llevando delante más pendones que una procesión general'.[19] Confraternities also owned quantities of white and yellow wax used in a variety of prestigious candles and torches, from which they often took their generic name: cofradías de luz.[20] These confraternities did not practise the discipline, and represented the antithesis of penitential confraternities, as Tirso reveals in a play

whose protagonist is forced into marriage against his will. His friend says:

> Como quien lleva la cruz
> Del matrimonio excelente;
> Tú serás el penitente
> Y yo el cofrade de luz.[21]

The penitential confraternity, cofradia de sangre, took its name from another insignia: the whip. At Vera Cruz in Villalpando the tips of their scourges were wiped with wax for the purpose of drawing blood. Other confraternities attached metal spikes or studs for the same purpose.[22] Originally medieval penitentes de sangre had roamed the countryside recruiting as they went. By the sixteenth century, they had given way to confraternities of pilgrims. As a specialist confraternity, pilgrims merit attention here, because of their particular unifying symbols of dress and equipment, some of which were adopted by marginals for more prosaic purposes.

The official pilgrim's habit was modelled on that of the penitent, without the pointed hood. But its laudable aim of promoting a collective identity was demeaned by miscreants exploiting the anonymity conferred by such dress. Pérez de Herrera, medical advisor to Philip II, condemned popular abuse of the pilgrim's habit: 'Pues se tiene por cierto que en este hábito de peregrino y achaque de romeria entran en ellos las más de las espias'.[23] Lope de Vega hinted at this abuse in a work dealing with the adventures of a pilgrim, Pánfilo, who is arrested and jailed on suspicion of 'mal trato, cosa que la capa de peregrino encubre algunas veces y que por aquella tierra es ordinaria'.[24] Such were these abuses that in 1590 a pragmatic banned natives of Spain from wearing the habit except on pilgrimage (romerías), and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries frequent royal edicts forbade pilgrimages to Santiago, Loreto and other holy shrines abroad, without permission of the King and bishops.[25] It was not by his dress, however, that a pilgrim was recognized, but by the paraphernalia he carried, some of which was used to stereotype the pilgrim in contemporary popular literature. The pilgrims' shell (concha or venera) was one such device. At confraternal festivals pilgrims of Saint James usually wore scallop shells on hat or tunic, commemorating a legend of an Arabic knight married, against the wishes of the bride's family, to a Christian princess of Ira Flavia. Riding from the wedding, the knight's horse bolted, throwing horse and rider into the sea. Recalling his bride's

devotion to Saint James, he called upon the saint and was rewarded with his life, emerging from the sea covered in shells.[26] The shell motif appears in an allegorical work by Ledesma about Christ's Ascension, written 'En metáfora de un peregrino':

> Hoy vuelve a su Reino, y Corte
> en traje de Peregrino,
> que en fe de la romería,
> se queda con el vestido.
> Cinco veneras que lleva,
> pueden servir de testigos
> de los pasos en que ha andado,
> y que cumplió con su oficio.[27]

Another popular pilgrims' device was the staff (bordón), the loss of which was considered a terrible omen.[28] Ledesma's poem explains its value:

> El bordón se deja acá,
> para que sirva de alivio
> en tan larga romería
> al pasajero mendigo.
> Por aquesta Cruz de Dios,
> que es bordón, y estoque fino,
> bordón para caminar,
> y arma contra el enemigo.
> Es espada de dos manos,
> y tales las ha tenido,
> que en un monte con él solo
> un bandolero ha rendido.[29]

In general, a man portrayed in popular literature carrying a staff was the stereotyped holy man, as a contemporary riddle reveals:

> ¿Quién es un santo varón
> Con esclavino y bordón,
> Que trae un perro consigo,
> Con un pan, sin que le asombre
> El verle una llaga aqui?[30]

The answer to this riddle is Saint Roch, the archetypal holy pilgrim, whose legend lent credence to the would-be pilgrim. So when Enrico's venerable father, Anareto, comes to persuade his son to confess leaning on a bordón, in Tirso's El condenado por desconfiado, the audience infers he is a devout man.[31] One further device identified a would-be Saint James in procession: the gourd, carried as a drinking vessel. Pilgrims dressed as the saint usually wore a large hat and mantle of shells, and carried a gourd, scrip, and staff. When Estebanillo González leaves for Santiago in 'hábito largo, esclavina cumplida, bordón reforzado y calabaza de buen tamaño', there is little need for his comment: 'vestíme de peregrino'.[32]

Sometimes a penitent or pilgrim would establish himself as a hermit at one of the shrines he visited, modelling his life on that of Saint Jerome, but despite the need for ecclesiastical sponsorship and conformity with official statutes, there were abuses among hermits, as revealed in provisions relating to their appearance and behaviour.[33] Pérez de Herrera reported that some hermitages attracted thousands of beggars, ostensibly to feed and drink at the parent monastery's expense, when in fact they represented powerful 'confraternities' of libertines and roisterers.[34] Besides these beggars, large numbers of hunted criminals and retired miscreants exploited the hermit's life, some using a mask of holiness to conceal more profane activities. The close interaction between genuine and fake hermit was lampooned by Cervantes in a verse of interest to the present study for what it reveals about the hermit's life-style and paraphernalia. A criminal, Campuzano, is wounded in a knife fight:

> Cojo quedó de un pie de la rencilla,
> Tuerto de un ojo, manco de una mano.
> Vinose a recoger a aquesta ermita,
> Con su palo en la mano, y su rosario,
> Y su ballesta de matar pardales.
> Y, con su Madalena, que le quita
> Mil canas, está hecho un San Hilario.
> ¡Ved cómo nacen bienes de los males![35]

Other contemporary satires simply responded to the parallels in their ritual flagellation and withdrawal from society. In the case of the hermit, this was voluntary; for the banished criminal it was prescribed, but the descriptive terms applied equally to both:

> Cespedosa es ermitaño
> Una legua de Alcalá;
> Buen diciplinante ha sido;
> Buen penitente será.[36]

Emblematic of both kinds of penitent were the hair shirt and whips,[37] but more prominent than either of these was the requisite long hair and beard, which denoted the saintly martyr. Cultivation of beards amongst holy or learned men was a well-known tradition: though he is officially licensed as a hermit, the ex-<u>pícaro</u>, Lázaro, lacks the beard which he knows is essential to promotion within religious orders; and when <u>Gallo</u>, narrator of <u>El Crotalón</u>, takes to the mountains as a <u>zarlo</u>, he says: 'Traía la barba larga y espesa de grande autoridad'.[38] The fashion was cruelly lampooned by contemporary satirists. Quevedo wrote:

> Asimismo, visto que la presunción del vulgo bárbaro califica los estudios y ciencia con los años, mirando en los letrados, médicos y aun teólogos más en la barba que en la ciencia, - ordenamos que todos éstos, antes de ir a las universidades a graduarse de ciencia, vayan a casa de algún remendón de la naturaleza, o a vivir algún tiempo entre los ermitaños, a graduarse de barbas. Sólo les vedamos ir a casa de los barberos, porque estaria en sus manos dejarlos sin ciencia, con quitarles la barba y rapársela toda.[39]

2.2 Carnival or Contemplation? Ceremonial Rituals

To resume so far, group solidarity, whether among monks and affiliated hermits, pilgrims, penitents, or simply pious laymen, depended on external visual signs of recognition: dress, badges, banners and other paraphernalia. Another stimulus for a collective experience was the observance of rituals, especially those of feasting and drinking. Historically, confraternities had always ended certain meetings with an agape (charitas) or banquet (convivium) in honour of their patron saint, symbolically representing the Last Supper. Statutes of the Cofradía de San Ildefonso in Zamora demonstrate this connection: 'Love always increases at social gatherings and banquets; and as our Redeemer, in an attempt to show his disciples a sign of his love, wished to dine with them... we shall spread the table and eat'.[40] The banquet was paid for by donations (a escote) or from confraternal funds. When the confraternity was adscribed to a monastery or convent, the banquet was held in the refectory and the friars were invited. The presence of secular clergy has also been recorded at some confraternal banquets. Doubtless the intention was to encourage devout thoughts, and to remind brothers of the religious significance of their dinner. The custom dates back to the classical Septemviri Epulones - the college of priests who superintended the sacrificial banquets to the gods in ancient Rome. Despite (or because of?) this precedent, convivia frequently degenerated into drunken brawls. Complaints about dissolute behaviour generally revealed a profound suspicion of the exclusivist spirit in confraternities. In 1533 Erasmus proposed that not only the feast of the brotherhoods but the brotherhoods themselves should be suppressed, 'for they are nothing but conventicles of Comus and Bacchus'.[41] And in a sermon published in 1519 Luther had also objected to the acquisition by the Sacrament confraternities of privileges for their members through devotional exercises:

> After one or more masses are held, the rest of the day and night... are given over to the devil... It is more a debauch

> [than a brotherhood] and an altogether pagan, yes, a swinish way of life... What have... the names of saints.. to do with your brotherhoods?[42]

He objected particularly to their excessive concern for mutual aid, which fostered a particularist spirit contrary to the concept of true Christian brotherhood. In Spain procurators at the Cortes de Madrid in 1534 lodged the same complaint, vainly petitioning Charles V to limit confraternities by a licensing system. Countless synods and councils also attempted to impose episcopal control on confraternal activities. At Cuenca in the 1580s, for instance, the bishop's inspectors commanded in vain that confraternities stop holding banquets and bullfights and invest in more candles and masses.[43] Viewed from within the Catholic confraternity, this communal carousing might strengthen bonds of brotherhood, but from outside, solidarity of this kind was often perceived as a threat to civil order and to orthodox religion. Was this, then, only nominally a Christian brotherhood? To answer this question, some account needs to be taken of heterodox influences at work in the convivial ritual, both ancient pagan and contemporary popular influences. The funeral banquet is especially relevant to this assessment.

Besides holding banquets based on the liturgical calendar, some confraternities provided food and wine over the graves of the departed for the benefit of priests and paupers in this world, so that their charity might assist the souls in Purgatory. Ultimately this was still a self-seeking exercise, but superficially, at least, it appeared more altruistic than the annual convivium. The refrigerium, as it was known, was a custom inherited from the pagan ritual of feasting over the graves of the dead. To Roman pagans, for instance, the deceased were thought to be literally present and partaking of the food of the living. Early Christians had retained the death meal, if not to nourish the dead, at least to preserve their memory and provide spiritual sustenance in the form of prayers offered by communicants in the fellowship of the meal. Confraternity members thereafter shared commemorative meals during burials of their dead and celebrated the anniversaries of those occasions. However, the large quantities involved in this later ritual suggest the food and drink were not intended to represent the body and blood of Christ, but related to the pagan refrigerium. The Cofradia de los Ciento at Zamora offered straw baskets containing bread, two litres of wine and four candles when members died. These limosnas or animeras

were meant to provide nourishment for the soul through spiritual rewards of charity given by the dead to the living.[44] Bishop Antonio de Guevara of Mondoñedo (Galicia) was scandalized in 1541 by this custom:

> Item hallamos, tener en [sic] costumbre en muchas partes de este nuestro obispado que en los mortuorios que hacen, y el día de los finados que es otro día de todos santos comen, y beben y ponen mesa dentro de las Iglesias, y lo que es peor ponen garros [jarros?] y platos sobre los Altares haciendo aparador de ellos. Ordenamos y mandamos que nadie sea osado en los semejantes mortuorios y honras, y días de finados, comer ni beber en las Iglesias [so] pena de que pague cada uno dos ducados, y el Cura, o Rector que lo consintiere, cuatro.[45]

Interestingly, his only concern was to move the event outside the church. In this he was following a long tradition of suppression. Both Augustine and Ambrose had condemned the practice as pagan. In the sixth century Martin of Braga had revived a canon: 'De eo quod non liceat Christianis prandia ad defunctorum sepulchra deferre et sacrificare de re mortuorum'; Isidore of Seville had copied this decree a year later, and so too did Alfonso the Wise in the thirteenth century. In Palma de Mallorca forty years before Guevara's decree, a ban had been issued on distribution of bread at graves, cemeteries, and churches on All Saints' Day.[46] By this time the funeral banquet had officially been transformed into a cult act consistent with Catholic belief in the mediating power of charity to assist the souls of the dead to heaven: that is, through eleemosyna or death-bed alms, distributed by the dying for the good of their souls. Although eleemosyna were destined for paupers, they often went to priests. In sixteenth-century Spain some attempt was made to control eleemosyna at confraternal refrigeria. Sometimes a number of beggars and paupers were invited, either as many as there were brothers, or thirteen in memory of the Last Supper. But several scholars have also noted pagan elements of initiation and re-birth in such rituals.[47] This manifestation of solidarity, then, was an eclectic phenomenon which took no account of the ideological niceties dividing sixteenth-century Western Europe.

The other major confraternal ritual was the procession, a public display of solidarity which served a different purpose from the banquet. In order to appreciate the meaning of procession for sixteenth-century society, a short excursus into ritual might be helpful at this point, in order to understand its function in other groupings. 'The original purpose of ritual was to create order and meaning where none existed; to

affirm them when they had been achieved; to restore them when they were lost', says Lewis Mumford. 'What an old-fashioned rationalist would regard as "meaningless ritual" was rather, in this interpretation, the ancient foundation layer of all modes of order and significance'.[48] Ritual in qualitative terms is a form of communication by action which is public, stereotyped, and symbolic. It becomes codified through time by public expectation and the printed word. We have seen how this is translated into confraternal dress and insignia. But ritual procession was a more public activity, generating work, affording an opportunity to advertise and sell, and, more importantly, displaying the social structure. Manipulated correctly, the confraternal procession could be used as a form of social control, classifying men according to the guild, fraternity, or religious order to which they belonged (except in the case of merchants, whose wealth was the prime determinant of social status).[49]

There was a curious paradox in this display of the established political or social order, for whether processional confraternities were of the closed guild type, or of open, citywide composition, the communal sense of intimacy fomented on these occasions was an exceptional, temporary, and unpredictable feeling. It belonged, says Bossy, to a few specific moments of ritual petition or festivity inserted in brackets on the prose of everyday life, and possibly helped to rid that life of tensions which might otherwise have proved intolerable.[50] To explain how hostilities could be temporarily suspended during this act, Weissman takes from anthropology the ideas of liminality and <u>communitas</u>. Liminal time is a ritually-induced state of being 'betwixt and between', when an individual sees himself as being dead to his ordinary world of family, neighbourhood, or workplace. This allows him to feel a sense of belonging with the individuals with him at that moment (<u>communitas</u>). Such time usually occurs within the context of 'rites of passage'. But Weissman argues that it can be ritually induced in other situations, such as flagellant processions:

> Through ritual self-abasement - the recitation of penitential psalms, the ritual reenactment of Christ's crucifixion, the adoption of garments symbolic of poverty and low status - and through psychic disorientation produced by mass flagellation, singing and wailing, the participants underwent a liminal experience that suspended the traditional social order and produced a spirit of concord and unity.[51]

Viewed as an instrument of social control, confraternal ritual found support amongst statesmen, who manipulated it to demonstrate the predominant faith at religious festivals and processions. Sir Henry Wotton recognized this meaning of Catholic ritual when he wrote during the Venetian Interdict crisis of 1606:

> Yesterday was the feast of Corpus Christi, celebrated by express commandment of the State (which goeth farther than devotion)... The reasons of this extraordinary solemnity were two, as I conceive it. First, to contain the people still in good order with superstition, the foolish band of obedience. Secondly, to let the Pope know (who wanteth not intelligencers) that notwithstanding his interdict, they had friars enough and other clergymen to furnish out the day.[52]

The result of this secularization of Catholic ritual was that Corpus Christi, the annual celebration of the Eucharist, became the crucial moment of the year for the public expression of religious preference, since the Protestants regarded it as the most abominable holiday of all. As the Reformation included, among other things, a great debate, unparalleled in scale and intensity, about the meaning of ritual, its functions, and its proper forms, Luther's response was to remove external ceremonies and distinctions between various professions, institutions and dress. The Catholic response in late sixteenth century was a trend away from the overtly militant functions of many medieval confraternities towards a more ceremonial presence, and amongst the laity in general an explosion of popular devotional activity. The Feast of Corpus Christi was used to defend the Real Presence, and Holy Week to illustrate the mystery of Incarnation and Redemption. Both also performed conjuratory, expiatory or propitiatory functions with respect to public calamities to salve the collective conscience.[53] Secularization of ritual was also the result of papal encouragement of popular perceptions of history, which were dominated by providentialist theories - God reserved the Indies for Spain, for example.[54] So in 1572 Pius V established the feast of the Rosary on the first Sunday of October to mark the victory at Lepanto, which was ascribed to the intercession of the Virgin.[55] Conversely droughts, plague, and other natural disasters were interpreted as divine punishment. The first response to catastrophe was an increase in processions and votive events to interceding saints in a confused mix of magic and religion.[56] As an example, when bubonic plague broke out in Northern Spain in 1596, besides taking measures which included the siting of hospitals outside

town, Bishop Andrés Pacheco of Segovia instituted an annual fiesta on 16 August in honour of Saint Roch, patron saint of plague victims.[57] The planning and financing of events of this magnitude were the responsibility of civil institutions: guild, confraternity and town hall, who had to provide for candles, floats, prizes for dramatists, actors and dancers; for the filling of holes in the roads, and coercion of townspeople to festoon their houses.[58]

The price of this secular trend was a loss of essentially Christian ethos. People confused sacred and profane, clinging to the concrete aspects of religion (relics, rites, and ceremonies), often participating in pilgrimages and processions for apparently unspiritual reasons.[59] To read an account of a sixteenth-century pilgrimage to Rome, one may be forgiven for comparing it with a touring holiday: a glorious excuse for food, wine, entertainment and pleasure.[60] Some confraternities exacted an oath from would-be pilgrims :

> Que no va a la romería por negociar sus negocios o de otras personas algunas ni por acompañar a nadie, salvo solamente a romería porque lo prometió.[61]

The elders then decided how long the journey should take, and if the pilgrim fell ill on the way, he had to bring back written proof of the place, duration, and nature of his indisposition. An allegorical poem about the Nativity reveals how far the pilgrimage had been debased by 1612:

> No es voto de nueve horas,
> ni aun de solo nueve días,
> que nueve meses estuvo
> sin salir de la capilla...
> Bien pudieras comutarlo
> en limosnas, y obras pías,
> y cumpliera con su voto,
> y en rigor satisfazía
> Mas aunque del Padre santo
> todas las veces tenía,
> quiso cumplir su palabra,
> que es muy de Reyes cumplirla.[62]

The north of Spain was particularly affected by pilgrims on the Santiago Route, in relation to which Pérez de Herrera complained in 1595: 'I understand that between eight and ten thousand French, Gascons, and other foreigners pass through the hospice at Burgos every year. They take away with them enough food and provisions for three days, according to local custom. No-one knows what their business is, nor whether they complete their pilgrimage. It is certain that they are

contributing to a flight of Spanish currency abroad, and that they create heretical sects here. The money they receive should be distributed amongst our own poor, especially the vergonzantes'.[63]

2.2.1 The 'Play Element'

The Church complained that many joined confraternities for their 'play element', deduced from the amount of time, effort, and money that many confraternities expended on the decoration of churches and chapels, on candle and torch-lit processions (contrast page 45 above), on parading relics, crosses, and banners, on hiring musicians to accompany their singing, and on feasts and plays. Attention to the last two activities almost certainly declined after the emergence of the Church Militant in the post-Tridentine era, to be replaced by more elaborate and expensive decoration: paintings for confraternal rooms and altars, tabernacles for the Host, or theatrical scenery for the forty-hour displays of the Eucharist (Quarantore). But the 'play element' persisted, and so did associated personal rivalries, despite the professed brotherly intentions. The sixteenth-century Toledan priest, Luis Hurtado, blamed this rivalry on the social prestige acquired by participants, determined by their place in the confraternal procession.[64] Confraternity statutes often stipulated processional order.[65] Those nearest the Sacrament had to be untainted by heterodoxy. In small towns it was borne by regidores or Cofradias del SS Sacramento. Contemporary accounts of processions always give the ceremonial order, or comment on its integrity. It was often established that the oldest confraternity should head the procession. In disputes over privileges or preeminence between, for example, Madre de Dios (established 1505) and the older Santa Caridad in Toledo, or between Angustias and Piedad in Valladolid (1593), or between Vera Cruz and Pasión in Valladolid (1573), resulting litigation proved costly.[66] Even on formal visits between confraternities rivalries of precedence occasioned lawsuits, and references to suspension of precedences to ensure a peaceful completion indicate the same obsession with order.[67]

Another confraternal 'play element' which felt the influence of the Church Militant was the staging of sacred drama. The progression from undramatized representation to one with dramatic form had probably occurred during the fifteenth century with the use of extravagant tableaux vivants, either at sites which a procession would visit, or erected on carts moving with the procession. These carros triunfales

carried groups of pilgrims and actors in costume, who glossed scenes in the Bible, or in hagiography. Santiago pilgrims often gave musical or dramatic performances, usually based on the life of Santiago. Other pilgrims staged 'miracles' or 'mysteries' with various religious themes.[68] After Trent dramatic representations that formerly had no connection with the Eucharistic Mystery were substituted with scenes and autos where it was represented either symbolized or sung, guided by the episcopate, or in more extreme cases, by the Inquisition.[69] Curiously, despite universal ecclesiastical censorship, other European popular 'mysteries' or 'miracles' generally suffered earlier, and more absolute suppression than in Spain, where an important development took place. From 1579 amateur performances of sacred representations gave way to autos sacramentales, for which the city contracted from professional troupes at every fiesta, especially Corpus.[70] By this political and ecclesiastical infiltration of confraternal drama, the ritual (theoretically) became more cultist, and better disposed by example to maintain the social order, both within and between pious brotherhoods. Consequently, one would expect reports of heterodoxy and indecorous behaviour to have subsided, at least in relation to confraternal ritual. That this was not the case was due to the strength of popular tradition in observances of the liturgical calendar. The report by Bishop Guevara shows that he knew better than to try to eradicate folk elements of worship.[71] Ninety years later, when a ban on the auto sacramental at the festa d'Elx (1631) was taken to be a ban on the fiesta, popular objection was so strong that an appeal went to Rome for confirmation of their right to hold it.[72]

Differences between popular religion, practised by peasant and proletarian; and official, ecclesiastical, hegemonical, cult religion, as Ariño Villarroya points out, may be only of degree, and not of quality.[73] Confrontation between these two kinds of religion highlighted the Counter-Reformation period. But new pastoral strategies of acculturation and transmission of ideas could not resolve the differences between popular beliefs and customs (labelled as magic or superstition), and official dogma. Doctor Navarro said that prayers for rain, children, and deliverance were acceptable, if not seen as the ultimate goal. But he condemned purely superstitious confraternal practices such as immersing images of Saints Peter and Felicity in the river, to make it rain. The error, he said, was in believing this was

the only way of gaining intercession. The same ruling was taken at Astorga in 1595, whose synodal constitutions recognized some confraternal activities as mere superstition, forbidding members to submerge images and relics in streams and rivers to solicit rain.[74] Cervantes describes one confraternal rain-making procession, but does not mention the ritual of submersion:

> Era el caso que aquel año habian las nubes negado su rocio a la tierra, y por todos los lugares de aquella comarca se hacían procesiones, rogativas y disciplinas, pidiendo a Dios abriese las manos de su misericordia y les lloviese; y para este efecto la gente de una aldea que alli junto estaba venía en procesión a una devota ermita que en un recuesto de aquel valle había. Don Quijote, que vió los extraños trajes de los disciplinantes, sin pasarle por la memoria las muchas veces que los habia de haber visto, se imaginó que era cosa de aventura.[75]

None of the foregoing rituals borrowed from popular and pagan tradition could be construed, then or now, as being likely to cause a breach of the peace. Interestingly, those confraternal rituals most often implicated in episodes of civil disorder drew on ecclesiastical tradition at the diocesan level. The effect of these rituals was widely felt and imitated in contemporary society, so much, in fact, that it is difficult to establish where liturgical ritual ended and popular ritual began. Most priestly festivities had their origins in pagan rituals. The septemviri was one example. Another was the banquete de misa nueva, to which priests saying their first mass invited their fellow priests.[76] The ceremony follows a trajectory which includes gluttony and drunkenness, lewdness and larceny, and both oral and written satirical attacks on the guests. The narrator of El Crotalón compares these last to the university 'vexamen de doctor'.[77] Finally, the novice priest has his face blacked and is paraded through the streets on a mule, after being covered with flour.[78] Sometimes he missed his inauguration ceremony as a result of these Saturnalian antics.[79]

Another clerical ritual, which followed the liturgical calendar, originated in pagan antics at fiestas of Saint Stephen, Saint John the Evangelist, and Childermas (Innocents' Day). On these days, and at Lent all over Europe (and in the Eastern world) priests and laymen had donned women's clothes, or animal heads and hairy skins, in imitation of the Wild Man. There are many layers of meaning to this ritual, which has sociological, biological, psychological, and metaphysical connotations. Some of those connotations have considerable relevance for a study of

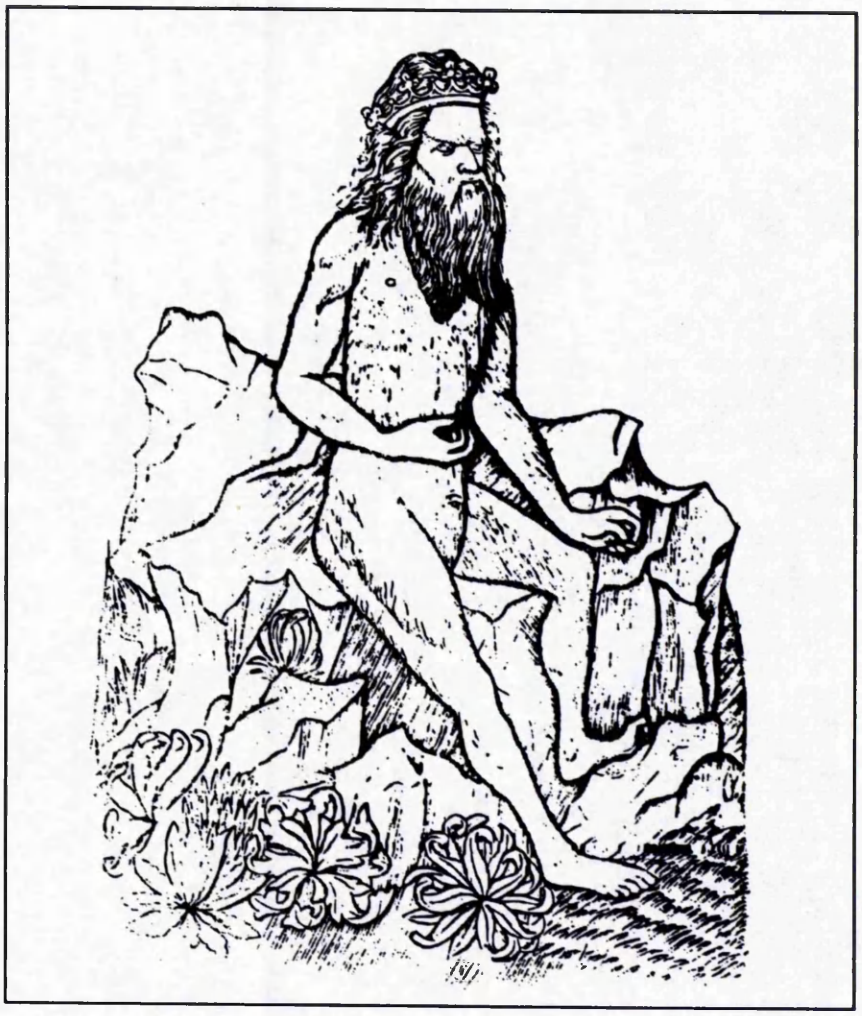

fig. 1. King of the Wild Men

rituals of solidarity. In addressing them here, they will serve as an introduction to several mythological figures and rites peculiar to underworld groups which we shall later examine. The remarkable persona of the Wild Man, who heads this ritual complex, had always existed outside Christian norms, and thus attracted the opprobrium of the Church Fathers. Augustine objected that associated rituals incited the people to carnival rather than contemplation.[80] Traditionally the Wild Man, or hombre salvaje, was half man, half beast, with flowing locks and beard, wearing only a hairy pelt and twisted foliage around the loins, carrying a club. He lived alone in the forest, often lacking the gift of speech, but blessed instead with prodigious physical strength (fig. 1). Since Augustine had ruled that a man without knowledge of God lacked mental activity,[81] the Wild Man came to be portrayed as a man out of his mind. Thus wildness and insanity were, in medieval terms, roughly synonymous. The limits between wildness and knighthood were also fluid, the Wild Man having descended to this state by adverse circumstances. He was thus capable of returning to his previous social position. There is one example of his type in the caballero of Cárcel de Amor (1492). Alongside this popular tradition was a related aristocratic convention of courtly love, which advocated suffering, penitence, and imprisonment (real or allegorical) in the cause of love. Lovers' madness, which reduced a knight to a Wild Man, had become a literary topos by the sixteenth century.[82]

Around the eleventh century, the Germanic legend of the Wild Horde developed, led by Hellekin or Harlekin. These were hideous, avenging deities, incarnations of the dead, who came at night on fire-breathing horses to torment transgressors of society's codes.[83] The caccia selvaggia, as it was known in Italian culture, generally terrorized a whole community. Around the thirteenth century, the legend of the forest-dwelling Wild Man merged with that of the Wild Horde, sometimes replacing Hellekin. Popular Christian enactments of these pagan supernatural visitations meanwhile featured masked revellers, whose attention focused on second marriages, especially when there was a gross disparity in age between the bride and groom. Youths wearing fierce devil-masks and costumes of multi-coloured rags sewn to a close-fitting garment (later systematized into interlocking triangular or lozenge-shaped patches) might make their clamour with pots, tambourines, bells, rattles, and horns for a week outside the house of the victims, unless

they settled and paid a fine.[84] This was the charivari (or in Spain cencerrada). Reasons for the ritual were allegedly several. First there was the dead spouse to be placated, sometimes represented in effigy at the charivari. Then there were the children of the first marriage to be considered, both psychologically and economically. There was also a demographical reason for the charivari, as Ginzburg explains. In a society hit by profound economic and demographic crisis, by epidemics and famine, the number of marriageable people was severely limited. In this situation the second marriage of a widow or widower would have affronted the young in the community. The [symbolic] vilification of the settlement by the dead voiced this social disapproval in the most aggressive manner. When the charivari was directed against concubines of priests and poor girls accused of having lost their honour, Ginzburg's theory would perhaps justify the accompanying pursuit and rape as a rite of virilization which also expressed collective frustration and opposition to perverse matrimony, considering that the affluent and mature were sequestering the young girls from their legitimate suitors.[85] It may be argued that they were also effectively protecting their future honour, by singling out those without any for public scorn and worse.

The myth of the Wild Man also produced Wild Man plays and dances.[86] Most Wild Man dances originally took place at Twelfth Night and Carnival, the end of winter, but later they were held to mark events of ecclesiastical and civic import. Thus in 1545, when Cardinal Siliceo was instated, festivities at Toledo ended with a danza de salvajes,[87] and an exhibition by seises. Seises are another variant on the Wild Man tradition with relevance to the present study on brotherhood. Their institution, formalized by Silíceo, began as a Mozarabic ritual, possibly of pagan origin. Young boys trained in music and dancing at cathedrals in Toledo and Seville, performed stately dances and sang before the exposed Host on Saint Nicholas Day, and previously also in the Corpus procession. They carried small crótalos to beat time with the music.[88] Originally there were just six boys: niños cantorcicos. By 1570 they were known as seisecicos (in 1590 seyeses, 1594 seyses). They were fed, clothed, and educated in the house of a master, and despite variations in their number, the name survived as seises.[89] The same seises contributed to the lewd songs and dances at the banquete de misa nueva, known as la fiesta de los matachines.[90] Wearing multicoloured garments

and painted faces, they made grotesque faces and gestures as they beat themselves with wooden swords and pigs' bladders.[91] Seises were also involved in a popular secularization of these clerical rituals known as the Fiesta del obispillo, which lasted from Saint Nicholas Day (6 December) to Holy Innocents (28 December).[92] During this period, a seise officiated as Obispillo at Vespers in the cathedral dressed in bishop's robes and mitre, exacting payment of the canons in the choir, who changed places with the student-priests. During the sixteenth century the event was pushed out of church, but continued in the streets, where for twenty-four hours the students were masters of the city. This continuum of irreverent priestly festivals came under attack from Tridentine Reformers throughout Europe, and yet, curiously, they lasted longest in Spain, once again suggesting the strength of popular religion there. Seville's fiesta del obispillo ended finally in 1641.

Some charivaris incorporated a modification of the Wild Man known as the King of Love, who wore a bird mask and a cock's feathered crest. As a Cock-King he incarnated strength and lust, just like some versions of the Wild Man. Traces of the Cock King survived through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Spain.[93] In Quevedo's El Buscón, Pablos is made rey de gallos at Lent and publicly humiliated (p. 38). There is a probable link here with the cock-narrator of El Crotalón: a satire on contemporary Spain. One chapter of this work describes a Lenten tradition of cock-fights arranged by the women, who plucked the birds of all their feathers. It is thought that the ritual incarnated the sexual repression associated with Lent, as Alejo Venegas explains:

> Quiere decir privación de carnes; y a esa causa se corren los gallos, que son muy lascivos, para significar la lujuria que deve ser reprimida en todo tiempo y especial en Cuaresma, conforme a lo que en el segundo capitulo escribe el profeta Joel: salga de su cama el esposo y la esposa de su tálamo.[94]

Repeated attempts to curb these Lenten and Carnival excesses, together with the Feast of Fools at Christmas, succeded only in shifting the organization of them to more or less formally-constituted youth groups: Abbeys of Misrule, Joyous Societies, Basochiens, and Mère Folle. The Feast of Fools went back beyond the Roman Kalends of January, having primitive features which had passed through peasant communities to the city cathedrals; and the Holiday Bishop of the Christmas revels, like all other holiday lords, was a survival of that temporary king,

described in Frazer's Golden Bough, once elected by his fellows for human sacrifice.[95] Evidently the ritual survived in universities. When Luján's Guzmán de Alfarache is initiated at Alcalá, his fellows refer to him as danzante sin cascabeles, which besides its vulgar content, is surely a clear allusion to the Prince of many Basoche companies who wore a fool's headdress and rode a richly-caparisoned wicker horse.[96] According to some scholars, Abbeys and Kingdoms of Misrule, charivaris, and carnivals were simply a secularization of the declining Feast of Fools in the fifteenth century.[97]

2.3 Summary

The view expressed by Bossy that ritual, or at least the 'play element' of ritual, functioned as a sort of safety valve to release tensions in the community at large, seems perfectly in accord with the facts here presented.[98] Survival of the more outrageous versions of confraternal 'play', whether in lay or priestly confraternities, testifies to a judicious state of compromise by both Church and State in the interests of preserving peace. Modern theories of liminality, discussed above (see page 47), might even be applied to the feast of the Boy-Bishop - clergy accepted a temporary self-abasement, changing places with their students, whose ritual reenactment of the Mass, followed by incitement to public disorder, probably helped to produce the same temporary fraternal spirit as that seen in other 'rites of passage'. Because of its temporary nature, this was not a familial solidarity, though it defended its loyalties, its heritage, and its boundaries just as fiercely. In a broad context, the pious confraternity seems to have been Christian, if not necessarily orthodox by contemporary Catholic standards. Advertisement of the assembled social and political order by adherence to christianized ritual does not prove a genuine religious commitment. It may only demonstrate the need for a protective shield in troubled times. Whether the confraternity was an expression of Christian brotherhood, or simply a mask for more secular designs, is a crucial question to our later survey of underworld groups. Similarities and differences between popular and dogmatic religious rituals highlighted in this chapter suggest that no pious collectivity was irreproachable, nor entirely orthodox in its activities. This fact should be borne in mind in later chapters on the underworld, where an absence of orthodox ritual does not necessarily imply irreligiousness, especially as evidence of popular variants on orthodox rituals (vows,

superstitious practices, etc.) may in fact be the only accessible proof of a collective devotional experience for marginals. First, however, we should turn our attention away from social manifestations of solidarity in the pious confraternity, towards those of religious commitment, to investigate the tension between public sanctity and private profanity. The next chapter will seek to address this tension.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

[1] On letters of confraternity, see Duhr, 'La confrérie', 458. See Suárez Fernández, 'Evolución', 46-78, for a selection of letters of confraternity raised between Castilian towns from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. See also Appendix 1.A on confraternal letters.

[2] 'Escruta notarial otorgada en Sevilla el 29 de mayo de 1607', cited in López Martínez, 'Archicofradía Sacramental', 180-1.

[3] Ritual Brotherhood, 77.

[4] On social changes influencing new associative bonds, see Yun Casalilla, Crisis de subsistencias, 100; Horden, 'Confraternities of Byzantium', 26; Horowitz, 'Jewish Confraternities', 125; and Le Bras, Sociologie religieuse, 462. Horden claims, however, that none of these phenomena can be assigned with any precision to the period of maximal confraternal development. On decline of old kinship bonds, see De La Roncière, 'De la place des confréries dans l'encadrement religieux du Contado florentin au XVe siècle', Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome, 89 (1973), 633-71 (77 [sic]), cited in Dieterich, Brotherhood and Community, 36, n. 60; Bossy, 'Holiness and Society', 120-126; Jean Devisse, Hincmar, Archevêque de Reims, 845-882, 3 vols (Geneva, 1976), II, 845-882 (878, n. 361); and Bennassar, Valladolid, 408. See also page 83 below, on kinship bonds.

[5] Bossy, 'Holiness and Society', 121. See also Nelson, The Idea of Usury, xxiii (foreword), 81, 142, 162, and passim; Horowitz, 'Jewish Confraternities', 126; Dieterich, 'Brotherhood and Community', 7; and Bossy, 'Blood and Baptism', 179-80. On social policing effect of confraternities, see Black, Italian Confraternities, 271; Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, 66; and Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 96. See page 50 below, on rivalry in confraternities.

[6] See The Idea of Usury, xvi (foreword), for Nelson's view of the role of capitalism in this Universal Otherhood; and ibid., 133, on the problems facing Catholics in interpreting Deuteronomy 15: 23, on usury. See also Nueva Recopilación, lib. VIII, tit. 6, 'De las usuras y logros' (vol. II, fol. 304v). See page 85 below, for more on caritas.

[7] Ludovico Domenichi (1515-1564) (Wit and Wisdom of the Italian Renaissance, edited by Charles Speroni (Berkeley, 1974), 236, cited by Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, 220, n. 112). See Appendix 1.B on patria chica.

[8] Pérez de Urbel, Los monjes españoles, II, 552, citing Coronica de la Orden de San Benito (Valladolid, 1618), A. Yepes, I, fol. 183.

[9] On medieval Germanic guilds and their legacy to confraternal vengeance activities, see Dieterich, 'Brotherhood and Community', 11, 15; and Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 33, 38.

[10] See pages 174, and 382, on vengeance in the underworld. On the medieval guild as artificial family in the feud, see Bideleux, 'Popular Catholicism', 238, citing A. D. Wright, The Counter-Reformation: Catholic Europe and the non-Christian World (London, 1982), 51-2. On parish priest as settler of conflicts, see Bossy, 'Blood and Baptism', 138. On the role of medieval godfathers as keepers of peace, see Flynn, 'Charitable Ritual', 338-9.

[11] Psychology of Social Class, 135.

[12] Bossy, 'Leagues and Associations', 175. On confraternal dress as a leveller, see Chauchadis, Honneur, morale et société, 116; and Santos, Las Tarascas de Madrid, 269, n. 22, 'Segundo dia'. See also Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, 82; and Guibert, Confréries de pénitents, 35.

[13] Fernández de Ribera, Anteojos, 59. Espinel, Marcos de Obregón, Relación 1ª, Descanso 13° (vol. 1, 217). See also Quevedo, 'Despídese de penitente y disciplinante', in Quevedo, Obra poética, II, 414, no. 724:

Penitencia me mandó
Que hiciese el divino dueño,
Por quien, de Dios olvidado,
Sólo de mi mal me acuerdo.
Dice que gustará mucho
De verme en bocaci negro,
Puntiagudo de cabeza,
Con diez arrobas de peso.

[14] Las Tarascas, 269, 'Abusos del segundo dia, lunes'. For sartorial pragmatics relating to confraternities in Seville, see Gárnica, 'Hermandades de penitencia', 42 (eighteenth-century); Alvarez Jusué, 'La Cofradía de la Esperanza', 152 (seventeenth century); and Sanz Serrano, 'Artes ornamentales', 174 (sixteenth century). For Penitentes de amor, see López de Ubeda, La picara Justina, Bk. 4, ch. 2, 'Del pretensor disciplinante' (vol. 2, 697-706, especially 701); and Erasmus, The Praise of Folly, 145. See also Deleito y Piñuela, Declinar de la monarquia, 164.

[15] On confraternal choice of colour, see Abbé Molinier, Des confrairies Pénitentes, ou il est traicté de leur institution, reigles et exercices (Toulouse, 1625), cited in Guibert, Les confréries de Pénitents, 35. See also Appendix 1.C. White penitents are reputedly the oldest. Black penitents formed later. Though there is scope for further research in the question of colour of dress and common activities, membership or patronage, such distinctions are thought to be artificial. Those with the same colour dress did not always adopt the same title, and often had different statutes and observances.

[16] Many confraternities wore an embroidered badge representing either an ecce homo or an Agnus Dei (the attributes of the Passion), a dove surrounded by beams of light, or some other symbol. See Appendix 1.D for medieval insignia; and page 118 below, for indulgences associated with scapulars, etc. For sixteenth-century Italian emblems, see Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, 81-2; and for sixteenth-century Paris, see Pecquet, 'Compagnies de pénitents', 10. See also Meersseman, 'Etudes dominicaines', XX, 42, for fourteenth-century penitential dress.

[17] For militant tendencies in confraternities, see pages 87 (migueletes), 109 (Santa Hermandad), 114 (Sacrament confraternities), and 166 (military academies) below.

[18] González Palencia, Noticias de Madrid, 63. For pectorals and other paraphernalia in seventeenth-century Seville, see Sanz Serrano, 'Las artes ornamentales', 181. See also Wollesen-Wisch, 'Gonfalone', 22, citing Libro del Camerlengo 1551, no. 2, Archivio di Stato, Roma, fol. 51; Libro del Camerlengo 1572, no. 540, loc. cit., fols 54r, 55r; and Alvarez Jusué, 'La Esperanza de la Macarena', 148-51. For

pendones and cruzes at events in Madrid between 1586-1626, see Garibay, Memorias, 440; and León Pinelo, Anales, 141, 158, 226, and 268.

[19] Polo de Medina, Academias del Jardin, 143-4.

[20] On candles, see Romero Abao, 'Corpus Christi', 24-6; Galpern, Religions of the People, 16; and Sanz Serrano, 'Las artes ornamentales', 180. For other processional paraphernalia and traditions, see González Gómez, 'Sentimiento y simbolismo', 121. For references to cofradías de luz, see Cervantes, El rufián dichoso, Jornada 1ª, p. 286; and for luz/disciplina, see 'A la huyda de Egypto en cuyo discurso se dize la vida y muerte de Christo', in Ledesma, Conceptos espirituales, I, 100. On exemption from carrying torches in Venice's Shomrim la-Boker, see Horowitz, 'Jewish Confraternities', 114, n. 119, citing Pinkas Hevrat Shomrim la-Boker, Verona, Jewish National and University Library, 4°, 559, Jerusalem (Venice), 9a, 38b, 64b.

[21] Caballero de Gracia, Jornada 1ª, 114-7, p. 352b.

[22] For primed whips, see Fastiginia, quoted in Alonso Cortés, Miscelánea vallisoletana, 56; and Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 324, n. 44, citing AHPZ, Protocolos, no. 7, fols 164-67; AMZ, Libro 66, Ords de la Cof. de la (Vera) Cruz. See also Appendix 1.E.

[23]

> No quita el ser mendicantes válidos el andar en traje de romeros, ni el ser extranjeros, o estudiantes o clérigos, y veo que en andando en estos trajes o diciendo que van de camino les permiten como a verdaderos pobres. El andar en traje conocido de romeros se había de prohibir del todo, porque debajo de él huyen y se esconden salteadores, y porque las peregrinaciones ni otra de las obras pías no requieren señal ni campanilla, antes les daña. En su traje cada uno puede cumplir sus votos o peregrinación.
>
> (Pérez de Herrera, Amparo, Discurso 3°, 92).

[24] Peregrino en su patria, 426.

[25] For misuse of the pilgrim habit, see Martin Pavón in La Justina, Bk 2, pt. 2, ch. 2, 'De la burla del ermitaño', 431; and Duque de Estrada, Comentarios, Quinta parte, 164. For complaints and bans on Santiago pilgrims, see Lambert, 'Ordres et confréries', 376; and León Pinelo, Anales, 145 (1590).

[26] For the legend of the pilgrim's shell (in Galicia vieira), see Saezmiera Uyarra, Santo Domingo de la Calzada, 120-1.

[27] 'A la Ascensión de Christo', in Conceptos espirituales, 149. Compare a poem by Walter Raleigh:

> Give me my scallop shell of quiet,
> My staff of faith to walk upon,
> My scrip of joy, immortal diet,
> My bottle of salvation:
> My gown of glory, hope's true gauge,
> And thus I'll take my pilgrimage.
>
> (The Passionate Man's Pilgrimage (1604)).

[28] See Lope de Vega, Peregrino en su patria, 441.

[29] 'A la Ascensión de Christo', 150.

[30] Mira de Amescúa, Galán, valiente, y discreto, 25. See also page 278 below, for the link between pilgrims' staffs and prostitutes. For bordón association between pilgrims and beggars, see Colmenares, Historia de Segovia, III, 'Vida de fray Domingo de Soto', 63-86 (67-8), citing 'órdenes contra mendigos y bordoneros'; and Quevedo, 'Sentimiento de un jaque por ver cerrada la mancebía: Jácara', in Obra poética, III, 308:

¿Los bribones de la culpa,
Que acudían los domingos
A la sopa del demonio,
Bordoneros de entresijos?

[31] El condenado por desconfiado, III. 15. 2449, p. 191.

[32] Estebanillo González, ch. 4, 303b. For gourd references, see Lambert, 'Ordres et confréries', 400; Tremp-Utz, 'Confrérie de Saint Jacques', 227. On gourds and Saint Jerome iconography, see Speak, 'Glass Men', 865.

[33] On regulation of Hermanos de la Luz, see Peñafiel Ramón, 'Vida eremítica', 580-1, citing AMM, Cartulario Real de 1528, 20 abril, fols 94r-v (José Muñoz Martínez, Los Hermanos de la Luz (Murcia, 1958), 33). For control of hermits in sixteenth-century Jaén, see Lázaro Damás, 'Ermitas y santuarios', 290-6, citing AHDJ, Constituciones sinodales del obispado de Jaén de 1492, tit. LXXXVIII, transcrito y estudiado por Rodríguez Molina; and AHDJ, Constituciones sinodales del obispado de Jaén de 1624, cap. VI. Compare regulations imposed on Lazarillo in Luna, Lazarillo, XV, 102. On abuse of hermitages, see Christian, Local Religion, 164-9; and 'Carta del Jesuíta P. Juan Chacón al P. Rafael Pereyra, Salamanca, 20 de mayo de 1634', in Cartas de algunos padres, 49. For a fictional fake hermit, Crispin, see Castillo Solórzano, La Garduña, 203b.

[34] Amparo, Discurso 1°, 42-3. See Appendix 1.F, for full quotation.

[35] Cervantes, 'A un ermitaño', MS de Arrieta, cited by Rodríguez Marín (ed.), Rinconete y Cortadillo, 86, n. 47. See Appendix 1.G for Saint Hilarion.

[36] 'Respuesta de la Méndez a Escarramán: Jácara', in Obras completas de Quevedo, II, 256. See pages 443, and 439 below, on prisoners' penitence.

[37] Compare Vida de Alonso de Contreras, 107b.

[38] Villalón [attributed], 142. Luna, Lazarillo, XV, 101.

[39] 'Premáticas y aranceles generales', 442. See also 'su barbaza de ermitaño' in Quevedo, op. cit., III, 266. For facial hair in the underworld, see page 370 below. Some ex-convicts, however, were genuine converts to a holy life. One of these was the pícaro, Guzmán de Alfarache, who gave voluntary aid in a leper's hospital:

> Desengañado del mundo y dispuesto a hacer penitencia por los pecados de su vida picaresca toma consejo de unos franciscanos y se retira a una ermita solitaria junto al mar.
>
> (Machado de Silva, Guzmán de Alfarache, 326, cited by Angel San Miguel, 'La promesa de Alemán', 106-7).

[40] Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 121, n. 103, citing Archivo de la Mitra de Zamora, Ordenanzas de la Cofradía de San Ildefonso, 518. On

convivia and agape, see Bossy, 'Holiness and Society', 136; Meersseman, 'Etudes dominicaines', XX, 14; and Rumeu de Armas, Previsión social, 125. On convivial food, see Romero Abao, 'Corpus Christi en Sevilla', 26, citing José de Gestoso Pérez, Curiosidades antiguas Sevillanas, 2ª serie (Seville, 1910), 95; and AMS, Papeles del Mayordomazgo, 1479-80, 14 de mayo de 1479; ibid., 1480-81, 10 de mayo de 1480; and ibid., 1424-25, no. 102. See also Galpern, Religions of the People, 58, n. 107, citing Henri Bordier, 'La confrérie des pèlerins de Saint-Jacques et ses archives', Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France: Mémoires, 2 (1876), 382.

[41] See Lea, Auricular Confession, III, 474-6, citing, among others, Erasmus, De Ecclesiae Concordia (Lug. Bat. 1641, 147-8); and Constit. Ratisponens. Cap. 8 (Hartzheim, VI, 200).

[42] Luther's Works, XXXV, 67. Membership of the Kalends was restricted to the clergy, whose surfeiting at the common meal was almost proverbial (see ibid., XLV, 181, n. 40; and 'Ein Sermon von dem hochwürdigen Sakrament des heiligen wahren Leichnams Christi und von den Bruderschaften (1519)', Luthers Werke, I, 196-212 (208-12)).

[43] For criticism of convivia, see Rumeu de Armas, Previsión social, 202, citing Cortes de Madrid de 1534, Petición XXIX; and Agulhon, Pénitents et Francs-maçons, 122, n. 170. For Cuenca, see Nalle, 'Religion and Reform', 257, n. 28, citing ADC, 604, 31r, et passim.

[44] On refrigerium, see Martz, 192; A. Black, Guilds and Civil Society in European Political Thought from the Twelfth Century to the Present (London, 1984), 56; J.-P. Gutton, 'Confréries, curés and Communities', 203-6; and Philip T. Hoffman, Church and Community in the Diocese of Lyon, 1500-1789 (New Haven, CT, 1984), 196-7. See also Flynn, 'Charitable Ritual', 338-39, n. 7, citing Zamora, Archivo de la Mitra, Ords. de la Cofradía de los Ciento, fol. 25; Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 42-3, nn. 42, 43, citing Augustine, Confessions, VI, 2; and J. Quasten, 'Vetus superstitio et nova religio: The Problem of refrigerium in the Ancient Church of North Africa', Harvard Theological Review, 33 (1940), 253-66; Augustine, Epistularium, XXII, 6, Corpus Scriptorum Eclesiasticorum Latinorum, XXXIV, 58-9. See also Flynn, art. cit., 184-6, especially nn. 86, 87, citing Ordenanzas de la Cofradía de los Ciento, fols 23v-24; Racioneros, fol. 15; San Nicolás, fol. 389; Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, El primer nueva corónica i bien gobierno, parte II: "La conquista" (Lima, 1966); and Anuario de Eusko folklore, 3 (1923, re-edited 1981), 4, 81, 102.

[45] Bishop Guevara, 'Constituciones sinodales', in René Costes, Antonio de Guevara: sa vie, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes Hispaniques, fasc., N. 1 (Paris & Bordeaux, 1926), 57-64; and D. R. Sanjurjo y Pardo, Los obispos de Mondoñedo (Lugo, 1854), II, 54-56, cited in Jones, 'Obispo Guevara', 57.

[46] See Claude W. Barlow (ed.), Martini episcopi Bracarensis Opera (New Haven, CT, 1950), 140, canon 69; J. P. Migne (ed.), Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Opera omnia (Paris, 1850), VIII, col. 584, of Concilia Hispaniae; E. Casas, Costumbres españolas, 363; and Gabriel Llompart, 'Pan sobre la tumba: una nota de folklore mallorquin', RDTP, 21 (1965), 98; all cited in Jones, art. cit., 61, n. 7.

[47] On eleemosynary banquets, see Binz, 'Confréries de Genève', 248; and Rumeu de Armas, Previsión social, 125. On pagan borrowings, see Chiffoleau, 'Confréries du Saint Esprit', 20 (jetones and

Pentecost); Dieterich, 'Brotherhood and Community', 120 (renewal feasts); and Davies, 'Sacred and Body Social', 56 (chevaux fous at Pentecost in sixteenth-century Lyons). Compare page 435 below, on caccia selvaggia; and see Chiffoleau, art. cit., 23, on funerary food.

[48] The Myth of the Machine, 62.

[49] The ideal of procession, as Trexler explains, has always been order: a lineally-designed spectacle of interesting parts, all moving together at a steady rate. In it no particular person is distinguishable, as it has no biographical or narrative element. Its prime purpose is to display the assembled political or social order (Trexler, 'Ritual in Florence', 233). On ritual in general, see Burke, Perception and Communication, 180-2, 223-6; and Benedict, Rouen, 1, citing E. R. Leach, Political systems of Highland Burma: A Study of Kachin Social Structure (Boston, MA, 1965), 15.

[50] On use of ritual to attenuate violence, see Rossiaud, 'Fraternités de jeunesse', 85-6, on charivaris; see also pages 54, and 37 above. Rossiaud proposes that madness and youth dissipate at thirty-six years of age. Discounting the boldness of his absolute limit, there are plenty of data to support the general argument. Independent studies of S.E. France, Venice and the Italian Jewry show that young men roamed together in bands, frequently engaging in acts of sexual aggression which their society, tolerant of the 'follies of youth', punished with relatively light penalties (see Rossiaud, 'Fraternités de jeunesse', 69). See also Guido Ruggiero, Violence in Venice, 170; and Horowitz, 'Jewish Confraternities', 28.

[51] Ritual Brotherhood, 54.

[52] 'To the Earl of Salisbury', Venice, May 26, 1606; State Papers, Foreign, Venice, Public Record Office, in Life and Letters, I, 350.

[53] For theories of religious fiestas, see Morales Padrón, Historia de Sevilla, III, 271; Romero Abao, 'Corpus Christi en Sevilla', 19; Burke, Perception and Communication, 226; Bennassar, Valladolid, 480, citing Bartolomé Joly, 'Voyage en Espagne, 1603-4', Revue Hispanique, 20 (1909), 460-618; and Pinheiro da Veiga, La Fastiginia (1605), 57. See Appendix 1.H for development of Corpus Christi.

[54] See Burke, Perception and Communication, 210, citing A. Van Gennep, The Rites of Passage (1908; English translation, London, 1960); and V. Turner, and E. Turner, Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture (Oxford, 1978). On providentialism in Spain, see Morales Padrón, Historia de Sevilla, 245.

[55] Lea, Indulgences, 488.

[56] The role of the Church at these moments, whether in a psychological capacity as container or manipulator of popular fear, or in the tangible aid it offered, would make interesting study, as Maza Zorrilla points out ('Villalón de Campos y la Peste de 1599', 380). See Colmenares, Historia de Segovia, 426, on a fire at Segovia (18 September, 1614); and compare the plot of Lope de Vega, El caballero del Sacramento. See also León Pinelo, Anales, 284 (fire); Pisa, Toledo, 42 (rain-making); and Don Quijote, I, 52 (vol. 3, 413) (rain-making).

[57] Colmenares, Historia de Segovia, 365. On popular adaptations of procession, etc., see Black, Italian Confraternities, 272. On plague processions, see also Pisa, Toledo, 145. Similarly, when

plague visited Seville in 1649, Madrid closed all but four gates. Chief among countless processions to placate God's anger was that of the city's patron saint, NS^a de Atocha. Her involvement speaks eloquently of the scale of the catastrophe, as she was reserved for only the worst of disasters, principally those affecting the royal family (see ibid., 204, 342, 256, 164 and passim). See also Appendix 1.I, and see page 273 below, on Atocha and prostitutes. For intercession of other saints, see Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 104 (for the success of the Armada against England). For a secular celebration to mark the inauguration in 1558 of a church, see Colmenares, Historia de Segovia, 249-51.

[58] Normally the streets were lined with galingale (juncia), myrtle (arrayán), and esparto branches (espadaña), and all the excrement was swept up and carried away on donkeys. For organization of civic events, see Morales Padrón, Historia de Sevilla, 272, citing AMS. Papeles Importantes, III, docs 43ff (1575); and ibid., IV, docs 1 ff (1582). See also Constituciones de la Cofradia del Corpus Christi (1516), Avila, lib. 18, cap. xxxiii, in Sobrino Chomón, op. cit., 173; Romero Abao, 'Corpus Christi en Sevilla', 22, citing AMS. Papeles del mayordomazgo (1405), no. 91; Antonio Collantes de Terán, Sevilla en la Baja Edad Media: La ciudad y sus hombres (Seville, 1977), 103-4; AMS, Papeles del mayordomazgo (1510), 28 de mayo de 1510; and ibid. (1411-12), no. 115.

[59] See Colmenares, Historia de Segovia, II, ch. 43, 283-4, for an account of Flemish 'pilgrims' bound for Santiago in 1566, intent on liberating don Carlos.

[60] On pilgrimage as tourist industry, see Black, Italian Confraternities, 118.

[61] Estatutos del Cabildo de San Benito (1527), Avila, in Sobrino Chomón, op. cit., 241.

[62] 'Al nacimiento. En metáfora de un peregrino', in Ledesma, Conceptos espirituales, 37.

[63] See Appendix 1.J, for full quotation. See also Lambert, 'Ordres et confréries', 376.

[64] Hurtado cited in Martz, Poverty and Welfare, 165, n. 24.

[65] This place was not randomly chosen, even if it appeared so to a contemporary visitor to Spain, who recorded that: 'les conseils y marchaient sans ordre de préséance comme ils se trouvaient' (Madame d'Aulnoy, Voyage d'Espagne, 373, cited by Varey, Spanish Corpus Christi, 35, n. 67). For a modern theory of the role of superstition in these rivalries, see Castro, Realidad histórica, 244. For 'otherhood', see page 37 above.

[66] On control and litigation in Valladolid, see Cortés, Miscelánea vallisoletana, 55, 57, quoting Fastiginia; and Varey, Spanish Corpus Christi, 57-8. For Toledo, see Martz, Poverty and Welfare, 187, citing Hurtado, Memorial, 560, 564. See also 'Relación de la orden que dio S.M. para que los cabildos del Aseo y Nuestra Señora del Pilar cesasen en sus diferencias, por las cuales no se habían verificado la procesión del Corpus en el dia señalado y del mandamiento para que se celebrase el día de la Transfiguración, sin prejuicio de los derechos y razones que ambos cabildos alegasen', Zaragoza, 1 August 1537, leg. 2, no. 65, in Paz (ed.), AGS. Diversos, p. 220, no. 1089.

[67] For physical violence resulting from disputes over precedence, see page 76 below. Compare Crotalón, Canto 17, 380, on religious precedence and seating arrangements at banquets.

[68] For tableaux vivants, see Black, Italian Confraternities, 13-5; and Munuera Rico, 'El cambio de protagonismo', 618. In processions it was quite usual for the confraternity's patron saint to be represented by someone dressed for the part (Yates, 'Dramatic Religious Processions', 240). For dramatic themes, see Morales Padrón, Historia de Sevilla, 272; and Nalle, 'Religion and Reform', 249. See also Appendix 1.K on lay autos. For 'mysteries' on pilgrimage, see Black, Italian Confraternities, 116 (Jubilee in Rome, 1600). On sacred representation, see Buttitta, 'Mimo', 487-8. The word miracolo together with storia, festa, esempio, martirio, and mistero, means the dramatization of a religious ordinance or rite (of misterium), especially a sacramental rite of the Christian religion, eg. the Eucharist. 'Mystery' came to be applied because miracle plays were often acted by the mysteries or trade guilds. It therefore came to mean profane spectacles, conducted along the same norms as the sacred ones. See also Appendix 3.I below, on ritualized secrecy. On 'miracles', see Lambert, 'Ordres et confréries', 400; and Battista Bronzini, 'Drammatica popolare', 7. On ecclesiastical legislation against dramatic excesses, see Morales Padrón, op. cit., 130-33. On guild-sponsored Corpus plays, see Ross, Assembly of Good Fellows, 233-4.

[69] For episcopal patronage of confraternal and popular drama in Cuenca, see Nalle, 'Religion and Reform', 248-9, citing Ramírez, Constituciones synodales, f. 41v; Shergold, Spanish Stage, 46-51; and Francisco Alcocer, Tratado del Juego (Salamanca, 1559), 27, 301; and for Gerona, see Jones, '"Constituciones sinodales"', 55, n. 2, citing Richard B. Donovan, The liturgical drama in Medieval Spain (Toronto, 1958), 119. On sixteenth-century developments in drama, see Burke, Perception and Communication, 185, n. 8, citing Sanudo, Diarii, 57, p. 548-9, and p. 422. On Belmonte auto, see Nalle, op. cit., 250, n. 9, citing ADC, Inq., leg. 188, exp. 2137; and Flecniakoska, 'Spectacles religieux', 269-92.

[70] On suppression of 'miracles', see H. C. Gardiner, Mysteries' End (New Haven, CT, 1946), 26, cited in Jones, '"Constituciones sinodales"', 54, n. 3. See Appendix 1.L for more on suppression in Europe. On hiring of professional playwrights, see Turchini, 'Sacre rappresentazioni', 439. On municipal sponsorship of drama, see Bennassar, Valladolid, 474; and Toussaert, 'Sentiment religieux', 246-56.

[71] See pages 45 above, and 80 below, on refrigerium and ablution rituals.

[72] Festa d'Elx in Ariño Villarroya, 'Asociaciones festeras', 474. Despite the fact that bull-running had come under attack from Isabella and several Popes (Pius V, Gregory XIII, Sixtus V, and Clement VIII) in 1586 Philip II defended it as a deep-rooted custom in the people's blood (Morales Padrón, Historia de Sevilla, 130). See also Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 196, n. 110, citing AHPZ, Municipal. Libro de Actas (2) 21 June, 1512; 7 May, 1513; 27 June, 1519; (6) 22 August, 1541; (8) 19 July, 1563; 21 July, 1563; n. 111, citing AHPV, Diputación, leg. 7, and AMV, Libro de Actas, 19 October, 1583, fol. 874v, on bull-running. See Martz, Poverty and

Welfare, 187, n. 25, citing Constituciones sinodales, Toledo, 1622, fol. 50, on comedias.

[73] 'Asociaciones festeras', 473, n. 6, citing Jean Delumeau, El catolicismo de Lutero a Voltaire (Barcelona, 1973).

[74] Doctor Navarro's criticism of Modus orandi in Bataillon, Erasmo y España, 582-5. See also Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 314, n. 21, citing Constituciones synodales de Astorga, 1595, Const. 13, cap. 7. See Appendix 1.M for Christianization of pagan superstitions. For evidence of confraternal 'rain-making' processions, see Constituciones de la Cofradía de la Vera Cruz (1551), Avila, in Sobrino Chomón, Documentos de antiguos cabildos, 323; and Ordenanzas de Nuestra Señora de Sonsoles (1516), Avila, cap. cxxv, in Sobrino Chomón, op. cit., 220.

[75] Don Quijote, I, 52 (vol. 3, p. 413).

[76] See the account by El Gallo in El Crotalón, Canto 17, p. 376. See page 44 above, for septemviri.

[77] Compare pages 167 and Appendix 7.G below, on vejámenes.

[78] For similar episodes in academy rituals, see Salas Barbadillo, El caballero Puntual, 154; and page 182 below.

[79] On Saturnalia, see Nalle, 'Religion and Reform', 29, n. 54, citing Diego Ramírez de Villaescusa, Constituciones, fols 4v, 5r-v, and 38r. See also Bataillon, Erasmo y España, 639; Robert Klein, 'Le thème du fou et l'ironie humaniste', in Umanesimo e Ermeneutica, Archivo de filosofía (Padua, 1963), 13, cited in Bigeard, Folie et les fous, 33.

[80] On ecclesiastical reproval of profanities, see also Arregi Azpeitia, 'Rituales de protección', 295, n. 44, citing AHDJ, Constituciones sinodales de 1511, tít. III, cap. IV. Saint Peter Chrysologus (d. 450) admonished them for wearing cow or stag heads, and then: 'huc illucque discursare, et petulantius se gerere'. See Appendix 1.N for more on this ritual. See Burke, Historical Anthropology, 185, for more literary examples of Wild Men and revellers dressed as members of flagellant confraternities. See Cleto Corrain, 'Rappresentazioni sacre', 254-67, on priestly Saturnalia.

[81] See Bernheimer, Wild Men, 12. For more on Wild Men, see Kaufmann, The Noble Savage, especially Plate 22.

[82] See page 77 below, for more on Penitents of Love and lovers' melancholy.

[83] See Appendix 1.O for Hellekin. On Arlecchino's transformation from clown to supernatural being, living with the dead, see d'Arco Silvio Avalle, La commedia degli inganni, 29-31.

[84] See Ginzburg, 'Charivari', 168-9; and Chapter 5, footnote 233 below, for more on Arlequin; and see page 435 below, on caccia selvaggia. See page 321, for a link between Vilhán and Arlequin.

[85] See Ginzburg, 'Charivari', 164; Davis, 'Reasons of Misrule', 42, 52, 70; and ibid., 'Tasks and Themes', 325. On ritual placation of the dead spouse, see Davis, 'Reasons of Misrule', 53, n. 37. See Appendix 1.P for social attitudes to disparity of ages between spouses.

[86] In thirteenth-century Padua at Pentecost the citizens put on magnus ludus de homine salvatico (see Bernheimer, Wild Men, 51).

[87] Ibid., 70.

[88] The crótalo was an ancient musical instrument of the tambourine family, which was thought to be able to summon a dormant spirit to life and make it speak. The parallels with charivari and the caccia selvaggia are self-evident.

[89] On seises, see Varey, op. cit., 97, n. 90, citing Juan Moraleda y Estéban, Los seises de la catedral de Toledo (Toledo, 1901), 235; Simón de la Rosa y López, Los seises de la Catedral de Sevilla (Seville, 1904); and Felipe Vallejo, Memorias y disertaciones que podrán servir al que escriba la historia de la Iglesia de Toledo (Ms. de la Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia), fol. 612, cited by Azcárate, 'El tema del salvaje', 98. See also Rafael Blasco, La procesión del Corpus en Valencia del siglo XVIII (Valencia, 1865), 160-3; and Morales Padrón, Historia de Sevilla, 273. Quevedo puns on the association between seises and gamblers in 'Romance burlesco', Obra poética, III, 303: 'Y tienen seises cumplidos /Catedrales y barajas'.

[90] See El Crotalón, 386.

[91] This is probably the same tradition as the Lombardy zani, one of whom was called Arlecchino (see Chapter 5, footnote 233 below).

[92] On Holiday Bishops, see Davis, 'Reasons of Misrule', 47; Chambers, The Medieval Stage, I, 92, 336-71; Welsford, The Fool, ch. 3; Hazañas y la Rúa, 'La vida escolar en la Universidad de Sevilla en los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII: Discurso' (Seville, 1907), 11; and Fidel Pérez Mínguez, Psicología de Felipe II (Madrid, 1925), 216. For an account of the historical tradition of the Boy-Bishop in Europe, see also Corrain and Capitanio, 'Rappresentazioni sacre', 255-67; Davies, 'Sacred and Body Social', 54; Barnes, 'De Poenitentibus', 270; and Bideleux, 'Popular Catholicism', 79, n. 70, citing AAL, Visite Pastorale, vol. 26, fols 19v-20. See Alemán, Guzmán de Alfarache (I, II, 9, p. 352, and II, III, 4, p. 380), for a contemporary account; and page 158 below. See Davis, 'Reasons of Misrule', 42, for extensive bibliography, and 52, 70, on charivaris.

[93] In Lenten feasts there were also Partridge, Eagle, or Capon Kings. See Rossiaud, art. cit., 81, and 90-98, for a full treatment of the Cock-King in France, and of the influence on it of Meung's Roman de la Rose and its sequels. The place in this popular tradition of the Lenten feast in El Libro de Buen Amor may have been overlooked. It is significant that the event takes place just after Don Melón seduces Doña Endrina, and before the Archpriest attempts to seduce Doña Garoza, a bride of Christ. For other Spanish Cock-Kings, see Espinel, Marcos de Obregón, Relación 1ª, descanso 7 (vol. 1, 153) (Carrasco Urgoiti claims not to know this allusion - see n. 386); Comedia Thebaída, line 7604, p. 236 ('¡El rey mi gallo!'); and Hidalgo, Diálogos, 'Noche primera', ch. II. 'Que contiene unos gallos que se dieron en Salamanca en presencia de los Reyes', 283b-87a. See also page 379 below, on self-flagellation and leadership.

[94] Breve declaración, s.v. CARNES TOLLENDAS, 292. See also Villalón, El Crotalón, Canto 20, 436-9; and page 282 below.

[95] See page 51 above, for popular influence on prevailing dogma.

[96] Luján, Guzmán de Alfarache, II. 2. 5, 390a. See Appendix 1.Q, for European Feasts of Fools. For a view of carnival as a pre-political safety-valve for members of a structured hierarchical society, and

as expression and reinforcement of a 'pre-industrial sense of time', see Thomas, 'Work and Leisure', 53-4. On advocation of wine to sharpen the intellect, see thirteenth-century manual, De Disciplina scholarium, in Patrologia Latina, LXIV (1891), 1228.

[97] On theory of the declining Feast of Fools, see Chambers, op. cit., I, 373-89. See also Swain, Fools and Folly, 72-88. For Roi de la Basoche, see Rossiaud, 'Fraternités de jeunesse', 72-4. For a bibliography on Youth Abbeys in general, see Davis, 'Reasons of Misrule', 56; Rossiaud, art. cit., 67, n. 1, and 92, n. 74, on dramatic hystoires or farces.

[98] See page 47 above, for Bossy's view.

3. PUBLIC SANCTITY AND PRIVATE PROFANITY IN LAY CONFRATERNITIES

3.1 Devotion

It might seem from the foregoing that the contribution of popular religion and folklore to confraternal ritual accounted for all that was considered to be heterodox. To balance this view, the question of orthodoxy in the sixteenth-century confraternity needs to be addressed, particularly in relation to penitence, because for many the notion of a pious confraternity is synonymous with this activity.[1] Reform and Counter-Reformation are generally considered as two pessimistic schools, one dominated by inhuman predestination, the other obsessed with keeping flesh and spirit in obedience at a price of merciless asceticism. Yet both schools shared an optimistic belief in grace: something basic to the existence of the confraternity. Both the Protestant individualist ethic and the Catholic collective ethic inspired the faithful to work towards their own salvation, but it was the certainty or otherwise of this end which divided them. Catholic collectivism was motivated by a fear for the fate of the soul as it crossed through Purgatory; a fear mitigated by intense religious work, inspired and organized by the Church. Ross notes that the concept of liturgy as religious work, in which men seek religious reward through human endeavour, explains the reason for the confraternity's existence.[2] If temporal benefits were the immediate motivation behind joining a confraternity, spiritual reward was the ultimate goal. A collective approach to salvation was, for the burgess, at least, the most appropriate means of attaining it. Whereas a wealthy man could buy or build a chapel or family chantry, the fraternity man and guildsman made arrangements through their organization, systematically developing solidarity with others to provide each day for the unfortunate, and thus for their own souls in Purgatory. For this to function in perpetuity, the fraternity had to have a number of agreements. Each member took a solemn religious oath to carry out obligations for the welfare of others, the bargain implicit in the act being that they would do the same for him if he was in need. But access to this spiritual treasure was available only to the confraternity as a corporate body. This is why the striking of a man's name from the book of confraternity was the ultimate punishment the society could enforce. The one prize they had to offer was the accumulated grace of their predecessors and the prayers of their successors. And to deny a member access to that was to negate a major part of his effort for salvation. Priority in Catholic Europe was

usually given to the donor's salvation: it was the selfless act, not the welfare provided by it, which counted. So when merchants paid the cost of a new altar or the salary of a priest, they were merely applying financial mathematics to prospective celestial residence.[3] Similarly men joined flagellant confraternities not so much to do penance for the generalized concept of universal sin, but for remission of their own sins, and the benefit of their own souls. In this way they would build up a communal fund of merit upon which all members could draw both during this life and after death.[4] To put this more baldly, confraternities were group insurance for the life hereafter. Church leaders were by no means completely reconciled to this communal, secular approach to salvation, which had become a burning issue by the sixteenth century, as control of confraternities passed from religious to secular clergy.[5]

The aim of confraternal life was held to be good works and strictly-regulated devotion, manifest by practice of the sacraments (confession and communion on obligatory church feast days), and offices for the dead (prayer for a departing brother, recital of Ave Maria and Paternoster at the funeral, and more elaborate memorial masses). Brothers also had to attend at Holy Week and visit the sick, not only to help, but also to encourage confession (compare page 18 above). Piety was defined as do good and avoid evil by worship, show charity towards one's neighbour and lead a moral life. Simple Catholic theology was taught to brothers by easy-to-learn formulae: the Ten Commandments of the Law, The Ten Articles of the Faith, the Seven Works of Spiritual and Corporal Mercy, the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit, the Seven Sacraments of the Holy Church, and the Five Senses of the Body. As Weissman points out, one of the reasons for the flourishing of Catholic confraternities is because imitation of Christ, one of the central motifs of pre-Reformation piety, had placed an intolerable burden on fourteenth and fifteenth-century sinners, forcing them to fast, make devotions and pilgrimages in a never-ending quest for perfection. On the other hand, rather than arousing guilt about devotions yet unperformed, confraternal piety limited life to specific, manageable tasks: recital of daily prayers (from five to fifteen Hail Marys and Our Fathers), fasting one day each week, regular confession and communion, attendance at regular meetings and all major feasts: Christmas, All Saints, the four Marian feasts, all feasts of the Apostles, of Holy Week, and of their special

patron.[6] Many of the less wealthy, traditional confraternities abandoned their costly and arduous charitable services for devotional work and shows of external aspects of piety, which attracted the criticism of sixteenth-century reformers. Claiming that only Jews and Gentiles throve on externals, the Jeronymite historian, Fray José de Sigüenza (1544-1606), illustrated the problem by considering a man who might join the Cofradía de las Llagas. After commissioning a painting of NS^{a} de la Quinta Angustia for processional use, and practising flagellation on Good Friday, he would reason that he was giving to God more than enough to offset his vices: anger, vengeance, eroticism, or usury.[7] A few years earlier Alejo Venegas had elaborated this same point in an eloquent attack on popular misuse of relics, pardons, and prayer. Within a year, he says, people revert to celebrating Saint Robert's fiesta [or marauding], being devotees of the cave of Saint Patrick (believing themselves to be in a state of grace). And by offering 6-7 reales earned by reciting ave Marias, they consider themselves authorized to return to the cult of simony and Mammon. They claim to hold bulls and plenary indulgences, relics and amulets, and to light candles to Saint Amador and the eleven thousand virgins, directed by Padre Marforio on Monte Caballi. With all this, they believe they have pardons enough to share with their friends.[8]

The problem for the lay population was the obscurity of some aspects of Catholic dogma, especially the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception and the Resurrection of the Dead. So after thinking about Judgement Day and how the bones of the dead had to join together, a woolcomber in Cuenca, Juan de Valera, concluded that: 'he didn't understand how it could be, and it was not a believable thing'. But innocence (or ignorance) was no defence against a zealous Inquisition. To avoid condemnation in this world and the next, the layman had good reason to join a religious brotherhood, to practise a salvation-oriented cult, and to mitigate personal shortcomings by acts of penitence.[9]

3.1.1 Lay Penitence

Although space does not allow incursion into the dispute on the origin of confraternal flagellation, there seems little doubt that the sixteenth century was its most active period.[10] It is even possible to date this to the second third of the sixteenth century in Spain, in response to the anti-Protestant zeal of preachers like Juan de Avila and Fernando de Contreras, and to the pronouncements of the Council of

Trent.[11] From 1575 thousands of flagellant confraternities were seen in Easter week processions, and by this time, flagellation was a key feature of all associative groups, whether this was voluntary or enforced.[12] This important ritual merits some detailed analysis here, because it appears in the ritual life of most of the groups we shall examine. Our analysis will take in the historical tradition of penitence, firstly, to see how Golden-Age ritual had changed, if at all; and secondly, to test the validity of accounts in popular sources against those in documented sources, as a prelude to more extensive use of popular sources in later chapters.

Flagellation as a means of punishment prescribed by Episcopal courts of the Catholic Church had a scriptural precedent in 1 Corinthians 9: 27 and Colossians 1: 24. Some documents date the beginnings in Spain to 1330, when the Bishop Gaston de Montcada made the veguer and subveguer of Gerona perform a public penitence for having meddled in ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Both had to go at dawn, barefoot and without hose along a prescribed route, candle in hand ('in camisiis, discalciati et cun cereis in manu'), reciting the Miserere while the priests whipped them. They climbed the church steps on their knees and waited there until the congregation left after mass. Earlier records do not always refer to flagellation, the formula being: 'discalceati, in brachiis et camisia'.[13] Later came the notion of flagellation as voluntary penance, originating in the ascetic tradition of early Christian saints, who, recognizing their own sinfulness, undertook to correct the body for the health of the soul. Whether voluntary or prescribed, lay or religious, key elements in this ritual were the same: 'se desnudarían en camisas y a pies descalzos irían hasta las puertas de su iglesia y de allí al sepulcro de rodillas'. Ritual undress and lighted candles are described as early as 1410 in a Mallorcan penitential procession.[14]

A late seventeenth-century account of a penitential procession by a traveller to Spain reveals a (perhaps) imperfect awareness of the voluntary tradition of penitence:

> Hay penitentes que inspiran verdadera compasión; la túnica sólo les cubre la cintura, y llevan arrollada en el desnudo cuerpo y en los brazos una cuerda de esparto, cuyas vueltas oprimen de tal modo la carne, que toda la piel se pone amoratada y sanguinolenta. En la espalda llevan siete espadas metidas cuerpo adentro, produciéndoles nuevas y más dolorosas heridas a cada paso que dan; y como además llevan

fig. 2. Penitente de sangre

> los pies desnudos, y las piedras de la calle son puntiagudas, cáense con frecuencia los infelices.[15]

Although the validity of Madame d'Aulnoy's testimony is equivocal, many other accounts bear witness to the severity and diversity of the practice. Her description compares with that of Duque de Estrada, another 'unreliable' witness, on business in Naples on 16 December, 1631 during an earthquake:

> En las públicas procesiones era un terror ver las penitencias inauditas de cadenas, grillos, barras, candados en la boca, piedras con que se batían, disciplinas, cilicios, sangre, cardenales, ceniza, coronas de espinas y otros modos de penitencia extraños e innumerables.[16]

However, both accounts above bear comparison with less novelistic contemporary records (see fig. 2). The chronicler, León Pinelo, relates how the Archbishop's Governor wrote to all religious prior to a visit by the Prince of Wales to Madrid on Good Friday (1623), requesting their cooperation in processions with 'respectable' shows of external mortification. In the Orders which obliged, some carried skulls and crosses, others:

> Con sacos y cilicios, sin capuchas, cubiertas las cabezas de ceniza, con coronas de abrojos, vertiendo sangre; otros con sogas y cadenas a los cuellos, y por los cuerpos, cruces a cuestas, grillos en los pies, aspados y liados, hiriéndose los pechos con piedras, con mordazas y huesos de muertos en las bocas, y todos rezando salmos.[17]

Meanwhile an account by a contemporary Sevillian, Alvarez de Castro, claims that a spectacle of seven hundred penitents was normal for Seville at this time, and that they whipped themselves harder than the Madrid penitents.[18] Clearly, by the Golden Age an element of vanity had crept into disciplinary practices, which sometimes degenerated into pure theatricality. This was probably due to the imposition in many flagellant confraternities of an upper age limit, which meant that flagellants were predominantly young men, who used the discipline as a form of gallantry.[19] Some indication of this frivolous trend is seen in the decision by Pope Gregory in 1575 to outlaw youthful parodies of the discipline, and in the growth of popular taunts: '¡Penitente, dacá el diente, dacá la vara del Teniente!' They were known to the children as <u>Penitentes emperifollados</u>.[20] The carrying of weapons by hot-blooded participants was common. Conducting a survey into popular excesses in his bishopric, Antonio de Guevara reported in 1541:

> Item fuimos informado, que los días que la Iglesia manda hacer Procesiones generales, y andan por las Iglesias, y ermitas y Letanías, se van los hombres cargados de armas... Ordenamos y mandamos que ninguno de nuestro Obispado ni de fuera dél sea osado de andar en la[s] Procesiones y Letanías con lanzas y azcona, sino que solamente puedan llevar espada, y puñal.[21]

Guevara's consternation was presumably not just on social grounds, but because this was absolutely contrary to the philosophy of the voluntary penitent, who arose simultaneously with the religious militias, except that in sharp contrast to them he had disavowed the use of arms: a voluntary acceptance of the role of public sinner, forbidden by the Church to carry arms.[22] And yet the sort of crime described by Rojas Villandrando must have been commonplace. Exploiting the anonymity of his tunic and hood to exact vengeance for an earlier processional altercation, he writes:

> Pues sucedió una cosa increible al que dicen, me hirió, que como eran tantos, no podré certificar si era aquél u otro; y es que dentro de pocos días, yendo en una procesión de penitentes, se llegó a él un disciplinante, y con un terciado le pasó dos veces el cuerpo. Este huyó sin ser conocido, y pareciéndoles [a] algunos ser yo culpado en esto, fue Dios servido que se averiguó quién lo habia hecho.[23]

Many young men used the penitential role to further their courtship (see pages 39-40 above), though such hypocrisy did not always achieve the desired end. On 3 May, Fiesta de la Cruz, Justina's suitor dons a penitent's garb and announces: 'Las partes con que yo puedo competir son con que me vea mi buen cuerpo, disposición y blancura de carnes descubiertas, y aun sería posible que el verter mi sangre la mueva a compasión'. Reaching her window, he slows his pace and redoubles the whipping. Unimpressed, Justina muses that since an <u>hidalgo</u> is received into his Order in 'capa y espada', and an <u>hidalga</u> usually receives her lover 'en camisa', it seems wrong that it is he 'en camisa', having lost half the blood she is so keen to acquire.[24] Madame d'Aulnoy's later description of the <u>penitente de amor</u> echoes this episode: 'The art of flagellation follows fixed rules. There are schools which teach these rules: how to make the blood spurt without staining one's tunic, for example. When disciplinants reach their ladies' windows, they intensify the whipping, encouraged by their mistresses to flay themselves alive. It is the same if they pass an attractive lady, who thanks them for the compliment if they spatter her dress'.[25] There was, in this ritual, a

medieval chivalric precedent which d'Aulnoy and López de Ubeda undoubtedly knew: the Fraternity of Penitents of Love. Wandering from castle to castle, they practised self-mortification, renounced worldly goods, and rejected conventional morality.[26] Fifteenth and sixteenth-century literature is replete with this stereotyped Wild Man. Apparently akin to the Wild Man tradition is the famous figure of the enamoured Don Quijote, imitating Amadís's penitences in the Sierra Morena.[27] In one version, Cervantes stresses the pseudo-religious association in this scene, by revealing Quijote's need for a rosary:

> En esto le vino al pensamiento como le [sic] haría, y fue que rasgó una gran tira de las faldas de la camisa, que andaban colgando, y dióle once ñudos, el uno más gordo que los demás, y ésto le sirvió de rosario el tiempo que allí estuvo, donde rezó un millón de avemarías.[28]

From these accounts of the changing face of penitence, it may be true that by the sixteenth century flagellation was becoming the preserve of the lower classes, and that the gentry no longer wished to practise it.[29] Statutes of the Vera Cruz at Villafranca in Avila already allude to a trend in 1530 towards 'armchair supporters':

> Otrosí ordenamos e mandamos que ninguno sea rescivido en esta Santa Hermandad condicionalmente que no se discipline por ningún precio, escepto si no fuere clérigo o hombre de cinquenta años arriva, o siendo cavallero o ioalgo que no pueda disciplinarse por ocupación que tengan; éstos tales se rescivan pagando su yntróito y queden obligados a dar cada año para la dicha Cofradía para el Jueves Santo una libra de cera; e los que ansí fueren rescividos sean obligados a hir en cuerpo en la procesión alumbrando y animando a los hermanos.[30]

And in 1551 the Vera Cruz at Santiago del Collado (Avila) ruled that if it was snowing or frozen underfoot, the brothers would not process outside: 'que no pueda hazer daño a nuestros cuerpos por ir como vamos desnudos y descalços'.[31] Penitents were now attracted by a promise of payment. By the 1620s in Spain hired penitents had begun to appear in popular literature. Commenting on his journey to Salamanca on a bony old nag, the '<u>pícaro</u>', Alonso, says:

> Podía competir con algún disciplinante alquilado, o vanaglorioso hipocritón, que por dar que decir a la gente que le mira, se desuella las espaldas, vertiendo su sangre, no en servicio de Dios, sino por cumplimiento y gusto de los mayordomos de la cofradia.[32]

Quevedo was especially critical of the fake penitent, who wore a huge rosary, and carried a whip stained with blood, affecting to be hungry from choice, and to be itching from wearing a hair shirt.[33]

As organized penitence was probably the most obvious sign of contemporary collective activity, all these shows of gallantry, laziness, apathy, or hypocrisy detailed above suggest that the motivation for joining confraternities at this period was changing. Once again, the question arises, was corporate activity just a mask for more secular activities? Several contemporary writers evidently believed as much. Salas Barbadillo exposed a type of hired penitent known as nazareno, who dragged a huge but hollow cross, the better to arouse sympathy.[34] Later that century Santos describes a variant known as aspado, naked to the waist, arms tied to a huge iron cross with esparto rope, on his head a dirty cloth and a crown of thorns. He carries a rosary in one hand, and a crucifix in the other.[35] Fernández de Ribera, meanwhile, commented on the material gains accessible to the nazareno:

> Cubierto con una túnica al sitio donde se vende la madera, cuando anochecía, y cruzando dos palos, se entraba por las calles hasta su casa, que era el calvario de aquella penitencia, con que vino a repararla de techos sin crucificarse, haciendo cruz lo que en él debiera ser horca y vendiendo penitencia para comprar vigas.[36]

3.1.2 Power Broker Saints

Closely connected with collective ritual penitence is the choice of patron saint. As witnesses, not to the age in which they lived, but to the age in which they were canonized, saints reflect the values of the culture in which they are perceived in a heroic light.[37] A study of selected aspects of confraternal patrons might therefore contribute to our knowledge of religious commitment in pious confraternities, bearing in mind that our search for brotherhood, using pious groups as a model, reveals that a religious function, however superficial, apparently masked more profane designs (acquisition of prestige, admirers, money, food, etc.). It is tempting, but hazardous, to try to identify the activities of a confraternity by its choice of patron saint. One might expect all those dedicated to Saint Roch to help plague victims, for instance. However, the Church does not appear to have systematically sponsored the confederation of brotherhoods of the same name performing similar functions.[38] In Spain almost every city had a Cofradia de la

Misericordia (Black Penitents) who helped prisoners and the condemned, but sometimes it was the White Penitents who did this. Some writers attach the Black Penitents to the old Compagnia di San Giovanni Decollato established in Rome (1488). Satellites of this were usually under the advocation of the Holy Cross, but while it was true for some, not all fit the pattern. In Valladolid, for example, the Misericordia raised and educated orphans. In Zamora, they lodged the homeless, buried dead paupers, and operated a hospital at San Martin to shelter wayfarers and paupers in winter. They paid priests to administer the sacraments to patients, and buried those dying there and in the lazaret. They also regularly searched the streets for paupers to take to their hospital.[39]

Sometimes confraternal choice of patron saint indicates Franciscan or Dominican influence, and hence also its major activity. Devotion to the Virgin of the Rosary through special confraternities, for example, was basically Dominican in inspiration. From the first appearance of Rosary confraternities in the Christian Church in the fourth century, devotion to the Rosary reached a zenith in the thirteenth century, then enjoyed a revival in the sixteenth century, promoted by the Council of Trent.[40] As both spiritual movement and social expression, the confraternity reached town and country, recruiting from both the ruling sectors of society, and the more modest populace. The devotion of the Rosary is a combination of prayers, the repetition of which is facilitated by a string of a hundred and fifty small beads, divided into decades by larger beads, the whole being blessed by a properly authorized priest.[41] It was called the 'poor man's breviary', because its cycles of prayers and fifteen mysteries for meditation could be memorized and learned through picture books. It could be recited at any time and place, at work or at home, kneeling, standing or seated. Devotion, then, within this confraternity, was individual, the brother addressing himself, without intermediary, to the Virgin. Naturally this dispensed with the need for a priest and might therefore attract episcopal criticism. By the seventeenth century there were Marian shrines all over Europe. Lope de Vega devotes a passage to Spanish Marian shrines in <u>El peregrino en su patria</u>.[42]

As all confraternities were intent on gaining the maximum possible renown for their patron saint, there was fierce rivalry between them in respect of maintenance and embellishment of their chapel or shrine and

statue.[43] The Council of Trent addressed this problem in one of its decrees in 1563, seeking to divorce enthusiastic zeal at shrines from superstitious custom:

> Furthermore, in the invocation of the saints, the veneration of relics, and the sacred use of images, all superstition shall be removed, all filthy quest for gain eliminated, and all lasciviousness avoided, so that images shall not be painted and adorned with a seductive charm, or the celebration of saints and the visitation of relics be perverted by the people into boisterous festivities and drunkenness, as if the festivals in honour of the saints are to be celebrated with revelry and with no sense of decency.[44]

As far as devotional aspects are concerned, then, Christian observances were central to confraternal life, but it is difficult to establish whether popular abuses were the reason for Church intervention at this period in their history, to guide confraternities into practices regarded as acceptably orthodox - that is, assimilation by cultist religion of popular elements - or whether the survival of popular abuses is an indicator of the strength of popular tradition, and the degree of autonomy still held by lay confraternities. If this latter case should prove to be true, then it could be argued that the brotherhood existed for reasons other than its professed religious ones; and, by extension, that orthodoxy was not necessarily synonymous with virtue. The question of confraternal burial function is crucial to this enquiry, because from medieval times protestations of good intent by confraternities, and attempts to control them by Church and State, have all focused on burial functions. The development of this role can be traced from medieval associations with a concept known as the luminary, to early modern tensions between burial considered as a pious work, and as public welfare.

3.1.3 The Business of Burial

Funerary duties, which were obligatory for members, were probably the single most important reason for the confraternity's existence. They involved elaborate rituals of dressing the body, decorating the room, and organizing a vigil to fit in with the brothers' normal work commitments, so that they were not too tired to work next day. It was the strong popular element in these rites which had always worried higher clergymen. Augustine had claimed that these rites were more of a solace for the living than an aid to the dead; and from the twelfth century in Spain, ritual washing and shaving of the body, and cutting of

the hair and nails, all of which were thought to cleanse a sinner of his guilt, were deemed heretical, being adaptations from related Moorish and Jewish practices.[45]

Burial rites in sixteenth-century Catholic confraternities were fairly arduous. News of a death was usually broadcast by the muñidor ringing a bell and calling out at all principal intersections the name of the deceased and the hour and place of his burial, inviting members to attend and pray for his soul:

> Quando algúnt cofrade or cofrada falleçiere, que todos vamos a su enterramiento seyendo mollidos o sabiéndolo de otra persona o personas en qualquier manera, so pena de cinco maravedís, la qual pena se eche cada año en renta porque sea mejor esecutada.[46]

The bell was rung three times for the death of a brother, and twice for a sister, at the Cofradía de Sonsoles, in Avila.[47] The spectacle was as familiar to urban populations as that of the town-crier, the muñidor appearing in most literary allusions to death:

> Oyendo la campanilla
> Que tañía el muñidor,
> Recibí tan gran dolor,
> Que me pesé esta ropilla
> Y vengo así por la villa.
> Don Pobre, y tuve por cierto
> De que érades vos el muerto
> Y que os querían enterrar,
> Y comencé de llorar,
> Pero al fin ha sido incierto.
> ... Toquen esas campanillas
> Y llamen los muñidores;
> Suenen cajas y atambores
> Por los lugares y villas.[48]

At the funeral the coffin was carried in procession either on the brothers' shoulders, or on the confraternity's bier, all the brothers walking barefoot with lighted candles. The body's feet were tied together by a rope round the toes, to maintain its recumbent rigidity. The face was exposed, and because of the simplicity of the bier, there was almost physical contact between body and brothers, which explains the frequent repugnance and fear associated with this duty, especially during epidemics. In some confraternities the unwanted tasks of pallbearers and standard-bearers were allotted to poor members who paid no dues. This may demonstrate a truly fraternal organization, which facilitated membership of everyone. On the other hand, the apportionment of unpleasant tasks to lower-ranking members seems more

autocratic than fraternal. Most statutes, however, support the fraternal idea, insisting that all brothers hold the bier, on penalty of an annual fine if they refused.[49]

Brotherly duties had only just begun at the moment of burial, which was followed by perpetual memorial activities, directed towards salvation of the souls of the dead. Because the concept of Purgatory prolonged the time in which the earthly community could offer spiritual aid to redeem the sins of the departed, the living were obliged to act in favour of the dead. This duty, expressed as prayers and good works (masses and charity), was upheld at the 25th session of the Council of Trent.[50] In poorer confraternities brothers recited fifty Pater Nosters and fifty Ave Marías for the souls of the departed. Richer confraternities would pay for a mass to be sung for the dead man's soul, and sometimes there would be a luminary.[51] The medieval luminary had its origin in saints' tombs and shrines, whose early purpose was to keep a lamp of ceramic or glass (the luminary) burning perpetually. In 1250, Ferdinand III had encouraged medieval confraternities to preserve this function, and in 1253 Alfonso X had issued a similar codex to Santiago.[52]

In the confraternal context the luminary was the candle lit upon entry to the confraternity after taking a vow. It was also the right given to the masters to take away the candle of a dying brother. And it was the burial rite of the dead brother; the candles which are not extinguished until the body is in the ground, so enabling the soul to find its way onward.[53] Some confraternities took this function into their name: Confréries du Luminaire or Cofradías de la Luz.[54] A study of Spanish confraternal names has yielded none of these, although the luminary as a generic concept was evidently still important in the sixteenth century. Usually, contemporary Spanish references are restricted to the familiar pairing of functions, as cofradías y luces (compare pendones y cruzes, and sangre y luz).[55] However, the luminary tradition was evidently still strong in 1620 when Luna's Lazarillo is compromised by the law bursting into a house and arresting its occupants. A man hiding in a vat of oil jumps out and runs off, says Lazarillo, dripping enough oil to light the lamp of NS^{a} de la Congojas for a month.[56] A description by Polo de Medina of the Franciscans' commemoration ceremony of the dead reveals how the luminary had developed by 1630. Two hundred religious processed around the tombs and

altar, he says, which were mounted on stages, flanked by white candles and glass in a spectacular chapelle ardente. The cost of this ritual was usually met by compulsory donations from members of the confraternity: óbolo or candela.[57]

Brothers also visited the graves, the care of which became a pressing problem in the sixteenth century, not merely by virtue of commercial and other abuses in the cemetery, but because of desecration. There was also a problem of overcrowding and shallow graves, which attracted carnivores. A report from the clergy of San Andrés to the Cabildo in Seville declared that:

> La dicha iglesia tiene un cementerio en el cual se entierran cada año, así de la Collación como del Hospital del Amor de Dios, unas 800 personas, y están sepultadas de mucho tiempo más de 100,000 cristianos. Hemos hallado y visto muchas veces perros sacando parte de los dichos cuerpos de los sepulcros y comiéndoselos, y los vecinos comarcanos, no teniendo respeto a la decencia del lugar, echan de noche mucha suciedad e inmundicia de sus casas en el dicho cementerio, descubierto y sin cerrar.[58]

Although the town council was primarily responsible for paying grave-diggers, in time of social or economic stress, public welfare was not a high priority. Significantly, it was at times of climatological fluctuations with consequent disasters and endemic catastrophes (plague and fever) that membership of confraternities always increased.[59] The ravages of wars and their economic consequences, leaving dead bodies scattered about streets and countryside, shocked social reformers into organizing their burial.[60] Even those neglected in life were considered worthy of a decent burial, and this constituted another brotherly obligation in the context of burial societies.[61] The Cofradia de la Piedad in seventeenth-century León, for example, organized the burial of paupers dying in hospital.[62] The result of this growing trend to subsidized, public burial, was that confraternal involvement in funerals became fashionable. Wills often requested accompaniment to the grave by a confraternity. In Valladolid a notary, Francisco Pérez, asked of his brothers in La Concepción and Santiago 'que me honren'. But this was a luxury few could afford, as all participants had to be paid.[63] Practically, these doles, as they were known, compensated individuals for time lost at work while attending confraternal services. The money also covered ceremonial expenses of candles or torches (the luminary) and the mourning robes worn by brothers.[64]

The presence of children from the large foundling institutions (La Inclusa, or Niños de la Doctrina) was another feature of funerals of a certain category, requested in contemporary wills. One can estimate the cost to the brothers, and the private commercial gains to the children in this arrangement, from a passing remark by Santos late in the seventeenth century: 'que yo apostaré que ha quedado como Niño de la Doctrina después de un entierro, que nunca les falta cera que vender'.[65] And one should not overlook the use of extravagant funerals as a sort of implicit bargaining with the Almighty. The show of clergy, torches, and crosses at the funeral of the Marqués del Gasto in Milan, 1546, could fulfil only one function, according to the author of El Crotalón: 'Debían de llevar tantas cruzes porque el diablo si viene por el muerto más huye de muchas que de una'.[66]

Summarizing the confraternal burial function, then, through the whole chain of participants at the funeral, what appeared to be brotherliness masked more selfish interests. The unburied represented a health risk, and the act of burying them increased the brothers' prospects of salvation. Even orphans of La Doctrina earned a few reales in pocket-money. In addition penitential confraternities were not unaware of the profitability in bourgeois aspirations to a noble resting-place. Predictably this led to conflict, especially when the dead man had belonged to two confraternities; or on the question of burying the poor, normally the White Penitents' job. Sometimes the issue divided a confraternity and its host religious order. Cynical, but regrettably true, is Agulhon's conclusion that confraternities, especially penitents, made it their business to attend all funerals: not just their own, but also those of the rich (for their wealth), and of the poor (for love of God).[67] Nor were burial ceremonies wholly orthodox or even wholly Christian, since the refrigerium and laying-out rituals reveal borrowings from popular and pagan traditions. Our quest for brotherhood reveals that there are limitations to using pious confraternities as a model, firstly, because they were not as upright as they claimed to be; and secondly, because non-confraternal groups practised similar devotional rituals.

3.2 Mutual Aid - Caritas or Complacency?

Burial functions apart, however, confraternities operated a highly-effective social security programme, which offered material help to members facing privation through old age or illness.[68] Because

incapacity for work could bring financial disaster, especially in a Catholic country which proscribed work on its many feast days, sick benefit was a major consideration in the functioning of a confraternity. The Cofradía de la Vera Cruz at Villalcampo undertook to travel a day's journey, if needed, to bring home a sick brother. All were bound to visit him and keep vigil if necessary. For a long illness, they often went two at a time. If he had no food, each gave a denario or whatever was needed. In other confraternities material aid consisted of a gift of money, in the case of a pilgrimage, poverty, or sickness, plus a visit, prayers, or solemn accompaniment to the lazar-house for a leprous brother. But in cases of economic shortcomings, they always made investigations into the brother's situation, and if he was poor, agreed on what came to be known as jubilación por pobreza: exemption from payment of dues (cuotas y derramas), and entitlement to free mutual aid. Brothers embarking on a voyage, or moving to another locality, often took a letter of recommendation from their confraternity, and found help and support in all confraternities affiliated with it.[69]

Clearly, if one were required to sum up the confraternal mission in a few words it would be mutual aid. The operative word in all statutes was Caritas, defined as love between equals (see page 38 above), while philanthropic brotherliness, practised by the better-off towards the disadvantaged, was known as Misericordia. An excess of caritas usually invited the criticism that confraternities were introspective.[70] Frequent contemporary criticism highlights confraternal potential for dishonesty, especially in the running of hospitals. During the early sessions of Trent, for instance, Juan de Avila accused confraternities of betraying their opportunities to perform good deeds for the poor by incurring heavy expenses at festivals, and by distributing among themselves alms intended for the poor. He recommended that they be merged into one or two hospitals per city, and that control over finances be delegated to local prelates.[71] In Toledo the priest, Hurtado, advocated the amalgamation of all confraternities with those of the Holy Sacrament and the Souls in Purgatory.[72] He said their charity was intrusive and inefficient, and that people were exploiting the benefits of several at once.[73] Finally, in his chronicle of Madrid, León Pinelo proudly boasts of belonging to the Hermandad del Refugio, listing its activities, and (inadvertently) alluding to the wastage of money and facilities in other Hermandades, when he claims that Refugio

is 'una de las más grandiosas Hermandades de menos ostentación y más utilidad que se conoce'.[74]

3.3 Poor Relief - Justice or Misericordia?

Significantly, the most vociferous complaints were from the secular clergy, anxious to retain their charitable function, even if this was to be through newer parish-based confraternities, at the expense of traditional monastic-sponsored ones. Potentially threatening to them were Orders like the Observant Franciscans, who had brought a new awareness to problems of philanthropy in sponsoring the assimilation of small charities into larger, more efficient organizations. The formation of great foundling hospitals like the Innocenti of Florence became a model for all Europe. New institutions were evidently still guided by dogma on the Works of Mercy, taken from Matthew 25: 34-46 - feed the hungry, refresh the thirsty, clothe the naked, harbour the harbourless, and visit the sick and prisoners.[75] Meanwhile some newer works emerged in the sixteenth century. One of these was help of the shameful or genteel poor (vergonzados or vergognosi), people who 'por ser honrados y haberse visto en algún descanso y bien, no quieren descubrir sus necesidades mendigando de puerta en puerta'.[76] This concept was neither new nor peculiar to the rigorous Spanish honour code. Sometimes confraternities were established specially for this work. There was one in the parish of San Martin (Madrid) with a membership of twelve priests and seventy-two laymen: Hermandad de la Misericordia. The Hermandad de San Bernardo in San Juan de la Palma (Seville) was founded by the priest, Alonso Sánchez, to treat seventeen men and thirteen women: 'personas que se ayan visto en honra'; and in Salamanca the Congregación de Pobres Vergonzantes cared for mothers and widowed sisters of ecclesiastics, and widows and daughters of lay brothers.[77]

Welcoming the stranger and sheltering the fugitive was another popular work in the sixteenth century, which embraced a wider margin of unfortunates or disadvantaged. Principal among them was the traveller. For strangers, foreigners, travellers, and pilgrims, the hospice or xenon, organized by bishop and monasteries, had characterized church life from the earliest centuries. Then in the medieval period, confraternities organizing corporate pilgrimages to sanctuaries (Loreto, Assisi, Rome, and Santiago) began to build hospitals for pilgrims as protection against thieves.[78] Pilgrim confraternities flourished in the

fifteenth and sixteenth centuries under papal and royal sanction. The Hospital Real de Santiago de Compostela was established by the Catholic Monarchs in 1499-1511 and approved by Pope Alexander VI in 1503.[79] Some brotherhoods which arose independently of pilgrimages to shrines were less concerned with hospitality than with protection of the traveller. Owing to an enormous increase in banditry in sixteenth-century Spain, the countryside had various monuments testifying to the violent deaths of unfortunate travellers. Some areas were worse affected than others.[80] Pope Pius IV sent a brief on 15 January, 1564 to the Bishop of Oviedo, complaining of attacks on travellers between Llanes and Aviles, who were either robbed or killed. As no militia existed to deal with them there, the Pope proposed they build a hospital near Infiesto to tend the wounded. In the East of the peninsula, travellers formed into armed companies when approaching places of ill-repute, and popular militias called Migueletes were common. By the seventeenth century Migueletes are found employed in the service of the state fighting off heretical invasions. A diary for 1654 records:

> En Cataluña los micaeletes dieron en los herejes sacramentarios, y mataron más de 300 de ellos... Dicese fue por desagraviar las ofensas hechas contra los templos y SS.[81]

Besides care of the traveller and the homeless (two of Spain's pressing problems which contemporary thinking on Works of Mercy sought to address), confraternities also singled out for attention the plight of unwanted children, impecunious widows, and stepfathers. These were a recurrent feature of Habsburg Spain, and not simply because of wars or demographic changes resulting from famine, plague, etc.[82] Extramarital relations were common, and in Valladolid priests would not register the name of the father of illegitimate children they baptized, for fear of reprisal.[83] The practice of abandoning unwanted children was sufficiently well-known to attract the sort of literary parody one finds in Las harpías de Madrid, where after being robbed and drugged, an Andalusian merchant is dressed up with a bib, and round his neck there hangs an amulet, a small bell, and a pestle. A note on his chest from his 'mother' requests those finding him to raise her 'child', but not to baptize him again, and to ask him his name.[84] Typically, Quevedo's version of society's willingness to shed its responsibilities is more incisive:

> Señora mía, si yo quisiera ser padre, en mi mano ha estado hacerme fraile o ermitaño; no soy yo ambicioso de crías. Y desengáñese vuesa merced, que yo no he de tragar este hijo, porque no como hijos como Saturno, ni lo permita Dios; y antes muera de hambre que tal trague. Lo que importa es empreñarse a diestro y a siniestro, parir a troche y moche, y echarlo a Dios y a ventura. Vuesa merced dé con el muchacho en la Piedad; que allí se le criará un capellán, que en los niños de la dotrina sirve de chirriar a las calaveras.[85]

The threat of orphans and foundlings to established society was two-fold. Firstly, it was felt that children left uneducated would follow their natural 'evil' instincts and lead depraved, criminal, even heretical lives.[86] Pious works in the sixteenth century were principally concerned with preserving them from prostitution and other vices to which they might be exposed in the seedy ambience of the brothel. The more 'fortunate' offspring were left by their mother in the hospital where they were born, or deposited with a foundling organization. Others were placed in schools where town councils and Inquisition together cared for the formation of minds free from heresy.[87] The second threat was that orphans and foundlings were easy prey for the greed of beggars and impostors who exploited them.[88] The organization which took in orphans was usually called la Hermandad de los Santos Inocentes, though the name was not exclusively reserved for orphans (see page 196 below). One of these brotherhoods was established by the abbot of Valladolid in 1489. His work was continued by the Cofradía de San José, which also admitted foundlings in its Casas de Expósitos. Cordoba had a Casa de Expósitos founded by the Dean, Juan Fernández de Córdoba. Meanwhile La Inclusa de Madrid, established by the Cofradía de NS^{a} de la Soledad y de las Angustias (1572), merged in 1586 with the Hospital General, acquiring the title in 1610 of el Colegio de Niños Desamparados. After baptism children here were registered and given a medallion bearing their registration number to wear round their necks.[89] The Casa de Niños de la Doctrina was for older children. Its name, says Morgado, derives from the lessons given to the children: reading, writing, singing and counting. They were also fed, clothed, and succoured in illness for five years, before being found work or whatever suited their leaning.[90] The competitive spirit was never far away in these confraternal endeavours. Morgado is justly proud of their corporate work, though his claims that in Holy Week the

Insigne Casa Hospital de la Misericordia married off more poor girls than the rest of Spain did all year should be treated cautiously.[91]

3.3.1 Rationalization of Sick Care

The confraternal pious work which attracted most attention at this time, and which caused the greatest acrimony, was care of the sick. This had been clearly demarcated until the fifteenth century into three classes: private health care for the wealthy (aristocracy, higher clergy, and higher bourgeoisie); private medical care for the artisans and lower bourgeoisie; and free hospital care for the poor. The medieval concept of a hospital as a place to rest and be refreshed (see page 86 above) was giving way in the sixteenth century to institutions with programmes beyond feeding and clothing, with medical therapy and nursing care. Although many hospitals were still founded and administered by private individuals until the late sixteenth century, new foundations were encouraged by leaders of the Capuchins, Jesuits, and Theatines, and by individual reformers such as Philip Neri and Charles Borromeo. The result was an increase in numbers of organizations like the Hospitallers of Saint John of God, whose status fluctuated between that of a confraternity and an order, and whose administration saw to the appointment of physicians, apothecaries, barber-surgeons and hospitallers.[92] Before 1587 hospitals tended to specialize as contagious, non-contagious, leprosy, etc. Sizes varied from a few beds to as many as ninety in the Insigne Hospital de San Hermenegildo of Seville.[93]

The expense of maintaining a professional staff probably explains why many hospitals were run by confraternities who worked voluntarily. And yet from the Council of Vienna to the Council of Trent, the Church had objected that when the hospital faced financial difficulties, the patients were disposed of first, while the staff lingered on to consume the available income. This was caritas at the expense of misericordia. The same criticism is implied by Alemán, when Guzmán claims that his begging in Madrid was as successful as that of the Hospitallers of Saint John of God, except that his life was not so comfortable.[94] Satire was an ideal medium for contemporary social criticism, and one of its champions, Salas Barbadillo, devoted a chapter of his picaresque novel to denouncing corruption amongst beatas. Wearing the appropriate dress, Elena and la Méndez visit hospitals and make sheets and shirts, simultaneously pocketing a third of the alms they collect.[95] López de

Ubeda claimed that confraternal hoods and habits facilitated theft, seduction, or other crimes. He illustrates his point in the figure of Martín Pavón, an inveterate thief in hospitals, who would only have torn a cloak in two to retain half, like his namesake, if it belonged to another.[96]

The problem of bogus hospital visitors stealing patients' clothes and food was highlighted by another contemporary satirist, Polo de Medina, who explained the underworld's interest in hospital visiting:

> ¿Véis aquel mozo que va por allí con aquel agua caliente para sangrar una enferma, enfaldado de nariz, hosco de traje, chinclán de bigotes y remangado de tufos? Pues jayán es de a ciento la onza y rufo a todo blasfemar; y la que cura es su amiga y se ha entrado a servirla; que como otros se dan al diablo, él se da a sí mismo. ¿Véis aquella moza mojigata de toca, entre beata y viuda, repicada de pie, atufada de guardainfante, que lleva un puchero de comida? Pues no es beata, aunque parece una bienaventurada, ni lo hace por amor de Dios, sino de su amigo, que se ha entrado a curarlo, no siendo posible las visitas de los hermanos mayores para remediar semejantes atrevimientos, porque como el Hospital es tan grande, cuando sienten que viene quien lo puede remediar, se esconde.[97]

Even if the cases cited do not directly reflect upon confraternal members, but rather demonstrate the potential among miscreants for dissimulation as a brother, confraternal malpractices must have been common, to judge by the major reform of hospitals instigated late in the sixteenth century. Petitions drawn up in the Cortes de Valladolid 1548 and 1555, and in Madrid 1563, requested the establishment in every town of a single General Hospital under state control. Finally in 1581-83 a royal provision circulated to all major Castilian towns and cities requesting a report of the financial resources of each hospital or confraternity, its founders, donors, and pious works. It argued that money was wasted on personnel, that many lacked facilities to give proper care, and that the wishes of their founders were not being implemented. Consequent rationalization in many towns was dramatic. In Salamanca, nineteen hospitals were reduced to two: one inside the city for paupers and sick, and one outside the city for contagious diseases. In Seville seventy-four institutions were reduced to two: the Hospital del Amor de Dios, in the street of the same name, and Espírito Santo in calle de Tetuán. Sixty hospitals in Medina del Campo were reduced to six. And in Madrid the survival of only nine of the city's eighteen hospitals was due to various reasons: Niños de la Doctrina because it

was 'more a seminary than a hospital'; Antón Martín 'por bien servido'; Misericordia, because it had a royal foundation and annuities; and Niños Expósitos 'por inexcusable en la grandeza de la corte'.[98] It was a short-lived programme, and in 1592-8 the Cortes of Madrid declared it a failure because the economy had weakened, causing huge welfare problems, and the hospitals could not cope. De-consolidation was therefore advocated, and foundation of new hospitals encouraged.[99]

It will by now be apparent, in our quest for evidence of brotherhood, that this was synonymous with organized activities, but the idea is slowly emerging that the organized activity which was a major feature of brotherhoods was at times criminal activity. There seems little doubt that the confraternity filled a number of social needs for the under-privileged in the sixteenth century, ranging from hospitality and sick care, to marriage of orphan girls with a suitable dowry, and burial of destitute, diseased, and disregarded cannon-fodder.[100] In return for such benefits, the under-privileged expressed their gratitude (or their hope) by joining the pious confraternity, which always (theoretically) stood to gain, if not materially, then spiritually, by earning points in a work ethic oriented towards the acquisition of salvation. And through its mutual aid ethic, brothers arranged that in times of hardship even their charitable work came second to corporate needs.

3.4 Moral Reform - Fraternalism or Paternalism?

Evidently the Spanish Golden Age represented a watershed in confraternal ideology. One can see from the development (or resurgence) and fate of institutions having specific policing activities how the issue of moral reform ceded to the more achievable goal of mutual aid in the later seventeenth century.[101] Early models for the militant confraternity or league (which fought the enemy without), include late-medieval pious confraternities. These had either rallied under the banner of Peter Martyr, the Virgin Mary, or Dominic, in the cause of extirpation of heresy.[102] The other medieval model, which fought the enemy within,[103] included the Rosary confraternity. It organized the practice of acts of mercy and other pious deeds, and disciplined daily life among members. After the Council of Trent, this second model came to prominence in new confraternities patronized by Church and State, which focused more on instilling doctrine.[104] Chief amongst these were the Sacrament confraternities, an instrument of the Church Militant, whose zenith coincides with the period known as the Counter-Reformation.

Although the threat of heretical movements was still perceived to be a serious one, their real target was reform of the individual. Whilst this goal was achieved in the short term, the fact that such fraternities were relatively short-lived may be due to their implicit potential for oppression, depending on how they interpreted 'extirpation of heresy'.

High on the agenda of the Church Militant was blasphemy. This was not a new crime: medieval transgressors had been punished by mutilation;[105] nor was it specific to Catholic Spain. But Roman rituals of denunciation, some involving the pinning of information to a statue of the gladiator, Pasquino; others using 'mouths of truth', found a Spanish echo in anonymous pasquines, whose relevance to the present study will be examined later.[106] Meanwhile the function of one Dominican-inspired confraternity, implicit in its name, seems always to have been the extirpation of blasphemy. The Hermandades del Dulce Nombre de Jesús, established by the Dominicans, possibly arose in Burgos in 1550, although Pedregal notes an earlier one in Estepa.[107] Thereafter, the confraternity spread rapidly: there was one at Arévalo in 1561, whose ordinances banned swearing and malicious chatter; the Zamoran Dominican monastery established one in 1575 to praise God and ensure that his name was not taken in vain; El Santo Nombre de Jesús in the village of Muelas would not admit anyone who blasphemed; and the El Santísimo Nombre de Jesús in Honrubia (Cuenca) had been founded to praise Jesus's name and combat blasphemy. Statutes of this last confraternity issued a list of common oaths and appropriate penalties, with a warning that members would be reported to the Inquisition for uttering more heinous forms of blasphemy.[108] The Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de Sonsoles (Avila) fined brothers one pound of wax for reneging on the saints, whilst those reneging on God or Holy Mary were fined 500 maravedís and expelled. The confraternity also prohibited slanderous gossip and the use of certain taboo words: puto o fijo de puta, traydor, falso, cornudo, fodido, suzio, and diablo. Punishment in this case was a heavy fine of one pound of wax and 50 maravedis.[109] Despite the absence of reference to the Inquisition, there is a sign here of continuing nervousness about 'mala fama', which could condemn a man and his family to investigation by the Holy Office. Blasphemy at the Cofradía de la Vera Cruz, Villafranca (Avila), invited a fine of half an arroba of wax; for saying 'creo o no creo', the fine was two pounds of

wax; and for 'pese', it was one pound of wax: the same penalty as that for criticising the confraternity, and for carrying arms to a meeting.[110]

From facts presented in this chapter, it would seem that although organized religion plays an important directive role in associative life, a two-way acculturation between popular and ecclesiastical religion seems to have been vital to Christian brotherhood. This has been demonstrated in the context of penitence: Christian rituals which, by the sixteenth century had assimilated pagan and popular elements; and of burial activities, which incorporated Moorish and Jewish rites. Newer, monolithic Catholic institutions, designed to keep flesh and spirit in obedience (see page 70 above), had begun to change the voluntary nature of brotherhood into something more paternalistic. Perhaps significantly, Sacrament confraternities and others controlled by the secular clergy ceded in the seventeenth century to confraternities devoted to the more achievable goal of true fraternalism: a social phenomenon which was by nature introverted and particularist, ultimately more concerned with mutual aid than charity. Whilst it is not the intention to denigrate the positive developments in social welfare to which these lay confraternities contributed in the late sixteenth century, there is little doubt that their devotional work afforded a means of protection, from secular and from supernatural condemnation, in troubled times. But was brotherhood only an instrument of defence, or did it aspire to a more positive goal? Was the acquisition of power and prestige through confraternal activity an end in itself, or were Church and State justified in suspecting another, political, motive? Consideration will be given in the last chapter of this section on pious confraternities to the role of organization in brotherhood, and how it affected that solidarity. An examination of the conflict between autonomous, lay confraternities and those manipulated by the Church may help to establish why brotherhoods existed, and for whom, at least for the period of the Counter-Reformation.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

[1] See Appendix 2.A, for modern theories of Protestant and Catholic ethics, and attitudes to poverty.

[2] Assembly of Good Fellows, 144-5.

[3] See pages 37, 107, and 134 below, on this topic.

[4] Some confraternity statutes explain their function as 'propter salutem animarum' (Paglia, La Pietà dei carcerati, 99). See also page 107 below, on collective legal status.

[5] See Appendix 2.B, for medieval control of lay confraternities.

[6] On confraternal piety, see Bennassar, Spanish Character, 71. According to Weissman the norm for Italian penitential confraternities was three confessions a year and two communions (Ritual Brotherhood, 86), where Agulhon cites fourteen of each for French penitential confraternities (Pénitents et Francs-maçons, 91). For decline of charity at the expense of devotion, see Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 354.

[7] Historia del Rey de los Reyes, edited by P. Luis Villalba Muñoz, 3 vols (El Escorial, 1916), cited in Bataillon, Erasmo y España, 747.

[8] Alejo Venegas, Agonía, 156a. See Appendix 2.C, for quotation in full, and explanations of Saints Simon, Mammon, and Robert. Padre Marforio (Monte Caballo) was one of two statues in ancient Rome, which became the depository of political, religious and personal satires. An attack was placed in the mouth of the one known as 'Pasquin', and replies were affixed to that of Marforio (see pages 105, and 174 below). Venegas explains:

> Es una estatua en Roma, que está antes de la cárcel que dicen Tulliano, que se dice Petri ad vincula. Algunos quieren decir que esta estatua era de Júpiter Panario, de Júpiter Panadero... Que quiera que sea, tómase en el texto Marforio por la diabología de los que se precian de supersticiones; y es uso de poetas tomar unas fábulas determinadas por fábulas indeterminadas, como en la primera Sátira tomó Juvenal el juicio de Eaco y la fábula del Vellocino dorado por la vanidad de las fábulas.
>
> (Breve declaración, 306).

[9] The woolcomber cited in Nalle, 'Religion and Reform', 124, n. 59, citing ADC, Inq. leg. 316, exp. 4570. Paradoxically, as the last examples show, the more inclined men were to popular religion, the more confidence they displayed in salvation. Conversely, the more orthodox faltered under the burden, the sixteenth century witnessing a sharp increase in cases of religious melancholy (pusillanimity, scrupulosity) among mystics and monks, whose penitence often seemed to themselves inadequate. For examples of longanimitas of the plebe compared with pusillanimitas of the religious, see Calderón, La devoción de la Cruz; Tirso de Molina, El condenado por desconfiado; and Cervantes, Don Quijote, II, 3 (vol. 4, 100). See also Speak, 'Glass Men', 862.

[10] See Appendix 2.D, for a bibliography of the history of confraternal flagellation.

[11] See Council of Trent, Session 14 (1551), 'The Most Holy Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction', in Schroeder (ed.), Canons and Decrees, 88-105.

[12] On late sixteenth-century flagellant activity, see Christian, Local Religion, 185. In 1576 Toledo had four flagellant confraternities: Vera Cruz, NS^{a} de la Soledad, NS^{a} de las Angustias (600-2000 members) and Santo Nombre de Jesus. Jaén at the end of the sixteenth century had five: Vera Cruz (1541), Angustias y Cinco Llagas (1551), Soledad (1556), Santo Sepulcro (1580), and Santa Elena (1588-94). The Sevillian Cofradía del Traspaso de NS^{a} became a cofradía de sangre o de penitencia in 1570. See list in Local Religion, 185. For contemporary reference to the numbers of flagellants in processions early in the seventeenth century, see Pinheiro da Veiga, Fastiginia, 56.

[13] On flagellation and medieval church punishment, see Llompart, 'Penitencias y penitentes', 232, citing J. Villanueva, Viaje literario, XIII, 214-16; and Juan Tejada Ramiro, Colección de cánones y de todos los Concilios de la Iglesia Española, 3 (Madrid, 1851), 354. See also Henderson, 'Flagellant Movement', 147-51; and Guibert, Les confréries de Pénitents, 10-12. The notion of a penitent in his shift survived into the seventeenth century. Compare Don Quijote in the Sierra Morena (I, 25 (vol. 2, 285)); and El Celoso hasta la muerte (1631): 'fue llevado (como ánima por infernales espíritus) a un retiro, donde brevemente le quitaron las cintas, quedando a guisa de penitente por fuerza' (Castillo Solórzano, Noches de Placer, 358).

[14] 'Ordonants que los infants e infantes tots primers e tot hom e tota dona vagen ab los peus descalços, tots cridants altes veus a Nostre Senyor Déu que'ns hage misericordia per la sua gran clemencia e pietat, revocant la dita cruel pestilencia e morteldat' ('Pregón procesional de Mallorca (18-9-1410)', AHM. AH. 422. fols 123r-123v, in Llompart, 'Penitencias y penitentes', 248). See Appendix 2.E, for more examples of ritual undress and candles.

[15] Deleito y Piñuela, La vida religiosa, 161, n. 33, citing Madame d'Aulnoy, Relación de su viaje por España (Madrid, 1891), 123. For the rope ritual, see Geremek, Margins of Society, 19; and Llompart, 'Penitencias y penitentes', 231, nn. 5, and 6. See also Appendix 2.F.

[16] Comentarios, 405.

[17] Anales, 250. For another account of the same event, see Appendix 2.G. On use (and abuse) of wine to dress their wounds after, see Wollesen-Wisch, 'The Archconfraternità del Gonfalone', 24, n. 58; and Santos, Tarascas, 'Abusos del cuarto dia, miércoles', 300.

[18] On Seville's disciplinants, see Alvarez de Castro cited in Deleito y Piñuela, La vida religiosa, 163, n. 39. See also León Pinelo, Anales, 99; and Morgado, Historia de Sevilla, 475.

[19] The age limit for brothers in the Vera Cruz at Santiago del Collado (Avila), was fifty (Constituciones (1551), in Sobrino Chomón, Documentos de antiguos cabildos, 322. Also exempt from discipline were caballeros, hidalgos, members of the new nobleza de ropa (ibid., 324), and officers of the confraternity (ibid., 337). On youthful age of disciplinants, see Llompart, 'Desfile', 45-46. Barnes cites an upper limit of sixty years in penitents of

Marseilles ('De Poenitentibus', 200); and Sbriziolo cites fifty years for exempti in fifteenth-century Venice ('Storia delle confraternite', 725). Sandre Gasparini finds in Padua that 'Sacerdote, cavalier, doctor e zentilhuomo' were exempted from the discipline in 1502 if they wished ('San Giovanni Evangelista della Morte', 800).

[20] Santos, Tarascas, 'Abusos del cuarto dia, miércoles', 295. See also Lugo y Dávila, Escarmentar en cabeza ajena, in Teatro popular, 34.

[21] Cited by Jones, '"Constituciones sinodales"', 57.

[22] On processional precedence and ensuing violence, see Moreno Valero, 'Religiosidad popular', 491, 496. See also page 50 above, and Appendix 2.H for full bibliography.

[23] El viaje entretenido, 124.

[24] López de Ubeda, 'Del Pretensor Disciplinante', Pt. 3, Bk 4, ch. 2 (vol. 2, 704-5).

[25] Aulnoy, Relación, 120-21, cited in Deleito y Piñuela, La vida religiosa, 165, quoted in full in Appendix 2.I. Varey says the evidence of other contemporary accounts suggests that Madame d'Aulnoy was never in Spain (Spanish Corpus Christi, 35). On flagellant processions and eroticism, see José Francisco de Isla, Fray Gerundio de Campazas, I, 81-4. See also Bennassar, The Spanish Character, 39.

[26] Although the society of galois and galoises, as they were called, was not chivalrous in its aims nor exclusively male, Boase detects the same blend of erotic asceticism, the same emphasis on a code of rules, and the same primitive desire to suffer and incur danger for the sake of love as that manifest by the sixteenth-century flagellants ('Penitents of Love', 818-20, citing Johan Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages, translated by F. Hopman (London, 1955), 87-89; and Thomas Warton, History of English Poetry (1775), I). See page 54 above, on the association between knights and Wild Men; and see page 205 below, on lovers' melancholy.

[27] Several writers have noted their similarity to other fourteenth-century salvationist movements, including the Flagellant Movement, most having a necessary element of messianic prophecy. Differences between religious and lovers' melancholy, and the attendant divine gifts of prophecy and poetic inspiration, are discussed elsewhere (see page 205 below).

[28] Don Quijote, I. 26 (vol. 2, 291). In the second edition of Don Quijote (1605) this is changed to: 'Y sirviéronle de rosario unas agallas grandes de un alcornoque, que ensartó, de que hizo un diez'. For other Wild Men, see Don Quijote, II. 2 (vol. x, xxx); Lope de Vega, El peregrino en su patria; Diego de San Pedro, Cárcel de Amor; Torquemada, Coloquios satíricos, 34; and Amadís de Gaula. On the meaning of the Rosary, see page 79 above. Another medieval tradition for these Penitents of Love may have been the Cour d'Amour, over which Marie de Champagne is said to have presided (c.1165), and the Cour amoureuse of Charles VI (1401) (Boase, 'Penitents of Love', 818). See also Olson, Literature as Recreation, 195.

[29] See page 105 for categories qualifying for exemption from discipline.

[30] Constituciones de la Cofradía de la Vera Cruz de la Pasión (1530), Villafranca, lib. 36, cap. 7, in Sobrino Chomón, op. cit., 281. Compare Constituciones de la Cofradía de la Vera Cruz (1551), Santiago del Collado, lib. 27, cap. xx, in Sobrino Chomón, op. cit., 328, whose statutes also exempted the over-50s from flagellation, as well as 'cavallero o hidalgo o hombre [que] tenga officio noble como es letrado u otro semejante.' Those unwilling to use the discipline, the rules went on, would not be admitted as new entrants.

[31] Constituciones de la Cofradía de la Vera Cruz (1551), Santiago del Collado, lib. 27, in Sobrino Chomón, op. cit., 323.

[32] Alcalá, Yáñez, Alonso, mozo de muchos amos, ch. 1, 494a. In Venice hired flagellants appeared late in the sixteenth century (Black, Italian Confraternities, 100).

[33]

> Don Cosme, cofrade del estafón, traía todo ajuar de hipócrita: un rosario con unas cuentas frisonas; al descuido hacía que se le viese por debajo de la capa un trozo de disciplina salpicada con sangre de narices; hacía creer - concomiéndose - que los piojos eran cilicios, y que la hambre caminera era ayuno voluntario.
>
> (El Buscón, 137).

Compare Góngora's satirical poem about Quevedo's pilgrimage (page 399 below).

[34] El caballero Puntual, Parte 2ª, 200-4.

[35] Tarascas, 300. Juan de Arguijo describes a poor penitent, naked from the waist up with a rope round his neck, dressed in calzoncillos de lienzo. As his arms are tied up with the rope and an iron bar, he has to ask a passing boy to assist him in relieving himself. Afterwards, finding himself deserted, he has to stand facing the wall until darkness covers his indiscretion (Cuentos, 252). On modern nazarenos, see Gárnica, 'Hermandades de penitencia', 42; and Antonio Machado, 'Llanto de las virtudes y coplas por la muerte de don Guido', in Poesías completas, 213-15 (I am grateful for Professor Round for this last reference). See also Hidalgo, Diálogos, 313b. Nazareno was actually a reference to long hair: 'Deslindóse algo a lo nazareno las melenas, y dejóse con ellas a escuras toda la cara' (Fernández de Ribera, Anteojos, 50). Compare page 43 above, on hermits and long hair. On aspados, see Villalón, Viaje de Turquía, 56a; aspa de San Andrés in Quevedo, El Buscón, 145; Santos, Tarascas, 'Abusos del cuarto día, miércoles', 300; and 'Caballero del Aspa' in Salas Barbadillo, Hija de Celestina, 858a. See also Boccaccio, Decameron, 174.

[36] El mesón del mundo, 140.

[37] See Burke, Perception and Communication, 53.

[38] See also Chapter 2, footnote 15 above, for colour distinctions.

[39] See Callaghan, 'Corporate Charity', 175, for the view that Refugio was the first to provide an ambulance service. For saint's dedication dictating confraternal activity, see Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 198; Ross, Assembly of Good Fellows, 185; C. Vincent, 'Confrérie comme structure d'intégration', 113. In the case of guilds and guild merchants, the choice of patron saint did often relate to the occupation of its votaries: Saint Joseph for carpenters, Saint Peter for fishmongers (there may have been actual

continuity with the Roman opificium here, which selected a god for each organization).

[40] For a full treatment of medieval Marian devotion, see Meersseman, 'Etudes dominicaines', XXII; and Carroll, Cult of the Virgin Mary. On declining cult of the Virgin, see Galpern, Religion of the People, 105. There was a sporadic revival of the tradition, as in sixteenth-century Toledo, where a confraternity of sixty-three brothers (the supposed span of the Virgin's life) was established to say salves every Saturday and fiesta de NS^{a}: 'como antiguamente se solía hacer, y viene maestro de capilla, racioneros y seises como si les pagara gran estipendio ordinariamente, que se tiene por milagro (Relación breve de los milagros que ha hecho NS^{a} de la Esperanza que está en la parroquia de San Lucás Muzárabe de Toledo, in Pisa, Toledo, 152). She was the special patron of cantores and seises. See also Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 320, on Soledad and Angustias.

[41] See Appendix 2.J, for bibliography on history and development of the Rosary devotion.

[42] El peregrino en su patria, 447, quoted in Appendix 2.K. See also Persiles, Book III, ch. 5 (vol. 2, 48-9); and ibid., Book III, ch. 2 (vol. 2, 21), on NS^{a} de Guadalupe.

[43] On rivalry, abuses of, and legislation pertaining to Marian shrines, see Defourneaux, Daily Life in Spain, 116; Christian, Local Religion, 164, and 95-8. See also Fernández de los Ríos, Guía de Madrid, 663, 664, 749-50; Madame d'Aulnoy, Relación, 119-20, in Deleito y Piñuela, Declinar de la monarquía, 151; Santos, Tarascas, 'Abusos del quinto día, jueves', 307-17; and Domínguez Morano, 'Moros y cristianos', 140. On excesses relating to shrines other than Marian ones, see page 49 above.

[44] Council of Trent, Session 25 (1563), 'Decree concerning Purgatory', in Schroeder (ed.), Canons and Decrees, 215-17. Compare Session 22 (1562), ch. 3, 'Doctrine concerning the Sacrifice of the Mass', ch. 3, in ibid., 146.

[45] On burial routine, see Rumeu de Armas, Previsión social, 125-6; Barnes, 'De Poenitentibus', 201; and Burke, Perception and Communication, 226, citing G. Rowell, The Liturgy of Christian Burial (London, 1977), 18, on Augustine. See also Augustine, In Epistolam Joannis ad Parthos Tractatus Decem S. Augustini, Tractatus VIII, cap. iv, in Migne (ed.), Patrologia Latina, 35, 2040: 'Vestit nudum charitas, vestit et superbia; jejunat charitas, jejunat et superbia; sepelit mortuos charitas, sepelit et superbia'. On washing the body, see Jones, '"Constituciones sinodales"', 58, and 62. For other popular customs, see pages 45 above, on refrigerium, and 444 below, on prisoner ablutions.

[46] Ordenanzas de Nuestra Señora de Sonsoles (1516), cap. xlviii, in Sobrino Chomón, Documentos de antiguos cabildos, 192-3.

[47] Ibid., cap. xcviii, in Sobrino Chomón, Documentos, 211.

[48] Bonilla y San Martín (ed.), 'Testamento del Pícaro pobre', 66, 71. On muñidor and bell-ringing in Troyes (1575), see Galpern, Religions of the People, 61 . See Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 184, n. 85, citing Archivo de la Universidad de Santiago, Archivo de los Reyes Católicos, leg. 63, no. 32, fols. 4, 8, 8v, on the Santiago ritual. For a cynical view of muñidores, see Luque Fajardo, Fiel desengaño, Book 1, ch. 18 (vol. 1, 174): 'los muñidores, unos hombres por cuya

mano vienen los tahures a la casa de juego... si tienen diversos renombres, es todo un mismo el oficio. Llámanlos muñidores, tomando esta lastimosa cofradia la metáfora de esotras, que son justas y santas'. See also page 123 below. For licensed limosneros, see page 241 below.

[49] On pall-bearing, see Ordenanzas de Nuestra Señora de Sonsoles (1516), cap. ciiii, in Sobrino Chomón, Documentos, 213; and Estatutos de San Benito (1527), in Sobrino Chomón, op. cit., 239. See also Agulhon, Pénitents et Francs-maçons, 108-9; and Horowitz, 'Jewish Confraternities', 114. On burial societies, origins and influences, see Horowitz, op. cit., 69-114; and Galpern, Religions of the People, 16.

[50] Council of Trent, Session 25 (1563), 'Decree concerning Purgatory', in Schroeder (ed.), Canons and Decrees, 214, quoted in full in Appendix 2.L. On Trent and 'honouring the dead', see also Martz, Poverty and Welfare, 162; Bideleux, 'Popular Catholicism', 86, n. 12, citing Waterworth, The Canons, 232-33; Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 49; and Barnes, 'De Poenitentibus', 201.

[51] On sociology of the dead, see Ariés, Western Attitudes, 14ff. See also Davis, 'Tasks and Themes', 314; and Bossy, 'Holiness and Society', 129.

[52] Otrosi mando que non se fagan confradias, nin iuras malas ningunas, nin ningunos malos ayuntamientos, ... si non para dar a comer a pobres, e para luminaria, e para soterrar muertos, e para confuerços (almuerzos) et que se coma en casa del muerto.

On Fernando III's definition of confraternal duties, see Rumeu de Armas, Previsión social, 59, n. 5, citing C. Fernández Duro, La Marina de Castilla desde su origen y pugna con la de Inglaterra hasta la refundición en la Armada española (Madrid, 1894), 237; and Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y de Castilla, edited by Manuel Colmeiro (Madrid, 1861), Parte 1ª, 153. For Alfonso X, see Rumeu de Armas, op. cit., 61, n. 9, citing A. López Ferreiro, Fueros municipales de Santiago y su tierra (Santiago, 1895), I, 210. On medieval luminary, see F. Comte, 'Le luminaire en verre', 46-67.

[53] See Rosal, Alfabeto cuarto, on symbolism of luminarias and luz o candela. On blindness, see Speak, 'An Odd Kind of Melancholy', 197-200. For candles at funerals, see Constituciones de la Cofradia del Corpus Christi (1516), lib. 18, cap. xii, in Sobrino Chomón, Documentos, 168; Ordenanzas de Nuestra Señora de Sonsoles (1516), cap. cvii, in Sobrino Chomón, op. cit., 214; and Constituciones de la Cofradía de la Vera Cruz (1551), lib. 27, cap. xx, in Sobrino Chomón, op. cit., 329-30.

[54] See Cassan, 'Multiples visages', 34, on Confréries du Luminaire; and see page 40 above, on cofradías de luz.

[55] See Lope de Vega, El peregrino en su patria, 437; and León Pinelo, Anales, 302-4, on the cofradía/luz pairing.

[56] Luna, 92.

[57] Chapelle ardente cited by José María de Cossio (ed.), Academias del jardín, 246, n. 13. For another, see Villalón, El Crotalón, Canto 11, 287. See Appendix 2.M, for luminary symbolism.

[58] Documentos importantes del Archivo Municipal de Sevilla, sin fecha, de la segunda mitad del siglo XVI, III, in Herrera Puga, Sociedad y

delincuencia, 86, n. 24. Compare Morgado, Historia de Sevilla, 370, who says that the Racionero of the Santa Iglesia left the Hospital de San Bernardo a perpetual trust to ensure the confraternity collected the bodies of the condemned and gave them a Christian burial. His will explained that he had been moved to pity by the spectacle at the Tablada: 'Vi, como los Perros, y Puercos estaban debajo de aquellas Horcas royendo los miembros, y huesos de los tales Justiciados, que de los palos se iban por tiempo cayendo'. See Appendix 2.N, and Chapter 9, footnote 142 below, for another case of a dog eating a dead body; and Ariés, Western Attitudes toward Death, 25, on promiscuity between the living and the dead.

[59] On public welfare, see Casey, Kingdom of Valencia, 154; and Ross, Assembly of Good Fellows, 147-8. Compare page 37 above, and Dieterich, 'Brotherhood and Community', 24-26.

[60] However, there was a municipal programe of public health in Valencia in 1348 after a plague epidemic, which organized collection of rubbish and dead animals. The service was institutionalized in 1402 (see Garcia Ballester, 'Panorama de la medicina', 105-7; I am grateful to R. Cooter for this reference).

[61] See Chapter 9, footnote 142 below, on the need for subsidization of funeral costs for the poor. On burial of prisoners and paupers, see page 435 below.

[62] On Cofradía de la Piedad, see Jiménez Salas, Asistencia social, 242, n. 21.

[63] On late fifteenth-century testamentary requests for confraternal attendance in Seville, see Salas Delgado, 'Fiestas y devociones', 43; for Valladolid, see AHPV, leg. 35, fol. 210, cited in Bennassar, Valladolid, 537. See Chauchadis, Honneur, 114, on the custom of having the stretchers of dead gentlemen carried by their fellows, or by confraternities and chapters of gentlemen as at Cuenca. The regular policy of the Cofradia de San Nicolás at Zamora was to distribute 300 maravedis among members present from the time that the body left its house until all returned there for prayer. Testators offered charity to confraternities for distribution among participants at their own funerals. A Zamoran donor to NS^{a} del Rosario allocated three reales to the confraternal priest for saying mass and ringing the bell four times at his funeral, one real to the poor who were present, and six reales to each brother present.

[64] On offerings of money and clothes at Zamora, see Flynn, 'Rituals of Solidarity', 60, n. 23, citing Ordenanzas de la Cofradía de San Nicolás in Férnandez-Prieto, Nobleza de Zamora, 390, tít. 31; and Flynn, art. cit., 60, n. 24, citing Archivo Particular de Don Enrique Fernández-Prieto, Estatutos de Nuestra Señora del Rosario y Purificación, 1544, tít. 13 and 14. See also Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 221; and C. Vincent, 'Confrérie comme structure d'intégration', 114.

[65] Santos, Día y Noche, 135. See page 88 above, on foundling institutions. On the presence of children at funerals, see M. Navarro Pérez (ed.), Santos, Día y Noche, 91, n. 63, citing Relación del testamento de doña María Magdalena de la Nao Ostariz (1686), in Papeles sueltos. Archivo de la antigua Inclusa, which provides: 'Para niños desamparados, 24 reales por el acompañamiento que dichos niños hicieran en su entierro con velas y cerillas'. Any unburnt wax after a procession was normally returned to the candle-maker and

reimbursed (Romero Abao, 'Corpus Christi en Sevilla', 25). See also pages 55 and 40 above, on involvement of seises.

[66] El Crotalón, Canto 11, 282.

[67] Pénitents et Francs-maçons, 109. On aristocracy of burial grounds and litigation over misappropriation, see Agulhon, Pénitents et Francs-maçons, 108. A popular saying in Provence claimed: 'A Saint-François, sur quatre morts il y en a trois, et ils plaident pour avoir le quatrième' (op. cit., 108, n. 112, citing Mireur, Les anciens couvents de Draguignan, 1re partie (Draguignan, 1906), 74, who gives similar cases under the irreverent name of 'la chasse au cadavre'. See also Black, Italian Confraternities, 110, on inter-confraternal conflict.

[68] This applied equally to urban and rural populations (see Joaquin Costa, Colectivismo agrario en España: doctrinas y hechos (Madrid, 1898), cited in Rumeu de Armas, Previsión social, 374).

[69] See Rumeu de Armas, Previsión social, 127, for distinction between confraternal aid and sick insurance in sixteenth-century Spanish confraternities; and Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 333, n. 63, citing Ordenanzas de la Cofradía de la Vera Cruz de Villalcampo, fols 165-165v. See page 116 below, on archconfraternities.

[70] Of a hundred and forty-three confraternities in Toledo in 1576, about twenty practised open charity, not confined to their brothers. The Misericordia ran a hospital, NS de la Paz y Corpus Christi operated the Hospital del Rey; Santa Caridad and Madre de Dios offered home relief in all city parishes, and so did San Miguel on a smaller scale (Martz, Poverty and Welfare, 162). See Appendix 2.O, for another example.

[71] Juan de Avila, Memorial Primero para Trento; 1551, 32, no. 43, in R. P. Camilo María Abad, S.J., Dos memoriales inéditos para el concilio de Trento (Santander, 1945), cited in Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 265, n. 116.

[72] See page 114 below, on Sacrament confraternities.

[73] See Christian, Local Religion, 168, n. 43, 44. But it was the same in Genoa, according to Villalón, where all the money bequeathed to a pious work was allegedly creamed off. The hospital gave out scant food, the beds were dirty, and patients discharged after administration of a purgative would often relapse and die (Villalón, Viaje de Turquía, 9a). On confraternal misappropriation of funds in France and Italy, see Appendix 2.P.

[74] Anales, May, 1617, p. 218.

[75] On Works of Mercy, see Aquinas, Summa Theologiae, 2a 2ae, 32, 'Almsgiving', 2 (vol. XXXIV, 240-1): 'visito, poto, cibo, redimo, tego, colligo, condo'. Burial of the dead was added later by the Church. See also Mackenney, Tradesmen and Traders, 44; Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 142-7; Augustine, In Epistolam Joannnis ad Parthos, Tractatus decem, tractatus 8, caput 4, in Migne (ed.), Patrologia Latina, XXXV (1902), col. 2040; Alfonso X, Las Siete Partidas, Partida I, tít. XXIII, 'De los romeros, e de los pelegrinos', ley II, 151v; and Juan Ruiz, Libro de Buen Amor, 257-63. Help of the pilgrim, and accompanying sanctions were codified again by Philip II (Nueva Recopilación, lib. I, tit. 12, ley 1 (vol. I, fol. 52r)).

[76] Pérez de Herrera, Amparo (1595), Discurso 2°, 67.

[77] See Pérez de Herrera, op. cit., 70, on Hermandad de la Misericordia; and Morgado, Historia de Sevilla, 370, on Hermandad de San Bernardo. See Appendix 2.Q, for Italian vergognosi. See Nueva Recopilación, lib. I, tít. 12, ley 18, 'Pobres enuergonçátes' (vol. I, fol. 54r). For Salamancan vergonzantes, see Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 226, n. 24, citing Archivo de la Universidad de Salamanca, Nuevas ordenanzas de la Congregación de Pobres Vergonzantes de esta ciudad de Salamanca, 1595 (reprinted 1803, published 1871); and Spicciani, 'The "poveri vergognosi" in Fifteenth-Century Florence', in Aspects of Poverty in Early Modern Europe, edited by Thomas Riis (Florence, 1981), 119-182.

[78] On history of the confraternity of Santiago, see Lambert, 'Ordres et confréries', 371-2, and 394-6; Saezmiera Uyarra, Santo Domingo de la Calzada, 107; Tremp-Utz, 'Une confrérie de Saint Jacques', 223; and Lacarra-Uría, 'Las peregrinaciones a Santiago', I, 344, cited in Saenz Terreros, El Hospital de Peregrinos, 41, n. 80.

[79] See Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 161, citing Archivo de la Universidad de Salamanca, Sección 6, lib. 1, Libro de cabildos de la Real Hospital, fol. 26v. For Trinità dei Pellegrini in Rome, see Wollesen-Wisch, 'The Archconfraternità del Gonfalone', 34, n. 95; Black, Italian Confraternities, 194-5; and Lea, Indulgences, 482.

[80] Bennassar cites places called confesionarios betweeen Zamora and Salamanca, marked by such crosses (Spanish Character, 42). The Venetian ambassador, Antonio Tiepolo, wrote in 1567 that Philip II's reputation for strictness was a useful deterrent:

> Porque se cometen pocos delitos en este reino, a tal punto que cada uno puede con toda seguridad caminar de noche por todos los lugares (hablo de Castilla la Vieja y la Nueva). En los tres reinos de Aragón, de Valencia y de Cataluña, en donde Su Majestad no tiene el poder absoluto, se cometen los crimenes más atroces, y puede afirmarse que alli los viajeros no encuentran seguridad en ningún tiempo, porque esas comarcas están por todas partes infestadas de bandidos, y es imposible que Su Majestad pueda alli proveer; los habitantes no soportarian jamás que se les impusiese, sino conforme a sus antiguas constituciones, y no dejarian modificar una cama en sus privilegios.
>
> (Relación de España, 1153b).

[81] Barrionuevo, Avisos, I, 96b, 19 December, 1654. For more on migueletes, see Appendix 2.R. Travel between Barcelona and Zaragoza was especially dangerous at late sixteenth century (see Pierre Vilar, La Catalogne, 579, n. 5; and Braudel, La Méditerranée, II, 649, and I, 388). On Asturian banditry, see Vázquez-Azpiri, Bandoleros asturianos, 31. See also Chapter 9, footnote 145 below, on el bandido generoso.

[82] In seventeenth-century Pedralba, for instance, several men and women married four times (still retaining an interest in, or attachment to, earlier dead spouses, whom they always correctly listed after their name in the Rosary Guild) (see Casey, Kingdom of Valencia, 19). Contrast with Bataillon, who claims that widows without issue usually retired to convents ('Cervantes et le "mariage chrétien"', Bulletin Hispanique, 49 (1947), 129-44 (134).

[83] Registers used instead the formula: 'cujus pater est populus'; 'cui pater e mater est populus'; 'hijo de la tierra e de...'; 'hijo de toto populi'; 'hijo del sol y de su mujer la tierra' (see Bennassar, Valladolid, 543).

[84] Castillo Solórzano, 176.

[85] Caballero de la Tenaza, 459. The Archconfraternity known as Pietà had satellites all over Europe. It was chiefly known for its work with prisoners (see page 432 below), but also cared for foundlings and paupers (see page 83 above), and operated loan schemes (Monti di Pietà). Children of the Doctrina were always seen heading processions at funerals, executions, and other confraternal rituals. As Quevedo demonstrates, both these institutions were household names, when the question of foundlings arose.

[86] Compare Fernández Navarrete, Conservación de monarquías, 'Discurso XLVII. De los niños expósitos y desamparados', 365, n. 5, citing Justin. lib. 22: 'Esta gente... es la escoria del mundo, ... no teniendo bienes que perder ni honra que manchar, como de Agátocles dijo Justino: "quoniam nec habebat in fortunis quod amitteret, nec in verecundia quod macularet"'.

[87] On foundling policy, see Kagan, Students and Society, 19, n. 55, citing a petition of 2 September, 1545, for permission to establish an orphanage in Seville (AA Sevilla: Secc. 3, tomo 11, no. 52). Despite the growing charitable concern for educating the under-privileged, the Religious Orders did not take a particularly active role in elementary education in Castile until the Society of Jesus began to establish colleges in 1547. For the work of Saint Ignatius Loyola in this field, see Barletta, 'Santa Caterina dei Funari', 12-17.

[88] On beggars' exploitation of children, see Jiménez Salas, Asistencia social, 135. See also page 247 below.

[89] For details of foundling institutions in sixteenth-century Spain, see Jiménez Salas, Asistencia social, 135, n. 47, citing Inocencio Jiménez Vicente, Los tribunales tutelares de menores (Zaragoza, 1932), 20, n. 15; Fernando de Rojas, El padre de huérfanos de Valencia (Valencia, 1927); and Desiderio Criado Cervera, Estudio de algunas instituciones de protección de menores en la historia de Valencia (Valencia, 1949). On Inocentes, see Bennassar, Valladolid, 443, citing Matías Sangrador Vitores, Historia de Valladolid (Valladolid, 1851), I, ch. XXV. On Expósitos, see Jiménez Salas, op. cit., 202, n. 42, citing Nuevos apuntes, parte 1ª, 336-38; ibid., 206, n. 41, citing op. cit., 132. On Desamparados, see Santos, Día y Noche, 155; and León Pinelo, Anales, 194. On prostitutes and their institutionalization, see page 267 below.

[90] On Niños de la Doctrina, see Morgado, Historia de Sevilla, 371. Contrast La Doctrina with the Colegio de Huérfanas established in Madrid (1651) by the Hermandad del Refugio, where orphans could stay all their lives, if they wished (Jiménez Salas, Asistencia social, 206).

[91] Morgado, Historia de Sevilla, 374-5. On dowries and the sixteenth-century confraternity, see bibliography in Black, Italian Confraternities, 178, n. 33. On tax incentives for marriage to girls from the Misericordia, see Black, op. cit., 206. For Venetian orphan girls adopted with a view to sexual exploitation, and later

married off 'respectably' with a dowry, see Ruggiero, The Boundaries of Eros, 150-3.

[92] Two elected cofrades often made a weekly inspection of sanitary conditions; paupers were advised of the rules of behaviour by tablets on the entrance wall; and patients usually slept on the floor in blankets, and got daily rations of meat, wine, bread, etc. The Hospitallers' confraternity was established in Spain, but became prominent in Italy under the better-known name of fatebenefratelli, a name deriving from their standard half-sung greetings when collecting alms: 'Fate bene fratelli, per l'amore di Dio' (Black, Italian Confraternities, 191). The hospital of San Ildefonso in Zamora also offered two 'general treatments' in May and September to paupers wishing to be purged, fed and housed for a month (and, incidentally, to be treated for syphilis). A public crier advertised this service (see Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 156). On the hospital system up to the fifteenth century, see Garcia-Ballester, 'Medicina bajomedieval', 77.

[93] It was popularly called del Cardenal after its founder, Don Juan de Cervantes, Archbishop of Seville, d. 1452.

[94] Guzmán de Alfarache, I. 1. 2, 134.

[95] La hija de Celestina, 855b. It is perhaps significant that when another of Salas Barbadillo's underworld literary figures, Don Diego, renounces his wayward life at Lent, he takes to visiting hospitals (Don Diego, 147). On abuses, see also Agulhon, Pénitents et Francs-maçons, 123.

[96]

> Donde él hurtaba con mejor denuedo era en los hospitales. ¡Qué ánima ésta! ¿Quién fuera a él en fianza que había de partir con ella la capa como San Martín? Yo sé que se le averiguó que de un manto que le dieron a guardar partió la mitad, pero no para dar, sino para tomar... y llamábase Martín.
> (La Justina, Bk. 2, pt. 2, ch. 2, 'De la burla del ermitaño' (vol. 2, 431)).

See page 388 below, for capeadores.

[97] El Lazareto de Milan, 448-50. The theft of a patient's clothes was not quite so iniquitous as it seems today, for there was a well-established practice known as fálifo by which confraternal members bequeathed their clothes for either funeral robes by mourners, or burial garb for people dying in the hospital. Those confraternities practising it were known as Cofradías de los fálifos (see Cortés y Vázquez, 'San Julián, 75, n. 28, on Cofradía de los Fálifos at Rionegro del Puente, cited by L. Vázquez de Parga, J. M. Lacarra, and J. Uría, Peregrinaciones a Santiago, 3 vols (Madrid, 1948-49), II, 35ss; and Manuel García Blanco, 'Una cuestión de lexicografía medieval. Falifa. Falifo, '"prenda de vestir"', Boletín de la Real Academia Española, XXV, 221-50. See also Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 164-5, and 152, n. 27, citing Manuel García Blanco, La lengua española en la época de Carlos V (Madrid, 1967), 135-67, for details).

[98] On rationalization of hospitals, see Marcos Martín, 'El sistema hospitalario', 359; and Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 265, n. 117, citing AHPZ. Diputación. leg. 91, no. 14, 24 February, 1583, 'Voto y parezer del provisor de Zamora y de los S. patronos del Hospital de Sotelo'; Municipal, leg. 21, no. 39; and AMV, Libro de Actas, 15

December, 1581, fols. 636v-37v. For specific cases, see Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 267, n. 120, citing ADS, uncatalogued papers of 1581 (Salamanca); López Martínez, 'La Santa Caridad', 172 (Seville; but see Flynn, art. cit., 269, for different figures here, probably based on hospitals only); Marcos Martín, 'El sistema hospitalario', 361-2 (Medina del Campo); and León Pinelo, Anales, 139 (Madrid). Theoretically the programme for Madrid had intended to keep only two: General and Anton Martín (contagious and incurables). See also León Pinelo, op. cit., 125, for criticism of another contemporary report on rationalization by Quintana (Historia de Madrid).

[99] See Appendix 2.S, for specialist hospitals (De las bubas, San Antonio, San Lázaro, etc.)

[100] For prison work see relevant chapter.

[101] See page 71 above. The role of the Sacrament confraternities, familiars of the Inquisition, the Mafia, and the Garduña will be examined in later chapters.

[102] See Meersseman, 'Etudes dominicaines', vols. 20-22.

[103] See Barnes, 'De Poenitentibus', 206, 221, on classification of confraternities into those fighting the enemy and those fighting the self.

[104] On doctrinal work of confraternities, see Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 335, 338; and Black, Italian Confraternities, 70-1.

[105] See Nueva Recopilación, lib. VIII, tít. 4, 'De los blasfemos de Dios, y nuestra Señora y del Rey' (vol. II, fol. 302r), which advocated that blasphemers against God and the Virgin be punished by a hundred lashes, and removal of their tongues, besides confiscation of their estates.

[106] 'Mouths of truth' were letter-boxes in the shape of lions' mouths, for posting of secret denunciations (see page 72 above, for Marforio in ancient Rome; and page 55 above, on resemblances with charivari). See Appendix 2.T, for more on Pasquin. See also page 360 below, on Linajudos.

[107] 'Dulce Nombre de Jesús', 255.

[108] See Appendix 2.U, for studies of Nombre de Jesús confraternities.

[109] On fines for reneging, see Ordenanzas de Nuestra Señora de Sonsoles (1516), cap. c, in Sobrino Chomón, Documentos, 211; and for taboo words in general, see ibid., cap. xix, p. 184. Probably equivalent in potency to the Mouths of Truth in Rome was the Spanish game called hazer la vaquilla, in which the victim was approached by a man dressed as a Jew and hailed as 'primo'. The suspicion alone which this generated was sufficient to destroy his credibility and prospects (see Sicroff, op. cit., 302, citing Gerónimo de la Cruz, Defensa, fol. 232b). The game was still being played in the late 1630s.

[110] Constituciones de la Vera Cruz de la Pasión (1530), Villafranca, lib. 36, cap. 25, in Sobrino Chomón, op. cit., 285. Compare Constituciones de la Cofradía de la Vera Cruz (1551), Santiago del Collado, lib. 27, cap. xxxvi, in Sobrino Chomón, op. cit., 338, which fixed a fine of half a pound of wax for saying 'dereniego' or 'descreo'.

4. POLITICS AND POWER - 'A FALL INTO STRUCTURE AND LAW'

The last two chapters have looked at ritual in the religious and social life of lay confraternities. One definition of ritual which was used to illustrate the meaning of processions in particular, suggested that its purpose was to affirm or establish order and meaning where none existed (see page 47 above). Herein lies a paradox, however, since once that order is established, spontaneity disappears and the organization changes, as Turner explains: 'It is the fate of all spontaneous communitas in history to undergo what most people see as a "decline and fall" into structure and law'.[1] Structure, in this sense, tends to be pragmatic and this-worldly, governing domains of kinship, economics and political structures; while communitas is often speculative, generating imagery and philosophical ideas, inspiring popular culture: myth, ritual and symbol. It is not pleasant and effortless comradeship that is sought in communitas, but a transformative experience: a 'happening' that goes to the root of each person's being, finding in that root something profoundly communal and shared. Communitas, Turner claims, cannot survive daily routine, and soon develops a structure because of the need to mobilize and organize resources, and to control members to that end. The purpose of this chapter will be to analyse the relevance of Turner's theory for Golden-Age confraternities, with a view to assessing any changes in the concept of brotherhood for that period, before attempting to define it. In order to do this, it will be necessary to examine sixteenth-century trends in confraternal life within the larger historical context: in what sense was there a coded existence, and was this perceived in a favourable or adverse light; how, if at all, had this changed since the medieval period; was there a trend away from cultural towards more pragmatic considerations?

4.1 A Coded Existence

In considering the evidence for a coded existence, it will be helpful to ask why that code was needed; who ratified it, and to what end; and what the code specified. The need for a code stems from an ancient and solid tradition, royal as well as clerical, of distrust of confraternities, which were considered too independent, turbulent, debauched, or subversive.[2] Medieval church and secular governments strove to prevent behaviour that could lead to heresy, civil disorder, and, in the case of craft confraternities, economic strife. In 1255

Alfonso the Wise had proscribed under pain of death all Castilian associations, municipal and professional, and the Cortes of Valladolid (1258) had confirmed the measure, allowing only religious groups to survive. At the Cortes of Toledo (1454), Henry IV had banned all confraternities founded without the approval of the prelate 'en lo que toca a lo espiritual'.[3] Synodal constitutions of Toledo in 1536 (repeated in 1566 and 1601) imposed the need for a licence for the foundation of new confraternities because they had 'multiplied and multiply in such numbers that they could bring harm'.[4] Confraternities under threat saw the possession of an authorized hierarchical organization and a disciplinary system as a useful defence against such criticism, even though it threatened true fraternal ethos.

4.1.1 The Need for Ratification - State Scruples

As far as it is possible to separate Church and State antagonism towards confraternities at this time, perhaps the greater concern of the State was with the freedom of confraternities to hear their own civil cases, subject to certain conditions.[5] Historically both Roman and canon law had inadvertently strengthened confraternal power by maintaining ancient definitions of collective rights. Sixteenth-century jurisconsults agreed that a universitas had to have more than one member at its foundation, but later, if all its members save one disappeared, it could still claim a juridical existence, in the sense that the member could attack or be attacked in law in the name of the collective.[6] A modification in relation to communal property ruled that even if the universitas had ceased to exist, its collective right survived.[7] Heightened awareness of the power which this definition of universitas bestowed produced two distinct trends in the sixteenth century. Firstly, there was an influx of low-life characters into confraternities. Clergymen complained that prisoners, prostitutes, conversos, and beggars joined to evade debts and ecclesiastical jurisdiction.[8] Legal resolution of disputes was so common and so expensive by this time, that confraternities often included in their statutes either a ban on litigation, or a provision that brothers assist in bringing matters to a speedy close by internal arbitration.[9] This carried the additional benefit that it prevented ruling authorities from exploiting, to their own advantage, the quarrels of cofrades among themselves. But in increasing the number of independent tribunals, it

added further to prevailing animosity between the many tribunals which burdened Philip II's bureaucratic machinery.[10]

The second trend produced by contemporary interpretation of universitas was increasing elitism, as the political power of confraternal officers grew. Since election to priorate meant two or three years of administrative control, priors filled absent seats with their own supporters, creating in effect an autocracy.[11] Even before this trend emerged, King and State had worried about protectionist rackets and sedition, especially when the confraternity insisted on a vow of solidarity. At every phase in societal life the over-riding criticism has been that policies of mutual aid and solidarity foster monopolies. In some cases, the vow or jura was used as a synonym for the confraternity.[12] Gradually the legal term for a collectivity whose members are joined by a common vow, conjuratio/conspiratio, acquired a subversive colour, with the sense of an association which challenges a superior unity of which it is not a part.[13] Sedition might arise in a number of ways, as experience had taught. Medieval knightly orders and confraternities had offered certain privileges to parties donating lands or property to them. The Templars and Hospitallers in Catalonia regularly offered protection (as shared immunities and privileges, for example) in return for acquisitions.[14] And despite the vow of obedience in the Military Orders, there are frequent references to penance imposed on brethren who launched attacks on their own account, or without the consent of their master.[15] Sometimes letters reveal that they refused to lead sorties instigated by the King.[16] And in medieval chivalric 'orders' the oath established bonds analogous to those of kinship, whereby members espoused the feuds of their leader, and he theirs, and blood-money was claimed, if one was murdered, on a tariff reflecting the leader's standing, not the victim's.[17] Clearly, the threat of sedition was inherent in all associations which elected their own leader, and whose first allegiance was therefore to him, and not the King. As bodies analogous to the secular orders of chivalry, both constitutionally and judicially, lay confraternities understandably worried King and State, despite their claims of political neutrality. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Spanish Crown issued repeated legislation to bridle confraternal corruption:

> Porque muchas personas de malos deseos, deseando hacer daño a sus vecinos, o por ejecutar la mal querencia que contra algunos tienen, juntan cofradías, y para colorar su mal prófito toman advocación y apellido de algún Santo, o Santa, y llegan a sí otras muchas personas conformes a ellos en los deseos, y hacen sus ligas y juramentos para se ayudar, y algunas veces hacen sus estatutos honestos para mostrar en público, diciendo que para la ejecución de aquéllos hacen las tales cofradías: pero en sus hablas secretas y conciertos tiran a otras cosas que tienden en mal de sus prójimos y escándalos de sus pueblos, y como quier que los ayuntamientos ilícitos son reprobados, y prohibidos por derecho, y por leyes de nuestros Reynos.[18]

Of particular concern to the King were the Penitents, who were structurally adapted to factional politics, because they held secret meetings and had a fixed membership of adult men only. Confraternities favoured by the King at this time were often those of predominantly burgess extraction, because by definition this guaranteed a man of good character and lineage, who paid taxes and swore a sacred oath of political loyalty. But all the old, or revived, confraternities of medieval inspiration (some conceived for the eradication of heresy), came under suspicion of political activism in sixteenth-century Europe. One of these was the Rosary, attacked by the Bishop of Amiens on 16 October, 1590 as a confraternity of killers.[19] Another organization of medieval origin guilty of corruption and racketeering in the sixteenth century, was the Santa Hermandad.[20] Medieval Castile had three basic types of Hermandad: the mercantile league of cities with common economic interests (Hermandad de la Marina de Castilla); a union of municipalities which, in time of turbulence or anarchy, defended both the privileges and the security of surrounding areas (Hermandades Generales de Castilla y León); and an association of propietors who created a special bodyguard for protection of their haciendas (Hermandad Vieja de Toledo). This last body was established to struggle mainly against the golfines of Extremadura, and comprised mostly citizens of Toledo and Talavera de la Reina.[21] As the immediate objective of the Hermandad Vieja was to ensure order on the roads, it eventually formed into a military organization, from then on acquiring the character of a rural guard, preventing local intrusion by Moors, bandits, or other criminals, restraining the wealthy from preying on the poor, and seeing that those in hiding from the King's justice came to trial in its own

tribunal. For obvious reasons, then, royal protection was readily given to these brotherhoods. However, the Hermandad Vieja allegedly disappeared in 1325, and was revived as Hermandad Nueva in 1496 by the Catholic Monarchs.[22]

In principle, the new organization amounted to a regularized, autonomous system of policing in each town or hamlet. Its aims were to deal with cases of blasphemy, forgery of coins, burglary and arson, rape, murder, cattle-rustling and related crimes in rural Castile by trial and ritual execution.[23] Members of the Hermandad Nueva were organized in cuadrillas, armed with crossbow and arrows. Evidently there was ample scope in the system for private acts of vengeance. Like the knights of Military Orders, cuadrilleros often conducted campaigns without the consent or knowledge of their alcaldes or the municipal justices.[24] The result was often to blur the distinction between the forces of good and evil. Provided their potential for violence was harnessed to service of the State, corporate bodies with even the slimmest of religious pretensions enjoyed official protection. But after initial support by the monarchy, by 1525 Carlos V was objecting to interference by the Hermandad in civil tribunals.[25] Thereafter, dispute between the Hermandad and other tribunals was common, and corruption in the Hermandad became a literary topos.[26]

The respective roles and functions of the over-zealous (and corrupt) Santa Hermandad, as it came to be known; the Military Orders (whose original aim was protection of pilgrims and travellers); orders of chivalry; militant confraternities; and that other rural vigilante organization: the miguelete (page 87, above), are often hard to separate. All these institutions reveal how easily patriotic considerations, whatever the scale, could be set aside in favour of local issues (a trend which increased with growth of political power), and how often renegades and deserters sought refuge among them.[27] Such associations, moreover, had traditionally encouraged recruitment of freebooters and bandits, who fought for personal glory or material profit, with the promise that if they became soldiers of Christ, fighting for the Church and Christianity, the weak and poor, they would earn their salvation.[28] The difference between militia and malitia, which has always been slight, is an important one, because it highlights problems inherent in defining good and bad, and right and wrong in the present study. The comparison will be used again in later

chapters (see page 350 below). The above sixteenth-century counterparts of medieval monastic and secular warrior brotherhoods reveal a continuing overlap between politics and religion: militancy as a means of acquiring political power, which led subsequently to corruption of brotherly ideals and the growth of factions. Brotherhoods which initially served a community came in time to oppress it. In response to a growing threat of political power bases, therefore, city authorities systematically began to ban all confraternities which might conspire to resist the constituted authority and compete with it. Such repression, which eventually sapped these organizations of their religious commitment, probably accounted for their ultimate decline.[29] But control did not always mean repression. Royal approval was not needed at first, and was never obligatory in Aragon, where confraternities were limited to religious or beneficent aims. For greater prestige, however, it was usual for confraternities to ask for the King's confirmation, which secured for them royal protection of their rights, and for the Crown an opportunity for direct negotiation with particular social sectors through these representative bodies. This proved especially useful when Crown and Church were at variance, or even when certain sectors of the Church were less sympathetic to the confraternal cause than others.

4.1.2 The Need for Ratification - Church Scruples

The threat of confraternal power to the Catholic Church was perceived to be serious enough to warrant major legislative changes in the sixteenth century. An outline of ecclesiastical attitudes to confraternities will help to explain why the Church was internally divided over the issue, and why it often clashed with the Spanish Crown on confraternal policy. At the episcopal level, prelates vacillated between apprehension and approval of confraternities, recognizing in them a means of intensifying religious life and integrating the people into the Church, something often admitted in the statutes which they authorized. The sixteenth century also witnessed increased sponsorship by the new Religious Orders, especially the Jesuits (see page 114 below). Strong patronal ties between confraternities and Religious Orders, who were exempt from episcopal supervision, were probably the most important controversy in sixteenth-century confraternal life. The laity were attracted not just by the obvious advantage of having

educated men to preach and administer the sacraments, but also because of the availability of space in and around the church, where they could build chapels and construct oratories, neither of which was as easy in the more cramped parish churches. The Mendicants also provided room for the dead, allowing confraternal members to be buried inside highly-prestigious churches; and there was a mutually-advantageous arrangement to be had in terms of commemorative masses: the friars provided the personnel to conduct these anniversaries and the confraternity provided the cash. Normal psalms were replaced or supplemented by lauds in the vernacular, thus allowing members to participate in a way which would have been impossible in a parochial church. Instead of practising public devotions, members thus stood in their own oratory, decorated with their own devotional objects.[30]

Confraternal contributions to religious art by the adorning of chapels with sculptures, stained glass, and paintings, as well as composition of hymns; activities such as burials, and the bringing of religion to workers' hospitals and schools; all were viewed favourably at the episcopal level, but earned the antagonism of parish priests, who nurtured a fundamental mistrust of any society which threatened to withdraw the individual from their control. Confraternal encroachment on clerical power was felt most acutely at parochial levels, where the Church was losing authority not only to lay questors and quasi-religious hermits, but also to confraternities.[31] That confraternities were capable of celebrating Easter communion in their chapels, a central rite of the Catholic faith and a measure of the faithfulness of its adherents, gives a good indication of the growing attractions for parishioners of the confraternity, and of its function as the central institution in their religious lives. A sixteenth-century parish priest in Toledo complained that with so many brotherhoods, the laymen were in firm control, ordering the priests around as if they were day-labourers.[32] In addition, he said:

> They bury [their members] with tall crosses without calling the parish priest, and administer the sacraments to whoever asks for them. We beg that such privileges and concessions of exemptions to lay people and clerics of these hospitals and confraternities be revoked.[33]

This reversal of hegemonical order arose from several factors. Firstly, the clergy were called upon by confraternities to perform

scheduled masses and officiate at funerals, for which they were paid from confraternal funds, to supplement their parish salaries or prebendal stipends. Since the annual income of many clerics was notoriously low, service in a confraternity could be a highly-prized position among them. And yet the frequency with which statutes sought to impose a fine for non-attendance at masses and funerals suggests that priests were often neglectful of their duties.[34] Conscious of this, cofrades maintained exclusive control over choosing their own clerical brothers, at least until the Council of Trent. Most lay organizations limited the number of clerical members to two or three, or else requested that priests and friars enter as 'laymen'.[35] Evidently admission of priests in a layman's role also proved problematical, to judge by a ruling in the parish confraternity of San Benito (Avila), where clergy were required to wear their hair cut round, 'sin ninguna collecta', so that their ears were visible.[36] Priests were also exhorted not to wear red sashes or cloaks, nor to officiate in shirt-sleeves, and white or black shoes with coloured 'flashes', cork sandals, or chinelas (overshoes), were banned.[37] To avoid parish interference, confraternities would settle in disused churches or private chapels, and if they had to have an external chaplain, they ensured he had no right to a say in their deliberations. In many cases confraternities assumed responsibilities reserved for parish priests: carrying extreme unction to the dying, or public announcement of deaths. Confraternity books also contain formulae of absolution which suppose a singular power of the keys, by restoring a dying man to baptismal innocence and delivering him from Purgatory. Statistics show that over the centuries priors' powers grew at the expense of confraternities' clerical supervisors. Part of the attraction of the office of prior was its potential for preaching and other functions formerly the preserve of the clergy. For his year of office a layman was presented with an experience as close to that of priest as any to be found in Catholicism.[38]

4.2 Change and Compromise in the Church

Efforts by the Church to resolve this conflict both within its ranks, and with confraternities, contributed to a period of change with far-reaching repercussions. It has been a skilful use of the gregarious instincts of men to allure them to form associations which are part of the Church itself, and which are ceaselessly under the watchful eye and

directing hand of the parish priest. Several scholars have noted how the Church used confraternities to attract support for the Catholic cause, by emphasizing those elements of cultic activity repudiated by Protestantism: the cult of saints, relics, indulgences, and communion.[39] The importance for sixteenth-century confraternities of patronage by saints has already been discussed (see page 78 above). Catholic doctrine and its propagation by confraternities has also been considered, where bishops sought to mobilize commoners and elites under banners of confraternities of the Rosary and Charity that recalled traditional forms of devotion.[40] The lower clergy reacted to confraternal growth in two ways: firstly, by forming their own exclusive guilds, and secondly, by actively promoting the new Sacrament confraternity which affirmed the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation.[41] As the Kalends, or priestly guilds, are marginal to the present study on lay brotherhoods, they need not detain us here.[42] The Sacrament confraternity, however, occupied a central role in sixteenth-century confraternal development. It was heterogeneous in composition and bound closely to the parish. Traditional devotional groups (which had drawn members from all over the city) were also transformed into locally-based confraternities with a new dedication to the fashionable cult of the Holy Sacrament. The earliest Sacrament confraternity dates from 1538, established by the Dominican, Tommaso Stella, in Rome. With papal approval it became a model for other confraternities. In the early 1540s the Church in Spain procured a Bull affirming the Pope's indulgences, with the intention of organizing a Sacrament confraternity in every parish in the peninsula. The earliest SS Sacramento in Zamora dates from 1545. Membership was open to all, and its work included burial of the dead, visiting the sick, succouring the poor, and providing dowries for local girls.[43]

Ideologically the Sacrament confraternities closely resembled the medieval confraternal militias: Saint Dominic; Saint Peter, the Martyr; and confraternities of the Virgin Mary. As countless contemporary records reveal the extent to which heretics were disrupting church rituals and profaning the host, there was evidently a policing role here for the Sacrament confraternity.[44] Another of its responsibilities was to accompany the viaticum through the streets, suitably covered and surrounded by lighted torches, to the homes of the sick. Brothers

followed the Sacrament to investigate complaints that priests handled it irreverently. Statutes of the parish confraternity of San Benito (Avila) spell out the sort of abuses which were occurring: 'Because of the frequency of illness in this city, to avoid panicking the people, the Sacrament should be carried secretly to the houses of the dying, concealed within a chalice. The priest bearing it should wear his surplice and cassock under his cloak. On the way, he must not enter any other house, nor take any diversions through remote streets, nor stop to do business with anyone. He should occupy himself in continuous prayer, until he returns from whence he came. Anyone infringing the rules must pay 200 maravedís fine'.[45] But even accompaniment by Sacrament cofrades led to abuses. Two 'Ministriles', who used to accompany the procession of the Holy Sacrament in Madrid (1626), were hanged for using the ritual to reconnoitre houses suitable for robbery as they went.[46] Normally, if criminals had taken refuge in church, violated the tabernacle, or profaned the host, the Sacrament confraternities subsidized the loss, and celebrated a mass and communion. They also helped poor churches, repaired bells, replaced broken windows, donated beautiful ciboria, and waged war on the clerical underworld - progeny of the medieval goliards and a host of other malpractitioners, impostors, etc., whose activities were sometimes co-ordinated by the criminal underworld (see page 118 below). Despite their orthodox beginnings, however, Sacrament confraternities later came to be suspected for their autonomy, their esprit de corps, and lack of devoutness. Although never as manifestly violent as medieval precursors, the clandestine nature of the Sacrament's denunciations, and its infiltration into the ruling oligarchies of Europe, are sufficiently impressive as to refute the view that religious heterodoxy and politics did not again overlap with the same clarity or consequences as in the thirteenth century.[47]

In this climate of change, lay confraternities recognized the expedience of canonical control just as much as royal approval. Long after the original foundation, many societies initiated by laymen sought a canonical creation (erectio) with episcopal approval, as a guarantee of stability and a path to certain immunities and indulgences.[48] By 1536 diocesan legislation in Toledo had established a licensing system for confraternities conditional upon presentation of their constitutions to diocesan authorities for inspection, on penalty of a fine or

annulment. Similarly in Seville after the diocesan synod in 1586, new foundations were banned without a prelate's or provisor's licence. Problems arose, however, when prelates claimed the right to examine confraternal accounts, especially after Philip II's rationalization, which protected lay confraternities against visitation and inspection of non-pious dispositions, and limited prelates to matters concerning masses and pious works. In many cases confraternities claimed that as laymen they were subject to royal jurisdiction. When in 1580 the Visitor-General visited the hospital of the Cofradía de las Angustias in Toledo, ceded to them in 1571 by the city council, the confraternity claimed exemption from episcopal visitation because it was a royal hospital. On his second visit in 1591, the Visitor-General was refused admittance and retaliated by excommunicating some of the brothers. A legal dispute began, and a successful appeal was made to the Crown.[49]

4.2.1 Indulgences and a Power Shift

Meanwhile increasing and widespread conflict between confraternities under monastic sponsorship and those under episcopal and parochial support came to a head at the Council of Trent, which legislated (temporarily) in favour of secular clergy in their centuries-old battle against the Mendicants for pastoral supremacy.[50] The two key decrees for the reform of confraternities came in Session 22 of the Council. Chapter 8 of the decrees on reform in this session gave bishops the right, as ordinaries, to visit all religious institutions not under the protection of kings, regardless of previous privileges of exemption, and to correct any transgressions of canon law they found there. Chapter 9 gave to bishops the right to scrutinize the financial records of all such religious institutions.[51] The implications of these decrees were not specified until 1604, when Pope Clement VIII pronounced the constitution Quaecumque to regulate confraternal life, which was amended in 1610 by Paul V with the constitution Que Salabrier. Again these reforms struck at the heart of the regulars' control of confraternal life. Quaecumque targeted the international confraternities propagated by the Mendicant Orders, which were now recognized as archconfraternities, ceding authority over them to the bishop. Que Salabrier controlled the issue of indulgences, and sought to eradicate corruption in confraternities (solicitation, receipt of bribes, and misappropriation of monies).[52] These two constitutions

spelled the end, at least canonically, of medieval monastic-based confraternities. 'By the seventeenth century', says Barnes, 'churchmen had gotten over their wonder at the utility of confraternities and were much more concerned about their potential for corruption'. They placed the solving of this problem into the hands of the bishops and supervision of confraternal life into the hands of the secular clergy.[53] As with royal control, supervision of confraternal life by the secular clergy inadvertently produced a mutually-advantageous arrangement. Confraternities were quick to exploit any ecclesiastical dissent to increase their own power. As Rome seldom spoke with a single coherent voice on any jurisdictional matter, confraternities courted protectors there to fight their legal battles and help secure indulgences to attract more recruits. This was not a recipe for coherent policy-making. Juan de Avila's first memorial for Trent indicated as much:

> In the brotherhoods there is great larceny and wrongdoing; and if the ordinary wishes to remedy it, the brothers oppose him by taking the case to Rome, with such harassment and disrespect for the bishop that they make him drop the case; more important, they litigate at the expense of the hospitals, while he litigates at his own expense.[54]

This uneasy alliance between laymen, Church, and Crown encouraged the rise of unscrupulous middle-men, whose efforts further weakened the ideals of Christian brotherhood, by encouraging aspirations to personal gain through competition and factionalism. The best illustration of this modification of brotherly bonds, which merits some attention here, is in the concession of indulgences, seen as 'una especie de cheque que garantizaba las posibilidades de salvación eterna'.[55] Confraternal indulgences became a prestigious ornament, for use in recruiting new members. Confraternal use (and misuse) of the indulgence came to a head in the sixteenth century.[56] That the later Middle Ages and Early Modern period, the Golden Age of confraternities, should also have been the Golden Age of indulgences, was no coincidence, since the fate of the one determined the viability of the other. Devotional confraternities such as the Rosary had various sets of indulgences available to brothers upon their admission, and upon performance of certain acts of devotion. Some indulgences obviated the need for arduous devotional acts, offering townsmen the chance to receive spiritual benefits of long and costly pilgrimages to far-flung shrines without ever leaving home.[57] Such

devotion apparently redounded more to the temporal benefit of the churches than to the spiritual elevation of the devotees. Instead of conceding indulgences for military activities, for devotion, or for maintenance of public works, sixteenth-century Popes also began to recognize the potential in indulgences for raising money. They endowed medals, rosaries, crosses, crucifixes, scapulars, and agnus dei with indulgences, hoping to stimulate the faithful to acts of adoration to God and veneration of the Blessed Virgin and saints.[58] The practice of blessing the scapular, whether by Pope or by authorized religious houses, meant that the wearer gained indulgences associated with it. As such it is a peculiar institution, as Lea observes. Its assumption does not necessarily involve entrance into a brotherhood, nor does it impose any obligations, while the indulgences which it confers are on the largest scale. Surely, he says, escape from Purgatory for the penitent and his friends cannot be had on easier terms than by the simple expedient of wearing the blue scapular of the Immaculate Conception, or by joining several confraternities and wearing multiple scapulars.[59]

The fashion for carrying small objects (cross, chaplet, or medal) which bestowed on the wearer certain indulgences and added to the efficacy of the simplest pious exercises, led to a brisk traffic in such trinkets by confraternities and religious. The licensed limosnero who carried false relics, exploiting the superstitious ignorance of the lower orders, and promising the protection of the saints in temporal as well as spiritual matters was called a stationario, presumably after the indulgence of the stations which he purported to carry.[60] Questors (or pardoners) roamed the land collecting alms and entrance fees, in return for indulgences and membership of the confraternity. This itinerant population had formerly constituted a separate brotherhood of organized quaestuanti, which dates from pre-Christian times. But abuses arose because absolutions granted by the Papal Penitenitary to sinners were declared by Sixtus IV in 1484 to be valid not only in the forum internum, but in all courts, secular as well as ecclesiastical. Payment of alms for an indulgence thus not only released sinners from all spiritual penalties, but also purchased immunity from the operation of the laws of the land. Another abuse involved the sale of indulgences on credit. Paolo Tiepolo observed in 1563 that men were forced to buy, not only by the exhortations of the preachers, but by the fear of not being

reckoned good Christians.[61] Church and State operated a vacillating policy towards these pardoners through the sixteenth century, alternately restraining and tolerating their practices.[62] Pardoners were officially outlawed at Trent in 1562,[63] but under the aegis of Paul IV they continued to flourish as rankly as ever, as Azpilcueta confirmed:

> They are licentious drunkards and gluttons, clerics or laymen disguised as such, who buy or farm from monasteries and hospitals their indulgences, so that they risk the loss or gain the profit. They are a curse to the land, extorting by lies or threats from the peasantry, and collecting their debts with heartless rapacity, lavishing censures and selling the very beds from under the debtors.[64]

A series of papal bans alternating with concessions was reflected in sixteenth-century Spanish law. Philip II's concern was that his profits from the Cruzada indulgence should not be curtailed by obeying Trent's decrees.[65] So the bulls continued to be preached and sold by organized bands of quaestuarii, who were paid with a commission on their sale.[66] Philip II tried to limit the worst excesses by promulgating a law first passed in 1386, and repeated in 1418: 'De los questores de las Ordenes, y de los votos de Santiago':

> Mandamos, que los questores, y demandadores de las demandas ultramarinas, y otras cualesquier por virtud de nuestras cartas, que tengan de nuestra Chancilleria, no puedan apremiar a los pueblos, ni los allegar, para que apremiadamente vayan a oír los sermones, ni los hagan para ello detener, porque pierdan sus labores, y haciendas, y revocamos las cartas que sobre ellos son dadas, y si algunas personas parecieren, que no valan.[67]

That Clement VIII's Quaecumque should have swept all these abuses aside in 1604, by requiring that confraternities and congregations obtain confirmation of their privileges within a year, or forfeit all indulgences and graces, shows that papal relations with lay confraternities (and possibly with the Spanish monarchy) had ultimately broken down. Thereafter, confraternities ceased to be organizations for peddling indulgences and were brought more strictly under episcopal control. Clearly, then, sixteenth-century confraternities exploited tension both within the Church, and between Church and State, to safeguard their own future, but ratification of the confraternity's existence with a code was in the interest of all concerned in this

turbulent period: the Church, to recover local control, and the State to discourage sedition.

4.3 Confraternal Codes

Having now considered the reasons why a code was needed, who authorized it and why, the way is clear for a detailed investigation of significant changes in confraternal codes in Golden-Age Spain, with a view to understanding what brotherhood came to mean for the layman, and whether it may be construed as having 'fallen into structure and law'. Formal approval entailed a ritual inherited from the medieval period, when confraternities would meet at an agreed place and time to found their hermandad. A clergyman or notary would draw up the statutes (regla, ordenanza or estatuto), for which there were special formularies transmitted from parish to parish and monastery to monastery. There is consequently a remarkable conformity amongst confraternal statutes. Standard words and phrases often appear, suggesting cross-fertilization of confraternal programmes through the interaction of scribes. Written as much for the benefit of ecclesiastical supervisors as for members, and hence carefully designed to meet the approval of the Church, statutes did not necessarily reflect the full intentions and objectives of the members. A swearing-in ceremony followed approval of the statutes at a general chapter, usually with brothers kneeling before a crucifix with one hand on the ordinances. This was the birth of the confratria, confraderia, or medieval confraternity (called in Aragon almoyna, or elemosina in recognition of its beneficent and mutual aid work). Every brother was expected to know his confraternity's statutes, which were read out to him periodically. The statute book was a compendium of organizational rules, procedures, and standards of behaviour, amply sprinkled with quotations from the Church Fathers and Scriptures. Flynn considers the statute book as the 'classics' of lay piety: a most important devotional text, with a more profound effect on the religious consciences of the people than sermons.[68]

4.3.1 Justice - Pragmatism

As brotherhood often entailed otherhood (see page 38 above), the first aim of a statute was to promote solidarity. Letters of confraternity usually enforced harmony by stipulating some ritual of periodic reconciliation. The Cofradia de San Ildefonso (Valladolid) required that after each annual session, friendship must be restored

between those estranged, by confraternal arbiters if necessary.[69] At the Cofradia de Sonsoles (Avila) there was even a ban on attempts by a brother to conceal hitmen in his house, with the intention of killing, maiming, or dishonouring another brother.[70] Brotherhood was evidently difficult to maintain, and one can often only guess at the reasons for acts of hostility. Disagreement might ensue over the established priority of speaking at meetings, as well as on matters of policy. To prevent interruption, and to ensure that each had the opportunity to voice his opinion, a rod (vara) symbolizing authority and justice passed from one speaker to the next. Brothers of San Antonio Abad in the church of San Antolín at Zamora recommended that if the mayordomo should see anyone angry, fretful, or raising a commotion, he was to take the precaution of allowing him to speak. With the vara in his hand, he should then proceed without passion, and if ordered to desist, he must obey without question, or risk punishment by the Council.[71] The same procedure was followed at Sonsoles in Avila from 1530 until about 1600.[72] In some confraternities there was a convention that the oldest speak first at meetings. In others it was common to find a provision in the rules for members' forbearance at meetings: they had to listen with patience, meekness, and silence to the comments of the prepósitos, and there should be no shouting, anger, or derision. Fines and penalties confronted the audacious brother who unsheathed the sword or shouted obscenities in anger, and to prevent violence some brotherhoods forbade the wearing of arms to council meetings, masses, and burials.[73] In many cases, though, like their monastic patrons, order was enforced by a rule of silence.[74] Silence was presumably imposed in the Vera Cruz confraternity of Seville, to judge by a remark by spectators at a card-game, who jest:

> No se alborote la aula; vamos como los cofrades de la Vera Cruz de Sevilla, donde hay riguroso precepto de no quebrantar el silencio.[75]

Internal factionalism was also a periodic problem in guild and fraternity, which the statutes sought to quash in several ways. For example, statutes sometimes ruled that all members taking issue with confraternal policy, and all who threatened to raise cabals within the confraternity, be expelled.[76] Members were forbidden to tell outsiders how the company functioned, or to reveal the identity of their fellows.

Breach of secrecy was usually an offence warranting expulsion.[77] Leakage of their affairs outside would have been impossible to control without a ban also on outsiders at their ceremonies, and many statutes provided for this.[78]

4.3.2 Selection of a Hierarchy - Pragmatism

Control was achieved by exaction of an oath taken by members to observe the statutes. The oath had a long tradition of feudalism and related laws behind it.[79] Medieval man had lived within a series of personal relationships defined in law, and enforced by known and predictable penalties. Disrespect to the superior person in such a relationship was a sin, which therefore attracted both religious and civil penalties. Sixteenth-century confraternal statutes focus also on the primacy of obedience.[80] Members had to follow blindly the orders of their prior or rector, or risk expulsion. In many confraternities members addressed him as 'Padre'.[81] Others observed some ritual of obeisance to prior and sub-prior on entry to the chapel. Even parodic rules stressed this point: 'Cada vez que vieren al hermano mayor o pasare por su puerta, hagan reconocimiento con descubrir la cabeza'.[82] The prior's chief duty was to oversee maintenance of the statutes. He was the final arbiter in all ordinary questions and problems during his administration. Should the confraternity be called before civil or ecclesiastical authorities, he and the sub-prior were expected to represent it and negotiate any problems on its behalf. Internally he had a policing role, reprimanding members for minor infractions and initiating expulsion of those guilty of major transgression. But by implementing stated penalties, his power was only discretionary, dependent for major actions on ratification by the council of prior, sub-prior, and a group of elected advisors. If lay officials felt he had exceeded his authority, they reserved the right to dismiss him and replace him with another.[83] If an audit of funds revealed a deficit on his retirement from office, he was expected to make this up. This would usually exonerate him from further ostracism, but in some cases a lawsuit might be brought against him:

> Que sabe que siempre que ha de salir la estación el mayordomo llama a cabildo y reconocen si hay caudal o no y si no lo hay y el mayordomo quiere que salga la Cofradía suple de su casa el dinero y luego lo perdonan.[84]

Despite elaborate lengths to eliminate unfair bias, corruption amongst all confraternal officers was almost legendary. Muñidores were a frequent target of literary satire, which cast them as inexperienced, presumptuous meddlers.[85] Sixteenth-century statutes sometimes reveal the sort of corruption to which confraternities were prone. For instance, constitutions of the Cofradia de Corpus Christi (Avila), first published in 1516, imposed the maximum fine (one real, or more if the circumstances warranted) for altering or removing any part of their published ordinances.[86] The same confraternity threatened with expulsion any brother who provided false testimony (cap. xxvi, p. 172). Misappropriation of funds was evidently a problem common to most confraternities, to judge by the number of ordinances which, like one at Sonsoles, specified, for instance, that the mayordomo must declare any excess funds after fiestas and other events, rather than dispose of them himself.[87] Mayordomos also had to balance expenses against income, and any spurious claims of over-spending were met with a fine of one real.[88] Another rule stipulated that costs incurred by the veedores and escribano after their bi-monthly visit to hospital must be faithfully recorded, because the confraternity 'wanted no dubious accounts'.[89]

4.3.3 Moral Direction

Besides attempting to enforce solidarity and obedience, sixteenth-century confraternal statutes were instrumental in character formation. At least, this was the stated aim of post-Tridentine confraternities.[90] It was an aim, however, which served to strengthen social barriers and enhance an elitist spirit. This was a travesty of Christian notions of brotherhood, as several writers were to point out. The major contention was over the question of conversos, but especially Jewish conversos.[91] An anonymous work published early in the seventeenth century accused the Religious Orders and confraternities of partisanship and hypocrisy in this respect:

> Vosotros, quienes soys que os desdeñais de receuir a los conbersos en buestra compañía a los quales admite la Iglesia a tan altos y diuinos sacramentos... [La Iglesia] los recibe por padres de toda la Iglesia catholica y uosotros no los admitis por hermanos.[92]

In 1637, Fray Gerónimo de la Cruz wrote that confraternal statutes of exclusion were particularly odious, as they contradicted the very

purpose for which they had been founded.[93] Some sixteenth-century confraternities evidently entertained a few scruples about true fraternalism, stressing in their constitutions that their aim was to be 'eguales sienpre el maior con el menor', and leaving the question of impurity of blood implicit:

> Otrosí tenemos por bien que qualquier cofrade o cofrada que traxere cavallero o escudero o clérigo o otra persona de que la cofradía aya de reçebir alguna vergüença que ruegue por él alguna cosa, que pecha a la cofradía veinte maravedís.[94]

The issue of limpieza de sangre was not new, but its character changed in the sixteenth century from religious to social issue. It is thought that the anti-semitic movement originated in Andalusia, where Old Christians resented the converted Jews who controlled much of Seville's commercial and municipal life. Early statutes of limpieza de sangre were issued by the military confraternities of Ubeda, Jaen, and Alcaraz, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. By 1449 a papal bull was proclaimed to stem a now rising tide of anti-semitism.[95] It may be that the uprising of the comuneros in 1521 and the emergence of local cells of resistance to orthodox Catholicism contributed to the growth of popular feeling against Jewish conversos in the sixteenth century. This is reflected less in the numbers of Inquisitorial cases against Judaizers at this time, than in the increasing numbers of statutes which excluded conversos from official bodies.[96] These statutes began to multiply during the reign of Charles V, when the merest suspicion of heterodoxy was sufficient to close the doors of most urban and municipal institutions: confraternities, guilds, and councils. Every candidacy for entrance into a university college, a prestigious brotherhood, a great Religious Order, a cathedral Chapter, or the office of regidor or notary, immediately produced an inquiry into purity of the candidate's blood.[97] The term cristiano nuevo now changed in meaning from that of a recent convert, to anyone with a trace of heterodoxy in his ancestry. Opinion divided during Philip II's reign as to whether cristiano nuevo should include those investigated by the Inquisition, or only those condemned by it, and whether descendants of these people were also impure. It was not until Philip IV's accession that the question was resolved in favour of those investigated but not condemned by the Holy Office, and limiting impurity to two generations of descendants.[98]

Statutes of the Cofradía de las Animas in Seville reveal that by 1638 the Jewish converso was no longer regarded in the same light as moriscos or mulatos, and that all ambiguity as to investigation by the Holy Office had been resolved here:

> Para ser individuo desta Cofradia, se necesita ser personas honestas, de buena vida y costumbres, no moriscos ni mulatos, ni de oficios viles, ni castigados por el Santo Oficio de la Inquisición.[99]

Seville of the 1580s, however, was rather less tolerant. Morgado's account of a hundred parish confraternities stresses that the rule restricting their membership to twelve Old Christians was 'still in force'.[100] Similarly, in Valladolid the first statute of limpieza was issued in 1556 by the Benedictine Order, followed in 1560 by the Hospital de Santa María del Esgueva, and then by other large parish confraternities: Cofradía de los Escuderos, Cofradía de los Abades, and Cofradía de la Trinidad.[101] In the seventeenth century intransigence apparently increased, when these three confraternities required proof of limpieza through six immediate predecessors, though the place of conversos in this policy is unclear. The Dominican Order evidently retained some tolerance beyond mid-sixteenth century, when most of its affiliated confraternities began to demand limpieza. The Franciscan Order remained intransigent on this point throughout most of the century. An illustration of their different attitudes is given by the case of the Cofradía y Hermandad de la Sangre de Christo, established at Lorca (Murcia) in 1552 at the Dominican monastery, whose statutes merely banned admission to 'hombres revoltosos'. When the confraternity moved, in 1596, to the monastery of the Observantine Franciscans because of interference from the Dominicans, its new statutes imposed a limit on numbers, and a requirement that members be 'cristianos viejos, limpios de toda mala raza, que no tengan nota de infamia, ni hayan ejercido oficios mecánicos'.[102]

The last two conditions above are noteworthy for what they reveal about changing social attitudes. The first condition demanded uprightness. Naturally enough, the moral standing of a brother before he entered the confraternity was fundamental to the reputation and aspirations of the company. Consequently, council sessions were held to discuss a candidate's character and to explore the reactions of brothers

to his admission.[103] Statutes of the Cofradía de Sonsoles reveal that a secret deliberation was held following sponsorship of a candidate by a brother, to decide whether the brotherhood would be honoured by his presence. If even one member objected, the candidate was refused.[104] How moral scrutiny was undertaken is largely undisclosed, but the confraternity's task may have been facilitated by access to church and municipal records. These were usually called becerros.[105] During a time marked by enquiry into applicants' lineages, certain individuals also held genealogical registers, of dubious accuracy, called libros verdes/libros del becerro, whose contents could permanently disgrace a family.[106]

The second 'moral' condition imposed by the Franciscans above was often found in confraternal statutes: exclusion of certain occupations. The penitential confraternity of la Vera Cruz de la Pasión at Villafranca (Avila) stated in 1530 that:

> Primeramente ordenamos y mandamos que qualquiera que se hubiere de admitir en esta Santa Cofradia sea persona de buena vida y costumbres, agena de vicios y pecados, y que el día que entrare por cofrade esté obligado a confesar y comulgar; y a de tener catorce años, y que los dichos sean limpios de oficios vajos, y que no se pueda admitir a forastero alguno no siendo mui conocido y haviendo residido en esta villa quatro años.[107]

Such discrimination originated in medieval statutes, which had classed as marginal all heretics, lepers, Jews, madmen, sorcerers, sodomites, sick, foreigners, déclassés, children, dwarfs, prisoners, hermits, and rogues. Sixteenth-century exclusion clauses expanded upon this system by defining clearly which moral aberrations were regarded as undesirable. Statutes now banned all those practising what had come to be termed oficios viles. These included gamblers, blasphemers, adulterers, and sometimes also frequenters of taverns. Gambling is constantly vetoed in confraternal rules. Many societies treated it as a punishable offence, but tavern-going posed a problem, as not all confraternities saw this as incompatible with a serious religious life. Some confraternities held meetings in taverns, albeit not their formal assemblies.[108] One can detect here a certain nervousness about the sort of criticism levelled at confraternities by Luther, and by many contemporary Catholics too, who accused them of bibulousness (see pages

44, and 45 above). Many statutes expressly forbade verbal association of the confraternity with excessive eating or drinking:

> Hordenamos que cualquier cofrade o cofrada que dixere en esta nuestra hermandat que son comedores o bevedores o destruydores los hermanos, que destruyen lo de la hermandat, que pechen e paguen media arrova de çera.[109]

The parish confraternity of San Benito in Avila banned from attending the next banquet all brothers who became drunk or 'fuera de juicio' after consuming excess food or drink.[110] Since the medieval period occupations connected with blood, silver, and filth had also been classed as oficios viles. Into the first category came soldiers, butchers, hangmen, and surgeons; usurers (who were frequently Jews) fitted the second category; and fullers, dyers, cooks, and launderers, the third.[111] Professions and commerce linked with debauchery were, of course, also debarred, and so was consorting of members with 'mujeres del mundo'. Statutes of the Cofradia de Nuestra Señora de Sonsoles (Avila) ruled that: 'In the red-light district there are too many scandals, murders and other crimes. We therefore decree that all present and future brothers may not rent out properties for use by prostitutes, or allow their use by concubines'.[112]

The fact that some confraternities of the late sixteenth century ran public mancebías, and were prepared to undergo litigation to defend this right, suggests that financial considerations may have been more prominent at this period than purely ideological ones (see page 288 below). Whether all these déclassés defended themselves against infamy by forming their own confraternities will be considered in later chapters. But the effect on society of this ultra-conservative trend in contemporary confraternities did not go unnoticed by the ruling oligarchy. When the nobility in Seville tried to discriminate against parvenus by petitioning the King for permission to form a religious confraternity restricted to nobles, the city council opposed this because: 'The objective of such a confraternity is not goodwill, nor religious or pious acts, but rather to give the said brothers the power to make and break hidalgos'. Such a confraternity would have effectively created a three-tier system of discrimination. Those not admitted would be disgraced; those received could alone be considered noble; and those disinclined to join would invite suspicion about their

background.[113] Bans on social elitism based on a nobility of capa y espada, however, were easily sidestepped in the sixteenth century, when the appearance of a noblesse de robe encouraged the practice of an economic elitism based on the 'Haves and Have Nots'. Confraternal exclusion clauses attempted to attract members with disposable income. In 1574 the Dominican-sponsored confraternity of Santa Vera Cruz y Sangre de Cristo in Lorca (Murcia), published three sets of constitutions which set out 'la separación de la gente plebeya, para el mayor culto y aumento de los caudales'.[114] Segregation of classes was sometimes achieved by reserving the Order (Military or Religious) for an elite class, and its sibling confraternity for the lower ranks. The Military Order of Santiago, for example, recruited from the nobility, whilst the Confraternity of the Pilgrims of Santiago de Compostela grouped together butcher, pastrycook, carter, and other men in retail trades. And if the Jesuits allowed an intermingling of social classes within their Order, when it came to founding lay confraternities they, too, were inclined to create segregated companies.[115]

Medieval discrimination had also excluded women from some confraternities, either by statute, or, it may be argued, by definition, since a fraternity is not a sorority. However, it would appear that sixteenth-century confraternities were more readily disposed to admit women, to judge by the large number of statutes which include the distinction 'cofrade o cofrada', or which specify the terms under which a widow might enter her dead husband's confraternity.[116] There were often conditions imposed on women members though. The Cofradia del Nombre de Jesús (Avila) admitted women only if their husbands were also members, and widows had to pay higher entrance fees.[117] And the Cofradía de Sonsoles (Avila) evidently had grave misgivings about its women members, permitting only the wife of the mayordomo to be present at its meetings, as she was needed in the kitchen to prepare the food. The reason given for excluding other women was 'por quanto el su juyzio e poridad es deficill e non durable'.[118] There are even cases where, through membership of a confraternity, women are seen to secure certain privileges for their menfolk. The Sonsoles confraternity declared that although women had been admitted 'from recent times', no honorary membership or privileges were allowed for their husbands, who saw this as an easy way of infiltrating the organization.[119] Sixteenth-century

Rosary confraternities might even have been specially conceived for women. They had no banquets or meetings, there was no need to appear publicly, and the prescribed long recitation of prayers was better adapted to female domestic life. New members had no need of even a preliminary culture, familiarity with the Lord's Prayer and the Ave Maria being sufficient.[120]

4.4 The Cultural Crucible - A Two-Way Acculturation

To summarize so far, those confraternities which best survived the repressive years of the Counter-Reformation 'fell' into law by the acquisition of jurisdictional and political power, and the adoption of a hierarchical structure. Whilst they lost a certain amount of autonomy in a pastoral context after Trent, legally they retained enough jurisdictional power to serve the interests of a chosen elite. Having once demarcated this social space, a change in the concept of brotherhood seems inevitable. This kind of brotherhood strove to maintain social boundaries by defining and excluding the undesirable in the domain of kinship, and by controlling the economic and political character of the confraternity. Changes of this kind thus manifest a pragmatic, this-worldly structure, which seems far from Turner's definition of communitas. But what of the more speculative qualities? Had communitas all but disappeared by the end of Philip II's reign? The first two chapters of the present study have suitably confirmed that, irrespective of codes, religious ritual and symbol were still a central feature of confraternal life. It remains to assess the importance of myth, and of popular culture in general to the sixteenth-century confraternity. It might be argued that the presence of a strong popular tradition in the brotherhoods reveals a conscious effort by confraternities to preserve their culture. Whilst this is partly true, it is perhaps surprising to discover that it was the Church, primarily, which encouraged confraternal culture. Culture in the confraternity has received the least attention from scholars, probably because of inaccessibility of data, but also because popular literary sources have been neglected in historical scholarship. Since the rest of the present study will attempt to redress the balance by using popular culture, and popular literature in particular, as a source of data on underworld groups, it is important to consider here some of the cultural contributions of sixteenth-century lay confraternities to contemporary

society, and to assess the interaction between popular and official religious cultures. If it should prove that the flow of ideas was not predominantly from official to popular; but that there existed a two-way acculturation, then there will indeed be grounds for justifying the use of popular literature as a source of social history. Ariño Villarroya suggests that what developed was not a monolithic institution subjugated to the ruling oligarchy, but one which flourished and freely contributed to official religious culture.[121] Church teaching could be influenced, modified, and invigorated by the beliefs and practices of the commonality. And whilst liturgical practices were imposed on them by the Church, confraternities also adopted or perpetuated popular elements, such as rogation processions. As the focus of learned and intuitive thinking, the confraternity served, if not necessarily as a model for other fraternities, then at least as a stimulus and reference point for them, thereby contributing to the changing cultural environment of the Golden Age. Aquinas recognized that doctrinal ritual actually depended upon a popular component to reach the masses:

> Through the sacraments, therefore, sensible things are used to instruct man in a manner appropriate to his own nature. He is humbled by being brought to recognize his own subjection to physical things, seeing that he has to rely upon them for the help he needs.[122]

Christian didactics subsequently sought to impress on the mind indelible images or codes, which could be imitated as models of virtuous conduct, and in the ambience of the Counter Reformation the Church saw clearly the advantages of using such icons for propagandist purposes. Session 25 of the Council of Trent in 1563 clarified the position on relics, saints, and sacred images, which were to be venerated only as a likeness of the holy patrons, who were thus honoured by proxy.[123] Encouraged in this manner to utilize the arts, lay confraternities were largely responsible, claims Bennassar, for the splendour of religious processions, and for the flowering of Baroque culture, commissioning paintings, sculptures, etc.[124] Confraternal meeting-rooms were often decorated with frescoes or canvasses along the walls, as well as with altar paintings or sculptures. All these reminded the brother of his devotional and charitable obligations. Or the pictures might more

simply serve as visual bibles and saintly stories for both illiterate and well-educated brethren.[125]

But there was at least as great an input to confraternal culture from the oral tradition as from doctrinal tradition. Legends added a mythical infrastructure to the confraternity, giving the seal of respectability to its adopted patron saint, about whom the myth usually revolved, and inculcating the values and beliefs of the society.[126] The church of Santo Domingo de la Calzada, home of an ancient confraternity, still maintains a visual reminder of the enduring legend surrounding that particular town. Tradition has it that a hapless Santiago pilgrim, wrongly convicted of robbery from the church, was hanged and survived his ordeal. Unconvinced by the news, the Corregidor scoffed that the pilgrim was as much alive as the chickens he was about to eat, whereupon they suddenly revived and began to sing. To mark this miracle, the church installed a cage high up inside the entrance, which to this day houses a white cock and hen.[127] The legend has inspired a literary tradition which dates from at least the seventeenth century.[128]

The legend of another confraternal patron, Saint Julian, associated with the Santiago route since at least the tenth century, has inspired a long (apparently spurious) Dominican literary tradition, starting with thirteenth-century works by Jacobo de Varaggio, Vicente de Beauvais, and the Gesta Romanorum, followed by Pedro Natal and Antonio Vicente Doménech, and by the sixteenth-century work of San Antonino de Florencia. All these versions are precise copies of each other with insignificant variations. All cling to the hospitaller tradition of the man guilty of parricide sentenced to help travellers cross the river, and all locate an inn or hostel by that river: 'Una cum uxore in fluvii transitu viatores hospitio et officio suscipiens'.[129] Another literary branch of this tradition betrays more than a little popular interference. In Boccaccio's Decameron, there is greater stress on the novelistic approach. A merchant, Rinaldo d'Asti is robbed on the highway, but finds his prayer to Saint Julian, before setting out on his journey, is answered with a warm bath, a hot dinner, and an obliging hostess in bed. His assailants, meanwhile, not having prayed to Saint Julian, are caught and hanged.[130] In seventeenth-century Spain the romantic tradition of Saint Julian was cast as a comedia. Mira de Amescúa lost the (dubious) distinction of its authorship, which went to

Lope de Vega. The saint is cast here as an Albanian, with a wife, Laurencia. The act of parricide is committed at Ferrara, and the place where the couple make their penitence and build a hostel is in Calabria.

Popular tradition also celebrated and vulgarized the name and deeds of the Italian Jacopo de Grattis, repentant sinner and founder of 'hermandades, cofradías y congregaciones de este SS Misterio y de la Vírgen SS'. He helped with the foundation of the Hermandad de los Convalecientes, and El Recogimiento de NS^{a} de Loreto in Madrid. The oratory there took his nickname, El Caballero de Gracia, which came from the Order he administered in Portugal. Tirso de Molina immortalized him in a comedia of the same name.[131] Finally, a legend especially dear to the spirit of Counter-Reformation was that of the Moncada lineage of Barcelona. Lope de Vega's version, El caballero del Sacramento (1621), was probably created to honour the Sacrament confraternity of which he was a member. His version deals with the conventional vicissitudes of two lovers separated when the young man chooses to rescue the Host from a burning church, thereby missing his chance of eloping with the aptly-named Gracia. Condemned to the fire later by his rival, he is miraculously rescued, and all ends well. There was a later version of this legend, published by Agustín Moreto in 1661: El Eneas de Dios y Caballero del Sacramento.

Confraternities also indirectly generated a respectable body of didactic literature, which contributes to a study of their social history. Lope wrote another comedia about the Sacrament confraternity: Los dos ingenios y Esclavos del SS Sacramento, which, together with La devoción del Rosario, illustrates the perceived role of these two confraternities as an instrument of the Counter-Reformation in a new period of heterodoxy. The latter comedia traces the adventures of a pusillanimous soldier, Antonio, who goes to the Holy Wars armed with his cruzada from the Pope, and a rosary:

> De la siempre Virgen Reina
> De los ángeles y cielos,
> Que es devoción que profesa
> Todo el Orden dominico...

He is captured by the Moors, and falls in love with a woman called Rosa, for whom he renounces his faith and discards his rosary. A vision of

Saint Dominic appears before him one day, with a dog and axe. Battling with his conscience, he prays:

> Padre Santísimo, a quien
> Dio la Virgen el rosario
> Contra los fieros herejes
> Y Ella os enseñó a rezarlo,
> Dividiéndole en tres partes
> Por quince misterios santos.
> No permitáis que se pierda
> A quien le dio vuestra mano.[132]

Then Antonio calls on another well-known patron of the medieval military confraternity: 'San Pedro, mártir'. Notwithstanding his remorse, he dies a martyr's death.

Another type of didactic literature in demand in the sixteenth century focused on themes of charity (caritas), love (amor), humanity (humanitas), and purification of the soul (anima). These works were mostly controlled by confraternities, whose libraries amount to a valuable expression of contemporary lay piety: its fears, aims, and practices.[133] There is much work still to be done in this area of primary sources. As Becker remarks, the observation that lay congregations, not the universities, were to serve as sponsors of the new culture of the sixteenth century is apposite.[134] Their rules, written by priests or lawyers, reflect the cultural aspirations and beliefs of the canonists and theologians about what a confraternity should be. But as it was often literary academy members who composed sermons for use by the pious confraternities to which they also belonged; as it was they who wrote eulogies and celebrations for use at confraternal fiestas; confraternal literature reveals more about what the confraternity really was, than did rules and other official primary sources.[135] This literature and the men who produced it merit now a closer study, which will form the basis of the next chapter.

4.5 Summary

Before moving on, however, it would be pertinent to review the purpose and conclusions of the first three chapters. Brotherhood, as practised by the Golden Age confraternity, exhibited three faces: social, religious, and administrative. The attractions of solidarity and social recognition were demonstrably a major determinant of confraternal membership in an age of great instability and insecurity. Together brothers developed programmes of self-help, and of more

philanthropic design, which gave to their corporate body a moral purpose, and to society at large a nascent welfare system. Their stamp of recognition came by the adoption of specific devotional practices, the most important of which were ritual penitence and burial functions. These practices ensured the layman a respectable funeral, and offered an easy means of curtailing the soul's stay in Purgatory, thus expediting its ultimate salvation. The lay brother thus acted in a sort of brokerage capacity: in return for certain pious works undertaken by his confraternity, the Almighty would arrange for his salvation (see pages 37, 71, and 107 above).

But pressure from Church and State altered the concept of brotherhood, at least as far as it threatened to break down traditional social distinctions and promote true equality. A knowledge of the activities of the Militant Church of the Counter-Reformation, and its influence on sixteenth-century confraternities, is therefore fundamental to understanding of the official lay organization. Spontaneity became ritualized, and rituals codified by an increasingly elitist and hierarchical administrative structure. The result, by early seventeenth century, was that society had become stratified into 'brotherly factions' which, like medieval feudal kinship bonds, were often Christian in name only, and where the accent was on survival of the fittest. But unlike the medieval brotherhood, a growing capitalist ethic had encouraged, or influenced, a departure from the ideal of sworn brotherly love to the more achievable caritas (see pages 38, and 85 above). Nor was this newly-sanctioned competition restricted to commercial ventures, for it also found its way into confraternal ritual, with a consequent increase in street violence and litigation between confraternities; and in physical and verbal abuse, and corruption within them. At every confraternal administrative level, and in all their functions, there was a potential for abuse which apparently proved irresistible - whether by coercion of others, by misappropriation of communal assets, or by displays of pride and vanity.

As the institution grew in size, so also did its authority. The seal of official recognition added to these benefits jurisdictional powers and numerous other privileges. All of this paved the way for further statutory discipline regulated by increasingly paternalistic officers, who sometimes went by the euphemistic title of Hermano Mayor.

Brotherhood this was, but it had lost much of the original medieval brotherliness, in the sense that by the late sixteenth century, brothers had to seek their own socio-economic level within the association. Parish-based confraternities claiming to break down these tight-knit bonds probably succeeded only in exaggerating social divisions, either by creating commercially-oriented patronage links, or by establishing separate rights and rituals (and even separate confraternities) for wealthy and poor. (The democratic Rosary confraternities were more the exception than the rule.) Every man was a brother in Christ, but he had to recognize his place among mortal men. At this stage in the confraternity's existence, some scholars have felt it ceased to be a voluntary organization, especially as in many cases members were not permitted to leave, unless it was to join a more rigorous organization.[136] But spontaneous communitas, in Turner's definition of the word, had not disappeared completely. Indeed in many cases it was confraternal mythology and ritual which ensured perpetuation of the company, a goal which was sought as much by the Church as by lay brothers.

Whilst summarizing modern research on Golden-Age confraternities, the foregoing survey and interpretation of brotherhood adds some corroboration from popular writers largely overlooked by less eclectic approaches. It also raises questions which the rest of this thesis will seek to address: how did the growing numbers of outcasts respond to ostracism from lay confraternities? Did they welcome the helping hand reaching out to them, or did they set up (or potentiate) organizations of their own? Why has so little been uncovered about marginal groups to date? Could it be that modern scholars need to re-assess the value of popular literature as a historical source? By way of reparation, in chapters which follow, the accent will be less and less on scholarly sources, and more and more on popular literary ones, as groups of progressively marginal status come into focus.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

[1] The Ritual Process, 132-33.

[2] Some of these issues have already been discussed (see page 45 above).

[3] On State disapproval of confraternities, see Agulhon, Pénitents et Francs-maçons, 359; Michaud-Quantin, Universitas, 226, n. 30, citing A. Luchaire, Communes françaises, 247ff; and C. Vincent, 'Confrérie comme structure d'intégration', 125, for France; Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, 164-94, for Italy; and for Spain Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 57, citing Novisima Recopilación, lib. XII, tit. xii. ley xii; issued by Henry IV in Toledo (1462), and at Santa Maria (1473), and by Charles V in Madrid (1534).

[4] Episcopal fears of coteries are frequently voiced in the articles of medieval synods (see Martz, Poverty and Welfare, 47, citing INR, lib. XII, tít. xii, ley 12). On Toledo, see Christian, Local Religion, 168, n. 42, citing CS Toledo 1536, 12, fol. 9v; see also Martz, op. cit., 48, n. 12.

[5] At Avila, cofrades of Nuestra Señora de Sonsoles were forbidden to take their civil cases to another tribunal, unless the case dealt with matters exceeding 100 maravedis in value (Ordenanzas de Nuestra Señora de Sonsoles (1516), p. 180). Statutes of the Cofradia de la Vera Cruz (Villafranca) specified that no quarrels were allowed except in the presence of the Diputado. Only if physical injury was inflicted was the matter referred to the secular judge (Constituciones de la Vera Cruz de la Pasión (1530), cap. 15, p. 283).

[6] See Michaud-Quantin, Universitas, 210-16, especially 215, n. 47, citing Neratius, the Elder, Dig. 50, 16. 85; Pope Lucius, Compilatio prima, 1. 4. 1; and Gl. ord. X. 1. 6. 1.

[7] Compare pages 37, and 71 above, for attitudes to collective salvation.

[8] See Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 308, n. 5, citing AGS, Patronato Real, Caja 16, fol. 86. Compare medieval chivalric orders, which tended to attract those avoiding debt repayments, because by taking a vow to serve in the Crusades and wearing the emblem of the Cross, the wearer was entitled to exemption from payment of debts and other privileges unconnected with chivalric values (Keen, Chivalry, 56). The interaction between the underworld and pious confraternities, which is never far from the surface in this study of brotherhood, will be considered in the second part of this thesis.

[9] See Appendix 3.A, for a case of litigation in Madrid (1607) between two confraternities.

[10] See abuses of the Santa Hermandad in this respect (page 110 above). See also 'Cédula de Felipe II para que los inquisidores de la ciudad de Granada no conociesen de las causas que se formaron contra los moriscos que en 1560 se sublevaron con ciertos turcos y moros... por pertenecer el conocimiento de dichos delitos al conde de Tendilla' (Madrid, 15 August, 1562, leg. 8, no. 93, in Paz (ed.), AGS. Diversos, no. 1327, p. 265); and 'Real Cédula. Las justicias no conozcan las causas criminales que tocaren a los familiares y oficiales del Santo Oficio, confirmada en 1542' (Zaragoza, 15 July,

1518, no. 5121 in Archivo Histórico Nacional, Colección de Reales Cédulas, p. 10, no. 23).

[11] It was the danger of plotting by this powerful elite which induced Philip II to impose a ban in 1583 on laymen in the Neapolitan company of Bianchi della Giustizia, which then specialized in helping prisoners and the condemned. Henceforth it was to be reserved for the Religious Orders. Correspondence between Philip II of Spain and the Governor of Milan in 1573-4 also demonstrates a concern about subversive activities in the Milanese confraternities, who held secret meetings and unruly public funerals, which often involved internecine dispute and the (undesirable) participation of women (Black, Italian Confraternities, 62, n. 14, citing R. Bottoni, VI Seminario Internazionale di Ricerche di Storia Veneta, Fondazione Giorgio Cini (Venice, April, 1984); and G. Mascia, La Confraternità dei Bianchi della Giustizia a Napoli 'S. Maria Succurre Miseris' (Naples, 1972), 14, 74). On elitist confraternities, see Barnes, 'De Poenitentibus', 356-8; and Guibert, Les confréries de Pénitents, 41.

[12] Alfonso X, Código de las Siete Partidas (ley II, tit. VII, partida V); and Cortes de Sevilla (1252), cited in Ballesteros, Historia de España, III, 346.

[13] Michaud-Quantin, Universitas, 130-32. On ligas and guilds as subversive organizations, see Rumeu de Armas, Previsión social, 63, n. 12, citing Antonio López Ferreiro, Los fueros municipales de Santiago y su tierra (Santiago, 1895), I, n.p. See Rumeu de Armas, op. cit., 79, on monopolistic trends in cofradía-gremiales, citing Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y de Castilla (Madrid, 1863), II. See also Fernández Navarrete, Conservación de monarquías, 106, and 327-8, n. 16, citing C. de monopoliis, et ff. de collegiis et corporibus. In other cases the synonym monipodio was substituted (Rumeu de Armas, op. cit., 103, n. 7, citing Petición 35, in the Cortes de Toledo (1462)). On banning of oaths, see Lea, Indulgences, 472-3; Duhr, 'La confrérie', 468; Barnes, 'De Poenitentibus', 19; and Meersseman, 'Etudes dominicaines', XXI, 98.

[14] See Forey, Military Orders, 106, n. 12, quoting from E. de Hinojosa, El régimen señorial y la cuestión agraria en Cataluña (Madrid, 1905), 89, n. 3, who glosses part of the Usages of Barcelona: 'What of the Hospitallers and Templars, who daily receive custodies of this nature?'

[15] In a Catalan version of the Templar Customs, brethren garrisoning the frontier castle at Baghras in 1268 surrendered it without permission; in other cases they apostatized or deserted (Forey, Military Orders, 85).

[16] See ibid., 94, n. 54, citing ACA, Cancilleria real, registro 70, fol. 93, for cases in Aragon between 1250 and 1287, when James I and Alfonso III had to issue summonses and threaten action against property, for disobedience by the Templars and Hospitallers. It should also be noted that the final demise of the Templars in 1312 was due to papal charges of heresy, among other crimes (see Forey, op. cit., 5).

[17] See Keen, Chivalry, 68, and ibid., 71, n. 33 (for lists of sworn obligations of knighthood); and ibid., 78, and 182 (on chivalry as an order, or a confraternity).

[18] Nueva Recopilación, lib. VIII, tit. 14, ley 3 (vol. 2, fols 333v-34r). This was pronounced by Henry IV in Toledo (1462), and at Santa María de Nieva (1473); by Charles V in Madrid (1534); and by Philip II (1574). See Rumeu de Armas, Previsión social, 201-3, citing especially M. Sancho Seral, El gremio zaragozano del siglo XVI (Zaragoza, 1925), 36-8 (Cortes at Zaragoza and Monzón); and Rumeu de Armas, op. cit., 63, n. 12, citing Marqués de Lozoya, Historia de las corporaciones de menestrales en Segovia (Segovia, 1921). Rumeu de Armas claims that with the advent of the Catholic monarchs, corporative work organization changed, and the political, even criminal, medieval confraternity disappeared (Previsión social, 103). This is a difficult opinion to reconcile with the facts, as this thesis hopes to demonstrate. See also Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 57.

[19] On suppression in France, see Harding, 'Mobilisation of Confraternities', 100, n. 96, citing AM. Amiens, BB. 51, fol. 136. See also Meersseman, 'Etudes dominicaines', XX, 13.

[20] Its place in this thesis is determined by Boulton's definition of simple confraternities as those knightly societies which had statutes, held chapters, and adopted common insignia, but which elected their officers, and so had no sovereign, ex officio, as the curial orders had (D.A.J. Boulton, 'The Origin and Development of the Curial Orders of Chivalry' (unpublished D. Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1975), glossed in Keen, Chivalry, 184).

[21] On the origins and development of golfin, see Bernaldo de Quiros, and Ardila, El bandolerismo andaluz, 16.

[22] Suárez Fernández finds only one reference later to the Hermandad Vieja, in 1363 (see 'Hermandades castellanas', 39). According to another source, however, the Hermandad ceased to be operative between the Cortes of Ocaña in 1469 and 1473, when Henry IV approved the constitutions of the Hermandad de Villacastin, Segovia (see Olivera Santos, Las Cortes de Castilla y León, 163, citing Antonio Alvarez de Morales, Las Hermandades, expresión del movimiento comunitario en España (Valladolid, 1973), 138-41). See Appendix 3.B, for bibliography.

[23] See Confirmación de Enrique IV de la Hermandad de Villacastin, establecida cuatro días antes, July 12, 1473, Segovia, BN, MSS, 13030, fols 58v-69v, in Suárez Fernández, art.cit., 76. Rural communities were defined in 1473 as any area populated by up to one hundred householders, including the open roads. For ritual execution, see the Seventh law of Novísima Recopilación issued by the Catholic Monarchs in Cordoba on 7 July, 1496. Seven arrows were ruled as the norm, though often this was insufficient for the unfortunate victims. Carlos V issued a Pragmatic (in ley 46, tit xi, lib vii, of Nueva Recopilación) relegating the ceremony to ritual punishment, after execution by strangulation. This was the origin of the new method of judicial execution: garrotting.

[24] See page 108 above.

[25] 'Cédula del Emperador Carlos V para que los Alcaldes de la Hermandad de Zamora no conociesen otros casos que los contenidos en las leyes de la Hermandad y para que el Corregidor de Zamora no lo consintiese', Toledo, 5 August, 1525, leg. 8, no. 7, in Paz, AGS. Diversos de Castilla, no. 1028, p. 204.

[26] See the case of Constanza Pérez in 1597, cited by Padre de León, Compendio, Caso 229, fol. 329v, lin. 14, in Herrera Puga, Sociedad y delincuencia, 263, 272; and Domínguez Ortiz, Crisis y decadencia, 61. See also Actas capitulares de Osuna, cabildo de 12 de marzo de 1590, in Rodríguez Marín (ed.), Rinconete y Cortadillo, 56, n. 55; and Actas capitulares de Sevilla, cabildo de 1° de diciembre de 1599, escribanía 1ª, in ibid., 55, n. 51. On abuses of the Hermandad recorded in contemporary fiction, see Céspedes, Pindaro, ch. VII, 334a-b; and Alemán, Guzmán de Alfarache, I, I, 7, 193-4, whose protagonist observed:

> Si culpa no tienes, librete de la Santa Hermandad... Los santos cuadrilleros, en general, es toda gente nefanda y desalmada, y muchos, por muy poco, jurarán contra ti lo que no hiciste ni ellos vieron, más del dinero que por testificar falso llevaron, si ya no fue jarro de vino el que les dieron.

[27] Patriotism was a later development in the Military Orders, whose participation in the Reconquest was requested by the King (see Forey, Military Orders, 10, and 21).

[28] See ibid., pp. 10-13. Recruiting knights in the eleventh century for the first Crusade, Urban II had said: 'Let those who have been robbers now be soldiers of Christ... let those who have been hirelings for a few pieces of silver now attain an eternal reward' (see Keen, Chivalry, 48, n. 22, citing PL CLI, 567; and J. Ritter, Ministérialité et chevalerie (Lausanne, 1955), 137-38). See Chapter 9, for the other side of the coin - knights in peacetime turned to banditry.

[29] See Max Weber, Le savant et le politique (1963), 101, cited in Braudel, Wheels of Commerce, 515, n. 202, on 'legitimate violence'. On municipal repression and infiltration policies, see Dieterich, 'Brotherhood and Community', 17-20; Pullan, Rich and Poor, Part 1, 3-187; Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, 164-70; Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 57, citing Gene A. Brucker, Florentine Politics and Society (1343-1378) (New Jersey, 1962), 96-100, 152; and Richard C. Trexler, 'Charity and the Defence of Urban Elites in the Italian Communes', in Jaher (ed.), The Rich and the Well-Born and the Powerful, 94. See also De la Roncière, 'Confréries à Florence', 335.

[30] On monastic patronage of confraternities and benefits thereof, see Henderson, 'Confraternities and the Church', 71-2; and Barnes, 'De Poenitentibus', 16, and 297.

[31] Questors were authorized to collect alms in return for indulgences on behalf of the religious order or confraternity they represented. For questors, see pages 118 above, and 241 below. For episcopal sponsorship, see Estatutos para el cura y beneficiados de la parroquia de San Vicente (1549), p. 292; and Black, Italian Confraternities, 63-9. On antagonism, see Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 53; Henderson, 'Confraternities and the Church', 82, citing

Statuta concilii Florentini (anno 1517) (Florence, 1564), 26. See also Agulhon, Pénitents et Francs-maçons, 122-23, on French episcopal criticism. For conflict between confraternities under religious sponsorship and those under episcopal and parochial patronage, see R. Rusconi, 'Confraternite, compagnie e devozioni', Storia d'Italia. Annali, 9 (1986), 469-506 (486); and D. Zardin, Confraternite e vita di pietà nelle compagne lombarde tra Cinquecento e Seicento. La pieve di Parabiago-Legnano (Milan, 1981), 40-41, cited in Black, Italian Confraternities, 69, n. 32.

[32] On decline of priestly power to confraternities, see Christian, Local Religion, 166, n. 38, quoting from T III, 560.

[33] Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 308, n. 5, citing AGS, Patronato Real, Caja 16, fol. 86. Compare Hurtado, Memorial, 560 and 564, in Martz, Poverty and Welfare, 165.

[34] See Ordenanzas de Nuestra Señora de Sonsoles (1516), p. 220. The statutes include additions up to 1600.

[35] See Estatutos del Nombre de Jesús (1561), p. 346, for admission of priests to the confraternity. On confraternal exclusion of parish priests, see also Flynn, 'Rituals of Solidarity', 62; Tremp-Utz, 'Une confrérie de Saint Jacques', 223; and Froeschlé-Chopard, 'Pénitents de Provence', 213. San Ildefonso at Valladolid banned membership of 'un homme puissant' or a prelate (Bennassar, Valladolid, 422). Contrast Henderson, 'Confraternities and the Church', 77, who observes a change in social composition of Florentine confraternities during the fifteenth century with more clerical infiltration. On exclusion of clergy from confraternities directing mental hospitals, see Appendix 4.BB below.

[36] There may be an allusion here to the clipped ear of a thief, who often grew his hair long 'a lo nazareno' to hide the mutilation.

[37] Estatutos del Cabildo de San Benito (1527), p. 255.

[38] For more on priors' duties, see page 122 above. On priestly power of confraternities, see Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 307-8, citing John Bossy, 'The Social History of Confession in the Age of the Reformation', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, fifth series, 25 (1975), 24-25; Duhr, 'La confrérie', 473-4; and Barnes, 'De Poenitentibus', 101-3. Power of the keys: 'the power to loose and bind, conferred by Christ on Peter, and claimed by the Popes' (Chambers 20th Century Dictionary). See also Council of Trent, Session 14 (1551), 'The Most Holy Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction', citing Matthew 16: 19; and John 20: 23, in Schroeder, Canons and Decrees, 88-105 (98): 'The early Fathers also believed and taught that the keys of the priests were bestowed not to loose only but also to bind'.

[39] See François de Sales, Introduction à la vie dévote, II, ch. 15, 115-6; and Dieterich, 'Brotherhood and Community', 1-2. See also Lea, Indulgences, 500, on parochial manipulation of confraternities. Popes were more important for their general encouragement of confraternities through bulls, letters of ratification, and grants of indulgences, than for the particular promotion of individual institutions (see Black, Italian Confraternities, 71).

[40] See page 79 above. See La Dévotion du Saint Rosaire de la bienheureuse Vierge Marie, Mère de Dieu, avec l'abrégé des indulgences, des privilèges et des devoirs des Confrères, à Rodez, chez Amans Devic, imprimeur du Roi et de Monseigneur l'Evêque et Comte de Rodez, 5, 8; undated late seventeenth-century text printed in Rouergue cited in Lançon, 'Les confréries du Rosaire', 122, n. 6. Compare Schmitt, 'Apostolat mendiant', 98, 100.

[41] See Council of Trent, Session 13 (1551), 'Decree concerning the Most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist', in Schroeder (ed.), Canons and Decrees, 72-80.

[42] Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims mentions some of these priestly guilds (Kalends) in his Capitularies of 852 (see Migne (ed.), Patrologia Latina, 207, 1171; and Ross, Assembly of Good Fellows, 168). The sixteenth-century Congregación de los Siervos de los Pobres, founded by Bernardino de Obregón, comprised thirty-three priests in 1579, and there were many similar confraternities (León Pinelo, Anales, 122-23). Seventeenth-century foundations include the Madrid Congregación de Sacerdotes Ministros del Salvador del Mundo (1644) (see León Pinelo, op. cit., 330). See also Duhr, 'La confrérie', 460-1.

[43] Ecclesiastical promotion of Sacrament companies before the Counter-Reformation needs further investigation (see Henderson, 'Confraternities and the Church', 83). See Appendix 3.C, for Sacrament confraternities.

[44] See González Palencia, Noticias de Madrid (27 June, 1621), p. 2; (19 September, 1621), p. 11; (21 January, 1624), p. 88; and (5 July, 1624), p. 98; León Pinelo, Anales (27 June, 1621), p. 236; (21 January, 1624), p. 260; and (14 July, 1624), p. 262. On profanation of the host, see Azpilcueta, Commento, 96-7, cited in Bataillon, Erasmo y España, 581; Allier, La cabale des dévots, 77, and 126; and see page 87 above. See also Galpern, Religion of the People, 116, 132, and 155, on sixteenth-century Champagne; and for Florence, see a series of paintings of unknown authorship, 'Sacrilege at Santa Maria de' Ricci: Rinaldeschi Throws Horsedung at the Virgin's Image', Museo Stibbert, Florence, in Edgerton, Pictures and Punishment, 48-54. Monter and Tedeschi show that in Venice the number of cases involving abuse of sacraments peaked at 106 in the period 1631-1720, increasing by a factor of 9 compared with the period 1586-1630; in Friulia, there was a threefold increase to 12 in the period 1611-1670 compared with 1596-1610; and in Naples, there was a steady rise to 39 in the period 1621-1700, but sacrilege, as a separate charge, was highest in the periods 1564-1590, and 1701-1740: 11 and 16, respectively, compared with 6 between 1591 and 1620, and 5 between 1621 and 1700 ('Statistical Profile', 144-6).

[45] Iten, porque muchas veces acaesce haber alguna mala disposición en la cibdad de enfermedades, y por no escandalizar el pueblo, llevan el Santo Sacramento secreto, mandamos que cuando se hobiere de levar que le lleven en su custodia metida en un cálice, y lieve el que le levare su sobrepelicia vestida debaxo del manto y estola y lumbre en su linterna como cuando se lieva públicamente; y que cuando

le levare no entre en ninguna casa si no fuere la del enfermo donde le ha de administrar, no vaya por calles remotas de la tal casa ni pare a negociar con persona nenguna, salvo rezando consigo mesmo fasta tornarle a colocar donde le sacó; y que el que lo contrario ficiere pague docientos maravedis de pena.

(Estatutos de San Benito (1527), p. 267).

[46] González Palencia, Noticias de Madrid, 152.

[47] Housley, 'Politics and Heresy', 208. See also Bennassar, Spanish Character, 86, on viaticum. On the work of Sacrament confraternities, see Allier, 126-36; and Chill, 'Holy Sacrament', 98-120. On later suspicion and repression of them, see Le Bras, Sociologie religieuse, 421.

[48] Some confraternities, like the Italian Scuole Grandi, however, considered themselves entirely lay, and requested no links with the bishop. Though not necessarily unorthodox, they still had to count on the assent of the church or convent that received them (see Black, Italian Confraternities, 63-8). The Cofradia de Santo Domingo de la Calzada was subject to episcopal control from its inception (Saenz Terreros, Hospital de peregrinos, 40). See also Duhr: 'Dans son acception actuelle, fixée par le nouveau Codex iuris canonici (Can. 707. 2: 708), la confrérie peut se définir: une association libre de fidèles hiérarchisée sauf exception, toujours érigée canoniquement et se proposant, comme premier but, de promouvoir le culte divin par des oeuvres surérogatoires ('La confrérie', 437-9, citing Wernz-Vidal, Ius canonicum, III: De religiosis (Rome, 1933), 525, n. 47). See also Duhr, art. cit., 465.

[49] Sometimes the balance of power would swing in favour of the wealthier confraternity at the Crown's expense. An instance of this is seen at the Cofradia de NS de la Paz y Corpus Christi at Toledo. The corregidor sent in to investigate it was clearly a partisan of the confraternity, recommending that if the King took over the hospital members would lose the benefit of unsalaried employees and local support, requiring in its place a large monetary investment from the King. On conflict focused by Trent on visitation of confraternities, see Martz, Poverty and Welfare, 48, n. 12, citing CS Toledo, 1536, fol. 9v. See also Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 56; and Morales Padrón, Historia de Sevilla, 269. See pages 154, and 323 below, for corresponding visitations in university and gamblers' circles respectively.

[50] Pius IV's official bull of confirmation was published on 30 June, 1564. Its origin was Quia contingit (1311) at the Council of Vienna. On 12 July, 1564, Philip II signed a royal cedula of acceptance for Castile. He was certainly in the vanguard of Christendom, ahead of Portugal and the Holy Roman Empire, and France never did officially accept this legislation (Martz, Poverty and Welfare, 48, n. 13, citing H. Jedin, Crisis and Closure of the Council of Trent, translated N. D. Smith (London, 1967), 158).

[51] For details on Quaecumque, see Schroeder (ed.), Canons and Decrees, 156-57.

[52] See Barnes, 'De poenitentibus', 191-3, for details.

[53] Ibid., 22. See also Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 312, with reference to Zamora.

[54] Memorial (1551), I, 32, cited in Christian, Local Religion, 168, n. 43. See also Black, Italian Confraternities, 68.

[55] Sáenz Terreros, Hospital de peregrinos, 59.

[56] It was a supply, said Azpilcueta, which stimulated a demand. In Rome popular appetite for indulgences was insatiable; nowhere else was there such wonderful devotion evinced in visiting the churches and performing the stations; it pervaded all classes, from the highest to the lowest (Azpilcuetae de Oratione, cap. xxii, n. 89, cited in Lea, Indulgences, 450, n. 2). On confraternal indulgences, see Toussaert, 'Le sentiment religieux', 341-4; Christian, Local Religion, 143, n. 38; and Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 48. The indulgence was the remission of the temporal penalty due for sins pardoned, its receipt prompting profound contrition, sacramental confession, and holy communion. It also gave confraternities official papal recognition. Historically, indulgences became fully accredited in the twelfth century, the best documented being the Jubilees, first issued in 1299-1300.

[57] Compare page 44 above on Sacrament confraternities; and 71 above, on the early modern lay confraternity in general. On Golden Age of indulgences, see Barnes, 'De Poenitentibus', 17; and Lea, Indulgences, 470. On relaxation of requirements for indulgences, see Galpern, Religion of the People, 53; and Lea, Indulgences, 483. For examples of indulgences conceded for performing certain devotions, see Ordenanzas de Nuestra Señora de Sonsoles (1516), p. 220. See Lea, op. cit., 458, n. 3, citing Consil. de Emend. Eccles. (Le Plat, Mon. C. Trident, II, 604); and De Thou, Histoire Universelle, XXXIX, on Roman immorality in this context. See also Lea, op. cit., 472.

[58] See Appendix 3.D, for objects endowed with indulgences.

[59] Indulgences, 496. See Appendix 3.E, for scapulars. Compare beggars' badges, on page 127 above.

[60] On stationarii, see Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 160; and Lea, Indulgences, 409-26, especially 423. See Lea, op. cit., 447-58, on Stations of Rome. See Appendix 3.F, for stationarios.

[61] On Papal sanction of questors, see Lea, Indulgences, 402, n. 2, citing Sixti PP. IV. Const. Quoniam nonnulli (Bullar. I. 428). This was repeated in 1549 by Paul III and in 1550 by Julius III: Const. Rationi congruit (ibid. 785). See also Lea, op. cit., 403, n. 1, citing Gröne, Tetzel und Luther, 187-9. Paolo Tiepolo, Relazioni (1563), Serie I, vol. V, 24, cited in Lea, op. cit., 414, n. 2. See Luther's Works, XXXIV, 26, for Luther's attack on confraternal traffic in relics and indulgences.

[62] See Appendix 3.G, for papal relations with Spain, and policy with regard to questors.

[63] Session 25, ch. 21. 'Decree concerning Indulgences', citing C.2, in Clem., De poenit. et remiss., V, 9, in Schroeder, ed. cit., pp. 253-4: 'All evil traffic in them, which has been a most prolific source of abuses among the Christian people, be absolutely abolished'. See

also Council of Trent, Session 21 (1562), ch. 9, 'The name and services of questors of alms is abolished. The ordinaries shall publish indulgences and spiritual graces. Two of the Chapter shall without fee receive the alms', in Schroeder, ed. cit., 142. The decree cites earlier councils publishing decrees against the abuses: C.14, X, De poenit., V, 38, Lateran council; C.2, in Clem., h.t. V, 9, Lyons, and Vienne Councils. See also Session 5 (1546), Reform, ch. 2, 'Preachers of the Word of God and Questors of Alms', in Schroeder, op. cit., pp. 26-8:

> Those soliciting alms, who are also commonly known as questors, whatever their state, shall not in any manner presume to preach either per se or per alium, and shall, notwithstanding any privilege whatsoever, be absolutely restrained by suitable measures by the bishops and ordinaries of the localities.

[64] Azpilcuetae comment. de Jubilaeo, Notab. XXXI, n. 46, cited in Lea, Indulgences, 423, n. 2. Paul IV's 'vista gorda' in Amort. de Indulg. I, 212, cited in Lea, op. cit., 423, n. 1.

[65] See Appendix 3.H, on cruzada; and for legislation against abuses, see Nueva Recopilación, lib. I, tit. 10, ley 1, 'Que se dipute buenas personas para entender en la predicación de las Bulas, y no se exceda en apremiar a ninguno que las tome por fuerza, ni a publicar más de lo en ellas contenido' (vol. I, fol. 45v); and ley 2, 'Que los Tesoreros de las Bulas, y Cruzadas, no apremie a los concejos que los acompañen, ni vayan a oír los sermones, salvo el día que hubieren de entrar, o otro día, si aquél no se hubiere predicado: y la manera que se ha de tener en la cobranza de lo que se debiere de las Bulas, y que no sea por censuras' (vol. I, fols 46r-v).

[66] Lea, op. cit., 426, n. 1, citing Leonardo Donato, Relazioni Venete, Serie I, vol. VI, 380. They were popularly named echan cornos because they threatened excommunication and eternal perdition on all who did not purchase their bulls.

[67] Nueva Recopilación, Lib. I, tit. 9, ley 4 (vol. I, fol. 45r).

[68] On confraternal rules, see Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 14-15, citing P. O. Kristeller, 'Lay Religious Traditions and Florentine Platonism', Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters (Rome, 1956), 105; and Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, 85. On libros de reglas, see Sanz Serrano, 'Artes ornamentales', 181; Alvarez Jusué, 'La Esperanza de la Macarena', 148; and González Gómez, 'Sentimiento y simbolismo', 121. See Black, Italian Confraternities, 82, for descriptions of Italian confraternity books.

[69] On rites of reconciliation, see Barnes, 'De Poenitentibus', 205-6]; Constituciones de la Cofradía del Corpus Christi (1516), cap. xvii, p. 169; and Constituciones de la Vera Cruz de la Pasión (1530), cap. 15, p. 283. An additional clause in the Vera Cruz statutes banned single men unless they took a vow to avoid lawsuits (cap. 28, p. 286). Statutes on San Ildefonso in Bennassar, Valladolid, 422, citing 'Regla de una cofradía del siglo XVII', BSCE, t. V, VI. To avoid future discord, brothers could not outbid one another in public sales, nor take domestics or workers from one another without mutual agreement, or buy an annuity weighing on another brother

(Bennassar, op. cit., 421-4). On corporate identity, see Flynn, 'Rituals of Solidarity', 53-4.

[70] Ordenanzas de Nuestra Señora de Sonsoles (1516), cap. lxvii, p. 200. The implications of such a ruling suggest either that the consequences of a unique event in the confraternity's history were momentous; or that hiring hitmen was a regular occurrence.

[71] See Flynn, 'Rituals of Solidarity', 63, n. 28, citing Ordenanzas de la Cofradía de San Antonio Abad (1591), transcribed by José del Carmen (Zamora, 1928). See also Ordenanzas de Nuestra Señora de Sonsoles (1516), cap. lxxiii, p. 202; Constituciones de la Cofradía de la Vera Cruz de la Pasión (1530), cap. 30, p. 286; Pérez de Urbel, Monjes españoles, 552; and Sandre Gasparini, 'San Giovanni Evangelista della Morte', 799.

[72] En nuestros cabildos e ayuntamientos, que ningúnd cofrade non sea osado a se levantar a hablar ni proponer cosa alguna, e que tal esté levantado y tome la vara y diga lo que quisiere, so pena que caya en pena de una libra de cera... E si por aventura alguno otro cofrade estando asentado hablare alguna cosa estando hablando el otro cofrade con la vara, por el mismo caso le condenamos en la dicha libra de cera, porque no alboroten el cabildo.
(Ordenanzas de Nuestra Señora de Sonsoles (1516), p. 224).

[73] Ibid. (1516), cap. xci, p. 209; and Constituciones de la Vera Cruz de la Pasión (1530), cap. 25, p. 285. See page 75 above, for confraternal violence at public events.

[74] Zapateros in the Cofradía de NSª de los Remedios at Madrid decided to enforce total silence at juntas, unless it was 'por turno' and with previous request to speak (Rumeu de Armas, Previsión social, 252).

[75] Luque Fajardo, Fiel desengaño, I, 222.

[76] On factionalism and its control in confraternities, see Constituciones de la Cofradía del Corpus Christi (1516), cap. xx, p. 170; and Ordenanzas de Nuestra Señora de Sonsoles (1516), caps lxiiii, and xlvii, pp. 199, 210-11. For general accounts of factionalism, see Barnes, 'De Poenitentibus', 203-6; Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, 87; Henderson, 'Flagellant Movement', 158; and Black, Italian Confraternities, 88. See also Martinez-Ferrando, Baixa edat mitjana, 1669, on medieval Catalonia.

[77] For secrecy and initiation rites, see Daraul, Secret Societies, 121; and Appendix 3.I. See also Chapter 2, footnote 67 above, for dramatic aspects of 'mystery'.

[78] Absolute suppression of individuality also helped in their goal of secrecy, and to this end the brothers' tunic was sacrosanct. No member was allowed in chapel during service without his habit, which could not be taken out of the chapel even for washing, without permission of the prior. When in procession, he could not wear it in such a way as to reveal himself to the crowds. Any transgression usually meant expulsion. See Barnes, op. cit., 103, for infringements in France and their punishment. Apparently in certain sectors of Europe anonymity promoted by use of all-concealing hoods was less important in the later years of the seventeenth century (Froeschlé-Chopard, 'Pénitents de Provence', 213).

[79] According to Mackenney, possession of an oath demarcated the arte or guild from the 'confraternity', which was only the organization for, or expression of, its social activities (Tradesmen and Traders, 6).

[80] On medieval oaths and general concept of hierarchical obedience, see Ross, Assembly of Good Fellows, 145; Mattingly, Renaissance Diplomacy, 22; Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, 219; and Barnes, 'De Poenitentibus', 100.

[81] Supreme authorities in different regions went by different names. In Castile they were prebostes, alcaldes or mayordomos; in Valencia, prohombres, procuradores, administradores or mayordomos; in Aragon, Priores, mayorales, prebostes; in the Baleares, Mayordomos, sobreposats; and in Galicia, vicarios.

[82] Quevedo, Premáticas y Aranceles Generales, 433.

[83] On definition of priors, see Barnes, 'De Poenitentibus', 97; and Agulhon, Pénitents et Francs-maçons, 93-94. On priors' powers, see Barnes, op. cit., 97-104; and Henderson, 'Confraternities and the Church', 74-76. Compare page 157 below, on the financial burden of university Rectorship. See Appendix 3.J, for confraternal electoral procedures.

[84] Alvarez Jusué, 'La Esperanza de la Macarena', 144.

[85] On muñidores and their function, see page 81 above. On satire against muñidores, see Quevedo, 'Premáticas y aranceles generales', 440; Salas Barbadillo, El sagaz Estacio, 111; Vejamen que el Poeta Anastasio Pantaleón de Ribera dio en la insigne academia de Madrid que se hacía en casa de don Francisco de Mendoza Secretario del Excelentísimo señor conde de Monterrey, cited by Sánchez, Academias literarias, 58. See Alvarez Jusué, 'La Esperanza de la Macarena', 146, for a comment on other sharp practices by confraternal officers.

[86] Otrosi hordenamos y tenemos por bien que ninguno sea osado de escrivir en esta regla ni rematar cosa ninguna, ni cortar hojas della sin hazer en ella cosa que no deva.
(Constituciones de la Cofradía del Corpus Christi (1516), cap. xxv, p. 171).

[87] Ordenanzas de Nuestra Señora de Sonsoles (1516), cap. xl, p. 189.

[88] Constituciones de la Cofradia del Corpus Christi (1516), Avila, cap. xiiii, p. 169. A mayordomo who failed to balance his books before the annual meeting at the Sonsoles confraternity in Avila, meanwhile, was faced with huge fines: a donation to the confraternity of two young calves, and bread and wine enough to feed all the members (Ordenanzas de Nuestra Señora de Sonsoles (1516), cap. cxviiii, p. 218).

[89] Ordenanzas de Nuestra Señora de Sonsoles (1516), cap. xlii, p. 190.

[90] See pages 71, and 91 above. A study of the psychological value of these ordinances might be rewarding to modern scholars. Barnes has noted for Marseille that they offer a rare glimpse of the moral aspirations of a Counter-Reformation Catholic laity ('De Poenitentibus', 195-8).

[91] The term conversi was originally used to designate lay brothers in Cistercian monasteries (see Forey, Military Orders, 2).

[92] Sicroff, Estatutos de limpieza, 188, n. 76, citing Tratado contra los que hazen hordenaciones para que no se admitan en las religiones o confradias o en otras cosas publicas los que son conbertidos a nuestra Sancta Fee Catolica o los que dellos descendiera traduzido de Latin en Romance, MS 732 (BN), fol. 149r°-167v° (fol. 152r°-v°).

[93] Sicroff, op. cit., 300, n. 162, citing Defensa de los estatutos y noblezas españoles, destierro de los abusos y rigores de los informantes (Zaragoza, 1637), fols. 202b and ff.

[94] Constituciones de la Cofradía del Corpus Christi (1516), cap. xxiii, pp. 165 and 171. Compare Ordenanzas de Nuestra Señora de Sonsoles (1516), cap. lxxxvi, p. 206, which voices misgivings about membership of caballeros. Though they were admitted, it cost them more, and they were not allowed to attend at annual meetings and banquets: 'porque plaze a la hermandad que sean conosçidas por cofrades e hermanos (cap. lxxxiii, ibid., 205).

[95] On discrimination against the heterodox, see Bennassar, Spanish Character, 234.

[96] Between 1540 and 1700 cases heard by the Spanish Inquisition against Judaizers accounted for only 9.8% of its caseload, compared with 24.2% for moriscos and 27.1% for propositions and blasphemy. Executions of Judaizers, on the other hand, rose sharply in proportion to other groups, from 2.5% (1540-1559), to 6.2% (1560-1614), to 18.3% (1615-1700), but the unequal timespans given may contribute to this picture. Contreras and Henningsen conclude that after 1540, the campaign against 'major heresies' (Judaizers, moriscos, alumbrados) comprises well under half its caseload, and that attention focused on Valencia and Aragon, where moriscos accumulated until their expulsion in 1609. Relevant cases heard in seventeenth-century Castile, meanwhile, relate to the influx of Portuguese Jews there after the annexation of Portugal in 1580 ('Forty-Four Thousand Cases', 120-29, especially 125). For more on history of limpieza statutes, see Caro Baroja, Los Judíos, 285-373; Domínguez Ortiz, La clase social de los conversos; and Sánchez Herrero, 'Las cofradías sevillanas. Los comienzos', 27.

[97] According to Leonardo Donato, Venetian ambassador in 1569, converted Jews or New Christians (confesos or marranos) were also excluded from the Military Orders, the Consejo Real and the Inquisition (Relación de España (1573) in Donato, Leonardo, Relación de España (1573), in García Mercadal (ed.), Viajes, I, 1211a-b). See also Lea, History of the Inquisition, 290, n. 2, citing P. Burriel, Vidas de los Arzobispos de Toledo (BN. MSS. Ff, 194, fol. 2, 3), for a list compiled by Archbishop Silíceo of Toledo, of institutions which excluded conversos.

[98] See Sicroff, Estatutos de limpieza, 255-302. This decision was intended to curb a growing trend towards malicious denunciation which could ruin a family's prospects of advancement for generations to come. Hostilities were particularly keen between the hidalgo classes and the working population, and as late as 1637 Gerónimo de la Cruz reported that two parish confraternities in Castile, one of

hidalgos, the other of hombres buenos, were given to public taunting of one another. The hidalgos were exhorted by their rivals: 'Judios colgad en vuestra fiesta los sambenitos'; and they would respond with cries of: 'Villanos colgad vuestros capotes' (Defensa, fol. 225b, cited in Sicroff, op. cit., 302).

[99] Pedregal, 'Devoción de las Animas', 200. Black cites the case of a marrano, Gaspar Ribeiro, twice interrogated by the Inquisition, who was still allowed to join the Sacrament confraternity in Venice. Clearly in some ideologies, says Black, the past could be forgiven and repentance was all (Italian Confraternities, 268).

[100] Historia de Sevilla, 329.

[101] See Bennassar, Valladolid, 410, and 413, citing N.A. Cortes, 'Los cofrades de Santa Maria del Esgueva'.

[102] See Munuera Rico, 'Cambio de protagonismo', 599. On the Dominicans' vacillating policy with regard to Moors, Jews, and suspected apostates, see Appendix 3.K; Sicroff, Estatutos de limpieza, 119; and Lea, History of the Inquisition, 289.

[103] Flynn, 'Rituals of Solidarity', 63, n. 26, citing AMZ, Archivo de Santa María de la Horta, Santo Tomás, no. 17. The Cofradía de Santo Cristo de la Agonía in Zamora specified that he 'must be a gentle and pacific person, and of good conduct in order to avoid occasion for scandal and tumult, or the altering of the peace and blessed union that all of us, as catholic Christians, are obliged to maintain'.

[104] Ordenanzas de Nuestra Señora de Sonsoles (1516), p. 178.

[105] Estatutos de San Vicente (1549), p. 292: 'el vezerro, que es un libro muy antiguo'. See also ibid., pp. 300, and 304. Most Italian city-states kept a Book of Malefactors, the one in Florence being known as Libro dei maleabiati (see Edgerton, Pictures and Punishment, 64).

[106] In 1623 Philip IV tried to proscribe libros verdes more rigorously (see Sicroff, Estatutos de limpieza, 255). See also Appendix 3.L.

[107] Constituciones Vera Cruz de la Pasión (1530), Villafranca, cap. ii, p. 280.

[108] On medieval marginals, see Le Goff, 'Les marginaux dans l'occident mediéval', 19-25. On sixteenth-century confraternal marginals, see Black, Italian Confraternities, 46; Barnes, 'De Poenitentibus', 198; and with special reference to gambling, see Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, 144. For tavern-going and confraternities, see Weissman, op. cit., 87; and Black, op. cit., 87.

[109] Ordenanzas de Nuestra Señora de Sonsoles (1516), cap. lvii, p. 197. Although these ordinances were first published in 1516, there were many additions to them during the sixteenth century, and it is not possible to date this particular clause.

[110] The confraternity also worried about tavern-going:

> Y si entrare a beber en alguna taberna que no sea pariente o vecino o amigo que sin ser taberna pudiera hacerlo, pague por cada vez cincuenta maravedis.
>
> (Estatutos de San Benito (1527), cap. xxii, p. 244).

[111] Though there were nuances between negotia illicita, inhonesta mercimonia, artes indecorae and vila officia, social ostracism took small account of such distinctions, to the extent that children of practitioners of the vila officia were often banned from civil posts, and from marriage outside their stations. On artes viles, see Le Goff, 'Les marginaux dans l'occident mediéval', 24; Geremek, 'Criminalité', 368-9; Garcia-Ballester Medicina, ciencia y minorias, 150-2.

[112] Ordenanzas de Nuestra Señora de Sonsoles (1516), cap. lxxxv, p. 205. See Appendix 3.M, for full quotation. See also cap. cxvii, p. 217, for a later amendment: 'Cómo non se han de acojer en las casas de la hermandad malas mugeres'. The definition was expanded to include 'mugeres del mundo mundanas nin otras mugeres infamadas o desolutas de sus cuerpos', and the reason given was that 'vienen muchos daños, desonrras e menguas e muertes, e los vezinos e moradores donde ellas están, biven en grant peligro e temor, e por quanto a la dicha hermandat es muy grant deshonor e mengua'. See also Estatutos de San Vicente (1549), cap. xxx, p. 335: 'Que en esta santa hermandad no aya ningún amancebado público'. First offenders were fined and given a friendly admonition, but persistent offenders were expelled. Re-instatement was possible if the ex-brother desisted for one year.

[113] Marqués de Tablante, Anales de la Plaza de Toros de Sevilla, in Montoto de Sedas, Sevilla, 187-90, cited by Pike, Aristocrats and Traders, 24.

[114] Munuera Rico, 'Cambio de protagonismo', 598, n. 8, citing AML, Papeles varios sobre linajes y nobleza de Lorca, del Marqués de Dos Fuentes.

[115] On Order against Confraternity, see Davis, 'Sacred and Body Social', 51. For Jesuit-inspired confraternities which segregated nobles, artisans, and peasants, see Black, Italian Confraternities, 46.

[116] See Constituciones de la Cofradía del Corpus Christi (1516), cap. vi, p. 167; Ordenanzas de Nuestra Señora de Sonsoles (1516), p. 178; and Constituciones de la Vera Cruz (1551), p. 322.

[117] Estatutos del Nombre de Jesús (1561), p. 346.

[118] Ibid., cap. lvi, p. 196.

[119] Ibid., p. 193.

[120] On Rosary confraternities and women, see Lançon, 'Les confréries du Rosaire', 123. See also Ross, Assembly of Good Fellows, 150, on women's right to purchase guild membership. The Hospital de Peregrinos y la Cofradía de Santo Domingo de la Calzada seems to have been an exception to the medieval pattern, being founded between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries by 'sorores y fratres', and still having men and women members in the sixteenth century (Sáenz Terreros, Hospital de peregrinos, 9, and 64).

[121] 'Asociaciones festeras', 473. See also page 51 above, and Black, Italian Confraternities, 75.

[122] 'Sic igitur, per sacramentorum institutionem homo convenienter suae naturae eruditur per sensibilia; humiliatur, se corporalibus subjectum recognoscens, dum sibi per corporalia subvenitur'

(Aquinas, Summa Theologiae, 3a. 61, 'de necessitate sacramentorum', 1 (vol. LVI, 36-39)). See also Summa contra Gentiles, Book 3, Part 2, chapter 121, 'That divine law orders man according to reason in regard to corporeal and sensible things'.

[123] Council of Trent, Session 25 (1563), 'Decree concerning Purgatory', in Schroeder (ed.), Canons and Decrees, 215-17, quoted in Appendix 3.N. Compare Session 22 (1562), ch. 3, 'Doctrine concerning the Sacrifice of the Mass', ch. 3, in Schroeder, ed. cit., 146.

[124] On Baroque culture and lay confraternities, see Bennassar, Spanish Character, 77; and Black, Italian Confraternities, 234-67, and 272.

[125] See Appendix 3.O, for confraternal art.

[126] Compare page 24 above, for Tosh's view on myths relating to origins. The importance of preserving their legends is still stressed today by one of the oldest surviving confraternities. As well as venerating its patron saint and organizing fiestas in his celebration, the Cofradía de Santo Domingo de la Calzada insists that its aim is to ensure transmission of legends, which would otherwise have disappeared (Saezmiera Uyarra, Santo Domingo de la Calzada, 90).

[127] Ibid., 60. These are ritually killed on 12 May, the date when the (canonized) local hero finally died.

[128] See Appendix 3.P, for Santo Domingo legend. Modern definitions distinguish between 'legend', which implies a nucleus of fact, and 'myth': a purely fictitious narrative usually involving supernatural persons, actions or events and embodying some popular idea concerning natural or historical phenomena (OED). For the purpose of this study, the same convention will be adopted.

[129] See Appendix 3.Q, for versions of Saint Julian legend.

[130]
> Chi non ha detto il paternostro di San Giuliano spesse volte, ancora che abbia buon letto, alberga male. Ho sempre avuto in [sic] costume camminando di dir la mattina quando esco dell'albergo un paternostro et una avemaria per l'anima del padre e della madre di San Giuliano, dopo il quale io priego Iddio e lui che la seguente notte mi deano buono albergo.
> (Boccaccio, Decameron, II, 2, 'L'efficacia della preghiera a San Giuliano', p. 79).

See also the later Légende de Saint Julien l'Hospitalier in Flaubert's Trois Contes.

[131] Tirso de Molina, El caballero de Gracia. See also Espasa-Calpe. Documentary accounts of him are unreliable. León Pinelo records that he died on 12 May, 1619, but as he was born in Modena on 24 February, 1517, he must have lived to 102 (Anales, 223).

[132] Lope de Vega, 3ª jornada, pp. 116a-17a. See also page 114 above, on manipulation of Rosary confraternities by the Church. The dog was used to denote the Order of Preachers, and also religious penitents, according to Rosal, Alfabeto cuarto: PERROS.

[133] So also do letters of affiliation, and collections of correspondence between confraternities, such as that of the Order of St Jerome,

which circulated newsletters to all its satellite confraternities in the southern provinces.

[134] Becker, 'Lay Piety', 195, n. 1, citing Kristeller, 100-12; P. Toschi, Sacre rappresentazioni toscane dei secoli XV e XVI (Florence, 1960); E. Garin, Science and Civic Life in the Italian Renaissance, translated by P. Munz (New York, 1969), 90-91. See Appendix 3.R, for confraternal didactic themes.

[135] See Lope de Vega, Al Santissimo Sacramento en su fiesta; and Valdivielso, Elogios al Santissimo Sacramento, for two examples of academic eulogies of confraternities.

[136] See Constituciones de la Cofradía del Corpus Christi (1516), cap. ix, p. 168 (members could not leave); Ordenanzas de Nuestra Señora de Sonsoles (1516), cap. lxii, p. 198 (leaving without good cause cost one arroba of wax; with good cause, it cost 100 maravedis and repayment of all debts); and Constituciones de la Vera Cruz (1551), p. 340 (it cost an unspecified amount of money to leave).

5. LUNATICS, LOVERS AND POETS

5.1 Poets and Literary Brotherhoods

Analysis of the role of brotherhood in a non-pious context requires a similar approach to that adopted in previous chapters for pious confraternities: that is, an assessment of the impact on a particular sector of society of contemporary problems and trends, and an evaluation of the effectiveness of affiliation both in mitigating those problems, and in contributing to those trends. Brotherhood is taken to be evidence of voluntary group organization, with similar social and religious characteristics to those of pious confraternities. Through official sponsorship, moreover, brotherhood might enjoy jurisdictional privileges, with a well-defined hierarchy and a coded system of regulation. The aim of such organization may have been defence. The present chapter will focus on men of letters, demonstrating how they occupied a pivotal role between pious confraternities and underworld secret societies. It is not the intention to suggest, simplistically, that all academics were criminals, but rather, that the boundary between these two groups was especially diffuse during the late Renaissance and early Modern period, when the perceived benefits of collaboration were so great. In order to understand why and how men of letters associated with each other, and what were the benefits or attractions of collaboration with the underworld, it is first important to consider developments in learning during the sixteenth century in Spain: how these influenced contemporary culture; and how they responded to outside pressures. Because both academy and university were the chief producers of popular literature, on which the present study of brotherhood is based, an examination of these great institutions at the height of their cultural development in Spain will serve as the subject matter. Focus on sources will, of necessity, shift between the popular and the purely documentary, until it should become clear that the distinction between them, for the purposes of this study, is insignificant. It is hoped in this chapter to widen the definition of brotherhood established in earlier chapters of this thesis, and so prepare the way for a treatment of brotherhood in the context of the underworld. The chapter thus stands, in more ways than one, as a bridge between Establishment confraternities and underworld brotherhoods.

Having now established a structure for the chapter, a consideration of learning trends will supply a thematic method. With the development

of printing technology in the fifteenth century, mass production facilitated the use of specialist texts by scholars, and encouraged interest in recreational literature. Books were still expensive to produce, but printing brought them within the reach of non-specialists, who seized the opportunity to learn to read, and to do so silently and in the vernacular, with the consequence for sixteenth-century printers that popular demand began to dictate output. By late sixteenth century, prose fiction and scientific treatises alike were being read by an expanding readership of nobles and bourgeois, men and women, who reacted positively to the acquisition of further knowledge.[1] A period of huge intellectual ferment coincided with the foundation of twenty Spanish universities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, compared with four in the preceding two hundred years, and very few of later foundation.[2] Student intake also increased, with enormous consequences for contemporary Spanish culture.[3] Learning was the raison d'être of university and academy, but the difference between scholastic and intellectual learning produced tensions in the sixteenth century. Where the medieval university had had comparatively few original thinkers, and learning was based on the knowledge accumulated by scholars of the past, later universities saw an increase in intellectual pursuits. Developing tensions found an outlet in a relatively new association of lettered laymen in government-sponsored academies which stimulated individual research. Sometimes amateur academies with similar goals were formed, over which Church and university had no control.[4] For the purposes of this chapter, it will be convenient, therefore, to consider the university as a problem, where brotherhood was concerned in this period, and the literary academy as one solution to that problem.

5.1.1 The University - A Fall into Structure

If we had to sum up the adverse features affecting Golden-Age universities, it would be expressed in the words paternalistic sponsorship. In 1558 a rigorous decree was passed by the Crown, restricting travel to foreign universities, and introducing censorship with the first native Index of the Spanish Inquisition.[5] After an ephemeral flourishing of Renaissance culture, Spain now returned to the suffocating scholastic teaching.[6] Why the university curriculum should have stagnated in the seventeenth century after an epoch of change and innovation in the sixteenth is a question as yet unresolved. The Spanish Inquisition, fearful of heretical influence, was partly at

fault, but more significant was the general spirit of the times; innovation in all walks of life was frowned upon and difficult to introduce.[7] There was also the element of royal interference. Sixteenth-century Spanish monarchs saw universities and colegios mayores as training schools, not just for warriors, but for officials to staff Castile's militant Church and her new conciliar system of government.[8] The result was the creation of a nationalized system of university sponsorship which caused hostilities between the Estates, in much the same way as Tridentine reforms had divided Church and State over pious confraternities. The Crown judged academic disputes, ordered new statutes, appointed university officials and, with its own concerns in mind, demanded contributions for its war-chest, breaking university regulations when it saw fit. Meanwhile the universities were dependent on the monarchy for judicial protection, for tax exemptions, and for permission to alter founding statutes. By mid-sixteenth century royal intervention in collegiate and university affairs was routine, and nepotism was rife in government offices and colleges alike.[9]

Papal influence on the university, on the other hand, was motivated both by historical precedent, and by contemporary political exigency. To ensure survival of Spanish universities at a time when they alone championed his causes, the Pope granted new foundations and ecclesiastical annuities to support them. Simultaneously, archbishops and cardinals founded institutions in their dioceses which augmented their status while they lived. Reciprocally, when they died, the institutions benefited financially from their endowments. These founders had made allowances for 'visits' by local clergy to ensure the proper observance of statutes, but there is scant evidence such visits ever took place. Jealous of their autonomy, colegiales opposed interference in their affairs and extended their 'purity of blood' regulations to the 'visitors' to try, with moderate success, to discourage them. When visits did occur, they were by former graduates sympathetic to the college, so the event usually degenerated into farce.[10] While the Church was internally divided,[11] any corporate body with a degree of autonomy was perceived not as an instrument of, but as a threat to, orthodox religion. This was especially true for students and men of letters, who were advantageously placed in the social order to acquaint themselves with controversial philosophical and metaphysical ideas.[12] Consequently Catholic orthodoxy, which was mandatory for every

student and teacher, had to be seen to be practised in the university to avoid exciting Inquisitorial suspicion, and ideas exchanged in lecture rooms were scrutinized by the Inquisition's censors and spies.[13] State officials also worried about ideas germinated in the universities being carried into the academies, where there was no restriction on activities.[14] Their concern was not without some foundation. Ficino's academy in Florence at the beginning of the sixteenth century is credited with the beginnings of the neo-Platonist movement, with its original ideas on the relationship between body and soul, and between God and Man.[15] The academy spawned many quasi-heretical secret societies and mystical movements, many of which were driven underground or eradicated in the repressive years of the Counter-Reformation: Iluminados, Family of Love, and Rosicrucians, to name a few.[16] Agrippa, Bruno, Galileo, Campanello, and Baptista della Porta were all actively engaged in quasi-heterodox pursuits in societies which they frequented or had founded. All suffered persecution from scholastic theologians, who adhered to a system of christianized Aristotelianism. Against this background of repression a study of brotherhood can be undertaken, assessing features common to university and academy, and those peculiar to only one of these, in our quest for an understanding of contemporary fraternalism.

5.1.1.1 University Rituals of Solidarity

Solidarity in the university, as in the pious confraternity, was promoted through public ritual. The best-known of these rituals is the induction ceremony, which seems to have followed a standard pattern in all literary groups.[17] In Salamancan doctoral ceremonies, a student would go on horseback on the eve of the exam, preceded by drums and trumpets, to distribute to all doctors the list of Conclusions to be defended. All the university then assembled for a procession. At the head went musicians, the Chancellor, masters of ceremonies, kings-of-arms, and secretaries. Behind came the teachers in lavish costume, then the candidate, followed by the beadles with their maces, the Maestrescuela, with the Rector on his left, and at the right, the doctor who would serve as sponsor for the 'recipient'. Lastly came the judges and university officials, pages, valets, and domestics. Riding a richly-caparisoned horse, the candidate went bare-headed, dressed in silk or velvet, with Spanish collar and boots of Morocco leather, wearing a sword and dagger. The whole town turned out to watch, shops

were closed, rural peasants left their labours, and church bells sounded. The next day, after a debate in the university's great hall, the candidate was subjected to a vejamen from his colleagues (see page 167 below). Then he gave a speech prepared in Latin, to which the sponsor replied with another Latin harangue. A gold ring was put on the candidate's finger, and a book placed in his hands, with the words:

> Here is the book. I open it to show you that you will penetrate the mysteries of human knowledge; I close it so that you will learn to keep them sacrosanct, when necessary, in the depths of your soul.[18]

The affair ended with recital of a vow, a ritual embrace, donation of gifts to all those officiating, and a bull-fight. Chivalric resonances were sometimes self-evident at these induction rituals. At Alcalá, doctors in civil or canon law received a belt with dagger, spurs, and sword.[19] Whereas the novice knight was received into the brotherhood of arms with the blessing of the priest, the scholastic bachelor required the licence of the chancellor. Whereas a touch of the veteran's sword admitted the knight into the brotherhood of arms, the veteran master's bestowal of sword, book, spurs, etc., admitted the licentiate into the brotherhood of teaching. Both of these great institutions arose, says Rashdall, from the transference to the military and scholastic lives of one of the most characteristic social and political ideas of the age: that of a guild or brotherhood of persons following a common occupation.[20] The vocational aspect of affiliation is an important one, which will naturally assume more prominence in our quest for brotherhood, as attention turns away from lay confraternities (of varied occupation), towards marginal groups with a definite occupational bias. Professorial ceremonies or oposiciones were still grander affairs. The victor's cap was torn off and replaced with a laurel wreath as he was processed triumphantly through the streets. His more wealthy friends careered through the streets on hired horses, trying to ride them into the lecture rooms. At night a cortège formed carrying lanterns, torches, palms and laurels, and posters bearing the professor's name, origin, and new title. Fireworks and gun volleys were let off, and the whole town was illuminated. Even the poorest townspeople put a light in their window, and the religious lit torches at their convent doors.[21]

Evidently these rituals, like their confraternal counterpart, served to display the assembled hierarchical order (see page 47 above). But as in confraternal rituals, the competitive element often threatened

to break down any ideals of solidarity. Some control was needed to curb excesses and channel them into profitable exercise. This was the aim behind the Latin tragedies staged at the university on feast days. The Jesuits grouped their pupils into academies for literary debate and staging of dramatic representations. Drawn from the Bible, a saint's history or a profane story, from mythology or medieval allegory, these dramas attracted the whole town, for whom it was often their only intellectual experience.[22] But all too often dramatic representations in these and other scholastic academies exceeded their brief, because their aim was recreation not education.[23]

The expense of university ceremonies such as these tended to exclude all but the wealthy. Sometimes aspiring doctors would pool their resources in a single ceremony, but then they had to provide more bulls. Wiser aspirants waited for a proscription on all fiestas when the Court was in mourning, to have a simpler ceremony. The resulting elitism among the doctorate represented a trend away from the original brotherly ideals of the founders, who had sought to establish an academic elite divorced from financial, geographical, or genealogical distinctions.[24] By the sixteenth century, the university's ruling oligarchy was largely the preserve of the aristocracy.[25] It is likely, then, that the huge financial burden inflicted on holders of high office in the pious confraternities, which led to concentration of power in the hands of an economic elite, also contributed to elitism in the university. One bizarre and expensive university custom entailed ripping the clothes from the newly-installed Rector's back and then compelling him to buy the rags back for fantastic sums of money. Naturally more than one candidate fought tooth and nail to avoid being elected Rector.[26] Vestium laceratio, as the ritual was known, had many parallels in youth groups, from which it probably derived. In the student version, known as the novatada, after swearing to observe the constitutions the novice was subjected to the obsequious attentions of fellow students, who enquired about his family, etc. His gown was appraised enthusiastically, until it ripped from too much handling. Then he was exposed to the spitting ritual. Jerónimo de Alcalá describes this at Salamanca:

> Pusiéronme cerco gran cantidad de aquellos estudiantes, comenzando a descargar en mí más saliva que suelen arrojar granizo las más preñadas nubes por el mes de marzo; y teniéndome en medio como a blanco de sus travesuras, me

> preguntaban cómo quedaba mi señora madre y los señores hermanos, si lloré al partirme dellos, y si había traído algunas pasas o confites para desayunarme. Hiciéronme que subiese en la cátedra, no dejándome bajar hasta que les leyese alguna cosa, y al cabo me dieron por libre, de tal modo, que mi negro ferreruelo salió más blanco que la nieve.[27]

The price of freedom from persecution was several banquets of traditional fare: lamb, partridges and half a chicken per head. The meal was called la patente, and the seating of the fresher in the teacher's chair with a mitre on his head and obligation to deliver a lecture, hacer de obispillos.[28] Two other writers corroborate what Alemán describes for Alcalá: called upon to give an account of himself, Luján's Guzmán suffers his colleagues' vayas in silence, before loftily reproaching them with an account of his illustrious (i.e. picaresque) past;[29] Quevedo described the same ritual at Alcalá twenty years later in El Buscón, where the students come at dawn to demand la patente of Pablos.[30] After the exchange of money the novice was generally accepted with a ritual cry of:

> ¡Viva el compañero, y sea admitido a nuestra amistad; goce de las preeminencias de antiguo: pueda tener sarna, andar manchado y padecer el hambre que todos![31]

In all initiation ceremonies of esoteric groups inherent cruelty follows a universal sequence. The ritual encourages the novice's desire to participate, and promotes a sense of anticipation. Through debilitation, isolation, vigils, hunger, or abstinence, he is allowed time for reflection. During this phase, fear is inculcated with sudden noises, administration of real or symbolic potions (sometimes narcotic and hypnotic), and verbal threats or frightening confrontations (generally staged and not genuine perils). After a symbolic death and resurrection, the novice is renamed. Special signs and signals or key phrases will help to awaken the conditioning for special purposes at a subsequent time.[32] Such manipulation may have had a social aim, as in the case of student charivari.[33] Other student rituals of solidarity, however, bordered on the criminal. Arbitristas studying the social evils of the seventeenth century blamed the education system for increasing delinquency. Fernández Navarrete said that too many artisans and workers tried to get an education, and ended up as vagabonds and students.[34] This was true in the sense that sixteenth-century university life attracted as many young people from poor backgrounds as from better-off circles. The six new Castilian colegios mayores (four

at Salamanca, one at Valladolid, and one at Alcalá) were charitable institutions intended to allow poor bachilleres, who could not otherwise pursue advanced studies, to remain at university. Most colleges had special statutes barring students whose private income exceeded a certain level. They offered special graduation privileges which reduced examination fees for their members by as much as half, and ruled that a baccalaureate was necessary for admission. Students were therefore not young beginners but mature scholars, selected on a competitive basis and therefore required to be 'poor'. They had full financial support from college for a stipulated number of years to prepare them for advanced degrees.

But the conditions of poverty began to be waived as Castile's ruling hierarchies initiated demands for letrados with advanced degrees. Students entering now hoped for an office-holding career: ecclesiastical or secular. Wealthy young men of influence began to apply for grants, and discipline was relaxed. New statutes show the college to be no longer a house of humility and virtue.[35] Students passed the time in the pursuit of hedonism, idleness, and crime. Luján's description is doubtless based on his own experience at Alcalá. He says he joined the valientes and ventured out at night to harass the corregidor. He learnt to cheat at cards and to exploit the naïveté of freshers. Life was a series of picnics and amorous pursuits with members of either sex. It scarcely mattered that the money his parents had saved up for his education was squandered in this way. Most of his compatriots could neither read nor write, and never attended a lecture. He ends: 'De los que leían las cartas de sus padres, yéndolas quemando a la vela, y si no había ahí te envío, acabando en ellas el auto de la fe, y relajación al brazo seglar'.[36] The ritual response to parents' refusal to send more money for these hedonistic pursuits was called la Paulina. In canonical terms this meant excommunication.[37] In the student adaptation, the letter was ceremonially burnt with an accompanying liturgy:

Cetina:	Vaya la Paulina, pues; El candil apropinquad...
Todos:	Al padre crüel y fiero Que al hijo que está estudiando No envía de cuando en cuando El plus con el arriero, Para que volver no pueda En sí de error semejante La mano del estudiante Caiga sobre su moneda. Amén.

Cetina: A cuantos Nerones
Padres, guardan su dinero,
Con masilla de barbero
Les unten los corazones.
Todos: Amén.
Cetina: Callos tenga luego
En lugar de sabañones,
Y así como estas razones
Están ardiendo a este fuego
Por divina permisión
Quiera el que todo lo cria,
Que el dinero que no envia
Se le convierta en carbón.
Todos: Amén.[38]

To resume so far, brotherhood in the university filled a social need in much the same way as it did for pious confraternities. Solidarity was promoted by the celebration of public rituals, like the charivari, conclusions and novatadas, whose aims were clearly to preserve the social order. There was, though, a notable overlap with rituals of initiation in the Military Orders. It would be well to bear this connection in mind when our comparison looks at underworld groups, and also as attention now turns to religious and organizational features of literary groups. Religious life in the university was dictated by its founder's statutes, and by contemporary sponsors. As religious aspects so closely follow those of the pious confraternities, there is little need to repeat here the earlier account of burial functions and of charitable works. And yet, despite protestations to the contrary, the borderline everywhere between orthodoxy and heterodoxy was diffuse amongst contemporary literary men. Variants on the mystical use of candles, for instance, seen in cofradías de luz, consequently acquired a more cabbalistic or emblematic flavour in university rituals such as the election of Rector, and at university funerals.[39] And just as increasing secularization in contemporary trade guilds was inviting suspicion and repression, so the university, which had begun life as a particular kind of trade guild for masters or students, began to excite official and popular opprobrium. As problems of sponsorship and autonomy in the university are central to the question of fraternity (why these bodies existed, and for whom) attention will now turn to the political face of university life.

5.1.1.2 Political Licence

The rise of universities was one wave of a great associative movement which began to affect urban life in eleventh-century Europe. The university was perceived as an association of persons following a

common occupation for the regulation of their craft and protection of their rights against the outside world. The university was a guild of scholars in Bologna (perhaps before 1000 AD) and a guild of masters in Paris and Oxford.[40] Universities of medieval origin in Spain (Valladolid, Salamanca, and Lérida) were basically modelled on the Bologna type and closely connected with the Crown. There were exceptions, however, Zaragoza and Alcalá belonging to the magisterial Parisian type.[41] It was a mere accident that the term 'university' was appropriated by the European student guild, while the doctoral guilds became known as 'colleges'.[42] As puppets of Crown and Papacy, all universities enjoyed a high degree of local autonomy, which fuelled animosity between town and gown. Exemption from other jurisdiction, except in cases of pleitos de sangre, had been ceded to the older universities by Alfonso X in 1252.[43] Conferment of hidalgo status on doctors and masters, with its concomitant freedom from pechos medidas y monedas, came about 1333. Henceforth visiting kings could be received by masters and doctors seated and with heads covered. At Salamanca privileges extending to the humble licentiate included franchises relating to customs, taxes, and military service, free hospitalization, and a discount on purchases in town. This did not endear him to the civilian population, who noted the aptness of his title:

> Nombre muy propio, a pesar de los más atentos, en todos los que traen hábito largo, pues luego que se le ponen, toman licencia todos para cuanto quieran, y muchos le toman para tomarla.[44]

It was not just fiscal and economic privileges which engendered civilian resentment, however. The real bone of contention was jurisdiction. Since the medieval period, townsmen and professors alike had stood in awe of a body which by the simple expedient of migration could destroy the trade of the former and the incomes of the latter. The peculiar composition of the university had earned it greater power than other city guilds, because the guilds were composed of citizens who never thought of disputing the authority of the city-government, and could not put themselves beyond its jurisdiction without losing both property and status. The university, however, was composed of aliens, who refused to recognize the authority of the state in which they lived, when it conflicted with the allegiance which they had sworn to their own artificial commonwealth. By a judicious employment of the mighty power of interdict, or boycotting, the university had acquired jurisdiction

over landlords of students' houses in matters affecting their relations with the students, and over all classes of tradesmen engaged in the production of books. Because Valencia, Zaragoza, and Valladolid were wealthy cities, they did not need Escuelas to prosper, so students here dared not openly disturb the public peace. But at Salamanca and Alcalá, where most of the town lived off the university and benefited from its privileges, students saw themselves as absolute masters. Town-and-gown relations were so bad at mid-seventeenth century that Alcalá was almost closed. There is an account of this acrimony in Luján's Guzmán de Alfarache (1602), when the protagonist is set upon in the Venta de Viveros, after being recognized by the locals as a student from Alcalá. Guzmán compares the volatile situation to that older one which divided Italy: 'que son bandos viejos como de Güelfos y Gibelinos' (II. 2. 7, 393b).

By late sixteenth century, jurisdictional autonomy in the university had reached a point where it began to threaten internal solidarity and fraternal ethos. If a student came before the town's alguaciles, they could be counted on for indulgence. Major crimes like homicide or armed robbery, wherever they were perpetrated, came before the university's Maestrescuela, whose penal system was badly graded. Students were deprived of wine for first and second offences, and expelled for a third offence. Drunkenness was rarely treated by universities as an offence. Some statutes only recommended expulsion on the third occasion when students had introduced women of ill repute into College. Less serious offences were punished by postponement of the degree, by expulsion from College, or by banishment from the university town.[45] As in the pious confraternity, jurisdiction of the Rector was strictly limited and defined by statute (compare page 122 above). He had to swear obedience to the Pope and his successors, and to the University statutes. Within the next six days, professors and students swore to obey him in licitis et honestis. Those not complying lost the chair, their place on the course, or the teaching post. The Rector's authority was conceded according to the formula: Auctoritate regia et pontificia qua fungor, but neither Pope nor King elected him. This was the preserve of the university Council of ten professors and town students. And as canon law forbade the exercise of any jurisdiction by a layman over a clergyman, university statute provided that the Rector should himself be a clergyman. Any student could become a clerk,

however, and so acquire the immunities of an ecclesiastic, by merely receiving the tonsure from a bishop and adopting the clerical dress. A letter written in 1503 by the deputy Asistente of Seville to the Catholic Monarchs objected that municipal tribunals were hampered in the exercise of justice by criminals claiming to be tonsured, but not wearing clerical dress.[46] Later in the century a papal bull announced the Pope's intention of curbing criminality and nonconformist attire among priests.[47] But an experience probably taken from the 1570s, when Espinel was at Salamanca, reveals how students were still flouting the Law. When the Corregidor, don Enrique de Bolaños, tries to arrest Obregón and his accomplices, one of them warns him: 'Si nos llevaren presos, nos soltarán un pie a la francesa'.[48]

After jurisdictional rights, the second threat to internal solidarity arising from university autonomy was a fearsome caciquismo, often run by former becarios who had state administrative posts. They were social parasites, with food and lodging but no obligation to attend lectures. Some perennial students had been capigorrones and received órdenes menores but never aspired to mayores. They were a bad influence on the younger students, teaching them that: 'ventura hayas, hijo, que poco saber te basta'.[49] In time, the oldest of them would become the real head of College. Statutes at Salamanca sought to eradicate abuse by excluding all churchmen and university officials from the student body.[50] Meanwhile at Valencia, Valladolid, and Salamanca, personal ambition and differences of opinion on academic principles fired the ceaseless struggle between Thomists and Suarists, creating a deep-rooted factionalism between and within universities. The consequence of this partisanship was to stifle intellectual thinking and contribute to a decline in academic institutions. How far one can explain this phenomenon by a lack of fraternal spirit is difficult to determine. On the one hand, evidence of internal corruption and strife would support the theory that brotherly bonds had broken down. On the other, perhaps the evidence of political gangsterism might testify to the greater strength of smaller coalition groups. In other words, if the purpose of true brotherhood was that of self-protection, this could only function properly when the brotherly unit was compact. Perhaps the increasing size of the university at this historical moment had tested the concept of brotherliness to the point of destruction?

The evidence favouring the breakdown of these units into smaller, stronger ones, is clear enough from comments above, as also from some notable contemporary developments favourable to political gangsterism. For example, in Castile's larger universities, where student power prevailed, teachers were elected by student votes. But the question whether students were professionals, and hence entitled to elect rectors and frame statutes, had long been debated. Scholars saw their role as an occupation, and their association as an occupational guild, not simply a fraternity.[51] The situation was ripe for coercion of students by teachers. Records show that 'perennial' students were voting, as were 'the absent and the dead'. As an ex-colegial lay dying at Alcalá, he was asked if he had anything to confess on the subject of election-rigging. He replied, 'Certainly not, Father, for I have always supported my college'.[52] Students voting the 'wrong way' might be stabbed, and provisions against blackmail were insufficient.[53] At Salamanca, when Luis de León opposed Francisco Zumel, the Rector of El Colegio de la Merced, for the chair in moral philosophy, Zumel accused León of breaking clausura (claustration),[54] and privately visiting students; of bribing them with gifts, money, and threats; of paying students to stay during vacations; of using a relation to give meals and other incentives to León's student supporters; and of sending hitmen against himself. Nevertheless, León won his chair by seventy-nine votes.[55] Throughout the Golden Age, corruption and vote-catching was rife at Spanish universities. A comedia by Rojas Zorrilla, based on his own student days at Salamanca in the 1620s, features an hacedor called Cetina, who announces to Bermúdez, a contender for the chair:

> Yo soy su hacedor, y sepa,
> Que no hay ninguno de cuantos
> Vienen conmigo, que no
> Ponga su voto en mis manos.
> Todos han de ser sus votos,
> Y sus reniegos si acaso
> Pierde la cátedra.[56]

Similar activities were recorded at Alcalá in the 1530s, when Martin de Ayalá resigned from his post there,[57] and again fifty years later, when Luján's character, Guzmán, was invited upon his arrival, with five or six other students from La Mancha, to the lodgings of two clerics:

> Entendí, que para obtener las cátedras de artes en aquella universidad, que se dan por votos de los estudiantes, es menester tenerles propicios y sobornarles, y que es

> costumbre antigua hospedar y regalar a los que vienen a oír esta facultad, para que den el voto.[58]

So formidable was the presence of the college of Santa Cruz at Valladolid in oposiciones - open competitions for university chairs - that defeat of one of its candidates was considered a rare event. Fabio Nelli de Espinosa wrote on 3 April, 1599 to Simón Ruiz on the recent miracle at the University, where a 'poor' student had won the chair from a certain Doctor Soria, a colegial, despite 'the great negotiations of College and of Soria himself'.[59] The King tried in 1610 to put a stop to such 'negotiations', but without success.[60]

To summarize political life in the university, alliance with the ruling powers could not only prevent outside interference in corporate life, but it could also accrue political power. The cost of this uneasy alliance in the university was seen in two important areas. Firstly, solidarity engendered competition and rivalry. Bribery, fraud, slander, and violence caused the break-up of older brotherly bonds. Secondly, political affiliation stifled educational progress. Paradoxically, both these effects seem to have prompted the growth of the academy, whose lack of permanence at this period denied it all political power. The existence of strong parallels between university and academy life strengthens the case for seeing connections between the two.
Often the differences between them were simply of degree, but it seems that, despite the trend for lackeys of gentlemen students to avail themselves of the privileges and protection offered to their masters at university; and for students lured to a life of crime to enjoy jurisdictional immunity within its walls, there seem to have been more explicit links between the criminal world and men of letters in the new academies.

5.1.2 Academic Solutions - Learning about Life

In pages which follow, it is hoped to justify the suggestion that between late sixteenth century and mid-seventeenth, crime was an important preoccupation both of the literary world and of its imaginative output. The modern reader may wish to treat this output as a series of separate entities, but, armed with knowledge of contemporary turmoil, it is possible to read the literature as a contemporary academic would have done; following a thread through a sequence of apparently unconnected topics, to acquaint himself with the latest scandal. In effect, this material probably served in its day as the local newspaper, which was not to appear in Spain before 1661.[61] Or perhaps a closer analogy would

be today's Private Eye, whose satirical gossip is intended only for the initiated. Given that the present study is seeking evidence of brotherhood or brotherliness in contemporary social groups, it is important first to establish the aims of the literary academy, and how these aims overlap with or borrow from other fraternal groups, before seeking evidence of social and political solidarity, and suggesting reasons for its existence or absence.

Besides the academy's stated intention of cultural education of members,[62] the academy curriculum often reveals an underlying military aim with resonances in the old chivalric confraternities.[63] Sixteenth-century academies gave theoretical and practical instruction in architecture, artillery, fortifications, hydraulics, cosmography, navigation, and ancient warfare.[64] A discourse given at the inauguration of the Academia de los Anhelantes in Zaragoza by Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola illustrates this chivalric preoccupation. He suggested that as most of the members were gentlemen given to military exercise, for which purpose Zaragoza already had the ancient Cofradía de San Jorge, he would like to see teaching in the Roman military arts, following the example of Lipsius. As these were practical, not theoretical subjects, he suggested that on the last Thursday of each month, armed horsemen should joust, and others tourney on foot, but that anyone who wounded his opponent should be fined.[65] The opportunity to excel publicly also materialized in an extension of the chivalric jousts: literary justas or certámenes, where a jury awarded the palm to winners in quasi-military and literary events. Argensola's inaugural address to the Anhelantes acknowledged the equal importance of the chivalric (or ludic) element of the torneo: 'The aim of this Academy is to assimilate various professions. We should exercise our skills in arms and letters, which is why a tourney on foot has been proposed between academics'.[66] Many of Spain's best-known writers presided over these literary jousts, which were held to mark state or religious celebrations.[67] Some idea of the scale of these proceedings is seen in an account of a joust held in honour of Saint Anthony of Padua before Philip IV's accession, which brought in five thousand literary compositions. The best entries lined the walls of two cloisters and inside the church, with enough over, it is said, to supply a hundred monasteries.[68] Contributions were preserved in contemporary compilations from these events, which were often dubbed 'Academy'.[69]

The Academia del Buen Retiro, or la Academia Burlesca a Felipe IV, was held on 20 February, 1637 in honour of Philip IV. Its president was Luis Vélez, Alfonso Batres was secretary, and Francisco de Rojas y Zorrilla its fiscal. Also officiating were Gerónimo de Cáncer y Velasco, and Luis Quiñones de Benavente, who wrote a loa, some bailes and a comedia for it.[70] Perhaps because of the military, competitive accent at literary jousts, one finds constant references to rivalry and corruption. 'Try to win second prize', warned Cervantes, 'because the first goes to a favour or a title, and, as in universities, the second prize is the first in terms of real achievement'.[71] The most damning remark on literary jousts came from the acerbic pen of Salas Barbadillo, who implied a close working association between the jousts and confraternal fiestas:

> Que supuesto que en las justas poéticas y certámenes literarios, apenas querían escribir los ingenios de acreditada opinión, por ocasión de que las más veces se conformaban los jueces a repartirse los premios entre sí, escribiendo los asuntos en cabeza de algunos amigos confidentes, con quien después partían el vergonzoso robo, parecía que de allí adelante se aconsejase a los mayordomos de las cofradías, gastasen en pólvora y cohetes lo que en esto se consumía, pues había tan poca diferencia de lo uno a lo otro, que la una era fiesta de humo y la otra de viento. Aunque luego volviendo sobre sí revocó su parecer, y dijo que era muy justo que se juntasen entrambas fiestas, porque el viento de la una llevase el humo de la otra.[72]

Meanwhile competition and rivalry at private academy functions influenced the development of a new literary form, the vejamen, into which satirical attacks against other writers were legitimately channelled. This contest of biting wit was clearly the high spot at the end of the academy programme, to which the public could sometimes be admitted. Its value for modern readers is in its revelation of autobiographical traits and intimacies which a contemporary biographer would deem too trivial for inclusion. The vejamen is chiefly useful to the present study for its disclosures of organization of corporate life and contemporary perceptions of brotherhood. It can also reveal the commitment of literary men to a religious goal, be it charitable or devotional. The vejamen followed a particular order of composition: allusion to the difficulty of the task facing the fiscal; finding of a fantastic or allegorical artifice which frames the procession of devices; and a series of burlesque semblanzas, each ending with a mocking little verse. The piece usually ended on a note of eulogy for

the assembly which countenanced such a chanza.[73] Sometimes the vejamen attacked topical issues. In Corral's Cintia de Aranjuez, the vejamen is arranged into 'camas', in each of which a patient is visited by 'Doctor' Apollo. This leads Corral into an attack on contemporary proliferation of specialist hospitals. The significance of his allocation of poets to the asylum will be seen later:

> Estrañó un curioso que hubiese hospitales de tan diferentes gremios y naciones, y que faltasen de poetas habiendo tantos malos... le ha reducido a mansión señalada, que a imitación del hospital general llamóle Hospital perenal con hermandad a los Orates de Valladolid, y al Nuncio de Toledo.[74]

Many vejámenes and justas contain an allusion to confraternal penitents - a reminder to the modern historian that literary men also belonged to pious confraternities, and were well-acquainted with their rituals.[75] For example, at the fiesta de San Juan de Alfarache in 1606, some participants, including Cervantes, called themselves 'cofrades de luz', denoting their bright and witty contributions, whilst others called themselves 'cofrades de sangre', alluding to their lively satire, which spared no-one present.[76] And in a private vejamen, Gabriel Bocángel is allegedly found 'atado a un poste con tantas sogas, como si le hubieran dado por penitencia que se aspara'.[77] Another vignette, given by Pantaleón de Ribera to the Academia de Madrid, lampoons confraternal penitentes de sangre and nazarenos:

> Soñé, pues... llegando, a cierta plazuela que llaman del Interlunio, oscuro de rostro, menudo de facciones, en cada carrillo una cruel bofetada de barbas, envuelto en una sotana de lanilla, tan descolorida y tan blanca como que no le hubiera quedado gota de sangre, se vino un estudiante para mí, en el izquierdo un látigo y abiertos ambos brazos. Creí, desde lejos, viéndole [don Lucido Intervalo] puesto en cruz, que fuese penitente el ademán.[78]

5.1.2.1 Valentones de la pluma - Otherhood in Academies

Vejamenes and other academy works are chiefly useful, however, for what they reveal about corporate life among literary men, where 'otherhood' seems to have been the norm. Despite an early emphasis on 'gentlemen members', rivalries may have arisen because of the wider social base in membership compared with universities, a factor which apparently tested the concept of true brotherhood. The ephemeral existence of many academies owes much to this rivalry, as several contemporaries attest. Referring to the academies of Madrid which met in the years 1608-1613, Suárez de Figueroa lamented that, having

convened with the laudable intention of broadening members' cultural horizons, academies succumbed to:

> Censuras, fiscalias y emulaciones, no pocas voces y diferencias, pasando tan adelante las presunciones, arrogancias y arrojamientos, que por instantes no solo ocasionaron menosprecios y demasías, sino también peligrosos enojos y pendencias, siendo causa de que cesasen tales juntas con toda brevedad.[79]

Lope de Vega complained that academies fostered 'juegos y blasfemias, y de otros vicios viles' in his Laurel de Apolo; and in La Dorotea he said: 'Juntarse a murmurar los unos de los otros debe de traer gusto; pero parece envidia, y en muchos ignorancia'.[80] Duque de Estrada mentions an affray in the academy of the Count of Fuensalida, where he almost paid with his life for a satirical piece.[81] And in Saldaña's academy tempers frayed and swords were drawn, when banter at the expense of Pedro Soto de Rojas and Luis Vélez got out of hand. Saldaña closed the academy, which re-convened a week later in what became the Academia Selvaje, named after its patron, Francisco de Silva y Mendoza.[82] Góngora's scathing attack on this new academy shows that solidarity was still strained. He refers to the founder, Padre Ferrer, and to the fact that the first meeting-place burnt down, hinting at a worse conflagration because of morisco members, who risked investigation by the Inquisition, or else damnation in the afterlife. Any religious or solemn intent had meanwhile degenerated into farce, worthy of the local asylum.[83]

Some academicians were close friends, or at least on cordial terms, but cooler relationships were common (Lope and Cervantes, Góngora and Lope, Lope and Pellicer), because of literary satirical attacks on one another.[84] These attacks disclose much about contemporary academies and their values. Aristocratic patrons may have encouraged, or at least influenced, a spirit of partisanship. Following their example, poets divided into camps, supporting particular protectors in the hope of preferment, as Cervantes observed in 1614: 'por momentos se dividen en varias setas y en contrarios bandos'.[85] Alternatively, supporters of one literary faction would convene in the same academy. Members of the Academia de Ochoa in Seville (1598), for example, were antagonistic to Lope de Vega. A satirical poem published here against Lope was allegedly penned by Cervantes, and certainly caused a rupture in their relations:

Lope dicen que vino. - No es posible
¡Voto a Dios que pasó por donde asisto!
No lo puedo creer. - ¡Por Jesucristo!
Que pasa lo que os digo. Es imposible
¡Por el hijo de Dios que estáis terrible!
Digo que es chanza, Andrada. ¡Voto a Cristo!
Que entró por Macarena, - ¿Y quién lo ha visto?
Yo lo ví. ¿Vos? Mentís; que es invisible.
¿Invisible? ¡Por Dios ques ése engaño,
Porque Lope de Vega es hombre, y hombre
Como yo, y como vos y Juan García.
¿Es muy alto? Será de mi tamaño.
Si no es tan grande, pues, como su nombre,
¡Cágome en vos, en él y en su poesía![86]

Disputes often generated a series of works of huge interest to the social historian. For instance, hostilities between Lope and Pedro Torres Rámila (preceptor in Latin at Alcalá), were kindled by a Latin work called Spongia written by the latter, and fuelled by a response in an allegorical work by Salas Barbadillo, La peregrinación sabia (1635), where the animal poets form a literary academy. Members of this 'academy' include a thrush: 'mal gramático pedante, hablador importuno y muy preciado de retórico, siendo mas verboso que elocuente' (alluding to Rámila); and a nightingale. Lope had written a defence of the nightingale against the thrush in La Filomena. Other members of the 'academy' are a horse (an ignorant noble who buys his adulation); a cat (who tries to shine with things stolen from his contemporaries that he sells as his own); a monkey depicted as a poet in the comic mode; and an eagle cast as a poet in the heroic mode. There is a dog cast as an envious poet, who pinches and mauls other people's work, which earns him the name Fisgarroa (fisgar/roer). His identity is without doubt that of Suárez de Figueroa, a writer given to literary shows of jealousy, whose Plaza universal de todas ciencias y artes (1615) is largely translated from Garzoni's La piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo.[87]

It is evident from most of these caricatures that the main source of contention was plagiarism. Many academics, especially gentlemen with money but no poetic talent, either passed off others' works as their own, or else paid a competent poet to write their academic compositions. Francisco Tárrega read to the Nocturnos 'Lleva trás si los pámpanos otubre', a poem written for him by Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola.[88] Cervantes satirized this practice around the turn of the century, first in El coloquio de los perros with an account of the poetaster, Mauleón, of the Academia de los Humildes, who translated 'Deum de Deo' as 'Dé donde diere';[89] and again in La Gitanilla, where Andrés declares himself

an admirer of poetry, rather than a poet, but: 'Para lo que he menester no voy a pedir ni a buscar ajenos: los que te di son mios, y estos que te doy agora también'.[90] Later, in his Parnaso, the warring Apollo fires a canción which begins: 'Cuando me paro a contemplar mi estado', echoing not only the work of Garcilaso, but also that of Lope de Vega, Sebastían de Córdoba, and Bartolomé de Argensola. Then Cervantes continues:

> Tan mezclados están, que no hay quien pueda
> discernir cuál es malo o cuál es bueno,
> cuál es garcilasista o timoneda.[91]

Despite his published views on plagiarism, at the fiesta of San Juan de Alfarache in 1606, Cervantes's twelve coplas: 'Las almorranas y sus alabanzas' almost won the prize, except that Alarcón, fiscal for the occasion, recognized them as the work of Doctor Salinas. He pronounced the work 'hurtado y no de Mendoza, y su autor ladrón, y no de Guevara', and 'sentenced' Cervantes to restore it to Salinas.[92] Possibly still smarting from this ignominy, in 1614 Cervantes included a disclaimer in Apollo's rules for poets assimilating, instead of copying, another's work:

> Item se advierte que no ha de ser tenido por ladrón el poeta que hurtare algún verso ajeno y le encajare entre los suyos, como no sea todo el concepto y toda la copla entera, que en tal caso tan ladrón es como Caco.[93]

Salinas later penned a satirical attack against Góngora for publishing another of his poems in an anthology,[94] and long after Cervantes's death, Alarcón was caught out himself. However, as political intrigue was rife at this period, colleagues were less charitable with him. He had been commissioned to write a cultist eulogy of the wedding of the Prince of Wales with the Infanta, María de Austria in 1623, but being unequal to the task he asked twelve colleagues at the Academia de Madrid to write it for him. The result was in such bad taste, that it offended the royal company and provoked a string of written abuse.[95] Góngora responded with a vituperative poem which asked: '¿De ajenas plumas te vales, corneja?'.[96] This image of the hapless Alarcón was used by several authors in similar attacks. Hurtado de Mendoza wrote:

> Ya de córcova en corneja
> Se ha vuelto el señor don Juan,
> todas sus plumas le dan
> para escribir su conseja.
> Parió la monaza vieja,
> monstruos de octavas confusas,

y el Duque no tiene escusas
de dar fiestas tan perfetas,
al zambo de los poetas,
y al sátiro de las Musas.[97]

Castillo Solórzano included a thinly-disguised version of the episode in Entremés del comisario de figuras, inserted in Las Harpías de Madrid (1631). Here a procession of figures crosses the stage bound for the Nuncio de Toledo. One of them is a poet, accused of wanting to be 'poeta de prestado' and 'mendigo de versos declarado':

Poeta: Sólo por pasar plaza de discreto,
De limosna me valen los poetas
para justas poéticas.
Comisario: ¡Qué tretas!
¿Y si fuese el poeta un ignorante,
es bien ser de ignorancias mendicante?
Apolo de hombres tales forma quejas
pues con plumas prestadas son cornejas.[98]

Quevedo published an [anonymous] attack on the piece, listing the contributors and the number of stanzas each had donated, saying some of them admitted intending to ridicule Alarcón for asking them to write in the style of Góngora.[99] One academy produced a vejamen, published in 1654, targeting Alarcón's disgrace. Décimas satíricas a un poeta concorvado que se valió de trabajos ajenos includes contributions by Góngora, Lope de Vega, Quevedo, Luis Vélez, Mira de Amezúa, Salas Barbadillo, Andrés de Claramonte, Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza, and Castillo Solórzano. Castillo's contribution is particularly informative about co-authors of the work, as well as caricaturing Alarcón's physique:

El poema que a Alarcón
Le ha costado tan barato,
Es parecido retrato
De su talle y perfección.
Belmonte y Pantaleón
Son jibas del haz y envés,
Méscua y don Diego los piés,
Y él la cabeza, aunque fea;
Y el dinero del de Cea
El alma de todo es.[100]

The Duke of Cea mentioned in the poem was the Mecenas who financed the event: Don Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Padilla, son of the Duke of Uceda, and nephew of the Duke of Lerma. The question of patronage is crucial to an understanding of the link between literary men and the underworld. Most writers became dependent upon the whims of a wealthy Mecenas to avoid a lifetime of privation. Lope's popular success is

largely attributed to the backing of the Duke of Sessa, who even paid for his funeral.[101] In return for his confidences and support, Lope penned several elegant love letters, published under Sessa's name.[102] Less fortunate in their patrons were Tirso de Molina, Quevedo, and Alarcón. After leaving Saldaña's academy, Alarcón's bid to attract a new protector is apparent from the number and nature of characters in his comedias with names like Guzmán, Luna, and Mendoza, which reveal his aspirations at the time of writing.[103] Meanwhile in 1618 Quevedo tasted the bitter fruit of his association with the Viceroy of Sicily and Naples, Pedro Téllez-Girón, Duque de Osuna;[104] and Tirso de Molina was banished from Court in 1625 by Olivares and the Junta de la Reformación for writing plays 'of evil incentive and example'.[105] Whatever the degree of comic exaggeration, evidently there was some truth in a satire by Gabriel de Corral about poets dying of hunger, or eating one another to survive, for they were authentically as well as traditionally poor.[106] Cervantes comments in El Parnaso on a rabble of poets keen to recite their works: 'Este muerto de sed, aquél de hambre'.[107] And in Apollo's rules for poets, he stipulates:

> Item, que si algún poeta llegare a casa de algún su amigo o conocido, y estuvieren comiendo, y le convidare, que aunque él jure que ya ha comido, no se le crea en ninguna manera sino que le hagan comer por fuerza, que en tal caso no se le hará muy grande.[108]

This precarious existence was probably the single most important stimulus for academics' interest in the underworld, whose methods of survival they adopted and subsequently exploited to entertain their reading public. The resulting admiration for the underworld hero is apparent from contemporary output of not only the enigmatic picaresque literature, but also a series of comedias de guapos.[109] Further study of these will occupy later chapters of this work, as attention focuses on true underworld brotherhoods.

5.1.2.2 Matantes de papel - Violent Remedies

[redacted] Currency paid by the underworld to writers for publicising and immortalizing their deeds found its way back when hitmen were needed to settle scores arising from literary or political differences. With Philip IV's accession to the throne and the rise to power of Olivares, the 1620s probably mark the zenith of literary rivalries. Cases cited above are only a selection of a literary scene which positively boiled with treachery and imbroglios.

All these examples of rivalry and misfortune may be said to constitute literary vendettas, organized, or sanctioned, by the academy and perpetrated by its members. Borrowing from the underworld jargon, Salas Barbadillo dubbed his colleagues 'matantes de papel y valentones de pluma... poderosos a quitar la vida a un hombre'.[110] His comparison is a valid one in the context of fraternity and 'otherhood' in the academy, highlighting the organized nature of vendetta among sixteenth-century literary men.[111] If satire failed in its objective, there was still recourse to violence, and here was where the underworld came in. There was the much-publicised case of the Count of Villamediana, whose mordant satire, gambling, philandering, and homosexual proclivities earned him powerful enemies. On 21st August, 1622, he was attacked in the street by a man wielding something like a machete. His murderer was never found, but manuscripts show that literary compositions on his murder existed in two forms: a sanitized one for public consumption, and another implicating Philip IV.[112] One of Góngora's poems ends: 'que el matador fue Bellido,/ la muerte de cortesano'; whilst in another manuscript version the last line is altered to: 'y el impulso soberano'.[113] Lope de Vega also wrote a poem using the same ending: 'que el matador fue Bellido/ siendo impulso soberano'.[114] High on the list of suspects might also have been future members of the academy opened at Naples in 1624, Accademia degli Infuriati. Its members penned sonnets, anonymous letters, insults, and even comic death threats to the Ociosos (of which Villamediana had been a member), because of a dispute over their meeting place. The assailant could also have been a candidate refused membership of the prestigious Ociosos by the president (Lemos, Viceroy of Naples).[115]

Although unconnected with Villamediana's demise, Cervantes and Góngora had both been rebuffed, and might have been well-disposed to similar subversive activity.[116] Cervantes himself had jokingly intimated in 1614 that he went in fear of his life among the poets of Madrid:

> Si encontraba poetas por las calles,
> me ponía a pensar si eran de aquellos
> huídos, y pasaba sin hablalles.
> Poníanseme yertos los cabellos
> de temor no encontrase algún poeta,
> de tantos que no pude conocellos,
> que, con puñal buido, o con secreta
> almarada me hiciese un abujero
> que fuese al corazón por vía recta.[117]

And in a reference to Villamediana's complicity in the scandal which led to the execution of Rodrigo Calderón, Quevedo warned of the link between political treachery and poets. In the last line he hints at Villamediana's thwarted aspirations to the privanza, after Lerma's fall from grace. After a flurry of literary representations to the King, the position went to Olivares:

> Cocodrilos descubiertos
> son poetas vengativos;
> que a los que se comen vivos
> los lloran después de muertos.
>
> Nadie con ellos se meta
> mientras tuviere sentido;
> que, al fin, a cada valido
> se le llega su poeta.
>
> Los que priváis con los reyes
> mirad bien la historia mia:
> guardáos de la poesia,
> que se va metiendo a leyes.[118]

Another plot was hatched against Rojas Zorrilla for his satirical exposé of his colleagues at the vejamen of 20 February, 1637 in the Buen Retiro.[119] On this occasion swords were drawn and Rojas was wounded. But at another justa on 24 April, 1638, it was reported that he had been murdered by an unknown hand.[120] Vélez's burlesque statutes for Buen Retiro specifically address the organized vengeance schemes which academies evidently operated:

> Un autor de comedias por su Magestad está retraido en San Sebastián, porque andan tras él cuarenta poetas para matarle, porque no quiere tomar sus comedias, atento que no son de los conocidos. Suplica a V.S. mande que los recojan o que los prediquen como a las malas mujeres, por que se conviertan y que los protectores de la Academia tomen a su cargo el remediarlos; que trocando las comedias que tienen escritas a papel blanco, les será también muy grande ayuda de costa para esto, y haya para este efeto, de aquí adelante todos los años señalado un jueves de poetas como de la Madalena.[121]

Vélez's comparison of bands of maleficent poets with contemporary swarms of prostitutes is an interesting one. If a programme of reform could be instituted, he implies, the benefits accruing to society as a whole from repentant poets and prostitutes would more than balance the work involved. The channelling of their energies into producing good work would benefit this world, as well as earning salvation for themselves

and their reformers in the next. Vélez's contemporary academic, Quevedo, also capitalized on this notion:

> Atendiendo a que este género de sabandijas que llaman poetas son nuestros prójimos y cristianos, aunque malos, viendo que todo el año idolatran mujeres y hacen otros pecados más enormes, mandamos que la Semana Santa recogan a los poetas públicos y cantoneros, como a malas mujeres, y que los prediquen para convertirlos; y para esto señalamos casas de arrepentidos, que, según su dureza, no las estrenarán.[122]

The overlap between pious confraternities, who did this reform work, and literary men is especially prominent in one final case of hired hitmen: the mugging of Lope de Vega. In 1612 Lope aspired to the office of consiliario in the coming elections of the Hermandad de los Esclavos del SS Sacramento, which met in the monastery of the Discalced Trinitarians behind Lerma's palace. He arranged a secret meeting at 2 am with the founders of the Hermandad, P. Fr. Agustín de San José and P. Fr. Alonso de la Purificación. After securing their agreement to fake the election results, he left muffled in a cloak to avoid recognition. Nevertheless, on the way home an attacker knifed him, though he was fortunate to escape with his life.[123] Some years later Lope's own employment of hired killers was exposed by Alarcón. At the justa organized by Lope to celebrate the beatification of Saint Isidore in 1620, the seventh asunto required poets to write a romance in praise of three saints native to Madrid, on condition that the poem 'acabe felicemente, con haber nacido en ella el Rey nuestro Señor'. Lope wrote the poem submitted by Maestro Burguillos. Alarcón seized the opportunity to accuse Lope of hiring hitmen, in La industria y la suerte:

Arnesto:	Pues oye, tú buscarás,
	Sancho, dos o tres valientes
	Destos que pagados, dan
	Muertes y heridas; que quiero
	Hacer sin riesgo al dinero
	Homicida de Don Juan...
Sancho:	¡Gloria a Dios, que me he acordado!
	Un hombre llamarte quiero,
	Que es de Madrid, y el primero
	Por lo valiente y callado.
Arnesto:	Eso es lo que he menester.
	¿Y cómo se llama?
Sancho:	Cid,
	Por mal nombre.
Arnesto:	¿Y de Madrid?

Sancho: ¿Pues de dónde puede ser,
Sino del lugar felice
En que el Rey de España nace,
Quien no diga lo que hace,
Y quien haga lo que dice?[124]

Whilst it is not the intention of the present thesis to suggest that associative bodies such as the literary groups existed for the breeding of criminals and the perpetration of crimes, there is an undeniable link between the marginals and sixteenth-century academy members, as also between the latter and the aristocracy, for all of whom the academy was common ground.[125] Gentlemen typically enjoyed a symbiotic relationship with musicians, dramatists, actors, and authors, in whose specialities they frequently dabbled as amateurs. Members of Medrano's Academia Peregrina had to be either renowned in their profession or have won acclaim for a published comedia, which therefore allowed for infiltration of less desirable writers.[126] Rodriguez Marin thinks that besides the aristocratic literary academies of Francisco Pacheco and Juan de Arguijo in Seville from 1598, the one presided over by Juan de Ochoa must have attracted members who were more maleantes.[127] Members included Luis Vélez, 'el bravo, que se puede llamar quitapesares', and the infamous Alonso Alvarez de Soria.[128] Soria's preferred company was that of the underworld of Triana, whose distinctive way of swallowing the ends of their words he adapted into a unique style of verse. Anonymous coplas which he sent to Lope and Rodrigo Calderón were therefore easily identified. But when he wrote a copla about the Asistente, Bernardino de Avellaneda, calling him by a rude name which the locals applied to a beggar for San Zoilo, the saint invoked for kidney infections, his end was swift. Despite written petitions from his poets' coterie, he was taken out of church asylum and hanged three hours later.[129] Marin's distinction between academies of maleantes and others was probably more diffuse than he suggests, since the reputation of an academy depended upon the activities of the men who frequented it. Cervantes was especially fond of deriding the lowlife element of poetic academies:

Unos por hombres buenos conocidos,
otros de rumbo y hampo, y Dios es Cristo,
poquitos bien, y muchos mal vestidos.
Entre ellos parecióme de haber visto
a Don Antonio de Galarza el bravo,
gentilhombre de Apolo, y muy bienquisto.[130]

I[redacted]. Argensola's speech to the Anhelantes, encouraging their participation in military exercise, implies that most of its members were young men, and therefore more likely to be led by the heart than the head.[131] Tales that became attached to the names of a few academy men are sufficient of themselves to imply some highly-coloured careers. Quevedo, so legend had it, had to flee Madrid on 21 March, 1612, after wounding a man in church with his sword.[132] In 1611, Duque de Estrada had allegedly killed four people, wounded el Pardillo (a notable criminal), held a duel in church, among other places, committed various atrocities on people at night, and consorted with prostitutes.[133] Villamediana also attended this academy. And Salas Barbadillo, a member of the Academia Poética de Madrid (1616-22), and of the Academy of Madrid (1623-26), was charged with the face-slashing of a converso, Don Diego de Persia.[134]

5.1.2.3 Academic Charity and Control - Illumination and Obscurity

The foregoing details of rivalries and treachery demonstrate that in the academy, as well as the university, solidarity came under strain in the Golden Age. But whereas the university was constrained by Inquisitorial censors, and international exchange was banned by royal decree, the academy promoted a universal fellowship which broke down religious distinctions. Mystical sects such as the Rosicrucians apart, general academic aims, after cultivation of language and literature, were philanthropic, having the good of all (literary) men in mind. Illumination became the emblem, if not also the name, of many academies. In England Francis Bacon proposed a brotherhood of learning which could transcend national boundaries, so that learned men might exchange knowledge and help one another. He claimed that universities at that time did not promote such exchange:

> Surely, as nature createth brotherhood in families, and trades contract brotherhood in communities, and the anointment of God establishes a brotherhood in kings and bishops, in like manner there should spring up a fraternity in learning and illumination, relating to that paternity which is attributed to God, who is called the father of lights.[135]

Bacon's ideal was glossed unawares a few years later by Argensola, who expressed the hope that the Anhelantes would unite men from all professions: theologians, jurists, scholars, and poets, to learn something useful from each other and acquire gradually the qualities of polished

courtiers.[136] Evidently Cervantes shared this view when he wrote Part II of Don Quijote:

> La poesía, señor hidalgo, a mi parecer, es como una doncella tierna y de poca edad, y en todo estremo hermosa, a quien tienen cuidado de enriquecer, pulir y adornar otras muchas doncellas, que son todas las otras ciencias, y ella se ha de servir de todas, y todas se han de autorizar con ella.[137]

In effect all three men were proposing a system of international mutual aid, in parallel with the work of the great archconfraternities. It was to be administered by those skilled in the art of distilling fine poetry. The academies were already practised, it seems, in philanthropic work. Popular literature reveals much about this work, especially when it parodies academy statutes, because humour often lies in exaggeration of the norm, or in reference to topical themes which, out of context, seem totally absurd. Thus an outsider to Spanish culture in time or space might be amused by burning issues such as the concept of blood purity, and on the other hand, Golden-Age Spaniards might be amused by a heretic's faith in salvation. Humour, then, tells a historian about the existence and import of a given practice, philosophy, etc. This is especially true of parody, at the boundary between fact and fiction. Statutes of Vélez's burlesque academy list a number of pious works among their aims, which we must suppose to have had some authenticity. For example, the oldest poets in the organization were instructed to give alms of sonnets, songs, madrigals, décimas, and romances to 'poetas vergonzantes que piden de noche'.[138] Poets found sick and lost in Góngora's Soledades, said Vélez's rules, must be marshalled, and there should be a poteria in the Academy, where sopa de versos could be given out. Besides sniping at the complexity of Góngora's poem, here was a reference to the work of the great Refugio confraternity, as also to the custom, perpetrated by religious brothers, of periodically dispensing 'sopa de convento' to those waiting at the church or convent doors (sopistas), and in this context, to starving poets.[139] Whether Vélez's parody was truly representative of academic caritas, or whether it represents his own witty interpretation of it, is immaterial compared with the more important fact, for the present study, that a comparison with pious confraternities was made at all. Whatever may have been their function, academies seem to have unconsciously taken the pious confraternity as their model, at least in religious ethos. Presumably some academies helped with ransom of captives.[140] The

underlying object of this and other pious works was clearly to prevent the oppressed from reneging on their faith. For the same reason care of orphans was given high priority. In the context of Vélez's academy this was interpreted as a prodigious child-poet - a sort of literary Antichrist -, whose talents filled his colleagues with alarm. Obviously society's answer to something it could not explain was to shut it away:

> En los barrios de Leganitos ha aparecido un muchacho de hasta seis años que nació con tres hileras de consonantes en la boca y hace versos de repente, y mete redondillas entre las uñas, a los muchachos de su escuela, como Antipoeta. Dáse noticia a V.S. Illustríssima para que se recoja en los Desamparados hasta averiguar lo que es.[141]

Apparently academies also helped the pusillanimous. Good men wavering on the brink of a literary career needed the prayers of others to restrain them. This may have been an indirect allusion to the heterodox spirit prevailing among literary men:

> Un ermitaño de el Retiro, que no se puede nombrar, anda con tentaciones de poeta. Pídesele a la Academia se haga en ella particular oración, por que Dios le tenga de sus consonantes.[142]

Another rule implies that help was also available through academies for widows in difficulties and those in debt (ibid., 23). Confraternal loan schemes were a relatively new departure in the sixteenth century, when both social security and a monetary system were still in their infancy, and subsistence crises threatened rural and urban workers alike. It is interesting, therefore, that Vélez's academy apparently functioned also as a Monte Pío:

> Doña Artemidora Blasa de Baldestillas, viuda de Don Simón Beltenebros de Alcaparrosa, académico de la academia de don Francisco de Mendoza, dice que quedó con un poema de teta a los pechos y dos comedias, una comenzando a andar y otra destetada. Suplica a V.S. Illustríssima que para criarlos, por estar pobre, mande que de lo que está apartado para gastos de la Academia, se le dé una ayuda de costa, que será una obra muy acepta a la poesía y a la posteridad.[143]

If Vélez's intention was to draw a witty comparison between the academy and the pious confraternity, this would suppose that his (academic) audience had a working knowledge of both organizations. It may be, however, that all academies professed a charitable cause, to alleviate suspicion by the ruling powers about contact between marginal classes and a group of men which met ostensibly to promote cultural life. That this seems to be the case is evident from the frequency with

which Vélez's rules allude to reform of conversos and moriscos. Conversos were excluded from many contemporary societies and institutions, and while examples which follow must reflect contemporary preoccupation with that exclusion, there may be reason to suspect that academies did not systematically exclude converso poets (this being conceived, or proclaimed, as a work of charity). Indeed, the vexed question which so beset other societies seems to have afforded some amusement to academy members. There was, for example, a provision in Vélez's Pragmáticas for curbing suspected heterodoxy, which advocated that the cult of the Phoenix (a useless and mythical bird with suspect lineage, having no ancestor who was not burnt), should cease. The same rules refer later to the expulsion of moriscos in 1604: 'Item, que las comedias de moros se bautizen dentro de cuarenta dias o salgan de el reino'.[144] The evidence of some satire, however, suggests that anti-semitism was still a burning issue in some academies. Villamediana relentlessly exposed Jewish government officials, such as Jorge Tovar, who presided over some academy meetings.[145] Tovar, and others like him, may have escaped ostracism by forming their own academies. Villamediana ridiculed one of these, whose patron was Antonio Vega:

> A mi noticia el gran concilio llega
> y que el Jordán trasladan a Italía.
> ¡Cuidado, Apolo, que esta gente impía
> teme las llamas y a la luz se ciega!
>
> Académico Antonio, sea la Vega
> en vuestra judaizante compañía,
> y no ya vega del Ave-Maria,
> sino de torpe tribu que la niega.
>
> De tal Mecenas, [pues], de congregada
> judaica plebe, ya Toledo espera
> nuevas llamas y Cristo otra lanzada.
>
> Mucha luz me promete y poca cera
> gente que por confesa confesada
> por luminarias nos dará su hoguera.[146]

Despite Bacon's call for 'illumination', the names of many contemporary academies reflect the essentially underground nature of their operations.[147] One of these was the Nocturnos in Valencia, whose members adopted the names: Secreto, Sombra, Descuido, Relámpago, Miedo, Sosiego, and Centinela. Others suggesting a clandestine ambience include the Academia Selvaje in Madrid, los Solitarios, and las Minas. The prevailing spirit of covert dealings is summed up in a fictional account written by Castillo Solórzano of ritual initiation in a literary academy. Overlaps with the initiation ceremonies of Military Orders and

universities include ritual undressing and baptism, with the bestowal of mystical objects.[148] Finally the graduand's face and hands are sponged with ink, so that 'quedaba perfecto culto en la obscuridad', and he is admitted formally by Doctor Don Candor, Don Esplendente, and Don Brillante.[149] Of course one cannot discount here the intention to parody a literary obscurantist style, about which opinion was polarizing by early in the seventeenth century, when this piece was written. But the existence of such a style must be weighed against contemporary literary censorship and repression, which obliged men of like minds to adopt a coded or esoteric language of communication. The existence of such a code, it seems, has always been seen as a necessary criterion of the secret society. Although Vélez's much-publicized Academia del Buen Retiro cannot claim to be a 'secret society', his parodic rules contain a cluster of possible criticisms of secret sects. In one of these he denounces the underground working of a group of poets, which might have been Las Minas:

> Unos albañiles, haciendo una cueva en el barrio de Santa Bárbara, hallaron en un sótano que rompieron unos poetas estranjeros haciendo poesía falsa, han denunciado de ellos y la justicia los ha preso y quitado los instrumentos con que la hacian. Suplican a V.S. Illustrissima les mande dar la parte que les cabe de la denunciación que ellos la tomarán en jácaras y en seguidillas.[150]

In the literary context, this is possibly an attack on the conceptists, but it may also reflect changing attitudes to plagiarism (or imitation of old masters), which was beginning to be regarded in the anti-culterano academy not as good classical technique, but as something akin to forgery.[151] In another bid ostensibly to stem the tide of plagiarists and poetasters, but also other outcasts, Vélez advocated the establishment of 'una Hermandad y Peralvillo contra los poetas monteses'.[152] Besides the obvious allusion to the Santa Hermandad and its place of execution, this rule may also harbour an attack on the Academia de los Montañeses del Parnaso, founded in 1616 by Guillén de Castro.

5.1.2.4 Academic Organization - Codes of Secrecy

It sees likely, from the foregoing parodic rules, that membership statutes in Golden-Age academies encouraged an exclusivism based on creed or literary style, diverging slightly from a similar contemporary trend in pious confraternities based on creed and socio-economic distinctions. In parallel with pious confraternities, however,

exclusivism was also fostered by practices of secrecy. Where the pious confraternity banned divulgence of its affairs to outsiders, statutes of the Academia Pítima in Zaragoza ruled that 'los papeles de la Academia no pueden ser enseñados a nadie'.[153] Statutes in Medrano's academy in Madrid, La Peregrina (1621), proposed that members donate to its library a copy of everything published prior to admission, and that subsequent publications depend upon corporate approval of the academy.[154] In Los Nocturnos at Valencia all the works celebrated were generally chosen, allotted, and recorded in the Academy book, by either the Academy secretary or the consiliario; the purpose being to uphold the general tenor of work and hence the academy's reputation.

Some academic rules vetoed certain literary forms, sometimes to exclude culteranismo, a learned style with Latinate syntax and vocabulary, erudite reference to classical and foreign literature, and a liberal sprinkling of neologisms and archaisms, which rendered the work unintelligible to the common reader. Poets in this mode included Góngora, Villamediana, Polo de Medina, and Pantaleón, who wrote:

> Poeta soy gongorino
> imitador valeroso
> del estilo que no entienden
> en este tiempo los sordos.[155]

The reading out of works in 'lengua pantaleona' or in 'idioma de xárave' was banned in Vélez's burlesque academy, and anyone using 'fulgores, libar, númen, purpúrear, metatrámite, afectar, pompa, trémula, amago' or 'dilio' risked suspension for two academy sessions.[156]

A variant on the culterano style, though not necessarily opposed to it, was conceptismo, championed by [redacted], Quevedo, and Gracián. Those against conceptismo include Lope de Vega and Rojas Zorrilla, whose vejamen at Buen Retiro almost cost him his life (see page 175 above). In that vejamen, he portrays Pellicer astride a horse, with a note attached to the mane saying 'Yo le comentaré'. Pellicer carries a copy of Góngora's Polifemo under his left arm and points with the second finger of his right hand to the words: 'El se entiende'.[157] The conceptist style combined obscurity with brevity, and unusual ideas with striking metaphors, in a bid to understand occult relationships between all things in the universe. Clearly, like culteranismo, this also discriminated against the average reader.[158] Villamediana and Quevedo independently perfected the use especially of conceits, wit, and ambiguity in a new phase of literary

satire, which, understandably, aroused hostilities. Cervantes portrayed the contemporary scene as a hilarious pitched battle between good and bad poets, in which Jusepe de Vargas fends off a sonnet hurtling towards him with a cry of: 'Tú que vienes de satírica pluma disparado/ ¿por qué el infame curso no detienes?' Nevertheless the sonnet hit its target.[159] The Academia Pítima at Zaragoza outlawed satire,[160] as did Vélez's Buen Retiro, repeated in the Pragmáticas, but the rule should be read in the light of Vélez's career in satire:

> Que a los poetas satíricos no se les dé lugar en las academias y se tengan por poetas bandidos y fuera de el gremio de la poesía noble, y que se pregonen sus faltas como de hombres facinerosos a la república.[161]

It was not that satire per se was peculiar to Golden Age academies. Religious parody found an early voice in the Goliards,[162] but in the repressive years of the Counter-Reformation a new sub-genre developed, consolidating the older tradition and incorporating contemporary critiques. Apparently of little concern to the censor, this sub-genre parodied rule books of established corporate bodies - particularly those of pious confraternities and academies. Scant work seems to have been done on these parodies, despite their relative ease of access and historical value.[163] In Italy the tradition had already become something of a cult by very early in the sixteenth century.[164] Apparently the fashion came to Spain later, reaching a zenith in the period 1590-1650. There is a good example of it in the Pragmáticas, included in Vélez's El diablo Cojuelo. These were written a decade before Vélez presided over the Academia del Buen Retiro at Madrid, in which the Pragmáticas are repeated verbatim. The rule on literary excellence in Buen Retiro, for instance, was a fairly straightforward remark on the aims of all contemporary literary academies. Whilst witticisms were to be encouraged, they had to be refined.[165] Cervantes produced an earlier set of parodic rules in 1614, in which Apollo warns poets not to bring the profession into disrepute by public recitals. Secrecy (or esoterism) was essential to good poetry.[166] Castillo Solórzano wrote some parodic rules for El culto graduado, which reveal that the aim of this 'academy' was to produce culterano literature:

> Primeramente, le damos facultad y licencia in scriptis, para que en sus obscuras composiciones (sean en el género de versos que quisiere), no repudie ninguna extranjera voz, inusitada frase, esquisito verbo y extraordinaria novedad, aunque venga todo tinto en latino, griego o italiano.[167]

There may also be a criticism here of Pantaleón, a dynamic academy member, who was known as el Caballero Griego because of the obscure style he used, with Latin, Greek, and Italian borrowings interspersed.[168] The emphasis on obscurity is the same notion of a mystery or secret as that found in the guilds, freemasons, and pious confraternities. Possession of privileged knowledge made the society impenetrable to outsiders, and by its quasi-mystical aura, it kept members sufficiently apprehensive as to render them tractable. As the professed purpose of Castillo's 'academy', whose steward was Micer Tenebroso, and whose Beadle was Mosén Crepúsculo,[169] was promotion of a cultist style, the rules required that a work could be turned on its head, or read in any sequence whatsoever, without yielding its meaning or origin, just like second-hand clothes, whose garment of origin was carefully concealed by the dealer.[170]

5.1.2.5 Patronage Chains and Discipline

The reference here to old clothes dealers (the brokers for underworld operations) is not accidental. The underworld was peopled by diverse marginal characters, some of whom may have formed shady partnerships with academy members, always with the emphasis on a poet's survival. Blind men were particularly importunate. The infamous blind buffoon, Mendocilla, a member of the Academia de Madrid who was banished from Court in 1625, was reported to be writing coplas for the blind at this time.[171] Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza, Secretary of the Inquisition in 1625 and fellow member of the Academy, apparently was acquainted with a certain 'Cristóbal el ciego', for whom he wrote a romance de repente.[172] This alliance, according to Vélez, another academic, cost Hurtado (and the academy) dear in resulting litigation:

> Cristóbal el ciego, poeta repentista, natural de Cien Pozuelos (como melón), trae pleito pendiente con otro ciego poeta badea de hacer coplas de lo que nunca sucedió, de vender almanaques, relaciones, jácaras sobre dos villancicos que le hurtó cantándolos en Nuestra Señora de Loreto: el uno es un diálogo entre Judas y Pilatos y el otro contra Lucifer, que dice: 'Lucifer cayó en un pozo, por que nació Jesús poderoso.' Suplica a V.S. Illustríssima se vea y se le haga justicia, que en ello recibiera merced.[173]

Perhaps not surprisingly, Castillo sought to exempt members of his parodic academy from all obligation to compose hymns for chapel-masters and nuns, or to write historical coplas for blind-men to peddle. He also attempted to repress the extortion evidently practised on members

by the underworld valientes, anxious to feature in contemporary quasi-epic jacarandinas.[174] Were it not for further corroborative evidence, one might be tempted to dismiss the idea of members of the underworld commissioning literary work. But several parodic poems on the subject reveal a muted opposition to such manipulation of their talents.[175]

Besides regulating charitable work aimed at survival and succour of members and affiliates, and enforcing secrecy, in parallel with pious confraternities, academy statutes were concerned to control members' behaviour. However, implementation of discipline was at best arbitrary, to judge by Vélez's parody of the confraternal rule of harmony: 'Item, que ningún poeta sea osado a hablar mal de los otros, sino en dos veces en la semana'.[176] The same rules applied, however, at academic meetings as at confraternal ones. The Academia Pitima insisted upon discreet silence whilst a member was reading his work.[177] In the case of a dispute, the President was arbiter.[178] As in the pious confraternity, no absence was tolerated in the Nocturnos except with good reason given to the President, and even then his work had to be submitted in absentia. One finds an echo of this rule in Lope's fictitious academy in La Dorotea. When Fernando misses a meeting, he sends his work in for criticism.[179] Meanwhile members at the Academia Pitima absent for over three weeks were expelled.[180]

To resume our findings so far, literary gentlemen associated in the sixteenth century in well-organized, exclusive groups, claiming kinship with both the lay, pious confraternities and with the Military Orders, by which to gain a seal of official approval. Once the desired autonomy had been acquired or conceded, the more progressive men were bold enough to try to adapt the university guild to their purpose, but this was usually met with resistance from Church and State sponsors. Avantgardists found in the academies a freedom for self-expression unheard of in the university, and for a time they enjoyed considerable autonomy. For various reasons, including the need for funding, however, they often contracted with the criminal fraternity, both as puppet, producing libellous, or pseudo-literary pieces on their behalf, and as paymaster, hiring criminals to settle their scores. The distinction between the underworld and the aristocracy, who maintained a high profile in the academies, was in any case tenuous. Historically it had been the depredations of the nobility that had motivated the formation of the Santa Hermandad, and in the late sixteenth century felony

continued in the foral regions, such as Catalonia, where nobility turned to banditry in clan warfare between Nyerros and Cadells.[181] Clearly there are too many cases of violence arising among academy members to dismiss the notion that the interaction of ideas and social types in the academies was potentially explosive. The changing face of academies, possibly affected by the infiltration of some criminals into them, as well as by the internal pursuit of heterodox interests, led to repressive moves which drove them underground and effectively strengthened their brotherly bonds. Secrecy, or obscurity, was the key element of academic life. Meanwhile in the university, criminal elements could appear at a variety of levels, imposing strains on the medieval fraternal spirit which had formerly directed them, with the result that as they expanded, so they splintered into more powerful, and sometimes more overtly criminal coalition groups. As puppets of a Church and State not always over-scrupulous in its aims; and capable also of acting as paymasters or recruiting officers for the underworld, academics trod a fine line between both societies, borrowing the best features from both. Diverging a little from pious confraternal ethos, brotherhood existed for literary men, not for any high moral purpose, but for self-preservation. As the substance of this chapter has drawn on literary works produced by groups which met ostensibly for cultural purposes, it would be appropriate to consider briefly their artistic output and its contribution to contemporary society, by way of re-affirming the value of popular literature as a source of social history, and also to focus our quest for brotherhood on literary circles.

5.1.3 A Cultural Heritage - Writing about Life

The greatest contribution to the arts from literary and related academies was popular literature, which tells us about the men who frequented academies, and how they operated collectively. One finds fleeting references by writers, for example, to the works of fellow academics - Gerarda quotes from Garcilaso in La Dorotea; and in Las Harpías de Madrid, Castillo mentions a comedia by Lope.[182] There was also a contemporary penchant for drawing up lists of those considered eligible to be cofrades del Parnaso. Exclusion from such a list could cause grave offence, as a satirical set of rules, drawn up in 1649, reveal:

> Algunos poetas se hallan cargados de que no ponen su estatua en el parnaso nuevo del prado. Para deshacer este agravio no puedo ofrecerles más de mi nariz, que no hay parnaso que se le iguale.[183]

A quantity of academic literary output also found its way into larger works for general consumption. While it is true that certain innovations were consciously created in the academy setting, a large part of contemporary literature arose almost by chance, or at least, found its way into popular circulation after its initial purpose, that of entertaining the coterie, was spent. Cervantes's Parnaso (1614) was originally composed as a satirical poem based on Caporali's Viaggio in Parnasso. Nineteen of the poems in Gaspar Mercado's El Prado de Valencia (1600), are taken from compositions read at the Nocturnos, of which he was a member.[184] And the prologue to Gabriel de Corral's La Cintia de Aranjuez (1628) reveals that all the verse in the work was the fruit of his association with Francisco de Mendoza's academy. Prose and verse elements in Salas Barbadillo's Don Diego, including a humorous collection of letters and a libellous, Boccalini-type episode, were probably written for Medrano's academy; and the theme 'la excelencia de las bubas', in Hidalgo's Diálogos, may also originate in literary academic debate.[185]

Sometimes the boundary between an academy and its work blurs. In this area lies the unintentional contribution of the academy to its own heritage, because the subject matter reveals so much about the organization for which it was conceived. Castillo's fictitious academy, La huerta de Valencia (1629), for example, contains a collection of verse and prose read in different literary academies of Valencia. Its members are Don Leonardo, Doctor Eusebio, a doctor and philosopher at the University of Valencia, Micer Ortensio, a jurist and member of Parnassus; and don Guillén (thought to be Guillén de Castro), who at twenty-two years of age studies art and philosophy, is very fond of music, and stages a drama called La comedia del agravio satisfecho. In another fictitious Sevillian academy, the 'Cónclave de San Lázaro' conceived by Vélez, Antonio Ortiz Melgarejo, de la insignia de San Juan, is President, Alvaro Cubillo is Secretary, and other members include Antonio de Mendoza, and Garcia de Salcedo Coronel.[186] And finally, in José Camerino's La dama beata (1655), a vejamen is held where the author is led by Fama to a small city called Academia constructed for the defence of poetry against barbarous attacks by 'un noble caballero de la ilustre progenie de los Mendozas'. He sees various places there: 'un sucio corral', 'dos praderas', and 'El Caballero Griego', whose escutcheon bears a panther and a lion (ie. Francisco de Mendoza, Gabriel

de Corral, Nicolás and Pedro de Prada, and Pantaleón).[187] The academy he describes is probably the one held from 1623 in the Calle de Majaderos at the house of don Francisco Mendoza, Secretary of the Conde de Monterrey, brother-in-law to Count-Duke Olivares. It is generally called the Academia de Madrid.[188]

Besides simply giving details of academy membership, as the last examples demonstrate, however, literary works structured on the academy programme and subject matter also constitute a faithful testimony to the functioning of those academies. In the latter part of Salas Barbadillo's Pedro de Urdemalas (1620), for example, which takes the form of an 'academic novel', a newcomer to Pedro's academy has to declare his 'dotes' and recite a romance, before being awarded 'la borla de antiguo Académico'.[189] Castillo, another frequent attender of academies, produced nine 'frame novels', starting with Tardes Entretenidas (1625) and ending with La Quinta de Laura, and Sala de Recreación (1649). The narrative content of these is always set within an academic session, whose agenda determines the sequence of unrelated stories. For example, in Academias de las harpías de Madrid (1631), three of its four estafas are broken by an entremés, an academy, and the narration of an Italianate novel.[190] Fondness for academic debates gave rise to a curious, esoteric literature of paradoxes and doubts, riddles, etc., usually on the theme of love, madness, and melancholy.[191] Ficino's academy is generally claimed to be the origin of this literary and philosophical current, which inspired many contemporary academies. In the Persiles (1617), for example, Cervantes records a discussion at a meeting of the Academia de los Entronados in Milan, on whether love can exist without jealousy; and Lope's La Dorotea is a work about lover's melancholy which also incorporates the meeting of a literary academy.[192]

5.1.3.1 A Jargon Recorded

The most revealing data for social history in this body of academy literature, and the most useful to the present study of brotherhood, concern the two-way communication between men of letters and underworld characters. Mention has already been made of the fact that some academies were peopled by fairly disreputable characters (see page 178 above). More importantly, however, academicians could not resist the temptation to flaunt this association in their works. References to the underworld might include its members, its organization, and its argot. Without these references, knowledge of the marginal sector, and

especially of its esoteric argot, would be very scant. It is for this reason that the present chapter, tending toward popular literature and its creators, is vital to the study - both as an introduction to the underworld groups, and as the focus for validating the use of popular literature as a source of social history.

Frequently one finds poets imitating the blustering way of talking typical of the Andalusian underworld: '¡Cuerpo de mí con tanta poetambre!'; '¡Voto a Dios!'; '¡Por el solio de Apolo soberano juro!'; '¡Voto a Dios!'; and '¡Por Dios que espanta! ¡Por vida de Lanfusa!'.[193] And in a vejamen by Jerónimo de Cáncer, the poet, Alfonso de Batres, is portrayed 'echando muchos votos y muchos porvidas' (Vejamen, 436a). Some ingenious works, however, had more to offer the social historian, forging a link between pious confraternities, literary academies, and the underworld. Thus in Quevedo's assembly of cats, the archigato insists on silence while each member speaks. First to address the meeting is a mournful-looking cat with no ears, 'por ladrón'. Living in a pupilaje, he complains:

> La hambre de cada día
> me tiene tan amolado,
> que soy punzón en el talle
> y sierra en el espinazo.
> Soy penitente en comer
> y diciplinante a ratos,
> pues, o como con mis uñas,
> u de hambre me las masco.[194]

If one considers the privations of contemporary student life, the parallel here is clear.[195] Next, one of the elders speaks up: 'un gato zurdo y marcado/ con un chirlo por la cara/ sobre cierto asadorazo'. He has seen a few skirmishes, and sports the traditional emblem of the underworld valiente: a facial scar.[196] Another speaker, 'un gato gentilhombre', focuses our attention on the vergonzante of traditional pious confraternities, though his claims to be 'gato de bien' who has lost his moustaches ferreting in frying-pans for his family, are clear signals once again that these are underworld cats, with a reminder that they, too, organized a welfare system for those in need. Another cat stands up, an old warrior, disfigured but respected: 'y más diestro en el araño'.[197] The allusion to araño, besides its obvious feline connotation, reminds the initiated that this is a thieving cat (in Germanía arañar means to steal).[198] The last cat to speak has 'retired from the world' and lives a life of penitence 'en un refiterio santo',

with plenty to eat and a comfortable place to lay his head. It does not require fine oratory from him to persuade his woebegone audience to change their ways and join him in a religious way of life.[199] Quevedo seems to have been fond of drawing an analogy between penitential confraternities, underworld sects, and literary academies. In another poem, he uses a cat as the link again, only this time the underworld character is the daciano, a deformed beggar:

> Gongorilla, Gongorilla,
> de parte de Dios te mando
> que, en penitencia de haber
> hecho soneto tan malo,
> andes como Juan Guarin,
> doce años como gato,
> y con tu soneto al cuello,
> por escarmiento y espanto.[200]

A full analysis of criminal trademarks touched upon here will occupy a later chapter, but the Huffers and Puffers merit some attention, because of their close links with the academies. With the discovery of tobacco in Spanish America, smoking became the hallmark of masculinity. Once the privilege of noblemen, later every tinker, rogue, scavenger and hangman became devotees of the fashion, flaunting their long pipes. Public outcry against the trend was more against the ruffian gangs who adopted it, than against tobacco. A play lampooning Alarcón reveals that by the 1640s smokers had become a marginalized class, along with the idiots and fops:

> Si me dejara por un necio, ¡vaya!
> Por un toma-tabaco, un melindroso;
> Mas, ¡por un corcovado!... Estoy rabioso.[201]

A review of seventeenth-century literature reveals how smoking had also invaded literary circles. As early as 1614, Cervantes had invented a fabulous beast, whose droppings were avidly collected, because it helped poets who were weak in the head. Interestingly, Cervantes suggests it was taken as snuff.[202] Pantaleón's smoking was evidently seen by some of his contemporaries as the source of his inspiration:

> Mas vuelve ¡Oh Musa! tú, para que pueda
> Ayudarme el favor de tu ginnasio;
> Que para lo que queda,
> Aunque parece poco,
> Al señor Anastasio
> Pantaleón de la Parrilla invoco,
> Por que de su tabaco
> Me dé siquiera cuanto cubra un taco.[203]

Apparently his smoking habit was as memorable as his poetry, for in an academy held in Madrid in 1675, the seventh topic, allotted to don Diego Cabreros, was dedicated to Pantaleón: 'Hase de ponderar el sentimiento de un Poeta, que habiendo tenido muchas ocasiones de empeñar una Caja de Tabaco, con Reloj encima, que traia, se la dejó hurtar'. Cabreros's contribution begins:

> Musa, venganza te pido,
> En mi suerte triste, y baja,
> De un Bellaco,
> Que sin haber yo querido
> Me ha soplado cierta caja
> De tabaco.[204]

Taken in conjunction with Bellaco, there is an intentional pun here on the verb soplar, which meant in thieves' argot 'to steal'.[205] It seems likely, from puns on soplar and contemporary preoccupation with noses, that as Cervantes implied, academy members were in the habit of taking snuff, as well as smoking tobacco:

> Gremio de las manchas pardas,
> Tabaquista naricismo,
> que con el humo y el polvo
> mostráis gusto y tenéis vicio.
>
> Nasón abultado en marca,
> más Nasón que el mismo Ovidio,
> que te falta para taco
> sólo ser de granadillo...
>
> Narizote criminal
> como dardo arrojadizo,
> que andas muy mal sin contera
> según estás de buído.
>
> Nariz de mediana talla,
> de anchuroso frontispicio,
> que puedes servir de vaina
> a dos jiferos cuchillos.[206]

Although the text in Castillo Solórzano's witty 'Romance contra los que toman tabaco' above is undeniably esoteric, it is still possible to pick out some of the underworld jargon and customs with which the fictitious academic, Castalio, who read out the piece (and Castillo) entertained the audience. One of the meanings of taco, for instance, is the blow-pipe or cañuto, a term used for the underworld spy (see page 384 below). Narizote criminal is a clear allusion to the lashes which a criminal received (azotes); Nasón abultado en marca, and Nariz de mediana talla are puns on contemporary legislation against certain swords, among other things; the expression más de marca was therefore used by the underworld to denote one of the valiente hierarchy, whose weapons included the long jifero.[207]

Besides obscure references to tobacco-taking and its connections with the Huffers and Puffers, there are many more literary instances of underworld cant. Cervantes's Rinconete y Cortadillo is his most revealing work on the underworld, dealing specifically with Monipodio's

gang in Seville; but the Parnaso, whilst allegedly dealing with higher subject matter (poets and the Muses), is also laced with intimate details of the criminals' dress and paraphernalia. When the galley bound for Parnassus weighs anchor at Valencia, for example, Cervantes says:

> Luego se descubrió por la ribera
> un tropel de gallardos valencianos,
> que a ver venían la sin par galera;
> todos con intrumentos en las manos
> de estilos y librillos de memoria,
> por bizarría y por ingenio ufanos,
> codiciosos de hallarse en la vitoria,
> que ya tenían por segura y cierta,
> de las heces del mundo y de la escoria.[208]

Whilst indicating that much was written (with pens) and debated at this time about literary style, the comment about 'estilos y librillos de memoria' bears comparison with other examples of more avowedly underworld text on stilettos and little black books.[209]

It was because of their equivocal position midway between official pious confraternities and ostracized underworld fraternities, that literary coteries represented a threat to Golden-Age society. This equivocal position may be defined and explained by summarizing the foregoing chapter. Firstly, the university and literary academy tended to operate more as a trade guild: a body of people from the same profession engaged in furthering the business of that profession. This meant that, whilst they had some nominal religious infrastructure, this was not so important as to substantiate any claims of alliance with the pious confraternity (the guild had usually existed in collaboration with a pious confraternity, the latter body accounting for the spiritual and social life of its members). Religious function in the literary academy was rather better defined than in the university, however. It is curious how often these avant-gardists fulfilled an apparently sincere religious commitment through pious confraternities to which they belonged, reserving for their academies a professional role. However, in common with the nascent freemasons, literary fraternities concerned themselves less with misericordia, than with caritas. This kind of brotherhood was aimed at the protection of a chosen élite, which preached a conservatism whose social boundaries were unimpeachable. In practice, however, the brotherhood they professed often transcended national and ideological boundaries imposed on universities by Church and State. Academies therefore represented the greatest threat of

heterodoxy and possible sedition, because of the chance they offered to educated men for meeting to exchange ideas and knowledge with impunity. The greatest overlap between academies and pious confraternities was in their internal organization. Officers, statutes, and sponsors, all apparently derived from the same base as did those of pious confraternities, though one cannot with any certainty determine which influenced the other.

But a strong cultural heritage marks literary circles, and herein lies a paradox. Members struggling for survival and recognition found it more profitable to hire out their services as scribes and satirists to the underworld, rather than serve polite society with serious didactic literature. Reciprocally, the underworld could be counted on to settle academic disputes, on occasion by violence. As an additional benefit to the academician, interaction with the underworld provided the stuff of his literary output, whether it was used for didactic ends or purely for entertainment. Although many of these academic works have survived to today, immortalizing contemporary customs and anti-heroes, the academies themselves were short-lived, rarely lasting longer than a few years.[210] Consequently, the criterion of permanence which appears in some definitions of brotherhood cannot be applied to literary academies, at least in Golden-Age Spain. Secrecy and exclusiveness have been found, to some degree, in both academy and university. But what of voluntarism: the ability of a body to begin and to cease functioning without recourse to authorities outside that body?[211] Clearly the academy fulfils this criterion. Members joined and left voluntarily, they attended on a part-time basis and without pay, although there was a strong element of coercion once they belonged, to contribute to the life of the organization. But one anomaly exists in relation to our consideration of the academy as a fraternity: penetration of class barriers was too frequent for coincidence. So perhaps the academy was closer to a secret society, especially as dissent from the established order was common to many academies? The university, on the other hand, did not cease to exist, although in some sense it lost its right to be considered as a voluntary organization at the beginning of the Renaissance period, when it began to build or acquire handsome and permanent buildings of its own. In the process it forfeited its ability to dissolve itself.[212] This was an organization, moreover, whose members were paid. As its purpose had come to be political and

governmental, the university fits neatly into our criteria for a guild.[213] Brotherhood in the academic context, then, provided protection for growing numbers of intellectuals coming under scrutiny in a time of religious and philosophical tension. Though it may not necessarily be a cause-and-effect relationship, nevertheless, the more repression they experienced, the more the members of academies tended to develop an interest, which could in some instances become an active one, in criminality. The literature produced as a result of this collusion left a permanent legacy to Spanish culture, and it also constitutes the major primary source for our quest for brotherhood in the underworld. Perhaps it would be more fitting to consider a society or guild of scholarly men not in terms of its existence, but of its cultural contribution?

Besides making contributions to belles-lettres and to popular literature, academics left another cultural legacy, whose effect on society has often been under-estimated: literature on madness. Poets, mystics, and philosophers gathering in the academies left a vast body of learned and popular literature on the subject of madness, which both reflected and questioned medical, cultural, political, religious, and psychological assumptions of their time. Madness stimulated medical and theological debate and innovation, and it inspired fictional works. During a period marked by turmoil in political, economic, social, medico-legal, and cultural life (see page 19 above), madness first attracted repression, and ultimately procured its own vindication. Survival for the mentally disturbed might depend upon one of three options: either to turn to one of society's 'helping hands' (viz, the pious confraternity); to consolidate an association with other melancholics and madmen, perhaps within the academy confines; or to try to educate society in psychological theory, again through the academic medium, and thus to integrate with that society. No other organized body left so deep an impression on society. Occupying the twilight world between orthodox, pious confraternities and the underworld; these poets, lovers and madmen constitute a convenient fulcrum, not merely because of their equivocal social position, but because they bridge a study of brotherhood which starts by using mostly official, scholarly sources, and progressively moves towards popular sources. The last part of this chapter, therefore, will examine madmen and their options for survival.

5.2 Helping Hands and Madmen

The term 'madman' embraces a broad spectrum of types: the mentally deficient, the emotionally disturbed, and the fake. It is probably true to say that the first survival option, that of 'helping hands', availed the mentally deficient more than the other two categories of madmen. Since these lacked the resources to form a group for their own protection, pious confraternities founded institutions to care for them. The first independent asylum of Western Europe, and a typical example of hospitals founded by the late-medieval bourgeoisie, was the Hospital de Ignoscents, folls e orats, founded in Valencia (1409) by the Mercedarian Fray Juan Gilaberto Jofre,[214] though from the 1370s, madness had been treated at En Colom in Barcelona.[215] Most of the hospitals housing the insane were called Los Inocentes, Casas de los locos, or Casas de orates.[216] One which enjoyed a high profile in sixteenth-century Spanish literature was NS^{a} de Gracia in Zaragoza, built under the auspices of Alonso V in 1425. Patients had to participate in the religious life of the hospital and hear Mass on canonical days, if feasible, 'sin escándalo ni ruído'.[217] Another notable institution was the Hospital and Hermandad de los Inocentes in Seville, under the aegis of Saints Cosmas and Damian.[218] Patients here were separated according to sex and mental illness. The Catholic Monarchs had especially favoured it with tax exemptions, and Kings Philip II and III gave it new privileges. When don Amaro, a lawyer of the Sevillian Audiencia, was admitted there in the 1650s, he relates that it was more like a prison than a hospital: open to the weather, with no doors and dark cells; food was scant, bread was the black variety, and there were badly-cooked beans.[219] If his account is reliable, then either the founder's aims had been corrupted, or contemporary attitudes to madness had changed. 'Mentis Integrae Sanitati Procurandae' reads the inscription over the entrance of Toledo's Hospital de los Inocentes, established in 1483 by Papal nuncio Arcediano D. Francisco Ortiz, from whom it took its name, Casa del Nuncio. It provided for 'los pobres más pobres, para los que carecen de seso y los expósitos'. Constitutions here dictated humane treatment, even to perfuming the cells with rosemary and juniper. Curiously one finds again that literary representation is at variance with documentary evidence. Valdivielso paints a sombre picture of life in the Toledo asylum, which was more like a prison, with whips, chains, handcuffs and bars. His view is shared by Avellaneda, who says that the

inmates are chained and manacled in four or six rooms with barred windows.[220]

It was not always the case that popular literature denigrated what historical sources praised, however. Lope de Vega especially esteemed the asylums of Valencia and Zaragoza as being comfortable, congenial, and with better medical treatment, whilst official sources corroborate this picture. Tractable patients were put to manual work: harvesting, gathering fruit, and wine-harvesting. Inmates also helped in upkeep of the building, weaving, and clothes-making. Others went begging, under escort, or helped to round up lunatics at large.[221] At NS^{a} de Gracia, Zaragoza, a Padre looked after the men, and a Madre the women. Iberti notes that there were private rooms for patients of distinction, and observes that 'precisely these persons of distinction who were not submitted as the other patients to domestic chores or manual work, rarely were cured'.[222]

The chief attractions to visitors of contemporary asylums were the scandal and uproar. Serial acquaintance with asylums was often gained by a similar sort of 'package tour' to that laid on for pilgrims (see page 49 above). In a discourse on madness, Hermosilla's familiarity with Spain's major mental hospitals must have been derived from 'tours' of this kind:

> Ansí es y aun en España hay casas para las personas tocadas de esa enfermedad, como es en Zaragoza, que por ser la principal la nombro primero; luego Toledo que es bien rico, Valladolid y Sevilla y otras que debe haber que yo no he visto; más en estas que he dicho, he pasado algunos ratos y hallado en ellas muchas personas que entraban a ver, y después me maravillaba de ver como los dejaban salir libremente, manifestando tanto su enfermedad.[223]

Hermosilla's point, that inmates were sometimes more rational than spectators, was a popular sixteenth-century topos. Mondragón, Cervantes, and other contemporaries were particularly fond of debating whether those in the asylum were saner than those outside. There was a plethora of literary publications on the topic, presented as a kind of updated Dance of Death. Why was madness so prevalent at this time? Or to view it from another angle, why did it so preoccupy contemporary society?

An examination of what we have loosely termed 'Dance of Death' literature reveals how society at all levels sought to define and delimit madness. This was not, it should be recalled, an age of

specialists. Doctors and theologians contributed through their academies to medicine, philosophy, and popular literature alike.[224] Popular theories on the origins of madness should not be taken too literally, but must be interpreted as emblems of contemporary preoccupations and beliefs. Madmen, for instance, in Cervantes's El coloquio de los perros, include an inveterate poet and pedant, unable to admit failure after slavishly following the rules of the Arte Poética; an alchemist, who has sacrificed everything to make silver and gold from base metals; a mathematician who, after spending twenty years seeking the square of a circle, claims to have come close to resolving it. Finally there is an arbitrista, who proposes that if all Spaniards aged between fourteen and sixty fasted one day a month and paid the State the cost of this meal, the King would soon replenish his coffers (230-2). All of these pursuits: alchemist, poet, mathematician, and arbitrista, were popularly associated with melancholy or malcontents. The notion of inverted sanity also inspired Luis Vélez, who described a casa de los locos established by a wealthy man as a pious work for curing 'locuras que hasta ahora no lo habían parecido'. Languishing in its cells are an arbitrista, a besotted lover, a grammarian deranged by seeking the gerund of a Greek verb; a historian who had lost three decades of Livy's history;[225] and a student trying on mitres, after hearing he is to be a bishop. Once again melancholy clouds the issue of reason and unreason.[226] Another type popularly regarded as suitable for internment was the confraternal penitent. Although flagellants were not seen as mentally diseased, their self-torturing techniques had much in common with madmen. Apparently the first aim of mentally diseased, penitent, and melancholic poseur was to remove their clothes, often accompanied by other ascetic or isolating practices such as privation, exile, or public humiliation (see page 73 above). Thus Don Quixote demonstrates his madness after falling in love with Dulcinea by removing himself to the Sierra Morena and stripping off his clothes.[227]

5.3 Alternative Societies for Misfits

The link between fact and fiction in the above data is important. Whilst much of the information on pious works for madmen originates in documentary sources, the reverse is true for data on the other two avenues of survival for the madman. That is, fiction supplies a fount of information on the madman's alternative society, though this is often missed by twentieth-century scholars unaccustomed to sifting popular

literature for emblematic clues. The term 'alternative society' is used here to embrace not one, but several different types of society. Madmen (and shrewd men) soon learnt that instead of passively accepting exemptions and immunities conceded by a pious work, a living was to be had by exaggerating the condition and exploiting popular ignorance. The most successful entrepreneurs found fame as well as fortune in the courts of royalty and aristocracy, or travelled the world in organized troupes. Most self-styled madmen, however, discovered asylum in the literary academies, where they created a kind of inner circle of literary brothers. Perhaps it is over-simplifying the situation to imply that the academy was exploited by madmen. Often the reverse was true, where madness was exploited by the academy. How did this come about, and to what end? A short incursion here into the question of melancholics and fake madmen will demonstrate the many ways in which survival and defence from persecution could be gained by astute use of the condition.

5.3.1 Machiavellians and Mummers

Contemporary abuse of the municipal asylum by melancholics and others beyond the pale gives a good idea of its protective powers, and of contemporary fear of these people.[228] Some escaped capital punishment on grounds of madness after committing murder, treason, or forgery. There is a well-documented case of a forger, Juan Otero, sentenced in Seville's Cárcel Real to be burnt at the stake in 1587. He sent for the prison visitor, Padre León, who found him crazy and unconfessed: two reasons for delaying the sentence. Symptoms of his madness included eating lice, flies, 'la misma suciedad de las narices, y lo que es más, las propias heces suyas de la cámara'. He never spoke, blinked, or responded to external stimuli, and the only sign of life was a constant head-wagging motion. His sentence was suspended for nine months while León attempted to confess him. Finally he was moved to an asylum, and later escaped to France, where witnesses confirmed his mental integrity.[229] His example must have motivated a number of similar escape attempts, and by early in the seventeenth century voluntary admission to the asylum to escape sentence was a frequently-used literary device, if not also an actual ploy. Floriano, for example, is advised to simulate insanity after he 'kills' a nobleman in Lope's Los locos de Valencia. And when Lope's lover-melancholic, Pánfilo, asks his friend, Jacinto, to have him interned and cured,

Jacinto's family thinks that he must be a foreign spy to seek refuge in the hospital, when they have the means to cure him at home.[230] Abuse of asylum by the lover-melancholic often made for a more romantic plot in literary accounts, though as Mondragón indicated, real benefits included exemption from taxation and independence of action.[231]

Asylum of a kind could also be enjoyed by the madman at large, by virtue of that ordering principle in society which insisted on identification by dress or emblem. Patients who were discharged in the care of relatives were given badges to wear on the left arm, to aid identification should the condition recur. But the charity these metal badges elicited encouraged vagrants to counterfeit them and the symptoms of madness. They were known in England as Abraham Men, but their tricks were universal. The usual ploy was to stick pins and nails in their bare arms, and go bellowing down the village street. In Italy they were called Buratti/burattini, shaking their heads or dancing, and refusing to kneel when the Sacrament passed by. Fuller thinks that they first appeared at mid-sixteenth century, and plied their trade for a hundred years. But while it may be true that their numbers increased in this period, there were descriptions of 'lunatick lollers' wandering over the countryside in Langland's time.[232] Here was something closer to true voluntary brotherhood than what is found in the institutions set up for them by pious confraternities. Because of the itinerant nature of their life, wandering 'madmen' will be examined in the chapter dealing with vagabonds in general.

Another alternative society was to be found at Court in the fool or buffoon, sometimes a retarded, awkward, or misshapen simpleton, but more often an entertainer pretending to be retarded or mentally deficient. There is an early mention of an association of buffoons in the Lombardy tradition of actors, zani, who specialized in outrageous dress, dance, language (turpiloquio), and behaviour. There were traditionally three of these stereotyped buffoons: Pantalon, Arlecchino, and Dotor.[233] In the same vulgar tradition as zani were court fools such as Francesillo and Mendocilla,[234] whose outrageous antics often excited hostilities. Self-preservation in these cases depended upon attachment to influential people. The name of Villamediana was linked with that of Mendocilla, who was tried and executed for homosexual practices.[235]

5.3.2 Melancholics and Mannerists

Another type of alternative society for marginals exploiting madness, and the one with most relevance to the present thesis, was the literary academy. The curious relationship between madmen and writers is explained by the work on madness and melancholy of Ficino's academy in Florence at the end of the fifteenth century. The resulting fashion for melancholy reflected, on the one hand, a heightened medical interest in the malady and in psychological explanations for madness in general; and on the other hand, a revival of Aristotelian theories of genius (especially of poetic inspiration), and the corresponding quantity or quality of melancholy humour thought to produce it.[236] Thus in Galenical tradition, melancholy men were thought to be naturally inclined to solitary study, and steadfast mental concentration was thought to 'waste' the vital spirits that mediated between body and soul. Aristotle, on the other hand, lent Melancholia artistic glamour by linking it with philosophic contemplation. The accompanying astrological idea, of which much was made in the Renaissance, of the artist or man of genius 'born under Saturn' was assimilated into this system. From here on many were more than willing to declare themselves affected.[237] It was common to find sixteenth-century academicians with the nickname el Melancólico, especially if the member's family name might in some way be related to the malady. Thus Juan Miguel de Luna called himself el Melancólico in la Segunda Academia de Huesca and in los Anhelantes.[238] The other Anhelantes chose pseudonyms like el Desdichado, el Estéril, el Solitario, el Apasionado, el Favorecido, el Ilustrado, el Inculto, el Contemplativo, and el Colérico, all of them (except the last, with its reference to another of the four humours) being names calculated to suggest a melancholic.[239] Sometimes the name of the academy embraced the melancholic theme. The Academia Pitima contra la Ociosidad was established as an antidote against idleness. Its name refers to a medicament said to produce happiness in a melancholic.

5.3.2.1 Emblems of Madness

Members of these academies based on melancholy adopted all the social characteristics normally found in a corporate body. Principal among these was enhancement of a collective identity by the wearing or possession of recognizable, esoteric emblems of dress, manner, or speech. Despite the impact of melancholy on the population at large at the end of the sixteenth century, Burke finds no instructions in

Castiglione's Courtier, or other courtesy books for learning the particular kind of body language which signalled melancholy.[240] The following examples, which can only hint at the vast array of references available, demonstrate beyond any doubt that academic works, but especially fiction, fulfilled this vital, didactic role. And lest this appears to divert us from the original subject matter, it should be stressed that the quest here is for evidence of brotherhood among 'melancholics'; a search for criteria common to all contemporary groups. These criteria have been divided for pious confraternities into social, religious, and political or organizational features. Our search will follow the same order, starting with so-called social features: emblematic dress or behaviour.

Foremost among melancholic images was the Drooping Head, a pictorial tradition which dates back thousands of years, through philosophers, poets, and the Church Fathers. The pose, which shows a man resting his cheek on one hand, signified grief, fatigue, and creative thought (fig. 5).[241] Cervantes uses the emblem in Don Quijote, when Fernando catches a note which falls from Luscinda's breast as she faints:

> Se sentó en una silla y se puso la mano en la mejilla, con muestras de hombre muy pensativo, sin acudir a los remedios que a su esposa se hacian para que del desmayo volviese.[242]

Fernando was here playing the role appropriate to the so-called lover-melancholic. Cervantes clearly had in mind another melancholic, the scholar, however, when he described himself at work, his pen behind his ear, elbow on the desk, hand on cheek, thinking (fig. 4).[243] A variant on this pose was adopted by the soldier or traveller melancholic. Often returning home full of discontent, aping the fashions of places they had visited, and voicing seditious ideas, these political 'malcontents', as they were known, adopted the motif of the hat pulled low over the eyes, the arms crossed, the body swathed in a cloak (fig. 3).[244] It is therefore easy to guess the provenance of a 'semihombre' Lázaro meets at an inn, despite his ragged appearance:

> Tenía su sombrero encasquetado de manera que no le podía ver la cara; la mano puesta en la mejilla y la pierna sobre la espada, que en una media vaina de cimojes traía; el sombrero, a lo picaresco, sin coronilla, para evaporar el humo de su cabeza; la ropilla era a la francesa, tan acuchillada de rota, que no habia en que poder atar una blanca de cominos. Su camisa era de carne, al cual se veia por la celosia de sus vestidos; las calzas, al equipolente;

fig. 3. Lover-Melancholic

fig. 4. Scholar-Melancholic

fig. 5. Melancholy Pose

> las medias, una colorada y la otra verde, que no le pasaban de los tobillos; los zapatos eran a lo descalzo, tan traidos como llevados. En una pluma que cosida en sombrero llevaba, sospeché ser soldado.[245]

The significance of the rest of his apparel will become clearer in a subsequent chapter, but in all literary cameos which include hat, cloak, and arms folded, the allusion was to melancholy.[246]

Despite the widely-accepted modern view that the literary stereotype was distinct from his scientific counterpart,[247] contemporary playwrights were often at pains to flaunt their knowledge of medical and philosophical theories on melancholy and its diagnostic symptoms.[248] One melancholic emblem of pseudo-medical origin, used in Dürer's Melencolia, was that of black eyes or face. Probably the literary prototype in the Iberian peninsula was Amadis, described as 'penitente de amor':

> Del mucho llorar, junto con la su gran flaqueza, tenia el rostro muy descarnado y negro, mucho más que si de gran dolencia agraviado fuera.[249]

Aguilar, a member of the Valencian Nocturnos, used the motif in a play about lover's melancholy:

> Pues, Señor, no te aflijas ni congojes;
> Porque, considerando el sudor frío,
> La poca calentura, el rostro pálido,
> Y el color denegrido de los ojos,
> Es humor melancólico.[250]

5.3.2.2 Medicine, Magic, and Mysticism

Resuming the evidence so far, academy men seem to have generated the stereotype for Golden-Age melancholics, whose appearance and behaviour followed recognizable traits. But controversy over whether this stereotype originated in clinical empiricism or in literary tradition is of less relevance to the present study than the fact that there was a continuous, interdisciplinary flow of ideas at this period. The Golden Age probably represents the zenith of cultural eclecticism, before the advent of the so-called 'specialist', which has interfered with value judgements of another historical period. Consequently Golden-Age academy literature supplied all the missing links in popular conceptions of madness, ranging from biblical and medical versions of its causes and cures (music, baths, entertainment, foods, and drinks), to philosophical theories of cerebral pathology, free will, and salvation.[251] What does this literary corpus reveal about religious elements in the melancholics' life? As the question of salvation was

central to all sixteenth-century definitions of orthodoxy, Inquisitorial censors in the Catholic world carefully controlled literary propaganda on salvation. Nevertheless, the existence of cells of resistance in secret societies, both in Spain and abroad, facilitated the infiltration of unorthodox theories, especially those on madness and melancholy. Ficino's academy was crucial to the development of modern psychology. Under his influence, ideas on mental disease and mystical or diabolic possession began to move apart. Consequently the madman passed from marginal or mystical, to medical status. This process had begun in the pre-Christian era. Some understanding of the background is essential to an explanation of the madman's situation and the tensions which created him in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Plato had taught that the four charismatic manias or privileged states sent by the gods (the mantic art of prophecy, mystical revelations, poetic inspiration, and the madness of mutual lovers), were not always evil. They were triggered when divine spirits or the soul of the beloved entered the earth-bound body, thereby releasing the resident, heaven-seeking soul in a state of ecstasy. In the same way, mania from natural causes also released the oppressed soul from its restraints. During this phase, divine knowledge could be acquired. Despite theological associations with witchcraft, and therefore with heresy, Plato's explanation of charismatic madness was still tenable for Ficino, who glossed Plato's theory as follows:

> There are four species of divine madness. The first certainly is poetic madness, the second, mysterial, the third, prophecy, the fourth, amatory feeling. But poetry is from the Muses; mystery from Dionysus; prophecy from Apollo; love from Venus.[252]

The revival of Plato's theory by thinkers such as Cicero, Seneca, Jerome, Ficino, Erasmus, and Rabelais, sponsored a philosophical practice of 'dying', known as <u>commentatio</u> or <u>meditatio mortis</u>, whose aim was the acquisition of a good mania.[253] This background goes some way to explaining the dilemma faced by sixteenth-century mystics and religious, beset with scruples about their salvation. This attitude was formerly defined as the sin of <u>acedia</u>. Its sixteenth-century analogue was melancholy. Petrarch's use of <u>acedia</u> as voluptuous pleasure in personal emotional sufferings had unwittingly changed its meaning, so that it no longer connoted a sin, but instead came to be regarded as a condition of positive value: a state of mind essential to a

contemplative life.[254] The mystic, Juan de la Cruz, explained his own trances and raptures in terms of a journey through various phases, the penultimate one being the 'dark night of the soul':

> Cuando estas cosas torpes acaecen a los tales por medio de la melancolia, ordinariamente no se libran de ellas hasta que sanan de aquella calidad de humor, si no es que entrase la noche oscura en el alma, que la priva sucesivamente de todo.[255]

This brief synopsis of a highly complex system shows the protean nature of the melancholic affliction in the sixteenth century. It might arise from a fear of mortal death among religious and laymen, and as such it attracted a heretical label. Alternatively it implied the philosophical practice of meditatio mortis, applied by mystics, scholars, lovers, and philosophers to the acquisition of divine gifts and possible immortality. This kind of melancholy was decidedly heterodox. Fifteenth and sixteenth-century authorities on commentatio, including Agrippa, Pico della Mirandola, and others of Cabbalist persuasion, were banned in Spain, but their influence still prevailed in later popular literature, usually in the context of lover's melancholy. Lope de Vega, a dabbler in Cabbalism, used the motif of meditatio mortis in many of his works, with lovers desperate to attain the higher daemon speaking of their struggle to release the soul from the body. Feigning madness in El peregrino en su patria, Pánfilo sings of this dilemma. And later, in an interpolated auto, Entendimiento tells Cuerpo she will fade, and Cuerpo replies: 'Y vos quedaréis asido/al alma.[256] The liberty alluded to by Gabriel de Corral, in his 'academic novel' of unrequited love was also evidently the quasi-mystical commentatio.[257] The author of La Eufrosina (1527) also used the commentatio motif: 'Las almas contemplativas tienen los gustos muy diferentes de la otra gente. Destilase un cuerpo en la contemplación de su gusto'.[258]

The ultimate mystical experience was defined by Agrippa. Expanding upon the relevant passage in Aristotle's Problems on the powers of divination possessed by those suffering from an excess of heated white bile, he distinguished a 'threefold apprehension of the soul, viz, 'imaginative, rationall, and mentall'. When melancholy humour affects the imagination, he claimed, there is an invasion by lesser spirits, which endow the subject with artistic talent. They can also convey prophetic talents relating to meteorological events. When melancholy affects reason, invasion by the middle spirits gives a man skills in

oratory, philosophy, or medicine, and when the understanding is affected, sublime spirits instruct in metaphysics, salvation and predestination, or future miracles.[259] Mystical experiences, of the kind Agrippa reserved for possession by higher demons of the intellect, were often rendered as highly lyrical accounts in which the soul was usually referred to as Celia. The following extract from Sebastián de Córdoba's version of Garcilaso's poetry 'a lo divino' embraces the idea of a celestial flight:

> Cómo de aquel lugar hice mudanza
> No sé, cómo ni quién me condujese
> A el ya triste reposo de mi estanza;
> Sé que allí me hallé, y como me viese
> Sin Celia dos y tres y cuatro días,
> Y sin que reposase ni comiese,
> Mis dulces y amorosas compañías
> Por otro tanto tiempo no gozaron
> De mis acostumbradas alegrías.[260]

Besides metaphorical allusions to the flight of the soul, mystical writers frequently resorted to the ancient biblical <u>topos</u> of the fragile body, which carried a complex system of allusions to vitality, wisdom, innocence and sanity.[261] Literary madmen, albeit modelled to some extent on actual ones, were rooted, nevertheless, in this mythical tradition. It was thus common for melancholics (literary and genuine) to develop a morbid obsession with protection of part or all of the body, imagining it to be made of mud, glass, straw, or butter - all perishable materials.[262] Lope de Vega alludes to this preoccupation in <u>La Dorotea</u>, hinting that presumably there was a well-known, popular tradition of butter-men, and so on: 'No seais hornera si tenéis la cabeza de manteca'; que también yo sé refranes'.[263] As the concept of Purgatory presented by the Church Fathers (Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Augustine and Gregory the Great), was an unlocated but transcendental purifying fire for the preparation of moderate sinners to enter Heaven, the melancholic's fear of fire seems perfectly logical today, though in the sixteenth century it could have condemned a man to another fire on a charge of heresy.[264]

5.4 Cultural Contributions in an Age of Unreason

Our search for religious features amongst melancholics has led us into philosophical theory and the academies which dealt in it. This is surely no coincidence. Outside the academy which celebrated him, the melancholic was still a social pariah, without proper means of survival. The nature of his malady, if malady it was, determined his solitary and

persecuted existence. For him there could be no social life, no representation through a recognized body - unless, that is, he claimed asylum in the academy, living out his fantasies within a symbiotic relationship, which recognized the financial benefits of writing about him in popular works for a readership avid for novelty.[265] Alternatively, the academy provided susceptible members with a suitable environment in which to perfect the melancholic pose for the same ends. The result was a genre of 'malcontent' literature, as it was called in England (epitomized by Burton's pseudo-scientific Anatomy of Melancholy), and in Spain, a substantial, if less well-defined collection of stereotyped melancholic bards, exploiting the neo-Aristotelian association between madness and strange paths of knowledge. Lope de Vega created a number of these bards. There is the lovesick Leandro in Ferias de Madrid, who feels compelled to take up writing (Jornada 2ª, 58); and Fernando in La Dorotea, who affirms that: 'los mejores poetas que ha tenido el mundo al amor se los debe'.[266] La Eufrosina is particularly rich in melancholy motifs. The mother of Eufrosina's suitor, Zelotipo, worries that his malady will encourage him to want to go to Court. He writes poems, songs, and prose, much to his servant's amusement.[267]

This universal melancholic stereotype influenced the development of a literary heir more suited to the prevailing spirit of repression and self-delusion in seventeenth-century Spain: the desengañado. Forcione sums him up as a person armed with superior knowledge and a razor-sharp wit.[268] Emblems of the desengañado were the mirror or eye-glasses, through which he would probe illusions and expose hidden truths. Looking at the world through corrective spectacles became a literary commonplace, and countless works were published bearing the words 'Looking Glass' or similar in the title, with the implication for the layman that optical glass facilitated discovery of one's inner nature. An allegorical work, El Criticón by Gracián, is laced with these clairvoyant devices. One notable character is el zahori, who claims to penetrate mens' hearts and brains as if they were made of glass. Such perspicacity has taught him that many living people lack a soul.[269] Other characters include the centaur, Chiron, who recommends a method of reverse vision to discover truth in a world where 'todo va al revés'; Argos, whose hundred eyes provide him with the superior insight necessary for survival in a world of deceit; el acertador, who

specializes in relating human behaviour to hidden psychological motives; and el decifrador in Rome, capable of reading all the confusing ciphers of a mysterious universe.[270] An earlier desengañado appears in Fernández de Ribera's Los anteojos de mejor vista, in which a licentiate in the Giralda tower called El Maestro Desengaño offers the narrator his glasses, the better to see his contemporaries below.[271] The clairvoyant spectacles motif is parodied in a poem by Polo de Medina, which brings together connotations of green and lasciviousness, and the policing role of the Santa Hermandad, who wore a green uniform:

> Santa Hermandad de las calles,
> Que verdizas tan sutil,
> Que miras por verde antojo
> Porque sea todo asi.[272]

But this was daring literature, dealing with men and issues often deemed too risky for public consumption. Although the true origins of optical science date from Euclid (450?-374BC), it was undergoing a period of ferment and experimentation in the sixteenth century. That it was still a borderline discipline is evident from a remark by Bacon:

> The doctrine of light, and the causes thereof, have been almost superstitiously treated in physics, as a subject of a middle nature, betwixt natural and divine.[273]

The marginal status of optical science also accounted for the turbulent careers of academy men like Giambattista della Porta (1535-1615).[274] Two hundred years after Gerson, and a hundred years after publication of the Malleus, the controversy linking madness and divination with witchcraft was still raging. Theories developed by academics such as Galileo and Porta, which explained melancholy and its attendant photophobia in purely scientific terms, were repressed by the Church. Increasingly threatened by the beginnings of modern medical psychology, theologians contributed to contemporary feelings of guilt and inadequacy by insisting that mental illness belonged, not in the realm of empirical knowledge of the mind - hence in the medical sphere - but rather, in the realm of faith in the perfection of the soul: what man should be, and was not. In this ambience, outbreaks of melancholy and other mental deviations proliferated. Johann Weyer and Reginald Scot were foremost in striving to divorce the two philosophies, insisting that witches and obsessed people were not possessed by devils, but suffering from melancholic disease. But despite their efforts late in the sixteenth century, Bacon noted the stranglehold that religion still had on mental

illness and its treatment in 1605, when he observed that the relationship between the humours and the soul was rarely touched on in medicine, but that the problem had 'strangely insinuated itself into religion'.[275]

One can see how this mood of repression affected contemporary popular attitudes to madmen. Traditionally allowed public freedom of speech denied to men of reason, their aphorisms and prophetic claims had nurtured an enduring popular tradition of jokes, which had sought to demythify the madman, and so render him harmless. The jokes usually followed a standard formula involving a madman about to be discharged, who reveals at the last moment that he has divine powers:

> Un loco en la Casa de los Inocentes de Valencia, porfió mucho que le viniesen a ver ciertas personas honradas, parientes; y después de haber hablado en muchos negocios avisadamente y con tiento, y encomendado que procurasen su deliberación, por estar él sano y en su juicio, despidiéndose las dichas personas dél, los llamó con grande instancia diciendo que no entendiesen en sus negocios hasta que él volviese de Egipto a dar orden cómo lloviese, porque le habían enviado con un correo a hacer saber cómo no llovía.[276]

The story reappears in Juan de Arguijo's anthology, set in the Nuncio of Toledo with other minor differences; and in Don Quijote, where the action is in Seville.[277] A more typical product of the turbulent days of the Counter-Reformation was a joke which stressed the fact of the madman's orthodoxy, rather than his claims to divinity:

> En Cuéllar estaba un loco que se decía Chinato, y entrando en una iglesia en una aldea de Cuéllar, decía misa un clérigo que tenía fama de converso; y estando alzando a Nuestro Señor, comenzó el Chinato a dar grandes voces diciendo: 'Señor, guárdate de las manos de tus enemigos, no te acontezca otro tanto como lo pasado'.[278]

The same spirit of unease, registered by this trend in jokes about the madman's orthodoxy, must have dictated Cervantes's story of licenciado Vidriera, who is allowed to have his say on contemporary society and its evils, but is finally silenced and ostensibly cured by a well-intentioned Jeronymite friar.[279]

It was suggested earlier, in relation to the literary academy, that the major determinant of its corporate entity was not its existence as a voluntary social and administrative concern, but its permanent cultural contribution (see page 195 above). Application of the same conditions to what was largely a literary sub-group: melancholics and madmen in

general, shows little evidence, beyond voluntarism, emblematic stereotyping, and a concern about future salvation, to confirm a corporate existence here either. Yet the mark left by madmen on contemporary culture is undeniable. Besides autobiographies written by buffoons, or infused into other documents, buffoons cultivated a highly-popular art form as the commedia dell'arte, which gave to Spanish drama the gracioso. In the fine arts the melancholic influenced some of the most famous painters of the period.[280] Because of the equivocal nature of madness at this historical moment, it also stimulated a huge output of medical, philosophical, and theological publications. Finally, popular fiction created by (or for) the academies contributed to what has since become known as the Golden Age of Spain. Because this literature was used as a (sometimes muffled) mouthpiece on contemporary turmoil, it serves ultimately to communicate contemporary social dilemmas to different societies and generations. Literature provoked by the existence of rising numbers of madmen (and the melancholic in particular) conveys the essential futility of short-term attempts at survival for the mentally unstable in a hostile world, whether by forming their own anti-society in the ephemeral academies, or by reaching out to the 'helping hands' of other welfare institutions. In the long term, however, after the turmoil to which they contributed had died down, survival was to be achieved by the third option mentioned above (see page 195): that of integrating with a society (theoretically) more readily-disposed to accept them, after the fruit of their association, literature and the fine arts, had educated learned and laymen alike in the beginnings of modern psychology. So much influence on contemporary society from a group so ill-defined that a corporate identity seems inconceivable. And yet they were crucial in bringing about fundamental changes in social awareness. Marginals in an increasingly marginalized literary class, they stood midway between the Establishment and the underworld. Perhaps no-one understood better than they the value of literature as a means of immortalization. Theirs was a literature without barriers, a brotherhood without rules, faith, or formal organization. No other group could so effectively signal the need to relax our definition of brotherhood, and our notions of source validation, in a study of fraternity in the world of crime and poverty. In chapters which follow, the place of anti-societies as protection for marginal groups will be considered, using, where appropriate, social,

religious, and organizational criteria, but with a growing emphasis on popular literature, to illustrate the general historical background.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

[1] For more on changing readership patterns in early modern Spain, see Ife, Reading and Fiction, 5-8; and for the later Middle Ages, see Olson, Literature as Recreation. The situation was evidently different in the Crown of Aragon, where by the fourteenth century popular demand was high for calendarios and llunaris, together with medical remedies on blood-letting and purging; and by late fifteenth century, the Valencian bourgeoisie was using Catalan as a written language (see García Ballester, 'Panorama de la medicina', 93-100; I am indebted to R. Cooter for this reference).

[2] See Appendix 4.A, for foundation dates of Spanish universities.

[3] Representative figures for Salamanca show that in 1566 Salamanca had 7,800 students, in 1620 another 4,000, in 1700 only 2,000, and at mid eighteenth-century 1,500 (Reynier, La vie universitaire, 199).

[4] On changing concept of learning and differentiation of organizations, see Ross, Assembly of Good Fellows, 218-20. See Pevsner, Academies of Art, 13-23, for history of academies, their names and aims. On meanings and origin of 'academy', see Appendix 4.B.

[5] For censorship, see Council of Trent, Session 9 (1563), in Schroeder (ed.), Canons and Decrees, 273-8. See Appendix 4.C, for details of the Index.

[6] On state suppression of intellectual activity, see Kamen, Iron Century, 283. Compare page 182 above, for a different approach to scholastic teaching. On university teaching methods, see Reynier, La vie universitaire, 110; and García Mercadal, Estudiantes, 151, citing Ceremonial, fol. 83v.

[7] See Kagan, Students and Society, 163.

[8] See ibid., 92-3, for more on graduates of colegios mayores as a source of royal officials.

[9] See 'Premática. En que se prohibe el arrendarse los oficios de Escriuanos de Cámara, y Procuradurías, Recetorias y Escriuanías del Número', 19 July 1589, San Lorenzo, no. 4663, cited in Colección de Reales Cédulas, no. 109, p. 24. A year later the pragmatic was repeated: 'Premática. En que se declara y amplia la en que se prohibió arrendar los oficios de Escriuanías, Receptorías y Procuradurías...', 13 June 1590, San Lorenzo, cited in Archivo Histórico Nacional, Colección de Reales Cédulas, no. 112, p. 25. On monarchical intervention in university affairs, see Bennassar, Valladolid, 366; and on hacedores, see Reynier, La vie universitaire, 185, n. 1, citing Antonio Gil de Zárate, De la instrucción pública en España (Madrid, 1855).

[10] For papal intervention, see Reynier, op. cit., 102; and Kagan, Students and Society, 160, n. 6, citing Montells y Nadal, Historia de la Universidad de Granada (Granada, 1870) I, 117. Compare page 116 above, on confraternity visitors; and see page 323 below, for a similar ritual in the gambling world.

[11] Friars ranged against regulars, regulars against secular priests (pages 114, and 116 above), regulars against confraternities (page 84), and cardinals and prelates against parish priests (page 112 above).

[12] See Speak, 'Odd Kind of Melancholy', 204.

[13] See footnote 55 below, on the fate of Luis de León. On universities and orthodoxy, see Kagan, Lawsuits and Litigants, 189; and Reynier, La vie universitaire, 162. The attractions of the academy weened away some university intellectuals, as in Salas Barbadillo, La casa del placer honesto, where four Salamancan students leave the restrictions of university life to establish a literary academy, attracted as they are, by the freedom they think the literary artist has (see Brownstein, Rogues and Courtiers, 49).

[14] Speaking to the academy of los Anhelantes at Zaragoza, Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola articulated this fear ('Discursos', in Obras sueltas de Lupercio y Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, edited by Conde de la Viñaza, I, 309-26).

[15] See Speak, 'Glass Men', 861-4; and ibid., 'Odd Kind of Melancholy', on relationship between body and soul; death and immortality.

[16] See page 16 above on some illuminist cells.

[17] Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between university and academy ritual. On the controversy surrounding Castillo Solórzano's El culto graduado, see King, Academias literarias, 207.

[18] Translated from Reynier, La vie universitaire, 81-4. There is a verbatim account of this ceremony in Tirso de Molina, El mayor desengaño, Act 3, sc. 2, pp. 1214-17, based on his own experiences at Alcalá. For other university rituals, see Rashdall, Universities of Europe, 287 (general); González Palencia, '8 October, 1623', Noticias de Madrid, 80 (conclusions); Rico Avello, Un picaro médico, 85-87 (medical conclusions); and Garcia-Mercadal, Estudiantes, 77 (disputes, repetitions, etc.).

[19] See Keen, Chivalry, p. 47, n. 7, on chivalric prayers for blessing of banners and swords. The crusader took his vow in church, in the presence of a priest: he sewed onto his garment the emblem of the cross. This served as a symbol, like the pilgrim's staff, of his privileged and protected position under church law, which secured to him special advantages (see page 107 above). See Keen, op. cit., pp. 64-67, on the dubbing ceremony.

[20] See also page 77, above, on chivalric connections with Penitents of Love; and page 369, for connections with valientes.

[21] For a detailed account of oposiciones, see Rojas Zorrilla, Lo que quería ver el Marqués de Villena, 319.

[22] For Latin tragedies, see Agulhon, Pénitents et Francs-maçons, 214; N.H. Griffin, Jesuit School Drama: A Checklist; ibid., Two Jesuit Ahab Dramas; and Pevsner, Academies of Art, 9, n. 1, who suggests that in Italy theatrical performances of the academies took the place of the 'mysteries' acted by medieval companies. See also Elizalde, 'Aportación de los Jesuitas', 243.

[23] Frivolous themes and titles fed a public hungry for titillation. Castillo Solórzano mocked the fashion with a burlesque list of plays which included: Las doncellas en camisa; La tragedia de Babieca; La cocina de amor; Nadie ha usado las quincenas, dieciochenas, veintenas, y octavas de a veinticuatro consonantes de verbos continuados, como yo (El culto graduado, 320). The last title satirises the cultist style which produced eulogies incomprehensible to their subject. Castillo forces the point with a cameo of a culto poem dedicated to a lady who gives it to her cousin, because all she

can intuit from it is her own name (ibid., 320). For academic parody of the cultist style, see page 183 above.

[24] On student nations, see García-Mercadal, Estudiantes, 20; Reynier, La vie universitaire, 193; and Martín de Ayala, Vida, 215a. On student confraternity and university guild, see Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 190; and Rashdall, Universities of Europe, I, 160-1. On ways of circumventing the cost of doctoral ceremonies, see Reynier, op. cit., 90.

[25] On aristocratic infiltration of Rectorships, see Reynier, La vie universitaire, 11, n. 1, citing Alejandro Vidal y Díaz, Memoria histórica de la Universidad de Salamanca (Salamanca, 1869). See also García Mercadal, Estudiantes, 108. See Appendix 4.D, for Rectors at Salamanca in the Golden Age.

[26] See Reynier, La vie universitaire, 73, on election of Rectors. On vestium laceratio, see Piltz, Medieval Learning, 142; and Rashdall, Universities of Europe, I, 185. See also page 162 above, on power limitations, and page 122, on equivalent limitations of the confraternal Prior.

[27] Alonso, mozo, 494b. For the 'spitting' initiation, see Quevedo, El Buscón, 59; ch. II, 38 (rey de gallos); Quevedo, Vida del Gran Tacaño, in Obras festivas, ch. V, 281; and Avellaneda, Don Quijote, ch. 25, 331. The novatada ritual was probably not uniquely Spanish. Arriving in Paris dressed a la española, Carlos García is pursued by a crowd of boys into a nearby church, amidst general hilarity. Eventually he finds his cloak is covered in hares' tails, part of a lamb's guts 'y el resto della jazpeado con grande número de gargajos y otras inmundicias' (Antipatia, 210).

[28] See Alemán, Guzmán de Alfarache, II, 3, 4, 380, on la patente; and compare page 56 above, on obispillos.

[29]

> Es sevillano él que ven sin apariencia de estudiante, criado en San Juan de Alfarache, refinado de golpe en la Puerta del Sol de Madrid y calle de Toledo, trasplantado en Roma, pasado por entre pícaro de cocina y estudiante de todas lenguas, apurado en Nápoles, y aunque nuevo en Alcalá, viejo en todas universidades.
>
> (Guzmán de Alfarache, II. 2. 5, 390a).

[30] El Buscón, pp. 58-9; and compare page 441 below, on culebrazos.

[31] On novatadas, see Reynier, La vie universitaire, 22. Guzmán summarizes several unofficial student rituals for Alcalá (for individual explanations of these, see page 56, above):

> ¡Oh dulce vida la de los estudiantes! ¡Aquel hacer de obispillos, aquel dar trato a los novatos, meterlos en rueda, sacarlos nevados, darles garrote a las arcas, sacarles la patente o no dejarles libro seguro ni manteo sobre los hombros! ¡Aquel sobornar votos, aquel solicitarlos y adquirirlos, aquella certinidad en los de la patria, el empeñar de prendas en cuanto tarda el recuero, unas en pastelerías, otras en la tienda; los Escotos en el buñolero, los Aristóteles en la taberna.
>
> (Alemán, II, 3, 4, 380).

[32] On psychological impact of initiation ceremonies, see Daraul, Secret Societies, 248, citing Hutton Webster, Primitive Secret Societies (New York, 1908).

[33] See page 54 above, for social explanations for charivari.

[34] Conservación de monarquías, Discurso XLVI, pp. 359-60.

[35] On social profile of universities see Kagan, 'Universities in Castile', 47-9; Geremek, Margins of Society, 147-49; and Reynier, La vie universitaire, 102. New statutes at one of Salamanca's colleges banned grant-holders from owning horses and apartments in town; from bringing women of easy virtue into college; and from visiting convents if they had no relation there (Constitutiones et Statuta Collegii Divi Bartholomaei in Salmantina Universitate Majoris antiquiorisque, cited in Reynier, op. cit., 183, n.1).

[36] Guzmán de Alfarache, II. 2. 6, 390b-91a. See Appendix 4.E, for full quotation. Compare Rojas Zorrilla, Obligados y ofendidos, y gorrón de Salamanca, pp. 34-5.

[37] 'Carta o despacho de excomunión que se expide en los tribunales pontificios para el descubrimiento de algunas cosas que se sospecha haber sido robadas u ocultadas maliciosamente' (Espasa-Calpe, s.v. PAULINA). Paul III issued the first edict (see Covarrubias, Tesoro, s.v. PAULINA). See also Cervantes, Rinconete y Cortadillo, 78.

[38] Rojas Zorrilla, Lo que queria ver el Marqués de Villena, Jornada 3ª, p. 338-9. For la Paulina, see also Alcalá, Yáñez, Alonso, mozo, 495a; Espinel, Marcos de Obregón, Relación 1ª, descanso 11 (vol. 1, p. 204); and Bartolomé Palau, La Farsa llamada Salamantina (1552), ed. M. Alfred Morel-Fatio, v. 564ff. For luminary significance of la Paulina, see page 178 above. The ritual also appears in a sonnet, possibly written by Góngora about his student days in Salamanca, which sums up the life there:

Bolsa sin alma, perezoso arriero,
sol y moneda a peso de oraciones,
ama que circuncida las raciones,
sanguijüela del gusto y del dinero;
Hambre perpetua, pedigüeño artero,
deudas perpetuas, tristes camaleones,
portes de cartas y quemar ringlones,
pobre importuno llanto de hechicero;
el murmurar y sarna de por vida;
sabañones y nieve maestre escuela;
casa de esgrimidor, falsos criados;
muerte civil, miseria no creida
de la comida y can... centinela,
sin ser al rey traidores, desarmados.
('A la vida de estudiantes', in Sonetos, 622).

Compare also Quevedo, 'Calendario nuevo del año y fiestas que se guardan en Madrid', in Obra Poética, II, no. 754, pp. 18-19.

[39] On cofradías de luz, see pages 40, and 82, above. On candles at funerals, see García Mercadal, Estudiantes, 78. On lighted tapers regulating the duration of elections, see Rashdall, Universities of Europe, I, 402. For candles at academies, see Castillo Solórzano, Las Harpías en Madrid, 114.

[40] The transition from a peripatetic guild to a residential university of colleges in the hands of career officers was a matter of several centuries. In its earliest days the university had no buildings of its own, which explains its power to decamp. For great solemnities such as doctoral inceptions the cathedral was used. See Barzman,

'Accademia del Disegno', (Abstract), for a history of one institution which developed confraternal, academic, and syndical properties. On the history of universities, see Rashdall, Universities of Europe, 151-62; and Ross, Assembly of Good Fellows, 170. Paris became the model for masters' universities, where a convocation of masters had the power to make administrative decisions about the university (Piltz, Medieval Learning, 138).

[41] Notable exceptions to this bipartite scheme include Barcelona, modelled on Toulouse, and Huesca, on Montpellier. Cobban claims the fifteenth-century universities of Barcelona, Palma, Sigüenza, Alcalá, and Valencia are not easily classifiable, but do not seem to be preserves of student power (Medieval Universities, 185). On student against magisterial universities, see Kagan, Students and Society, 61-8.

[42] On usage of the terms 'university' and 'college', see Rashdall, Universities of Europe, I, 148.

[43] Siete Partidas, 2ª Partida, tít. xxxi, ley 7, 'Quales juezes deuen judgar a los escolares' (vol. 1, fol. 115r). See Appendix 4.F, for quotation on student immunities.

[44] Fernández de Ribera, Los anteojos de mejor vista, 55.

[45] See Appendix 4.G, for discipline in medieval and early Modern European universities.

[46] 'Carta del Licenciado Diego de Mesa, teniente de asistente por el Conde de Cifuentes, Asistente de Sevilla, a los Reyes Católicos, sobre la pretensión de la ciudad de que no se impidiese a las justicias seglares conocer en las causas contra delincuentes que decían ser tonsurados y no traían tonsura ni hábitos decentes, llevando los cabellos hasta el pescuezo y aun más largos', Sevilla, 10 August [1503], leg. 4, no. 27, in Paz (ed.), AGS. Diversos, no. 652, p. 135.

[47] 'Memorial de lo que se había de poner y especificar en dos bulas que se habían de traer de Roma, una contra los clérigos delincuentes que no traían hábitos ni tonsura, y otra sobre la reformación de todos los monasterios de varones y mujeres', n.d., n.p., leg. 2, no. 71, in Paz (ed.), AGS. Diversos, no. 1776, p. 349.

[48] Marcos de Obregón, Relación 1ª, descanso 12 (vol. 1, p. 208). The other side of the coin is seen in Rojas Zorrilla, Obligados y ofendidos, when the valientes in prison at Salamanca discuss their attacks on the students: 'Pues no tovimos respeto a los hábitos de Dios' (line 2563, p. 86). The speaker, Mellado, later refers to his victim as 'el clérigo o estodiante' (line 2569).

[49] By mid-seventeenth century, this was a popular saying. Tirso de Molina wrote a comedia with the same title: Ventura te dé Dios, hijo, que el saber poco te basta.

[50] Ninguna persona del Cabildo de la Iglesia Mayor de Salamanca ni de la clerecía menor; ni religioso en convento de esta ciudad; ni canónigo reglar; ni capellán ansi de la Iglesia Mayor como de otra parte, ni que sirva a alguna Iglesia de esta ciudad; ni persona que tenga cátedra, ansi de propiedad como de no propiedad, sustitución media multa ni curso, aunque la renuncie: ni tenga oficio (esceto si no fuere diputado de la Universidad): ni colegial de ningún Colegio.
(quoted by García Mercadal, Estudiantes, 107).

[51] The thirteenth-century Italian jurisconsult, Odofredus, stated: 'Those who exercise a profession elect judges, but pupils (discipuli) do not exercise a profession, therefore they do not elect judges' (quoted by Cobban, Medieval Universities, 61, n. 1, citing M. Sarti and M. Fattorini, De Claris Archigymnasii Bononiensis Professoribus a Saeculo XI usque ad saeculum XIV, second edition by C. Albicini and C. Malogola (Bologna, 1888-96), I, 93, n. 1). See also von Savigny, Römischen Rechts, III, ch. 21, 174; G. Rossi, '"Universitas Scolarium" e commune', Studi e memorie, new series, 1 (1956), 191-2; and Ross, Assembly of Good Fellows, 170, on the student as professional. Evidently the debate was still vigorous around 1641, when Luis Vélez wrote El diablo cojuelo, introducing Don Cleofás Leandro Pérez Zambullo as 'estudiante de profesión' (Tranco X, 21b). See page 108 above, on confraternities which elected their own officers.

[52] On internal caciquismo, see Mal Lara, Filosofia vulgar, 'Centuria novena', 36. See also Kagan, Students and Society, 138. On status and powers of the Rector, see Rashdall, Universities of Europe, II, 611; ibid., I, 179-81; and García Mercadal, Estudiantes, 107.

[53]

> Las oposiciones más terribles eran, por regla general, las de los religiosos, que convertían a veces las luchas personales en luchas de corporación, que aunque no lidiaban por el afán de lucro, lidiaban por conservar el crédito de colectividades de abolengo glorioso. Los estatutos les prohibian matricular estudiantes que no vivieran en los colegios de Salamanca, traerlos en tiempo de la vacatura, traer predicadores famosos o frailes influyentes durante la oposición, y hasta se prohibió a los opositores salir de sus conventos a casas de estudiantes y aun hablarles. Pero lo que ellos no hacian, no faltaba en ocasiones quien lo hiciese.
>
> (Luis G. Alonso Getino, O.P., La autonomia universitaria y la vida de fray Luis de León (Salamanca, 1904), cited by García Mercadal, Estudiantes, 74).

[54] 'Cláusula quiere decir cerramiento, porque es un razonamiento en que se encierra una sentencia perfecta' (Venegas, Breve declaración, 292).

[55] On magisterial factions, see Reynier, La vie universitaire, 187; and Kagan, Students and Society, 167. On Léon's stormy career at Salamanca, see García Mercadal, Estudiantes, 72-7. On breaking of clausura, giving of horses, mules, etc. to students, see González de la Calle, Oposiciones a Cátedras, 37.

[56] Lo que queria ver el Marqués de Villena, Jornada 1ª, p. 319.

[57]

> Visto que en Alcalá todo era por pasiones y votos de muchachos y personas maliciosas que suelen tener mano en estas cosas [graduation] quebré el hilo a mis pretensiones de cátedras y licencias, y determiné de ir allá... como señor y maestre, y así comencé a 6 de noviembre a leer en Granada.
>
> (Discurso de la Vida de Don Martin de Ayala, 215a-b).

[58] Guzmán de Alfarache, II. 2. 5, 389a. See also footnote 31 above.

[59] On corruption at Santa Cruz, see Bennassar, Valladolid, 360-1, n. 2, citing AHPV. Sección Simón Ruiz, leg. 124. Corruption at student

elections in Salamanca was rife in the late sixteenth century, despite repeated provisions of the Royal Council in 1558, 1561, 1565, 1567, 1580, 1584, 1586, 1592, 1595, 1598, 1602, 1604, and 1621 (see González de la Calle, op. cit., 9, and 17, citing Mariano Argirita y Lasa, El Doctor Navarro, D. Martín de Azpilcueta y sus obras (Pamplona, 1895), 158-60). See also Esperabé Artega, Universidad de Salamanca (Salamanca, 1914), I, 607; and Zapata, Miscelánea, 128-9, on oposiciones at Salamanca.

[60] 'Premáticas en que se mandan guardar las leyes, que ponen penas a los que en las Cátedras que se proveyeren en las Universidades de Salamanca, Valladolid, y Alcalá, hicieren sobornos, o otros malos tratos, y se añaden penas más graves' (Madrid, 1610), in Pérez Pastor (ed.), Bibliografía madrileña, no. 1113.

[61] See Appendix 4.H, for notes on early journalism.

[62] In the Academia Pítima contra la Ociosidad at Zaragoza (1608), members celebrated the beatification of Fray Luis Beltrán, Saint Inés, and Saint Francis; they discussed Virgil and the jurisconsult, Andrea Alciati; they debated the discipline of jurisprudence and human anatomy, and recited verses in Latin, Castilian, and Catalan (Sánchez, Academias literarias, 261).

[63] It should be noted that amongst academy members of the period, the following list, which is not exhaustive, were knights of Santiago: Luis Fernández de Córdoba, Duque de Sessa; Pedro Fernández de Castro Andrade y Portugal, Duque de Lemos; Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla; Juan de la Vera y Zúñiga, Conde de la Roca; Jorge Tovar de Valderrama; Francisco de Quevedo; and Calderón de la Barca. Juan de Jáuregui was a knight of Calatrava; and Antonio Ortiz Melgarejo was a knight of San Juan.

[64] See Rojas Villandrando, El viaje entretenido, 290, on aims to 'asombrar el público'. On the military aims of Castilian academies, see Kagan, Students and Society, 38, n. 26, citing AGS. DC. leg. 25, fol. 1, cedula of 6/9/1572; Simón-Díaz, Historia del Colegio Imperial, I, 47; and Altamira, Historia de España, 544-45.

[65] 'Discursos. Día segundo', in Arco y Garay, La erudición española, 70. See Appendix 4.I, for quotation.

[66] 'Discursos. Día primero', loc. cit., 66, n. 22. See Appendix 4.I, for full quotation.

[67] See Appendix 4.J, for details of literary certámenes.

[68] See Suárez de Figueroa, El Pasajero, Alivio III, 190.

[69] See León Pinelo, Anales (15 May, 1620), 229, and González Palencia, Noticias de Madrid, 24 (9 May, 1622).

[70] On Academia del Buen Retiro, see Buen Retiro; Sánchez, Academias literarias, 135-48; and León Pinelo, Anales (20 February, 1637), 310.

[71]

> Procure vuesa merced llevar el segundo premio; que el primero siempre lo lleva el favor o la gran calidad de la persona; el segundo se le lleva la mera justicia; y el tercero viene a ser el segundo, y el primero, a esta cuenta, será el tercero, al modo de las licencias que se dan en las universidades; pero, con todo esto, gran personaje es el nombre de primero.
>
> (Don Quijote, II, 18 (vol. 5, 63)).

Corroboration of favoritism is provided by a contemporary Valencian, Jacinto Maluenda, whose costumbrista work on Madrid drew on his frequent visits there to recruit acting troupes for his father's theatre. He wrote:

> En las justas, o injustas, por mejor decir, solo dan premio al que tiene más autoridad, aunque los versos sean humildes; y a veces premian a quien no ha hecho verso en su vida.
> (Bureo de las musas del Turia, 81-2).

For corruption in university degrees, see Alemán, Guzmán de Alfarache, whose protagonist studies theology at Alcalá and comes second in metaphysics to a student with more enchufe (II, 3, 4, p. 378).

[72] Don Diego, 124.

[73] See Vejámenes literarios por don Jerónimo de Cáncer y Velasco y Anastasio Pantaleón de Ribera, edited by A. Bonilla y San Martín (Madrid, 1655), 17-18, cited by Brown, Pantaleón de Ribera, 211, n. 29. On structure of the vejamen, see Carrasco Urgoiti, 'Notas sobre el vejamen', 102. See also Rosal, Alfabeto cuarto: VEXAMEN, who dates the tradition back to the Romans.

[74] Cintia de Aranjuez, lib. 2°, 173-4. See page 244 below, and Appendix 6, for more on proliferating specialist hospitals. See page 202 below, on poets and madness.

[75] Lope de Vega joined the Hermandad de los Esclavos del Santísimo Sacramento in 1609; Andrés Claramonte joined on 9 March, 1610; and Alarcón joined on 19 March, 1614 (see Fernández-Guerra, Alarcón, 184, n. 278).

[76] See Fernández-Guerra, Alarcón, 37. See page 176 above, and Appendix 4.J for more on this and other such events.

[77] 'Vejamen por D. Juan Orozco en casa del contador Agustín de Galarza', in 'Sales españolas', 323-31 (326b). A study of religious elements in the vejamen is still to be undertaken. See page 78 above, on penitente aspado.

[78] 'Vejamen que el Poeta Anastasio Pantaleón de Ribera dio en la insigne Academia de Madrid que se hacía en casa de don Francisco de Mendoza, Secretario del Excelentísimo Señor Conde de Monterrey (1631)', Obras de Anastasio Pantaleón de Ribera, edited by José Pellicer de Tovar, first edition (Madrid, 1634), fols 122v-40r, cited in Sánchez, Academias literarias, 57-8, n. 1. See also Polo de Medina, 'Un poeta llorando sus pecados poéticos', in Obras completas, 282; ibid., Caballero de la Tenaza, 225; ibid., 'A un licenciado muy flaco y delicado', Obras completas, 303; Quevedo, 'Despidose de penitente y diciplinante', in Obra poética, II, no. 724, p. 414; and ibid., 'Censura contra los profanos diciplinantes', op. cit., no. 712, p. 380.

[79] Plaza universal (Madrid, 1615), fol. 70, cited in Romera-Navarro, 'Querellas y rivalidades', 495, n. 7. See Appendix 4.AA, for life-span of particular academies.

[80] Lope de Vega, El laurel de Apolo, 188a; La Dorotea, Act IV, scene 2, p. 438. And in Salas Barbadillo's mock tribunal of poets, a privado's sentence to ten years' galley service is commuted to that of restoration to his former privanza, there to die torn to pieces by envy (El Caballero Puntual, 303).

[81] Comentarios, 94.

[82] See Fernández-Guerra, Alarcón, 162-3.

[83]

Señores Académicos, mi mula,
Si el pienso ya no se lo desbarata,
En los cuadriles pienso que se mata,
Por ser de la Academia de la gula.

Su determinación no disimula
De entrar en la Academia, do se trata
De convertir en nuncio la Annunciata,
Y su congregación en farándula.

Teme la casa quien está mirando
Entrar buñuelos, y salir apodos,
Y piensa que segunda vez se abrasa:

Y a la verdad no está muy mal pensando,
Que allí en lenguas de fuego hablan todos.
¡Padre Ferrer, cuidado con la casa!

('A una junta de mancebos en una casa de conversación, que años antes había padecido incendio', in Sonetos, 533).

The Academia Selvaje was dissolved in 1614, and re-emerged as the Academia Poética de Madrid. Members included Lope, Luis Vélez, Barrionuevo, and lowlife characters from la calle de Atocha. Selvaje may have been the academy referred to by Castillo Solórzano in his Donayres del Parnaso, 'aquella furia infernal', whose quarrels, envy and malice he hopes the new academy will avoid ('Romance. A la institución de una nueva Academia, para reparar otra que se había desecho, norabuena').

[84] On relations between literary men of Spain, see Romera-Navarro, 'Querellas y rivalidades', 494, who cites as friends: Cervantes and Salas Barbadillo, Salas and Lope de Vega, Lope and Quevedo, Castillo Solórzano and Lope, Góngora and Vélez de Guevara, Pellicer and Góngora. For Tirso's allegiance to Lope and attacks on his critics, see Kennedy, 'Studies in Tirso, I', 200. For Tirso's satirical attacks against Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza and Luis Vélez, see Tanto es lo de más como lo de menos, I. 10. p. 1117b. See also Los cigarrales, cited in Kennedy, op.cit., 152.

[85] Viaje del Parnaso, ch. V, line 213, p. 131.

[86] Anti-Lope sonnet cited by Sánchez, Academias literarias, 202, n. 11, quoting from Juan Antonio Pellicer, Vida de Cervantes (Madrid, 1800), 75-85; and Joaquín de Entrambasaguas, Vida de Lope de Vega (Madrid, 1942), 163. See also ibid., Estudios sobre Lope de Vega, I, passim, and III, 7-74, 'Una guerra literaria del siglo de oro: Lope de Vega y los preceptistas aristotélicas'. Andrada in the quotation may be the Count of Lemos, Pedro Fernández de Castro Andrade y Portugal, Cervantes's Mecenas; or else Andrés Fernández de Andrada, a Sevillian captain and poet, of whom little is known. See also page 333 below. The constant exclamations are typical of the underworld argot (see page 367 below).

[87] On literary disputes, see Salas Barbadillo, La peregrinación sabia, 4-58; and discussions by Sánchez, Academias literarias, 288; Romera-Navarro, 'Querellas y rivalidades', 496; and Brownstein, Rogues and Courtiers, 47.

[88] Francisco Tárrega was a Valencian canon, cited by Lope in La Dorotea (Act IV, scene 2, p. 430). Lupercio de Argensola, 'Lleva tras sí los pámpanos otubre', in BAE, 42 (1875), 275a.

[89] El coloquio de los perros, II, 238. See Green, 'Lupercio de Argensola', 44-47, on the Humildes/Imitatoria in this reference.

[90] La Gitanilla, 30. For a similar passage, see Don Quijote, II, 18 (vol. 5, p. 62).

[91] Viaje del Parnaso, ch. VII, p. 158. For versions of 'Cuando me paro a contemplar mi estado', see Bartolomé Lupercio de Argensola, Canción, BAE, 42 (1875), 323; Garcilaso de la Vega, Soneto, 1, BAE, 32 (1872), 32; Sebastián de Córdoba, Soneto, 67, BAE, 35 (1872), 51; and Lope de Vega, Soneto, 68, BAE, 35 (1872), 51.

[92] Fernández-Guerra, Alarcón, 42.

[93] 'Privilegios, ordenanzas y advertencias que Apolo envia a los poetas españoles', in Viaje del Parnaso, 190. For Cacus, see page 332 below.

[94] Hallando el doctor Salinas, autor de estas obras, impreso en las de Don Luis de Góngora un romance suyo, que había hecho en el tiempo de su juventud, impreso de segunda impresión el año de 633, folio 34, que comienza: "De amor con intercadencias", y conforme al titulo, parece recogió estas obras don Gonzalo de Hoces y Córdoba, tomando por motivo el nombre de Hoces, hizo estas décimas:

...Hijo ingrato, ¿así disfamas,
en pobres paños nacido,
a tus padres, y engreído
a caballero te llamas?
El festivo entre las damas
ya en Soledades se ve,
do no huella humano pie,
o yo no alcanzo el misterio,
o me cometió adulterio
la musa con quien casé.
(Juan de Salinas, Poesias humanas, 402).

See González Palencia, Noticias, 30 June, 1623, p. 65, for a plot to kill Salinas in 1623.

[95] See Fernández-Guerra, Alarcón, 385-94.

[96] See Kennedy, Studies in Tirso, 313, n. 27, citing Góngora, Obras.

[97] 'Décima satírica a un poeta corcovado que se valió de trabajos ajenos', in Obras poéticas de don Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza, II, 198.

[98] Castillo Solórzano, Las Harpias de Madrid, 94.

[99] See Fernández-Guerra, Alarcón, 397. Contributors included Mira de Amezúa, Pantaléon de Ribera, Luis de Belmonte, and Luis Vélez.

[100] Cited in Brown, Pantaléon de Ribera, 35. See also León Pinelo, Anales de Madrid, 253, for a more favourable opinion. Alarcón's hump-back was the occasion of much literary satire.

[101] On Luis Fernández de Córdoba, Cardona y Aragón, Duque de Sessa, de Baena y Soria, Conde de Cabra, Gran Almirante de Nápoles, Comendador de Bedmar en la Orden de Santiago, and Lope de Vega, see Fernández-Guerra, Alarcón, 165.

[102] On 'ghost-writers', see King, Academias literarias, 98, n. 10, citing Vicente Sánchez, Lira poética (Zaragoza, 1688), 39; and ibid., 98, n. 11, citing 'Cancionero de los Nocturnos de Valencia', I, 32-3, on Duque de Sessa.

[103] See Fernández-Guerra, Alarcón, 230.

[104] Osuna was jailed for an alleged plot in 1618 to overthrow Spanish authorities in Venice. Quevedo escaped with his life, but because he failed to bring Osuna's case to the King, he lost favour and was, for a time, an outcast at Court (Discurso del Sr. D. Aureliano Fernández Guerra y Orbe sobre la conjuración de Venecia de 1618, vindicando la memoria del Duque de Osuna y de los Marqueses de Bedmar y de Villafranca, calumniados con ocasión de aquel suceso, in Discursos leidos en las sesiones públicas de la Real Academia de la Historia, I, pp. 337-76, cited by Serrano y Sanz (ed.), Autobiografias, ci, n. 2).

[105] Kennedy, Studies in Tirso, 34. Royal orders of the Junta de la Reformación, dated 1 May, 1621, were 'reformación, no sólo en esta corte, sino en estos mis reinos, en materia de vicios, abusos y cohechos' (ibid., 31).

[106] Compare Cintia de Aranjuez, lib. 2°, 174. See Appendix 4.K, for parodic rules alluding to a poet's survival.

[107] Viaje del Parnaso, ch. II, line 393, p. 81. For other comments by Cervantes on poverty among poets, see ibid., ch. V, line 329, p. 135: 'dos cosas repugnantes, hambre y sueño, privilegio a poetas concedido'; La Gitanilla, 30; and Licenciado Vidriera, 119.

[108] 'Privilegios, ordenanzas y advertencias que Apolo envía a los poetas españoles', in Viaje del Parnaso, 189.

[109] For bibliography on comedias de guapos, see Appendix 4.L.

[110] El caballero Puntual, 84. Libel was certainly thriving in Rome between 1565-1666, where eighty-nine cartello infamante were recorded, but the 'dark figure' of uninvestigated libel is impossible to calculate (see Burke, Perception and Communication, 96). For secret denunciations, see pages 72, and Chapter 3, footnote 106 above; and for recourse by the underworld to professional libellers, see page 364.

[111] Contrast the view of Flynn on vendettas, page 38 above.

[112] On Villamediana's murder, see González Palencia, Noticias de Madrid, 33. For Villamediana's association with other homosexuals, see González Palencia, op. cit., 43 (5 December, 1622). It was popularly believed that his assailant was sent by Philip IV because of a rumoured affair with the Queen (see Góngora, Sonetos, 184). For a theory indicting Olivares, see Rosales, Pasión y muerte.

[113] See Rosales, op. cit., 129-30, citing BN Ms. 8252, fol. 13; and ibid., 105, citing BN Mss. 4101-155; 3987-224; and 3919-81v.

[114] See Rosales, op. cit., 106.

[115] Lemos was Cervantes's mecenas (see Viaje del Parnaso, 186).

[116] On Ociosos and Infuriati, see Sánchez, Academias literarias, 306-11.

[117] Viaje del Parnaso, ch. VIII, lines 421ff, p. 176. Almarada was a dagger with three blades, usually concealed under the clothes.

[118] 'Epitafio a don Rodrigo Calderón, Marqués de Siete Iglesias, que murió degollado en pública plaza', in Obra poética, III, 218.

[119] On Buen Retiro plot, see Morel-Fatio (ed.), L'Espagne au XVIe et XVIIe siècle, 611-67 (617). For details of Buen Retiro, see page 167 above.

[120] See Barrionuevo, Avisos, 24 April, 1638, and 22 May. In fact he recovered from his wounds. In 1643 the King made him a knight of Santiago. Significantly, two of his works reflect contemporary political events: Esto es hecho (the words attributed to Villamediana as he lay dying); and No hay privanza sin envidia.

[121] Buen Retiro, 21-2. Compare page 269 below, for conversion of prostitutes.

[122] Quevedo, 'Premáticas del desengaño contra los poetas güeros', in 'Premáticas y Aranceles Generales', 437.

[123] See Fernández-Guerra, Alarcón, 153, n. 227, citing Cartas de Lope; I, 45 and 51; and Libro de la fundación y acuerdos de la Congregación de Esclavos del SS Sacramento, en el convento de Trinitarios Descalzos desta villa de Madrid.

[124] Alarcón, Obras completas, 51. See Fernández-Guerra, Alarcón, 321, for details. The reference to the title 'Cid' (lord) implies that Lope must have been a Godfather figure in these dealings.

[125] See Appendix 4.M, for aristocratic academy membership.

[126] See Sánchez, Academias literarias, 115.

[127] See Rodríguez Marín (ed.), Rinconete y Cortadillo, 131, for an account of these poets. Cervantes said of Ochoa: 'Deste varón en su alabanza digo/ que puede acelerar y dar la muerte/ con su claro discurso al enemigo' (Viaje del Parnaso, ch. II, line 10, p. 67).

[128] See Rodríguez Marín, ed. cit., 155-8. See Cervantes, Parnaso, ch. II, lines 167ff, p. 73, for quote on Vélez. Ochoa's academy issued a cluster of sonnets in 1599 on the arrival in Seville (and the money spent thereon) of the Marquesa de Denia, wife of Philip III's privado, Duque de Lerma. They also composed sonnets to the Virgin and to the Holy Cross at religious fiestas.

[129] See Fernández-Guerra, Alarcón, 58-9.

[130] Viaje del Parnaso, ch. II, line 376, pp. 80-81. On 'Dios es Cristo', see page 351 below.

[131] Cited in Arco y Garay, La erudición española, 65, n. 21; compare page 75 above, on youthful penitents.

[132] See Fernández-Guerra, Alarcón, 145.

[133] He also wrote verses for a literary academy, possibly the Ociosos. On Duque de Estrada's membership of Ociosi, see Benedetto Croce, Realtà e fantasia nelle Memorie di Diego Duque de Estrada (Naples, 1928); C. Pereyra, 'Soldadesca y picaresca', Boletin de la Biblioteca de Menéndez y Pelayo (1928), 94, 96, 150-5; and Deleito y Piñuela, Mala vida, 158. See page 174 above, for rivalries and the Ociosi.

[134] Relaciones de Don Iuan de Persia, by Iuan de Bostillo (Valladolid, 1604), tells of the conversion of Boniat Bec, then Don Diego de Persia: 'el acuchillado por Salas Barbadillo, según consta en el

proceso que a éste se formó'; see also the Prologue to Dos Novelas de D. Alonso de Salas Barbadillo, Sociedad de los bibliófilos españoles (Madrid, 1894), by D. Francisco R. de Uhagón, for the whole lawsuit against Salas Barbadillo. References cited in Serrano y Sanz (ed.), Autobiografías, xci, n. 1. On membership of academies, see Brown, Pantaleón, 5. Castillo Solórzano and Calderón were also involved in fights, skirmishes, and lawsuits, and one must acknowledge the involvement in academies of fake beggars, or, as Vélez puts it, 'una academia de los mayores ingenios de Sevilla, que se juntan en esta casa a conferir cosas de la profesión y hacer versos a diferentes asuntos' (El diablo cojuelo, Tranco IX, 40b). Damián Martínez, a poet and servant of the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo, and member of an academy chaired by Diego Xuárez, abbot of the monastery of San Juan de la Peña, was charged with the attempted murder of the Count of Monterrey on his master's instructions (Sánchez, Academias literarias, 160, n. 11, citing Antonio Rodriguez Villa, La Corte y monarquía de España, 3 vols (Madrid, 1885-90), II, 28, n. 1).

[135] Advancement of Learning, 44.

[136] Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola, 'Discursos pronunciados en una academia de Zaragoza', Obras sueltas, I, 309-26.

[137] Don Quijote, II, 16 (vol. 5, p. 29). Compare ibid., II, 18 (vol. 5, p. 64).

[138] See page 170 above, for evidence that ghost-writing was a common occurrence.

[139] Diablo Cojuelo, 43b; Buen Retiro, 20. See Appendix 5.G below, on the Refugio Hermandad.

[140]

> Un poeta, que tiene sus consonantes en tierra de moros cautivos y están a peligro de renegar, está con mucha necesidad. Pedirán para su rescate a la puerta de la Academia, acudan con su limosna Vuesas Mercedes, pues ven que es obra de tanta piedad.
>
> (Academia Burlesca, 'Cedula 2', 26).

See page 167 above, on Vélez's academy.

[141] 'Cedula 4', op. cit., 27; compare the work of los Desamparados and other orphan foundations (page 88 above). Comedias de repente were staged by los Ociosos and many others. Each member was given the scheme of the plot, and took a role, inventing his dialogue in verse: the more outlandish, the better (see Duque de Estrada, Comentarios, 124-7; Green, 'The Literary Court of the Conde de Lemos', 290-308; and Kennedy, Studies in Tirso, 66, et passim).

[142] 'Cedula 3', op. cit., 26. On pusillanimity, see Speak, 'Glass Men', 862-3.

[143] Ibid., 24. See Rumeu de Armas, Previsión social, 290-3, and 407-99, for Monte Pío. One final pious work addressed in Vélez's statutes demonstrates the progressive nature of literary and scientific academies. The clause which implies the academy offered counsel and assistance in marital difficulties is something never alluded to in conventional pious confraternities, for whom separation or divorce were unthinkable:

> Una musa, hija de vecino de Madrid, pretende nulidad de matrimonio con un académico impotente de vena. Hase traído el pleito por vía de fuerza a la Academia. Suplica a V.S.

Illustríssima se le haga justicia, porque ella se quiere casar con un poeta que ha sido fraile, con lo cual no quedará sin heredero su casa.

(ibid., 24-5).

[144] See Pragmáticas y ordenanzas que se han de guardar en la ingeniosa academia sevillana desde hoy en adelante, included in Vélez's El diablo Cojuelo, 43b-44b; and Buen Retiro, 20-21.

[145] See Villamediana, Poesía impresa completa, pp. 932, 946, 976, 978, 979, 1000, 1080, and 1123. Jorge Tovar de Valderrama, a knight of Santiago, wrote several comedias and a number of poems including 'Silva a la conversión de Santa Maria Magdalena'.

[146] 'Soneto en ocasión de una Academia que se hizo en casa de Antonio Vega', in Poesía impresa completa, 441.

[147] See Appendix 4.N, for Italian esoteric academies.

[148] For the ceremony in full, see Appendix 4.O. Compare Estrada, Comentarios, Parte XVI, p. 453, on ritual undress before he is made prior; and see Keen, Chivalry, 64-65, on the knighting ceremony for the Military Orders.

[149] When enlightenment finally comes that the episode was arranged to humiliate him, he flees amid shouts and jeers of colleagues and local people (El culto graduado, 336). Compare similar ritual degradation, on page 52 above; and see page 441, on the prisoners' ritual.

[150] Buen Retiro, 23.

[151] See page 183 above, for culteranismo/conceptismo.

[152] Ibid., 20; compare Diablo Cojuelo, Tranco X, 43b. Peralvillo was a place near Ciudad Real where the Santa Hermandad summarily despatched criminals in their jurisdiction (see Covarrubias, Proverbs). Compare also:

Lloverlas puede, si quiere,
Con el peine y con mirar,
Y hacerme en su Peralvillo
Aljaba de la Hermandad.

('Relación que hace un jaque de si y de otros', in Obras de Quevedo, III, 275-81 (278)).

[153] Sánchez, Academias literarias, 258, citing Rule 60.

[154] The staging of a work attracted a share of the impresario's profits for the academy, as well as a fee for the author. Those members who had produced twelve novels, plays, paintings, or poetic works, or one famous epic poem, were eligible for their 'laurels'. On Medrano's academy, see King, Academias literarias, 56, n. 74, citing MS. 3889, fol. 54v, and Jaime Suárez Alvarez, 'Los inéditos estatutos de "La Peregrina", academia fundada y presidida por el doctor Don Sebastián Francisco Medrano', RABM, 16 (1947), 91-110. For other cases of internal vetting of unpublished work, see Sánchez, Academias literarias, 224, on the Nocturnos; and see statutes of the Academia Pítima ('Ley 12', cited by Sánchez, op. cit., 254), quoted in Appendix 4.P.

[155] 'Introducción a la boda de un sastre', in Brown, Pantaléon de Ribera, 400.

[156] A second offence was liable to confiscation of consonants and arados de sal, a fitting penalty for traitors (Diablo Cojuelo, 43b-44b; Buen Retiro, 18-20). On Pantaleón, see page 188 above. On stylistic excesses, see also Barahona de Soto, 'Contra un poeta que usaba mucho de estas voces en sus poesías', in Poesías, 26; ibid., 'Contra los malos poetas afectados y escuros en sus poesias', 36-7; and footnote 23 above. Compare Quevedo, 'Receta para hacer Soledades en un día', no. 825 in Obra poética, 227.

[157] See Sánchez, Academias literarias, 153. There is possibly an allusion here to a system of signs understood by the initiated, such as one finds in the freemasons.

[158] See G. Davies, A Poet at Court, 65, on modern interpretations of conceptistas and culteranistas. On general attacks against culteranismo, see Tirso, El bandolero, 81-2; and Estebanillo González, ch. XII, 357a.

[159] Viaje del Parnaso, ch. VII, line 163, p. 153.

[160] 'Item, es condición que si algun académico habrá hecho alguna sátira sea privado conforme la ley 56' ('Ley 57', in Sánchez, Academias literarias, 258).

[161] Diablo Cojuelo, 43b-44b; and Buen Retiro, 20-1. Cervantes was of the same opinion:

> Nunca voló la pluma humilde mía
> por la región satírica, bajeza
> que a infames premios y desgracias guía.
> (Viaje del Parnaso, ch. IV, line 34, p. 103).

See Chapter 11, for more on penitential/penal rituals of expulsion and execution.

[162] Goliardic works include a Dicer's Mass with a response: 'Fraud to thee, Decius', Decius being the Third person of their Trinity; and the Credo au ribaut, a parody of the Nicene Creed (see Waddell, Wandering Scholars, 211-13).

[163] See Appendix 4.Q, for medieval parodic rules.

[164] See Appendix 4.R, for Italian parodic rules.

[165]

> Los sujetos que han de escribir en ella [la Academia] han de ser todos en burlas decentes, sin que por ningún caso se admita picardia ni bajeza.
>
> (Buen Retiro, 11).

[166]

> Item se ordena que ningún poeta grave haga corrillo en lugares públicos recitando sus versos; que los que son buenos, en las aulas de Atenas se habían de recitar, que no en las plazas.
>
> ('Privilegios, ordenanzas y advertencias que Apolo envia a los poetas españoles', in Viaje del Parnaso, 190).

Compare Don Quijote, II, 16 (vol. 5, p. 29):

> Pero esta tal doncella [la poesía] no quiere ser manoseada, ni traida por las calles, ni publicada por las esquinas de las plazas ni por los rincones de los palacios. Ella es hecha de una alquimia de tal virtud, que quien la sabe tratar la volverá en oro purísimo de inestimable precio; ha la de tener, el que la tuviere, a raya, no dejándola correr en torpes sátiras ni en desalmados sonetos; no ha de ser vendible en ninguna manera, si ya no fuere en poemas

heroicas, en lamentables tragedias, o en comedias alegres y artificiosas.

[167] El culto graduado, 339.

[168] Pantaleón considered himself to be 'tenebroso', and frequently used paronyms of the term in his work:

> Tal que mi Musa agrecida,
> bien que no ignora la ofensa,
> a los rayos de su ingenio
> oí tributa sus tinieblas.
>
> (Fábula de Europa, in Obras, 60).

See also ibid., 137-8. See Brown, Pantaléon de Ribera, 72-3, and 102, for more on Pantaleón's oscuridad.

[169] There is a cunning reference here to the infiltration of Jews in the academies.

[170]

> Item, que las oraciones que escribiere en sus obras, las pueda volver de abajo arriba, y de arriba abajo, y detrás adelante, sin que se pueda entender si es oración activa o pasiva, libres del dominio de la construcción, siguiendo el estilo de los oficiales de la ropa vieja, pues él que compra de su tienda unos calzones no sabe si se derivan de capa, balandrán o sotana.
>
> (El culto graduado, 339).

[171] See González Palencia, Noticias de Madrid (8 October, 1625), p. 125.

[172] 'A Cristóbal el ciego, poeta de repente con eminencia, que asistía en casa del Marqués de Siete Iglesias, don Rodrigo Calderón', in Obras poéticas, II, 37-8. It is possible that 'Cristóbal' was actually Mendocilla.

[173] Vélez, Buen Retiro, 25. The 'ciego poeta badea' may have been Antonio de Toledo, a member of the Academy, whose nickname was El Ciego. See Appendix 4.S, for another example of badea. Compare a remark by Enríquez Gómez about an academy which became 'capítulo de jácaras, a donde los senadores de las musas jacarandinas deponían a jugar los pleitos de la vida rufiana' (ch. XI, p. 280a). On plagiarism, see page 153 above.

[174]

> Item, le hacemos libre de escribir relaciones de casos sucedidos, o maquinados a ciegos, pena de que si las hiciere por mal entendidas, antes le sean de costa que de provecho; y no es corta preeminencia hacerle exento de un ciego que le canse y fastidie.
>
> Item, le hacemos libre de las estafas de los valientes en las composiciones de las jacarandinas, pues la obscuridad aunque asimila tal vez en lo aparente a sus términos germánicos, en el fondo dista mucho de parecerles, por no tener sus voces derivación de orígen alguno.
>
> (El culto graduado, 338-39).

[175] Góngora wrote 'A uno que le pedía versos'. See Appendix 4.T, for quotation.

[176] Diablo Cojuelo, 43b-44b; Buen Retiro, 21.

[177]

> Item, es condición que, siempre y cuando alguno de los académicos leyere su punto, los demás oyentes estén con atención, sin divertirse en actos que puedan estorbar al que lee, exceptuando en esto los casos que necesitan de

distraimiento, como sea verdad que la necesidad carece de ley, y cuando la haya, se hayan de salir de la pieza por acudir a ello.

(Academia Pitima, 'Ley 11', in Sánchez, op. cit., 255).

Compare page 121 above, on confraternal meetings.

178 Es condición que si sucediere estando arguyendo o ventilando algún punto cualquiera persona, que se descompusiere, ya sea con palabras o acciones indecentes, a juicio del presidente se deja el darle el castigo, y que cuando tuviere aquel dia habeación a lo que se lee y presenta la pierda.

(Ibid., 255, 'Ley 22').

179 La Dorotea, Act IV, scene 2, p. 426.

180 'Item, es condición que si algún académico habrá hecho la falta de las tres semanas, siendo intimado como constará en el libro, sea privado' ('Ley 58', in Sánchez, op. cit., 255). Expulsion was also the penalty for criticism of the academy, just as it was in the pious confraternity ('Ley 56').

181 See Chapter 9 for more on bandits. See Appendix 4.U, for a biography of don Luis Nieto de Silva, aristocratic bandit. See also an interesting remark in Rojas Zorrilla, Obligados y ofendidos, line 935, p. 44: 'No pensé que eran los valientes los hermanos de los condes'.

182 Lope de Vega, La Dorotea, V. 6, p. 570; Castillo Solórzano, Las harpías de Madrid, 82, citing La Ilustre Fregona, by Lope.

183 See Sánchez, Academias literarias, 155. See Appendix 4.V, for cofrades del Parnaso.

184 On Gaspar Mercado, see King, Academias literarias, 114, n. 3, citing Cancionero de los Nocturnos, edited by Salvá y Marti Grajales; and El prado de Valencia, edited by Henri Mérimée, Bibliothèque mériodionale, ser. 1, XI (Tolosa, 1907).

185 Hidalgo, Diálogos, p. 305. This excerpt reveals how far contemporary morals had relaxed in relation to the catching of bubas. See also Gabriel de Corral, La Cintia de Aranjuez, 21. Polo de Medina also published a series of sonnets written for his academy (El buen humor de las Musas, 271-91).

186 Vélez, El diablo Cojuelo, Tranco IX, 40b-42a. Salcedo Coronel wrote Obras de don Luis de Góngora comentadas (1645); Antonio Ortiz Melgarejo published a jácara titled 'A un valiente'; Antonio de Mendoza is Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza; and Alvaro Cubillo de Aragón wrote Auto de NSª del Rosario; Añasco, el de Talavera; and Las muñecas de Marcela.

187 See King, Academias literarias, 93, and 158.

188 See Appendix 4.W, for members of Academia de Madrid.

189 Pedro de Urdemalas, 193. See Sánchez, Academias literarias, 167.

190 See Appendix 4.X, for a list of 'academic' novels.

191 See Appendix 4.Y, for an example of a riddle. See also Rojas Zorrilla, Lo que quería ver el Marqués de Villena, 324, for more academic themes.

192 See Persiles, III, 19 (vol. 4, 182-3). See also Lope de Rueda, Comedia de los engañados (1567), which was based on Comedia degli

ingannati, produced by the Intronati of Sienna in 1532 (see Schevill y Bonilla (ed.), Persiles, nn. 182-6). King's claim for a tenuous link between La Dorotea and courtly novels overlooks the important factor of melancholy and intellectual pursuit (Academias literarias, 182-3). Lover's melancholy in literary works was a popular subject (see Castillo Solórzano, Los alivios de Casandra (1640), in Tardes entretenidas, 635; and La Universidad de Amor, attributed to Polo de Medina, whose joint authorship is claimed by Maestro Antolinez de Piedrabuena and Uztarroz, president of the Anhelantes).

[193] See Cervantes, Viaje del Parnaso, ch. II, line 396, p. 81; ch. III, line 195, p. 91; ch. III, line 202, p. 91; ch. IV, line 35, p. 103; ch. IV, line 264, p. 112. See also La ilustre fregona, 200 ('¡Voto a tal!').

[194] 'Consultación de los gatos, en cuya figura también se castigan costumbres y arañas', in Obra poética, II, p. 519.

[195] See Quevedo, Buscón, 41-4, on Licenciado Cabra.

[196] Ibid., p. 520. See page 362 below, on chirlos.

[197]
Mas al punto, cabizbajo,
desjarretada una pierna,
boquituerto y ojizaino,
uno de los más prudentes
que jamás lamieron platos,
de los que de mejor maúllo
y más diestro en el araño,
'Oíd mis sucesos', dijo.

(Ibid., p. 521).

See pages 86 above, on vergonzados; 246, and 354 below, on hombre de bien; and 370 below, on moustaches.

[198] Compare Rojas Zorrilla, Obligados y ofendidos, p. 86: 'mas como el dinero dio,/ nos fuimos Zajinto y yo/ a trabaar [sic] este araño'.

[199] Ibid., 522.

[200] 'Respuesta de Don Francisco de Quevedo a Don Luis de Góngora', in Quevedo, Obra poética, III, 234. See page 247 below, on dacianos. Compare Chapter 6, footnote 33 below, on insignia worn round the neck.

[201] Quoted by Fernández-Guerra, Alarcón, 329, from Los corcovados (1646), by Pedro de Valdés and Miguel Ramírez. See also 'Satyra contra el tabaco, y de los efectos que causa en los que demasiadamente abusan dél', [s.l.-s.i.]. [s.a.], no. 1965 in José Simón Díaz, Impresos; and Quevedo, 'Sentimiento de un jaque por ver cerrada la mancebía: Jácara', in Obra poética, III, 308, regarding a prostitute, La Chillona, who is 'más tomada que tabaco'.

[202]
Esto que se recoge es el tabaco
que a los váguidos sirve de cabeza
de algún poeta de celebro flaco.
Urania de tal modo lo adereza,
que, puesto a las narices del doliente,
cobra salud y vuelve a su entereza.

(Viaje del Parnaso, ch. VIII, line 166, p. 167).

Urania may be a personification of the sky as a fertile element. See also Quevedo, 'Al tabaco en polvo, Doctor a pie', in Obra poética, II, no. 524, p. 11. The 'therapeutic' value of tobacco seems to have provided effective vindication for other smokers, too.

In a scene from Rojas Zorrilla's, El Cáin de Cataluña, two lackeys have to turn out their pockets, when Berenguel accuses them of taking secret messages to his betrothed. Besides the letter in question, some playing cards and a rosary, the inspection reveals that Camacho has a tabaquera, while Cardona has: 'Tabaco en hoja,/ Para sacarme las flemas/ Con que te sufro' (Jornada 2ª, p. 283).

[203] La Gatomaquia, Canto VII, lines 145-52, p. 219.

[204] Academia que se celebró por Carnestolendas, jueves 21, de febrero de este año de 1675. En casa del Lcdo. D. Gabriel de Campos (Madrid, 1675), pp. 55-57.

[205] See page 384 below, for more on soplar.

[206] Las Harpías en Madrid, 128-29. For the whole romance, see Appendix 4.Z. The punning on 'nose' may also be a reference to penalties for smoking imposed in some countries early in the history of tobacco, which threatened amputation of the offender's nose. There is another reference to academy members using tobacco as snuff in Castillo Solórzano's, 'Romance. A la institución de una nueva Academia, para reparar otra que se habia desecho, norabauena':

Para desfogar su rabia
toma por tabaco azufre
y estornudando centellas
ponzoña y tosigo escupe.
(Donayres del Parnaso, 263).

[207] See pages 371, and Chapter 9, footnote 211 below. For a similar pun, see Quevedo, Obra poética, II, 283.

[208] Viaje del Parnaso, ch. III, line 61, p. 86.

[209] For librillos de memoria, see page 361 below.

[210] See Appendix 4.AA, for details of individual academies.

[211] See page 19 above, on criteria relevant to brotherhood, secret societies, etc.

[212] See Rashdall, Universities of Europe, I, 218, and 368, on universities and permanence.

[213] Compare page 19 above.

[214] See Alexander and Selesnick, History of Psychiatry, 53-64, on early medieval benevolent treatment of the insane. On the Hospital de Ignoscents, see Chamberlain, 'Early Mental Hospitals', 144-5, especially n. 18, citing J. Zapater y Ugeda, Biografía y elogia de Fray Gilabert y Joffre (Valencia, 1883), 83-5. See also Howells, World History of Psychiatry, 98; and García-Ballester, 'Medicina bajomedieval en Valencia', 67, n. 65, citing J. Mª. López Piñero, Medicina, Historia, Sociedad (Barcelona, 1969), 92ss. See Appendix 4.BB, for details and statute of the Hospital de Ignoscents.

[215] See García Ballester, 'Panorama de la medicina', 112. I am grateful to R. Cooter for this reference.

[216] The term manicomio came into use in the seventeenth century. See E. J. Domínguez, 'The Hospital of Innocents', 285-97, on Hospitales de los Inocentes. See also Bigeard, La folie et les fous, 29.

[217] On NSª de Gracia, see Chamberlain, 'Early Mental Hospitals', 145; and Howells, World History of Psychiatry, 98. See Appendix 2.S below, on treatment of syphilitics there. For other literary

references to Zaragoza, see Hidalgo, Diálogos, 291b; and to asylums in general, see Lope de Vega, Los locos de Valencia, I. 1, p. 115; and ibid., El loco por fuerza.

[218] On Saints Cosmas and Damian in Seville, see E. J. Dominguez, 'The Hospital of Innocents', 294; and Chamberlain, 'Early Mental Hospitals', 146, citing J. B. Ullersperger, La historia de la psicología y de la psiquiatría en España (Madrid, 1954), 15, 119. Compare page 354 below, on idleness encouraging neuroses.

[219] See Don Loco Amaro, 59-63. Amaro's document is dated 30 July, 1699 (legajo 15. 293 de consejos, AHN).

[220] See Valdivielso, El Hospital de los locos; and Avellaneda, Don Quijote, VII, ch. 36, p. 455. On Toledo's Nuncio, see Chamberlain, 'Early Mental Hospitals', 147; Howells, World History of Psychiatry, 98; and Vallejo Nájera, Literatura y psiquiatria, 38. There was another mental hospital in Barcelona, the Hospital de la Santa Cruz, which admitted dementes regardless of nationality. As a general hospital it dates back to 1229, but its history as an institution for the care of emotionally-ill patients is set at 1481. Barcelona also had a Hospital de San Severo, built in 1412, which admitted disturbed priests (see Howells, World History of Psychiatry, 98; and Chamberlain, 'Early Mental Hospitals', 147).

[221] On occupational therapy at Valencia and Zaragoza, see Bigeard, La folie et les fous, 32; and compare Lope de Vega, Los locos de Valencia, III. 7, p. 131.

[222] The same view was held by Pinel who describes the agricultural work undertaken there as 'the surest and most efficient [way] to be returned to sanity, and that nobles who spurn with disdain and arrogance all idea of mechanical work, also have the sad advantage of perpetuating their senseless flights of imagination and their delirium' (P. Pinel, Traité medico-philosophique sur l'alienation mental, second edition (Paris, 1809), 238, cited in Chamberlain, 'Early Mental Hospitals', 145). Iberti, quoted in Ullersperger, Historia de la psicología y de la psiquiatría, 116.

[223] Diálogo de los pajes, 114.

[224] See Appendix 4.CC, for doctor-poet relationships.

[225] Titus Livius, Patavinus, celebrated historian born at Patavium (59 BC - 17 AD).

[226] See Appendix 4.DD, for another contemporary view on reason/unreason. See also Salas Barbadillo, El sagaz Estacio, 110-11; and Enríquez Gómez, El Peregrino, 389, whose list includes a gambler, a soplón, a bufón, and a lindo. Compare pages 56, and 158 above, on obispillos; page 353, on lindos; and page 200 on bufones.

[227] Cervantes, I, 25 (vol. 2, 243-86). For psychology of public punishment, see Foucault, Madness and Civilization, 67; and Alexander and Selesnick, History of Psychiatry, 73. By medieval standards the naked body was sinful and must be covered. Ritual undressing then, was seen as a punishment. On nakedness and genuine madmen, see Liñán y Verdugo, Guia y avisos, Novela 10ª, 224; and Garzone, L'Ospidale de' Pazzi Incurabili, ch. XVII, 'De' lunatici o pazzi a tempo', 293.

[228] See bibliography on malcontents, in Babb, Elizabethan Malady, 75. See also page 202 above. Walkington said: 'Oftentimes the

melancholicke man by his contemplatiue facultie, by his assiduitie of sad and serious meditation is a brocher of dangerous matchiavellisme, an inventor of stratagems, quirks, and pollicies, which were neuer put in practise' (Opticke Glasse, 66v). Mazarin objected to the cabale des dévots: 'Numerous companies are formed without royal order... the nobility also meets in secret, ... those who cabal against the King's service are malcontents... and all these dévots are selfish and ambitious' (see Chill, 'Holy Sacrament', 228).

229 On Otero/Ocero, see Herrera Puga, Sociedad y delincuencia, 152, nn. 54, and 55, citing León, 'Appendiz Primero de los Ajusticiados', caso 152, fol. 266, lín, 21; and caso 52, fol. 266v, lín 6. See also Domínguez Ortiz, Crisis y decadencia, 51; and Chaves, Relación de la Cárcel, cols 1350-1. In medieval literature simulated madness often increased one's chances of survival. Caballero Zifar enters Mentón under seige pretending to be its king, and the soldiers, amused by him, let him through (Libro del caballero Zifar, 150-2).

230 See Lope, Los locos de Valencia, I. 1, p. 115; and ibid., Peregrino en su patria, 271.

231 No paga tributos, pechas, ni alcabalas, ni otro género alguno de servidumbres, y finalmente, no está sujeto a nadie, mas vive más que ninguno libre, quieto, y sosegado.
(Mondragón, Censura de la locura humana, 155).
See also Persiles, III, 20-21 (vol. 2, 185-99), for the story of Isabela Castrucha and Andrea Marulo.

232 See Appendix 4.EE, for arm badges and Abraham Men.

233 Colombino and Pulcinella came later with Pierrot. The second of the original three was also known generically as Truffaldino or Burattino, but apparently whilst touring in Paris, the actor had chosen a specific name with which to identify himself: Arlequin/Harlequin (see page 54 above, on caccia selvaggia and charivari). In the late sixteenth century a troupe was present at the court of Philip II, led by Alberto Ganassa (Gavazzi) da Bergamo, who portrayed Arlequin. The grotesque confraternity of buffoons was a very old tradition in the Western world. In Athens this body had met in the Diomeis (Temple of Hercules), and organized pasquinades for Philip of Macedonia, who rewarded them richly. See also page 321 below, for the complex folk tradition of Arlequin and Vilhán. For a Spanish version of Pantalon, see page 247 below.

234 On buffoons, see Midelfort, 'Madness and the Problems', 7; Welsford, The Fool, ch. IX, 197-217; and Swain, Fools and Folly. For Francesillo, see Morel-Fatio, and Léonardon, '"Chronique scandaleuse"', 370-96; Juan Menéndez Pidal, 'Don Francesillo de Zúñiga'; Bigeard, La folie et les fous; J. Moreno Villa, Locos, enanos, negros y niños en la corte española de los Austrias (Mexico, 1939); and Márquez Villanueva, Personajes y temas, 221-4. For Velasquillo, see Juan Aragonés, Doce cuentos (Alcala de Henares, 1576). On Perico de Ayala, see Santa Cruz de Dueñas, Floresta española, Part II, ch. 5, no. VII, p. 75.

235 See page 174 above, for Villamediana's fate.

236 For evidence of the fashion for melancholy, see Speak, 'Odd Kind of Melancholy'; and ibid., 'Glass Men'.

[237] On theories and history of mental illness, see Zilboorg, History of Medical Psychology, 140. See also Babb, Elizabethan Malady, 63-72; and Gellert Lyons, Voices of Melancholy, 26. On revival of Aristotelian theories of genius in sixteenth-century academies, see Speak, 'Glass Men', 856-8; and ibid., 'Odd Kind of Melancholy', 200-01.

[238] See Sánchez, Academias literarias, 247-9, 262.

[239] See ibid., 249, n. 33, citing MS 3660, fol. 60v (BN, Madrid). On Italian academies linked with melancholy, see Accademia dei Lunatici, and Accademia dei Malinconici, in Maylender, Storia delle Accademie d'Italia.

[240] Perception and Communication, 151.

[241] See Klibansky, Saturn and Melancholy, 287, n. 21. Bosola, a character in Webster's Duchess of Malfi, describes a pose taken from Dürer's Melencolia, which subsequently became a conventional sign of melancholy:

> But loe, within, dull Melancholy sits,
> Proppinge with weary hand his heavy head,
> And lowringe on the ground in franticke fits.
> (IV. 2. 156-62).

For European references to the 'drooping head' motif, see Lyons, Voices of Melancholy, 49-50, n. 56. For an earlier Spanish reference, see Fernando de Rojas, Celestina, 'El autor a un su amigo', p. 35. I am grateful to Professor Round for providing this last example, and indicating alternative interpretations of the motif. See, for example, the 'hunter' motif in Gilman, The Spain of Fernando de Rojas, 203. For association of the motif with the gambler, see page 319 below.

[242] Don Quijote, I, 27 (vol. 2, 328).

[243]

> Muchas veces tomé la pluma para escribirla, y muchas la dejé, por no saber lo que escribiría; y estando una suspenso, con el papel delante, la pluma en la oreja, el codo en el bufete y la mano en la mejilla, pensando lo que diría, entró a deshora un amigo mio.
> (Ibid., I, Prologue (vol. 1, 21-2)).

[244] Nashe ridiculed his type in The Unfortunate Traveller, 344. See footnote 228 above, for political malcontents. According to Webster, 'want of action breeds all black malcontents' (Duchess of Malfi, I, 1, p. 13). The pose was evidently still in vogue in the late seventeenth century, for when news arrives of the King's death in Dryden's The Spanish Friar (1681), the townspeople go into mourning:

> The doors are all shut up; the wealthier sort,
> With arms across, and hats upon their eyes,
> Walk to and fro before their silent shops.
> (IV, 2, p. 185).

[245] Luna, Lazarillo, 14. Riquer substitutes equivalente for equipolente, but this may be a cant distortion of leather gaiters (polainas), using the root poleo, as an affected manner of walking. For poleo, see also Lugo y Dávila, De la hermania, 131.

[246] Compare a contemporary satirical cameo of a tailor: 'Al sombrero bien se le conoce haber salido del sitio de los valientes y por eso

está tan caído de faldas que parece que su amo toma lecciones de viudo, y aunque le da manos, no toma bríos' (Santos, Día y Noche, 68). See also a description of Monipodio: 'El sombrero era de los de la hampa, campanudo de copa y tendido de falda' (Rinconete y Cortadillo, 83). For more versions, see La Dorotea, V. 7. p. 573; and Hurtado de Mendoza, Cada loco con su tema, III, p. 472.

[247] See Babb, Elizabethan Malady, 72; and Forcione, Humanist Vision, 274.

[248] See Lope de Vega, Las Ferias de Madrid, Jornada 2a, p. 50; and Quiñones de Benavente, El doctor y el enfermo, 602b-603b, for pain in the side, alleged site of the spleen. On body/soul split and the role of imagination in melancholy, see Speak, 'Odd Kind of Melancholy', 200; and ibid., 'Glass Men', 861. See also page 205 above.

[249] Amadís de Gaula, Book II, ch. 52, p. 348. See also Márquez Villanueva, Personajes y temas, 40, citing the case of Tristan e Iseo.

[250] La gitana melancólica, 145.

[251] See Appendix 4.FF, for theories on treatments for melancholy.

[252] See Malleus Maleficarum, Part 1, Question 1, pp. 35-6, on heresy and witchcraft. Ficino cites Plato's Phaedrus, 244b-245c, 247d-249e, and 265b; Plato's Ion, 533d-536d; and Symposium, 205a-207c, 210-212a (see Ficino, Commentary on Plato's 'Symposium', Speech VII, ch. 14, 170-1). See also Marsile Ficin: Théologie platonicienne, II, Book 13, 219, where Ficino quotes from Aristotle, Xenophon, Cicero, Apuleius, and others.

[253] For an authoritative account of commentatio, see Screech, 'Good Madness in Christendom', 28-30. For commentatio, see also Cicero, Tusculan Disputations I. 30; and for meditatio mortis, see Seneca, Epistles LXV. 16-18 (vol. I, 452-5).

[254] On acedia, see Altschule, 'Acedia', 117-19. On sixteenth-century Castilian synonyms: pusilanimidad and escrupulosidad, see Speak, 'Glass Men', 862-4.

[255] Comentarios a 'Noche oscura', Book I, ch. 4 (vol. 2, 376).

[256] The edition of 1604 corrects alma to ama (see Lope de Vega, El peregrino en su patria, 289, n. 379). See also Tirso de Molina, Cigarrales, 333, on the soul of the lover soaring; and Lope de Vega, Peregrino, 273:

Aquí ninguno imagina
Cómo puedo yo ocupar
De ésta prisión el lugar,
Si soy cuerpo, o alma soy,
Si como materia estoy,
O si es o no más de la forma.

[257] Cuando mi libertad a arbitrio entrego
De escrupulosas ansias, imaginas
Que otro tendré que el último sosiego
Si mejor sus efetos examinas,
Muerte creerás a amor, que de otra mano
Nunca admitió impresiones peregrinas
No mezcles lo divino con lo humano

Quien muere amando, y a exceder seguro
Al vil temor de desigual tirano...
(Gabriel de Corral, La Cintia de Aranjuez, 34).

It is significant that the work contains an attack on Gerson (1363-1429), one of the most outspoken medieval advocates of witch-hunting ('Epigram 48', p. 62).

[258] Ferreira de Vasconcellos, La Eufrosina, edited by Menéndez y Pelayo, II. 5. 92a-93a. See also Portuguese edition by Asensio, 114-5. Zelotipo says later: 'Que me muero poco a poco y no sé qué ha de ser de mí, siento que se me destila el alma y se me gastan los espíritus' (III. 2. 105b). For more examples, see Speak, 'Glass Men', 861-2. For medieval Penitents of Love and 'fole amour désmesuré, dont aucunes en perdent honneur et les autres âme et corps', see Boase, 'Penitents of Love', 817.

[259] Agrippa, Occulta philosophia, Book I, 'Naturall Magick', ch. 60, pp. 132-34, 'Of Madness, and Divinations which are made when men are awake, and of the power of a Melancholy Humour, by which spirits are sometimes induced into Men's Bodies'. See Appendix 4.GG, for full quotation, and more references.

[260] Sebastián de Córdoba, 'Egloga II', in Garcilaso a lo divino, 185. See also 'Egloga I', 165; 'Elegia II: A Luys de Vera', 148; and 'Soneto XXV', 119. The use of puns on Celia-celos-cielos in contemporary popular works should also alert one to the possibility of meditatio mortis - compare Lope de Vega, Ferias de Madrid, Jornada 1ª, 43-4.

[261] San Juan de la Cruz, Noche oscura, Book I, ch. 8, 386-8; Book I, ch. 9, 389-93; and Book II, ch. 1, 414-6. See also Speak, 'Glass Men', 856-7; and ibid., 'Odd Kind of Melancholy', 195-7.

[262] Padre Nieremberg wrote in his Curiosa Filosofía: 'Uno que no quería andar, como cuenta Gerson, porque decía que tenía los pies de vidrio, otro que no quería salir de una bodega, porque decía que era tinaja, otro que no quería beber, porque decía que era ladrillo, y con la humedad se desmoronaría. Otro que no quería encontrar a nadie por no quebrarse como Galeno escribe' (cited by Amezúa, Cervantes, creador, 158). See Feder, Madness in Literature, 9, on real models for literary madmen.

[263] La Dorotea, III. 3. p. 316. See Appendix 4.HH, for butter men and other manifestations of melancholy.

[264] It was to combat heterodox adaptations of Catholic dogma on salvation, that literature on the theme of purification of the anima had emerged in the sixteenth century (see page 133 above).

[265] See page 153 above, on changing patterns in readers and demand at this period.

[266] La Dorotea, IV. 1. p. 397. For other lover-melancholics, see Doña Ana in Lope de Vega, El valiente Juan de Heredia, Act II, p. 639a. For a medical comment, see Du Laurens, A Discourse, 100. See Appendix 4.II, for lovers' melancholy in other countries.

[267] See Eufrosina, IV. 1. p. 235 (Asensio); IV. 1. p. 121b (Menéndez y Pelayo); both quoted in Appendix 4.. See also ibid., IV. 5. p. 258 (ed. Asensio); and III. 2. p. 174-80 (Asensio).

[268] Humanist Vision, 294.

[269] Criticón, Parte 3ª, Crisi 4, p. 444. For corrective spectacles, see Don Quijote, II. 19 (vol. 5, 92); Polo de Medina, Academias del Jardín, 136; and Nashe, Unfortunate Traveller, 299. Between 1475-1640, at least 28 known works printed in England bore this title (see Allison and Goldsmith (eds), Titles of English Books, I, '1475-1640').

[270] Parte 3ª, Crisi 5, p. 466.

[271] For a full bibliography on similar contemporary works, see Speak, 'Odd Kind of Melancholy', 199.

[272] 'A la dama Verde', in Academias del Jardin, 'Academia 1ª', 136.

[273] Advancement of Learning, 131.

[274] Prominent among his works are innovative views on refracting lenses, which influenced the invention in 1608 of the refracting telescope by Zacharias Janssen (see Giambattista della Porta, Magiae naturalis libri XX (1589), Book XVII; ibid., De refractione optices (1593); and ibid., De telescopio, edited by M. A. Naldoni (Florence, 1962)).

[275] Advancement of Learning, 109.

[276] Pinedo, Libro de chistes, 105.

[277] See Arguijo, Cuentos, 214; and Don Quijote, II, 1 (vol. 4, 47-52). See also Luis de Pinedo, Libro de Chistes, 111:

> En Toledo, en la casa de los orates, estaba un loco dando muy grandes voces con unos que habían entrado a ver la casa, diciendo: 'Yo soy el Angel San Gabriel, que vine con la embajada a Nuestra Señora y dije: "Ave Maria"', etc. Respondió otro loco que estaba alli junto a él, y dijo: 'Juro a tal que miente: yo soy Dios Padre, y nunca tal le mandé'.

[278] Pinedo, Libro de chistes, 110-1.

[279] Licenciado Vidriera, 129.

[280] For more on Dürer, Holbein, Cranach, etc., see Speak, 'Glass Men', 859.

6. THE BEGGARS' BROTHERHOOD - 'LA GENTE OSCURA'

There were five types of moral delinquent in the sixteenth century, according to Chandler: insane, instinctive, impassioned, occasional, and habitual criminals.[1] Some attention has already been paid to the insane element, and the impassioned miscreant has no place in a study of organized fraternities. The 'instinctive' criminal, predestined to be a villain, will occupy later chapters of this study. The present chapter will therefore examine the last two categories of criminal: the occasional and habitual offenders, who went by the name of rogue or beggar. Late Renaissance literature of roguery deals with the occasional type, tending towards the professional, who stops short of iniquity. He took up petty crime in response to stress, peer pressure, and local circumstances, but he could become a habitual offender if conditions favoured this role. His typical offence was theft, contrasting with that of the villain, which was murder or violence. He won by wit or dexterity what others had laboured to obtain. He might cheat at cards, or snatch purses; he might forge a cheque, or a will; he might beg with a painted ulcer, or prey on the government as smuggler, play the quack, or rob on the highway. Most of these types of rogue or beggar operated under one banner in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Occupying the twilight world, midway between the officially-recognized associations of guild and pious confraternity, and those of the outcast population, they became known as the Beggars' Brotherhood. What were their origins, and why did they associate?

The advent of the beggars was much earlier than the sixteenth century,[2] but a number of socio-economic conditions encouraged their proliferation in this turbulent period. Spanish imperialist policies, especially expansion in the New World, for instance, brought a corresponding rise in value of precious metals, an inflation caused by manipulation of the increased supply by international financiers and a consequent flight of precious metals abroad. Internally, trade barriers were imposed by indirect taxation (tolls, etc.), and an oppressive fiscal policy. The resulting slump in Castilian industry, and increased cost of living, triggered countless social ills.[3] Bourgeois classes sought to evade tax liability by ennoblement, or else they settled for service in a seigneurial household. If there were no posts available, they became <u>escuderos continuos</u> or <u>gentileshombres</u>, to avoid attracting the label of <u>pan perdido</u>, <u>valdio</u> or <u>paviota</u>.[4] But although evasion of work marked the upwardly-mobile, at the top of the hierarchy idleness

was not always a matter of choice. This was especially noticeable in Catalonia, where the interests of the individual were ruthlessly subordinated to those of the family - the primary unit of society. Everything possible was done to concentrate the family's estate in the hands of one person and everything possible done to stop him squandering it. He was single, absolute heir (hereu universal); if not necessarily first-born son. If there was no son, the daughter (pubilla) inherited. Younger sons (fadristern, cabaler) had to follow a commercial career to survive. However, restricted by contemporary attitudes to and availability of work, he often became a burden, hanging about the home, living at his elder brother's expense, or, attracted by adventure, taking up vagrancy.[5] Contemporary literature reveals that Castile was no less affected by this social evil.[6]

Once the individual becomes detached by one of the above factors from his group or origin, he is thought to become a particularly unstable element, tied to no occupation, dwelling, or master, deliberately avoiding any move to re-create fresh bonds of stable and personal dependence to replace those broken. This, at least, has been postulated for eighteenth-century Poland. The present chapter will investigate the relevance of that statement to Golden-Age Spain by testing for the existence of any such bonds.[7] First, however, it is necessary to establish a working definition of the term beggar, and an understanding of his situation. According to a definition by sixteenth-century jurists, the vagabond was aimless, with no job or personal wealth, his aim being to practise crime, not idleness. He had no fixed abode, and practised mendicity by pretending to be ill or disabled. The Spanish term for him was Guitón: 'El pordiosero que con capa de necesidad, anda vagando de lugar en lugar, sin querer trabajar ni sujetarse a cosa alguna' (Dicc. Aut.). Outcast by the State, he knew that survival depended upon the support of the Church, and for this reason, as another contemporary definition notes, he was a frequent visitor of holy places:

> El pordiosero que, con sombra de romero que va a visitar las casas de devoción y santuarios, se anda por todo el mundo vago y holgazán, mal vestido y despilfarrado, con jaquete y zaragüelles de lienzo basto; que esto sinifica su nombre, tomado del griego xitwv chitón, que vale camisa basta o camisón, sagulum.[8]

Obviously theirs was a hypocritical devotion, as many contemporary tracts reveal. Villalón said in 1557 that they never confessed or heard

mass, and most were 'gascones y gavachos', who returned home richer than they came.[9] The accusation of heresy - for non-observance of the faith and French (or foreign) origins amounted to this - was frequently levelled at beggars by reformers. In a tract dealing with false beggars and how they deprived the genuine poor of alms, Pérez de Herrera, royal physician to Philip II, said they did not hear Mass or take the sacraments. They ate meat on days proscribed by the Church, without having a licence of dispensation, and disturbed the regular worshippers with their begging.[10] One beggar in Herrera's report claimed that God sent him work or witheld it; many more thought there were five members of the Trinity: 'Que cierto debía de ser de alguna secta de las malditas que tienen en Inglaterra y Francia, de adonde él era'.[11] All religious events, which functioned simultaneously with commercial ones, attracted the guitones, who roamed in groups selling at one fair what they stole at another. Their business acumen was astonishing and many grew wealthy overnight. There was a woman in Cordoba renowned for her dual existence, living in a poor hovel and begging alms, whilst she also maintained another, well-appointed house, where she lived in silk and finery.[12] Discussing this phenomenon in Viaje de Turquia, Panurgo attributes their success to a professional approach:

> Porque tendrian enfermas las bolsas, las cuales ahora están bien aforradas. No hay hombre destos que en un librico no traiga por memoria todas las cofradías, memorias, procesiones, ledanías y fiestas particulares de pueblos para acudir a todo por su orden; decid, por amor de mí ¿cuántas ferias habéis visto que en la ciudad ni sus derredores se hagan sin ellos?[13]

It was said they were organized into parishes and confraternities, distributed by street and square, exploiting youth, old age, and sickness, real or contrived.[14] The present chapter will investigate these and other more conventional features of brotherhood among the beggars. First, however, it will be helpful to consider the question of contemporary poverty in its philosophical, theological, and sociological aspects.

6.1 Indigents and the Helping Hands

The beggars had two choices for survival: either to reach out to pious organizations for charity, or to build an alternative society with its own laws.[15] The first option availed a small, privileged, sub-class of blind beggars, who enjoyed official municipal status and practised pious works, principally those benefiting their brothers. The blind

beggars' confraternity saw to it that the lucrative business of reciting a prayer for passers-by was not disrupted. They had the monopoly of reciting or chanting prayers intended to preserve individuals and the community from all kinds of maladies. Statutes of the Madrid brotherhood assured its members that as well as having the monopoly on prayers, they also had one on the sale of gazettes, gossip sheets, and alamanacs. And if a blind man fell ill in seventeenth-century Zaragoza, the others were commissioned by its mayordomos to pray among his clients, in order to meet his costs with the proceeds.[16] The threat of outside competition weighed heavier on the group than individual incapacity for work. Organization of sick benefit in Zaragoza was possibly dictated by the hordes of fake beggars there, whose praying was curtailed by the arrival of another customer.[17] An organization founded in Rome by Pius V in 1613 for blind and crippled men and women, Compagnia di Santa Elisabetta or Della Vergine, operated along similar lines.[18] It may have inspired the foundation of similar organizations in Spain, whose members were exempted from vagrancy laws and normal restrictions on begging. In Padraira (Asturias) organization of begging from Leper houses was fixed by statute in 1586.[19] There were so many of these organized beggars that a collective name came into popular use for them: demandadores. They were paid by the city to pray for the souls in Purgatory, covering all the city for two hours after Angelus, alternately praying Paternosters and ringing a small bell to collect alms.[20]

The failure of society to respond adequately to this first option for survival, that of reaching out to organized charity, was due to a number of reasons. Much depended on the theological interpretation of poverty for welfare purposes. A brief synopsis here of the charity-welfare debate is essential to an understanding of the threat facing contemporary pious confraternities, whose own survival depended upon their adaptation to the new brotherly concept of misericordia, not just as a religious institution, but as a social one.[21] In Catholic lands, poor-relief policy had to be elaborated to allow for canonical views on the spiritual character of almsgiving for both the recipient poor and charitable donors. Charity was seen as a form of exchange, in which the donor buys power, prestige, and self-satisfaction, and the recipient inherits treasure in heaven for his evangelizing powers over the donor. But attitudes towards the poor vacillated between fear (in time of

plague) which motivated expulsion orders, and solicitude of a self-seeking character.[22] In 1545, for example, Domingo de Soto complained that the lack of beggars at Easter processions had deprived the faithful of the chance to practise charity. Conscious of their marginal status, and of the hopeless plight which charity offered, even the idle poor blamed the system which corrupted them. The following words by the pícaro, Guzmán, reveal much about Alemán's attitude to the plight of the poor:

> Digo yo que aquél sabía verdaderamente granjear los talentos, que no considerando a quién lo daba, sino por quién lo daba, viéndome y viéndose, me dio lo que llevaba con mano franca y ánimo de compasión. Estos tales ganaban por su caridad el cielo por nuestra mano y nosotros lo perdíamos por la dellos, pues con la golosina del recebir, pidiendo sin tener necesidad, lo quitábamos al que la tenía, usurpando nuestro vicio el oficio ajeno.[23]

A contemporary of Alemán in Seville's Cárcel Real complained that a rich man's words were weighed as if Cicero had spoken them; and if he sneezed, there was not a saint in the calendar not invoked for him. But even if a poor man threatened to expire from sneezing, he would attract a flood of curses:

> Porque en este miserable siglo nuestro, el absoluto señor de todas nuestras acciones es el dinero... la vida y la muerte están en mano del dinero pues él solo es suficiente para condenar a muerte un justo y dar la vida al que está condenado a la muerte.[24]

What purported to be justice was weighted in favour of the wealthy, who were rarely taken to court, whilst the full force of penal law fell on the poor man.[25] The issue was highlighted by a contemporary doctor, whose picaresque character, Justina, is exploited by a notary she approaches for legal aid:

> Dios nos libre de pleitear en pueblos chicos, donde hace la cabeza del proceso la envidia; el proceso, el soborno; los autos, la afición; la apelación, la del alcalde; la revista, solturas y, sobre todo, el dinero... Para mí fué la justicia justicia, para mis hermanas misericordia.[26]

And if confraternities stepped in to answer a need, their altruism had limits, because as assets were restricted, the investment had to be sound. Because of their unique skills, for example, some occupational fraternities or guilds, were allocated care of lepers by the governments. Among these the barber-surgeons were prominent, especially as city gatekeepers or inspectors on call, in which posts they served as

much to keep out the lepers as to attempt to cure them. The same applied to other unfortunates. Confraternities thus regulated charity as well as providing it. As Ross puts it, the fraternity did not love the unlovable.[27]

Those least touched by confraternities were the wandering, dispossessed poor, whose plight formed the centre of a lively controversy. Juan de Robles (or de Medina) said the Gospel reference to poverty was not that of economic possessions. He argued for a distinction between indigent and indolent poor, and advocated a policy of self-help to eradicate the problem. As acts of mercy were biased towards certain types of poor, he claimed, competition for the alms given out encouraged the practice of displaying infirmities, etc. Expressing the controversy rather simply, the issue for sixteenth-century welfare workers was about whether all poor were equally worthy of charity, and if not, how they should be dealt with. Spanning the great divide between the two schools of the Thomist theologian, Domingo de Soto, and the social reformer, Luis Vives, was Miguel de Giginta. Like Soto he denounced the banishing of foreign poor and putting trammels on the indigenous ones. But like Vives he wanted to organize distribution of alms and find hostels for the homeless. He proposed the establishment of a Casa de Misericordia in each town, at which beggars could freely come and go as they wished. The blind, one-handed, lame, crazy, old, and young would all work at weaving esparto grass, wool, and silk. To supplement the beggars' own input, each Casa would be governed by an Hermandad or Cofradía. The Cofradía would beg alms, raising the moral tone of the poor,. and giving continuity to the work begun.[28] As the controversy raged through the sixteenth century, monarchs and statesmen failed to reconcile the opposing concepts of charity and justice. In 1564 Philip II issued a pragmatic ordering judges to execute the laws and not moderate punishments.[29] At about the same time, his Belgian ambassador to Suleiman the Magnificent, the humanist, Ghiselin de Busbecq, advocated:

> If a just and mild form of slavery still existed, such as is prescribed by Roman law, particularly if the State were the owner of the slaves, there would not perhaps be need of so many gallows and gibbets to restrain those who possess nothing but their life and liberty, and whose want drives them to crime of every kind, while their freedom combined with poverty does not always lead them in the path of honesty.[30]

Ghiselin clearly supported those like Medina, who called for strict regulations against mendicity and the confinement of the poor in institutions. Neither side carried the day and the debate on indiscriminate charity simmered on. Luque Fajardo, a Sevillian clergyman, objected in 1603 that justice took second place to charity, in a possible snipe at Giginta:

> Pasó el tiempo en que castigaban delitos menores, siendo manifiestos, y ahora todos favorecen el vicio, teniendo por trato piadoso amparar los malhechores.[31]

And in 1598, Pérez de Herrera's extravagant descriptions of paupers resorting to ingenious strategems to obtain alms revived the hopes of those favouring a more organized system of poor relief. Philip II became personally interested in one of Herrera's pet schemes, the establishment of a house of confinement for mendicants in Madrid. The genuine poor, said Herrera, should be put in a 'casa que se llame el albergue y casa de los pobres', which would be their church and hostel. They should be given a licence to beg 'con alguna insignia al cuello, cruz y imagen de NS^{a}, con rosario y armas de aquella ciudad o villa'.[32] They would leave each morning after mass, eating where they wished, and returning at sunset to sleep there.[33]

Newly-organized confraternities such as these were instrumental in providing social security in early modern Spain. The organizations bridged all social classes: manual workers, those in the liberal professions, artisans, and merchants. All those economically weak through insufficiency or instability of wages, profits, etc., sought in the confraternity a means of facing up to life's vicissitudes produced by a change in income, or an increase in needs.[34] Well before the appearance of institutions by Giginta and Herrera, authors of popular tracts could not resist a temptation to philosophize on the problem facing social reformers, whose organizations all too often resembled the older charitable ones. Their work, it was argued, only encouraged the idle beggar to perpetuate his biblical role of redeemer of the wealthy and recipient of charity. Now he had a place to rest his head after a day spent defrauding the public of their money. Few writers could resist the temptation to voice their opinion. Villalón exclaimed:

> Mirad aquel otro bellaco tullido qué regocijado va en su caballo y qué gordo le lleva el bellaco; y esta fiesta pasada, cuando andaba por las calles a gatas, qué voces tan dolorosas y qué lamentaciones hacía. El intento del

> hospital de Granada que hago es por meter todos éstos y que no salgan de allí [sino] que se les den sus raciones. Para éstos son propios los hospitales y no los habían de dejar salir dellos sino como casa por cárcel, dándoles sus raciones suficientes como si pudiesen sustentar.[35]

Probably the period of greatest literary activity in Spain with regard to reform of the fake beggars was the 1590s, when Pérez de Herrera's Poor Houses had appeared. They were nicknamed Palacios de Desengaño, because paupers finding they had to work there were miraculously cured of their illnesses and disabilities. In each international city (Rome, Paris, London, Seville, Medina del Campo) they had their regular place of assembly, the Court of Miracles, usually in the heart of the slum quarter.[36] The name was probably inspired by the French Cours des Miracles, which waged a constant war with Parisian authorities. In Italy at the same period, civic projects for the forcible enclosure of indigent beggars also failed, and Rome returned to a 'mixed, decentralised, philanthropic world, where confraternities predominated, and beggars had their freedom'.[37] Black may have touched here on the reason for a close affinity between marginal organization and pious confraternity, both of which served as a self-regulating vehicle for the survival of repressed classes. Confraternities, on the one hand, saw themselves as philanthropic welfare workers. But when welfare systems failed the beggars, whether from corruption or from poorly-understood or controversial concepts of poverty, they exploited and adapted confraternal organizations to their own circumstances.

6.2 Indolents and the Alternative Society

The second option for survival, establishment of an alternative society, may now be considered more systematically. If there was such a brotherhood, how did it compare with the confraternity? Is there evidence of a social function among beggars which promoted solidarity? Did religious devotion have any significance for them other than a purely lucrative one? And, finally, what was the extent of their power, and how was the organization controlled? In social terms, the most obvious evidence of solidarity among the beggars is the existence of an esoteric jargon (cant in English, Rotwälsch in German, argot in French, jerga de germanía in Spanish). Thirteen-year-old Estebanillo González learnt the jerigonza from a lieutenant in a Sicilian regiment, who promised him that:

> 'Si lo quería servir, sería uno de los de la primera plana, y que esgüazaría a totiplén'. Yo, ignorando de esta

> jerigonza avascüenzada, por no ser práctico en ella, y por ser tan joven... pensando que la primera plana era ser de los Guzmanes de la primera hilera, y el esgüazar darme algún poco de dinero, y el tutiplén llegar con el tiempo a ser plenipotenciario, concedí en quedarme en su servicio.[38]

Their vocabulary was virtually international, many of the essential words being common to all the underworld brotherhoods. This was how ideas circulated throughout Europe, at a time when large sectors of the population were on the move, whether fleeing from war and religious persecution, or flocking to support these causes.[39]

6.2.1 Emblems of Repression or Professional Attributes?

Solidarity was also enforced, as in other companies, by uniformity of dress or behaviour. Some beggars' attributes were imposed on them by outside forces. For instance, beggars were outlawed from polite society by the official allocation of signs which, together with other marginal groups and castes, they had to wear from the sixteenth century. These included special licences, medallions, and badges embroidered on their tunics. Although conceived as an authorizing mark to facilitate the distribution of public alms, they quickly became an emblem of discrimination, despite objections to the contrary. Pérez de Herrera maintained that badges were a man-made invention to signal personal qualities: whereas the habit of the Military Orders meant nobility and valour; and the bishop's rochet signified dignity and authority; so the beggars' badges symbolized piety, mortification and poverty, as distinct from those worn by slaves and thieves, which signified infamy.[40] Some of these badges or emblems forced a distinction between the different kinds of beggars (indigent and indolent), as contemporary municipal ordinances reveal: 'No habrá en la ciudad más que doce picaros y doce ganapanes, y para distinguirse se usarán los ganapanes caperuzas bermejas, y los picaros caperuzas verdes'.[41] The choice of distinctive colour for clothing worn by Moors, Jews, slaves, prostitutes, concubines, and beggars was purely arbitrary, without symbolic value. Any differentiating colour would apparently have sufficed.[42] Evidently <u>ganapanes</u> now saw themselves as a brotherhood, which, like other low-born Spaniards, prided itself on racial and religious purity. This theory is confirmed by the appearance in Cervantes's <u>Entremés de el Juez de los divorcios</u> (1615), set in Madrid, of a man 'vestido de ganapán, con su caperuza cuarteada', who says:

> Señor Juez, ganapán soy, no lo niego; pero cristiano viejo y hombre de bien a las derechas; y si no fuese que alguna vez

> me tomo del vino, o él me toma a mí, que es lo más cierto, ya hubiera sido prioste en la cofradia de los hermanos de la carga.[43]

Though we should be cautious about Cervantes's impudent sense of humour, the idea of a brotherhood of beggars is worth considering.

6.2.2 Degrees of Imposture

Neither outcast nor accepted by society, perhaps it was inevitable that fake beggars would adapt this discrimination against them into a system of survival which worked on a different premise: that physical infirmity, not dress, was their distinguishing emblem and professional attribute - both qualification for entry, and licence to practise.[44] Because so many other writers testify to the colourful variety of contemporary impostors, there is little reason to doubt their existence. Luján, for example, was scandalized by the vagrants' life-style (which included coupling on doorsteps), and by the lengths to which they went to arouse sympathy. He launched into a fierce diatribe against those who used false wounds, ate herbs to colour their complexion, broke their childrens' limbs, or feigned blindness:

> En Madrid no ha quedado cosa por esperimentar; alli es el buscar niños y niñas alquiladas para fingir hijos pobres y sin madre o padre, el dar tasa a los propios hijos para que acudan cada noche con real y medio o dos reales, o les dan su tunda de azotes, el torcer pies o manos, o pasalles un hierro ardiendo junto a los ojos para cegarles, para que desta manera queden con manera de vivir y renta de por vida.[45]

Luján's version above resembles a contemporary report by Pérez de Herrera to Philip II:

> Muchos que con poco temor de Dios, movidos desta ociosa y mala vida, pudiendo trabajar en otras cosas, se hacen llagas fingidas, y comen cosas que les hacen daño a la salud para andar descoloridos, y mover a piedad, fingiendo otras mil invenciones para este efeto, y haciéndose mudos y ciegos no lo siendo; y algunos, y muchos, que se ha sabido, que a sus hijos e hijas en naciendo lo tuercen los pies o manos; y aun se dice que los ciegan algunas veces para que, quedando de aquella suerte, usen el oficio que ellos han tenido, y les ayuden a juntar dineros.[46]

He relates how a woman in Madrid approached a Cistercian, Fray Pablo de Mendoza, begging him to stop her husband from blinding her new-born baby with a red-hot poker, a fate he had visited on her other two children (ibid., 28). Something similar is seen in Alemán's Guzmán de Alfarache, where a poor beggar, Pantalón Castelleto, assures himself a secure

fig. 6
"Captain of the Scoundrels"

fig. 7. Beggar with Wooden Leg

fig. 8. Daciano

economical future by maiming his child, leaving him like a Quevedesque creation, or an invention of López de Ubeda.[47] Dacianos, as they were known, feature in many contemporary works (compare fig. 8). Ledesma's Conceptos espirituales (1600-1612) include a verse written on the theme of: 'Un pobre de los que andan arrastrando, sin pies y con sólo un brazo, y con eso se esté dando en el rostro'.[48] Another crawls across the pages of Santos's Dia y Noche (1663).[49] This man, however, is a fake, whose imposture is denounced by his jovial comrades.[50] Sometimes the imposture was discovered by a passing priest or doctor. In Madrid, Micer Morón's accomplice, the archibribón in Luján's Guzmán de Alfarache, pretended to be close to death while Morón begged alms for a mass for him. Some gave him food, others consolation, and one put a lighted candle in his hand. Unfortunately a passing doctor felt his pulse and pronounced him well, and a cofrade from the Hospital de Antón Martín thumped him and asked: 'How many times are you going to die, hypocrite?', before Morón stole away with his winnings.[51]

Besides conmen playing on popular sympathy, there were fake demandadores who played on popular fear of death and judgement. Gregorio Guadaña's father was one of these, who went out at night with a lantern begging for souls in purgatory. The first name in his entreaty was always his own.[52] The criterion for success amongst this type of beggar was rhetoric, rather than appearance, the style being dictated by the potential benefactor. Alemán's protopobre explained that men responded to a plain demand, but that as women worshipped NS[a] del Rosario, they had to be approached with something more akin to moral blackmail:

> ¡Dios encamine sus cosas en su santo servicio y las libre de pecado mortal, de falso testimonio, de poder de traidores y de malas lenguas![53]

Meanwhile Luján's protopobre, Micer Morón, boasted that their rhetorical skill was equal to that of any candidate for a university chair:

> Dadme, ennoblecidos cristianos y devotos de aquella serenísima Reina de los cuáles, y este pobrete lastimado y castigado de la poderosísima mano del Criador, que me veo y me deseo, y no lo puedo ganar ni trabajar; que el Verbo eterno se apiade de vuesas mercedes y de sus cosas, y les guarde de tan grandes males y enfermedades; miren la lástima y pobreza del afligido y desventurado mortal que se ve con tales trabajos; alabado y glorificado sea el Señor, y loado sea su Santísimo nombre.[54]

Under less fitting circumstances, a peremptory command presumably sufficed: '¡Eche, hermano, que Dios se lo pagará!', Gregorio Guadaña calls to a poet in an attic, who obliges by throwing out the contents of the chamber-pot.[55] Delivery of the oration, whatever its length, had to be rehearsed to achieve just the right plaintive intonation, as the leader of the beggars in Zaragoza tells them:

> Item, ninguno pida cantando como alemán, pues éstos más provocan a risa que a lástima; y sólo sea lícito a las damas que viven cantando, y a los clérigos que se sustentan de lo que otros lloran, juntamente con los médicos y cirujanos.[56]

That beggars of different nationalities operated in distinctive ways was confirmed by Alemán. The Germans, he said, sang in a group, while the French prayed, the Flemish bowed and genuflected, gypsies were importunate, Portuguese wept, Tuscans declaimed, but the Castilians 'con [sic] fieros', disdained to beg in the conventional sense. Within each country, too, there was an internal distinction between those who carried the bale on the end of a stick, on the shoulder, or on the back. The 'aristocracy', meanwhile, carried it around the neck.[57] Such distinctions resulted in the evolution in each country of a specific number of set disguises, allocated strictly by rank.[58] Numbers and names for these ranks vary from country to country and from one century to another. Early fifteenth-century magistrates of Basel could detail twenty-five distinct categories of fake beggars. The Liber vagatorum of late fifteenth century was based on this listing. By 1627, when Giacinto Nobili was writing Il vagabondo, the Italians had twenty-three categories for beggars. Meanwhile sixteenth-century France had fourteen, and Germany twenty-eight (see fig. 7).[59]

6.2.3 The Criminal Code

Evidently solidarity between beggars was strong enough to support an efficient communication system across Europe, yet sufficiently ethnic to dictate national distinctions by appearance and behaviour. But while political differences created by national boundaries dictated a certain xenophobia, this was apparently not the case with religious differences. The beggars had learnt the only doctrinal message they needed to know, and had learnt it well. They were sure of a place in paradise, and because of this, the rest of society owed them a living. Was there any evidence of mutual aid within the ranks of these impostors? How were their operations organized, and by whom? Was this an association open to all, or did it constitute a monopoly, closed to outsiders? Popular

fiction provides one view of this problem worth pursuing. For instance, when Estebanillo González meets up with two other vagrants on the road outside Toledo, they set up a constitutional organization:

> Liga y monipodio de ir a pérdida y ganancia en todos lances que nos podían suceder en esta jornada, guardando las leyes de buena compañía; y para que mejor las observásemos, el genovés, como hombre más experimentado, con tono fraternal nos informó en las ceremonias y puntos de la vida tunante.[60]

Apparently these organizations were administered through a system of taxation,[61] and beggars were allocated to specific locations according to their skills, much like the artisan guild. In Guzmán de Alfarache they shared out the streets of Rome and the churches holding fiestas, so when Guzmán encroached on another's patch, disciplinary action ensued.[62] To avoid demarcation disputes, a system of rules usually specified territorial limits. In Zaragoza, the beggars' president said:

> Item, bien mirado que somos muchos, me ha parecido repartir las calles más principales; y valiéndome de la facultad que tengo, las distribuyo en esta forma. La calle de la Ilarza sea reservada para mi persona tan solamente, pues en ella tengo mi gozo, que no será aguado mientras no salga. También la de San Pablo con sus bodegas y cubas, en las cuales no puedan entrar mis colegiales sino con mi persona, pagándome los gastos que en él las hiciere. Lo restante de la parroquia sea visitado de nuestro secretario sin inquietud ninguna; la del Coso, con sus callejuelas de Santa Catalina, sea de nuestro hermano el poeta, para que tengan algún alivio las musas en sus fatigas.[63]

They met in appointed taverns where three or four elders presided over and advised the others through the sort of Ordenanzas mendicativas taught to Guzmán. New clothes, he was told, were forbidden, and the penalty for wearing gloves, slippers, or glasses was payment of las temporalidades. In contrast to the thief, false linings and concealed pockets were forbidden, and alms were to be put in their hats. Stealing from one another was proscribed, and if two begged together, each had to keep to his own side of the street and share his earnings.[64] Betrayal of one's companion was a serious crime, and so was private enterprise. Each showed his fellows the most auspicious places for begging. Even though imposture was allowed, baser felons such as the daciano were deprecated in Alemán's fictional organization, where members could hire up to four children, aged below five years. Older children were trained as ventores and beggars, and discouraged from entering active service or learning a trade (it earns little for much work input, said Morón). For fraud or vile actions like undressing a child, members were expelled

from 'nuestra hermandad y cofradía' and handed over to the secular arm (this was a curious acceptance of a legal system which in all other aspects the begggars flouted). Apprenticeship began at twelve, and three years later the beggar received the statutes. After two more years of jábega (see page 255 below), he took the oath and became a life-member, subject to full jurisdiction.

The swearing-in ceremony derived some grandeur, at least nominally, by modelling itself on that of the ancient Greek Areopagus, the rigorous aristocratic tribunal. Although the connection may have been made by literary creators of such oganizations, the distinction between fact and fiction becomes blurred when one considers the occasional contacts which are known to have existed between literary men and beggars.[65] So in Zaragoza, when Prado's beggars swear on the porringer (hortera) to uphold the statutes, they agree to meet every week to discuss the laws in a place they christen 'nuevo areópago'.[66] Transgressors of these rules were tried and punished at a special meeting. In one of these the beggar, Vireno, is summoned to appear 'pena de incurrir en la desgracia del archipobre, y que se haría un castigo ejemplar en su persona si faltaba'. On the appointed day the charges are read out to him:

> 'Primo, ha delinquido nuestro secretario en entrar en una de mis calles, y yo soy el testigo, que le topé. También dijo no ser culpa suya, sino el ir acompañando a una dama. No obstante', replicó el presidente, 'ha de pagar usted la mitad de lo que yo gasté'.[67]

As in the last example, the head of the fictional beggars' hierarchy usually referred to himself, not as presidente, but as archipobre or archipoltrón, giving another interesting parallel with the Areopagus. Sometimes the prefix 'proto' was appended instead.[68] That so many systems of names denoting the same activities have evolved and survived in European cultures does indicate a level of organization which surpasses merely local, or even regional, boundaries (compare fig. 6). A naming system has been proposed by Kamen as one of two criteria necessary for corporate discipline and obedience.[69] The second criterion is a system of myths. Having established, mainly from popular fiction, that the first criterion applies to the Beggars' Brotherhood, it will be apparent as we examine the second criterion that popular fiction, also, is a vital source of contemporary myths.

6.2.4 A Criminal Sub-culture

6.2.4.1 Myths

Classical mythology in the Golden Age belonged to the realm of respectable poetry. It is only since then that mythology has been downgraded to 'fiction', with the stigma which that term now attracts. The rest of this chapter will address the question of a beggars' cultural legacy from a Golden-Age viewpoint, re-asserting the didactic value of myth, and justifying the need for popular literature in a study of brotherhood among the marginals. It is true that written transmission has produced stereotyped beggars and a heroic ancestry, as many of the foregoing citations have demonstrated (Gregorio Guadaña, El guitón Honofre, Estebanillo González, Guzmán de Alfarache, to name a few), but these are largely confined to Spanish Golden-Age literature, leaving no heritage to later generations of beggars. However, there was a myth of international moment which left its mark on Spanish culture: the semi-religious figure of the Wandering Jew was known in Spain as Juan de Voto a Dios or Juan de Espera en Dios. There was a man called Antonio Rodríguez who had made a living by pretending to be a pilgrim bound for Santiago. His body bore a mysterious 'rueda de Santa Catalina', which he had painted on. But when someone took him for Juan de Espera en Dios, he adopted this role. Women flocked to confess their sins to him, and to offer themselves to a 'prophet'.[70] Finally, in 1546, he was tried by the Inquisition. Presumably several literary versions of the myth influenced men like Rodríguez. In El Crotalón, Gallo, the narrator, relates the legend and describes how it was exploited:

> Era un zapatero, que estaba en la calle de Amargura en Hierusalén, y que al tiempo que pasaban a Cristo preso por aquella calle, salió dando golpes con una horma sobre el tablero diciendo: '¡Vaya, vaya el hijo de María!'; y que Cristo le había respondido: 'Yo iré y tú quedarás para siempre jamás para dar testimonio de mí'; y para en fe desto mostraba yo una horma señalada en el brazo, que yo hacía con cierto artificio muy fácilmente, que parecía estar naturalmente imprimida allí.[71]

Impostors through the ages adopted the tell-tale mark of the shoemaker's last on their forearms, professing to be the wanderer returned. Living as holy hermits, this anomalous body of impostors advertised soothsaying skills, offered to find buried treasure, to detect thieves, and resurrect the dead. Gallo admits to having practised these and similar deceptions. He says people were so

gullible, that a bundle of rags on a pole, or a parchment with a seal attached was sufficient to make them prostrate themselves before him, especially if he was ragged and barefoot.[72]

The activities of Gallo, together with his name, had great contemporary relevance for Spain. The author may have couched this passage in mythological terms to avoid outright exposure of what may have been an organized crime-ring. Before this possibility can be assessed, however, more information must be gathered on organization among marginal classes in general.

6.2.4.2 Superficial Scribblings and Escapist Literature

Lest it be argued that cases above reflect entrepreneurial activities, and not corporate ones, it must be stressed that the object of the present study is first to amass the sort of evidence which was seen to be common to all confraternal groups, before attempting to draw any conclusions. Doubtless the [redacted] connection between fake beggars and literary men [redacted] ensured the survival of beggars' myths. There was the occasional outcry against publications which laid bare their activities, and consequent internal changes of policy, but in general the Beggars' Brotherhood, like all miscreants, delighted in their literary fame. Sometimes they were accredited with holding their own literary academies.[73] Directly and indirectly, then, they contributed to two important bodies of literature. In the first case there were the caveats written by well-intentioned reformers, detailing the beggars' hierarchical organization. Tracts describing their job specialization and names pertaining had become a literary topos by the seventeenth century, possibly in response to what Chartier calls the 'ordering mentality of the era'.[74]

The other body of literature inspired, if not written, by the fake beggars, was a peculiarly Spanish genre: picaresque literature. Despite a paucity of information on reading habits in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it seems likely, from the popularity of this genre, that the people were interested, not so much in propaganda or in cultural reading, as in superficial scribblings and escapist literature.[75] Tales of this sort were hawked about the country by vendors and sold cheaply to the public, so that almost from the very first days of dissemination of the printed word, it was romantic fiction that really dominated the popular market. Blanco Aguinaga's definition of the picaresque genre explains its appeal to this market: 'the

narration in the first person of the episodic adventures of an individual, isolated from birth, in a world full of wretchedness, and whose survival depends upon his wits and rejection of his society's honour code.[76] There are countless differences of opinion on this definition, which can only be touched upon here. For Salas Barbadillo, social mobility was the crux of the matter. His narrator cautions: 'Remember the mother who bore you, and the lowly place you came into':

> Vive fuera de su región el pícaro, y engríese como caballero. Nació pobre y desnudo, y a costa de su imaginación, que le da las trazas, quiere vestirse y adornarse como príncipe.[77]

Was the pícaro a synonym for the sort of beggars examined in the present chapter? How far did this fictional creation influence or mirror the swelling ranks of contemporary paupers? As the pícaro was probably born shortly after the advent of the Beggars' Brotherhood, he may have reflected current affairs initially. Alemán's Guzmán de Alfarache (1599) is commonly regarded as the earliest novel to describe the amoral vagabond life of the pícaro, but already in the Lazarillo (1554), the main features of the picaresque life were described, though without the actual use of the word pícaro.[78] From the early seventeenth century, pícaros were often identified with impoverished hidalgos who had taken to vagabondage to keep up the appearance of gentility. Salas Barbadillo's caballero Puntual is a good fictional example of this breed:

> Colgábale de la mano un rosario muy largo y bien guarnecido, porque él tenía por opinión que era puntualidad de caballero traer por las mañanas el rosario en la mano, desde las diez hasta las doce, y por las tardes el palillo en la boca, desde la una hasta las tres.[79]

He carries a sword larger than the permitted limit, and talks during mass.[80] He is penniless and illiterate. Because survival depended upon his wits, Puntual's type, more frequently known as Caballero del milagro, represented the goal of every pícaro, real or fictional. Agustín de Rojas says in his autobiography that his own chequered career through student, page, soldier, pícaro, captive, jábega, galley-slave, merchant, knight, scrivener, and actor earned him the title of Caballero del Milagro.[81] Lope de Vega's Caballero de Milagro gives the best literary rendition of his genus. Luzmán, a fop and a dandy, uses wit and astuteness to turn many a tricky situation to his own advantage. He is extravagant, generous, and a gambler. Two friends discuss him:

Tristán: ¿Hay cosa como verle sin dineros,
Y otras veces desnudo, y en un punto
Jugar, pedir prestado y no volverlo,
Tomar baratos, engañar mujeres,
Quitarles la sortija, la cadena,
Hasta el espejo donde está colgado,
Y que con todo le aman y le adoran,
Le visten, le desean y le buscan?
Lofraso: Por eso es Caballero de milagro.

Mixing with princes and gentry, he is a wonderful raconteur, knows all the women, attends every party, and eats well but never buys food:

Tristán: Es valiente, es galán, es estudiante,
Es hijo de quien quiere, y es tan noble,
Que a veces tiene don y a veces título.
Lofraso: Por eso es Caballero de milagro.

Finally, stripped and deserted by his so-called friends, when his only recourse is to go to a General Hospital, he proclaims:

De milagro al fin subí
Y por milagro bajé;
Grave ejemplo en mí se ve.[82]

Though literature tends to treat them as individuals, their presence at Court in vast numbers would suggest an element of imitation, solidarity, even association. It appears that the factual pícaro preceded the fictional one, in all but name. There is an early reference to the proliferation of parasites at Court in a complaint at the Cortes of Madrid in 1528:

> Porque hay muchos que andan en hábito de caballeros, y de hombres de bien, y no tienen otro oficio sino jugar y hurtar. Que son los que comúnmente se llaman caballeros de milagro, los cuales, con sólo arrimarse a las casas de los señores, y acudir a las de juego, pasan la vida en ociosidad y vicios e andarse con mugeres enamoradas.[83]

Rehearsal of prevailing views on the question of pícaro as reality or literary stereotype is superfluous here, and can best be summarized in the relation of cause and effect. For Maravall the pícaro is a product of contemporary society which he sometimes mirrors.[84] It is the quality of that reflection which is in dispute. Defourneaux says many sound judges have refused to give any documentary value to picaresque literature as a social record of the period. And yet, he says, there is too much non-literary evidence to dismiss the picaresque novel as simple fiction.[85] In life as in literature the critical consensus places the pícaro at the other end of the scale to the buffoon. The one, says Maravall, was a means of survival offered by society, the other was a

means it outwardly condemned, but perhaps covertly admired.[86] The present chapter has sought to explain why welfare programmes failed at this particularly turbulent time in Spain, with the result that the option for survival chosen by the majority of beggars was that of organized crime. While the validity of the picaresque literary tradition (which has furnished much of this chapter) as a document on contemporary social conditions, and on the vagabond in particular, is controversial, there is, nevertheless, good supporting evidence of the existence of a subculture of criminal poor, whose activities shared features in common with our earlier definition of fraternity.[87] The beggars, for example, had an esoteric jargon and a strong collective identity. Moreover, although their emblems of solidarity were partly imposed by society, cognisant of the benefits accruing from association, they applied additional emblems to their own guild-type organization, with the aim of professionalizing their 'trade'. The success of this operation was undeniable. Individually, they amassed private fortunes, and corporatively their organizations intimidated law-abiding citizens into subsidizing their activities with charitable donations. Not even the fear of eternal perdition could reach these miscreants, protected as they still were by theological dogma on the blessed pauper (see page 244 above). As their main purpose was economic, and their activities, as we have seen, were not voluntary, but rigidly codified, their organization seems closer to a guild than a fraternity. However, Ross's view that the fraternal idea was rigidly held by only certain social strata, and that penetration of class barriers was negligible, falls down for the beggars.[88] Aristocracy and peasant both feature in the Beggars' Brotherhood.

More important than any of these associative features, however, was the mythical infrastructure which added a prestigious historical background to their society. Although the story of the Wanderer is as ancient as the story of mankind, he did not attract the alarmed attention of literary men until the sixteenth century. At this period, defined by Fuller as 1530-1630, the reality of the Beggars' Brotherhood was absorbed into the literary world.[89] Their heroes' deeds, transmitted orally from one generation to another, encouraged the production of a new literary genre, which sought to educate the curious in the esoteric ways of the Beggars' Brotherhood.[90] Sometimes this took the form of little more than a series of lists and definitions (Liber

Vagatorum, Il vagabondo, Belman of London), but in Spain this period marked the emergence and heyday of the pseudo-didactic picaresque literature: prose works at once romanticizing, and cautioning against the vagrants' life-style. By the early seventeenth century the vogue for imitating the Wanderer had taken Europe in just the same way as had the vogue for imitating melancholy and madness. Whether the literature was produced by elite or popular writers, and whether it was realistic or romantic in its treatment, it was always likely to encourage the fears of the upper orders that vagabonds, or the poor generally, were organized, criminal, and dangerous. Both myths and realities could (and did) foster a repressive response, but the literature which debated and deprecated the vagrant's plight outlasted his society. Penal reform was laboriously emerging in the late seventeenth century, and the Beggars' Brotherhood was little more than a memory by then, but its Golden Age in the sixteenth century had profound social significance. Detached from their group or origin, and suffering comparable social deprivations, nobility and peasantry were encouraged to join forces in a new anti-society, tied to a very particular occupation, territory, and master, upon which they were dependent (contrast page 239 above). The strength of this organization may have been the stimulus for the proliferation of other repressed groups at this period. The next chapter will address ways in which the prostitute had to adapt to changing legal and theological attitudes in the sixteenth century.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

[1] Literature of Roguery, 1-4.

[2] Fuller marks the middle of the fifteenth century as the beginning of a new war: the two hundred years' war against the Beggar's Brotherhood (Beggars' Brotherhood, 37; see also Rosen, 'Irrationality and Madness', 229).

[3] For a treatment of Spanish re-emergence of economic and social ills in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see Sánchez-Albornoz, España, un enigma histórico, II, 156-9, citing Cortes de Madrigal (1438).

[4] See Hermosilla, Diálogo de los pajes, 17-18.

[5] On Catalan aristocracy and their contribution to social evils, see Elliott, Revolt of the Catalans, 38-40. For political activism as an alternative, see page 355 below. For Cataluña and micaeletes, see page 87 above.

[6] See Venegas, Agonía (1537); Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y de Castilla, V, 659, 'Cortes de Madrid (1552)'; Sancho de Moncada, Restauración política de España (Madrid, 1619); Pérez de Herrera, Amparo (Madrid, 1555-1608); Fernández Navarrete, Conservación de monarquías (1625); Saavedra Fajardo, Locuras de Europa, in Obras completas, 1195-1222; and extensive bibliography in Ballesteros y Beretta, Historia de España, IV, 224-6.

[7] Nina Assodorobraj-Kula, The Origins of the Working Class (1966), cited by Braudel, Civilisation and Capitalism, II, 511, n. 184. Compare also Ross, Assembly of Good Fellows, 196, who maintains that at this time there were no lower-class or non-burgess organizations that imitated or adulated the religious fraternities.

[8] Definition of Guitón in Covarrubias, cited by Généreux Carrasco (ed.), Gregorio González, 251. For a jurist's definition of vagabond, see Io. Baptistae Scanaroli Mutinensis Sidoniorum episcopi de visitatione carceratorum libri tres, second edition (Rome, 1675), 226ff, cited in Geremek, 'Criminalité', 349, n. 58. They were known in the argot as gascon, gascâtre, hubin, michelot, gabacho. Compare the migueletes, page 87 above.

[9] Viaje de Turquía, 5a. Villalón's view is borne out by legislation in 1540 to curb foreign beggars: 'Que los pobres pidan en sus tierras y no en otras partes, y la orden que en ello se ha de tener', 24 August, 1540, Madrid, Bca. 1529, 2ª parte, in Colección de Reales Cédulas, 14, no. 49.

[10] 'Discurso 1°', Los Albergues de Pobres, 24-5. See Appendix 5.A, for quotation. See also op. cit., pp. 27, 39-41. For other accusations of irreligiousness, see Camporesi, Il libro dei vagabondi, 360; and Sauval, cited in Kamen, Iron Century, 402.

[11] 'Discurso 1°', Los Albergues de Pobres, 36-7.

[12] See Pérez de Herrera, Amparo, Discurso 1°, 37-8; and Luján, Guzmán de Alfarache, II. 2. 4, 387a.

[13] Villalón, 4a.

[14] Espejo and Paz, Las antiguas ferias, 54-5. For French professional beggars, see Paul Bru, Histoire de Bicêtre (hospice-prison-asile) après des documents historiques (Paris, 1890), 15-17, 351-53, cited

in Rosen, 'Irrationality and Madness', 229, n. 28. For Italian beggars, see Camporesi, Il libro dei vagabondi, 359:

> E ben vero che ci sono certi principali tanto Italiani quanto oltramontani et d'altre province, che hanno corrispondenza tra loro, ciascuna secondo la sua setta, et si visitano due o tre volte l'anno al tempo delle fiere, di mercati, di stationi o feste principali dell'anno. Da Roma a Venetia et poi in Lombardia, et poi in Toscana, et poi in Loreto, et poi a Napoli, et hanno fra loro grandissima intelligenza secreta, et così si vive fra loro.

[15] See Braudel, Civilisation and Capitalism, II, 511, on other underworld groups and the need for a disciplined organization with long chains of solidarity.

[16] Quoted in Rumeu de Armas, Previsión social, 270. See Appendix 5.B, for quotation.

[17] Some prayers brought in a fortune: Saint Lucy for curing eyesight, Saint Blaise for sore throats, etc. (see Pérez de Herrera, Discursos del amparo de los legítimos pobres (1598), 9). They were harshly judged by the underworld. A Sevillian thief complained: 'El ciego hurta en cada oración que dice la mitad; porque, habiendo recibido el dinero dél que le mandó decir la oración, pareciéndole que ya el otro está tres o cuatro pasos apartado, comienza con su primer tono a pedir de nuevo que le manden rezar' (Carlos García, La desordenada codicia, 86). The confraternity of blind beggars established in the Convento del Carmen at Madrid also extended its pious works to include burial of non-members. By a complex system of fees, it thus distinguished between two sorts of members: blind brothers, and rezantes (see Rumeu de Armas, Previsión social, 271).

[18] On Sundays they organized begging sessions around the hostelries and tobacco shops, accompanied by musicians and a poet singing sacred prayers. They distributed part of their funds to those members too sick for active begging. There were similar confraternities for licensed beggars elsewhere. Milan had a Scuola di S Cristo for the blind and invalids (1471). In Venice the blind and invalid were officially recognized in their own Scuola degli Orbi and Scuola degli Zotti, the latter dating from 1392 (see Black, Italian Confraternities, 177).

[19] See Appendix 5.C, for a constitution on begging from Asturian leper houses.

[20] Cervantes probably found his inspiration for the soldier Buytrago in these licensed beggars (see Rodríguez Marín (ed.), Rinconete y Cortadillo, 85-6).

[21] Fray Juan de Medina, Of the Ordinance Given in Some Towns of Spain with regard to Alms for the Remedy of the True Poor, 8 March 1545, cited in Javier Herrero, 'Renaissance Poverty', 201, n. 6, from Fray Domingo de Soto, O.P, Deliberación en la causa de los pobres, y réplica de Fray Juan de Robles, O.S.B. (Madrid, 1966). See also Maravall, Literatura picaresca, 26; and Ballesteros Beretta, Historia de España, IV, 217.

[22] There were expulsion orders of 'los mal llamados romeros y de los buhoneros y caldereros', in 1562, 1590, and 1657; complaints in the Cortés of 1528, 1537 and 1563; and legislation on vagabonds in 1528,

1555, 15559, 1560, 566, 1638 and 1685 (see Ballesteros y Beretta, Historia de España, IV, 216).

[23] Alemán, Guzmán de Alfarache, I. 3. 4, 394. See also Callaghan, 'Corporate Charity', 166, n. 32, citing Antonio Arbiol, La familia regulada con doctrina de la sagrada escritura, seventh edition (Zaragoza, 1729), 311. See Appendix 5.D, for bibliography and philosophy of poor relief treatises.

[24] Carlos García, Desordenada codicia, 148-52.

[25] For legal and philosophical expedience favouring the rich, see Jiménez Salas, Asistencia social, 9-25. See also Luis Mexía, Apólogo de la ociosidad y el trabajo, in Obras que ha hecho, glosado y traducido el doctor Luis Mexía, edited by Cervantes de Salazar (Alcalá, 1546), fol. LXIII: 'la justicia se guarda igualmente en proporción ... a cada uno en su estado'; and see F. Tomás y Valiente, El Derecho penal de la monarquía absoluta (Madrid, 1969). On Vives, see Poor Law, 24 August, 1540, glossed in Javier Herrero, 'Renaissance Poverty', 200.

[26] La Justina, Bk. 3, ch. 1, 'De la hermana perseguida' (vol. 2, 631).

[27] Assembly of Good Fellows, 148. See Appendix 5.E, for contemporary priorities in Italian charitable works.

[28] On Giginta, see Jiménez Salas, Asistencia social, 99. See also Pérez de Herrera, Amparo, Discurso 2º, 67, on Casas de Misericordia for the vergonzantes.

[29] Cited in León Pinelo, Anales, 88.

[30] Turkish Letters of Ghiselin de Busbecq, 101. See also Braudel, Civilisation and Capitalism, II, 508.

[31] Fiel desengaño, I, 179.

[32] Amparo, Discurso 2º, 55. See page 191 above, on the wearing of one's insignia round the neck.

[33] On Pérez de Herrera, see Jiménez Salas, Asistencia social, 104-5; and Callaghan, 'Corporate Charity', 167. The state constructed an edifice, the Albergue de San Lorenzo, for Herrera's purpose, but it did not survive (see Callaghan, art. cit., 168). See Appendix 5.F, for some statistics on contemporary beggars. On licensed beggars, see Jiménez Salas, Asistencia social, 129, n. 14, citing Pérez de Herrera, Del castigo y reclusión de los vagabundos, fol. 24v; and Jiménez Salas, op. cit., 105, n. 12, citing ibid., fols 22, 23 and 21r. The scheme was put into operation in Zaragoza and Valencia. In Valencia, they wore a lump of lead marked with the city's arms. These soon came to be falsely applied for and abused - see Jiménez Salas, op. cit., 129-30; and page 40 above.

[34] See Appendix 5.G, for social security in early modern Spain, and the role of Real Hermandad de NSª del Refugio y Piedad (1615). For proliferation of specialist hospitals, see also Appendix 2.S.

[35] Viaje de Turquía [1557], 4. See Quevedo, 'Capitulaciones de la Corte', BAE, XXIII, 460, for another account of fake beggars. Luján recorded that in Madrid the King had begun reforms, building shelters for the poor, and severely punishing impostors (Guzmán de Alfarache, II. 2. 4, 388a).

[36] On Cours des Miracles see Kamen, Iron Century, 402; and Chartier, 'La "Monarchie d'Argot"', 277. For English locations, see Fuller, op.

cit., 95-6; and Robert Greene, Defence of Conny Catching (1592). See Appendix 5.H, for more details of the French Cours.

[37] Black, Italian Confraternities, 216.

[38] Estebanillo González, ch. II, 291a.

[39] The first comprehensive account of beggars' cant in English was Harman's Caveat for Common Cursetors (1567), and there were many more.

[40] Pérez de Herrera, Amparo, Apologia y Discurso 5°, 141. See Appendix 5.I, for quotation. Compare: 'Deberán llevar un signo por él que sean conocidos, por vía de humillarlos' (Cortes de Castilla (1607), cited by García-Ballester, Historia social de la Medicina, 52). See also pages 200 above, on hospital licences; and 440 below, for slaves.

[41] See Haan, Pícaros y Ganapanes, 23, n. 77, citing 'Pregunta 254', p. 322, in El averiguador universal, 3ª época, año 1° (Madrid, 1879). See Appendix 5.I, for more legislation on ganapanes and picaros in Castilian towns.

[42] Haan, Pícaros y ganapanes, 40. Dismissing the death of a barber gored by a bull as of no consequence, the court chronicler, Luis Zapata, says in 1592:

> El buen linaje es como luz que alumbra las buenas cosas que los generosos hacen, y por eso se llama oscuro él de la gente baja.
>
> (Miscelánea, 271).

[43] Entremés de el Juez de los divorcios, 543b. But see also a lad in caperuza de cuartos in Alemán, Guzmán de Alfarache, II. 1. 2, p. 55. For more on hombres de bien, see Chapter 9, especially page 353 below.

[44] There is a reminder of this in 1663, in a fictional constitution drawn up by the beggars at Zaragoza, which advises:

> Item, sea lícito a nuestros colegiales el fingir llagas, remedar cojos, y remedar mancos, sin que por ello sean castigados, pues son juros de la pobreza aprobados y consentidos.
>
> (Prado, Ardid de la pobreza, 470a).

[45] Guzmán de Alfarache, II. 2. 4, 387b.

[46] Amparo, Discurso 1°, 27. See also the case of a woman who approached a soldier about her husband: 'que no le lisiase y estropease un niño recién nacido, diciéndole y quejándose que esto había hecho con otros que había parido, para que pidiesen limosna, y dejarles este oficio' (op. cit., 28).

[47]

> Comenzando por la cabeza, se la torció y traíala casi atrás, caído el rostro sobre el hombro derecho. Lo alto y bajo de los párpados de los ojos eran una carne. La frente y cejas quemadas, con mil arrugas. Era corcovado, hecho su cuerpo un ovillo, sin hechura ni talle de cosa humana. Las piernas vueltas por cima de los hombros, desencasadas y secas.
>
> (Guzmán de Alfarache, I. 3. 5. p. 402).

For Pantalon in the Commedia dell'arte tradition, see Chapter 5, footnote 233 above. Dacianos also appeared in Brant's Ship of Fools, I, 304: 'Manglynge their facys, and brakynge theyr bonys'.

[48] See 'Del almirez', in d'Ors, Vida y poesía de Ledesma, 345.

[49] Santos, 107-8, quoted in Appendix 5.J.

[50] See also El guitón Honofre, 181. See Appendix 5.K, for late-medieval French fake beggars, and Italian equivalents.

[51] Guzmán de Alfarache, II. 2. 3, 385b. Compare Pérez de Herrera, Amparo, Discurso 1°, 31-2; and Estebanillo González, ch. IV, 305b.

[52] Armóse de una lamparilla, y andaba de noche pidiendo para las ánimas, y la primera que metía era la suya. Tenía una voz como un clarín, solía ponerse en la plaza de San Francisco, entre once y doce de la noche, y hacía llorar a los escribanos los pecados de aquel día, que no era poco.
(Enríquez Gómez, 259a).

For limosnero, see also page 81 above.

[53] Guzmán de Alfarache, I. 3. 2, p. 377.

[54] Guzmán de Alfarache, II. 2. 3, 386b. Gregorio González compares their florid rhetorical inventions with those of the early Christian orator, Quintilian (El guitón Honofre, 181); see also page 253 below, on zarlos and espineles. For adaptation of the tone to the audience, compare Pérez de Herrera, Amparo, Discurso 1°, 34.

[55] 'El, que se vio dentro de Mérida en tan poco tiempo' (Enríquez Gómez, 259a).

[56] Prado, Ardid de la pobreza, 470a. See page 277 below, for more on singing prostitutes.

[57] Guzmán de Alfarache, I, 3, 2, p. 379. See also Chartier, 'La "Monarchie d'Argot"', 280.

[58] In Rome (1595) when a youth, Pompeo, was arrested for begging, he informed the papal police that 'among us poor beggars there are many secret companies, and they are different because each has a distinctive activity'. His statement went on to name nineteen different societies, each with differing membership, clothes and function; the famiglotti, for example, pretended to be invalid soldiers, the bistolfi wore a cassock, and the gonsi pretended to be rustic idiots (see Burke, Perception and Communication, 63-4. See also Kamen, Iron Century, 400-1; and Davis, 'Poor Relief', 226).

[59] For France, see Chartier, 'La "Monarchie d'Argot"', 283-4, citing Chereau's list, with a hierarchy of eighteen states, each with its own sphere of activities, and the amount payable to the Grand Coesre in tribute. Callot's etchings show 25 different types in France of the 1620s. In England, see the Catalogue of Vagabonds or Quarterne of knaues called the fiue and twentie orders of knaues, cited in Rowlands, Martin Mark-All, 57.

[60] Estebanillo González, ch. IV, 303b.

[61] For temporalidades, see Alemán, Guzmán de Alfarache, I. 3. 2, p. 380. For other fines and taxes, see Andrés del Prado, Ardid de la pobreza, 470b.

[62] Guzmán de Alfarache, I. 3. 2. p. 378. See also Dekker, Guls Hornbook, 84, on allotted patches.

[63] Prado, Ardid de la pobreza, 470a. Compare page 390 below, on the thieves' clocking-in system. For Santa Catalina, see page 283 below.

[64] Alemán, I. 3. 2. p. 379-83. They were permitted to carry an old cloth, scissors, knife, needle and thread, and rucksack, but no roomy sacks or baskets. The only dog allowed to accompany them was the gozquejo, for the purpose of performing with hoops at church doors. No fire-arms or offensive weapons were allowed, and beggars could not buy fish or meat, sing, play instruments, or dance. Work began at 7 am in winter, and 5 am in summer.

[65] See pages 173 above, on hunger and patronage of poets, and 185 above, on blind men and poets.

[66] Prado, op. cit., 470b. Just as the Areopagus forbade writing of comedias, so there was a ban on dancing in Prado's troupe. On the origin of English beggars' rules, see Fuller, Beggars' Brotherhood, 37.

[67] Ardid de la pobreza, 475a-b.

[68] It has been claimed that these titles were extremely rare in the underworld argot. Alonso Hernández has seen the title 'archi' only once or twice, and then used in a ridiculing sense (Alonso Hernández, La Germania, 240, citing 'archibribón - primero entre los mendigos por sus dotes especialmente desarrolladas en el arte de la bribia o mendicidad'). This question will come sharply into focus when attention turns to the violent underworld. For more of these titles, see page 382 below. See Appendix 5.L, for 'kings' of beggars.

[69] See Iron Century, 382, on the cult of European popular rebels between 1550 and 1660.

[70] See Caro Baroja, Vidas mágicas, I, 355, for details. For a literary version of women offering themselves to the 'prophet', see El Crotalón, Canto 4, 148. Adopting our earlier classification of myths (see page 24 above), it would seem that Juan de Voto a Dios validated prevailing social and political arrangements, bringing a political charter to the people, which would explain their willingness to accede to his wishes. See Appendix 5.M, for a bibliography of Juan de Espera en Dios.

[71] El Crotalón, Canto 4, 145.

[72] Canto 4, 143-5. See Appendix 5.M, for quotation. See page 118 above, for more of these deceptions. There is a notable similarity between the account in Viaje de Turquia, 11a-12b, and that in El Crotalón, Canto 4, 146-9, where the 'all-seeing' zarlo forces a confession and donation from superstitious people.

[73] See Santos, Día y Noche, 210, 'Discurso XVII: Academia poética entre mendigantes'; and Vélez, El diablo Cojuelo, 40b-42b, 'El Cónclave de San Lázaro'.

[74] Chartier, 'La "Monarchie d'Argot"', 286. See Appendix 5.N, for a bibliography of the literary topos of Beggars' Brotherhood.

[75] See Kamen, Iron Century, 284.

[76] 'Picaresca española, picaresca inglesa', 53.

[77] El caballero Puntual, Parte Iª, 51-2.

[78] The word was first documented in 1525 in the sense of kitchen boy, but twenty years later it meant someone of dissolute ways. See Appendix 5.O, for origins of picaro.

[79] El caballero Puntual, Parte Iª, II, 31. Lazarillo's squire could have been the prototype for later characters (Tratado 3º, 147-202).

[80] See page 371 below, for marca de más.

[81] See El viaje entretenido, introduction, p. 9. See also references on pages 96, 98-9, 106, 120, 194, 376, and 436. See page 252 above, on jábega.

[82] Lope de Vega, 164a-182b. See also page 353 below, on military fops; and Enríquez Gómez, 'El Peregrino', 376a. For barato, see page 316 below. Vélez described another Milagro:

> Pero vuelve allí los ojos, verás como se va desnudando aquel hidalgo que ha rondado toda la noche, tan caballero de milagro en las tripas como en todas las demás facciones, pues quitándose una caballera, queda calvo, y las narices de carátula, chato, y unos bigotes postizos, lampiño, y un brazo de para, estropeado, que pudiera irse más camino de la sepultura que de la cama.
>
> (Diablo Cojuelo, 24b).

[83] Fernández Navarrete, Conservación, 218, n. 15, quotes from the Cortes de Madrid, año de 1528, petic. 158. Compare Colmeiro, Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla, IV, 518.

[84]

> Esa Relación, para mí, tiene mucho interés porque es una prueba elocuente de que la novela picaresca no es retrato de la sociedad de la época, pero nos da un documento sobre ella. De esa manera se confirma mi tesis que tal género de literatura - como seguramente los demás - no es, o por lo menos, no es sólo una estructura literaria nacida en una esfera propia y exclusiva de estos fenómenos, sino un producto de la sociedad que les es coetánea, engendrado por ella, algunos de cuyos rasgos característicos se proyectan en la picaresca.
>
> (La literatura picaresca, 614).

[85] Defourneaux, Daily Life in Spain, 21. Maravall's view extends the horizon somewhat, defining the pícaro as a literary stereotype, conceived to glamorize the fearsome marginal (op. cit., 436). In essence, Kamen agrees with this:

> To say that the pícaro was essentially a literary type is not to deny that pícaro, as social delinquent, actually existed. But in literature the features of the delinquent were romanticized and his basic criminality glossed over.
>
> (Iron Century, 400)

See also Chandler, Literature of Roguery, 2-3; and Morales Padrón, who said that although the literary pícaro was an exaggeration of reality, the novel reflected reality (Historia de Sevilla, 119).

[86] La literatura picaresca, 220; compare page 242 above. The buffoon, and madness in general, have already been examined (see ch. 5).

[87] See page 29 above.

[88] Compare page 20 above.

[89] Beggars' Brotherhood, 20.

[90] See Burke, Perception and Communication, 62-75, 247-9, Notes; and Black, Italian Confraternities, 136, on the value of popular literature to social history of the poor.

7. SISTERS OF VICE AND MERCY: THE PROSTITUTE IN SOCIETY

7.1 Repression

Historians of morals, says Geremek, have asserted, in a perhaps ill-considered way, the existence of a guild of prostitutes, but, he maintains, the subject hardly seems to merit serious analysis.[1] He claims that what amounts to legend was possibly begun by a seventeenth-century French historian, Henri Sauval, who recorded that in his time the prostitutes had claimed the right to celebrate the feast of Mary Magdalene, because they had once had their own guild. Since then, says Geremek, it has been customary to repeat that in fifteenth-century Paris there was a guild of prostitutes which enjoyed its own statutes, and even had accredited judges, a right possessed by only very few professions.[2] The purpose of this chapter is to test contemporary literature for the existence of corporate organization among Golden-Age prostitutes. A superficial reading of this literature simply invites the criticism levelled at Nickie Roberts for her compilation, Whores in History, that one believes everything one reads.[3] Our study, on the other hand, will interrogate popular literature, seeking to answer the following questions: was there a corporate body? If there was, what were its aims, and was membership voluntary? What class of person might have belonged to this body? And why might there have been a need for association? Bearing in mind that one of the major aims of association has been seen to be self-defence, there had always been reason enough for prostitutes to associate in response to the threat of suppression from outside, or competition from within the trade, and possibly more so in the sixteenth century, when numbers were on the increase. Because of the acute threat from the ruling oligarchy faced by prostitutes in this period, a consideration of the repressive forces at work will be necessary, and some account of the institutions they founded to control prostitutes. The prostitutes' response to these reform attempts will then be examined with a view to ascertaining whether there was an alternative society at their disposal, and how it might have been organized.

As no assessment of repression can be treated in isolation, reference will also be necessary to historical precedents. Traditionally, corporate strength had been denied the prostitute. Roman society had regarded her as a low creature unfit for the company of

decent people, and reciprocally no woman whose husband, father, or grandfather was, or had been, a Roman knight could live by prostitution. In the Visigothic kingdom a justice who through negligence or bribery permitted a prostitute to ply her trade was not only fined 30 solidi, but could be given a hundred lashes as well. Meanwhile prostitutes received three hundred lashes, the highest number given to any crime in the Visigothic code.[4] They might have their hair cut off, or if they continued, they could be sold into slavery. In twelfth-century Castile, Alfonso IX (1188-1230) classified sex offenders into five categories: those who trafficked in prostitutes; landlords who let their premises to whores; men or women who kept brothels; husbands who prostituted their wives; and pimps who solicited or recruited women. Those involved in selling prostitutes were to be exiled from the kingdom; landlords who rented rooms to prostitutes were to have their houses impounded and pay a fine as well; brothel-keepers had to feed the women in their brothels and find them husbands or face possible execution; husbands who prostituted their wives were to be flogged for a first offence, and if they persisted they were sent to the galleys. Evidently the measure was ineffective, for in 1566 Philip II issued a pragmatic 'a los maridos que por precio consintieren que sus mujeres sean malas de su cuerpo'.[5]

7.1.1 The Controversy of Mary Magdalene - Church Control

Theological tradition was not as hasty to condemn the prostitute as were royal and civil leaders, however. Her ambiguous status in canon law owed as much to early Christian ideals, as to biblical tradition. Most Christian writers had agreed that, while prostitutes were to be excluded from the Church as long as they continued their profession, prostitution itself had to be tolerated as a necessary evil (compare contemporary attitudes to madmen). Augustine seems to have been the first Christian to have approved of brothels, when he wrote: 'Ita fit ut angusto animo ipsam solam quisque considerans, veluti magna repercussus foeditate aversetur'.[6] Aquinas allegedly preached that fornication was sinful but necessary, because like a sewer in a palace, if the sewer were removed, the palace would be filled with pollution.[7] The result of this picturesque metaphor was that from late thirteenth century the Christian meretrix acquired an impure reputation, which aligned her with the Jews and lepers. Anything she touched was defiled.[8] Some Golden-Age scholastic theologians still clung to the Aquinas paradigm. One of

these was Padre Juan de Mariana, who advocated tolerance towards public brothels, 'para que sirviesen a manera de sentina, a la cual corriesen todas las suciedades'.[9] His inspiration came from Aquinas, from the Bible, and from Augustine. Another Golden-Age scholastic, the Franciscan missionary, Fray Pedro Zarza, claimed:

> Que en su conciencia las mancebías públicas, vigiladas con cuidado por el Gobierno y sujetas a ciertas reglas, eran útiles a la buena moral, a la salud pública y al bienestar del reino, y así que veía mayores males de su prohibición que los que producían las casas mancebias.[10]

For his pains Zarza was reprimanded by the Inquisition and banished from Court. Inquisitorial trials show that the Aquinas theory had also influenced popular thinking. One defendant in Toledo claimed that it was better to make love with a prostitute, who lived by her body, than to rape a woman on the street. He added that God provided such women to avoid worse evils.[11] The Aquinas theory still had supporters in 1641, when León Pinelo wrote in defence of prostitution as a means of avoiding worse evil.[12]

Opponents of the Aquinas view tended to be diocesan authorities. In 1575 Don Alonso Fajardo, Bishop of Esquilache, presented the Cabildo of Seville with a plan to build an Augustinian convent on the site of the city's brothel, El Compás, under the patronage of Saints Justa and Rufina. The Asistencia and Comisión capitular agreed.[13] Bishop Pedro de Castro championed Fajardo's cause, finally erecting an altar with a crucifix at the door of El Compás. He had it closed during canonical hours, Saturdays, and fiestas of the Virgin, and excluded from it all women called María. In 1620 it closed altogether, and the inhabitants went to Las Cureñas, outside the Puerta de Triana near the army garrison.[14] Other contemporary brothels were converted into hospitals. In the plague of 1599, a house of prostitution in Valladolid was converted into a hospital, though it is not known if the personnel was retained.[15]

Despite these repressive moves, Christian attitudes to Mary Magdalene as both temptress and possible convert, continued to influence secular thinking. Medieval Hispanic tradition had considered the prostitute as a weak and strayed person, who could be saved in spite of herself, and from at least the twelfth century, religious houses had

been established with the particular purpose of serving as havens for reformed prostitutes. In 1224 an effort began to create a special religious order of penitential nuns to harbour reformed whores, and in 1227 Pope Gregory IX (1227-1241) gave the highest ecclesiastical sanctions to the Order of Saint Mary Magdalene, which subsequently established convents in numerous cities. Because the sisters wore a white habit, they were sometimes known as the White Ladies.[16] Reform of prostitutes was given high priority in the sixteenth century, and new orders were constantly appearing. The oldest hospice for prostitutes was established in Toledo (1504) by Isabella on the request of Cardinal Mendoza. It was called El Hospital de la Santa Cruz. Colmenares refers to another of the same name in Segovia (1571).[17] It was inaugurated on 13 January, 1572 with a barefoot procession, all eleven women carrying crosses on their shoulders. By 1637, Colmenares estimated that there were twenty to thirty nuns of great virtue and quality in the Convento: 'extinguidas ya las casas de mujeres públicas en España'.[18] Such optimism must be treated with some caution, however. A racionero of Seville, Porras de la Cámara, estimated that at the end of the sixteenth century there were three thousand prostitutes in the city.[19] Processions of reformed prostitutes were a common feature by the late sixteenth century. There was one in 1601 when the Casa de Arrepentidas in calle de los Peregrinos was moved to premises in calle de Hortaleza. In another procession there in 1623, fifty-two 'mujeres convertidas' wearing brown habits, their faces covered by white veils, walked barefoot in pairs, carrying lighted candles. Arrepentidas or Recogidas was the name most often chosen by these quasi-monastic sisterhoods:

> Arrepentida significa algunas veces la mujer perdida que, conociendo su yerro, se arrepiente y se vuelve a Dios; y de arrepentidas hay monasterios de gran religión y penitencia en España y en toda la cristiandad.[20]

Sometimes prostitutes used these penitential processions as a genuine celebration of repentance and reform. But the sexual aspect of public self-flagellation concerned Church and State, because although for many scourging represented an imitation of Christ's suffering, for others it was a way to drive out the evil of concupiscence: a strange devil, says Henríques, for if offended it swiftly takes its revenge, and the spectacle of half-naked men and women scourging themselves publicly

undoubtedly encouraged libidinous behaviour.[21] Consequently the presence in Seville at Easter, Corpus, and Assumption of izas y rabizas from outlying districts scandalized the citizens. Sometimes they also processed wearing habits and scapulars, something Philip II had banned so as not to drive away decent women.[22] As the connotations of penitence and Mary Magdalene were inescapable for the prostitute, this encouraged a certain hypocrisy among gallant suitors, who would address their mistresses as though they were Arrepentidas:

> Y tú que lo preguntas,
> ¿Cómo me pides y te estás cubierta,
> Echando el capirote, con que engañas?
> Penitente de luz de mis entrañas.[23]

Moreover, lascivious designs could always be disguised as philanthropy, since the Church encouraged marriage of prostitutes, who, like the beggars, were seen as the repository of man's salvation. By saving her from perdition by marriage, he also saved himself. In 1109 Pope Innocent II had lauded those charitable men who married harlots in order to reform them, saying it was certain to contribute to the remission of their own sins.[24] By the sixteenth century 'ransom' of prostitutes had become a profitable business. In 1586 Padre León wrote of a man who went to the galleys for life for having married the same woman seven times, pretending to rescue her from the Casa Pública for the dowry conceded in these cases.[25] This may be the same incident mentioned by Quevedo:

> Siete veces me he casado,
> Siete capuces he roto,
> Y me siento tan marido,
> Que pienso ponerme el ocho.
> La primera fue doncella,
> Después de mi desposorio;
> Recatada, ya se entiende;
> Recogida, en casas de otros.[26]

And in 1623, Salas Barbadillo wrote a satirical sketch: 'A un corchete que sacó una mujer pública de pecado para casarse con ella'.[27] Others involved in this ransom work sometimes found themselves cuckolded by a recalcitrant wife, and sought a release from their vows. Civil law had had to adapt to allow for these situations. A man who married a prostitute believing her to be a chaste virgin was still legally married. Only if she continued to practise her trade could the legality of the marriage be challenged.[28] Meanwhile thirteenth-century law,

which obliged a man cuckolded by his wife (whether by pimping or adultery) to kill both parties or risk hanging for the murder of only one of them, was still in force in the seventeenth century.[29] From these medieval juridical sources came the literary genre of honour avenged.[30]

Reform of prostitutes was a major confraternal pious work in the sixteenth century, especially in Holy Week, when prostitution was formally outlawed. In Toledo the Cofradía de la Santa Caridad provided small amounts of money to prostitutes for purchasing food at this time. During Lent they were officially exhorted to repent, and led into church for a sermon on Mary Magdalene. The preacher would then offer them the crucifix. Any accepting were taken to the Arrepentidas, but most, says Defourneaux, refused.[31] Not surprisingly, this annual ritual attracted popular parody of the kind seen in Quevedo:

> Esta cuaresma pasada
> Se convirtió la Tomás,
> En el sermón de los peces,
> Siendo el pecado carnal.[32]

Refusal to convert was a cause for celebration in the underworld, in keeping with its usual inversion of values. The rufián, Trámpagos, says his tributaria worked for him through fifteen Lents and heard over thirty sermons, but she was firm in her resolve, finally dying of syphilis.[33] And in a Bayle about three pimps and their prostitutes, Maluenda says:

> Ya de sermones ahitas,
> sin que jamás se conviertan:
> suele dalles parasismo
> de oyr nombrar la Quaresma.[34]

Given the limited success of the Arrepentidas, and the scale of the problem of prostitution, a new variant on the old religious institutions appeared, where the accent was not on regulation, or on charity, but on penal reform. Nuns of Saint Magdalene in Madrid (1587) led by Madre Magdalena de San Jerónimo established a new refuge to help fallen women. Inmates left only to become nuns or to marry. There were similar refuges in Cadiz, Seville, Valladolid, Granada, and Barcelona. The institution became known as La Galera de Mujeres. It was officially opened in Madrid (1608) as a house of confinement and punishment for women. To recreate conditions on the galleys inmates wore serge tunics,

their hair was shaved, or at least cut short, and they were fed on coarse black bread and vegetables.[35] They had to work continuously and misdemeanours were answered with chains, handcuffs, and fetters. The institution had to depend on private charity from the beginning. Camillo Borghese described its origin and operation in Seville:

> A imitación de las galeras que navegan la mar, adonde envían forzados, han edificado en Madrid desde el año 1608 una casa, que llaman la Galera de las mujeres, adonde condenan mujeres ladronas, vagamundas, alcahüetas y otras que no tienen buena manera de vivir a beneplácito de los alcaldes. Fue inventora desta casa una hermana Magdalena San Jerónimo, monja soltera, y dentro las hacen trabajar para sustento de la casa, dándoles el victo a peso y medida, sin que puedan hablar jamás con persona de fuera y castigándolas con disciplinas y castigos, etian [sic] de cárcel, si no cumplen con sus obligaciones, hasta condenarlas a la horca y están muy mal vestidas y rapadas.[36]

References to the Casa Galera were common in the seventeenth century. Liñán y Verdugo mentioned it in 1620: 'Sentenciaron... a ella a perpetuo encierro en la galera y a él a las galeras'.[37] The one in Seville which gave its name to calle de la Galera was mentioned in 1646 by the author of Estebanillo González.[38] And in Día y Noche (1663), a man threatened a go-between (quitadora de vello) with a spell in the Galera, for dishonouring herself and young girls:

> Yo os juro por estas canas de hombre de bien que si os vuelvo a ver en esta casa que tengo de hacer que os lleven a la galera, que otras con menos causas que vos estarán allá.[39]

7.1.2 Sewers and Roses - State Control

In summary, the prostitute had long found herself oppressed by the Church, as a target for conversion to a life of penitence. But she was threatened by a new philosophy in the Golden Age: incarceration and penal reform. Naturally the State had an interest in both these measures. However, secular thinking in a time of economic constraints favoured the revival of ancient practice, by sequestering prostitutes in specified portions of the cities and establishing quasi-public control over the practice of their trade.[40] Mancebias arose especially in Madrid, Toledo, Valladolid, Burgos, Seville, Cordoba, Granada, and other university towns.[41] All the commercial centres and fair towns had a brothel. The one at Cordoba was known as la llana:

> Fuíme al mesón del Potro, donde el dicho arriero tenía posada, holguéme de ver a Córdoba la llana, como muchacho inclinado a trafagar el mundo.[42]

In Alcalá every street corner had its name and the trades of those working there posted up, so that no-one entered who had no business there. Districts called Sandalarios or Sandalicos were where the prostitutes lived, who usually wore sandalias to distinguish themselves from other women.[43] Most streets bearing the name Rose had probably been designated streets for prostitutes at some time, since the euphemism to pluck a rose was a common term meaning to copulate with a prostitute, and the rose had a long association with love and secrecy (anything said sub rosa was confidential).[44] Pagan custom in some places had even obliged prostitutes and Jews to wear a rose.[45]

In Valencia the prostitutes were gathered in La Pobla, a miniature suburb of small houses. Like El Compás de Sevilla the suburb was walled around, entry being through a single door. A paid council official stood at the gateway to warn visitors to leave their valuables with him, in case they were robbed inside. Fees paid to the girls for their favours were modest, but apparently dearer than in Castile.[46] Bartolomé Joly, limosnero of the French king, was very impressed with the puteria of Valencia in 1593;[47] and the Dutch historiographer, Enrique Cock, apostolic notary and constable of the Royal Guard under Philip II, described it in 1585 as the biggest in Spain, surrounded by walls like a small city. He said people went there first on entering a town, even before going to church.[48]

In Seville El Arenal housed a collection of shacks (boticas) near the city walls left of the Arenal gate, site of the notorious Sevillian brothel, El Compás. This brothel had been in La Laguna, for a long time, one side flanked by the city walls, with a gate through to El Arenal. Its only entrance was El Golpe in the archway of Atocha, where a statue to that Virgin stood.[49] The gatekeeper was called el guardacoimas or guardapostigo. Those eligible for admission to work there were commoners over the age of twelve, non-virgins, orphans, or waifs in good health (certified by the brothel physician). Municipal officers had a moral obligation to try to dissuade candidates from applying but failing this, they could issue authorization to enter. The statutes protected women from being forced into a life of prostitution

against their will.[50] These laws in Andalusian towns were extended in 1570 to cover Castile as well. Philip II ruled that prostitution should be an act of free will, and that no woman could be compelled to continue as such even if she had contracted debts. Later, in 1572 and 1575 he issued laws on lupanares. Most of these dwellings belonged to the municipality and also the ecclesiastical corporations (cathedral chapter, hospitals, religious houses), which leased them to private individuals, usually government and law officials. The lessees collected a daily rent from prostitutes, and selected padres de la mancebía to run the brothel. They had to be approved by the city and take an oath before the town clerk to uphold the brothel statutes (ordenanzas de la mancebía). These included an undertaking not to admit a married woman or child of the town, or a negro; that those entering came alone; that the doctor would visit every eight days with a surgeon to inspect hygiene; and those found ill would be removed to hospital.[51]

Like the Arrepentidas, rules of these civil institutions enforced a solemn spiritual life. Inmates had to attend church on Sundays and feast days in the company of the brothel's constable. Brothels were closed on public holidays, at Lent, and during Ember Week. Those who transgressed (both prostitutes and keepers) received a hundred lashes. Regulations were prominently displayed in all the rooms of the brothels. Each tenant paid one real per day for board and lodging. Prostitutes could not wear 'vestidos talares, ni sombrerillos, ni guantes, ni chapines, sino una mantellina por los hombros, corta y encarnada'.[52] Although padres were forbidden to lend money to their boarders, which would bind them indefinitely to their profession, Rodríguez Marín observes that these padres were tyrants, hiring out clothes to the women, and lending money against their future earnings.[53] Cervantes's portrayal of Pedro Carrascosa, the brothel keeper in El rufián dichoso, as an honest and respectable man may have been romanticized, or else it was intended as a joke, because his type was usually the opposite.

Madrid at the beginning of the seventeenth century had only three brothels when the King established it as capital city and his official residence. There was a brothel in calle de Francos for gente de copete; another in calle de Luzón for the bourgeoisie; and the third, a humbler one, in the Plaza del Alamillo for the commoners. In the reign of Philip III they multiplied in the district of Calle Mayor, from San

Felipe el Real, near Puerta del Sol, to Santa María de la Almudena, but prostitutes' preferred place of activity was where the poets and comediantes lived: Huertas de Santa María, de San Juan, and del Amor de Dios.[54] Another red-light district was Lavapiés, especially calle de la Primavera (see footnote 89 below). When Philip IV agreed to the Inquisition's plea that he close these brothels in 1623, his apparent volte face was probably motivated by tales of escalating corruption in them.[55] In 1628, he ordered the casas públicas to be demolished and prostitutes distributed among the districts of Antón Martín and San Juan, finally reducing them to one brothel at the entrance to Calle Mayor, where because of their proximity to Puerta del Sol, they were called Solanas.[56] The most radical prohibition was in a pragmatic issued on 1 January, 1632, which imposed a fine of 50,000 maravedis on justices sanctioning the survival of brothels in their area of jurisdiction, and threatening to strip them of office.[57] The measure was ineffective, as a later pragmatic of 11 July, 1661 showed.[58] By mid-seventeenth century there were over eight hundred brothels in Madrid, and thirty thousand prostitutes at court alone.[59]

7.2 Adaptation

7.2.1 Dress to Kill - mujeres tapadas

That so many chroniclers could estimate the numbers of prostitutes in their cities raises the question of how a prostitute was recognized, and if there was any uniformity of dress amongst them. The problem of distinguishing prostitutes from respectable women had engaged Church and State alike from the earliest times. The canonists tended to think that distinctive dress was the best solution. This was endorsed by the kings of Spain. From 1337 when Alfonso XI was King of Castile, they had to wear a special head-dress, tocas azafranadas.[60] But sergeants were over-zealous in arresting offenders and confiscating their dress, since there was a material interest involved.[61] The custom grew whereby any citizen meeting a prostitute illegally clad had the right to strip her of her clothes. No doubt this became one of the nightly amusements of the young bloods.[62] The problem was further aggravated by the fact that fashionable women imitated this dress, and consequently prostitutes abandoned it to maintain the distinction. Mindful of this development, in 1411 John II had ordained that prostitutes wear a hair fastener: 'un prendedero de oropel en la cabeza encima de las tocas, en manera que

parezca, porque sean conocidas'.[63] But the yellow headdress continued to be worn by fashionable ladies, and prostitutes took to wearing mantos negros doblados, or medios mantos (mantillas). Ordinances of 1571 ruled that they revert to the yellow headdress, and banned them from wearing hats, gloves, and slippers (pantuflos or chinelas).[64] Notwithstanding this legislation, prostitutes apparently continued to wear chinelas into the seventeenth century. In La ilustre fregona (1613) Cervantes signals that Costanza is not a prostitute by, among other things, the fact that she does not wear chinelas; and Estebanillo González (c. 1646) records that he had been courting 'una dama de mantellina y de chinela con listón'.[65] Moreover, society women continued to copy the prostitutes. When Camillo Borghese visited Seville in 1594, he observed that women wore black, and a headdress that served as a veil. They all used steel combs (li lisci): 'Con li quali alterano la loro cornaggione negra per natura, chè se ne pongono tanti che paiono propriamente dipinte'.[66] By 1621 the city authorities had ceded to what had been customary since 1570, by making the wearing of black medios mantos obligatory for prostitutes.[67] Curiously even black seems to have been rejected by the late seventeenth century, when Santos refers to two prostitutes as 'dos picaronas de mantilla blanca'. He says they wear white to be seen at night.[68]

A fashion for wearing the mantilla so that it provocatively covered one eye earned prostitutes the name tapada.[69] Presumably the intention was partly to parody the penitential hood, as at least one source indicates:

> Ya se nos hace devota
> Inesilla, y ya se tapa,
> pero puede ser del Papa
> por lo que tiene de rota.[70]

Although respectable women aped this fashion, literary references to a woman 'tapada de medio ojo' were emblematic of the prostitute. Thus when Enrico, the lawless anti-hero of Tirso de Molina's El condenado por desconfiado, agrees to take Celia and friends to the sea, she asks: '¿Quieres que vamos tapadas?'; Cervantes signals that La Argüello and la Gallega are prostitutes by adding such details to their conversation as: 'Callad y tapaos los ojos'; and when sleep overcomes Honofre whilst hiding up a chimney, his situation and the fear of discovery ensure it

is not a deep sleep: 'Mas como la estancia no era saludable, dormía a medio ojo como anda la mujer tapada'.[71] Besides blurring social distinctions, the fashion for appearing tapada also encouraged violence, because tricksters often begged at night in this guise. As they were usually armed, reformers who walked the streets rounding up prostitutes faced considerable danger.[72] Considering the extent of contemporary abuse of the penitent's hood, and of the demandador's garb, for either defrauding people of money or for more violent purposes, it is tempting to suggest that group recognition by the use of distinctive dress - whatever the social group - was an incitement to civil disorder instead of unity.[73] In the case of the prostitutes, civil authorities strove continually to eradicate the tapada fashion.[74] The 1586 ban (repeated in 1610), is referred to in Cervantes's El vizcaino fingido.[75]

High-heeled footwear was another fashion amongst prostitutes which the authorities attempted to curb. Borghese recorded that although Spanish women were small, they wore 'pianelle, che nominano chiappini', to make themselves taller.[76] The fashion seems to have been particularly associated with Valencia, to judge by Fray Juan de la Cerda's treatise on women written in 1599.[77] Some years later, when prostitutes in Valladolid were still flouting the sumptuary laws, the phrase normally reserved for transgressors of the pragmatic on sword length had become popular currency when referring to prostitutes: 'Mujer de verdugado y chapines de más de marca... un manto de soplillo que la cubría hasta los pechos'.[78]

Complex though these sumptuary regulations may be, they present an interesting feature of contemporary society, with great relevance to the present study on social organizations. The prostitute cultivated distinctions by dress, the better to ply her trade. But as respectable women began to copy her, she maintained the difference between them by adopting another garment. When sumptuary decrees failed, prostitutes still had recourse to distinctive modes of behaviour to advertise their intentions. Those operating from furnished premises often sat at their door and sang (see page 250 above). Their warbling inspired the sort of derogatory joke told by Timoneda:

> Estando en una huerta, noche de San Juan, muchos señores y señoras, y entrellas una viuda muy chacotera, que en vida del marido le había puesto el cuerno, oyendo cantar el

> cuquillo, dijo, enderezando las palabras a un paciente que allí estaba: '¿Ha visto, señor, qué bellaca voz que tiene aquel cantor?' Respondió el paciente: '¿Sabe porqué? Porque sentonó [sic] en vuestra casa'.[79]

Other prostitutes sat in their windows to promote their wares. The practice was so common that a new lexis was invented for the custom, ventanear: 'Sucedió esa tarde de asistir los tres galanes en la calle, como lo acostumbraban, y Teodora a hacerles ventana'.[80] It was probably in the late sixteenth century that the name ventanera was adopted for this kind of prostitute.[81]

7.2.2 Pilgrims and Prostitutes

Besides having recognizable codes of dress and behaviour, there seems to have been a strong tradition of ritual in the prostitute's life, which also served to promote solidarity. Overlaps with lay penitents are interesting, especially in regard to pilgrimages. According to Covarrubias, ramera, the popular metonym for the prostitute, meant meretrix, the whore who lives and works in huts made of twigs and branches.[82] In early modern Spain ramera seems to have indicated the sign she would put in the window - a flowerpot or branch - indicating that the merchandise was boundless.[83] The semantic similarity between ramera and romera is not merely fortuitous. As popular literature shows, the pilgrimage could be both cause of and pretext for prostitution: 'Ir romeras y volver rameras':

> Por ver cosas forasteras
> Quieren ser muchas romeras,
> Y al fin viene a suceder
> Que muchas suelen volver,
> De ser romeras, rameras.[84]

The pilgrimage connection emerges again in a system of terminology for the prostitute based on the pilgrim's staff, bordón:

> Dijo a Justina un galán
> 'Vamos al Humilladero,
> Do aquestas romeras van'.
> Ella dijo: '¡Majadero,
> Vaya él! Que yo no quiero
> Ir do bordionas están'.[85]

The baser appeal of the pilgrimage for prostitutes and young women in general gave Contreras good reason to prevent his own quiraca from participating, as he explained with some humour. On Saint Gregory's day

everyone, including the Grand Master of the Knights of Malta, goes to the shrine, which is six miles outside town:

> Yo tenía que ir, pero por celos no quise, ni tampoco que fuese la quiraca; y ese día, después de comer, estando con la quiraca tratando nuestros celos, oí disparar una pieza del Castillo de San Telmo, cosa nueva, y al punto otra.[86]

7.2.3 Penitentes de luz y de veras

To resume the evidence for voluntary sisterhood organizations so far, prostitutes cultivated a uniformity of dress and behaviour to promote a corporate identity. This was further enhanced by participation in ritual processions and pilgrimages. Clearly their purpose was economic, which might justify traditional claims for the existence of a guild of prostitutes. Geremek, however, suggests that their organizations were closer to the religious confraternity than the trade guild.[87] What evidence is there to support such a claim? Were their organizations exclusive to prostitutes, and if so, was there a religious function; or were prostitutes perhaps admitted to respectable pious confraternities? This complex question must be sensitively probed, starting from theoretical propositions, and progressing by stages until an informed answer can be found. The first real clue to the possible existence of a prostitutes' pious confraternity is found in a system of popular nomenclature for the prostitute: doncella de la Vera. Gerarda in La Dorotea addresses the maid as 'doncella de la Vera': 'Pues dame tú de beber, doncella de la Vera y perdona, que ya sé que te traigo hecho pedazos'.[88] Later she makes still more explicit reference to the background of such women: 'Doncellas de la Vera (que no lo son)'; and: 'Yo conozco alguno que tiene recetas de remendar doncellas de la Vera, con otros embustes, destilaciones y hierbas'.[89] Was this just a figure of speech, or could there have been a confraternity of (reformed) prostitutes dedicated to la Vera Cruz? If there were, then doncella de la Vera could have been a pun (like obispar), referring obliquely to the hat she wore in penitential processions. A sixteenth-century doctor strengthens this possibility by defining Vera Cruz as:

> Lo mismo es que cruz verdadera y legitima - ora porque así llamasen a la misma en que Cristo NS murió, o por distinguirla de otras suertes o hechuras de cruces, porque las demás eran sin cabeza así, 'T', y la de Cristo NS tenía un poco de cabeza, a causa del título que allí se puso. Y

> el vulgo engañado entiende por la palabra vera verde, y la pintan de este color. Semejante engaño acontece en la palabra caña vera, que no es caña verde, sino caña verdadera, o legitima.[90]

Two features in this definition may strengthen the connection between prostitutes and Vera Cruz confraternities: firstly, the requisite 'cap' which makes a cross into Vera Cruz (as above) and a prostitute into a penitent; and secondly, the fact of popular confusion of the term with green, with its connotations of budding maturity, and also of hombre verde.[91] Although the public was familiar with the sight of Arrepentidas in procession, perhaps the Vera Cruz confraternities of prostitutes, if they truly existed, practised a novel form of penitence more in keeping with the form prescribed by the Inquisition. Encorozar involved a degrading procession wearing a pointed paper hat decorated with emblems representing the crime. The penitent was usually bound, gagged and whipped (fig. 9).[92] An extract from a poem by Salinas describes the penitential ritual for one 'hembra de placer':

> Sácanme en cueros desnuda,
> y va tanta gente a verme,
> que después, para volverme,
> es menester Dios y ayuda.
> Y de ellos los más amigos
> por la calle a voces altas
> van pregonando mis faltas
> ante jueces y testigos.[93]

Encorozar was a punishment often meted out to older women accused of sorcery and go-between activities: 'Tu tia Mari Gil, la que encorozaron en Segovia, no por puta sino por hechicera', says one of Timoneda's characters.[94] A diary of contemporary events corroborates that fictional allusions to encorozar were verisimil. When the infamous Margaritona was paraded on a donkey at the age of eighty-eight with a coroza, before being sent to La Galera in 1656, she was spared a whipping which might have killed her, says Barrionuevo.[95] An Andalusian sorceress in Agustín de Rojas's autobiography is sentenced to the coroza and three hundred lashes.[96] Salas Barbadillo was probably more realistic than many other fictional writers, who dealt out more than the prescribed number of lashes, when he 'sentenced' la Méndez in La hija de Celestina to 'cuatrocientos azotes de muerte, que se los pagó a letra vista', as a result of which she died four days later.[97] It was a spectacle which appealed to literary sensibilities, which is why popular

fig. 9. Mitred and Gagged

fiction yields more information on encorozamientos. Garibay, historian to Philip II, tells of a sorceress whipped and bonneted, who pays the executioner his customary fee and then, reflecting on the style and colour of the bonnet, she demands: 'Let me have it back, brother. I've paid for it once, and I am going to need it again'.[98] Meanwhile writers in the picaresque tradition found endless possibilities for puns on the ritual. When Estebanillo González returns to Naples he complains:

> Fuíme a entretener con las damas, donde acabé de ver la mayor mudanza a que pueden contar las historias pasadas, porque las que dejé bisoñas estaban ya jubiladas, las que eran mozas y ollas las hallé viejas y coberteras, las que había dejado en el amago de la senectud las hallé pasando plaza de hechiceras y brujas, y primera, segunda y tercera vez subidas en azotea, y residentes en Corozain.[99]

The resemblance between this cap and a bishop's mitre, already alluded to, invited a cluster of literary puns centring on the ritual obispillos. Laurencio tells the go-between, Gerarda in La Dorotea, that she is in danger: '¿De qué, mis ojos?' she asks. 'De obispar, mi alma', he replies. Another go-between complains:

> Tiénenos muy lastimadas
> La justicia sin pensar
> Que se hizo en nuestra madre,
> La vieja del arrabal,
> Pues, sin respetar las tocas,
> Ni las canas, ni la edad,
> A fuerza de cardenales,
> La hicieron obispar.[100]

In popular enactments of the Inquisitorial ritual the victim often underwent tarring and feathering (emplumar). This variant on the penitential ritual was another favourite in satirical sketches of go-betweens. A lackey caught handing over a message in an entremés by Quevedo laments:

> De esta vez yo no me escapo
> De plumas y miel vestido
> Por las calles en un asno,
> Por alcahüete.[101]

There was, though, a drawback to both the Inquisitorial ritual and its popular parody, as Hermosilla pointed out. Where formerly go-betweens had practised secretly, the act of feathering or mitring was marvellous publicity for future business.[102] The same fear was expressed by the Court physician, Pérez de Herrera, who cited a woman who had received

one thousand, five hundred lashes on different occasions, and another who endured two thousand, and still showed no sign of mending her ways.[103]

To sum up, whether it was individual or corporate, voluntary, or imposed by the State, penitential ritual was certainly a feature of the prostitute's life, as it was for the lay cofrade. What [redacted] evidence is there to support the idea of a religious confraternity of prostitutes? Did they worship a helper saint? Did the luminary and burial have any meaning for them? What evidence is there of a programme of pious works? Data extracted from literature on these points is scant and unsubstantiated. Apparently the older beldames promoted a cult of helper saints to guard against mitring and other afflictions. Inquisitorial records show that prayers to San Antonio Abad were especially useful in keeping husbands faithful.[104] His name also appears in a list, drawn up by Castillo Solórzano, of helper saints who might have been supposed to assist prostitutes.[105] Surprisingly, Castillo omits the name of Santa Catalina, a tradition which had several legendary prototypes, most of whom died violently rather than face violation. In keeping with the underworld's inversion of values, one might expect to see this tradition in the prostitutes' culture. And yet it has been noted that Santa Catalina was frequently adopted as patron saint by confraternities of conversos in Toledo.[106] Whilst this is insufficient evidence on which to build a thesis, it is worth considering that patronage by Santa Catalina would have presented the prostitute with a problem, given the high value she placed on her blood purity. The issue is highlighted in a contemporary jácara, in which the prostitute is called 'Catalina Goda, coyma'.[107] When Catalina is invoked in literary accounts, then, it may be the author's intention to assign the prostitute to the marginal classes, rather than to preserve the existing tradition of inversion.[108]

Another advocate of (belated) chastity was Augustine, who appears in some literary prostitutes' prayers. Cervantes portrays an old woman in Rinconete y Cortadillo, for example, anxious to fulfil her devotions and to: 'poner mis candelicas a NS^{a} de la Aguas y al santo Crucifijo de Santo Agustín'.[109] There is, however, no proof that wayward women adopted him as their patron. Cervantes's reference to candles, however, is significant. In contemporary Rome prostitutes were called

cortigiane da candela, because they lived in the back of chandlers' shops, and in Spain, prostitutes who waited at the door were known as Iluminaria.[110] There were also more vulgar associations between prostitutes and candles. Finding his wife re-married on his release from jail, Lázaro calls her 'Señora atizacandiles'. Luna uses a similar term later in a context which needs no elucidation:

> Pues quería juntarme con una ramera, piltrafa, escalentada, matacandiles, y, finalmente, mula del diablo, que así llaman en Toledo a las amancebadas de los clérigos.[111]

It could be argued that the practice by go-betweens of popular rituals using a candle had more to do with sorcery, than with orthodox religion. Sometimes the candle was employed to conjure absent or unfaithful lovers and spouses; and the burning of twisted candles soaked in semen measured the span of a love affair, the idea being that as long as the candle burned, the relationship would last.[112] In general, though, the eternal lamp meant for prostitutes, as for everyone, preservation of life, youth, and beauty.[113] This is seen in a masque in Hidalgo's Diálogos, where an old woman parades with the legend: 'Olla fui, y la mucha lumbre/ que recibi siendo entera/ me quebró, y di en cobertera'.[114]

7.2.4 Fallen Angels - Welfare and the Prostitutes

The threat of poverty from lack of business as physical attractions diminished was a very real problem for the ageing prostitute. When she died, she rarely had provision to pay for the funeral and subsequent masses. Unless she belonged to an Establishment burial society, or was a beneficiary of its charitable work, the prostitute faced a pauper's funeral and the sort of epitaph written by Salinas:

> Yace aquí, que non debiera,
> Salvadora la estevada,
> moza, que por horadada
> la llamaron Salvadora.[115]

What evidence is there of organized mutual aid or burial functions among prostitutes? Gerarda's plans for disposal of the money given her in La Dorotea indicate where her priorities lay:

> Eso que me ha dado don Bela, hermano, está para mi entierro: que no quiero ir al cimenterio de la parroquia con un Quirieleison desentonado de un sacristán solo, que parece que pregona algún borrico perdido: mis cofradías tengo de llevar, y la mejor sepultura ha de ser la mia, que no quiero que me dé el agua a cielo abierto.[116]

Clearly, honour meant as much to the prostitute as it did to polite society. Gerarda derided the idea of a pauper's funeral, and Truchado's mistress yearned for a 'respectable' situation.[117] Meanwhile the ageing prostitute who fell on hard times and had to beg alms and food called herself Envergonzante, clinging to the idea of a fall from respectability.[118] Perhaps because of this sense of honour, the stigma of having to depend on charity proved too humiliating, stimulating the prostitutes to make alternative arrangements for their welfare. Instead of reaching out to society for help, a charitable anti-society of their own, catering for mutual aid and the perpetuation of the organization, must have been an attractive proposition. Under these circumstances, the ageing beldame could then assume the role of mother to the younger ones. According to Santos there were more than enough of these women in Madrid in the late seventeenth century. Secrets were their business. They knew the virginal status of young brides. They sheltered women in their homes, contrived introductions for the lovesick,[119] and practised empirical treatment of bubas. When Santos describes a picarona: 'que ha sabido hilar, hospedada enfrente del Hospital General y se ha quejado hartas veces en la Casa de San Juan de Dios', he is referring to her condition as ex-intern of the Casa Galera opposite the Hospital General, and to her having had bubas, since those who suffered it went to the Hospital de San Juan de Dios.[120]

As one might expect, the prostitute had an ambiguous role in public welfare. She was both purveyor of disease and its victim, and also, in some sense, a charitable health-worker, performing a useful service. There were several names for the prostitute who visited hostels and hospitals. The piltraca (piltrafa or piltrofera) roamed larger hospitals or hostels, and the cotarrera frequented poor people's hostels.[121] She was commonly called puta de albergue de pobres if her clientele included beggars, servants, valentones, soldiers, clergy, and simpletons. Because she roamed the streets at night, the prostitute helped in another social service, which functioned rather like the ronda of the pious confraternity, except that in this case they assisted the police with information, instead of the hostels with patients.[122] La Colindres, a constable's paramour, was one of these informers. In collaboration with a notary, she and the constable made a living by

luring men (especially foreigners with money) into compromising situtations with her for the purposes of blackmail.[123]

To summarize briefly our findings on devotional and charitable works among prostitutes, Catholicism did not exclude prostitution, nor did prostitution preclude the practice of Catholicism. As with the beggars, though, it was largely the traditional, popular, religious form which prostitutes practised, concentrating on externals, and in particular those features likely to consolidate the inevitable link between commerce and religion. So the prostitutes' helper saints, like those of the guilds, were apparently invoked to assist them in their chosen trade - the aspirations to chastity being either a satirical bent employed by writers of fiction, or a true expression of the sometimes grim, always sardonic inversion of values in the underworld.

7.3 The Oldest Guild?

So there seems to be some literary evidence that will square with the claim that the prostitutes ran their own friendly society, which aimed, like any other, to provide for hardship, and ultimately for burial and salvation. On the other hand, most of the documentary evidence emphasizes the commercial nature of their organization, which explains a readiness on the part of historians to define their company as a guild. For the sake of completeness, these aspects must now be addressed, in particular, features of political power and organizational control. It is not surprising that the prostitute's legal status was low, given contemporary vacillating systems of control or suppression by Church and State. From the thirteenth century, canon law had debarred her from accusing others of crime, and forbidden her to inherit property.[124] Jurists, too, were kept busy on the legal status of the wages of prostitution. It was widely debated whether a man could recover the money he had paid beforehand to a whore, if she refused to honour the contract. The consensus of opinion appeared to be that as it was an immoral transaction he had no claim. But the custom of demanding money in advance was defended by Estebanillo González, in his temporary capacity as padre de mancebía, who explained that his girls had engraved in their memory: 'quien no paga tentado, mal pagará arrepentido'.[125] The law also went in the prostitute's favour in declaring that while the money paid her was used for an unlawful purpose, the giving itself was not unlawful, and she was entitled to keep what she had received.

> This is what is properly called shameful gain, for to play the harlot is shameful and against God's law. Nevertheless, the mere fact that she accepts payment is not itself unjust or against the law. Accordingly what is unlawfully acquired in this way can be kept and used for almsgiving.[126]

Several cant terms designated the essentially economic nature of the prostitute's life. She was known as feliz, contenta, or tributaria.[127] Because of Aquinas's canons, a lexis arose based on Thomas, the supposed patron saint of busconas: Tomajona, mujer de Santo Tomé, and tomista. The woman spied in El diablo Cojuelo, letting her lover in through the window at night is aptly named Doña Tomasa.[128] The manceba de a cuatro, the dama libre, dama de alquiler, and regatona, all practised compra-venta with their bodies.[129] They had a low worth in this economy. Alonso Hernández notes many other names with an economic connection: from the root censo comes censuaria, and from the root cig (bolsa) comes cica, cigarra, cigarrón, cicatero, cicarazatae, and cigarrero. Thus cigarrero was the pick-pocket and cigatera, or ciguatera the prostitute who functioned as the pimp's purse. Quevedo used abundant neologisms for prostitutes, especially in the context of asking or begging, from which it is a short step to the association with mendicants: 'Yo bien entendi que habia órdenes mendicantes, pero no niñas mendicantes sin órden.[130]

If the prostitutes constituted a guild or religious confraternity, why was it that the Bishop of Paris refused their donation of a glass window (see footnote 2 below)? The answer must be that charity offered from the profits of prostitution disturbed Catholic moral sensitivity. Aquinas had pronounced on this delicate issue:

> In the Old Law, offering the money made by a prostitute was forbidden because it was considered unclean. In the New Law it is prohibited because of scandal, lest the Church seem to favour sin by accepting oblations from the profits of sin.[131]

Once again one finds the Church struggling to reconcile theoretical concepts with practical expedience. The position was not helped by a widespread belief that payment for intercourse purged the sin. Although many were punished by the Inquisition for believing that 'simplex fornicatio non est peccatum mortale', sometimes the Inquisition actually ceded to this belief.[132] There seems to have been an upsurge in the number of trials on fornicatio from the 1560s until the end of the

sixteenth century. Professor Round attributes later apparent disinterest in the 'fornicatio' issue to anxieties over repopulation after the demographic disaster of plague in the 1590s.[133] Another problem facing the ruling oligarchy was the popular belief that contraction of syphilis conferred immunity from plague. This made recourse to prostitutes almost a duty to preserve one's life in plague-torn Europe. The belief led to the creation of 'plague societies', as seen in the Decameron, and to the encouragement of general licentiousness.[134] Before his downfall, Bartolomé Carranza (1503-76), Dominican prelate and censor of the Inquisition, had criticized contemporary morality:

> La cosa ha venido a estado que ya no pierde honra ni autoridad un hombre por tener esta lepra de bubas, antes es cosa de cortesanos tenerlas o haberlas tenido, y no es hombre de palacio ni de corte el que no hace cómo merezca tenerlas.[135]

Church and State had waged a perpetual war against these popular beliefs. Alfonso IX had declared that priests were not to make use of money tainted by sexual commerce,[136] and yet by the late sixteenth century these scruples had been dealt with expediently, and confraternities sometimes controlled the public brothel. In Valladolid (1591) the prostitute Catalina Sánchez was prosecuted by the brotherhood that managed the mancebía, because she kept an illegal establishment in competition with them.[137]

7.3.1 Rules of the Game

By the late sixteenth century, then, civilian and canon law had consolidated the prostitute's social status, albeit on the margins of society. The second guild-like characteristic, besides political power, was administrative control. It would be reasonable to suppose that control of the prostitutes' organization was achieved by a system of rules, as in any other association. Apart from the rules applicable to municipal mancebías, there is little evidence of a coded existence amongst other prostitutes. Fictional sources allude to the literary topos of parodic rules, without there being any clear proof that the allusion was more than a topos. La Pintada, in De la hermania, advises her friends that all secrets are to be shared, and mates changed regularly.[138] The rules of Gerarda's sorority give guidelines on

deceiving men; whilst other alcahüetas allegedly kept a register, like that of the merchants, containing addresses of whores. This meant that without going to the 'agent' first, a man would not find a prostitute.[139]

7.3.2 Saucepans and Lids - An Inverted Hierarchy

Control clearly was practised, even though we have found no coded system to support that control. It is possible that hierarchical order provided the means. Alonso Hernández has attempted a full classification of some three hundred Spanish literary terms for prostitutes, based on clientele, area of operation, independence, age, etc. A short study of these will be helpful in deciding whether or not the prostitutes operated within a formally-structured body, bearing in mind that our evidence must, of necessity, be the spoken word, or as close to it as one can get.[140] Thus when Estebanillo González became 'padre de damas, defensor de criadas y amparador de pobretas', he defined the prostitutes' hierarchy by their place of work: 'Tenía aposentos de congregación de ninfas de cantón, salas de busconas, palacios de cortesanas, y alcázares de tusonas'.[141] This hierarchy will serve as a useful starting point in the present survey. The ninfa de cantón, puta de cantón, or cantonera, operated from houses on the street corners, so that her clients could leave without having to retrace their steps.[142] The next step towards regular prostitution was the buscona, who used tricks and ploys to trap men: an invitation to dinner, borrowing money that was never paid back, even little thefts, which subsidized her essentially parasitic existence.[143] Apart from its use in connection with the hospital visitor, piltrafa was a pejorative term, as seen applied to a widow who engaged Lázaro as her squire:

> ¿De dónde le viene a la piltrafa tanto toldo? Ayer era moza de cántaro, y hoy lleva ropa de tafetán, a costa de las Animas del Purgatorio.[144]

Classification by age was also an important factor in the prostitutes' hierarchy. The newest prostitute serving a pimp was known as chula or chulama, like the ruffian (chulo) who exploited her.[145] This apprentice prostitute was also known as Junia:

> Por cuya causa se parten
> Por miedo de las gurapas;
> Lloran las junias y chulos
> Que sienten su ausencia larga.[146]

Unlike other hierarchical organizations, the novice prostitute usually commanded the highest respect. Once initiated, the fresh, pretty, and independent prostitute became known as a maja. The more hot-blooded variety took her name from the lexis associated with tails, being styled caliente de rabadilla, rabicaliente, or rabiza.[147] And since the underworld in general tended to invert society's norms, it is to be expected that seniority of age would not necessarily imply seniority of status in the prostitutes' company. Maturity was the key to membership of the less-respected tercera sector of the prostitutes' sorority, which had a fixed lower age limit, according to Santos. In a squabble between two blind men in Día y Noche, one calls the other: 'hijo de la alcahüeta', which elicits the response:

> En cuanto a lo de mi madre, mientes en decir que fue alcahüeta a no poder más, porque sé que murió de treinta años y no era edad en que no se podía hacer primeros papeles; pero la tuya dejó el ser frazada por baqueta, y si no tuvo otro oficio, fue por tener mala cara, que nunca a tí te engendrara tu padre, si tuviera vista.[148]

Fernández de Ribera calls these dueñas 'rodrigones o cepas'.[149] More commonly they were described as cobertera, in the sense of protector of something delicate, as a lid protects a saucepan: 'Que no faltan unas pasadas ollas que ya quebraron, y sus cascos sirven de tapar otras nuevas'.[150] The dueña usually posed as a governess or relative of the girls, who therefore called themselves prima, parienta or sobrina:

> Nuestra madre Leonarda (vieja alcahüeta) que está con tres sobrinas postizas ha preguntado si podía venir acá, y le he dicho que sí. Y a fé, que no tienen las parientas muy desordenadas las cosas.[151]

Hierarchies, then, might be based on location or age. In a third hierarchical classification, distinction was based on clientele. Thus the highest quality primas were the equivalent of valientes in the violent classes (see page 354 below), sharing the same nomenclature:

> Tenía una madre y hermana, la madre de humor mozo y la hermana golosa; áquella y ésta hurtaba; no digo que eran ladronas sino matantes, ni quiero decir que acuchillaban ni reñían, pero picaban y parlaban.[152]

Often these higher class partnerships between primas and terceras resulted in the establishment of casas de conversación, in which gambling was an alternative recreation to 'el trato amoroso'. They

called themselves euphemistically dama de conversación or cortesana.[153] They were especially numerous in university towns and at Court, although the cortesana was originally a soldier's mistress.[154] Here was another word which lent itself to witty puns: 'De las damas que llaman cortesanas decía que todas, o las más, tenían más de corteses que de sanas'.[155] Some flitted from town to town rather than risk exposure. Their nomadic existence earned them the name dama de rumbo y manejo:

> Sucedió que en este tiempo llegó a aquella ciudad una dama de todo rumbo y manejo. Acudieron luego a la añagaza y reclamo todos los pájaros del lugar, sin quedar vademécum que no la visitase.[156]

From the above survey of names used by or for prostitutes, it appears that aspirations to social mobility were no different from those seen in any other sector of society. This was especially true for independent prostitutes, who assumed aristocratic names and claimed, like doña Angela de Bolea (alias Luisa), in Las harpias de Madrid, to have wealthy relations in the Americas with which to lure their prey.[157] There are many satirical attacks against prostitutes' improper adoption of titles or names, which give some idea of the scale of the abuse. A pragmatic by Quevedo, for example, announces in pseudo-confraternal style that all prostitutes assume a name or risk being assigned one by the Hermano Mayor:

> Por el conocimiento y distinción de la corte, equivocación de los nombres que hurtáis [las putas], como Silvas, Carvajales, Mendozas y Ramírez y otros, mandamos que ninguna sea osada a afrentar sus carnes sin nombre postizo de los antiguos, como doña Elvira Mozo, que es la que mandó el sello rodado de los cotorreras, La Moruca, La Interesable, Pío Quinto, Jergón de Carne, Sangrelluvia, La Vírgen Loca, y otras de gloriosa memoria; y mandamos que las que no tienen nombre, dentro de tres días primeros siguientes, vengan ante el hermano mayor y cofrades, que se les pondrán conforme pidieron sus faltas por lo que justo fuere y a las pobres de balde.[158]

Was Quevedo's comparison of prostitutes with the pious confraternity an absurdity, calculated only to amuse, or could his contemporaries relate to the idea that prostitutes, too, had a sort of sodality? Vélez seems to support the latter idea in another literary parody, which suggests an affinity between prostitutes and Military Orders. The narrator of El diablo Cojuelo goes to a plaza reminiscent of Los Herradores de Madrid: 'Donde se alquilaban tías, hermanos, primos y maridos, como lacayos y

escuderos para damas de achaque que quieren pasar en la corte con buen nombre y encarecer su mercaderia'. In this square is a shrine housing a great pile of novels of chivalry. People come here, says Vélez, to get a title of respectability for court life:

> Por allí entra ahora una fregona con un vestido alquilado, que la trae su ama a sacar de don, como de pila, para darla el tusón de las damas, porque le pague en esta moneda lo que le ha costado el criarla, y aún ella parece que se quiere volver al paño, según viene bruñida de esmeril.[159]

It may be argued that much of the above data are the fanciful invention of satirical writers following a fashionable mode for categorizing and naming: the ordering principle in society.[160] However, this would be to overlook the incidence in polite society of similar titles to those above. The name tusona came from the most illustrious of the Military Orders, Caballeros del Tusón or Toison (Golden Fleece).[161] Correspondingly, the tusona or dama del tusón was the aristocrat of the prostitute world. To enhance her respectability (and price) she would employ a dueña to accompany her, or a pimp who pretended to be her squire.[162] One can gauge her value from a contemporary remark by a character in an entremés. Asked if there is a cure for 'el mal de tusona', Doctor Rapado replies: 'Cerrar bien la bolsa'.[163] Salas Barbadillo also uses tusona to embrace the idea of the cream of the underworld, in a cameo of a Genoese woman and her daughter:

Don Pedro:	Es la pobre muchacha una cordera Y con besos de paz siempre la vende.
Manrique:	Qué tal es la viejota, bien se entiende, Pues del modo que Judás fue el primero Que con besos de paz vendió un cordero, Así ella es quien vende la primera Con el beso de paz una cordera.
Don Pedro:	Dicen que trata ahora de casarla.
Manrique:	Allá en el Rastro puede acomodarla, Que intentarán que sea el buen marido Cordero en condición, no en apellido, Porque así le conviene a su persona Un marido tusón si ella es tusona.[164]

7.3.3 Chivalry and Celestina - A Mythical Infrastructure

Like prostitutes of lesser worth, the tusonas prided themselves on a long and pure ancestry, often stressing this by calling themselves marcas godeñas. The root godo, alluding to the Visigoths, was used in many cant derivations. And the root marc gave marca, marquesa,

marquida, marquisa, and marquiza, prostitutes of high quality, usually having the adjective goda or godiza appended:

> Amaine, seor Garrancho,
> No se entruche con la iza,
> Que es muy godeña marquisa,
> La Guimara de Polancho.[165]

This insistence on an orthodox ancestry may have been a defence against religious repression. Such claims were bolstered by the perpetuation of a religious myth or quasi-miraculous legend about prostitutes. As a mythical infrastructure has been found to support all brotherhoods examined so far in the present work - beggars had Juan de Voto a Dios; literati had their Wild Men and melancholics; lay confraternities and guilds each had their own patron saint - the prospect of finding one for the prostitutes is encouraging. Popular literature, and outsiders to the underworld culture in general, contributed most to this mythology.[166] One finds allusions, for example, to the harpy (harpía or arpía) as a symbol of rameras, who tear a man to pieces, and gobble up his estates.[167] Maluenda wrote a satirical poem about 'una viejona Arpía';[168] and Villamediana's prize-winning sonnet at the Beatification of San Isidro (15 May, 1620) parodied the pretensions to confraternal status of members of the lowlife of Madrid, especially the formidable women:

> Escuadrón religioso de amazonas
> Con suelta voluntad de ser arpías,
> Y las que forasteras cofradias
> Salieron hachas y volvieron nonas.[169]

The most important, and best-loved myth surrounding the prostitutes, however, was the stereotyped Celestina. Her ancestry goes back to Theocritus's Simeta, and Horace's Canidia, and it develops in Spanish letters through the medieval Trotaconventos of Libro de Buen Amor, into Rojas's Celestina, whose plot inspired at least twenty-four more Golden-Age versions. The titillating story of two ill-matched lovers and the attempts of the procuress to engineer the consummation of the affair vary little in theme, though the lovers' names often differ (the most commonly-used names are Calisto and Melibea). Close reading of any of these refundiciones reveals many minute details in the life of the sixteenth-century procuress.[170]

The fact that so many of these works were produced in the Golden Age is significant of itself. The evidence which they unwittingly reveal, taken overall, can now be used to compensate for the lack of official documentation supporting the existence of a sixteenth-century sorority of prostitutes. Faced with a choice between exploitation by the pimp, or the hazards of an independent career; and institutionalization, whether by the Church, in convent or penitentiary, or by the State, in public brothel; the prostitute apparently opted for a compromise. Living on the margins of respectable society, she adopted a mode of life which would afford her most protection from a legal system which, interpreted in the wrong hands, was hostile to her. Whilst officially professing to repent and conform to a way of life imposed on her by the Helping Hands of society, she maintained a spirit of solidarity which, however informally, resembled the anti-societies of other underworld groups. She repeatedly chose a distinctive dress and behaviour by which to advertise her profession; and she adopted the usual external rituals of popular devotion (processions, a cult of 'mystical' objects, and patron saints), though there seems otherwise little sign that she associated for reasons other than those of her trade. The professional hierarchy among prostitutes was marked by a unique feature: the youngest, being the most marketable, had most prestige; the older ones, whilst administering the society and perpetuating its myths and rites, were least respected, both within their anti-society and in respectable circles. Membership was clearly voluntary, and secrecy extended to a practice of anonymity behind a veil, and to the learning of their trade at the feet of the elders.

However, one must allow for prejudices born of a twentieth-century culture in judging this 'guild', for it is difficult to conceive today the relative importance of religion to a sixteenth-century prostitute. Although she was harassed and persecuted by Church and State, it was not merely the threat of physical harm and loss of freedom which worried the prostitute. A concern for a decent burial preoccupied her as much as it did any man or woman. And the fate of her soul was of greater moment still. It would be wrong to condemn her today as irreligious, simply because she did not openly profess the orthodox faith of her day. Her attempts at securing a salvation through more heterodox paths, extending even to the quest for immortality (for go-betweens also dabbled in

sorcery, alchemy and clairvoyance), should alert one to the existence of some religious element (or observance) in her life. A contemporary satirical poem about the 'beata tercera' strengthens the notion that she saw herself as a devout figure, a fact which also impressed itself on society as a whole. The work begins by punning on her rosary beads: 'largas son sus cuentas', on the end of which hangs a medallion. Then follows a list of the requisite devotional attributes we have seen in pious confraternities:

> Tiene escapulario,
> Adonde se ganan
> Muchas indulgencias
> Todas las semanas,
> Y su bordoncillo,
> Que le pica y rasca.
> Adonde se arrima
> Quando está arrobada.
> Y una gran sortija
> De memorias largas,
> Que es su familiar
> En la mesa y cama.[171]

In the next revealing stanza, we find a contemporary answer to our question: was it a guild or a confraternity of prostitutes? The go-between saw herself (or polite society thought she saw herself) as a sister of the girdle-wearing confraternity of Saint Joseph:

> Era de la cinta
> Muy grande cofrada,
> Pero ya es tercera,
> Para templar quartas.[172]

This is an interesting association, firstly because the origins of that confraternity are dated to 1657, shortly before Trillo wrote his poem, although there were precursors in the Brotherhood of the Cord of Saint Francis, established by Sixtus V in 1585,[173] and the Cincturati, whose members wore a black leather belt with a black bone ring attached. This last brotherhood was affiliated with the Augustinians, and sometimes called itself the Confraternity of Saint Augustine and Saint Monica. It was said to be the wealthiest girdle-wearing brotherhood in terms of indulgences.[174] The girdle is also alluded to by Rojas Zorrilla, but this time without reference to a confraternity, when his 'academics' debate whether witches can fly, and what their anointing achieves.[175] As Rumeu de Armas claims that the religious confraternity provided a social outlet for the guild, from which it developed, and alongside which it functioned,[176] it seems more likely now that

prostitutes and go-betweens united in a religious sorority, and not a guild, taking as their model either the Vera Cruz or the Cord of Saint Augustine. Under the auspices of these influential confraternities, they were relatively free to operate as beatas. Literature is full of satirical comments about the repentances of young men who fall into their clutches.[177] But where does fraternity begin, and protectionism end? A religious component need not always be a prerequisite of brotherhood, as the case of the gamblers will demonstrate in the next chapter.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

[1] See Appendix 6.A, for general studies on prostitution.

[2] See Geremek, Marginals of Society, 241, n. 156, citing Henri Sauval, Histoire et recherches, II, 617; and Dictionnaire historique, I, 242. See also Hillairet, Evocation du vieux Paris, I, 206; Ross, Assembly of Good Fellows, 196, n. 87, citing Sidney Painter, Medieval Society (Ithaca, NY, 1951), 229; and Thomas de Chobman, Not. Ext. Bib. Nat. 24, 2, 1876, 269-87, who cites a case of prostitutes in Paris whose corporate offer to donate a glass window to the cathedral was refused by the bishop of Paris (cited by Michaud-Quantin, Universitas, 224, n. 19).

[3] Lucy Hughes-Hallett, 'Working Girls', Sunday Times, 3 May, 1992, p. 7.2, reviewing Nickie Roberts, Whores in History: Prostitution in Western Society (London, 1992).

[4] For more on the law and prostitutes, see Bullough, 'The Prostitute in the Early Modern Ages', in Sexual Practices, 35-6. It seems unlikely that Celestina's compatriot, Claudina, would have survived four hundred lashes, before being displayed in a cage in the main plaza, but see also pages 439, and 280 above.

[5] Alfonso X's five-part classification is repeated in Nueva Recopilación, lib. 8, tít. 20, ley 9 (vol. 2, fol. 348r). For Philip II's pragmatic and later legislation, see Nueva Recopilación, lib. 8, tít. 20, ley 1, 2 and 5 (vol. 2, fols 347r-v); and Deleito y Piñuela, Mala vida, 75, n. 1, citing Novísima Recopilación, lib. XII, tít. XXVIII.

[6] De Ordine, lib. II, cap. 4, p. 1000. See also ibid., Constitutiones Apostolicae, II, 26, in Migne, ed. cit., 1, cited by Bullough, 'The Prostitute in the Early Middle Ages', Sexual Practices, 36, n. 21. I have failed to locate this reference, but would refer the reader to Augustine, De vita eremitica ad sororem liber, 1452-74 (1458-61, and 1470), in Opera omnia, in Migne, ed. cit., 32 (1877); and Tertulian, Quinti septimii florentis Tertuliani ad uxorem, lib. 1, cap. 14, 1280-2, in Migne, ed. cit., 1 (1844).

[7] See Bullough, 'The Prostitute in the Early Middle Ages', Sexual Practices, 36, n. 22, citing Aquinas, Summa Theologiae, 2a 2ae, Question 10, Article 2; 2a 2ae, Question 60, Articles 2 and 5; and ibid., Question 87, Article 2, paragraph 2; and 2a 2ae, Question 118, Article 8, paragraph 4, for the metaphor about the palace sewer. I have been unable to locate this quotation in the Summa, but Bullough's references bear out the general thesis. See especially vol. 41, 265 (2a 2ae, 118, 8). See also Aquinas, Summa contra Gentiles, Book 3, Part 2, Chapter 126, 'That not all sexual intercourse is sinful'.

[8] See Rossiaud, La prostitution médiévale, 69.

[9] Tratado contra los juegos públicos, in Obras del Padre Juan de Mariana, II, BAE 31 (Madrid, 1872), 413-62 (445a-47a), quoting from Aquinas, Bk. 4, Del gobierno de los príncipes, ch. 14; Genesis 19; Deuteronomy 24: 1; and 1 Kings 17.

[10] Angel Fernández de los Ríos, Guía de Madrid, 714-5, cited in Deleito y Piñuela, Mala vida, 54-5, n. 1.

[11] See Dedieu, 'Le modèle sexuele', 322-5.

[12] Velos antiguos i modernos en los rostros de las mujeres, sus inconveniencias y daños (Madrid, 1641), cap. XXV, fol. 105v°, cited in Heugas, La Célestine, 459. I am grateful to Professor Round for this last reference. Other advocates of the Aquinas theory cited by León Pinelo are Scot, Castro, and Morla. See also 'Hordenança y moderación de lo que los soldados y vecinos desta dicha ciudad de Bugia suelen y an de dar a las mugeres públicas con quien conversan', leg. 48, no. 21, 23 April, 1536, cited in Paz (ed.), AGS. Diversos, p. 219.

[13] See Asensio, Cervantes y sus obras, 417. It was common practice for the church to build convents or hospitals on the site of brothels, though it is not always clear whether this was for the benefit of the former inmates or not. A convent to NSª del Carmen was built on the site of a casa pública in Seville of the early 1570s (see León Pinelo, Anales, 114).

[14] See Deleito y Piñuela, Mala vida, 53.

[15] AMV. LA. 16, 15 July, 1599, cited in Bennassar, Valladolid, 204.

[16] See Bullough, 'The Prostitute in the Early Middle Ages', 37; and Brundage, 'Medieval Canon Law', 157, in Sexual Practices.

[17] He records that five or six years previously, Dr Juan de León, Visitador del Obispado, and Manuel del Sello had provided for:

> Hermanas de la Penitencia, mujeres arrepentidas del pecado público; estaban recogidas en la Casa del Hospital de San Miguel, a la parte de mediodía, entre Barrionuevo y los muros. Había entonces once hermanas de las convertidas y cuatro maestras.
>
> (Colmenares, Historia de Segovia, 321-2).

Then they established a Convento de la Penitencia, 'religión que había fundado Fray Juan Tifero, o Tisero, franciscano, con aprobación de Alejandro sexto, año 1494'.

[18] On sixteenth-century Spanish institutions, see Bennassar, The Spanish Character, 195, n. 26, citing Ramón de Mesonero Romanos, Manual de Madrid (Madrid, 1833); and see Jiménez Salas, Asistencia social, 212. There were many of these institutions, often the result of Jesuit reform work. Padre León tells of the foundation of a Casa Pía in Madrid where repentant prostitutes went, and another which housed young girls in danger of being led astray (Compendio, Parte 1ª, Tratado de la Cárcel, caps 4-6, cited in Domínguez Ortiz, Crisis y decadencia, 27). The work comprises two parts and two appendices. The first of these appendices is a list of prisoners at whose executions he assisted from the year 1578. Domínguez Ortiz mostly cites cases from the second part of Compendio. See also Morgado, Historia de Sevilla, 448.

[19] See also a sonnet by Góngora which claimed that Madrid had 'Quatrocientas mil putas y cornudos/ menos los no casados otros tantos' (Sonetos, 656). Compared with a figure of one thousand for Rome at the same time this seems very high (see Paglia, La Pietà dei carcerati, 68-9; and Barletta, 'Santa Caterina dei Funari', 14, for a bibliography of the Roman prostitutes (curiali) at this period). Another Casa de la Penitencia for mujeres recogidas was apparently

projected in Toledo about 1620, when some gentry petitioned Philip II for a pension or concession for the work on comedias staged there (see Liñán y Verdugo, Guia y avisos, 176). Porras de la Cámara wrote to Cardinal Niño de Guevara: 'Los dos polos que mueven este orbe son dones y doñas' (quoted by Apraiz, Curiosidades cervantinas, 243-4). The proportion of Roman prostitutes to women (including children and old people) in 1600 was 18:1000.

[20] Covarrubias, Tesoro, s.v. ARREPENTIDAS. See also Dicc. de Autoridades:

> Se llaman las mujeres que habiendo conocido sus yerros y soltura de vida, se arrepienten y vuelven a Dios, y se encierran en unas casas como Monasterios a vivir religiosamente y en comunidad, con grande recogimiento. Dícense comúnmente las Recogidas.

Processions of Arrepentidas described by León Pinelo, Anales, 249; and González Palencia, Noticias de Madrid, 57. There were Arrepentidas established in 1605 at Salamanca, and in 1678 at Cadiz the Casa de San Pablo was established by Jacinta Martinez de Zuzalaga.

[21] Prostitution and Society, 69. On the erotic potential of flagellation in fifteenth-century Venice, see Black, Italian Confraternities, 101.

[22] See Deleito y Piñuela, Mala vida, 45; and León Pinelo, Anales, 115, citing a Pragmatic of 18-22 February, 1575. See also Juan de Mariana, Tratado contra los juegos públicos, 449a.

[23] Quiñones de Benavente, El enamoradizo, 630b. For cofradias de luz, see page 40 above.

[24] See Bullough, 'The Prostitute in the Early Middle Ages', 42, n. 48, citing Decretalis D. Gregorii pape IX suae integrati una cum glossi, liber 4, titulus 1, canon 20, in Corpus Juris Canonici, edited by E. Friedberg, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1879-81). Compare Liñán y Verdugo, Guia y avisos, 294, where the maid, Alvarez, is given money to marry an 'hombre ordinario' so that she can leave the casa pública.

[25] Domínguez Ortiz, Crisis y decadencia, 50, citing Pedro de León, Compendio, Parte 2ª, 'Apéndice de los ajusticiados'.

[26] Quevedo, 'Marido que busca acomodo y hace relación de sus propiedades: Romance', in Obra poética, II, 390-2 (392).

[27] Don Diego, 60.

[28] See Bullough, 'The Prostitute in the Early Middle Ages', 41.

[29] See Libro de los Fueros de Castiella, edited by Galo Sánchez, Universidad de Barcelona, Fd. de Derecho (Barcelona, 1924), 116, cited by Serra Ruiz, Honor, honra e injuria, 125.

[30] Alonso Fajardo de Tenza (d.1624), the Spanish soldier and governor of the Philippines, may have inspired Calderón's El médico de su honra (see Espasa-Calpe: FAJARDO).

[31] Daily Life in Spain, 224.

[32] 'Respuesta de la Méndez a Escarramán', Jácara, in Obras de Quevedo (ed. Fernández-Guerra), II, 257.

[33] Cervantes, El rufián viudo, 547a.

[34] Cozquilla del gusto, 127.

[35] 'Las podrían vestir de jerga, o herbaje, que es sayal delgado, y quitarles el cabello algo bajo' (Pérez de Herrera, Amparo, Discurso 5°, 121-2).

[36] Rélation du voyage, 251-2. On Casa Galera, see Pike, Penal Servitude, 1. It was defined as: 'Casa donde la Justicia recoge y encierra a las mujeres escandalosas en pena de sus delitos' (Dicc. Aut.). It was in calle de Atocha, at the end between callejón del Hospital, and calle de Santa Inés. See data on its creation and prison régime in the study by Julio Ramón Laca, Las viejas cárceles madrileñas (Madrid, 1973), 37-41, cited by Navarro Pérez (ed.), in Día y Noche, by Santos, 76, n. 58. There was another at Valladolid founded in 1598 (see Arco y Garay, Sociedad española, 454).

[37] Guía y avisos, 165.

[38] 'Fuime a dormir a la calle de la Galera, donde de ordinario hospedan la gente de mi porte' (Estebanillo González, ch. IV, 307b).

[39] Santos, Día y Noche, 115.

[40] In Villalón, for instance, the rameria had to pay a municipal tax determined by the number of its visitors (see Fernández Martín, 'Las ferias de Villalón', 236). In London, they were assigned two sites (see Riley, Memorials of London 534-5). In Venice they were confined to the Castellato, at the centre of the Rialto (see R. Casagrande di Villaviera, Le cortigiane veneziane nel Cinquecento (Milan, 1968), 19). At Dijon they were originally allocated one street, but at the end of the fourteenth century, they were transferred to brothels situated outside the town (E. Petit, Ducs de Bourgogne de la Maison de Valois, (Paris, 1909), I, 413). See also Brundage, 'Prostitution in Canon Law', 156.

[41] See Nueva Recopilación, lib. IV, tít. 23, ley 20 (vol. 1, fol. 363v), which provided for protection and maintenance of mancebias and their inhabitants by alguaciles.

[42] Espinel, Marcos de Obregón, Relación 1ª, descanso 9 (vol. 1, 182). See also Cervantes, Rinconete y Cortadillo, 88 (la llana); and Vida de Alonso de Contreras, 100a (casa de Córdoba). On other brothel names, see Rodríguez Marín, Rinconete y Cortadillo, 108; and Hazañas, 'Los rufianes de Cervantes' 24.

[43] See Liñán y Verdugo, Guia y avisos, 120.

[44] See Stevenson, Origins of Freemasonry, 97.

[45] See Bullough, 'Prostitution in the Later Middle Ages', 182; and for literary examples of 'coger las rosas', see Gómez de Toledo, Celestina, 82; and El Libro de Buen Amor, I, 141, st. 378. For more on symbolism of the rose, see the Caballeros y ninfas de la Rosa, a secret society in Paris (1778), and others in Espasa-Calpe s.v. ROSA. See also Ch. W. Heckethorn, The Secret Societies of All Ages and Countries (London, 1897), II, 87.

[46] For Valencia, see Henriques, Prostitution and Society, 52, n. 46, citing W.W. Sanger, The History of Prostitution, second edition (New

York, 1919), 172. See also the account by Antoine de Lalaing, Rélation du premier voyage de Philippe le Beau en Espagne, Collections des chroniques belges inédites publiées par ordre du Gouvernement. Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas, edited by Gachard et Piot (1873), II, 213, cited in Heugas, La Célestine, 460. Lalaing says it cost 4 Spanish deniers (1 French gros), to hire one of the women, where in Castile it cost only 1111 maravedis.

[47] He added: 'la sarna española (que es gálico en España, y en Francia fina viruela) se llama pasa valenciana'. Barrau Dihigo published this Viaje in Revue Hispanique, 20 (June, 1909); see also García Mercadal (ed.), Viajes de extranjeros, I, 1390b, 1398a.

[48] Relación de viage, in García Mercadal, Viajes I, 1047. Compare page 197 above, on the tourist attraction of mental asylums.

[49] Compare Appendix 1.I, for Atocha in Madrid. Interestingly girls of Madrid prayed thirty-three creeds to the Virgin of Atocha to attract a husband (Deleito y Piñuela, La vida religiosa, 284, n. 86, citing Sebastián Cirac Estopañán, Autos... de fe celebradas por el Tribunal de la Inquisición de Castilla la Nueva, T. leg. 89, núm. 136; see also Cirac, Procesos de hechicerías (Madrid, 1942)). For information on el Arenal, see Asensio, Cervantes y sus obras, 405-424, 'El Compás de Sevilla'.

[50] On Guardacoimas, see Morales Padrón, Historia de Sevilla, 120; and Pike, Aristocrats and Traders, 199. On admission procedure, see Henríques, Prostitution and Society, 52, n. 47, citing Sanger, History of Prostitution, 172; and compare Camillo Borghese's account in Morel-Fatio, L'Espagne au XVIe siècle, 252. See also Hazañas, 'Los rufianes de Cervantes', 23-30; and Rodríguez Marín, Rinconete y Cortadillo, 105-12. See Appendix 6.B, for two more brothels in Seville.

[51] Probably for reasons of power and prestige, Padre de la mancebia was a much sought-after post. At the end of 1571 Marco Ocaña, Alguacil de la Justicia, was lord and owner of eleven of these; and in 1604 Seville's hangman rented twenty houses there, representing the Ayuntamiento (see Henríques, Prostitution and Society, 52-3, citing Sanger, History of Prostitution, 173-4). Cervantes explains in El rufián dichoso (1a Jornada, p. 316) that the post of Padre is similar to that of a Religious Order:

Tello: Decidme de qué Ordenes.
Antonia: De los de la casa llana.
Es alcaide, con perdón,
señor, de la mancebia
a quien llaman padre hoy dia
las de nuestra profesión.

[52] See Nueva Recopilación, lib. VII, tít. 12, ley 1 (vol. 2, fol. 238v); and lib. VIII, tít. 20, ley 8 (vol. 2, 346v). See also Defourneaux, Daily Life in Spain, 224; and Deleito y Piñuela, Mala vida, 44.

[53] Rinconete y Cortadillo, 112.

[54] See Aquinas, Summa Theologiae, 2a 2ae, 87, 2 (vol. 39, 149), on the traditional association between prostitutes and actors, quoted in Appendix 6.H.

[55] Cited in Deleito y Piñuela, Mala vida, 55. See Appendix 6.C, for quotation.

[56] See Navarro Fernández, La prostitución en la villa de Madrid, 80, cited in Deleito y Piñuela, Mala vida, 48. There was already a sign of forthcoming repression in about 1606, when Alonso Contreras refused a mistress offered to him for his valour, because she was a 'mujer de la casa'. He explains that he was 'en vísperas de ser capitán y podía atrasarme en mis pretensiones' (Vida de Alonso de Contreras, 99b). In 1592 and 1598, the Cortes of Castile had also complained of vagrant and licentious women filling the streets of Madrid, Seville, Toledo, and Valladolid (see Pérez de Herrera, Amparo, Discurso 4º, 118).

[57] Navarro Fernández, op. cit., 80, in Deleito y Piñuela, Mala vida, 55. See Appendix 6.C, for quotation in full.

[58] See Nueva Recopilación, lib. 8, tit. 20, ley 8 (vol. 2, fol. 346v); Deleito y Piñuela, Mala vida, 56, n. 3, citing Novísima Recopilación de los códigos españoles concordados y anotados, second edition (1872), I, 92-3; and Marcelo Martínez Alcubilla, Códigos antiguos de España (1906), II.

[59] Bonnecaso, Rélation de l'Etat et Gouvernement d'Espagne, cited in Deleito y Piñuela, Mala vida, 38. See also Ballesteros y Beretta, Historia de España, IV, 2ª parte, 587; and Navarro Pérez (ed.), 401, n. 40, in Tribunal espantoso, by Santos.

[60] Guichot, Historia del Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, I, 218, in Rodríguez Marín (ed.), Rinconete y Cortadillo, by Cervantes, 108, n. 101, quoted in Appendix 6.D. Compare Brancaforte (ed.), 372, n. 52, Guzmán de Alfarache, by Alemán, II. 3. 4 (tocas teñidas con azafrán). See Brundage, 'Concubinage and Marriage', 156, for a more general view of prostitutes and sumptuary regulations.

[61] This custom had existed since the twelfth century.

[62] See Henríques, Prostitution and Society, 45, n. 33, citing H. Mayhew, London Labour and the London Poor, extra volume, Those That Will Not Work (London, 1862), 187. Rossiaud sees the phenomenon of night gangs and rape as a rite of passage to manhood, and of admission to neighbourhood gangs (Medieval Prostitution, 21-6).

[63] Archivo Municipal de Sevilla, seccion 1ª, carpeta 15, no. 3, cited in Rodríguez Marín (ed.), Rinconete y Cortadillo, 109, n. 102.

[64] Real provisión de 7 de marzo de 1571, Ord. XI, cited in Rodríguez Marín, ed. cit., 109, n. 103. This was repeated in 1589 (Actas capitulares de Sevilla, Cabildo de 7 de julio de 1589, cited in ibid., n. 104). See also Juan de Mariana, Tratado contra los juegos públicos, 449a.

[65] Cervantes, La ilustre fregona, 143; and see also page 295 above. Estebanillo González, ch. XII, 361a.

[66] Rélation du voyage, 178.

[67] Ord. XIV, Archivo Municipal de Sevilla, sección 4ª, t. XXII, no. 14, cited in Rodríguez Marín, ed. cit., 111, n. 105.

[68] Dos buhos, cubiertos o envueltos en dos mantillas blancas con su guarnición negra y muy angostas de faldas; por ir en faldas menores llevaban guardapieses, con algo de aquello que relumbra, que como es de noche cuando salen estos murciélagos, han menester mantillas blancas, que aunque estén raídas como su cara y gastadas como su castidad, es color que resale, y los relumbrones, aunque sean falsos como ellas, todo brilla de noche y sirve de señuelo en la paranza de su malicia.

(Día y Noche, 140, 174).

[69] Other relevant names included recoleta, pecadora del paño, encubierta, puta de manta, and mujer de manto tendido.

[70] Juan de Salinas, Poesías humanas, 497, 'A una mujer pública, que dio en taparse y llevar rosario en la mano'.

[71] Tirso de Molina, El condenado por desconfiado, I. 10. 598, p. 85; Cervantes, La ilustre fregona, 146; and Gregorio González, Guitón Honofre, 174. See also Quevedo, Entremés de la Ropavejera, 160; Quiñones de Benavente, El enamoradizo, 629a; and Morgado, Historia de Sevilla, 142. The custom possibly originated in Moorish Spain before the Reconquest:

Habiéndose perdido España en tiempo de don Rodrigo, y siendo ya señores los árabes, introdujeron entre otras costumbres el taparse las mugeres de medio ojo. Así se refiere en la Genealogía Real de España.

(Covarrubias, Tesoro, s.v. OJO, addition by Noydens, fol. 125r).

[72] See Pérez de Herrera, Amparo, Discurso 1°, 39.

[73] See pages 76, and 90 above, on abuse of the penitent's hood; and Chapter 6, footnote 52 above, on abuse of the demandador's garb.

[74] Correas defined 'ir de ojo' as: 'Cuando las mujeres van tapadas con el manto, y sólo ven con el un ojo; ya se quitó este uso en las honestas' (596, in Carrasco (ed.), El guitón Honofre, by Gregorio González, 174, n. 20).

[75] Brígida is fainting with horror because the town-crier has announced that coaches are to be banned and women to show their faces in the streets. Cristina placates her:

Acomoda tu brío y tu limpieza y tu manto de soplillo sevillano y tus nuevos chapines en todo caso con las virillas de plata.

(Cervantes, El vizcaino fingido, 573a).

[76] Rélation du voyage, 178.

[77] Fray Juan de la Cerda, Libro intitulado Vida politica de todos los estados de mugeres (Alcalá, 1599), fol. 478, cited by Rodríguez Marín (ed.), Rinconete y Cortadillo, 43, n. 16. See Appendix 6.E, for quotation. For further references to chapines, see also Salas Barbadillo, La hija de Celestina, 832a; ibid., El cocinero del Amor, 271; and Liñán y Verdugo, Guía y avisos, 119 (sandalias).

[78] Luna, Lazarillo, ch. XIV, 92, and see ch. XIII, 83. See page 371 below, for más de marca.

[79] Cuento XXVIII.

[80] Castillo Solórzano, La niña de los embustes, 47. See also Salas Barbadillo, La hija de Celestina, 917; Espinel, Marcos de Obregón, Relación 2ª, descanso 3 (vol. 2, 28); and Maravall, La literatura picaresca, 579, 656, for more examples.

[81] See Espinosa, Diálogo en laude de las mujeres, 249, for an account of the custom of ventanear. Commonly a signal placed in the window indicated their business. Luna's Lázaro learns that the hermit, Anselmo, had agreed in his marriage contract to stay out of sight if he saw a vase, a jug, or a pot in the window (Lazarillo, ch. XVI, 109). The same sign was used by Elena in Salas Barbadillo's Hija de Celestina to tell her 'husband' Montúfar that she was engaged. On these occasions he rejoiced in his good fortune, and went to the gaming-house. See Appendix 6.F, for puta de celosia.

[82] Es lo mismo que cerca de los latinos meretrix. Estas vivían fuera de los muros de las ciudades, y a ellas arrimaban unas chozuelas a modo de hornillos o bovedillas, por lo cual las llamaron fornicarias. Estas salían algunas veces a los caminos reales, no lejos de los molinos del trigo y otras veces de los del aceite, y sobre unas estacas armaban sus chozuelas y las cubrían con ramas, de donde se dijeron rameras.

(Covarrubias, Tesoro, s.v. RAMERA).

[83] See Alonso Hernández, op. cit., 24.

[84] Horozco, Teatro universal de proverbios, refrán 1348, p. 298. See also Alemán, Guzmán de Alfarache, II. 3. 2, 328; López de Ubeda, La Justina, Bk. 1, ch. 2, no. 2 (vol. 1, 164); and Gracián, El Criticón, 1ª parte, crisi VIII, 'Las maravillas de Artemia', 96.

[85] See page 42 above, for bordón.

[86] Vida de Alonso de Contreras, 87a.

[87] Marginals of Society, 241; see page 266 above, for the guild theory.

[88] Lope de Vega, La Dorotea, II. 6, p. 273. See also Hidalgo, Diálogos de apacible entretenimiento, 295, where an old woman is moved by the sight of an image of Jesus in procession, and cries out: 'Oh buen Señor, y cuánto padecistes en ese árbol de la veracruz'. Doña Petronila seems to recognize her, and Castañeda asks: '¿Fue por ventura vuestra alcahüeta?'

[89] Ibid., V. 2, p. 520. See also Alemán, Guzmán de Alfarache, II. 1. 3, p. 69: 'fruta temprana de la Vera de Plasencia'. Morby suggests this reference relates to la Vera de Plasencia, renowned for its fruit crops (La Dorotea, II. 6, 209). See Chapter 9, footnote 142 below, for another example; and also a popular rhyme cited by Morby (ed. cit., 209, n. 162). It may be that the name of the street where they lived in Madrid, calle de la Primavera, was a reference to them too - see page 275 above.

[90] Francisco del Rosal, Alfabetos tercero y cuarto, s.v. VERA CRUZ.

[91] Interesting though it is, Rosal's definition of Vera Cruz must allow for other contemporary interpretations. For instance, the Vera Cruz confraternity at Avila stipulated that: 'Otrosí ordenamos y mandamos

y tenemos por bien que haya en esta Santa Hermandad una Cruz Verde grande con un crucifijo de bulto grande' (Constituciones de la Vera Cruz de la Pasión (1530), lib. 36, cap. 4, in Sobrino Chomón, op. cit., 280). See also a poem by Salinas, 'A un niño, hijo de los sobredichos, del orden y caballería de Alcántara, llamado don Luis del Alcázar, el día que recibió la cruz verde', in Poesías humanas, 368.

[92] Coroza < Lat. CROCCA, yellow, the colour of infamy:

> El rocadero hecho en punta, que por infamia y nota ponen a los reos de diversos delitos. El Santo Oficio saca con corozas a los que han de ser relajados, a los casados dos veces, a los hechiceros y a otros reos, conforme a la gravedad de sus delitos. Los demás jueces a los cornudos, a las alcahüetas y a otros delincuentes. Por no tener nombre señalado, la llamaron los doctores mitra. Antonio de Nebrija la llama mitra scelerata, vocablo nuevo... sinifica el capillo de la capa o gabán que se remata en punta. El capirote del disciplinante cuando le lleva levantado, por otro nombre cucurucho, quasi cucullucho.
>
> (Covarrubias, Tesoro, s.v. COROZA).

See also Celestina, Auto 7, 124 (rocadero); ibid., Auto 2, 77 (emplumada); ibid., Auto 4, 86 (encorozada); and Gómez de Toledo, Tercera parte de la Celestina, Auto XII, 162. See also an auto held on 27 June, 1621, described by León Pinelo, Anales, 236-7.

[93] Poesías humanas, 302.

[94] Comedia llamada Cornelia (1559), in Obras de Juan de Timoneda, II, 375.

[95] Barrionuevo, Avisos (29 May, 1656), I, 280. Another contemporary sorceress, doña Isabel de Urbina, was spared the coroza but fined 1000 ducats and given four years' exile with a ban on running an inn, selling chocolate, or hiring out clothes - her earlier livelihood (ibid. (19 July, 1656), I, 299). On contemporary use of 'Margaritona' as an insult, see Santos, Día y Noche, 111.

[96] El viaje entretenido, 479a.

[97] La hija de Celestina, 856a; see Chapter 10, footnote 85 below, on the whipping ritual.

[98] Cuentos de Garibay, 214a.

[99] Estebanillo González, ch. XI, 351b.

[100] Quevedo, 'Jácara de la Respuesta de la Méndez a Escarramán', Obras completas (ed. Fernández-Guerra), II, 257. La Dorotea, V. 2, p. 519. See also Quevedo, El Buscón, 170; 'Epitafio a la muerte desta misma muger (tercera del amor y hechicera)', in Maluenda, Cozquilla del gusto, 24; 'A Doña Justa [Sánchez]', in Villamediana, Poesía impresa, 978; and Lugo y Dávila, De la hermanía, 141.

[101] Quevedo, Entremés famoso de la Endemoniada fingida y chistes de Bacallao, 1930. For emplumadas, see Hidalgo, Diálogos, 295a. Compare this ritual with that of the Cock-King, page 56 above. See also Rodrigo de Reinosa, Coplas de las comadres, in Gallardo, Ensayo, IV, 42-60 (53):

¿No conocéis la emplumada,
Gran maestra de afeites,
Que hace mudas y aceites
Y tiene la cara acuchillada;
Y es mujer amaestrada,
Muy gran bruja y hechicera,
Alcahüeta, encantadera,
Con tales acompañada?
Ha andado al partido,
Después ha sido ramera,
Vendedora y hornera
Y hospitalera ha sido,
Y nunca tuvo marido
Et dice diez mil donaires,
Et fue manceba de frailes
Todo el tiempo que ha sido.

[102] Diálogo de los pajes, 167-8.

[103] Amparo, Discurso 4º, 119-20, quoted in Appendix 6.G. The go-between was sometimes known as maguerelle (see Geremek, Marginals of Society, 234; and Howell, Forreine Travell, 65); or mazarela (Hermosilla, Diálogo de los pajes, 167). It may be no coincidence, then, that literary prostitutes were often named Marcela (see Don Quijote, I, 14 (vol. I, 393); and Salas Barbadillo, El sagaz Estacio, 79, et passim).

[104] Deleito y Piñuela, La vida religiosa, 284, n. 83, citing Cirac, Autos... de fe celebradas por el Tribunal de la Inquisición de Castilla la Nueva, T. leg. 89, núm. 133.

[105] La Niña de los embustes, 103. There is no strong evidence to suggest that the other names in this list were invoked by prostitutes.

[106] Gómez-Menor, Cristianos nuevos, 37.

[107] 'Apartamiento de Pedro de Castro y Catalina' (see Hill, Poesías germanescas, 73-8, especially line 13). Pedro de Castro, significantly, was Bishop of Seville.

[108] The pimp, Pandulfo, swears by Santa Catalina in Feliciano de Silva, Segunda Celestina, 342. See also López de Ubeda, La Justina, Introducción, no. 3 (vol. 1, 120). According to Alonso Hernández, catalinas was used in germanía for bubas, in keeping with the usual underworld inversion of values. See also page 251 above.

[109] Rinconete y Cortadillo, 89.

[110] See Paglia, La Pietà dei carcerati, Preface, x, for Rome; and Alonso Hernández, La Germanía, 65, for Spain. For luminaria, see Quevedo, 'Respuesta de Lampuga a la Perala', in Obra poética, III, 270.

[111] Luna, Lazarillo, ch. VII, 48-9; and 45.

[112] For magical uses of candles, see Deleito y Piñuela, La vida religiosa, 283, n. 75, citing Cirac, op. cit., 115ff. See also Deleito y Piñuela, op. cit., 284, n. 81, citing Cirac, op. cit., I. leg. 96, núm. 260.

[113] See Speak, 'Glass Men', 858-9.

[114] Hidalgo, Diálogos, 303b.

[115] 'A una mujer pública llamada Salvadora. Epitafio', in Poesías humanas, 480. The joke relies on the difference between the metaphorical allusion to Christ nailed on the cross, and the more prosaic meaning of horadar (to drill with holes) and salvar (to overcome a barrier, or to reach new limits) - see María Moliner, Diccionario de Uso.

[116] Lope de Vega, III. 3, p. 314.

[117]
> Estoy determinada a salirme de la calle del Prado y tomar una salita y alcoba a los barrios de San Francisco... y ya yo estoy cansada de ser mala mujer y querría recogerme a más honra, pues soy hija de buenos como sabes.
> (Lugo y Dávila, De la Hermanía, 135).

[118] See López de Ubeda, Justina, Prologue (vol. 1, 83).

[119] See Espinel, Marcos de Obregón, Relación 3ª, descanso 6 (vol. 1, 153); and Céspedes, ch. V, 'La constante cordobesa', in Historias peregrinas, 180.

[120] See Santos, Día y Noche, 205. For San Juan de Dios, see Navarro Pérez (ed.), 270, n. 25, Las Tarascas de Madrid (1694), by Santos.

[121] See also footnote 101 above.

[122] See Appendix 5.G on the ronda.

[123] Cervantes, Coloquio de los perros, 202-3. See also Lugo y Dávila, De la hermanía, 145.

[124] Aquinas, Summa Theologiae, 2a 2ae, 87, 2 (vol. 39, 149). See Appendix 6.H, for full quotation. On legal status, see also Bullough, 'The Prostitute in the Early Middle Ages', 37; and compare Siete Partidas, Partida V, tít. 4, ley 2 (vol. 3, fol. 10v), 'Quales omes no pueden fazer donacion'.

[125] Estebanillo González, ch. VI, 317b.

[126] Aquinas, Summa Theologiae, 2a 2ae, 32, 7 (vol. 34, 261). Compare ibid., 2a 2ae, 62, 5 (vol. 37, 117):
> The giving itself is not unlawful, for instance paying a prostitute for fornication. Accordingly, she may keep her fee, although, if she had extorted over-much by fraud or deceit, she is bound to make restitution.

[127] See Hill, Poesías germanescas, no. XXXIV, p. 104, line 29. For 'nuestras daifas o respetos', see Quiñones de Benavente, De los ladrones y Moro Hueco y la parida, 629; and for tributaria, see Lope de Vega, El caballero del milagro, 156a; and page 271 above.

[128] Luis Vélez, Tranco II, 24a.

[129] Related terms in this syntagma include pedidora, pidona, pedigüeña, demandadora, busca, buscaroldanes, busconas. All of these imply economic filching from the unwary by carnal dealings or by swindling. Compare Quevedo, 'Carta de la Perala a Lampuga, su bravo', in Obra poética, III, 264: 'Las señoras de alquiler,/ Las mancebitas de a cuatro'.

[130] Epístolas del caballero de la Tenaza, 458.

[131] Summa Theologiae, 2a 2ae, 86, 3 (vol. 39, 133).

[132] Out of 406 cases on the matter in Toledo of the 1580s, in 186 cases it was ruled that it was not a sin to visit prostitutes if payment was made for it, in the same way as a man was paid for his work (see Dedieu, 'Le modèle sexuel', 320-5). See also Donato, Relación de España (1573), 1215b; and Bennassar, Spanish Character, 181, n. 3, citing AHN Inquisición, leg. 69, fols 18, 19, 20, 21, 24, 30; leg. 69, fols 28, 35; leg. 70, fols 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13. Aquinas originally taught that simplex fornicatio was sinful (Summa contra Gentiles, Book 3, Part 2, chapter 122, 'The reason why simple fornication is a sin according to divine law, and that matrimony is natural').

[133] Personal communication.

[134] See Nohl, The Black Death, 127-9, on plague societies and Accademie d'amore.

[135] Comentarios sobre el catecismo cristiano, II, ch. 4, 91. See also ibid., 60-1, citing Augustine, De decem chordis [Serm. 9 ad populum c. 9, n. 12], in Migne (ed.), Patrologia Latina, XXXVIII, 84:

> La corrupción humana ha llegado a esto: que es honrado y festejado el que sale vencido de la lujuria, y no es tenido por varón el que sale por vencedor.

Perhaps it was because of the association between plague and syphilis that Estebanillo González exhorted the girls in his brothel to worship Saint Roch (ch. VI, 317b).

[136] Henriques, Prostitution and Society, 53, n. 49, citing Sanger, History of Prostitution, 173.

[137] Henry Cock, Relación de viaje, cited in Bennassar, Spanish Character, 192, n. 24. For a fuller treatment of confraternal statutes relating to renting out of properties to prostitutes, see back, page 127.

[138]

> Son los hombres del trato
> Como los huevos,
> Que en guardándolos mucho
> Saben a güeros.
>
> (Lugo y Dávila, 140).

[139] Lope de Vega, La Dorotea, IV. 6. p. 489. See also Rojas Villandrando, El viaje entretenido, 291.

[140] See Alonso Hernández, La Germanía; and Chartier, Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine, 21 (1974), which reviews Hernández's 'Le monde des voleurs dans la littérature espagnole des XVIe et XVIIe siècles', in Culture et marginalités au XVIe siècle (Paris, 1973).

[141] Estebanillo González, ch. VI, 317b.

[142] Her sisters were the puta callejera, who wandered through the streets; the puta de cementerio, who sought her clients in graveyards; and the puta de posada, who used a hired room for her business, or acted as factotum at an inn. Collectively this type was often called mujer al trote (see Quevedo, 'Los valientes y tomajonas: Baile', in Obra poética, III, 253: 'el oficio trotón'). Apart from its obvious ambulant connections, the word also applies

to the group of equestrian terms describing coitus: cabalgar, joder, yegua, puta, caballo, pija (see Alonso Hernández, La Germanía, 25). For equestrian symbolism in the valiente class, see Appendix 8.P.

[143] Quevedo was especially fond of the term: 'A vosotras, las busconas, damas de alquiler, niñas comunes, sufridoras de trabajo, mujeres al trote, hembras mortales, recatonas del sexo' (Pragmática de las hermanas comunes, 86).

[144] Luna, ch. XIV, 88. One of these types is honoured during a storm at sea:

> Todos se confesaban con quien podian, y tal hubo que se confesó con una piltrafa, y ella le dió la absolución tan bien como si hubiera cien año [sic] que ejercitaba el oficio.
>
> (Ibid., ch. II, 19).

Disregarding the comical aspect of this description, there is an implicit reference to the old theological idea of the pauper (and reformed prostitute) being the repository of man's salvation (see page 244 above).

[145] See Alfay, Poesías varias, 207.

[146] Hill, Poesías germanescas, 213, 23, ci.

[147] Another syntagma for this group came from the root 'cach'. This was used by Luna in relation to the purloining of Lázaro's dinner at an inn near Valladolid by 'la sin vergüenza cachiondilla' (Luna, 77). See also Santos, Tarascas, 'Abusos del tercero día, martes', 287: 'Que los que tratan de este ejercicio [theatre-going] ya conocen a las marcas, marcadas y cachorras primales'. Some connotations were universally applied, as for instance, the vixen or polecat, which emits a stink. This was used by Shakespeare (Alls Well That Ends Well, V. 2. 19). In Spanish literature the term zorra was often used, but marfuz/marfusa appeared very early, in LBA (I. 125. 333; and II. 212. 1437; see also I. 55. 119). It was often used as a character name (see Marfisa in Lope de Vega, La Dorotea). For terms from the fish population, see Appendix 6.I.

[148] Santos, 147.

[149] Los anteojos de mejor vista, 61.

[150] Santos, Día y Noche, 48. See also Estebanillo González, ch. XI, 351b, quoted on page 282 above; Lope de Vega, El valiente Juan de Heredia, I. 628a; Hidalgo, Diálogos, 303b; Rojas Zorrilla, El Caín de Cataluña, 283; and Cervantes, Don Quijote, II, 40 (vol. 6, 187). See also farautes, comadres, terceras, atrazaderas, in Mondragón, Censura de la locura humana, 110. Gualdrapa had the same sense, except that it invoked the equestrian lexis again: 'cobertura.. que cubre y adorna las ancas de las caballerías' (see Hernández, La Germanía, 48).

[151] Zabaleta, El día de fiesta por la tarde, 234. This custom of affiliation generated a wealth of puns on primera-tercera. For details, see Appendix 6.J.

[152] Liñán y Verdugo, Guía y avisos, 181.

[153] Don Quijote, I, 3 (vol. 1, 141); I, 25 (vol. 2, 270); I, 46 (vol. 3, 322); and II, 8 (vol. 4, 179).

[154] Cortesana, la mujer libre que en la guerra seguía la cohorte, lo cual era permitido por evitar mayor mal, de allí les quedó el nombre de cortesanas a las que en la Corte viven licenciosamente, unas más que otras, por admitir gentes de diversos estados y calidades.
(Covarrubias, Tesoro, s.v. CORTESANA, 27).

[155] Cervantes, Licenciado Vidriera, 128. See also Hipólita in Persiles, IV, 7 (vol. 2, 245).

[156] Licenciado Vidriera, 113. See also 'señora del rumbo sevillano', in, Cervantes, Entremés de El vizcaino fingido, 576b. For more cortesanas, see Don Quijote, I, 25 (vol. 2, 270); I, 3 (vol. 1, 141); I, 46 (vol. 3, 322); and II, 8 (vol. 4, 179).

[157] Castillo Solórzano, 71-82. Compare pages 367, and 335 below, for the lexis bola.

[158] Pragmática que han de guardar las hermanas comunes, 87. A prostitute called La Interesable also appears in Salas Barbadillo, La hija de Celestina, 268.

[159] Tranco II, 25a.

[160] See page 200 above.

[161] See Villalón, El Crotalón, Canto 11, 283. Conde Otón Enrique Fúcar was caballero del Toisón, general de la Liga católica y Coronel de los Estados de Flandes (Ballesteros, Historia de España, IV, 214). According to Alonso Hernández, the tusona was a low-class prostitute who had no hair, either from ritual shaving or from bubas: 'En todo caso parece que se trataba de una prostituta de poca categoría y callejera. Quevedo lo emplea para designar a una buscona-prostituta' (La Germanía, 43). The evidence does not support this theory. For other associations with Military Orders, compare Quevedo's prostitutes, who send their earnings to Escarramán in jail:

Aunque no de Calatrava,
De Alcántara, ni San Juan,
Te envían sus encomiendas
La Téllez, Caravajal,
La Collantes valerosa,
La golondrina Pascual...

(Obras completas (ed. Fernández-Guerra), II, 'Respuesta de la Méndez a Escarramán', 254-8 (258)).

[162] See López de Ubeda, La pícara Justina, Bk. 3, ch. 4 (vol. 2, 665); and Elena and Montúfar, in Salas Barbadillo, La hija de Celestina, 853a.

[163] Licenciado Pedro Morla, Entremés famoso del Doctor Rapado, in Cotarelo (ed.), Colección de entremeses, 217.

[164] El caballero Puntual, 238.

[165] Rojas Villandrando, El viaje entretenido, 200. See also Alonso Hernández, La Germanía, 62.

[166] For myths or history of prostitute saints, see Bullough, 'The Prostitute in the Early Middle Ages', 39-41.

[167] Las harpías son símbolo de los usurpadores de haciendas ajenas, de los que las arruinan y maltratan, de las rameras que despedazan un hombre, glotoneándole su hacienda y robándosela.

(Covarrubias, Tesoro, s.v. ARPIA).

See also Castillo Solórzano, Las harpías de Madrid.

[168] 'Décimas a la batalla que tuvieron una Vieja y un córcovado, sobre quien más parecía mona de los dos', in Maluenda, Cozquilla del gusto, 61.

[169] 'A unas fiestas que hizo la villa de Madrid', in Villamediana, Poesía impresa, 367. See also 'harpías contra bolsas conjurados' (Góngora, Sonetos, 668).

[170] A more detailed study of this corpus than the present work allows would doubtless offer an authoritative catalogue of terms and activities. See Appendix 6.K, for a bibliography.

[171] The bordoncillo refers to the witches' broomstick. The idea that she flew on it to the witches' sabbath came from the fact that she anointed it with 'hexing drugs' and applied it to her genitals for rapid effect (see Maguire, 'Witches, Drugs and Religion', 260, citing especially R.E. Schultes and A. Hoffman, Plants of the Gods: Origins of Hallucinogenic Use (1979)). For alcahüetas and rosary beads, see Gómez de Toledo, Tercera parte de Celestina, Auto XXII, 224; Comedia Salvaje, 288; Sánchez de Badajoz, 'Farsa de la hechicera', in Recopilación en metro, II, 230; Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, 'Sátira a una alcahüeta' (Poesias satiricas ([Madrid, 1876])), 15; Celestina, Auto II, 26; Segunda Celestina, 206; Lisandro y Roselia, 169, Tía fingida, 32-33; Persiles, III, 4 (BAE, I, 634a); 'A una alcahüeta', in Lupercio de Argensola, Rimas, 108; and Dorotea, 173.

[172] 'A una beata tercera, muy entremetida. Satirico, en imitación del Romance X burlesco de don Luis de Góngora',in Obras de Trillo y Figueroa, 98-9. Cinta, in its satirical sense, means here the net she cast to catch her 'tuna'.

[173] See Cervantes's description of the virtuous Costanza: 'ceñida con un cordón de San Francisco, y de una cinta pendiente, al lado derecho, un gran manojo de llaves (La ilustre fregona, 143).

[174] See Lea, Auricular Confession, 494-6.

[175]
Majaderos desta pinta
Son otros que a estos exceden,
Que imaginan que les pueden
Hechizar con una cinta.

(Lo que quería ver el Marqués de Villena, Jornada 2ª, p. 330-1).

[176] Previsión social, 271, et passim: 'De la cofradía al gremio no hay más que un paso'.

[177] See 'A una beata tercera', in Obras de Trillo, 99-101:

Es un oratorio
De noche su casa,
Aunque a sus maytines
No tocan campanas.

Entran allí ciegos,
Y ven a la clara
Todo quanto quieran
Solo con tocarla...
Remedia tullidos,
Y personas mancas,
Y las fraltriqueras
Qual colmenas castra.
Toda de milagros
Llena está su casa
Donde ay manos rotas,
Y piernas quebradas.

See also Fernando de Rojas, Celestina, Primer auto, 60-1:

> Muchas encubiertas vi entrar en su casa; tras ellas hombres descalzos, contritos y rebozados, desatacados, que entraban allí a llorar sus pecados.

8. THE GAMBLERS' GUILD

In the early seventeenth century a Sevillian cleric wrote a didactic treatise on the fashion for gambling which had overtaken Western society, and especially Spain. Luque Fajardo said:

> Ni sé cómo se puede llevar a paciencia tal vida, donde, todos juntos al tablero, corren parejas el alto, el humilde, el noble, el plebeyo, el rico, el pobre; pues el dia que juegan de la cofradia son de los tahures; participando de este vil título todos entran en rueda en una mesa, en igual silla.[1]

Luque Fajardo's point about the essentially democratic nature of the gamblers' meetings is borne out by contemporary chroniclers and modern historians of the period. During the early days of card-playing, the bourgeoisie are usually cast as its main disseminators. It is significant, therefore, that the seventeenth century, the period of greatest activity in gambling, coincides with a slump in commerce because the merchants were in the taverns and gaming houses. For financiers, gambling represented more than a mere recreational interest. The disastrous state of the Spanish economy in the late sixteenth century, coupled with an ambitious foreign policy, meant that successive monarchs were manoeuvred into condoning the manufacture and sale of cards, which subsequently became a royal monopoly bringing in 50,000 ducats per year in 1640. Between 1543 and 1632 a series of monopolies on cards production was conceded by successive kings to their wealthy bankers.[2] Evidently the Spanish monopoly was still flourishing in 1654, when Barrionuevo wrote from Naples requesting some packs:

> Suplico a VM me la haga de pedir a esos señores de Zaragoza dos o tres mazos de naipes de Orihuela, si es posible, o si no, de los mejores, que me los han pedido un grande amigo, muy noticioso, de quien me valgo para los avisos, fuera de que es gran letrado y valido en esta Corte.[3]

Anxious at this time to join the ranks of the nobility, the merchants breathed new life into old values: if nobility meant possession of a large estate, then a safe inheritance had to be assured for their heirs. So whilst the fathers bet on, for instance, the sex of their unborn children, they were zealous in drawing up wills which banned their sons from dissipating their inheritance by gambling.[4] Sometimes the fever which possessed bourgeois gamblers overrode all moral obligations. In July 1626, Don Juan de Zúñiga, a canon of Seville, was banished from Court 'por taur', because in six months he had won over 100,000 ducats, and had ceased to pray for the sick and

fig. 10. Soldiers Playing Cards

dying.[5] Doctors were also seduced by the game, placing bets on the outcome of their cases. The doctor, Méndez Nieto, records in his picaresque autobiography: 'En todos los lugares alternan las curas con el juego de naipes'.[6]

But gambling, as Luque Fajardo implied, was also the province of the marginal classes, who attracted the nobility to their dens. King and Cortes worried about the effects of this social phenomenon,[7] which particularly affected the armed forces, protected as they were by ancient privilege (fig. 10). The same privilege extended to sailors, who also resisted attempts to control their gambling. This meant that if dice and cards were banned, the men might desert. One can measure the extent of the problem by an event recorded in Alonso de Contreras's autobiography, detailing his early career at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Apparently when his Captain jettisoned dice and cards in a bid to stop his men gambling, undaunted, the men drew two concentric circles on deck and placed bets on which fleas would cross the line. Thus outmanoeuvred, the captain was forced to retract his order: '¡Tanto es el vicio del juego en el soldado!', says Contreras.[8] Soldiers wounded at war, with no other means of survival in civilian life, were even licensed by the Crown to run casinos.[9] But sometimes the monarchy tried to gain control. Royal restrictions on the size of the stakes to be played were issued periodically during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in an attempt to curb the epidemic.[10] Under Philip III several aristocrats were expelled from Madrid: el Conde de Villamediana, because he had won over 30,000 ducats; el Conde de Navas and Don Rodrigo de Herrera, for each losing over 20,000 ducats. And on 20 April, 1629 Philip IV issued a ban on dice and rifas,[11] and he also updated gambling restrictions in Recopilación de las leyes destos reinos (1640).[12]

In this uncertain ambience there was clearly good reason why the professional gambler should have needed the strength of a corporate body behind him. What evidence is there to support the notion of a gamblers' professional fraternity, and how might it relate to the various brotherhoods already examined? The purpose of this chapter will be to investigate corporate tendencies among the gamblers, and to ascertain whether there might have been brotherhood, in a strictly professional sense, without true brotherliness. Probably the key to this problem lies first in manifestations of solidarity. If people associated for

defence of a common trade, the professional gambler was no different from other artisans and guildsmen. Unlike the artisan guilds, however, there was no solidarity between gamblers, as many sources reveal:

> No hay vicio que en el jugador no se halle. Nunca hace bien y siempre piensa mal; nunca trata verdad y siempre traza mentiras; no tiene amigos ni guarda ley a deudos; no estima su honra y pierde la de su casa; pasa triste vida y a sus padres no se la desea; jura sin necesidad y blasfema por poco interese; no teme a Dios ni estima su alma.[13]

It is significant that the only account found supporting the notion of solidarity among gamblers was written by an outsider to Alemán's culture in both distance and time. One must allow, therefore, for a measure of misunderstanding in Madame d'Aulnoy's diary of her journeys through Spain. She compared casinos with academies, where people met to converse and gamble, and where decorum was always observed: debts were paid within twenty-four hours, the loser accepting stoically, and the winner paying his barato.[14] Anyone suspected of cheating, said d'Aulnoy, would never have a partner to play again, or if proof were ever found, he might have his face slashed.[15] There are enough accounts by contemporary writers, ranging from diarist to academy member with first-hand experience of the game, to refute this romanticized version of brotherliness among gamblers.[16] However, what one sees here may well be the result of that same strain which affected burgeoning groups of academics, and penitential cofrades, at the height of their activity.[17] It would therefore be wise to seek other evidence of social conformity than solidarity in our quest for brotherhood here. Some indication of a corporate spirit is found in the use of a language for the initiated, which binds members together in their illicit enterprises. As a thorough philological investigation of gamblers' argot would be out of place in this study, attention will focus on selected aspects in so far as they contribute to a knowledge of societal function among the gamblers.[18]

8.1 The Thieving Gambler - Aspects of Solidarity

The gamblers' language was based, like that of the thieves, on backslang. The close connection between these two elements of the underworld and their respective jargon begins, in fact, with the reversible nature of their names: 'theft' in Spanish was only the reverse of 'gambler', as contemporaries were fond of demonstrating: 'Está muy cerca el tahúr de ser ladrón, y el mismo nombre se lo dice al revés', says Godoy in Diálogo de los pajes. He goes on:

Tahúr vuelto del revés
Claro nos dice el hurtar:
Al que viéredes jugar
Decíd: ése ladrón es.[19]

Backslang usually implied a certain irony, which lent itself to many literary word games. Thus while negro was the expert, and blanco the novice,[20] there was humour to be derived from the fact that blanca was a contemporary monetary unit. So when the soldier, Estebanillo González, gambles his mistress's wardrobe on a game of las pintas: 'El cual, no siendo escrupuloso y teniendo más de negro que de blanco, a cuatro paradas me dejó sin blanca' (ch. IV, 309a). The three picture cards in the pack (sota, caballo, and rey) were another source of linguistic entertainment. López de Ubeda's displays of verbal panache exploited this association:

> Confiésoos que oí a un hombre de buen rejo que el inventor del naipe había puesto en la baraja tres maneras de figuras, conviene a saber: sota, caballo y rey, y que esto denotaba que el juego no le ha de usar sino tres géneros de personas: una señorita, que es sota sincopada, un caballero y un rey.[21]

Cervantes, another literary wit well-versed in card-games, punned on the term sota, which stood for a subordinate or someone in other ways incomplete. In an encounter between a soldier and a sacristan, both wooing the same lady, the soldier hails his rival: 'Pues ven acá, sotasacristán de Sátanas', upon which the sacristan rejoins: 'Pues voy allá, caballo de Ginebra'. The allusion to a card-game is not lost on the soldier, who sneers: 'Bueno, sota y caballo; no falta sino el rey para tomar las manos'.[22]

The purpose of any esoteric language was to communicate in a code inscrutable to outsiders. Not surprisingly, the business of cheating was couched in expressions so obscure that they sometimes resist all attempts to decipher them. Thus although the general art of cheating went by the name of fullería, another word for it whose usage has often confounded scholars, was giba < Latin GIBBA. Its common meaning was bulto or saddlebags, especially those carried on the back. When these were full, they gave the appearance of a humpback. Giboso, then, was synonymous at one level with corcovado.[23] In gamblers' argot, however, giba meant a hidden bag containing marked cards. Consequently a professional gambler was identified by words with this root: 'Llegamos a los límites del ducado de Mantua, también tío de ellos, donde el dicho

duque giboso vino a recibir a sus sobrinos', wrote a contemporary traveller.[24]

It might be expected that identification with a common cause (the pursuit of gambling), and the practice of a common esoteric language would have fostered a uniformity of dress and insignia, as it did in other associative bodies. Among the gamblers, however, the opposite was true. Recognition was avoided at all costs. Because of the often illegal nature of gambling, professional card-sharps used a variety of disguises to conceal their trade or calling. This was especially true for clerics, friars, and hermits, whose frequent visits to the casino were motivated by the temptation to spend money entrusted to them by monastery or confraternity. Sometimes, however, ciertos adopted clerical garb, to fool the blancos into doubting their prowess.[25] Mostly, though, gamblers wore unobtrusive clothes to dissociate themselves from their fellows. It was a tacit arrangement rather than a ruling, with predictable penalties for non-compliance. When Roberto has a large win at cards in La Garduña de Sevilla: 'prevaricando de la condición de los tahures que no tratan de su aliño, sino de tener que jugar, este mancebo se vistió lustrosamente y andaba muy lucido'.[26] This course of action leads to his downfall.

8.2 Devils and Deities - The Gamblers' Devotion

The idea that departure from the norm bodes ill is an important one, implying, as it does, a certain fatalism in the gambler's sense of ritual. Does this necessarily imply that gamblers in general had no recourse to devotional rituals or beliefs? All examples of corporate groups so far examined reveal a devotional infrastructure, even if this served only for self-preservation. However, evidence of corporate religious practices is lacking for the gamblers. Unless, of course, the definition of religion is widened to include superstition. The practice of popular religion and external rituals need not be incompatible with orthodoxy, which was demonstrably the safest banner for a corporate group to raise in troubled times. And as their lot depended upon a game of chance, gamblers were highly superstitious: 'En los tahures, gente crédula y agorera por instituto, fácilmente se siembra y prende cualquiera superstitición', said Ulloa Pereira, himself an aficionado.[27] Consequently the gambler feared money falling on the floor (especially if it landed heads up); a new moon, and a week (or a day) starting badly, especially Tuesdays. It boded ill if the point of the candle-

snuffer inadvertently pointed toward him; if a player rested a hand on one cheek; or if a spectator forecast the outcome of the game. It was bad luck if a poor man came in begging alms, or a player changed his seat. For some, requesting the barato, or giving it before the game was up, could also bring bad luck. Handling of the money, eye-to-eye contact, raising a card in the left hand, or shuffling the cards with trembling hands - all were ominous signs.[28] To offset these threats, gamblers carried a variety of amulets. In Toledo and Cuenca they carried bits of the hangman's rope, or grasses, clover, and fern picked in la Casa del Campo. They contrived to win by surreptitiously dropping a coin in the christening font, so that it acquired the blessing and the holy water.[29]

Apart from this exaggerated and equivocal belief in externals, the gambler had no core of religious faith.[30] Frequent blasphemy and non-participation in the basic sacraments excluded him, in any case, from a possible salvation, the knowledge of which incited him to worse excesses. The gambler in La Justina demonstrated a certain scrupulosity about his reputation for irreligiousness:

> Mándeme, señora, que mal haya yo si no la sirva de ojos, que aunque me ve apicarado y sin temor de Dios y de las gentes (de que me arrepiento), vive Dios, que me muero por doncellas virtuosas y de vergüenza.[31]

Part of what he says is simply an underworld figure of speech, presumably employed by the author as a stereotyping device. The unwitting evidence in the passage, however, reveals a useful fact about religion and the gambler: his tendency not just to blaspheme, but to curse. It seems from a passage in Espinel's book, written after his military service, that ritual cursing was normal for the gambler:

> ¡Maldiga Dios a quien inventó el juego y a quien me enseñó a jugar!... ¡Que no llegue blanca a mis garras que no me la agarren luego! Ni me basta usar de trampas ni aprovecharme de fullerías para que no vaya todo con el diablo.... que tengo hechos mil juramentos de nunca parar a momo, y me los pone siempre el diablo delante.[32]

The gambler's indifference to the fate of his own soul and of those with whom he came into conflict scandalized moralists and earned him the epithet: 'Tahúr renegado'.[33] Late in the seventeenth century, Santos recorded that violence and untimely death were still routine among the gamblers. Murder, he said, was a common occurrence in the casino. The fate of the gambler's soul was already decided by his frequent

blaspheming and violence directed at the winner. Sometimes a loser would tear the pack to bits as he cursed:

> Malditos sean los trapos y quien los buscó para que os hicieran, el que hizo el papel, el que hizo el cartón, el que hizo el engrudo, el que os pintó, el que os cortó, el que os vende y el que os trajo a esta casa, y el que vive en ella.[34]

Despite (or because of) his post as royal chaplain, Góngora's gambling passion attracted many parodies. Borrowing his obscure style, Quevedo accused him of irreligiousness:

> Tantos años y tantos todo el día;
> Menos hombre, más Dios, Góngora hermano
> No altar, garito sí, poco cristiano,
> Mucho tahúr; no clérigo, sí arpía.
>
> Alzar, no a Dios; ¡Extraña clerecía!
> Misal apenas, naipe cotidiano;
> Sacar lengua y barato, viejo y vano,
> Son sus misas, no templo y sacristía.[35]

Sometimes gamblers' displays of irreverence bordered on heresy. The votive offering, for instance, attracted some ingenious chicanery. Some vowed never to play again, and to give 200 ducats to a prison or hospital, the undertaking being signed and witnessed. Later this would be revoked as a joke:

> Jura el otro de no jugar en tanto tiempo, pena de ir a Jerusalén, y con un sapo en la boca. Vase de allí a la confitería, compra una sabandija de alcorza; y con ella en la boca va de camino a un hospital o puerta de iglesia catedral llamada Jerusalén, y vuelve, afirmando haber cumplido su voto y romería.[36]

A vow not to play in Seville again was circumvented by moving across the river to Triana. And a man who renounced cards until the earth covered him returned to the casino after his fellows had taken him to an empty grave and thrown a handful of earth on top, saying the condition was now fulfilled (<u>ibid</u>.). Popular literature endorsed what didactic literature claimed about sacrilege and gamblers, except one finds in popular texts interesting pagan allusions absent from many didactic texts. A satirical gambler's prayer, written by Quevedo, for instance, introduces a little-known folkloric aspect of ritual, which links up with several rites and mythical figures seen in other fraternal groups:

> Cachumba: Rey de naipes y dineros,
> Bilhán, mira bien mi fe,
> No me dejes hoy en cueros,
> Que en tu templo colgaré
> Quince arrobas de fulleros.

Emperador: Bilhán, pues tus piarabillas
Tiene el mundo raro ejemplo,
Si aquesta suerte me pillas,
Yo te haré un bravo templo
De naipes y de pandillas.[37]

The first point to note about the enigmatic figure of Vilhán is his affinity with the confraternal patron saint. As patron of gamblers, and possible inventor of playing cards, Vilhán has never been satisfactorily identified. Juan de la Cueva thought he was from Barcelona,[38] while Luque Fajardo discounted another popular theory that he was French, claiming that he came from Madrid. Having gambled away his fortune, he allegedly travelled to Seville, working on the way as a builder at Orgaz, an innkeeper's lad in the Sierra Morena, and a lamplighter in Peñaflor. He was finally burnt at the stake in Seville for forgery. The only point on which all popular versions of Vilhán's story concur is in his having invented playing cards.[39] This may be the clue to his identity, for he could have been a Spanish version of the contemporary joker of European stages, known more commonly as Arlequín. Castillo Solórzano establishes the joker (or fool) connection in a description of a visit by the doctor: 'Al fin sufrí con paciencia/ el xirapliego licor,/ si bien no ha dado Arlequín/ tantos saltos como yo'.[40] And Lope de Vega links Arlequín and Vilhán with cards when an allegorical representation of the gambler named Juego explains in macaronic Spanish:

Ludus me llama el latín,
El flamenco quaertspel,
El alemán fartenspiel [sic],
Que no Vilhán ni Arlequín;
Gioco di carte il toscano
Jeu de cartes el francés,
Juego de naipes después
Questo spagnolo marrano.[41]

According to contemporary writers, Vilhán was more menacing than other jokers of Western Europe, more like the medieval view of God, as a fearsome, authoritarian personage who registered transgressions and punished accordingly.[42] He was a strict patron who only loaned and never gave. When an Aragonese student won at his first game and spent his winnings on a gold chain, a merchant warned him that he had insulted Vilhán by changing it into something else, for which crime he would forfeit his winnings: 'Que quiere se le guarde como él le da al juego, para que allí perezca'. Shamed into playing on, the student lost everything and had to live afterwards by begging. Luque Fajardo concludes this story by quoting from Mark 12. 17: 'Lo que es de César,

dése a César, lo que es de Dios, a Dios'.[43] Another man who won 800 reales in Seville on his first day was spurred on by the same convention, and lost 3000 ducats. He left for the Indies a bankrupt, with his comrades' words still ringing in his ears:

> Hermano, otra vez si le diere Vilhán dinero al juego, crea ser depósito y no propiedad; desengáñese que ha de pagar con las setenas quien deste dinero compre cosa que valga un real.[44]

So far we have seen no evidence of solidarity, and an absence of orthodox forms of devotion amongst gamblers. But as other contemporary fraternal groups were turning from devotional and charitable work to mutual aid,[45] it is worth investigating the gamblers' potential for mutual aid. Interestingly, the gambler was not known for his generosity. The barato was probably more of a superstitious ritual to allay ill-fortune: 'Manda Dios al tahúr que dé al pobre, por lo menos de lo que no le hace falta, y él no le da ni aun de lo que le sobra', declared an impoverished Zabaleta in 1654. Later he mused:

> Sólo un animal hay en el mundo que, sin odio ni ira, quiere destruir al animal de su semejanza: éste es el hombre tahúr, y éste es el más cruel de todos los animales.[46]

Zabaleta's remark is doubtless influenced by the didactic corpus at his disposal, which may have included the work of Luque Fajardo. In this tract, after considering the shipwrecked sailors who left annuities to their poor comrades, and related displays of gratitude in other social groups, the author had mused: 'homo hominis lupus: which is the same as saying man has no worse enemy than his fellow man'.[47] Untrue to himself, as he was to others, the gambler left no provision even for his own soul. Said Luque Fajardo: 'We would search in vain for a gambler, who got away with 2 reales to give towards his own requiem mass, especially as they all despise one another as rivals'. He suggests that there were special hospitals for gamblers, but that they were quickly bankrupted due to embezzlement and corruption.[48] Since the gamblers were, on this sort of evidence, incapable of looking after their own, at least in regard to the health of body and soul, one might have expected the State to intervene on their behalf. But as with welfare programmes for other contemporary marginals, conflicting ideologies leave a record of indecisiveness and changing policies. It was chiefly on socio-religious grounds that successive Cortes and royal pragmatics in the sixteenth century had called for a ban on games of dice and cards. Some

packs of cards were decidedly anti-Catholic in character, having suits of monks' cowls, choir robes, and fools' caps.[49] Many sixteenth-century packs, on the other hand, were inscribed with moralizing poems or biblical scenes.[50]

8.3 Card-Dealers and Caciques - Politics of Gambling

It seems as if every contemporary marginal group had a potential value to society, which could be exploited to avoid persecution. Prostitutes acted as informers; beggars mediated between man and his destiny; and gamblers created a market for cards, which not only brought in much-needed cash for royal monopolies on card-making, but also facilitated religious or socio-political propaganda through the depiction of cultural values on the cards. As this last question merits serious investigation, it will be treated in full when our attention turns to cultural contributions of the gamblers. Confining ourselves, for the moment, to matters of internal organization, it would appear from the gamblers' clear economic purpose, as also from official indecisiveness about their status, that the gamblers aligned themselves (or were thought to align themselves) with guild merchants. Even the less wholesome practices of powerful guilds are represented in the cacique or godfather-figure, who often terrorized a whole village. The extortion practised was called euphemistically hacer visita, echoing prison, confraternity, and university practices.[51] 'Visiting' comprised an invitation from the coimero to the more wretched gambling dens (chivitiles) to 'share their poverty', or risk being denounced for encubridores de ladrones, who used their houses for cards:

> Considerando que es tomada la metáfora de lo que pasa entre los corredores de lonja, que lo son por oficio, y otros que se entremeten, sin tenerle, con su riesgo de pena, que está puesta, donde los propietarios tienen derecho a embargar y hacer que se ejecute la de la ley. Bien así, pues, nuestros tablajeros grandes tienen por tan suyo el oficio, que en hallando en fragante alguno de los menores, ejecutan la pena con tiránico imperio, como en quien usurpase el que es ajeno; sin haber quien salga ni replique a este modo de hurtar, llamado comúnmente 'estafa'.[52]

Luque Fajardo rightly compares the practice with the contemporary picture of corruption and monopoly-making among the merchants and financiers. Clearly the economic ambience in sixteenth-century Seville was conducive to the growth of monopolies. State sanctions, or at least an attitude of 'laissez-faire', encouraged the proliferation of casinos and attendant racketeering, as Porras de la Cámara observed.[53] He

estimated that Seville had over three thousand casinos. A contemporary visitor to Seville corroborated this figure, whilst the French priest, Juan Muret, said stakes included furniture, and even servants.[54]

Social power amongst the gamblers also came from the extensive communication system which they shared with the rest of the underworld. They knew the movements of postboys, and of the fleet from San Lúcar; when the King married or the Pope died, they heard the news first; and they were effectively the municipal archives - they knew who was ill and with what prognosis; they knew the names of the dead, their final resting-place, and their heirs; they knew of betrothals, arrests, trials, and sentences; they knew the number and location of casinos, together with their clients, income, bankers, and reputation. Besides operating as an early-warning system for their own anti-society, this privileged information could also be traded against possible brushes with the Law. To this end they employed cuerdos: 'Gente de opinión con los jueces, escribanos o alguaciles y los demás ministros'.[55] An important source of refuge was prison, which operated as a training-school for gamblers. Generally they considered this tutoring as akin to an education, being strongly conscious of a pattern of similarities between university, prison, and gambling den.[1]

Whilst it is impossible to ascribe supremacy to one of these institutions over the others, the coincidences are convincing.[56] Luque Fajardo claimed that prison was where gamblers were trained in the art, in preparation for their release.[57] He noted the same elaborate system of taxation in both prison and gambling-den, and that novitiates suffered similarly brutal initiation rites in prison or casino as they did in the university:

> Es parecido el tablaje a la cárcel en las demasiadas imposiciones, gabelas y sacaliñas de los presos: tanto de lámpara, tanto de limpieza, tanto de rancho y otras a este modo. Finalmente, cárcel parece en el mal trato que se hace a los novatos, en el pagar las patentes y porque siempre hay en ella malhechores.[58]

And just as the poorest prisoners attended to the sanitary and domestic needs of their superiors, so, too, in the casino there was an organized system of begging from the powerful. Mirones, as they were called, were parasites watching the game and waiting for pickings.[59] In gambling circles, mirones like Don Toribio's cofrades in El Buscón provided the players with urinals at the gaming tables, so that with the aid of large cloaks which they wore, they could attend to the needs of nature without

having to leave.[60] It was a lucrative business. A man who married his daughter to a wealthy official with 2,000 ducats dowry started in this way, frequenting the gaming houses with a urinal under his cloak. The player to whom he discreetly offered his urinal would thank him and promise something in return. Whenever he won a game subsequently, Milano would pluck his sleeve and say: 'The urinal, sir', and the other would toss him a coin. It earned him 50-100 reales for a night's work.[61] But either Milano was astute, or else the reality was a little harsher than Liñán's cameo, to judge by Quevedo's reported experience of mirones:

> Es de ver uno de nosotros en una casa de juego con el cuidado que sirve y despabila las velas, trae orinales, cómo mete naipes y solemniza las cosas del que gana, todo por un triste real de barato.[62]

Their subjection to a life of hardship in the cause of survival earned them a familiar name in the Spanish underworld: Zángano. The metaphor was frequently used in Spanish letters. In distinguishing between the drones who fly and the workers who sweep the floor, Fernández de Ribera, for example, draws not only on the colourful argot of the gamblers, but also, significantly, on current controversy about the deserving and undeserving poor. Because of its relevance to an earlier chapter on this topic (see page 244), his remark is quoted in full:

> Que aquéllos son pobres fingidos que andan hurtando la limosna a los verdaderos, como éstos la miel, y cuya diligencia es buzo de la bolsa más profunda e intratable. Y, porque no puede oírlo, considere en esas casas el rumor, el bullicio o el zumbido de porfías, voces, contradicciones, juramentos, mentiras, contaderos de suertes, estornudos de tabaco. Y por desculpar a los que, siendo colmenas ésas, les parecen casa de garitas: a las colmenas llevan flores, materia de que se hace la miel, y en esas casas no se trata en otra cosa, ni se gasta, sino flores.[63]

8.4 The Sting in the Flower - Cheating Laws

Evidently the same dilemma over care of the deserving poor affected the gambler as it did the pious confraternity and society at large. And just as Church and State had laboriously worked out the rules for dealing with the problem, so the gamblers saw the need to control and discipline their 'society' with a system of rules. The name for the gamblers' system of rules was flor. A popular rhyme allocating streets of Madrid to certain types of people joked: 'y todos los jugadores/ en la calle de la Flor'.[64] Gamblers' expressions using flor conveniently overlapped with several popular expressions. Thus while flor de mayo

and flor del berro meant generally to 'make hay', their more specific meanings in the gambling world related to the cheating tricks they commanded. Estebanillo González, an inveterate gambler and fraudster, recollects his early orphanhood in phrases and puns whose meaning now becomes clearer: 'Yo quedé con pocos mayos y muchas flores, pues no ignorando la de Osuna, no se me ha ocultado la del berro'.[65]

The three best-known flores transmitted through contemporary popular literature were: to pose as innocents abroad; to lose when necessary; and to use an accomplice to reveal the opponent's hand.[66] A few words on these flores will illustrate the general idea. For the first flor there were different categories of 'innocents'. The donerillos went from fair to fair and inn to inn enticing the merchants to a game. They would drop a coin in the street and when another found it, an amicable dispute over its ownership would be resolved over a drink. In this way a liaison was begun. A variant of this was to 'plant' rings which they subsequently 'found', by way of trapping the unwary.[67] At the other end of the 'innocent' spectrum there was the drunkard, who acted out his part in a charade known in England as Barnard's Law. The players were called Taker Up, Verser, Barnard, and Rutter. The Taker Up was a man of culture, charm and eloquence, who engaged the Gull in conversation, and invited him to a tavern where they met the Verser, posing as a landed proprietor. Suddenly the Barnard would stumble in, scattering gold and apparently blind drunk. The act of throwing money around the room was to create confidence and show he had no objection to losing a little. Cards were brought in, and after being allowed to win enough to make him feel reckless, the Gull was fleeced. If he showed any resentment, the Rutter was at the door with drawn sword, ready to delay him in a brawl while the Barnard got away. The Spanish equivalent was casamentero, or more commonly, names suggesting the herding instinct: cabestros being tame oxen that round up cattle; and perros ventores causing the game to rise so the hunters can shoot it down.[68]

The object of the next flor was to lose the first hand (dar lamedor). Salas Barbadillo's character, Buenas Manos, was so adept at this that even the law was sometimes tempted to try and fleece him in a game.[69] Other characters using this flor are Guzmán de Alfarache, and Estebanillo González, who loses the first game of la primera against his Captain, Octavio Piccolomini de Aragón, and then wins the rest.[70] The

fig. 11. The Cheating Card Sharp

fig. 12. Flor del apuntador

third flor employed an apuntador to reveal the opponent's hand. Sometimes they had cunningly-arranged mirrors: el espejo de Claramonte or el facistól (lectern).[71] Or they sat with a demure knitter, who flashed signals with her needles. More often, though, the apuntador was an onlooker, like one Píndaro denounces, 'señalando entre los botones', in a game at a fair (figs 11, 12). By intervening, Píndaro saves the victim, but earns himself a beating from the gamblers.[72] All these elaborate ploys depended upon careful organization and reliable teamwork. Many more flores involved cards 'doctored' by skilled craftsmen. These were pinched with finger-nails or a piece of ivory, or the backs were marked with ink or graphite, and aces had their corners turned up.[73] Marking the cards with scratches or stains was known as la verruguilla or verruguete, el colmillo, el humillo, or el raspadillo. It also went by the names aspa, cortadillo, or retén. Pedro del Rincón used a specially-doctored pack to ensure that the ace always came to hand in the game of veintiuna.[74]

Another gamblers' law, which apparently fooled novice and onlooker alike, was a rule of restraint. Cervantes's licenciado Vidriera misunderstood what appeared to be stoicism on the part of a loser:

> Alababa mucho la paciencia de un tahúr, que estaba toda una noche jugando y perdiendo, y con ser de condición colérico y endemoniado, a trueco de que su contrario no se alzase no [sic] descosía la boca, y sufría lo que un mártir de Barrabás.[75]

The gamblers' honour code forbade them to complain, and (theoretically) curbed any violence.[76] In practice the game usually started with a ritual disclaimer: 'I wish you neither headache nor fever'. This was an interesting disavowal, because it allowed, by default, for a variety of other misfortunes.[77] Theoretically, the gamblers' affairs were settled internally in just the same way as a lawsuit in the Audiencia, with the only difference that in the gamblers' tribunal, punishment was always by fine.[78]

There is little discernible difference here between disciplinary control in the guild, and that in the gamblers' fraternity. In matters of a ruling hierarchy and career structure, the similarities are even greater. The range of terms for staff exercising functions of oversight or discipline seems to go with a relatively large and well-organized model of gambling fraternity. Padrinos or ángeles de guarda tutored the novices. By ascertaining what flores they knew and teaching them new ones, there was a constant flux

of ideas between different regions.[79] Rinconete and Cortadillo are tutored by Monipodio, who pronounces Rinconete's tricks acceptable but obsolete, and promises to teach him new ones that will make him 'oficial famoso, y aun quizá maestro' (86). Use of the guild's terminology here was not merely fortuitous. If we pursue the similarities between the organizations, it becomes clear that the gamblers considered themselves as a specialist trade guild of teachers and students. Estebanillo González, for instance, claims to have attained his mastership through reading 'el libro de tan pocas hojas'. The pack of cards he refers to was also known as el libro de Vilhán, or el libro descuadernado.[80] This 'book' was something more than a euphemism for the deck of cards, being essential for a card-sharp's apprenticeship. Smoller finds that dissemination of playing cards in a bound book was relatively common practice in this period. Card-makers of the sixteenth century had been relieved of the task of hand-painting the cards - which made them too expensive for the ordinary man - by the development of folios of engraved cards and woodcuts, which allowed the card-maker to print an entire deck on one sheet. The sheet was then coloured by means of a stencil.[81] References to the 'book of few pages' may have alluded to these innovations, or indeed to the woodcut which was their blueprint. Alternatively the reference was simply a euphemism for the master tutor: the deck.[82] Salas Barbadillo's cryptic passage on Puntual's return to Court refers to the 'book' as an educational tool, introducing the possibility, with the word facultad, that the gamblers' 'guild' might even be an academic institution:

> Pareciéndole que con la eminencia que tenía en aquella facultad, que se reduce a la lección de solo un libro, no se vería en necesidad de mendigar a las puertas de los avaros, que con sus propias riquezas compran el odio del pueblo y muchas veces su muerte. Alentábale infinito considerar que otros de mayores obligaciones hacían de una baraja ganzúa y hallaban la renta de cada año más segura en ella que en las hierbas de Alcántara.[83]

The remark reveals a perceptible refinement from the general idea of a trade guild, to that of the specialist guild of teachers or students: the university. What other evidence is there that gamblers perceived themselves as 'academics'? Luque Fajardo's didactic tract went so far as to claim that there was a counterpart in the gambling world for every officer, course, and ritual in the university. His allegorical comparison is doubly informative for what it tells of both

societies. He says the four kings read cátedras de prima; the king of gold reads greed; the king of cups, lecturer at vespers, is expert in epicureanism; the king of swords deals with injustice; and the king of clubs represents the ignorant masses. The four knights are doctors of the lecture room and hacedores, and the knaves are students. The sword suit represents the arguyentes; the cups give the reply by toast; clubs intervene to sort out difficulties; and gold arranges the foregone conclusion. Chairs are voted by bribery, especially in the arts, where sophistry fools the innocent. The vejamen is given by the Victor to the loser, who suffers extremes of ill-treatment.[84]

It would seem safe to assume, from the sources we have looked at in this chapter, that many gamblers had belonged to the university at some time, or at least, to the academy, and that their association in some cases was, like the melancholics, another sub-group of the literary institution. The academic parallels do not end here, for just as university and academic courses were restricted to certain categories of student, so games and flores were arranged in a definite hierarchical order of skill. Fiction provides the clues to this hierarchical system, which operates as follows: an unskilled freelance, like Rinconete, was limited to marking the cards:

> Sé un poquito de floreo de Vilhán: entiéndeseme el retén; tengo buena vista para el humillo; juego bien de la sola, de las cuatro y de las ocho; no se ma va por pies el raspadillo, verrugueta y el colmillo.[85]

Meanwhile the pícaro, Carriazo, in Cervantes's Ilustre fregona, learns to play rentoy, la taba, and presa y pinta, whilst Estebanillo González loses his savings at a game of las pintas. Later, having acquired more skill, he wins in the same game.[86] A favourite of the semi-skilled throughout the seventeenth century was Primera, as a comment by Santos reveals: 'La muchacha, más diestra en aquella facultad que tahúr viejo jugando primera'.[87] Alemán's resumé for the sixteenth century, meanwhile, confirms that the hierarchy of games was similar then: lesser players wagered on la taba, el palmo, and el hoyuelo; middling ones played el quince, la treinta y una, quinolas and primera; and the top flight played el topa y hago.[88] Much, of course, depends on the writer's first-hand knowledge of cards, and Alemán was certainly an expert. Given this scheme of excellence, it is now possible to identify the skill of a card player by the games he plays and the places he frequents.[89] Experts were called ciertos. One of these was Quevedo's

character, Don Cosme: 'A más de ser jugador era cierto - así se llama el que por mal nombre fullero'.[90]

From the foregoing data on political, religious, and social features of gamblers' corporate activity, some tentative conclusions can now be drawn. By practising an esoteric language, and rituals unfathomable to the casual onlooker, there seems to be the basis for a secret society. But one cannot say whether this, if it existed, was a truly democratic organization, offering defence and social status to all, since the aims of this (often ephemeral) relationship were to protect and promote a few experts, on whose skills and bounty all others depended. The comparison of a gambling-den with a beehive, sometimes alluded to in contemporary popular literature, was therefore a fortuitous one, and one which strengthens the idea of a work-based organization.[91] Consequently it has been tempting to consider the gamblers' fraternity as a guild of artisans, although in matters of social composition (admission of females and homogeneity of social classes) and religious dedication (devotional and philanthropic works), the theory collapses.[92] And yet, as in many other corporate bodies, political power came partly from connections with the ruling classes who joined the gamblers at the table, and partly from government sanctions relating to the card-making monopoly.[93] Although a hierarchy of officers administered the rules laid down for regulation of the group, unlike Establishment fraternities, these were not recorded in writing, but passed on orally by the elders. Clearly, without popular sources, our knowledge today of such details would be very scant. Nevertheless, the company saw fit to equate itself with the university, which it resembled not only in its officers and rituals, but also in its concept of contemporary learning: by study of one specialist book, one progressed up a scale of excellence. The evidence for an organizational ethos, then, is patchy, at best, unless one can find good evidence of a cultural legacy, something which has buttressed all the other groups studied so far. The gamblers' culture, specifically literature and mythology, will be the subject of the last section of this chapter.

8.5 The Mythology of Gambling - Humpbacks and Jokers

The quest for a mythological infrastructure exclusive to the gamblers is a rewarding one, yielding more colour and complexity than anything found in groups studied earlier, and suggesting that the deeper one goes into underworld ethos, the richer its cultural content.

Looking first at popular refrains and linguistic contributions, these came from the attribution of mystical properties to the tools of the trade: a common practice at this period of burgeoning secret societies, which one finds in the workers' guilds, the Rosicrucians, Freemasons, universities and academies.[94] Thus it was said that dice were originally shaped out of a witch's bones, and that her skin had fashioned the first court card; or that court cards depicted forgotten pagan gods. Luque Fajardo echoed this last legend, when he assigned to each of the four Spanish court cards a classical pagan god: Mars was the King of Spades, 'cabeza de los valientes y vano dios de los gentiles idólatras'; Pluto was King of diamonds (oros), creator of the earth's jewels; Saturn was King of clubs (bastos), Lord of the fools who ate his own children; and Bacchus was King of hearts (copas), 'dios de los gentiles, que hace espaldas a su cuadrilla'.[95] Evidently representations of the joker as Harlequin had a long pagan history, and carried connotations of death.[96] Another pagan tradition was associated with the number of cards in a Spanish deck, which varied at this time between thirty-six, forty-eight, fifty-two, and fifty-six, though forty-eight seems to have been the norm, with three court cards.[97] At a time of increasing interest in the cabbalistic value of numbers, the deck was often alluded to as 'aetatem mahometicam - los años de Mahoma',[98] thus linking the number forty-eight in the popular mind with cards. Don Perlícaro in La Justina, for example, is almost forty-eight, 'tan justos como baraja de naipes'.[99] Some numerical references indicated a particular game, as in Quevedo's account of a colourful old lady: 'Vieja de bien, edad de mazo, cincuenta y cinco'.[100]

Sometimes gambling terms gave rise to popular expressions which have since acquired proverbial status. For instance, because the cards of least value, eights and nines, were often suppressed in Spanish card games, this gave a new form to popular insults: 'No dice el vulgo cuando amenaza uno a otro sino que le dará con los ochos y nueves, que son los mas inútiles y de menos uso', said Fernández de Ribera.[101] Even those poorly-informed on gambling knew this one. The first time Luján mentions cards is when Guzmán de Alfarache discovers that his opponent in a game is 'el mayor fullero que empuñó los cuarenta sin ochos y nueves'. Though Luján seems not to know as much about cards as Alemán, the point has not escaped him.[102] Another gambling expession which found its way into popular speech was 'paciencia y barajar'. Alemán's

Guzmán mutters this philosophically when the Roman cardinal sends for doctors to cure his 'illness'.[103] And when the wheel of fortune takes a downturn in the beggar, Honofre's career, he muses:

> Nacido hemos, del cielo somos, y a él estamos sujetos y a su rector encomendados; buen dueño tenemos, no hay sino paciencia y barajar, que la noche es larga y en una mano se restaura todo lo perdido.[104]

Turning now to the cult of byegone card-sharps, it is often difficult to establish the origins of celebrated tahures. One of these is Andradilla, named by a mirón who petitions Sancho Panza about a man who refused him a barato:

> Soy hombre honrado y que no tengo oficio ni beneficio, porque mis padres no me lo enseñaron, ni me lo dejaron, y el socarrón, que no es más ladrón Caco ni más fullero Andradilla, no quería darme más de cuatro reales; porque vea vuesa merced, señor gobernador, qué poca vergüenza y qué poca conciencia.[105]

Auristel was another mythical figure, the governor of blasphemous gamblers, who associated with a host of other demons.[106] Auristel was not always seen as a devil figure, though. In Santos's Postrimerías, a player who has lost all invites anyone to play for his soul. When someone reminds him that his soul belongs to God and cannot be used as a stake, he replies that his soul belongs to the devil, with the result that Auristel makes his tongue burst and he dies.[107] Santos seems to have been more interested in Auristel than Vilhán, attributing the gamblers' book of learning to Auristel.[108]

The gamblers had some fascinating divinities and father-figures, of whom Vilhán was only one example. Mostly these myths deal with specific figure-heads, and as such they transmit the social and political norms of the gamblers' culture.[109] So, for instance, Vilhán's myth taught his followers not to dissipate their winnings, but to keep them in the gaming-circle. Without such a maxim, the bankers' funds would soon dry up. Another character in the gambler's mythology was an enigmatic, semi-mythical Frenchman known as Nicolás Pepín or Papín:

> Dijéronse naipes de la cifra primera que tuvieron, en la cual se encerraba el nombre del inventor. Eran una N y P, y de allí les pareció llamarlos naipes; pero las dichas letras decían Nicolao Pepín.[110]

Papín's origins and identity suffered from popular interference, such that in Spain the name was changed to Pierre, used in a burlesque context. In France Papín was a vaudeville character, a fact which once

again raises the complex joker syntagma (see page 321 above). Justina alludes to Papín when she cheats a gambler of his money. The man, being French, is cast in the traditional heretical light:

> Como esos fulleros lo viven todo de noche como predicadores de sectas falsas, y como nunca salen de la emprenta de Pierre Papín, no llegan a su noticia, estas burlas largas y discretas más que si fueran musas de pontifical, que para ellos es pueblo en Francia, pues hay hombre dellos que el día de Pascua oye misa para todo el año; así que no me conoció.[111]

According to a census of 1572, Papín was a hump-backed Frenchman by the name of Pierres, who sold cards in the calle de la Sierpe, Seville. This may have been partly true, to judge by a comment in one of Cervantes's comedias: 'aquel Pierres Papín, él de los naipes'; 'aquel francés giboso... que en la cal de la Sierpe tiene tienda'. Cervantes contributed to later speculation on Papín by including a cryptic remark about him in Don Quijote: 'un caballero novel, de nación francés, llamado Pierres Papín, señor de las baronías de Utrique'.[112] The comment reveals an interesting link with university terminology again, the degree of Doctor in utroque jure, alluding to the ambivalent provenance of 'aquel francés giboso', who was installed in the shadow of the Giralda.[113] As the name also appeared in contemporary English literature, it is unlikely, as some think, that Cervantes invented this name.[114] Furthermore, the association between the gambler and a Frenchman, Pierres, was evidently stronger than the legend of Nicolás Papín. There is reference to Pierres, the gambler, in La hija de Celestina (1612), when Elena's father reportedly returns to his 'devotions':

> Haciendo tan largas oraciones que muchas veces se quedaba arrobado horas y horas, y aun las noches y días enteros. Pasólo bien mucho tiempo, hasta que un muchacho, que le andaba a los alcances, dio noticia a los demás, y, entre otros renombres que le achacaron, el que más le dolió fue 'Pierres'.[115]

In contrast to the myth of Vilhán, the one about Papín tells us more about the origins of the game. It may be said, therefore, to be a cosmological statement.[116]

8.6 A Coterie of Writers

Literary transmission of a society's myths, its administrative structure, and its activities has been shown, in earlier chapters, to increase a society's chances of survival. As gambling and tobacco-

taking were endemic to academy men, it is not surprising that chroniclers of the card game were usually academics.[117] If further evidence were needed, literary vejamenes often reveal the names of those addicted to the game. In Vejamen de la Luna, Pedro Méndez de Loyola says to the academy at Mendoza's house:

> Si dáis noticia de mí, hablad verdades puras. Decid que juego de la noche a la mañana, que me ganaron mi hacienda como a un niño de la Guarda, que perdí con un verdugo, que dio garrote secretamente a los naipes... y que la vez que me siento a jugar, juego de nueve a doze cartas, parezco garañón, y no tahúr, porque perpetuamente estoy haciendo burros.[118]

He wants people to know that he lost his estate when someone secretly raised the cards, which went against him; that he seems a stud jackass (garañón), because he is always creating mulas and playing at burro; but that when he is lucky, more cards of the same suit (pintas) fly from his hand than a cow can produce.[119] Méndez also appears in Gabriel del Corral's Vejamen about Apollo visiting a hospital for sick poets. At the same time as this vejamen exposes Méndez's 'enfermedad de tahurería', it reveals the author's intimate knowledge of games, and of another obscure mythological figure, Juan Bolay, whose name usually stood for the cards:

> Señor, padece gran cantidad de pintas, que le han gastado la virtud, y aun el vicio que pudiera tener con la hacienda que le han consumido por brazos, piernas, y rostro, le aflige gran número de treses y cincos, y una que se le subió a las narices, que pintaba en la suya; rásease por ellas en las faltriqueras, y todo es dar más fuerza al mal: Juan Bolay le desvia de otros amores, y ansí no se lo conoce dama, sino la primera que se topa; en vez de billetes mantiene su correspondencia con cartetas.[120]

From Quevedo's frequent, witty attacks on Góngora's gambling habit, we infer that the former's ability to juggle with the jargon must have been matched by his skill at shuffling cards. A sonnet he wrote in 1625 ends with an anticipatory epitaph for Góngora, one-time chaplain to Philip III:

> Yace aquí el capellán del rey de bastos
> Que en Córdoba nació; murió en Barajas,
> Y en las Pintas le dieron sepultura'.[121]

When Góngora did die, Quevedo's attacks increased in fury, as well as in information on contemporary gambling terms and mythical associations. Góngora sold his soul for gambling, he says. Ordained in quinolas, he prayed them from prime to none. A priest of Venus and Bacchus, he

suffered from cacogastric cacology, and he was Cacus in the casino. He wore a sotana because he was a knave (or half a man), and gave away his salvation as a barato.[122] Góngora was nothing loathe to publish his own weakness for gambling, as one finds in a sonnet written on the imprisonment of Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado, which puns on the card-games, the values of each card, and the number of cards in a deck. Góngora's wit extends in this case to drawing an analogy between Prado's aristocratic name and, among other things, destitute gamblers:

> Sentéme a las riberas de un bufete
> A jugar con el tiempo a la primera.
> Pasóse el año, y luego a la tercera
> Carta brujuleada me entró un siete.
>
> Hizo mi edad cuarenta y cinco, y meté
> Una corona la ambición fullera.
> Y aunque es de falso, pide que le quiera
> La que traigo debajo de el bonete.
>
> Piérdase un vale, que el valer ogaño
> No es muy seguro: no haya mazo alguno
> Cuya Madera pueda dar cuidado.
>
> Entróme en la baraja, y no me engaño;
> Que, aunque pueda ganar ciento por uno,
> Yo no quiero ver Vacas en mi Prado.[123]

One did not need to be a life-long addict, as Góngora was, to feel both the passion of the game, and a need to flaunt one's knowledge of its esoteric language. As we have seen, academy members were attracted by the potential in this argot for verbal wit and obscurity. Moreto's licenciado Vidriera also plays with the names of card suits, the games, and those skilled enough to play them, as well as using the ever-popular refrain: 'paciencia y barajar'.[124] Given this knowledge, it is inconceivable that he was not a card-player.

To sum up cultural contributions by the gamblers, besides esoteric referencing of the sort just seen, there was also the tradition of popular myths and refrains, which enriched the Spanish language, and learned literature. The cultural survival of gambling owed just as much to comedias with a gambling theme written by academics, including Mira de Amezúa's Casa del tahúr (1616), as to the didactic efforts of reformers.[125] There was one contribution we have as yet only touched upon: decks of cards and the woodcuts which produced them, together with the so-called 'books', which hold a wealth of material for historians of popular culture. Many of the picture themes deal with the topical inversion of reason and supremacy of folly,[126] or of the triumph of the

lowly over the exalted. A German engraver who went by the name of Master of the Playing Cards chose for his suits wild flowers, beasts of prey, game, and Wild Men.[127] These and other suits represented, in caricature, a particular social sect: a useful reminder today that, whilst seated round the gaming-table, all the players found a new, if ephemeral fraternal spirit.[128]

In summary, the gamblers' society dared not call itself guild, because this would be to invite further hostilities and external sponsorship, at a time when the guilds were declining in strength. Nevertheless parallels with the guilds were remarkable: gamblers had their own 'laws' and tribunals for discipline and control; they tutored their young, and spoke an esoteric jargon, but - and here they departed from all guild models - there was no provision for the old, the sick, or the unfortunate. Nor was there any devotional life, unless an emphasis on pagan gods and classical myths may be taken as evidence that this particular society preceded the Christian guild. Like the prostitutes, gamblers enjoyed an equivocal form of state support, for whom they could be a useful expedient. Their operations were supervised by officers having the same name and function as those of both guild merchant and pious confraternity, as the following extract shows:

> Si tienen diversos renombres [los tahures], es todo un mesmo el oficio. Llámanlos muñidores, tomando esta lastimosa cofradía la metáfora de esotras, que son justas y santas; tienen también nombre de porteros, aludiendo a los que ordinariamente hay para llamar a cabildo en las ciudades; otros les llaman abrazadores, la más graciosa metáfora del mundo para quien ha visto lo que pasa en la plaza de San Francisco de Sevilla, donde los que venden ropa de vestir, tienen puestos ciertos hombres asalariados a jornal, porque han de asistir tantas horas del día en medio de la dicha plaza, donde no dejando pasar hombre forastero ni aldeano a quien no llamen, asiéndoles de las capas, y muchas veces casi en peso o en brazos, convidándolos que compren algo de sus tiendas o de sus amigos; y es de manera que muchas veces los incitan a comprar, no habiendo salido con tal intento de sus casas y lugares; caso que allí parece de risa, siendo aquí de sentir por su malicia.[129]

Since many gamblers were from the upwardly-mobile, bourgeois classes, it is likely that their use of the university as a model for their company reflected aspirations to a more exalted social status than that of trade guild. Parallels with the university include an emphasis on education and academic procedure, instead of purely commercial, craft, or cultic elements. The competitive spirit also predominated in both gamblers'

society and academy, with laurels given (metaphorically or otherwise) to the highest achiever. This was scarcely a recipe for harmony and conservation of the established order. Here was a restructuring of the conventional social hierarchy; something also seen in pious confraternities, universities, and in the prostitutes' sorority at the end of the sixteenth century.

There seems little doubt that contemporary society was indeed breaking up into smaller factions at this time, each having a continuous dialogue with the others (see page 15 above). Whilst the pious confraternity began to show a less savoury side, possibly influenced by underworld groups, the marginal confraternities, which have traditionally been regarded as a mirror image of Establishment confraternities, borrowed heavily from them, until black and white merged into a grey area where no brotherhood was all good or all bad; where none could truthfully claim to set a good Christian example of morality and brotherliness. Though some of these factions were ephemeral, like the literary academies, the outstanding feature of all (poets, literary men, madmen, beggars, prostitutes and gamblers) was in their unique cultural contribution, without which very little would be known today of Golden-Age marginal societies. This raises the question whether in fact, because of the literary link, all these fellowships were simply sub-groups of the literary world? Much of the information in this and preceding chapters would support that theory, with the possible exception of prostitutes. There was, however, a group of marginals who lived outside this grey area, who had no wish to emulate the society which rejected them, and whose anti-society was probably the best developed of all the factions. These were the violent classes, whose extraordinary success and survival against all odds will form the subject of the next chapter on brotherhood.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 8

[1] Fiel desengaño, I, 221.

[2] For the development of card-making monopolies, see Maravall, La literatura picaresca, 508; and Ulloa, La Hacienda Real, 266-8. For annual turnover figures on Crown monopoly, see Espejo y Paz, Las antiguas ferias, 194; and Deleito y Piñuela, Mala vida, 244.

[3] Barrionuevo, Avisos (December 30, 1654), I, 100a.

[4] On the link between gambling and commercial activity, see Maravall, La literatura picaresca, 505, n. 138, citing W. Sombart, Le bourgeois, 65 (Castilian translation of Der bourgeois: Zur Geistesgeschichte des modernen Wirtschaftsmenschen (Munich & Leipzig, 1913)). See also Maravall, op. cit., 502, n. 123, citing W. Minchinton, 'Tipos y estructura de la demanda (1500-1700)' in Historia económica de Europa, edited by C. M. Cipolla (Barcelona, 1979), II, 'Siglos XVI y XVII', 116 (Castilian translation). On bourgeois accretion of wealth by gambling, see Goris, Colonies marchandes, 401, 427. See Bennassar, Valladolid, 550-1, for examples of wills which limited gambling by heirs.

[5] See González Palencia, Noticias, 144 (6 July, 1626); compare page 318 above.

[6] Rico Avello (ed.), Un pícaro médico, 64. On one occasion he bet a case of acúzar candeal that his patient would recover. When he did, the chest was carried through town with a notice on it saying: 'Cuartana quitada'. As this represented a victory for him against rival doctors, there was general ridicule of the other doctors in town and his rival, Pineda, lost face (ibid., 103).

[7] See Maravall, La literatura picaresca, 502, n. 125, citing Manuel Colmeiro (ed.), Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla (1883), IV, 518. See also Chatto, Facts and Speculations, cited in Smoller, 'Playing Cards and Popular Culture', 213, on English tracts against this social mixing. For earlier legislation, see 'Publicación y pregón público que se hizo en Valladolid, "en la boca de la calle de la Castanilla" por Diego de Alcocer, pregonero, de las órdenes contenidas en las pragmáticas de S.M. sobre trajes y juegos de dados, con las penas en que incurrían los que contraviniesen a ellas', Valladolid, 11 September, 1524, leg. 1, no. 8, cited in Paz (ed.), AGS. Diversos, p. 210, no. 1060; and 'Pragmática en que se prohibe el juego que llaman los bueltos. Y los que le jugaren, incurran en las penas puestas a los que juegan los dados', 20 February, 1582, Bca. 1464, fols 21-24, and 3680, fols 9-12, in Paz (ed.), Colección de Reales Cédulas, p. 21, no. 90.

[8] Vida de Alonso de Contreras, 84a. Compare Ordóñez de Ceballos, Viaje del mundo, 277a: 'como es uso de soldados'.

[9] On 20 April, 1629, Philip IV resorted to the expedient of issuing a cedula to the Duke of Alba, Viceroy and Captain General of Naples, saying these casinos would only be allowed if dice were not played (see Deleito y Piñuela, Mala vida, 225, n. 1, citing Julio Monreal, Cuadros viejos: Colección de pinceladas, toques y esbozos, representando costumbres españolas del siglo XVII (Madrid, 1878), 322). Estebanillo González applied at mid-century to the Empress Maria for authorization to open a 'casa de conversación y juego de naipes' in Naples (ch. XII, 361b).

[10] See Nueva Recopilación, lib. 8, tít. 7, ley 13 (vol. 2, fol. 308v), for bans of certain games; and ley 6 (vol. 2, 306v-7r), on fines imposed for infringement of the law.

[11] See Deleito y Piñuela, Mala vida, 209.

[12] Ibid., 243, n. 1, citing Luis de Cabrera de Córdoba, Relaciones de las cosas sucedidas en la Corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614 (Madrid, 1857).

[13] Alemán, Guzmán de Alfarache, I. 2. 5, 290-1. See Roque Amador in Espinel, Marcos de Obregón, Relación 3ª, descanso 24 (vol. 2, 270), for another example of the gambler's lack of charity and honour. See Chapter 1, footnote 18 above, for interesse.

[14] In this custom the winner shared his gains amongst those watching. For Spanish cases of barato, see Santos, Postrimerías del hombre, 426; Salas Barbadillo, El caballero Puntual, 280; Estebanillo González, ch. VII, 326a; Alemán, Guzmán de Alfarache, I. 2. 3, 275; Cervantes, Don Quijote, I, 28 (vol. 2, 349); and II, 45 (vol. 7, 9) (Insula Barataria); Cervantes, Entremés de El Juez de los Divorcios, 542a; Espinel, Marcos de Obregón, Relación 1ª, descanso 13 (vol. 1, 214). See also Etienvre, 'Paciencia y barajar', 142.

[15] Deleito y Piñuela, Mala vida, 224, n. 1, citing Madame d'Aulnoy, Relación (1679), 196-7.

[16] See Santos, Día y Noche, 220; Salas Barbadillo, El caballero Puntual, 306; and Avisos de Barrionuevo (17 August, 1660), II, 234. See also (1 April, 1656), I, 261, and (8 April, 1656), I, 264. According to these sources, some of which were almost contemporary with Madame d'Aulnoy, gratuitous killings connected with gambling were more common than she claimed.

[17] See pages 153, and 163 above, on academic strain; and 76 above, on the changing face of penitential confraternities.

[18] For theory of underworld argot, see Geremek, Margins of Society, 285, n. 96, citing Roger Vaultier, 'Le folklore pendant la guerre de cent ans d'après les lettres de rémission du Trésor des chartes, etc.' (Ph.D. thesis, Paris, 1965), 196, in Archives nationales, JJ 173, fol. 216v (1426).

[19] Hermosilla, 166. See also: 'Decian los compañeros que yo sólo podia sustentar la casa con lo que corria, que es lo mismo que "hurtar" en nombre revesado' (Quevedo, El Buscón, 71); and: 'El que no hurta es mal tahúr, hombre flojo y sin reputación en los tablajes' (Luque Fajardo, Fiel desengaño, II, 26).

[20] See Chaves, Relación de la Cárcel, col. 1366; and Hazañas, 'Los rufianes de Cervantes', 40. See also Cervantes, Don Quijote, I, 32 (vol. 3, 16); ibid., Rinconete y Cortadillo; and ibid., El rufián dichoso, 292. On backslang, see Dekker, Guls Hornbook, 117.

[21] La Justina, Bk. I, ch. 3, no. 1, 'Del mesonero consejero' (vol. 1, 204).

[22] Entremés de La guarda cuidadosa, 564a. See also Valdivielso, Auto de las Ferias del Alma, 331, line 79. Caballo de Ginebra was a game of cards.

[23] Popular scorn of the humpback, and of other deformities, resulted in medieval legislation banning the use of corcovado as an insult (see Serra Ruiz, Honor, honra e injuria, 32, n. 40, citing Fuero Juzgo,

Real Academia Española, (1815), lib. XII, tit. III, ley v; and page 92 above). See page 172 above, for attacks on Alarcón.

[24] Lamberto Wyts, Viaje por España, 1171b, in García Mercadal, Viajes de extranjeros. See also Timoneda, Cuento XIX, 291. For Papin, el giboso, see page 334 above.

[25] See Quevedo, El Buscón, 98; and Rodríguez Marín (ed.), Rinconete y Cortadillo, 103. For ciertos, see also Cervantes, El celoso extremeño, 71.

[26] Castillo Solórzano, 173b.

[27] Relaciones, 513a. Luis de Ulloa Pereira (1584-1674), was a friend of Góngora, Salcedo Coronel, and Gabriel de Corral.

[28] See Luque Fajardo, Fiel desengaño, II, 238-40. Compare Zabaleta, El día de fiesta por la tarde, 341. See page 202 above, for hand on cheek motif.

[29] Licenciado Amador de Velasco had two recipes for winning:

> Llevar un pergamino virgen que tuviese escritas, con sangre de murciélago y pluma del lado izquierdo de una gallina negra, unas palabras del Salmo segundo; llevar en el brazo izquierdo, dentro de un envoltorio de lana sucia, una cabeza de culebra, un poco de algodón y un panal de miel, en cuyas celdillas se hubiesen metido ojos de rata.
> (See Deleito y Piñuela, La vida religiosa, 273, n. 55, citing Cirac, Procesos, T. leg. 97, no. 279).

See also Deleito y Piñuela, op. cit., 272.

[30] The goliards of old had politely offered the Almighty membership of their fraternity if he would learn to 'throw a main' (Waddell, Wandering Scholars, 209).

[31] López de Ubeda, Bk. 2, pt. 2, ch. 2, no. 2 (vol. 2, 416). See page 367 below for 'Vive Dios', etc.

[32] Marcos de Obregón, Relación 3ª, descanso 24 (vol. 2, 271). See also Mondragón, Censura de la locura humana, 80; and Lope de Vega, El valiente Juan de Heredia, 643a.

[33] Salas Barbadillo, Pedro de Urdemalas, 126-7.

[34] Santos, Día y Noche, 99-100; contrast the view of Madame d'Aulnoy, on page 316 above. Other satirical writers exploited more overtly the humorous potential in this irreligiousness:

> Allí está muriendo un fullero y ayudándole a bien morir un testigo falso, y por darle la bula de la Cruzada le da una baraja de naipes, porque muera como vivió, y él, boqueando, por decir Jesús ha dicho flux.
> (Luis Vélez, El diablo Cojuelo, Tranco II, 24b).

[35] Obra poética, III, p. 241, no. 833.

[36] Luque Fajardo, Fiel desengaño, I, 263. See also Enríquez Gómez, Letrillas, 389:

> En la baraja florida
> Que Babilonia consiente,
> Jura el tahúr insolente
> De no jugar en su vida.
> Halla que otro le convida,
> Pícase si no se abrasa,

Y poco a poco en su casa
No deja guadamecil.

[37] Entremés famoso de la Infanta Palancona, in Prémáticas, desenfados y entremeses, 239.

[38] Bilhán, nacido dentro en Barcelona
De humildes padres, y plebeya gente,
(Según dice el Autor que del escribe)
Fue solo el qu'en el mundo dio principio
A la invención de los dañosos Naipes,
Y por ella acabó debidamente
En poder de unos fieros Bandoleros,
En un pozo por ellos ahogado.
Y pluguiera al divino y justo Cielo
Qu'el Nombre, y la invención, y horrible vida
Juntamente acabaron a [a]quel punto.
Sin qu'el Tiempo aguardara su memoria.
(De los inventores de las cosas, Bk. 3, stt. 38-49, pp. 102-3).

[39] See de Riquer (ed.), Fiel desengaño, by Luque Fajardo, 20-22, for more on this topic.

[40] 'Romance. A un amigo, estando el Autor enfermo', Donayres del Parnaso, 263. See also Quevedo, 'Letrilla XII', in Obras festivas, II, 206: 'bigotes arlequines'.

[41] Lope de Vega, El peregrino en su patria, 393. See also Etienvre, 'Vilhán et Nicholas Pepín'. See Chapter 5, footnote 233; and page 54 above, on Arlequín.

[42] In La casa del tahúr, when the master ponders what adverse stars incline him to gambling, the servant replies: 'Las estrellas de Vilhán' (Mira de Amescúa, 61). See also Cervantes, Rinconete y Cortadillo, 73 (ciencia villanesca).

[43] Fiel desengaño, I, 253-4.

[44] Ibid., 255.

[45] See page 93 above, for this trend in the seventeenth century.

[46] Fiesta por la mañana, 172, and ibid., Fiesta por la tarde, 340.

[47] Fiel desengaño, II, 31.

[48] Ibid., I, 196-8. Castillo Solórzano sums up the gamblers' philanthropy by pointing to the traditional inversion of values, whereby the rich were honoured and the poor despised (La Garduña de Sevilla, 171a).

[49] See Luther, Tischreden, 275, 'Kartenspiele', for bans in Germany on card-makers. See Appendix 7.A, for religious manipulation and State control of playing cards.

[50] Historically the game of dice had acquired a sacred, almost professional aspect, such that a man who had never played was judged unworthy of acceptance into a group.

[51] See pages 431 below, and 154 above.

[52] Luque Fajardo, Fiel desengaño, I, 127. The caciquero was also called guapo: one who charged a tribute either for each session, or each time a certain card came up. See also Salillas, El delincuente español, 444.

[53] Y hay hombre que con dos mesas quebradas y seis villas viejas le vale cada año la coima cuatro mil ducados, pues ya la mercancía y el trato se ha convertido en robo y en regatonería, estancando todos los géneros, desde el oro y seda hasta las legumbres, para revenderlas excesivamente, cuando por haberlas ellos atravesado está falta la plaza.
(Francisco Porras de la Cámara cited in Haan, Pícaros y ganapanes, I, 240-8 (244)).
See page 383 below, for more of this letter.

[54] Deleito y Piñuela, Mala vida, 222, n. 5, citing García Mercadal, Viajes de extranjeros, III, 164-5. According to Barrionuevo, in 1658, Madrid had three hundred and seventy-eight caballeros tahures (Avisos (10 April, 1658), II, 170).

[55] If all else failed, they had an agreement with neighbours who let them jump their walls if danger threatened, or they escaped by a concealed entrance and took refuge in a nearby church. For communication networks, see Luque Fajardo, op. cit., I, 179, and II, 215. There is a very pointed criticism of abuse of the church by fulleros, in La Justina, Bk. 2, pt. 2, ch. 2, 'Del fullero burlado' (vol. 2, 398).

[56] For more overlaps with the university, see page 329 above.

[57] Fiel desengaño, II, 239. See Appendix 7.B, for quotation in full.

[58] See Fiel desengaño, II, 238; and I, 159.

[59] On mirones, see King, Academias literarias, 97, and Kennedy, 'Studies in Tirso, I', 324. Mirones, or zoilos were also lowest in the academy hierarchy, the plagiarists and poetasters, frequently vituperated by Tirso de Molina, and sometimes equated with the turbulent mosquetero element in the theatre. Statutes of the Casa del placer honesto use mirón in this sense:

Todos los miembros deben estar más o menos versados en poesía, en música o en oratoria, porque en su conversación no se habían de admitir personas zánganas que sirviesen de mirones, gozando entonces de entretenimiento y llevando después murmuración para otras partes.
(Casa de placer honesto, 330-4, cited in King, op. cit., 125, n. 19).

[60] Quevedo, El Buscón, 157. For more on gamblers and banking, see Luque Fajardo, op. cit., II, 242.

[61] Liñán y Verdugo, Guía y Avisos, 90-1.

[62] El Buscón, 116.

[63] Los anteojos de mejor vista, 58.

[64] Romancero (1622), in Pérez Pastor (ed.), Bibliografía madrileña, no. 1897.

[65] Estebanillo González, ch. I, 288a. Compare also: 'Por saber que aquesa flor/ Es del berro o la de Osuna' (ibid., ch. XI, 354b). Quevedo also uses the terminology in El Buscón, 161:

Entendíalo yo entonces razonablemente [el juego de parar], porque tenía más flores que un mayo y barajas hechas lindas. Determinámonos de ir a darles un muerto - que así llaman el enterrar una bolsa.

[66] See Alemán, Guzmán de Alfarache, II. 2. 7, 243; Fr. Francisco de Alcocer, Tratado del juego (Salamanca, 1559), ch. 1; Pedro de Covarrubias, Remedio de jugadores (Burgos, 1519), I, ch. 1; Luque Fajardo, Fiel desengaño, I, 67; and A. de Torquemada, 'Coloquio primero', Coloquios satíricos, 488-99.

[67] For the Ring Faller (or Cross-Dropper), as he was known in England, see Espinel, Marcos de Obregón, Relación 1ª, descanso 13 (vol. 1, 215); and Fuller, Beggars' Brotherhood, 163. See also Luther, Book of Vagabonds, xxxii), who called him the Wiltner.

[68] On Barnard's Law, see Fuller, Beggars' Brotherhood, 173; Dekker, Guls Hornbook, 120; and Camporesi, Libro dei vagabondi, 386. See also Scot, Discoverie of Witchcraft, who warned:

> If you plaie among strangers, beware of him that seemes simple or drunken; for under their habit the most speciall couseners are presented, & while you thinke by their simplicitie and imperfections to beguile them (and therof perchance are persuaded by their confederats, your verie freends as you thinke) you your selfe will be most of all overtaken (277).

For Spanish names, see Luque Fajardo, Fiel desengaño, I, 178; and Arco y Garay, Sociedad española, 690: 'Los ganchos se decían muñidores, encerradores, perros ventores, abrazadores'.

[69] El caballero Puntual, 280.

[70] See Alemán, II. 2. 3, 184; Estebanillo González, ch. VII, 326a; ibid., 290a; and Luque Fajardo, Fiel desengaño, I, 239. There was, in any case, a superstitious fear attached to winning the first hand.

[71] Andrés de Claramonte y Corroy - Golden Age playwright, member of Saldaña's academy. For Facistól, see also page 392 below. For more details of this flor, see Hazañas, 'Los rufianes de Cervantes', 43; and Fuller, Beggars' Brotherhood, 173. See also Pedro de Urdemalas, III, 143.

[72] Céspedes, El soldado Píndaro, 306a. See also Alemán, Guzmán de Alfarache, II. 2. 3, 184; and Luque Fajardo, Fiel desengaño, II, 36. This flor, too, was universally known. In Italy, Camporesi explains:

> Se un altro volesse giocare con altre carte, non per questo i mariuoli ricusano; ma mentre si giuoca sempre uno di loro sta dreto a quello che giuoca con loro e con cenni fa sempre sapere a'compagni che carte ha in mano quello che giuoca.
> (Il libro dei vagabondi, 386).

And in England, Scot cautioned: 'Beware also of bettors by, and lookers on, and namelie of them that bet on your side; for whilest they looke in your game without suspicion, they discover it by signs to your adversaries, with whome they bet, and yet are their confederates' (Discoverie of Witchcraft, 277).

[73] See Fuller, Beggars' Brotherhood, 173; Hazañas, 'Los rufianes de Cervantes', 43; and Camporesi, Libro dei vagabondi, 384, 'De falsatori di carte'. Estebanillo González learns the art in Siena (ch. III, 298b). See Appendix 7.C, for quotation in full.

[74] Cervantes, Rinconete y Cortadillo, 73. On flores, see also Rodríguez Marín (ed.), Rinconete y Cortadillo, 406-8. See Appendix 7.D, and 7.E, for doctored dice.

[75] Licenciado Vidriera, 128-9.

[76] Zabaleta, Fiesta por la mañana, 171.

[77] In this there was an echo of the Inquisitorial disclaimer on spilt blood, which still gave licence to the 'secular arm' to execute by burning at its instigation.

[78] Luque Fajardo, Fiel desengaño, II, 235:

> Diferentemente corren las causas criminales, como son dar bofetón con la mano o con los naipes, arrojarse los sombreros o los guantes, desmentir, dar palos, cuchilladas, candelerazo y otros daños corporales; que si en algunos tribunales tienen diferente recompensa, en éste se reduce todo a dinero.

[79] Tutors were also called mirones pedagogos, or gansos (see Luque Fajardo, op. cit., II, 132).

[80] See ch. I, 290a; ch. XII, 363b. See also López de Ubeda, La Justina, Bk. 1, ch. 1, no. 1 (vol. 1, 140).

[81] See Appendix 7.F, for European court cards and suits.

[82] See Smoller, 'Playing Cards and Popular Culture', 187, 207, for more on German decks of cards. See also S. W. Singer, Researches into the History of Playing Cards: with Illustrations of the Origin of Printing and Engraving on Wood (London, 1816), 180.

[83] El caballero Puntual, 179.

[84] Luque Fajardo, op. cit., I, 240-1. See Appendix 7.G, for full quotation. For hacedor and bribery in Arts faculties, see page 164 above; for vejamen, see pages 167 and 52 above; and for oposiciones, see page 156 above.

[85] Rinconete y Cortadillo, 85. See Appendix 7.H, for a list of Spanish card games.

[86] See ch. V, 314a; 363b. See also Rico-Avello (ed.), Un pícaro médico, 64.

[87] Tarascas, 340.

[88] Alemán, Guzmán de Alfarache, I. 2. 2, 264. See also page 439 below. On primera, see also Lope de Vega, Peregrino en su patria, 446; and Cervantes, Don Quijote, II, 57 (vol. 7, 258). On rentoy, see Estebanillo González, ch. III, 300a; Alemán, op. cit., I. 3. 2, 380; and Luis Vélez, El diablo Cojuelo, Tranco 9, 42a. On Quinolas, see Estebanillo González, ch. VII, 325b; Espinel, Marcos de Obregón, Relación 1ª, descanso 13 (vol. 1, 215); and Navarro Pérez (ed.), Día y Noche, by Santos, 237, n. 89.

[89] It will be recalled that the prostitute was accounted for by the same system - see page 289 above.

[90] See El Buscón, 137. The man called Aguila was specialized in the art of chatter and joke-telling, by way of breaking his opponent's concentration. Compare page 385 below, for águila in the thieves' fraternity.

[91] See page 325 above, on the beehive.

[92] Casino women were mostly prostitutes or beldames, but there were also women card-sharps. At the time of his writing, Luque Fajardo had

not heard of female tahures, but claimed that the Flemish women invented the game de los cientos. 'Not long ago', he said, 'fifty-year-old women could only count on their fingers, but now their arithmetic is slicker than that of Moya when it comes to cards, and there are no better bankers' (Fiel desengaño, II, 71). This may be a reference to Pedro de Moya (1610-66), painter of Jugadores de naipes (Pinacoteca antigua, Munich). On women card players, see a fleeting reference in Fray Juan de las Ruelas, Hermosura corporal de la Madre de Dios (Seville, 1621), cited in Deleito y Piñuela, Mala vida, 230.

[93] See pages 313, and 323 above, on political sanctions.

[94] See pages 156, 182, and 394, below.

[95] Fiel desengaño, II, 170.

[96] See Bernheimer, Wild Men, 4.

[97] See Appendix 7.I, for details of European decks.

[98] But Christian symbolism also applied to cards (see Luther, Tischreden 1:491-2, n. 972; ibid., vol. 6, no. 6545, and vol. 2, no. 1810, cited in Smoller, 'Playing Cards and Popular Culture', 189). See Appendix 7.J, for dice and religious symbolism.

[99] Bk. 1, ch. 1, no. 1, 'Del fisgón medroso' (vol. 1, 144).

[100] El Buscón, 167. In la primera, a six, seven, and ace of a suit made fifty-five points.

[101] El mesón del mundo, 138.

[102] II. 3. 8, 420a. See also López de Ubeda, La Justina, Bk. 2, pt. 2, ch. 4, no. 2 (vol. 2, 454).

[103] Guzmán de Alfarache, I. 3. 6, 414. Compare Cervantes, Don Quijote, II, 23 (vol. 5, 174).

[104] Gregorio González, El guitón Honofre, 146. For a critical study of this topos, see Etienvre, 'Paciencia y barajar'.

[105] Don Quijote, II, 49 (vol. 7, p. 102). For another reference to Andrada, see page 170 above. There is also a valiente in La Eufrosina called Andrade (see Act I. scene 6).

[106] Santos, Postrimerías del hombre, 423:

> Yo soy, y conmigo andan Plutón, Proserpina, Tarthax, Spingue, Baaldat y Testacepusa. Yo soy el que inventé el naipe... soy el que tengo a mi cargo los jugadores, tahures y juradores, que todas tres calidades se hallan en el tahúr, sin perdonar lo maldiciente y blasfemo.

[107] Santos, Postrimerías del hombre, 428. Compare Mondragón, Censura de la locura humana, 79, for a similar legend. I can find no explanation for the fact that Cervantes's saintly adventuress in Persiles is called Auristela.

[108]

> Y ahora ando solicitando a dos amigos que saben mejor jugar la Valenciana que confesarse, y tengo dispuesto que se encuentren en una posada donde ha de parar un mercader rico, aficionado al librillo de Auristel.
>
> (Santos, op. cit., 426).

'Doctores o duchos en el arte de la Valenciana se llamaba a los tahures especializados en las trampas y artimañas de los juegos de

naipes' (Navarro Pérez (ed.), Postrimerías del hombre, by Santos, 233, n. 62).

[109] See page 24 above.

[110] Covarrubias, Tesoro, s.v. NAIPES.

[111] López de Ubeda, Pt. II, Bk. 2, ch. 2, no. 2, 'De la vergonzosa engañadora' (vol. 2, 415).

[112] See Cervantes, El rufián dichoso, II, 27; and Don Quijote, I, 18 (vol. 2, 38). On giboso, see page 317 above; and for siting of the Cárcel Real in calle de la Sierpe, see Chapter 10, footnote 15 below.

[113] See Etienvre, 'Paciencia y barajar', 151, on this theory. See also Cervantes [attrib.], La tía fingida: 'Bellacón de los circunstantes, graduado in utroque' (1739a).

[114] See Bosola in Webster's The Duchess of Malfi, II, 1, p. 44:

> O sir, you are lord of the ascendant, chief man with the duchess, a duke was your cousin-german removed: - say you were lineally descended from King Papin, or he himself, what of this?

The editor says the reference is to the King of the Franks, who died in 768.

[115] Salas Barbadillo, La hija de Celestina, 841a. A possible model for Pierres was Pierre de Maricourt, a thirteenth-century philosopher who taught Roger Bacon sorcery and alchemy. He may have belonged to a confraternity in High Italy, calling himself Master Pierre (see Berthelot, Parnasse satyrique (1625)). Pierre was also a pseudonym of Fernández de Ribera (Miser Pierres de Tal, Los anteojos de mejor vista), and other Golden-Age writers (see Etienvre, 'Paciencia y barajar', 148, n. 53).

[116] Compare page 24 above.

[117] See Brown, Pantaleón, 176 (Pantaleón); ibid., 56 (Castillo Solórzano); Góngora, Sonetos, 180 (Ulloa Pereira); ibid., 183 (Villamediana); and Rosales, Pasión y muerte, 148 (Villamediana).

[118] Pantaléon de Ribera, Obras, II, 33. El burro - card game where each player gets three cards. The allusion is also to the flor known as Barnard's Law (see page 326 above). For full treatment of this vejamen, see Brown, Pantaléon, 217.

[119] See Appendix 7.H, for definition of pintas. Stud poker is also a variant of poker.

[120] See Corral, Cintia de Aranjuez, 191-2; and Brown, Pantaléon, 221. Jehan Volay was a French card-maker in Thiers, who exported vast quantities of Spanish decks. His name on the cards gave rise to the custom of calling the deck of cards 'el libro de Juan Bolay' (see Castillo Solórzano, Bachiller Trapaza, 1387a, and 1396b).

[121] Quevedo, Obra poética,III, p. 245, no, 840. For Góngora's passion for gambling, see Miguel Artigas, Don Luis de Góngora y Argote: Biografía y estudio crítico (Madrid, 1925), 40-3; Eunice Joiner Gates, The Metaphors of Luis de Góngora (Philadelphia, 1933), 62-3; and Robert Jammes, Etudes sur l'oeuvre poétique de don Luis de Góngora Argote (Bordeaux, 1967), 24-5.

[122] Obras completas (ed. Buendía), 443, 'Epitafio al mismo'. See Appendix 7.K, for full quotation.

[123] Sonetos, 506. Lorenzo and Alonso Ramírez de Prado were brothers, eulogized in Lope de Vega's Laurel de Apolo. Vaca was the name of a principal family in Spain. It also alluded to poor hidalgos, who only made a stew for grand fiestas, at other times sponging on other people's hospitality; and to those who dissipated their wealth and landed themselves in debt (see Covarrubias, Tesoro, s.v. VACA).

[124]

Que siempre tu suerte trajo
Debajo el naipe, se nota;
Mas si tu suerte es de sota,
Bien hace en venir debajo.
Si al hombre juegas, no hay moros
Que te sufran; sin malilla,
Brujuleando la espadilla,
Siempre te viene el tres de oros.
Paciencia y dinero apuras;
Y si a otro juego te metes,
A los cientos te dan sietes,
Y a la primera figuras.
Yo de tu suerte soy lince;
Mas lo que me dio más queja,
Fue ver que un dia una vieja
Te ganó jugando al quince.

(El licenciado Vidriera, 249).

[125] See also Navarrete y Ribera, La casa del juego; and Zabaleta, Fiesta por la mañana, ch. X. Didactic treatises include Pedro de Covarrubias, Remedio de jugadores (1519); Fray Francisco de Alcocer, Tratado del Juego (1558); Luque Fajardo, Fiel desengaño (1603); Padre Mariana, Tratado contra los juegos públicos; and A. de Torquemada, 'Coloquio primero', Coloquios satiricos, 488-99.

[126] See Smoller, 'Playing Cards and Popular Culture', 200; and see Chapter 5 and notes, on madness.

[127] See Bernheimer, Wild Men, 6; and Geisberg, Das Kupferstich-Kartenspiel, for illustrations of the pack, and fig. 1.

[128] The cards appealed alike to bourgeois and aristocratic elite, who began collecting decks to pass on to their heirs. For more on this subject see Smoller, 'Playing Cards and Popular Culture', 191.

[129] Luque Fajardo, Fiel desengaño, I, 174-5.

9. THE 'BLOOD BROTHERHOOD'

9.1 Criminal Trends - An Overview

It has been standard practice in the present study to imply that the underworld fraternity borrowed ideas of brotherhood from Establishment fraternities, but the situation is highly complex. First of all, the borderline between the underworld and polite society was a diffuse one, which could change according to criteria such as definition, situation, and prevailing social and environmental factors. This has already been demonstrated in the case of the beggars, prostitutes and gamblers, who stood midway between the two extremes of respectability and turpitude, moving toward society when the benefits of so doing were sufficiently alluring, and toward setting up their own anti-society when conditions dictated otherwise. Consequently it is difficult to classify some marginal groups into a rigid scheme. The second obstacle to explaining the predominant influence of one society on another concerns chronology and origins. How close was the relationship between Military Orders and criminals, or between soldiers and criminals? Was the motivation for urban crime distinct from that for rural crime? By way of addressing these questions, and as a prelude to a study of organized crime in general, a brief examination of historical and environmental influences on early modern Spain will be undertaken. The resulting picture should facilitate an understanding of what Chandler has called the 'instinctive criminal'. After considering the background, it should then be possible to distinguish the man born into a life of crime from the one forced into it by circumstances, and to establish the place of each in contemporary society.

9.2 Historical Influences on Early Modern Society

Traditionally one tends to think of the Military Orders as associations of noblemen engaged in crusades, who combined a military with a religious way of life. Their prototype is the Order of the Temple, formed c. 1118, though others which lasted somewhat longer include the Hospital of Saint John and the Teutonic Order.[1] Their primary function was to protect the pilgrim routes to Jerusalem and other holy places. Soon they became a regular standing army, with allegiance to the Pope. Besides fighting in the Holy Land for the Christian Church, the Hospitallers and Templars fought the Muslims in twelfth-century Spain; and the Hospitallers, conceived as a charitable institution, cared for the sick, the poor, and travellers, administered hospitals, and helped to ransom captives. Because numbers in these

Orders were small (ten or twenty per garrison at most), when help was needed, mercenaries were drafted in. Spanish kings used a general obligation of military service, and militias provided by towns, who became known as 'caballeros villanos'.[2] A papal promise of salvation and exemption from excommunication for all 'soldiers of Christ' effectively sanctioned their activities (see page 110 above), and created a band of holy ex-sinners; a 'Salvation Army with a two-handed broadsword in its hand'.[3] According to Guibert of Nogent, a contemporary Benedictine chronicler of the First Crusade, the Christian militia, or 'the [secular] equestrian order and the erring people, who, like ancient pagans were commonly engaged in mutual slaughter', had degenerated into a malitia, whose members violated their oath of fidelity to their lords, in favour of personal glory and material gain.[4] And if the knightly ethos was war and martial exercise, peace was their undoing, as knight errantry turned to banditry. Second and third-born sons with small hope of an inheritance sustained their estate of nobility by following wars which were often unjust and tyrannical. Knowing no calling save that of arms, they oppressed the poor with acts of violence.[5] Those without estate and noble background, for whom war had offered an occupation with temporary riches, often procured lasting social advancement in peacetime.

In the fourteenth century Alfonso XI of Castile had legislated against aristocratic felony in the fuero extenso de Sepúlveda.[6] He also encouraged the formation of new secular orders of chivalry and knightly confraternities. The Order of the Band (Cinta) was formed c. 1330, and there were many more.[7] Constitutionally and judicially these were closer to lay confraternities than to the crusading orders. The Council of Avignon (1326) described them as 'confraternities who come together once a year, in some fixed spot, where they hold their chapters and conventicles, and swear together to support one another with aid, counsel and favour against all comers except their natural lords. They all dress in the same robes with special badges or ensigns, and choose a chief whom they swear to obey.[8] The Order of the Band emphasized sport and play, more than politics and war, being concerned with tournaments and courtly love.[9] Membership was limited to aristocrats beyond reproach, and statutes provided for the keeping of a 'book of adventures', recording members' achievements.[10] (Here was a clear forerunner of sixteenth-century literary academies). A cult of chivalry

soon developed, with churches vying for possession of the relics of heroes, whose lives and deeds were preserved in stone sculptures and stained glass windows.[11] Epic literature established norms of behaviour in cases of wrongful dispossession, of kinsmen's rights, and of unjust accusation, which, with minor modifications, provided the stuff of chivalric literature up to its ultimate decline with the publication of Don Quijote. By this time the stereotyped knight invariably boasted a sword with mythical status (two of the Cid's swords were La Tizona and La Colada); a fine horse (Babieca for the Cid, and Rocinante for Quijote); and the distinctive habit with a cross on the chest. Attention to ritual was also a legacy of the knightly classes: their preoccupation with the manner of dying is seen in sculpture and paintings, which portray them keeping vigil at Christ's feet. There was another knightly ritual associated with dress: not what to wear, but how to wear it. There were, for example, ten ways of draping the cloak: across the nose to conceal the lower face; over the arm which held the sword; on the shoulder with arms akimbo; round the chest and held over the heart by the left hand, and many more.[12]

Close attention to external appearance later characterized infantrymen and footsoldiers, whose connections with the underworld will soon become apparent. Up to Philip IV's reign the Spanish soldier wore no uniform, dressing in flamboyant style with lace, embroidery, feathers, and rich cloths. Popularly it was said he resembled a parrot: 'Habíase vestido Tomás de papagayo, renunciando los hábitos de estudiante, y púsose a lo de Dios es Cristo, como se suele decir'.[13] Ostentatious dress amongst soldiers was a privilege in a society with sumptuary laws: 'Colores en el hombre cortesano/ Lo mismo son que en el soldado el negro./ El vestido de Corte es negro y llano'.[14] The privilege was apparently conceded because it inspired men to greater glory.[15] The sixteenth century marked the apogee of the lindo soldier. Known by his stiff Walloon collar, 'gregüescos o calzones anchos', and a wide felt hat with the brim turned up at one side, the crown adorned with ostrich feathers (fig. 13). It is perhaps significant that the Academia de Madrid seems to have harboured poets who favoured this flamboyant style of dress.[16] A vejamen by an old soldier, Jerónimo de Castro, uses as its theme a battle between Castilian poets and those of Italian and Latin descent. In the battle lines, Luis de Belmonte is

fig. 13. Artisan, Soldier, and Merchant

rebuked because his breeches are too long. He answers in defence: 'Es un majadero, y no lo entiende':

> Confiado en mis calzones,
> Me animo más, y me atrevo;
> Que para esta guerra llevo
> Un tercio más de valones.[17]

But the link between gregüescos and the underworld, as distinct from the military, was made by Quevedo, who lampooned Góngora for wearing these breeches:

> No entendemos los gregüescos
> por acá, aunque los usamos;
> dánoslos a entender tú,
> que andas siempre en esos barrios.[18]

On the evidence of dress and behaviour collected so far, there does seem to be a tenuous link between the medieval knight, the early modern soldier, and certain academy members reputed to have dealings with the underworld. Can this link be strengthened with any other social features typical of Golden-Age Spain? First, there was the persistence among soldiers of a fashion for facial hair, which had formerly proclaimed a gothic ancestry, and which was banned to ordinary civilians.[19] Soldiers were popularly referred to as gente de copete, or lindos.[20] Not surprisingly, the term lindo is thought to derive from limpio, referring to the Old Christian hidalgo.[21] It was not just their affected appearance which aroused criticism, however. An exaggerated sense of hidalguía was the real social problem affecting contemporary Spanish soldiers. Within army ranks hidalguia led to a debasement of traditional values, whereby great leaders like Farnesi, Alba and John of Austria lost prestige. A contemporary Valencian soldier, Rey de Artieda, wrote a poem analysing military corruption:

> Vázquez: Artemidoro, ¿sabes el misterio
> porqué, de algunos años a esta parte,
> nuestra arte militar (si acaso es arte),
> se tiene por infamia y vituperio?...
> Por ventura acabáronse los godos,
> que al mundo le pudieron poner pecho,
> y reducirle a su costumbre y modos?
> Artemidoro: Godos hay; ¿pero sabes qué lo ha hecho?
> Ser nuestra profesión común a todos
> y atender cada cual a su provecho.[22]

What the generals objected to was the increasing prominence accorded to lower-ranking 'valiants'. This role-reversal is epitomized by Lope de Vega, in a play which may even reflect his own military experience. The Captain of El caballero de Illescas says to Juan: 'Vos sois valiente/ y

hombre de bien'.[23] The use of the polite form 'vos', and the notion of 'hombre de bien' were important signals in a society where each man knew his place. In peacetime these 'hombres de bien' became a pressing social problem. After inadequate or non-existent wages came delayed pensions, disillusionment and unemployment.[24] Still clinging to their notion of hidalguia, their life style brought the title into disrepute:

> Aquellos nuestros hidalgos de solar y casa conocida y de vengar quinientos sueldos labraban sus casas tomando el modelo del valor de los hombres que las habian de habitar y no como ahora que se labran al gusto y sabor de las mujeres que las han de ventanear.[25]

9.3 Environmental Influences on Contemporary Society

The ex-soldier, then, chose either to join forces with the urban or rural criminal underworld, from which he may have come, or to associate with political intriguers at Court. Yet although enforced unemployment and poverty, especially amongst the soldier classes, provided some of the personnel who contributed to a wave of crime in the Spanish Golden Age, there were other contributory factors. It has been said, for instance, that a diet rich in wine, meat, and spices, typical of contemporary Spanish custom, predisposes to aggression, and that lack of work encourages boredom and neuroses.[26] It has also been observed that in times of demographic growth or economic depression, crime, especially banditry, generally increases. Spain of this period provided a number of incentives to banditry: firstly the mountainous terrain facilitated concealment and hampered policing systems. Secondly, lack of agrarian reform attracted migrants from the latifundios of Andalusia and Extremadura to Valencia, the Basque region, Galicia, and Catalonia in search of seasonal work. Hunger and a peripatetic existence were not always the inducement to banditry and lawlessness however. In many cases bandits were wealthy nobles, who took up crime to exact vengeance, or simply for the excitement of living outside the law. On the urban scene, contemporary political events also fuelled a wave of crime. An influx of wealth from the Americas into the port of Seville attracted all breeds of entrepreneur - both financial wizard and common thief - until at the turn of the century the city was bristling with crime. Between 1578 and 1616, according to the Jesuit prison visitor, Padre León, three hundred and nine were sentenced to death, and in a population of one hundred and fifty thousand there were on average twenty deaths a year from unnatural causes. Ninety-five of these were

murders by knife, pistol, sword or locilla, and one was suffocated with a pillow. Robbery, vengeance or gambling were the usual motives.[27] The first years of the seventeenth century were also marked by the temporary removal of the royal Court from Valladolid to Madrid, with all its hangers-on used to a life of idleness. By 1637 crime in Madrid was a huge problem, according to one chronicler.[28] By 1654, another diarist, Barrionuevo, said that robberies had increased so much that thieves went about in gangs of ten and twenty, and any groups of loiterers at night were incarcerated, regardless of class, in an effort to stop this crime:

> En Madrid cogen infinidad de ladrones, y algunos clérigos entre ellos... No me maravillo, que los aprietos de las necesidades son tales que juzgo que todos lo han de hacer.[29]

Barrionuevo's comment on prevailing social needs was fairly typical of the times. Whilst those in power effected political changes, the social consequences were felt at all levels. A general decline of feudal power was reflected in the violence and brutality of impoverished nobles and in the political adventurism of princes and grandees. These tendencies came together in informal groupings of unemployed military freebooters and younger sons of aristocratic families, who attached themselves to great lords in return for sustenance and prospects of prestige, preferment and profitable marriage arrangements. The Grand Seigneur's retinue of gentlemen bravos was often the basis of a lucrative political gangsterism evolving mainly around the royal treasury. They awaited the opportunities which they could not create - a regency, a foreign invasion, or an outbreak of popular violence. But behind the rhetoric of public welfare and the hatred of despotic or dishonest masters, lay the fundamentally conservative goals of every aristocratic factionalist - a personal ascendancy over the monarch.[30] Philip II's bureaucratic administration encouraged a new trend in favoritism and corruption, which further aggravated factionalism. His centralist policy provoked rancour in the periphery, where Castilian pride in its overseas achievements irritated the governments of Catalonia, Valencia, Navarra and Baleares, who suffered from oppressive taxation. High offices in social and economic status went to men of the 'dos Castillas'. In Catalonia the viceroys, comisarios, abbots, and bishops were Castilians. And to cap it all, there was an embargo on Catalans emigrating or trading with Hispanic America. Consequently political insubordination was rife in Catalonia, where the situation polarized between Nyerros and Cadells. At one level they defended the

privileges of nobility and city respectively, whilst ideologically, they represented francophiles and hispanophiles. Although their origins go back to the twelfth century, when the Nyerros had been Templars engaged in the conquest of Mallorca, and in the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa,[31] it was in the 1580s that hostilities really broke out. Unlike true mercenaries, however, hired long term by a sovereign or state, these bandits, as they became known, were mobilized for short-term activities by a lord or by the people. Allegedly, the band existed, not to rob or kill, but to fight and harm another band, to avenge a wrong, or to settle a rivalry, and it was often a struggle between caballeros.[32] Descendants of the Nyerros in the seventeenth century were the miguelets, an ambiguous term for men of ambivalent persuasion. They were at different times guerillas, counter-guerillas, Spanish provincial police, and Pyrenean bandits.[33]

It has been proposed (unconvincingly) that after repression by the Santa Hermandad, some bandits drifted to the towns and adapted, bringing with them their associative experience.[34] Can one say with any certainty that the criminals' level of organization contributed at this historical moment to a noted increase in urban lawbreaking, or was it, rather, that the association was born of the swelling numbers of criminals? It may not even be true that urban crime was higher in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than at any earlier period. Not much is known about earlier criminal activities, except from civil and canonical legal documents and similar primary sources. And yet, there are plausible enough reasons to support a theory that Spain was hit by a wave of crime specifically in the Golden-Age period, when so many issues were in the melting pot. By the sixteenth century the size and complexity of European underworld societies had overflowed the confines of local taverns, to occupy large areas of major commercial towns. The legendary 'finishing school' of all Spanish criminals was El Mesón del Potro at Cordoba. Reference to the city alone sufficed to evoke the criminal underworld.[35] The low life of Seville focused on Triana and El Arenal, the meeting-place between Spain and America. Padre León also encountered the Sevillian low-life element at las Tabladas: the zone of diseased, out-of-work prostitutes, and site of the city's gallows. But the pícaro's Mecca was the little Andalusian port of Zahara with its tunny fish, as indeed was the entire area of the Gibraltar Straits known as El Real de las Almadrabas.[36]

9.4 Organized Crime in Golden-Age Spain

Evidence pointing to the existence in cities of organized criminal gangs is more than anecdotal. It may be tempting to dismiss contemporary accounts as fanciful inventions by their chroniclers. But one should bear in mind that what little is known today of organized crime is mostly revealed in the press and popular literature. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, the loss of extant documentary evidence through fire and flood may be the deliberate work of interested parties.[37] Secondly, as some contemporary names imply (swaggerer, mafioso, valiente), the underworld actually courted publicity to enhance its prestige and authority.[38] People had to know that a crime committed bore the ritual trademark of the organization, and often, too, the reason for the crime. The first, and most effective way to advertize its operations was by word of mouth. First-hand witnesses such as police and bystanders were seldom loathe to impart spicy details (which gained in stature during the communication process), but not to testify in court. The other mode of self-advertizing is by cooperation with writers to 'romanticize' their life and works.[39] Abundant newspaper footage and publications today about mafioso operations testify to a tacit collaboration between journalists and the Mafia. It is rare, however, that active mafiosi are named or their activities specified, except perhaps in coded fashion, and this holds true also for Spanish Golden-Age writers on contemporary crime.

There is good reason to cite mafiosi operations in this context, because Sicily at this period was under Spanish rule, and suffered the same discrimination as Catalonia in regard to political power. In addition, the Holy Inquisition, which had installed itself in Palermo in 1487, became a prototype for the Mafia, in methods and purpose. By 1525 it was sufficiently strong to force the Viceroy there to legislate for the exemption from taxation and the rule of law, for hundreds of wealthy or powerful affiliates (familiari). Henceforth they could steal, kill, and blackmail with impunity, and enjoyed the ultimate weapon of denunciation, which meant death of the victim, and confiscation of his property in their favour. By 1577 Viceroy Marco Antonio Colonna estimated that there were at least 24,000 familiari in Sicily.[40] In 1611, the Duke of Osuna, then Viceroy, wrote to the King that murderers were cheap to hire there, protected as they were by their aristocratic employers. He went on: 'This kingdom recognizes neither God nor His

Majesty; everything is for sale, including the lives and possessions of the poor, the estates of the King, and justice itself'. The Spaniards there organized a popular militia to maintain order, but paid only captains and sergeant-majors. Just as this reward system had led to the corruption of ideals in the Templars, so the Spanish militia became a body of legalized bandits.[41]

Throughout Europe the power of the barons, the threat of the Inquisition, and total corruption of the legal system also augmented the power of city guilds, which changed into societies concerned with enforcement of their own justice, and protection of their own interests. Because these guilds were closed monopolies with inherited privileges (such as the right to carry arms), they never served the cause of the common people. In Sicily this led to the formation of a 'middle class' between the feudal remnants and urban and rural masses, parasitic upon both. It comprised the guildsmen, familiari, and gabelloti (estate managers for absentee landlords, who had risen from the peasantry, and acquired a name as local potentates). Parallels with Spain, especially Andalusia, are self-evident. Despite the accepted view that the Mafia was born with the unification of Sicily and Italy in 1860, Servadio has shown that every aspect of mafioso philosophy and practice was functioning long before.[42] Unlike other secret societies, such as the Carbonari or the Camorra, the Mafia was not a unified, secret organization headed by a mastermind, but comprised a network of social and economic ideologies. At a local level, it is true, there was a Mafia gang (cosca) with its capocosca at the head. But each of these operated within the larger network, about which members at the base of the pyramid rarely knew very much. The impression is gained, thereby, of discrete units of organized crime, each having its own name, when in fact the reality was a huge network.

It would be foolhardy to overlook what was happening in contemporary Sicily, when our attention now returns to mainland Spain, in our quest for corporate association in the violent underworld, especially as the data suggest that there was not one, but many criminal societies at this period, each with its own name and area of operation. The Hermandad de los Camanduleros comprised fake beatos, who wore black clerical garb. The name came from the rosary (camándula) which they wore. Their activities involved acting as executors of wills, with the intention of defrauding widows of their inheritance. They also

infiltrated confraternal processions, supposedly collecting alms for the founding of hospitals and institutions to educate Jewish and Moorish children in the Catholic faith. They sold miraculous cures and charms for finding treasure.[43] Archives of the Holy Office reveal that in 1550 over 10,000 cofrades de la Camándula had been investigated, and that they had centres in Madrid, Toledo, Segovia, Cordoba, and Seville.[44]

Another criminal society, the Linajudos, dealt in genealogy, concealing or discovering facts, for a fee. The first recorded Linajudo was a knight of Seville, don Fernando de Leiva. His successors established a company which held regular meetings to decide upon the calumny, depending on the fee paid. The victim was warned of the risk he was taking in applying for a post, and invited to pay hush money. If he refused, the company presented false witnesses testifying to his heterodoxy, thereby destroying his prospects for ever. The system was so powerful, that applicants for a post would actively seek out the Linajudos first, before giving referees. Don Luis Alvarez and don Luis de Cabreros presided over a tribunal of about twenty such men in Seville. They employed an agent in Madrid, Andrés Albarracín, whose clerical garb gave him access to tribunals and councils where testimonies and denunciations were sent. Alvarez's father, Antonio Pérez Alvarez was employed in Seville's depositario general, and had a huge archive on lineages at his disposal.[45] A lot of evidence was burnt, but when the fraud was discovered, don Luis was sentenced to death, Juan de Medina, a public scrivener of Triana, went to the galleys for ten years, and the rest of the organization went to the garrisons of Ceuta and Melilla. Meanwhile in Madrid, Albarracín was arrested, and with him two knights of Santiago, don Luis de Taboada and don Francisco de Laredo. Sentence was finally passed in 1655, but these last two were reprieved. Contemporary pasquines may have been the work of the Linajudos, to judge by common traits described in a poem by Argensola:

> También tiene en Madrid Micer Pasquino,
> como extranjero príncipe, su agente,
> que, inquiriendo las vidas diligente,
> nuevas ciertas le escribe de contino.
> El, desde allá (que es conde palatino,
> y títulos da y grados fácilmente),
> a cada cual despacha su patente,
> sin hacerles pagar ni el pergamino.
> Díceme, pues, que viene el ordinario
> cargado de patentes de cornudos,
> que en ocio les promete grandes bienes.
> Bien me puedes mandar albricias, Mario,

que pues así te llaman aun los mudos,
Pasquín lo sabe y en la lista vienes.[46]

According to one scholar, there was another secret society called la Germanía, which controlled prostitution, contract killings, robberies, swindles and vengeance contracts. Although its main headquarters was the Compás de Sevilla and the Patio de los Naranjos, it also had satellites in Madrid, Segovia, Salamanca, Valladolid, Burgos, Zaragoza, Toledo and Malaga. It was said that a condition of entry was a previous prison or galleys sentence and a public whipping. Clients of the Germanía were wealthy and often high-ranking, who could pay well for its services. They might be young widows looking for a comfortable living, suitors keen to chase off rivals, or ambitious courtiers seeking preferment.[47] Outside the society, alguaciles acted as paid accomplices to protect the germanos.

Evidence for the existence of the Garduña is less conclusive, but if it did exist in anything like the form to which that evidence points, then it was probably the most powerful secret society of all.

the sixteenth century the Society had become the unofficial weapon of the Holy Inquisition against Jews, Moslems, and other marrano heretics. Controversial claims for its origins, or indeed for its existence in early modern Spain, are less relevant to the present study than the fact that sixteenth-century writers sometimes referred to it specifically by name, or else based their own fictitious criminal societies on features accredited to this organization by popular sources extant today. Early members were corchetes and leguleyos of the Audiencias and Holy Office, accustomed by the end of the fifteenth century to sacking and stealing from the homes of Jews and Moriscos whom they visited to make arrests. By this time they allegedly had thousands of affiliates, all adhering to a strict set of rules.[48] Allegedly, the work masterminded by the Garduña included robbery, extortion, and contract killing. The tariff also specified kidnapping and deportation, provision of false witnesses, selling of enemies as slaves, and falsification of documents. Contracts were binding; if the Garduña agreed to murder a man at a specified time and place, he was murdered exactly as promised. Half of any agreed fee was paid in advance, and the balance on completion. The use of this money was controlled by fixed rules. A third of the booty went to the general funds of the Garduña; a third went to running expenses; and the rest was shared among those who actually did the deed. In 1821 the existence of la Garduña was discovered during a routine police inquiry,

when a comprehensive record of its dealings was found at the house of the Grand Master, Francisco Cortina. The MS showed that there were branches in Toledo, Barcelona, Cordoba, and other cities, towns and villages. In a hundred and forty-seven years of co-operation with the Inquisitors between 1520 and 1667, almost two thousand enterprises of dubious kinds were allegedly entrusted by the Inquisition to the Garduña.[49] Professor Round points out that there were political issues at stake in the Liberal trienio, when these records allegedly emerged.[50] The validity of nineteenth-century evidence is therefore questionable, unless data can be found contemporary with the period of investigation, which coincides with the 'counter-Masonry' fervour on which modern researchers have had to rely. A discussion of nineteenth-century history here would take us too far from the subject of this thesis. Cortina's document will therefore serve to direct the search back to the period of study (the Golden Age), for other data on the Garduña.

Earlier documentary evidence is lacking, except that a seventeenth-century diary records that a church musician arrested in Toledo (1656) had a book in his possession ('un libro de caja y correspondencia') which listed the names of notorious thieves in Madrid, Seville, Cordoba, Granada, Jaén, Valladolid, Guadalajara, Zaragoza, and Valencia. All that one can infer from this report is that there was a criminal network operating at this period in Spain, of unknown name or activities. However, painstaking research of earlier literary sources reveals that in the 1620s and 1630s the word most often used in Spain, when the subject was organized crime, was garduña. For example, Castillo Solórzano wrote a novel about a team of con-women who operated in several Spanish cities, maintaining communication between one another, and sharing the spoils. He refers to the sect variously as: 'las confederadas en la estafante profesión'; and 'los dos coros de garduñas'.[51] And Rojas Zorrilla's prisoner, Mellado, says, boasting of his career in crime, which culminated in murder:

> Garduñáronme en flagante,
> metiéronme en la doctrina,
> rogáronme luego que
> cantáramos; no canté,
> hubo un viernes desciplina,
> preguntáronme la ley,
> y pienso que voy de veras
> por seis años a galeras
> a servir a Dios y la Rey.[52]

In another account of a criminal's career, written in 1644, Añasquillo de Toledo claims:

> Seis años ha que me puse
> A Garduño en esta tierra,
> Examinado de Caco
> En la Vera de Plasencia.[53]

Perhaps the most intriguing of these simple references to garduña is one by Villamediana, merciless satirist of the King's privados and ministers. In a poem celebrating Lerma's fall from grace, he names Rodrigo Calderón, Jorge de Tovar, Pedro de Tapia and his wife, doña Ana, daughter of another minister, Antonio Bonal, concluding:

> Toda garduña prosapia
> recela esposas y grillos;
> de medrosos, amarillos
> andan ladrones a pares.[54]

9.4.1 Physical Violence

Villamediana's suggestion that political crimes were usually perpetrated by another, to protect the instigator, is borne out by contemporary evidence of contract killings.[55] Hired killers were certainly involved in the affairs of Rodrigo Calderón, Marqués de Siete Iglesias. At his trial on 9 July, 1621, amongst his many alleged crimes, he was accused (but acquitted) of having several people killed; of arresting Agustín de Avila, Alguacil de la Corte, and trying to poison him in prison; and of having Francisco de Juara killed by Sargento Juan de Guzmán.[56] Another case of contract killing concerns a notorious thief, Sebastián Sánchez, who asked to see el Conde de Puñoenrostro before his hanging on 15 January, 1627, saying:

> He suplicado a VS se sirva de llegarse aquí para decirle que si dos días tardarán en prenderme fuera muerto VS de mi mano; para lo cual ya había recibido dinero y me lo pagaban muy bien; y de esta intención mía le suplico de rodillas me perdone; y le advierto ande con cuidado y mire por sí, porque pudiera ser hacerlo otro; y no me pregunte más, que no le diré aunque me maten a tormentos.[57]

Hired thugs were still active in 1637 in Madrid, when don Juan Pacheco, son of Marqués de Carralbo, was imprisoned in the convent of Calatrava for having arranged a face-slashing (cuchillada) for Tomás Fernández, the playwright. The victim had refused to stage a new comedia on Saint Blaise's Day to mark the recovery from quartan fever of Pacheco's mistress, daughter of Marqués de Cadrieta.[58] The business of face-slashing was meticulously regulated by the criminal fraternity.

The length of the wound depended upon the contract taken out, and was measured by the number of stitches required to dress it. In Rinconete y Cortadillo, the appropriately-named Chiquiznaque (see page 371 below) is hired to inflict a 'cuchillada de a catorce [puntos]' on a merchant, but as his face proves too small, the lackey's face is visited instead. 'Quien bien quiera a Beltrán, bien quiera a su can', says the hitman by Gregorio Guadaña, who agreed to give him [illegible]. There may be some Cervantine ironies at work here, but victims' dependants were, in practice, fair game, and the scale of injuries did matter.

el Malo 'una docena de palos, salvo error de cuenta', and 'un chirlo de cosa de diez puntos cirujanos tan malos, que ninguno se los quitará por el tanto'.[59] In thieves' argot the face-slash was el chirlo or per signum crucis.[60] Quevedo differentiated between minor slashes (chirlos), and atrocious ones (cuchilladas): 'Calzaba diez y seis puntos de cara, que tantos tenia en una cuchillada que le partia las narices, tenía otros tres chirlos'.[61] The chirlo was a degrading wound, intended to show the victim's stupidity and his assailant's scorn for him. Having the chance of killing, he settled instead for maiming his victim. Knife wounds in general reflected the skill of the perpetrator and carried a distinctive name.[62] Maluenda wove the description of one of these cuchilladas into a very lyrical verse, whose covert allusion might elude the unwary or uninitiated:

> Un atrevido arroyuelo
> corre al Turia a retraerse,
> que cruzó la cara a un soto
> pomposo, florido y verde,
> con torcido curso huye,
> porque teme que le encuentre,
> quien dé a su intento atrevido
> castigo, escarmiento y muerte.[63]

Evidently this was not gratuitous violence, but well-organized crime. The right of private vengeance was not abolished at law until the late fourteenth century, and was freely exercised in practice until the sixteenth century.[64] In the underworld, however, organized vendettas continued throughout the seventeenth century, working on the principle that any offence a man received must be answered in duel, by murder, or by the hand of a mercenary, to recover lost honour. Face-slashing was so common in the early seventeenth century that a parodic tribunal of Apollo proposed the instatement in every town of an expert who would advertize his services and fees, without incurring the risk of criminal proceedings, and claim a portion of the profits gained by barber-surgeons who stitched the wounds.[65] Rojas Zorrilla also

suggested that certain slashes were reserved for distinct types of people, when he portrayed a group of prisoners, in Obligados y ofendidos, bragging of their prowess.[66] And Salas Barbadillo confirms that it was the liberal who did this work, whilst at the same time exaggerating for comic effect, and punning in his incomparable style on the deed:

> Tenía presunciones de valiente... El rostro tenía bien acuchillado, no de heridas que recibió en pendencia corriente con su espada tendida, sino que se las dieron a su pesar algunos que fueron más liberales con él de lo que quisiera. Su lengua no era muy sana, y de eso le procedió el traer su rostro con tantas señales de la Santa Cruz con que andaba siempre abroquelado contra el demonio, que era lo propio que contra sí mismo.[67]

Besides inflicting cuchilladas de tantos puntos, and permanent facial scars with flasks of ink or brandy, liberales also had libellous verses (pasquines) published and perpetrated other public humiliations.[68] Rinconete annotates these skills: 'redomazos, untos de miera, clavazón de sambenitos y cuernos, matracas, espantos, alborotos y cuchilladas fingidas, publicación de nibelos [libelos]'.[69] Liberales charged a handsome fee for their 'dispatch work', as Estebanillo González discovers when he hires two valientes to protect him after his mistress threatens to have his face scarred. The fee depended upon the status of executioner and victim, ranging, according to popular opinion, from 10 to 30 ducats, and the agreement was strictly 'cash on delivery'.[70] When Enrico spares the life of his victim, Albano, in Tirso de Molina's El condenado por desconfiado, his henchman, Galván, warns him to return the money advanced for the assignment, and his contractor scoffs: '¿Esto es ser hombre de bien?'.[71] The money was usually controlled by an efficient fiscal system: 'De cuando en cuando', says Truchado in De la Hermanía, looking back over his career, 'caí alguna cuchillada, algún antubión o algún género de venganza, que se paga razonablemente; y aunque no se toca por entero, porque la cofradia se lleva un pedazo, con los percances de otros, se sale todo allá'.[72] This contribution to the cofradía amounted to a form of social security. In return for a fee, their work was masterminded by the Monipodio of the organization and their safety usually assured. Tasks were publicly appraised by the underworld chief on a weekly basis, before he allocated jobs for the coming week. Criminals found wanting were disciplined. A first offender forfeited his share of the gains. He lost his job for six months for a second offence, and if he proved incorrigible, he was

surrendered to an alguacil.[73] One of these Godfather figures was Buenas Manos. He had orchestrated many blood-crimes through his valientes, who were never idle, and sometimes entrusted with a lucrative assignment abroad.[74]

It is likely, but not proven, that private vendettas between courtiers of the kind described in recent paragraphs had a political origin. It is easier, however, to prove the link between politics and organized crime when it operated on an international scale, as the following cases reveal. Whilst one cannot know with certainty the mastermind behind these activities, there is ample documentary proof that Spain was using hired ruffians and spies, who had contact with the twilight world of renegades, for her diplomatic initiatives in the East. Juan Bareli, a Knight of the Order of Malta, organized an uprising in Constantinople in 1569-70, but failed to blow up the Arsenal with explosives he had brought. Officially he was there on a peace mission with the Pasha. Another diplomatic hitman was Martín de Acuña, nicknamed Cugnaletta, who obtained a quick peace treaty with Constantinople in 1577, but boasted later of firing the Turkish fleet. The Viceroy of Naples dubbed him 'one of the most disreputable Spaniards ever to have come to Italy'. And in Constantinople the Imperial ambassador said: 'The street urchins all know him and his secrets'. Parallels with Bareli suggest that more such missions may not have come to light. A list of these contemporary agentes would include Alonso de Contreras, Benvenuto Cellini, and the author of Estebanillo González. They were mostly renegades hoping to be received back into grace, and former captives claiming to be experts on the Levant. In the no-man's land between two civilizations, this strange army, not always officially recognized by its employers, handled diplomatic affairs.[75]

9.4.2 Verbal Treachery

Diplomacy, as the name implies, meant spoken negotiation rather than violent solutions, but the result could be just as treacherous. Political knowledge made men dangerous, as a contemporary cameo of an ambassador in Constantinople explains: a disreputable soldier, who knows more about chicanery than combat, has broken the fifth commandment a thousand times in streets and taverns, and never with arms.[76] Salas Barbadillo concludes: 'Es de la lengua espadachin este hombre'. The risk of verbal treachery was also noted by Rojas Zorrilla, whose

character, don Diego, is wary of accepting an invitation to stay in Zaragoza, after fleeing from a crime he committed in Madrid:

> No niego que pudieras defenderme;
> Pero para mejor asegurarme
> Me importa de las lenguas esconderme,
> Que pueden con las plumas declararme.[77]

The business of libel provided a role for academy men. Coached in the art of satirical exposés by their academies, writers like Juan de Salinas put their talents to good public use. The Hospital del Cardenal in Seville was pledged to donate the Discalced Dominicans a cahiz of wheat annually. When they failed to make a donation for two successive years, Salinas, who was one of the visitors for the monastery, threatened to expose Doctor Serna, the hospital administrator, by writing a décima, which he subsquently did.[78] Popular literature reveals countless other cases of literary satire, which stress the persisting association between hitmen and literary men. For example, when a character is asked to write a satire against a fickle woman, he replies that: 'tan bien sabía dar cuchilladas como hacer coplas; que si él no quería aventurar su persona, que yo me encargaría de romper la cabeza a quien le había enojado'.[79] Pasquines written by or for the underworld naturally used its esoteric language, thereby disclosing much about the organization, especially its argot. As popular interest grew in this alternative society, poets regaled polite society with glossaries of underworld terms:

> Cisne llama al que confiesa,
> Que para morirse canta;
> Al potro, confesonario,
> Donde sus culpas relata;
> Postillón, al pregonero;
> Papel blanco, a las espaldas;
> Al verdugo, sello real;
> ... Noli me tangere, al juez;
> Juicio final, a la sala;
> A los pleitos, sanguijüelas,
> Como al relator, balanza;
> Al destierro, romería;
> A las galeras, gurapas;
> Mosqueado, a los azotes;
> Y a la horca, postrer ansia.[80]

9.4.3 Argot - Spoken and Written

By the late sixteenth century a literary genre had grown up solely for the purpose of enlightening decent people about the underworld, and it is to this genre that we owe our knowledge of the argot. There is no evidence of the existence of cant before 1500, but within a hundred

years, thanks to popular literature, it had been absorbed into contemporary speech.[81] The development of the Spanish argot has received little attention, except for two or three studies, and incidental references in other works.[82] The topic can only be touched upon here, in so far as it contributes to a knowledge of underworld societal organization. There was, for instance, a lexis based on the phonetic similarity between bola, the fairs where criminals operated, and the verb volar, to fly: boleador, comendador de bola, and espada y daga dorada a lo de aires bola.[83] Within this lexis is also gente de vida airada, and los bravos de la vida airada.[84] Highly lyrical metaphors might be based largely on this lexis, as when a thief in Lugo y Dávila's cryptic story of the Germanía complains: 'Agarran a uno y de un boleo le envían por escribano de la mar (ya entienden vuercedes, sin sueldo y con pluma de palo)'. He goes on: 'Y esto de gurapas, ¡libera nos, Dómine!'.[85] As in all underworld groups, words commonly used by the thieves carried the opposite meaning. Writers frequently targeted this backslang. Rinconete laughed at some of the more obscure involutions,[86] whilst Alonso de Contreras was bewildered by the language: 'Para mí, todo lo que me dijo era latín, pues no entendía aquellos términos ni lenguage'.[87] Perhaps significantly Rinconete and Cortadillo drift away from the fraternity, whereas those who will successfully integrate recognize the need to learn the language: 'Admirábase don Diego del germánico idioma destos jayanes, en cuyas frases y términos halló, si no elegancia, novedad'.[88] Quevedo's Pablos also survived, because he understood the ritual meaning and value of argot: 'Estudié la jacarandina, y a pocos dias era rabi de los otros rufianes'.[89] As the Andalusian underworld was their Mecca, novices learnt to address each other in its dialect: 'sor Ahumado', and 'sor compadre'.[90] Thus when Quevedo's Pablos became a fullero, he says he had to lower his collar, and interchange 'h' and 'j'.[91] It was also mandatory to sprinkle their conversation with '¡Por Dios!', '¡Vive Cristo!', and '¡Voto a Dios!'[92] This made for ease of recognition between criminals. It also assists modern readers to recognize the stock criminal in popular literature. Fernández de Ribera captures this stereotype perfectly in an account of two gamblers about to fight. As the temperature rises, their language is punctuated with comments like 'Vuacé'; '¡Por vida de la tierra!'; 'Sor Prieto'; and '¡Por el sol de agosto!'.[93] Lengthy literary accounts such as this were usually

unnecessary, however. The expression 'lo de Dios es Cristo' was sufficient to evoke the valiente, for whom it became a kind of motto.[94] As works dealing with the marginal classes grew in popularity, the conceits became more sophisticated. A cryptic passage by Prado about a man who joins the Zaragoza brotherhood is a good example of this quasi-hermetic literature:

> Había sido cochero tan diestro, que por dar una vuelta por las cortinas del coche, sin llevar medias ni vueltas, lo habian puesto de vuelta y media en solfá bien cantada si mejor entendida de los que le vieron, cuando le cortejaron doscientos cardenales que el papa Correa le envió el día de su mayor lucimiento, por ser persona digna, como constaba, de su compañía, en cuyo día se vistió un jubón, que lo hizo sudar por ajustado, gala que le dejó el talle liso como la palma, gracias a sus hijos, digo los dátiles, que pusieron todo cuidado en su adorno; algunos maliciosos dijeron iban corridas los cardenales.[95]

The man had clearly been a sort of cigarrero, and/or the gallant who flirted with courtesans while they promenaded in their carriages, condemned to the potro, and then given two hundred lashes with a leather strap (correa).[96] Another extract by Lugo y Dávila about a jaque ilustre also illustrates the denseness of conceits in underworld cant:

> A Sevilla, centro común donde se terminan las lineas de la rufianeria (a quien ellos llaman hermania) donde asiste su Macareno o Prioste, donde se derrama la huncia, donde se vierte el poleo, donde se califican los jayanes, donde se gradúan las marquizas, donde se examinan las flores y donde toda cicatería se avizora...[97]

There seems, then, to be a body of evidence to suggest that in Spain of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries urban crime was distinct from the 'crime passionnel'. Many of the acts of violence recorded involved a contract with a higher, unnamed power, and the exaction of a fee for the work. Motives for crime could be vengeance, but this was not always the case. A number of contemporary poets describe the nature and extent of organized urban crime at this period.[98]

9.4.4 Emblems of a Chivalric Past

How could these writers know about large-scale corruption in which they had no part? How could individuals in an enterprise make themselves known to each other without speaking? The answer, it seems, is by distinctions of dress or behaviour, which often accorded privileges and status within the group. It was said, for instance, that members of the Garduña seeking their confederates in a crowd would

insert the right thumb in the left nostril, as if inadvertently picking the nose.[99] The system adopted by one organization was described by a prisoner in Seville:

> Cualquier oficio de la compañia lleva su insignia y señal segreta, con que en un instante es conocido de los nuestros, sabiendo por este orden cuántos hay de un oficio en cada calle puesto. Y así, los salteadores llevan siempre un guante colgando asido por un dedo. Los capeadores se abotonan el jubón con intercisión, quiero decir uno sí, otro no. Los estafadores se adrezan la barba y mostachos cada cinco pasos que caminan, metiendo algunas veces el dedo en las ventanas de las narices. Los cortabolsas llevan un señalito blanco en el cordón del sombrero. Los maletas llevan la capa de cierta manera, y finalmente, cada oficio tiene su particular señal con que se conoce.[100]

Esoteric signalling such as this had a precedent in the Military Orders, who were recognized by a tattoo on the arm, conceded to them by Alfonso X:

> E porque fuessen tenudos de guardar esto, e non errar en ello en ninguna manera, hacianles antiguamente dos cosas. La una, que los señalaban en los brazos diestros, con hierros calientes de señal, que ningun otro ome no la habia de traer, si no ellos.[101]

Chaves notes that valientes in Seville's Cárcel Real also wore tattoos, though his comparison with the slave brand may have been a deliberate intention to avoid exalting them (since the slave was usually branded on the face, not the arm). Here is a good example of the need to treat even accredited primary sources with care. If we ignore Chaves's personal bias, the location of the tattoo suggests a different origin from the one implied:

> Siempre tienen punzado un corazón de cardenillo en la mano o en el brazo, como letras de esclavo herrado, o número de fardo u otra mercaduría, en que se echa de ver que es hacienda de Satanás.[102]

What other knightly or heroic attributes can one find from popular accounts of criminals? The beard, with its connotations of honour, had given way amongst soldiers and valientes to the handlebar moustaches, but facial hair was still regarded as a sign of virility and military prestige. Without his moustaches a valiente was worthless, like Samson without his hair. This point is emphasized in two humorous portrayals, one when Estebanillo González accidentally singes the moustache of a valiente at the barber's, and another when Marcos de Obregón deliberately removes half of a valiente's moustache while he sleeps in

prison.[103] It is a pitiful fellow who wakes next day, all his strength and influence gone. Valientes went to some trouble to dress their moustaches; a routine with which contemporary writers were familiar.[104] Maluenda wrote a humorous satire which begins: 'Yo soy un lindo excelente', and tells how, despite his hunger, he had to refuse an invitation to eat, for fear of soiling his moustache.[105] Salas Barbadillo considered the lengths involved in dressing the moustaches a punishing ritual, akin to ritual penitence: 'Estoy penando en una bigotera de fuego', Don Diego protests, 'porque, siendo gentilhombre mendicante, caminaba con horma y bigotera a un lado y molde para el cuello y la bula en el otro'.[106]

Another chivalric attribute adapted by the valientes was possession of a sacral sword.[107] Roland's Durendaal, sometimes alluded to in Spanish literature, has its counterpart in Waldhere in the sword Mimming, forged by the great smith of the Teutonic pantheon, Woland.[108] But the Cid's sword, Tizona, was more frequently invoked:

Que siendo tan viejo
le ciñan espada,
y si es calidad
para ser preciada
ser espada vieja,
ésta lo es sin falta
y aunque no es del Cid
'Tizona' la llaman
porque entre tizones
sirve de tenazas.[109]

La Colada was another of the Cid's swords. There is a reference to both of these in Rojas Zorrilla's play about student life in Salamanca, when four valientes lie in wait to attack Arnesto. One of them, Mellado, says: '¿Vela vuested que es tizona? Luego la verá colada'.[110] The name Tizona, coupled with the valiente's cowardly reputation, fuelled a contemporary appetite for puns. Polo de Medina narrates a comical encounter between the devil and a coachman which ends in the latter fleeing from the devil's firebrand: 'Con esto envainamos yo mi tizona, y el diablo su tizón, y desde allí cogimos las de Villadiego y dimos con nuestros cuerpos en Génova'.[111] As La Colada also referred to the knighting ceremony of touching the shoulder with a sword blade, the chivalric association is very clear. Displays of fearsome swords had become a social problem by the 1560s, calling for tougher legislation. A pragmatic of 18 July, 1564 imposed a limit on the size of swords, stocks (estoques), tucks (verdugos), and rapiers carried in the

street.[112] The expression más de marca subsequently referred to this limit. The penalty for carrying such a sword in 1604 was 300 ducats and ten years in the galleys. But in 1663 the law was still trying to eradicate the custom. Santos describes a scene outside the Cárcel de Corte, where an officer has confiscated a man's sword 'por ser de más de marca y traerla en vaina abierta'.[113]

This last point about the way in which the sword was worn is also significant, when one recalls the parallels in the chivalric world.[114] The Espadachin, as he was known in Spain, rested his hand on the hilt such that the point was raised behind him, and his other arm rested on this.[115] He was seen all over Europe, strutting about and nodding familiarly to any important figure he passed. 'You could tell these travelled Gulls', says James Howell, 'by their gait and strutting, their bending in the hams and shoulders, and looking upon their legs with frisking and singing'.[116] The Spaniards invented a phrase for this characteristic swagger, claiming it as a national trait. This, at least, was the view of a contemporary prisoner:

> Cuando el francés se pasea por la calle con fantasía, lleva la capa colgada del hombro y la mano en el pomo de la espada; el español va echando piernas y retorciéndose los bigotes.[117]

The expression was very much in vogue at this time, always with the sense of insolent bravado.

Amongst their distinctive weaponry, valientes also carried a dagger,[118] the longest of which was the fearsome zinquizanque (the terciado, or machete), an onomatopoeic representation of the sound it made in a fight (compare the character Chiquiznaque in Cervantes's Rinconete y Cortadillo). There was a recognized hierarchy of daggers amongst the criminals. Pícaros and low grade germanos used a cuchillo, whilst rufianes or valentones used a dagger (daga) with between one and four blades, a stiletto (puñal), and a flick-knife (navaja).[119] These formidable knives were so prevalent in Seville that a deputation of councillors in 1607 appealed for a pragmatic against them.[120]

9.4.5 Theological Lock-Picking in the Underworld

To resume so far, there is support in contemporary fiction for the notion of a solidarity among the violent classes, a solidarity cultivated primarily by borrowings from the military world, and especially from the chivalric code. This furnished the valiente with recognizable modes of dress and behaviour. If their role model was the knightly class, one might expect to see

To what extent, then, did they either experience their religion as supportive of their criminal activities, or consciously use it as such?

represented as a Godless figure by the law-abiding side of society. The next section will try to redress the balance, by looking at the stereotyped criminal in greater detail, assessing the problem of religion in the underworld in relation to Spanish Catholicism in the post-Tridentine era.

It may surprise an outsider to this culture to realize that criminal activities did not interfere with Christian faith.[121] Being ultra-traditional in their religious beliefs, the criminal classes resisted new ideas and religious currents. Religion meant merely the external devotions. Theirs was a religion become superstition, says Parker, a danger which threatens all institutional religion.[122] Something of this is seen in El Buscón, when members of Ramplón's gang react to an eclipse by crossing themselves and kissing the ground.[123] A thief was rarely caught without an amulet or scapular on his person, and it is said that he chanted certain prayers to make himself invisible to armed enemies.[124] Juan de Salinas satirized a valiente he had seen in the Hospital del Cardenal of Seville, because he had both a dagger and a rosary tucked into his belt.[125] Motivation for regular attendance on holy days and at jubilees, however, was more for profane reasons, just as it was for the beggars. Criminals would spend all day in church, waiting to hide in some dark corner until nightfall, to steal the jewels and money from the collecting boxes. As a popular name for the collecting box was Juan, the thief who rifled it also went by this name: Juan, Juanero, or Devoto de Maese Juan.[126]

Superficially, this kind of cult seems hardly likely to win divine approval. So readers are invited to laugh with Rinconete and Cortadillo at the thieves' faith in their own salvation.[127] But if the gate of heaven was opened with a golden key, as every thief knew, locks can be picked. In their version of theology, doing wrong was innate, which exonerated them from all responsibility. Besides, like any other guild, the thieves believed that in practising their trade, they were actively serving God. Cervantes demonstrates this attitude when the novice introduces himself to Rinconete and Cortadillo as 'ladrón para servir a Dios y a las buenas gentes'.[128] So strong was this faith in the afterlife, that they became known euphemistically as 'los de estemos en gracia de Dios'.[129] As long as they offered candles to their patron

saint out of profits, and trusted in God's mercy, their conscience was clear and the future secure. One of Monipodio's fraternity earnestly protests that they pray the rosary every week, and that many never steal on Fridays or speak to anyone called Maria on Saturdays: '¿No es peor ser hereje o renegado, o matar a su padre y madre, o ser solomico?' he says.[130] Safely held in the ample skirts of the Church, the criminal fraternity thus exhibited a strange ambivalence between sacred and sinful activities. Letters of challenge were often sent to and from churches, where the recipient could make his confession at once.[131] The best account of the Catholic criminal and his God is given by a prisoner in Seville's Cárcel Real:

> En lo que toca a la Religión, somos medio cristianos, pues, de dos mandamientos principales que hay en la ley de Dios, guardamos el uno, que es amar a Dios, pero no al prójimo, pues le quitamos lo que tiene. De la penitencia, recibimos las dos partes, que son la confesión (porque algunas veces nos confesamos) y la contrición; pero de la tercera, que es la satisfacción, no hay hablar.[132]

In contemporary Catholic terms, this religion steeped in ritual was more orthodox than contemporaneous devotions tending toward silent prayer and direct address to God. The criminals were especially given to worship of intercessionary saints, something anathematized by reformers such as Carranza and Luther; and advocated at Trent.[133] One of their patron saints was Saint Martin, who owed more to the famous wine, however, than to the man who shared his cloak with a beggar. Many literary works allude to him in this context. In <u>El sagaz Estacio</u> a porter, 'gran cofrade de Esquivias y San Martin', is summoned to a convocation of the brethren in the 'ermita de Baco'.[134] And when Estebanillo González reaches a shrine dedicated to San Fanfino, the saint invoked against syphilitic tumours, at the port of Melazo near Palermo, he cleaves to the superior Saint Martin (ch. II, 293b). In Marian hagiography it is clear that the Virgin did not withhold her aid from thieves and vagabonds. Consequently she was often invoked, along with the Holy Trinity, in their (bibulous) dedications. Gerarda, the go-between in <u>La Dorotea</u>, and Cosme, a drunken fool in <u>El sagaz Estacio</u>, both drink in the name of the Trinity, for reasons which Cosme explains:

> Hijo, ya es costumbre antigua, y gracias a Dios, me va bien con ella: hago que me traian un torreznico, y después de haberle comido envío en su retaguarda una tostada, y luego, a gloria y honra de la Santísima Trinidad, de quien siempre he sido muy devoto, juntamente con la pureza de la madre de

> Dios, bebo tres veces de vino puro, de este modo cumplo con entrambas devociones.[135]

The most important and universal patron 'saint' of criminals, however, was Mercury, the winged messenger. Known in classical Greek mythology as Hermes, he was god of merchants, travellers, and thieves, and finder of things lost. In Roman mythology Mercury dominated liars and thieves, medical practitioners and charlatans.[136] Consequently oblique references to winged heels were a cipher for Mercury and his disciples: 'Alas pon en los pies', says Trámpagos in El rufián viudo, to which Vademecum replies: 'Y en las espaldas'.[137]

The ambiguous piety, and the accompanying high social and devotional profile we have now demonstrated, in this quest for brotherhood in the violent classes, therefore accords well with the theory that theirs was a popular, not a doctrinal, system of devotion. But, like the orthodox religious fraternity, criminals also organized a programme of charity and mutual aid: 'Estamos obligados a sustentar y entretener todos los estropiados, ciegos, enfermos y los que ya, de puro viejos, no pueden hurtar', says one ex-thief.[138] And when death claimed a thief or one of his family, provision was made for the comfort of the deceased's soul. Monipodio's gang attend an annual mass for departed souls, which is why he needs to know all their names. Rinconete agrees to advise 'esta felicísima y abogada confraternidad' should his parents die.[139] There may be more here than simple reference by Cervantes to an established institution, but more literary evidence is needed to prove that criminals saw themselves as a quasi-pious confraternity. Contemporary texts suggest that in their own 'religious sect' criminals may have had strong ideas about, for example, demandadores and requiem masses (or at least their creators thought they should).[140] There is a good example of funeral rites in El sagaz Estacio, where Torres, the servant-made-good, cannot afford to pay for the necessary masses upon his master's death. He is not, we infer, a member of a pious confraternity, so he decides instead:

> Pasaré tres o cuatro veces estas cuentas con mucha devoción, suplicando a Aquella que es Estrella de la Mar y amparo de pecadores interceda con su precioso Hijo para que de alma goce quietud eterna.[141]

It is surely significant that Salas highlights the rosary, and patronage by the Virgin Mary, as the two vital components of Torres's devotion.[142]

The highlight of any burial was the refrigerium, the size of the proceedings being proportional to the station of the dead man. It may

be the case that, as Luther feared, this provided an excuse for bacchanalian orgies, especially amongst the criminals. When a funeral cortège arrives at the inn where Don Diego is lodging, the mesonera in Salas Barbadillo's novela says of the dubious gathering: 'Mira con el gusto que cenan estos señores; pero en su casa le deben de llorar bien a este señor difunto, que Dios haya perdonado'.[143] At another funeral banquet, in El Buscón, the ruffians talk of war and oaths are taken. They prescribe a thousand cuchilladas for the Asistente, reminisce over a past hero, Domingo Tiznado y Gayán, dedicate a lot of wine to the soul of Escamilla, and weep at the sad fate of Alonso Alvarez. These were infamous contemporary criminals, whom Quevedo probably knew, and though their plotting may be a fabrication, it is not inconceivable that such events served seditious goals.[144]

It seems, from the foregoing, that mutual aid was an accepted element of the criminals' organization, and may have been the incentive for joining. The picture is less clear, however, when it comes to charity, the rural bandit exhibiting more of this than his urban counterpart. The bandit reportedly lived on good terms with the peasant community, his 'programme' being the defence or restoration of perceived or traditional order.[145] His activities were aimed at protection of the peasantry, or at least, non-engagement with them. That the urban criminal, on the other hand, exercised no philanthropy outside his sect (see page 373 above), is curiously at variance with the theory proposed by several scholars that criminal organizational ethos was brought to urban centres by migrating rural bandits.[146] If this theory was true, why should philanthropy have disappeared? Was it because the peasant counterpart in an urban setting had no need of protection, being already integrated into the wider circle of marginals? Or was it that the motivation for crime changed from that of settling scores and private defence, to a permanent business of survival? That money changed hands and contracts were agreed, and that duties were allocated and controlled, does seem to suggest that urban criminals were at the forefront in a developing capitalist work ethic which had little to do with Catholic charity as a road for salvation. The earlier contention that the violent fraternities in Spain were related to lay confraternities needs revising now. It may be that the criminals represented a powerful trade guild, where religious life was secondary to the accumulation of capital. This being so, the idea of not one, but

many criminal organizations in Spain, some with national links, others international, seems more feasible. Nor would this exclude the possibility of a chivalric ancestry. The Templars and Hospitallers were regularly engaged on the international scene as bankers (and as spies) for the ruling states. Meanwhile, the evidence in favour of a trade organization among criminals is persuasive, but it may be that there is a problem, not with definition, but with translation of guild ethos. The next section of this chapter will therefore examine the evidence favouring a guild structure, whilst also questioning the rationale behind this assumption.[147]

9.4.6 A Guild of Thieves or Brothers in Arms?

The first accepted criterion of a guild is possession of a set of rules. But the same may be said of pious confraternities, literary academies, and the university. Augustine said that survival without a regulated existence was impossible even for prostitutes and go-betweens, who still had a place in the social order, however, base. His point was elaborated in Alfonso de Virués's translation of Erasmus's Cartuxano, in which el Cartujo invokes the need for a system of rules by which to live in a community.[148] Henri Sauval claimed that professional thieves in the seventeenth-century Cours des Miracles were also united in their own guild, entry to which was preceded by an examination: the execution of a sort of chef d'oeuvre in the art of burglary.[149] The 'guild' also had to arrange that each particular thief received sufficient employment, bearing in mind that numbers in any particular place should be regulated. Sauval's account of French organized crime has been largely discredited by Geremek, who says that he drew particularly on contemporary French translations of Spanish and Italian tracts.[150] One of these tracts may have been an account of a Sevillian organization by the Spanish chronicler, Luis Zapata, whose work forms the basis of all modern studies on Spanish thieves: 'En Sevilla dicen que hay cofradía de ladrones con su prior y cónsules como mercaderes'.[151] Zapata's comparison with a Guild Merchant is interesting, if a little misleading. Examination of each of his major criteria will show why this is so. The common features are seen to be: a hierarchy headed by a prior and consuls; a depository for storing their possessions and a community chest with three keys; a membership of stout and skilful Old Christians; connections with local justices and ruling authorities; and a vow of secrecy which foils all attempts to penetrate the organization and

assures its longevity. Taking the Consulado de Burgos (1494) as a model, this represented the final stage in development of a national group of merchants seeking defence of their collective privileges, and cohesion and discipline among themselves. Earlier phases of its development were the pious confraternity, the Marine Consulate, and the guild.[152] It called itself Prior y cónsules de la Universidad e Confradia de Santi Spiritus, de los mercaderes de la muy noble e mas leal Ciudad de Burgos.[153] Prior and consuls were elected at an annual chapter, accompanied by a solemn mass and a banquet.[154] Their function was to organize freightage and administer the Universidad. Disobedience was punished with fines, and members enjoyed fiscal privileges, insurance, commercial jurisdiction, and social prestige in town. Scriveners and procurators were employed to represent the Universidad, but like the priest in pious confraternities, their power was severely limited. The Consulado also had its own postal system with a designated Correo Mayor. Affairs discussed in meetings were recorded in the Libro de Ayuntamientos. Besides practising devotions, worshipping their own patron saint, and burying their dead, the Universidad looked after destitute members, and widows and orphans of merchant members. Documents were kept in a chest locked with two keys. A lot of business was done with traperos, who often gave no receipt for cloth bought for retail sale, until the ordinances insisted on an oath of honesty, to avoid fraud and speculation. Fines were also levied for dealing on a Sunday or fiesta. As in the universities and other contemporary institutions, conflict arose over civil jurisdiction: traditionally the province of the Audiencia and Chancillerías. And because litigation was costly and time-consuming, discord between members was banned. Members paid a contribution to the Universidad. Outgoing expenses included regular despatch of fleets and post, lawsuits, repairs of roads and bridges, masses and alms, donations, ransom of prisoners in the local jail, and loans to the Crown.

What Zapata describes above therefore accords quite well with the Consulado de Burgos, and, by extension, with other Guild Merchants. However, with few exceptions, Zapata's description also fits that of a pious confraternity, an organization from which the Consulado developed. In this case the vow of secrecy and the requirement that members be Old Christians were probably more often found in pious confraternities than in Guild Merchants. Zapata's lack of reference to a postal system, or

to banking facilities, also suggests a less-developed organization such as the pious confraternity.[155]

Another institution which fits Zapata's description quite well is the Military Order and its sibling, the chivalric order, as a few comparative remarks will show. The Prior or Grand Master was elected with the same ritual and had similar function and powers to priors in other institutions. Knights, too, enjoyed tremendous social prestige, as well as exemption from civil action in case of debt, and other benefits.[156] Like the pious confraternity, the Military Order employed priests (instead of the legal experts in the Guild Merchant), whose power was restricted. There seems to have been no regular system of communication nationwide between satellites of the chivalry orders, but feats of members were recorded in a Libro de Aventuras.[157] Devotions and burial privileges followed the pattern of other corporate bodies, but a welfare scheme for distressed relatives seems to have been lacking, though this does not imply that knights remained celibate.[158] The keeping of a chest with four keys was recorded for the Hospitallers in 1270.[159] This was opened according to a well-defined ritual. Careful scrutiny of novices excluded those in debt,[160] the ailing, handicapped or deformed, and apostates of other religious foundations. No proof of lineage was required for the Hospital or the Temple, whose recruitment was not limited to the noble ranks,[161] but vows of harmony and obedience were mandatory. Despite their stated aim of fighting for the Christian Church, a capitalist ethic operated in the Military Orders as early as the twelfth century, where charters of donation would be traded against the need to go on lengthy crusades, and an early system of mortgaging property and money-lending was widely used by Hospitallers and Templars, as also was acquisition of property in return for protection.[162]

9.4.6.1 Godfathers and Upright Men

[redacted] Taking the above features of internal organization in turn, it is proposed to examine all the relevant data available for criminal groups in the urban setting (because it was in the cities where organized crime throve in Golden-Age Spain), and to attempt a more detailed comparison than that of Zapata. The first significant criterion is hierarchy. The man at the top of the criminals' organization was known by various names. In the Germania he was called

El Gallo.[163] Derivation of the name is uncertain, but there is a possibility that it originated in the Roman galli, who practised self-flagellation using a leather whip studded with knuckle bones. On March 24, dies sanguinis, they had to flagellate themselves until they shed enough blood to anoint the altars and images in the temple.[164] If this is the origin of the criminal Gallo, then the leader clearly represented a quasi-religious figure, even a godhead, who was prepared to sacrifice his body for his liberty. That is, he would probably die by treachery in an internal power struggle. But his refusal to be dominated is the essence which survives to inspire another generation. In this sense one finds the term in a critique of lay flagellants by Quevedo:

> Agudo es el capirote
> que tu cholla encorozó,
> y más agudo fue el diablo
> que te ha dado la invención.
> Yo temo que tanto pliegue
> no le plegue al Redentor
> que se conviertan en mazas
> para tu condenación...
> Tú, penitente morcilla,
> diciplinante morcón...
> Llorando va lo que niegas
> el gallo de la Pasión.[165]

Quevedo was clearly aware of the other contemporary meaning of gallo, when he used the word in another poem in the sense of godfather: 'En pagar soy dicipulo del gallo'.[166] Other writers knew this meaning too. Castillo Solórzano used the term to mean a potentate: 'Cuando él que pensó ser gallo se halló con fuerzas de pollo'.[167] I can find no literary link between Gallo and Garduña, though one should be aware of the propensity of this (and other) organizations for using animal names and attributes.[168] It is more common, however, to find references to a Grand Master (Hermano Mayor) as head of the hierarchy, with clear resonances of chivalric ancestors, and hints of the nascent masonic hierarchy. The Gallo spent his time at Court, forging valuable connections there. Below him were provincial chiefs known as mayorales or capataces. Supreme ritualistic heads were magistri, with priestly and administrative functions.[169] There are few literary references to Garduña chiefs. Often the head of criminal gangs was referred to by nickname. Monipodio became a household name after Cervantes immortalized his type in Rinconete y Cortadillo. Another was Buenas Manos, created by Salas Barbadillo (see page 365 above). But as these characters were often far removed from the centre of operations and

unknown to their men, their exalted position was sometimes known as el Trono Subido. A contemporary jácara illustrates how the chains of patronage worked, when a rufián was condemned to the galleys:

> Escribió cartas piadosas
> A los del Trono subido:
> Jaques, Jayanes de Popa.
> Pero Antón, y Andrés Mordido.
> Antón Mundano, y Leal,
> Cortaviento y Guterillo.
> El bravo Lorca de Haro,
> Argumedo, y Juan Polido.[170]

Frequently, in popular literature, the criminal chief was known by the prefix 'proto' or 'archi', followed by a suffix denoting his work. Polo de Medina parodied the fashion for appending archi to any cult word. Thus 'archiconflonfo en la región más pura', meant:

> Archiconflonfo ... es en las Indias lo mismo que archipámpano en Sevilla; y decirle a vuesa merced el Meotis acuario a la Palura, archiconflonfo en la región más pura, es lo mismo que decirle que sea señor de todo el mundo.[171]

Interestingly, Liñán y Verdugo seems to regard the archipámpano, not as the man at the head, but as a starting point for a career in pimping or thuggery.[172] Next in rank to the chiefs were those who organized activities and maintained daily contact with the men. They attracted more literary attention, and commanded greater respect from those beneath them. Valientes, as they were known, were gentlemen rankers of the criminal world, who had risen through the ranks and enjoyed certain privileges. When everyone bows to Monipodio, for instance, two valientes doff their hats instead, as a knight would greet his king.[173] Valientes' aspirations to the knightly class seem to have been universally observed by contemporary writers: Pablos, in El Buscón, is esteemed because he claims descent from a notorious contemporary Sevillian criminal, Juan de Madrid: 'Ejecutoria tengo en el pueblo tocante a entrambos con letras de oro'.[174] In El sagaz Estacio, a clause in Diego Moreno's mayorazgo requires that all descendants be called Diego Moreno:

> Para distinción y claridad firme. Diego Moreno, tercero de este nombre (así el padre y abuelo y el nieto) porque en los tiempos venideros no se confundan los coronistas y atribuyan al uno los hechos del otro.[175]

And in Lugo y Dávila's De la Hermanía, an analogy between the valiente and the Comendador is drawn in a meeting called by the valientes' captain, which bears a marked resemblance to a military inspection:

> Cada uno acudió a su paraje, corrió sus postas, examinó sus chulos, pidió cuenta a sus hembras y se fue (como ellos dicen) a trabajar lo encomendado; esto se entiende alguna cuchillada o puñalada, etc.[176]

Long before the Mafia would coin the expression uomo di onore, criminals of early modern Europe were calling themselves hombres de bien, or, in English, Upright Men.[177] It was an accolade earned by the chosen few who inspired the rank and file, and without whom corporate valour melted away. Recognizing this function helped Alonso de Contreras to master a tricky dilemma, when he had to embark two hundred men at San Lúcar: 'los rufianes madrigados de Andalucía... oficiales de la muerte', who were entrusted to him with no captain or other military staff. Fearing a full insurrection, he hit on a plan. Seeking out the man to whom they all deferred, he asked him which were the most 'perniciosos y valientes' in the group. The man said they were mostly pobretes, only Calderón and Montañés being 'casi hombres de bien'. Fortified by this information, the next time the men defied his orders, Contreras spilt Calderón's brains and shouted: '¡Ah, pícaros insolentes! ¡Abajo!'. He records with satisfaction: 'Al punto estaba cada cual en su rancho como una oveja'. He threw Montañés in the dungeon: 'Con que quedó esta gente tan sujeta, que ni echar un ¡Voto a Cristo! se hizo en todo el viaje'.[178] Any slur on the honour of an hombre de bien was answered with violence. Fulfilment of vengeance contracts was a matter of principle. Estebanillo González is advised by a jornalero matante that if he does not avenge himself on his master for ill-treatment at his hands, he cannot be considered either mancebo honrado or hijo de hombre de bien.[179]

Like the grandees, dukes, and counts of polite society, there was an internal distinction among the valientes. Those who used the sword with great dexterity were styled jaque;[180] and last in line before the Trono Subido (and Padre de la Mancebia) was the jayán.[181] The pimp or rufián was equivalent in status to the jayán, but had a different role, his principal concern being with the prostitutes in his care. Violence was still a part of his life, but he needed an additional quality for this post: complacency, from whence his other name: paciente. The need for complacency is stressed in an initiation ceremony in El sagaz Estacio, which resembles rituals of both the literary and the chivalric world, as the following extract shows: Estacio is first stripped of his

sword and dagger, which are hung up as a sign of his honorable renunciation of them:

> Un paciente, cuando es honrado..., ha de ser ciego, sordo, mudo, manco y cojo en todas las materias que a su mujer se le pueden ofrecer: ciego para no verlas, sordo para no oírlas, mudo para no platicarlas, manco para no poner en ellas las manos y cojo para no buscarla con los pies ni seguirla los pasos.[182]

Trumpets announce Estacio's entry to the hall where Diego sits with a 'cuerno de la copia que fingen los poetas' in his hand. Estacio changes his name to Cordero, then, kneeling, his eyes are bound with a pearl-lined cloth, his hands are manacled with a gold chain, and his mouth gagged with a diamond-set cloth. He is struck on the head three times with the cornucopia, before being untied and embraced. Then Diego speaks:

> Nos, Diego Moreno, protopaciente, ordenamos a vos el simplicísimo Cordero, y os admitimos de toda nuestra voluntad a la nuestra orden de paciencia con todas las ceremonias acostumbradas.

9.4.6.2 Chains of Patronage - The Spanish Mafia

In all marginal organizations, immunity or impunity depended upon connections with judges, magistrates and prison governors, who were paid with a share in the booty. In one Sevillian fraternity, a fifth of the profits went to the 'benefactors': 'al que nos perdona los azotes, destierro, galera y horca'.[183] Literary sources frequently alluded to this patronage chain. Salas Barbadillo describes a meeting in an embassy where Don Diego and his compatriots are taking refuge from 'los terremotos de la justicia'. They toast the procurators and lawyers who, alone in a sea of corruption, says Salas sardonically, undertake to defend the accused. They also toast the 'ropavejeros', who converted their capes and cloaks into breeches and underwear, and the 'venteros' who connived at helping them.[184] A similar account by Cervantes reveals the benefactors of Monipodio's ring in Seville: 'The procurator who defends us, the alguacil who counsels us, the hangman who sympathizes with us, and the scrivener, who arranges for light sentences. All these are ritually toasted at the brotherhood's annual banquet.[185]

Such is the strength of Monipodio's power that allegedly in four years only four of his men have gone to 'finibus terrae', thirty were 'envesados' and sixty-two put 'en gurapas'.[186] Whatever the historical merits of Cervantes's story, it is plain that in Seville of the 1590s

the criminal world enjoyed considerable social power and a corresponding political influence. This is confirmed by licenciado Porras de la Cámara, who wrote to the Archbishop of Seville, Cardinal Niño de Guevara:

> Aquí no azotan sino al que no tiene espaldas, ni condenan al remo, sino al que no tiene brazas, ni padece ningún delincuente sino el que padece necesidad y no tiene que dar a los escribanos, procuradores y jueces. Seis años ha que no he visto ahorcar en Sevilla ladrón, ni tal se probará, habiendo enjambres de ellos como de abejas, y algunos, de doce millones; y otro, de ochenta cuantos... Lo que más en Sevilla hay son forzantes, amancebados, testigos falsos, jugadores, rufianes, asesinos, logreros, regatones, vagabundos que viven del milagro de Mahoma, sólo de lo que juegan y roban en las casas de 'bilhán' y en las tablas de dados.[187]

Porras's claim that the wrong men were being sentenced for crimes in Seville is endorsed by a contemporary prisoner in the Cárcel Real, who complained that two alevosos (professional false witnesses) were enough to condemn an innocent man, if he had no influence. The law, he said, favoured the legislators.[188]

9.4.6.3 Communication Systems

Corruption on this scale needed more than one or two local contacts. In order for the underworld patronage chain to work, a reliable communication system was required. Whilst the estafeta, established in the reign of Philip II, was often intercepted, and his mail tampered with, it is by no means certain that the royal postal system was systematically exploited by the underworld. Yet at least one holder of the office of Correo Mayor of Spain, the Conde de Villamediana, was notoriously involved both in Court intrigues and in shady activities which brought him into contact with the underworld.

Salas Barbadillo's apparently innocent parody of a communication network, where the post-boy's news passes swiftly through the ranks at Parnassus, may actually allude to a real event.[189] As the postal monopoly was only just beginning to be broken, however, the underworld had by now a well-developed system of communications. The Germania employed abispones, respectable elders who infiltrated grand houses and passed back information to the fraternity. Other networks employed murcios, and ondeadores, who spied likely hauls and means of access. Spies on the roads, at toll-gates, and at public markets, kept an eye on the movement of money. Their advance knowledge of events was impressive. Within fifteen minutes of a stranger arriving in town, his

curriculum vitae was recorded in their register. If the informers got it wrong, they forfeited their share in the day's profits and suffered a public rebuke from the Capitán.[190] The Garduña's name for informer was fuelle. Rojas Zorrilla was familiar with this term, which he used in an account of how the lackey, Crispinillo, came to be in prison:

> A mí un fuelle se llegó,
> saber quién era procura,
> quisome quitar la gura,
> la sárten no quise yo.[191]

Quevedo also knew the term, which he applied to a similar situation,[192] and another poet well-versed in the underworld argot, Trillo, was fond of punning on the connection between organ-pipes (one meaning of fuelle) and the spies who betrayed one to the hangman's torture, or to the galleys.[193]

In other underworld societies the spy was known by a series of names, also etymologically related to 'air' (for bola, see page 367 above). One of these was soplón, and another cañuto.[194] Ledesma explained soplón:

> Es tan grande la malicia
> de aquesta ingrata nación,
> que no faltará un soplón,
> que os entregue a la justicia.[195]

Enríquez Gómez seems to think there was a hierarchical distinction between spies: 'Y como todo el mundo está lleno de soplones, y los malsines son cañutos de mayor esfera, no faltó quien me llevó la justicia a casa de don Cosme'.[196] The soplón was also a false witness. In 1666 Santos said that Madrid had thousands of them: '¿Piensas tú que la justicia hiciera tantas prisiones como hace si no fuera por el aliento de estos huracanes?'.[197] In essence, the job these spies did was no different from that of the privados at Court, and their prospects were just as good, as Enríquez Gómez indicated:

> Los que ayer soplones fueron
> con sus chismes en favores,
> Al trono de los señores
> De grado en grado subieron.[198]

Names associated with the eagle also described the spy. The most obvious derivation of the term is from mythological associations with Jupiter and fighting, as well as with visual acuity. Probably for these reasons Military Orders world-wide had adopted the eagle in their title (see Espasa-Calpe, s.v. AGUILA). Thus in a poem by Ledesma, a tired old man is still recognizable as a noble knight, because his coat of arms

bears an eagle.[199] In thieves' argot, águila meant an astute thief.[200] Aguileña was a synonym, whose semantic possibilities were exploited by some writers. Remiro de Navarra, for example, introduced an unscrupulous woman in a coach as 'una aguileña de cara y de manos'. Salas Barbadillo incorporated the various meanings of águila in a passage not only ripe with puns, but including many facets of the criminal brotherhood, especially the burial function and the 'university career', as well as the role of the pious confraternity, Caridad, in burying criminals:

> El ladrón, que fue confesor liberal de sus culpas aguileñas, aguileñas dije, porque tenía las manos de águila, ya que no las narices, murió con mucho auditorio, cortejado con las campanillas de la Caridad, y demás circunstancias, solemnizado de los pregoneros, y con un paseo tan honrado como si le llevaran a graduarse en doctor.[201]

9.4.6.4 Training Schools - Ordinary and Extraordinary

Summing up the findings so far, our search for common ground between criminal fraternities and the trade guild, Guild Merchant, pious lay confraternity, Military Order, or other contemporary corporate body, lends much support to the view that each had a clearly-defined hierarchy, patronage chains, and communications systems. The literary evidence, even when its parodic element has been discounted, suggests that the underworld may actually have been more sophisticated than the other organizations. If the criminals did, in practice, operate a form of trade guild or Military Order, one might expect to see a well-designated system of apprenticeship and promotion among its members, as the evidence bears out. And suggestions do, in fact, appear that in some circles rigorous training in crime carried the same prestige as a university career. Many contemporary remarks disclose this lowlife preoccupation with a scholarly background. Pedagogo in Los anteojos de mejor vista claims: 'A fe de hombre honrado,... que tengo más de un curso de picaro - y quién duda que estaba graduado - y que he probado mi intención en acciones de hombre de bien'.[202] Frequent boasting among criminals of having 'graduated' in a school illustrates the importance they attached to their period of training.[203] Paris had its Cours des Miracles, and London had a Cut-Purse College in an alehouse at Smart's Quay near Billingsgate. In Spain one of the centres was el Potro de Córdoba, where Estebanillo González went:

> A confirmarme por angelico de la calle de la Feria, y a refinarme en el agua de su potro; porque después de haber sido estudiante, paje y soldado, solo este grado y caravana me faltaba para doctorarme en las leyes que profeso.[204]

The Corral de los Naranjos in Seville, was another famous school. Reference to an education there was a frequent defence against criticism. Ahumado, in El sagaz Estacio, for instance, leaps to the defence of an upstart soldier who quarrelled with Medina, because the latter is a 'professional': 'graduado en el Corral de los Naranjos, que es la Salamanca de nuestra germanía; persona tal que se graduó por suficiente'.[205] Because they were usually conveniently sited within the cloisters of a church, these 'training schools' enjoyed immunity from the law. Church asylum for criminals was so well-known that a cant term developed to describe it: antana, or altana.[206] Public pressure availed little against this problem. In 1586 the Archbishop of Seville tried to eject the criminals from the Corral de los Naranjos, threatening to excommunicate priests conniving with them, and limiting refuge there to eight days. But about twenty years later, in Duque de Estrada's youth, the precinct was evidently still thriving:

> Yo me retiré a la iglesia que llaman el Corral de los Naranjos, que es la Iglesia Mayor. Allí concurrían mujeres de la vida penosa a gastar lo que con tan penosa vida ganan; allí se descartan hombres de palabra; se amenaza a muerte; se dan pólizas de vida al quitar; se cuentan hazañas nunca oídas ni aun hechas; se mata en creencia y se da vida en fiado.[207]

Having established the existence of schools of crime at this period, what can we learn about their curricula? Data on progression in the brotherhood show that the acquisition of skills followed a recognizable scheme. At the base of the Garduña hierarchy, the chivato was not allowed to use a dagger, except in self-defence. The brotherhood lodged and fed him, paying him 136 maravedis per day. When he had proven his sangfroid and skill, he was promoted to postulante, entrusted with the eclipses or chirlos. The career structure was the same in other underworld fraternities, except the terminology changed. The raw recruit was a chulo (chulamo), who carried a dagger.[208] Next above him was the mandil, aged between fifteen and seventeen years, who wore a sword. This is apparent from the provisions in a will drawn up by Maladros before his execution. The details were celebrated in an underworld jácara. The will provides that the mandil gets his sword, while Mizo, the chulillo, gets a dagger:

> Item amizo [sic] el Chulillo,
> Porque está en edad más tierna:
> Lo ponga con Masse Juan
> Que le enseñe la destreza.[209]

The mandil was of very low status, as seen in a jácara written by Quevedo, purporting to be a letter from a prisoner to his mistress, warning: 'No te gastes en mandiles; estima tu calidad'.[210] Next in rank was the pícaro de cocina, 'que es punto menos que mochiller, y punto más que mandil', says Estebanillo. This job entailed bringing food to his master's house at Palermo and taking the waste away at 3 pm.[211] At this 'undergraduate' stage in his career, a criminal would decide between a career in violence or one in dexterity. Some, like Aguado, opted for the latter:

> Aunque por los padres o padrastros de la facultad matante fue aprobado, y se gastaron en el día de su examen espadachil algunos tragos, roscas y ostiones crudos, y se le dió la borla, con todo eso no se inclinaba tanto Aguado... a esto de lo valiente, cuanto a lo de ingenio y agudeza, y así luego fue descubriendo más inclinaciones a sastre que a herrero, quiero decir que cortaba sin seda y paño lo que era bueno, y trazaba mejor un embuste y embeleco que Juanelo una casa o castillo.[212]

The essential difference between the two branches was that the valientes aspired to the 'doctoral' ruling hierarchy, whereas the ladrones diversified according to their skills, but were always destined to serve.[213] Taking first the valiente career, it is clear from a contemporary jácara that promotion depended on coercion and a reputation for violence:

Mandil:	Aquí vengo que vuesa señoría me dé una plaza de rufián, porque es infamia que un hombre como yo, con tanta porra de barbas, sea mandil tanto tiempo.
Mazalquivir:	¿Habéis muerto con almarada, dado bofetones a putas, presentes sus jaques? ¿Habéis hecho resistencias, muerto corchetes, y otras cosillas que los tales mandiles están obligados a hacellas?
Mandil:	Hélas hecho y tengo higados para hacellas, y ál que de improviso me ha agraviado, con un jifero que aquí traigo he dado infinitos chirlos, tanto que ya los bravos me temen, prestan y convidan.
Mazalquivir:	Buenos principios tenéis; huélgome dello. Meté un memorial y se hará justicia.[214]

Those who opted for a career in dexterity were tutored in ways of unhooking a bell without using a ladder, stick, or rope; stealing a horse from under a man; and filching a courtier's collar in a crowd.[215] Once accredited, by examination of their chef d'oeuvre in true guild fashion (see page 376 above), the novices were given a job as salteador,

grumete, or cortabolsa. In Spain there were approximately twelve of these categories, though if one allowed for international variations, together with the thieves' close interaction with beggars, the list is considerably longer. Lowest in ranking were the highwaymen (salteadores), then the swindlers (estafadores), and the grumetes, whose name came from their ability to climb rope ladders and thereby gain entry into houses.[216] Next in rank were the capeadores whose speciality was stealing cloaks from the affluent either by violence or by stealth. Violent theft of cloaks was so frequent that a special lexis arose for it. Desmotar was the act of seizing a cloak or garment from a traveller. The coveted cloak was apparently known as Pedro if in good condition, or Rodrigo if it was worn and frayed.[217] No man was proof against this crime. The capeador even practised on holy men and blind beggars.[218] Ranking above the capeador was the maleta, who hid inside a chest or bundle destined for the targeted house. Lázaro is an unwitting accomplice in this trick, carrying a galán into his lady's boudoir in a chest. Called upon later to remove it, Lázaro trips and breaks the chest, revealing the galán: 'Parecian matachines', says Luna.[219] Next in line were the apóstoles, who carried keys to open doors. Their resemblance to Saint Peter was not lost upon their associates, as contemporary remarks reveal: Estebanillo González's nocturnal sorties in Naples bring him into contact with an apóstol, and possibly also a maleta, who are described as: 'Uno de ellos haciendo el oficio de San Pedro, abrió una puerta, y por aligerar la ropa a su dueño, lo dejaron sin baules'.[220]

One of the more novel thieves was the cigarrero, who purloined swatches of peoples' clothes, armed with a pair of scissors:

> Movía muy bien la hoja,
> Sin temblor y con destreza;
> Pero aquello de echar mano,
> Se entiende en las faldriqueras.
>
> Sus ropillas y sus sayos
> Hizo de capas ajenas,
> Porque hacerlos de las suyas,
> Eso haráselo cualquiera.[221]

The cloth was then sold to a receiver, who fed it back into commercial channels. The humorous potential in this crime provided contemporaries with a ready joke. There was, for example, a man at a fair seeking a piece of cloth to patch a moth-eaten part of the front of his cloak. An enterprising ladronzuelo cut a piece off the back and sold it to him for

4 ducats.[222] And in Guzmán de Alfarache, Saavedra delights in seeing his victims leave 'hechos un retrato de San Martin, con media capa menos'.[223] Closely associated with the cigarrero was the cutpurse or Nip (cortabolsa), who operated especially at fairs.[224] The best device for gathering a crowd was for the Nip to put himself in the stocks, while the Foist visited the purses of those looking on. Some careful citizens lined their pockets with fish-hooks before attending a public meeting. The idea was to hook the Foist in the act, but he retaliated by cutting away the pocket, or sometimes the entire coat tail. There seems to have been no minimum age limit to this job. Buenas Manos began at eight years in crowded churches.[225] He would always leave a few coins so that if the victim suspected and checked his purse, it jingled reassuringly. Besides manual dexterity the cutpurse also needed a sharp wit to escape discovery. His ingenuity was celebrated in contemporary jokes:

> Un ladrón en la pescadería cortó una faltriquera a un gentil hombre, y cortándosela, tenía la mano adonde había hecho el corte, y por ser tanto los dineros que había en ella, cayeron algunos por tierra, dando a los pies del amo. El ladrón, temiendo que no hubiese habido sentimiento, astutamente dijo: 'Señor, apártese un poco, que ma han caído unos dineros'. El gentil hombre, pensando que era así, ayudóselos a coger, y dárselos en la mano. Ido, reconociéndose, halló que eran suyos, por do dijo: 'Vaya en buen hora; no tiene culpa el ladrón, que yo mismo se los dí'.[226]

The delinquent's career structure was often traced in contemporary literature, though not all agreed on the sequence of names and duties. One version by Quevedo follows, very approximately, the scheme just examined, and will therefore serve to summarize the foregoing:

> Don Turuleque me llaman...
> Dí en pasapasa de bolsas
> y en masicoral de muebles...
> Con estos merecimientos
> me gradüé de corchete...
> Entréme a chisgaravis,
> profesó de mequetrefe,
> achaquéme nuevos padres
> y levantéme parientes.
> Ascendí por mis pulgares
> al oficio de alcagüete.
> ¡Sabe Dios cuánto trabajo
> pasé para merecerle!
> Con sosquinas y antuviones
> vine a campar de valiente,
> y a los pepinos y a mí
> nos achacaban las muertes...

> Para venganzas de agravios
> de quien los paga y los siente,
> tuve chirlos de alquiler
> en puntos de a diez y nueve.[227]

Most guilds could not even hope to attain this level of organization. The criminals had power through sheer weight of numbers, but they also exploited connections in their patronage chain, which ensured complete autonomy of action. Not even a Guild Merchant could claim such power. Considering their activities at an international level in espionage and diplomacy, the balance seems now to favour a closer link between the criminal world and the Military Orders.

9.4.6.5 Rules and Vows of Secrecy

Having assessed hierarchical structure, initiation, and training, it has been mentioned, from time to time, that disciplinary action was taken, as in all other societies studied, when standards were not met. What were these standards, and how were they regulated? Although our knowledge of underworld codes of conduct comes from popular literature, we should bear in mind the life-styles of those who divulge most information, before rejecting their accounts as fanciful creations. One of these writers was Salas Barbadillo, and another was Quevedo. As members of Sacrament confraternities, Military Orders, and various literary academies, and having personal experience of violent skirmishes, they would know the value of harmony in ensuring survival of a corporate body. Harmony could be disrupted by personality clashes, political or ideological differences. It is perhaps not exceptional, then, that in Salas's account of the underworld, Ahumado should warn Medina about the need for harmony:

> Es menester que vuce le desafie y mida con él igualmente su espada, porque de nosotros a nosotros no se permite zaineria, y de hacer voace lo contrario quedaria inhabilitado por no poder ser jaque en todos los dias de su vida.[228]

Strife resulting from job allocation, however, suggests a far higher level of organization than we have seen in religious and literary societies. Sometimes refinements like the 'clocking in' system were used: 'So that every post in the city is covered, each new arrival on the scene follows a system which announces to the next comer how many are working there. The first to arrive places a die in a place known to the others, with the ace facing up. The next to arrive turns it to two, and so on, until there are six at work. This is the maximum permitted

number. Correspondingly, when anyone leaves, he turns the die to reduce the figure showing by one'.[229]

Solidarity was also enforced (and strife reduced) by a vow of secrecy. Criminals vowed to die a martyr's death rather than name their confederates, on pain of expulsion and possible death at the hands of the brotherhood.[230] The prisoner in Seville's Cárcel Real confirmed this:

> Hacemos voto de paciencia y sufrimiento, prometiendo estar firmes y constantes en el tormento, aunque pocas veces llegamos a este punto, pues... con el quinto se remedia el todo.[231]

In all accounts of underworld fraternities, one finds this vow in some form. Monipodio required that Rinconete and Cortadillo withstand torture without opening their mouths to say 'Esta boca es mia'.[232] The origin of the vow is obscure. To a greater or lesser extent, there were vows of secrecy in the pious confraternities, the universities and academies, the guilds, and the knightly orders. Only in the Military Orders and the new compagnonnages and masons, however, was this vow tied up with the idea of dying for a cause.[233] Such a crusading notion might even have influenced the practice of a quasi-religious ceremony to accompany all vows. Quevedo and Salas Barbadillo both parodied the communion rite in their accounts of underworld vows of vengeance: Ahumado swears vengeance on his ex-mistress, by the water of God and the wine of Saint Martin; and the bullies in El Buscón swear over the bread and wine to avenge their fallen hero, Alonso Alvarez.[234] Ceremonies of this kind probably originate in Templar rituals and are clear precursors of masonic ritual.[235] Some parodies, however, draw on monastic vows. Salas Barbadillo exploited the humorous potential in the religious vow of silence by applying it to Montúfar's prostitution of his wife:

> Tomó el hábito en la religión de los maridos cartujos y profesó, como los demás, el voto de callar siempre, seguro de que no se le dilataría hasta la otra vida la corona de lo que padeciese en este martirio, porque luego le saldría a la frente, y al paso que fuese padeciendo, veria coronarse.[236]

The criminals' oath of secrecy or silence was as sacrosanct as the monastic vow. It was a grave offence to break it, and a cause for celebration when torture did not secure such a breach.[237] Those who 'sang' were vilified in the most imaginative terminology: 'Aguado cantó en bien bellaco tono lo que no debiera' wrote Liñán y Verdugo.[238]

Sometimes parody drew on the religious confession, punning on the word for choir stall:

> El, sin ser maestro de capilla, cantó en canto llano en el facistól del tormento ésto y otros muchos embelecos que había hecho mudándose los nombres.[239]

Salas Barbadillo incorporated the equestrian theme into the metaphor: 'Ensilláronle el potro, y él, más hablador que jinete, dijo sus culpas'.[240] Vows of secrecy aimed not only to conceal compatriots, but also to protect the family of the man interrogated from the dishonour of a public announcement: 'Fulano, de tal tierra, hijo de fulano y fulana, fue azotado o ahorcado por ladrón en tal día, mes y año'.[241] There were various ways of concealing one's name. Besides the use of a nickname acquired upon initiation, the underworld resorted to an old religious formula, by insisting on the name Iglesia. Thus when the Devil calls out to Alma, in Auto de las ferias del Alma, she replies: 'Yo Iglesia me llamo'.[242] There was more to this tradition than simply invoking church asylum, as a contemporary doctor, Rosal, explains:

> Hijo de la tierra, al bastardo. Es el Adagio Latino y Griego Terre filius, que se decía a el bastardo, y al humilde y bajo. De donde decimos al que de bajo estado sube al alto, que se levantó del polvo de la tierra. Y los antiguos a los bastardos hacían hijos de Dioses. A este propósito hace lo que el vulgo dice del hijo del Clérigo o Eclesiástico, que como le llamasen primero Hijo de la Iglesia, la cual es llamada fano.[243]

In this sense 'Iglesia' amounted to a repudiation of one's parents. The prison procurator, Chaves, illustrated how the formula worked: 'If a man was arrested for murder within a mile of the cemetery, and the Pope himself were to ask his name, he would be told "Iglesia". The same response is given in jail to the doorkeeper: "What were you christened?" "Iglesia". "Where are you from?" "Iglesia". Even in court, he tells the judge his name is "Iglesia"'.[244] There are countless references to this tradition in contemporary literature. In the Cárcel del Tarazanal at Barcelona, Estebanillo González cheekily bargains with a Franciscan friar for food and drink: 'Y después trataremos de lo que nos está bien a los dos, que en tierra de cristianos estoy, y iglesia me llamo'.[245]

To sum up on standards in the underworld, rules and a vow of secrecy are in themselves unremarkable, though the associated rituals of disavowal, confession or celebration are probably more elaborate than anything seen in other corporate groups. It is unlikely, for instance,

that a merchant would die rather than divulge his name and affiliation, although when the thief's career is seen as a Christian crusade, perhaps his vows approximate to those of the knight.

9.4.6.6 Membership

Our last criterion for comparison of criminals with other organized bodies is membership. Unlike several of the role models, the thieves insisted upon limpieza, according to Zapata. This paradox is highlighted in Rinconete y Cortadillo. When Monipodio asks the boys about their parentage, Rinconete objects: 'la patria no me parece de mucha importancia decilla, ni los padres tampoco, pues no se ha de hacer información para recebir algún hábito honroso'.[246] Was Zapata's evidence culturally dependent on the spirit of his times? Were the actual thieves similarly influenced? And how does this relate to atavistic links with the Military Orders, which, together with medieval religious institutions, did not at first exclude non-Christians? Cultural interference in Zapata's account seems unlikely, since his name was one adopted by Spanish conversos. Zapata may have wished to underline that people who made an issue of limpieza could themselves be disreputable for worse reasons. But that, again, was probably true. Moreover, other literary evidence does suggest that criminals, together with the peasantry and lower strata of Spanish society, saw themselves as a race untainted by mixed blood. The prison procurator, Chaves, gives one instance of this self-perception in his account of life in Seville's Cárcel Real:

> Y ha habido hombre de éstos que ha hecho blanquear su rancho, y pintar un Cristo en él, y él de rodillas a los pies con la memoria de que él lo hacia pintar; y ha querido matar al pintor diciendo que lo habia afrentado porque lo pintó con calzas enteras; y sosegóse con que le borró la calza y lo puso calzones; porque decia: 'Allá a los jodios pinte voecé con calzas, y no a mi'.[247]

Drawing together all the evidence collated in the present chapter, Zapata's comparison of criminal fraternities with a Guild Merchant, which has prompted scholars ever since to consider the underworld as a trade guild, is valid up to a point, but it takes no account of the close continuum obtaining between all contemporary fraternities. Each borrowed from the other, leading, in the case of the criminals, to a new prototype which was to become the model for freemasons and other esoteric societies. The compagnonnages and printers' unions were already evolving in this direction.[248] Criminal organizations may very well have had a

formally-defined hierarchies for organizing the work and administering the fraternity. In return for fiscal, jurisdictional, and welfare benefits, and for burial facilities, brothers were expected to contribute their skills and profits, to be loyal and peaceable, and above all, to keep to their vow of secrecy. All transactions were recorded in the 'little black book', which was carefully maintained and stored in a chest with two or more keys. Discipline was administered for disobedience or inefficiency in the form of fines, expulsion, and surrender to the law. A portion of the company's expenses went to the rigging of lawsuits, ransom of prisoners in jail, devotional celebrations, and the employment of legal advisors and communications people. However, in their own emphasis on personal valour and distinctive emblems endowed with certain privileges, the criminals were closer to a Military Order, especially if one allows for the belief that in committing crime they were serving God and earning their own salvation. There is, though, the problem of an international argot, something far more developed than anything seen in pious, military, or commercial organizations, and which was also seen in contemporary compagnonnages and masonic groups.

9.4.6.7 A Hermetic Heritage - Saintly Sinners and Mystical Modes

There remain for examination two comparative features of criminal societies. One is the permanent nature of membership: a feature of the Military Orders, religious orders, some penitential confraternities, guilds, compagnonnages and other developing secret societies.[249] In the case of the criminals, it would obviously be risky to allow a member to contemplate leaving with inside knowledge of the group. Cervantes only 'allowed' Rinconete and Cortadillo to leave because they were still novices. Lope de Vega also suggests that, as in pious confraternities and religious orders, membership was permanent, unless members requested to join a stricter order: punning on the term ordinario, which was the place where fashionable men met to wine, dine and discuss political events, Leandro asks his friend: 'Where shall we go to mass?' to which Roberto replies: 'A nuestro sitio ordinario'. The banter which follows reveals that the galanes saw their attendance at the ordinary as both obligatory and permanent:

Leandro:	Pues, ¿no erades trinitario?
Roberto:	¡Que fue negocio de risa!
Leandro:	Antes se tuvo sospecha
	De vuestra profesión firme.

Roberto: Sí, pero pude salirme
Para orden más estrecha.[250]

Several other writers with more than a passing knowledge of the underworld alluded to the permanent nature of membership there. Quevedo, for one, wrote of a 'Ladrón que se despide de sus instrumentos y se recoge en profesión más estrecha'.[251] In voluntarism, then, one finds nothing to differentiate the criminals from other associative bodies.

The last, and most valuable comparative feature is the criminals' cultural legacy. A combination of popular and heroic motifs contributed to an underworld mythology, in which it is often hard to differentiate between real and stereotyped ruffians. A few names will illustrate the point. One of their contemporary heroes, Gonzalo el Xeniz of Santiponce, first emerged in the Alpujarra uprising. After serving four years in prison for murder, during the rebellion of the Alpujarras he became the confidante of chief Aben Aboo, whom he assassinated in 1571. For a time his gang had a stronghold at la Ventilla in Seville. He was finally hanged on 16 November, 1596, for murdering a negro. His name lived on in popular literature,[252] as also did those of two notable bandits from the Nyerros ranks: Pedro Roca Guinarda, who headed three hundred men, and Juan Salas y Serrallonga (1594-1634). Roca Guinarda's protest against centralism soon lost its political motivation in the pursuit of delinquency, and yet he was exalted as a hero. A street in the old quarter of Barcelona still bears his name: calle de Perot lo lladre; and popular literature casts him as a gentleman robber seeking to avenge a personal affront.[253] Serrallonga's life of crime began with the accidental receipt of stolen goods, and reprisals which followed. During his career he killed over fifty people. In jail, he confessed, prior to torture, giving the names of his accomplices, some of whom were familiars of the Holy Office, others being wealthy abbots and clergy.[254] Despite this lack of heroic attributes, his deeds were dignified and immortalized by Coello, Rojas and Vélez, and by later writers.[255]

The criminal heroic tradition evidently went back a long way. Names of earlier chivalric heroes culled from folklore and history were frequently invoked in the criminals' reported conversation. But how can one be sure that such invocations were reported from first-hand experience, and were not the result of cultural interference by an author? Was it a literary convention to equate the criminal with heroic ancestors? Examination of the evidence may yield an answer, whilst

focusing attention on the last, most enduring feature of all brotherhoods examined: their literary heritage. How was this produced in the underworld, and for whom? Evidence of a heroic cult is seen firstly in allusions to the renegade hero, El Cid. In a meeting between two valientes, for example, Truchado hails Morón as 'Cid', after his fight with six or seven madalenos; and Lázaro dubs two brothers he meets at an inn near Valladolid: 'valentones, los dos Cides, dos Roldanes, madagañas'.[256] One of the Cid's henchmen, Laín Calvo, served as an ironic metonym for the galley-slave with shaved head. The pun was usually extended to include another legendary character, Nuño Rasura:

> Lo ordenaron de Laín Calbo,
> Un tundidor de las culas,
> Y atufador de bigote
> Juro de Nuño Rasura.[257]

Literary development of a mythology to aggrandize and sanction their origins and functions also leaned heavily on the Greek and Roman tradition. Besides comparisons with the valiant Hector, one of the legends of Hercules fuelled the criminal cult of Cacus. In one version he was a fire god, who stole Hercules's oxen by drawing them backwards into his cave to escape discovery. The clearest rendering of this legend is given in a remark by Céspedes. When a girl asks Laurencio to smuggle her lover into the house with some builders working there, Píndaro muses: 'Ni el mismo Jove tiene seguras destos Cacos sus fabulosas vacas'.[258] Consequently references to Cacus and his cofradía always allude to the thieves, whose survival depended more on wits than valour. Estebanillo González highlights this distinction when he confronts a soldier in battle: 'Empezóse a correr y a decir que era más valiente que yo, y pienso que no mentía, aunque fuera más gallina que Caco'.[259] The term Caco was also used to differentiate between the pimp and the thief, the two arms of the criminal underworld:

> Pablillos, por mal nombre, había reñido con otro de la misma cuadrilla, a quien llamaban Sebastianillo el Malo, medio rufián, y Caco por naturaleza; si bien, por no tener que hurtar, andaba con la boca abierta robando el aire.[260]

It would be erroneous to suggest that, because the underworld's heroes were mostly from Greek and Roman mythology, their philosophy was correspondingly pagan. Their society underwent a parallel evolution to that of polite society, when the coming of Christianity to the Western world probably motivated them to seek their own religious infrastructure. Might it be argued that, like all other brotherhoods

studied, a religious foundation afforded protection and stability in a period of turmoil? Some answers might be found in the history and development of religious myth in the underworld. This topic will briefly occupy the final pages of the present chapter on valientes.

It was said that the Holy Virgin of Cordoba had interceded on behalf of Spanish Christians during the Moorish occupation. She allegedly chose Apollinario, a sanctified hermit in the Sierra Morena, as her messenger, promising that all followers would be rewarded with Moorish estates in return for reconquest of the land, regardless of their means of repossession. She gave Apollinario a fastener from Christ's robe with miraculous powers to protect anyone wearing its likeness from death, from the Moors, or from heretics of all kinds. Apollinario's organization was allegedly the Garduña, accredited to kill by the highest possible force. This gave rise in the underworld, as elsewhere, to the custom of religious dedication before battle or other engagement.[261] The crusading concept is strong here. Later underworld fraternities reinforced their concept of a Christian mission through quasi-hagiographical literature, and here is the key to the validity of literary evidence. There is, for instance, a tradition based on Escarramán. In 1516 Fray Bartolomé de Cárdenas presented a 'soneto escarramando' in a poetic joust, in which Escarramán appeared as defender of the Immaculate Conception and challenged all who opposed it.[262] Liberated from Turkish captivity, Escarramán appears in Cervantes's El rufián viudo, posing as a Trojan warrior returning home, but the saintly theme still predominates. Mostrenca tells him that during his absence his mythical status has grown, largely because of plays written about his supposed martyrdom. An inventory has been drawn up of his bones and other relics: 'Hanle vuelto divino; ¿qué más quieres?'[263] Lope de Vega's play about Escarramán also sounds a triumphant note, by comparing his execution procession with that of Christ, 'este divino Jayán':

> Pero luego cantó un gallo
> que a él le hizo llorar
> con ser hombre que por bravo
> tiene llave universal.
> ...Luego los jueces crueles
> de allí me mandan sacar
> con pregoneros delante
> con mil sayones detrás.
> Con un madero a los hombros
> que me hizo arrodillar.[264]

This passage is full of allusions to the underworld, and the comparison with contemporary nazarenos is doubtless deliberate.[265] This sort of pseudo-hagiography enjoyed a vogue in the Golden Age. Poets either wrote in the mode, or, better still, had their characters discuss it. A sacristan in Polo de Medina's Academias del jardin boasts: 'No me ha de quedar... santa ni santo en el Cielo a quien no le haga una jacarandina a lo divino... que escribo yo más en una hora que el Tostado en toda su vida'.[266] These long epic ballads celebrating criminal heroes were known as jácaras, or if the theme was more hagiographical, jácara a lo divino. [redacted] This literature was both a coarse adaptation of the chivalry novel and a degenerate parody of epic poetry.[267]

Although much of this literature seems decidedly heterodox to a modern scholar, evidently the jácara did not unduly perturb the Holy Inquisition, although the involvement of familiars in underworld activities (Mafioso and Garduña) may have been a deciding factor. Another factor which clouds the issue is the constant transition between orthodox and popular devotional practices in this period. The criminals' brand of satire was undoubtedly seen as an extension of a (reputedly) laconic view of life in general. The survival of this satire is probably due, in the first instance, to its skilful rendition as fiction at a time when boundaries between fact and fiction were hotly debated. Writers, especially in Spain, escaped the censor by couching their tracts on the underworld in a fictional mould, and, better still, by ingenious use of narrative and authorial levels. Enríquez Gómez wrote a jácara about Añasquillo de Toledo, for example, satirizing the ritual of confession:

> Escúchame, amigo mio,
> Confesaréte mis rentas;
> Y si no absolvieres dudas,
> Oyeme de penitencia.[268]

Quevedo parodied the pilgrimage ritual in a thanksgiving trip by the local valientes to the shrine of San Sorbo and San Trago.[269] His inspiration probably came from a parody written by Góngora on the occasion when, in 1617, Quevedo undertook a pilgrimage to Santiago, prior to his being admitted into the Order. Góngora wrote:

> Cierto Poeta, en forma peregrina,
> Cuando devota, se metió a romero,
> Con quien pudiera bien todo barbero
> Lavar la más llagada disciplina.

Era su benditissima esclavina,
En cuanto suya, de un hermoso cuero,
Su báculo timón de el más zorrero
Barel, que desde el Pharo de Cecina

A Brindis, sin hacer agua navega,
Este sin landre claudicante Roque,
De una venera justamente vano,

Que en oro engasta, sancta insignia, haleque,
A San Trago camino, donde llega:
Que tanto anda el cojo como el sano.[270]

Once again there emerges a link between the Military Orders and criminals; a link forged by contemporary poets writing to entertain their academy members.

Another quasi-heretical work, the anonymous Testamento del picaro pobre, parodies the idea of an underworld character making provision for his death. There was probably a great deal of truth in this account. Pícaro Pobre arranges for his wife to re-marry, leaving her a 'dowry' and asking her to reimburse all the innkeepers he has wronged, so that his soul will not suffer. He leaves his shoes and polaynas to one friend, and to another he leaves a wineskin. Catale-en-carnes is given clothes; two pícaros, don Pobricio and don Descalzo, receive his sandals (alpargatas), and to the Priest and sacristan officiating at his funeral he gives a wineskin.[271] Some dramatic works (comedias de santos) dealt with a criminal who had close links with the monastic world. This genre included Calderón's La devoción de la Cruz, and Tirso de Molina's El condenado por desconfiado, whose principal theme was the salvation of an outlaw. Fray Christóbal de la Cruz, the supposed model for Calderón's character, and protagonist of Cervantes's Comedia de el rufián dichoso, wrote his autobiography in 1563, telling of his renegade origins among the low life of Seville. Reduced to penury by his gambling, he staked all on his last possession, Las Súmulas de Soto, declaring that if he lost this, he would renounce his God and become captain of the thieves, with whose language he was already conversant. He won that day, and the vow was not honoured, although he persisted in his evil ways.[272]

A study of cultural aspects of brotherhood in the underworld of Golden-Age Spain can do no more than suggest one or two examples of the different literary genres produced by contemporaries, which fed popular curiosity and also encouraged the perpetuation of a criminal mythology. The examples given above imply an influence of literature on life that bears comparison with the reciprocal influence. One cannot be sure which came

first. But how does this help in the present analysis of brotherhood? In the first instance, the data reveal a link between underworld groups and trade guilds, which has partly dictated the structure of the present chapter. However, as the chapter progressed, it has become more difficult to exclude other possible role models on which the criminals' fraternity may have been based. There are clear indications of borrowings from the pious confraternity - a premise which dictated the starting point for this study. But it has emerged that military and crusading links are possibly stronger than guild or confraternal ones. Distinctions are not always readily to be drawn between the confraternity as social outlet for the guild, which was its professional body, at least in the sixteenth century,[273] and the complex evolutionary flow through military order, guild and confraternity to Guild Merchant, freemason, compagnonnage and other esoteric societies of the early modern period. But we may surely assume that the violent classes, when they associated, would have done so for the same three basic reasons as did these other bodies: for promotion of a social life in a clearly-defined community; for the practice of a salvation-oriented cult, with the more immediate function as a burial society; and for protection and development of trade through the cultivation of patronage links and the organization of a graded career structure, carefully regulated by an executive body and a code of behaviour. This, it should be stressed, could only apply in the context of urban criminals, where there was some permanence to the organization. The rural criminals, as we have seen (see page 356 above), banded together on a temporary basis, motivated either by force of circumstances, or by the attractions of lawlessness. Some of these outlaws may have drifted into the cities and urban crime;[274] others won a royal pardon in return for active military service. But the majority of urban criminals would appear to have been born into the life, learning their trade from the elders, whose job it was to seek out only the most promising petty criminals, and to nurture an elite team of workers. Organization at this level aimed, it would seem, to eradicate competition from petty crime for its own ends. In this it was no different from the Sicilian Mafia.

The sheer size and complexity of its organization apart, the urban underworld society still seems to have been something more than a guild at this historical moment, by virtue of one distinguishing feature: a mythical infrastructure which ensured its permanence. Certain guilds, it is true, also claimed mystical origins. The freemasons are a good

example here, with their legend of Solomon and the Four Crowned Martyrs, and their patronage by John the Baptist.[275] Together with the compagnons, they also promoted a cult of Master Jâcques. A study of the role of patron saint in other artisan guilds may also reveal a stronger infrastructure than is generally imagined to exist.[276] Other secret societies with a mythical infrastructure which endured the test of time included, for example, the Rosicrucians. All this suggests a symbiotic link between cultural heritage and permanence: association in a corporate body ensured transmission of the myth, which gave meaning to the body's perpetuation. The cultural contribution of the urban criminal to society cannot be properly evaluated through its impact on learned literature (legal documents and pragmatics, wills and confessions, didactic literature and official chronicles), because data are relevant to the particular function of that document. On the other hand, the cultural contribution can be measured in terms of popular traditions: jargon, jácaras, picaresque literature, and heroic myths. Society at all levels wanted to know more about the underworld organization, and possibly benefited from that knowledge by incorporating elements into respectable institutions. There is no denying the diffuse distinction between Establishment foundations and criminal brotherhoods, but to suppose that the influence was always from learned to popular and not the other way seems now untenable. The differences between knights of the Military Orders and valientes seem fewer than the similarities, and a consideration of earlier organizations such as the Templars, the Hospitallers, etc., raises the question where one in fact ended and the other began. Perhaps the best way of determining the predominant influence on these micro-societies is to examine an institution in which respectable and marginal confront one another on terms dictated by the Establishment, where an uneasy co-existence is not dictated merely by strength of numbers and territorial autonomy; where predator and prey, in fact, change places. Prison societies will comprise the final chapter in this study.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 9

[1] See Forey, Military Orders, 1, on the history of Military Orders; and Mackenzie, Secret Societies, 96-108, on similarities with the Assassins, on whom the Templars were modelled.

[2] See Forey, op. cit., 81, for 'caballeros villanos'.

[3] See Mackenzie, Secret Societies, 97. The Templars were disbanded in 1312, accused of heresy, idolatry, and immorality.

[4] In our time God has instituted holy wars, so that the equestrian order and the erring people, who like ancient pagans were commonly engaged in mutual slaughter, might find a new way of meriting salvation. They are no longer obliged, as used to be the case, to leave the world and to choose the monastic life and a religious rule; they can gain God's grace to no mean extent by pursuing their own profession, unconfined and in secular garb.
(Gesta Dei per Francos, I. 1, in RHC Occ, IV, 124, cited in Forey, op. cit., p. 13, n. 10).

[5] See Keen, Chivalry, 229, n. 37, citing Bodleian, MS Ashmole 865, fol. 423, on peacetime banditry.

[6] See Barrios, Sociedades secretas, 40.

[7] See Keen, Chivalry, 178-80, on Order of Fools (1331); Order of the Golden Apple (c. 1390); and Confraternity of the Black Swan (1352).

[8] See Keen, op. cit., 181, n. 8, citing Mansi, Concilia, XXV, 763-4.

[9] Ibid., 184.

[10] Ibid., 192, n. 51, citing Chronique de Jean de Bel, edited by Viard, II, 205 (Star); BN, MS Fr 4274 and Le Fèbvre, art. cit. (knot); Chronique de Jean Le Fèvre, Seigneur de St. Rémy, edited by Morand, II, 249, 250 (Golden Fleece); Vulson de la Colombière, Le Vray Théâtre de l'honneur et de chevalier, I, 111, 116, 117 (Croissant).

[11] See Keen, Chivalry, 105, n. 7, citing Bédier, Les légendes épiques, IV, 403ff; and n. 8, citing R. Lejeune and J. Stiennon, La légende de Roland dans l'art du moyen âge (Brussels, 1966), I, 61ff and II, plates 35-40 (Verona); and I, 192ff and plates VII-XVIII (Chartres), on Roland, Charlemagne, Hector, Alexander, Lancelot and Tristan.

[12] See Barine, 'Les gueux d'Espagne', 889, who says that Callot captures perfectly their charm and insolence (see figs. 6,7,8). There are undeniable links here with the compagnons and masons, who used thirteen different ways of carrying a cane, which symbolized the one that saved the life of their mystical forbear, Master Jacques (see Martin Saint-Léon, Le Compagnonnage, 259).

[13] Cervantes, Licenciado vidriera, 109-10. In 1621 Suárez de Figueroa reported that the pike soldier was held to be the most prestigious, and that he now wore defensive armour: coselete (Varias noticias, fols 166, 169, pp. 49-50).

[14] Lope de Vega, Las ferias de Madrid, Jornada 2ª, p. 54.

[15] Que siendo las galas, las plumas, las colores, lo que alienta y pone fuerzas a un soldado para que con ánimo furioso acometa cualesquier dificultades y empresas valerosas, en viéndonos con ellas somos ultrajados en España, y les parece que debemos andar como solicitadores, o

hechos estudiantes capigorristas, enlutados y con gualdrapas, envueltos en trapos negros.

(Alemán, Guzmán de Alfarache, I. II. 9, 350).

A MS of 1610 confirms that: 'Nunca entre la infanteria española ha habido premática para vestidos ni armas, porque seria quitarles el ánimo y el brío que es necesario que tenga la gente de guerra' (Deleito y Piñuela, El declinar de la monarquía, 177, n. 2, citing Monreal, Cuadros viejos, 27).

[16] See Appendix 8.A, for details of military dress.

[17] 'Vejamen que dio siendo secretario de la Academia', in BAE 42 (1875), 436. Members of the Academy, which met in the calle de majaderos, alluded to themselves as majaderos. The last line is a pun on the Walloon regiments whose penchant for the longer pantaloons provided Spaniards with another name for gregüescos. The best contemporary description of them is again given by Middleton: 'He wore the Elizabethan equivalent of plus fours, the balloon-like Holland slops, so that his back part was like a monster's, his thigh swallowed up in gigantic boots' (quoted by Fuller, Beggars' Brotherhood, 132).

[18] 'Respuesta de don Francisco de Quevedo a don Luis de Góngora', in Obra poética, III, 234, line 89.

[19] See Sicroff, Estatutos de limpieza de sangre, p. 337. See Appendix 8.B, for hair styles and facial hair.

[20] See caballero del milagro, page 255 above, for caballeros del milagro.

[21] See Domínguez Ortiz, La clase social de los conversos, 13, who thinks the term disappeared in the fifteenth century.

[22] 'Al estado presente de la soldadesca', Discursos, 226.

[23] Lope de Vega, 116a. For an account of the exaggerated sense of personal honour felt by an English rabble-rouser, see also Shakespeare, King Henry VI, Part II, Act 4, scene 2, lines 37-52, p. 650:

Cade:	Therefore am I of an honourable house.
Dick [Aside]:	Ay, by my faith, the field is honourable, and there was he born, under a hedge, for his father had never a house but the cage.
Cade:	Valiant I am.
Smith [Aside]:	'A must needs; for beggary is valiant.

[24] 'Those that went out honest, returne home again like Roysters', said a contemporary writer (Rowlands, Martin Mark-All, 16).

[25] Liñán y Verdugo, Guía y avisos, 250. See also ibid., 196-7; and see page 278 above, on ventanear. See Suárez de Figueroa, Varias noticias, fol. 166, on marauding soldiers. Various pragmatics throughout the period sought to control civilian use of firearms and sidearms: 'Que no trayan cuchillos ni otra arma encubierta' ('Pregón general mandado guardar por los señores Alcaldes de la casa y Corte de su Magestad, para el buen gobierno della, publicado en esta villa de Madrid, 1613', in Pérez Pastor (ed.), Bibliografía madrileña, no. 1246). See also 'Pragmática en que se prohibe, que de aqui adelante ninguna persona no sea osado de tener pistoletes, ni traerlos consigo, ni tenerlos en su casa, ni los oficiales labrarlos, ni aderezarlos' (Madrid, 1618), in ibid., no. 1563.

[26] See Pastor Petit, Bandolerismo en España, 14-15. This theory is, unfortunately, countered by that of Webster, who wrote in 1623:

Bosola: Do not sup o' nights, 'twill beget you an admirable wit.

Castruchio: Rather it would make me have a good stomach to quarrel, for they say your roaring boys eat meat seldom, and that makes them so valiant.

(Duchess of Malfi, II, 1, line 15, p. 40).

[27] See Herrera Puga, Sociedad y delincuencia, 295, and 298, n. 29, citing Padre León, Appendiz Primero de los Ajusticiados, Casos 231, 232, 233, and 234, fols 329v ff. I have been unable to identify locilla, but there is a possible link here with another weapon (lupara), a double-barrelled gun, whose name is sufficient to register a Mafia crime (see Sciascia, Il giorno della civetta, 28).

[28] See Rodríguez Villa, Nuevas de Madrid desde 24 hasta fin de enero de 1637, 78, cited in Deleito y Piñuela, Mala vida, 96, n. 2; and see also Barrionuevo, 1 November, 1654, Avisos, I, 76. See Appendix 8.C, for full quotation.

[29] Barrionuevo, Avisos, II, 165.

[30] See Chill, 'Holy Sacrament', 35-6, for contemporary France. See page 239 above, for the only alternative for second sons.

[31] See Sales de Bohigas, Senyors bandolers, 32.

[32] See Pastor Petit, Bandolerismo en España, 232-3, on other contemporary rural bands. For notable bandits, see page 395 above.

[33] A dictionary of 1771 defined miguelets as 'sorte de bandits qui vivent dans les Pyrénées, armés de pistolets de ceinture, d'une carabine à rouet et d'une dague au côté, les miguelets son fort à craindre par les voyageurs' (Sales de Bohigas, Senyors bandolers, 106). See ibid., pp. 113-9, for other possible derivations and types of miguelet.

[34] For the urbanization of bandits, see Pfandl, Cultura y costumbres, 124-5. For rural crime, see page 87 above. Elliott claims that while the bandit was a sign of rural and aristocratic malaise, the pícaro was an urban expression of resignation and adaptation to adverse conditions (Revolt of the Catalans, 51).

[35] For reference to El Potro de Córdoba, see Espinel, Marcos de Obregón, Relación 1ª, descanso 9 (vol. 1, 182). In Segovia they met in the shadow of the Roman aqueduct in a little square of Azoquejo; Toledo was celebrated for its Zocodover (an old Arab bazaar); the criminal quarter of Malaga was Los Pércheles; and in Valencia, the red-light district of La Pobla was recorded as early as the fourteenth century (see Martínez-Ferrando, Baixa edat mitjana, 1670). There was even a hierarchical distinction in these centres. The Plaza de los Herradores and Puerta del Sol in Madrid were principal rendezvous of the light-fingered gentry, whilst the higher echelons gathered at San Felipe el Real (see Appendix 8.D, for la Lonja de San Felipe, and other underworld meeting-places).

[36] See Cervantes, La ilustre fregona on el Real de las Almadrabas. For details of this zone, see Appendix 8.E.

[37] Despite their apparent support of autos de fe, contemporary Sicilians frequently torched Inquisitorial archives. Servadio argues cogently

for the existence then of a mafioso tradition and philosophy (Mafioso, 8-17).

[38] One meaning of mafioso is a show of defiant strength (Servadio, op. cit., 23).

[39] See page 395 above, on cultural heritage. A play written by Giuseppe Rizzotto and Gaspare Mosca, I mafiusi de la Vicaria (1863), was based on a real Mafia boss, Funciazza, who not only explained the mafioso jargon and customs to the playwrights, but also suggested the writing of the play, allowing his name to be retained in the piece (see Servadio, op. cit., 23).

[40] See Servadio, Mafioso, 8; and Sciascia, Death of an Inquisitor, 17, citing C. A. Garufi, 'Contributo alla storia dell'Inquisizione di Sicilia nei secoli XVI e XVII', in Archivio Storico Siciliano, XXXVIII-XLIII (1914-21).

[41] See ibid., 8, for Osuna quote; and see page 350 above, for Templars and corruption. If such activities were akin to banditry, being predominantly rural, then Hobsbawm's theory about protection of the peasant is unsound (see page 375, above).

[42] Mafioso, 17.

[43] See G.K. Morberger-Thom, Enigmas de las sociedades secretas; and Zugasti, Julián de, El bandolerismo. Estudio social y memorias históricas (Cordoba, 1983), cited by Barrios, Sociedades secretas, 198. Apuleius describes a similar fake alms-collector (The Golden Ass, Bk VIII, 27-9, pp. 390-3).

[44] Barrios, Sociedades secretas, 21.

[45] See Justina Matute, cited in Barrios, op. cit., 202. Details in Audiencia Real de Sevilla. Compare the game 'hacer la vaquilla', in Sicroff, Estatutos de limpieza, 302; and see also Chapter 4, footnote 98 above.

[46] 'A un señor de sombrero, con puntas', in Lupercio de Argensola, Rimas, 209. For another reference to linajudos, see Quevedo, 'Los valientes y tomajonas: Baile', in Obra poética, 255:

Caballero linajudo,
Desabrigado amador
Que paga en genealogias,
Métase a coronicón.

See also page 92 above.

[47] See Barrios, op. cit., 204-7.

[48] Ibid., 21.

[49] See Barrionuevo, 6 September, 1656, Avisos, I, 310b. Detailed analyses showed that Garduña activities on behalf of the Holy Office were equally divided as follows: murder, one third, abduction of women, one third; robbery, perjury and the rest, one third. For La Garduña see Daraul, Secret Societies, 111-6; Barrios, Sociedades secretas, 207-10, citing A. de Blasio, Usos y costumbres de los camorristas (Madrid, 1921), and Morberger-Thom, Enigmas de las sociedades secretas; and Espasa-Calpe, s.v. GARDUÑA.

[50] Private communication.

[51] Las harpías en Madrid, 71, and 106. At the end of the work he promises to write La niña de los embustes (179). Another work he

wrote at this period was La Garduña de Sevilla y anzuelo de las bolsas, about a series of petty crimes conducted mainly by Garay and Rufina, whose progress through several cities brings them into contact with the world of gamblers and conmen.

[52] Obligados y ofendidos, line 2580, p. 86.

[53] Enríquez Gómez, Gregorio Guadaña, ch. XI, 280a. For Vera, see page 279 above; for Caco, see page 396, above. For another reference to the Garduña, see López de Ubeda, La Justina, Bk. 2, pt. 2, ch. 3 (vol. 2, 450).

[54] 'Cuando Felipe III desterró al Duque de Lerma', in Villamediana, Poesía impresa, no. 521, p. 980.

[55] See Appendix 8.F, for details of contemporary contract killings.

[56] Gonzalez Palencia, Noticias, 4.

[57] Ibid., 154. The count's son, don Felix Arias, had been murdered in 1623 (Deleito y Piñuela, La mala vida, 92). See footnote 110 below, for contemporary satire on the name Puñoenrostro.

[58] See Arco y Garay, Sociedad española, 698, citing A. Rodríguez Villa, La Corte y Monarquía de España en los años 1636 y 37 (Madrid, 1886), 90. See also Cabrera de Córdova, Relaciones, 227, who says that the Duque de Alcalá commissioned someone to give 'ciertos palos' to a veinticuatro in Seville, for not removing his hat to him in the street. See also Zapata, Miscelánea, 314.

[59] Enríquez Gómez, 277b-78a.

[60] See Arco y Garay, Sociedad española, 716. See also cuchillada, in Tirso, El condenado por desconfiado, I. 9. 539, p. 81; and chirlo, in Quevedo, El Buscón, 104. For linguistic puns such as Bula de la Cruzada, see Polo de Medina, Epigrama I, 'A uno que le cruzaron la cara con una cuchillada', in El buen humor de las musas, Obras completas, 255. Gregorio González calls the perpetrators 'rompepostes o desuellacaras' (El guitón Honofre, 138). Enriquez Gómez seems particularly well-versed in the measurement of chirlos, to judge by an earlier description in the work of an innkeeper's wife at Carmona: 'Su boca tenía un chirlo de cuarenta puntos' (Gregorio Guadaña, 262b).

[61] Buscon, 95. In gambling terms the scar was measured in more laconic terms still: 'Tenía la cara con tantas cuchilladas, que, a descubrirse puntos, no se la ganara un flux' (ibid., 142).

[62] For more on knife wounds, see Barrios, Sociedades secretas, 214, citing Davillier, Baron Ch., Viaje por España (Madrid, 1982); and Manuel del baratero o arte de manejar la navaja. See also Appendix 8.G.

[63] 'Romance', in Cozquilla, 165.

[64] Resort to the law was merely the pursuit of private warfare by other means (see Bossy, 'Blood and Baptism', 138-9).

[65] Salas Barbadillo, Don Diego, 119.

[66] Obligados y ofendidos, line 2681, p. 90:

Ganchuelo: Yo a una frutera fatal,
por ser deslenguada y vieja,
le di desde oreja a oreja
cuchillada a tan igual,
que con ser de a media vara
la dijo él que la cosia,
que le pareció que había
nacido en la misma cara;
de mí vino a querellar
mas con un unto que sé,
que otro la cortó, probé,
y estoy mandado soltar.
Cernícalo: Y libertad merecieras
por cuchillada tan rara.
Mellado: Las cochilladas [sic] de a vara
se hicieron para fruteras.

See also Quevedo's don Turuleque, who boasts: 'tuve chirlos de alquiler en puntos de a diez y nueve' ('Refiere su vida un embustero', 761, in Obra poética, III, p. 44).

[67] Pedro de Urdemalas, 190. For synonyms of liberal, see Quevedo, El Buscón, 185 (tendero de cuchilladas); Salas Barbadillo, El curioso y sabio Alejandro, 11b (oficiales de la matanza); Castillo Solórzano, 'La fuerza castigada', Noches de placer, 333 (hombres de ánimo); Luna, Lazarillo, ch. X, 62, and ch. XVI, 105 (matachines); López de Ubeda, La Justina, Bk. 1, ch. 3, no. 3 (vol. 1, 228); Luna, op. cit., ch. I, 16 (matasiete); Alemán, Guzmán de Alfarache, I. 1. 8, 222; ibid., II. 1. 2, 48 (matachines); and Estebanillo González, ch. I, 289a (matasiete).

[68] See García, Desordenada codicia, 148.

[69] Cervantes, Rinconete y Cortadillo, 102. See Liñán y Verdugo, Guía y avisos, 271-2, for another example. Salillas observes the close similarity between these bernardinas, vayas, and comos; and the novatadas in the university (El delincuente español, 75). On redomazos, see also page 282 above.

[70] See Estebanillo González, ch. XI, 353a-354a; Timoneda, Cuento LXXXVII, 371; Cervantes, Rinconete y Cortadillo, 101; and Tirso de Molina, El condenado por desconfiado, II. I. 1033-6, p. 109, on tariffs.

[71] II. 6. 1304, p. 124. Compare Cervantes, Rinconete y Cortadillo, 100.

[72] Lugo y Dávila, 136. Antuvión - 'golpe o ataque repentino'. 'Apresurar alguna cosa, y hazerla antes de tiempo; del adverbio ante. Jugar de antuvión es adelantarse y ganar por la mano al que viene a hazer algún desaguisado o agravio' (Covarrubias, Tesoro, s.v. ANTUVIAR).

[73] Carlos García, La desordenada codicia, 147. Compare the beggars' system of denunciation to secular authorities, page 252 above. Where Lugo alludes to a possible Garduña chief (capataz), it was more common to find references to jayanes, who were local leaders of the Germanía (see Barrios, Sociedades secretas, 206).

[74] Salas Barbadillo, El caballero Puntual, 279.

[75] On Bareli and Cugnaletta, see Braudel, The Mediterranean, II, 1143-65, especially n. 29, citing a report from the marqués de Mondéjar to Antonio Pérez, Naples, 30 April, 1577, Simancas Eo [Series

Estado], 1074, fol. 31; and n. 30, Cost. 2 May, 1577, probably passed on by G. de Silva, Simancas Eo, 1336. Cugnaletta was a spendthrift, gambler and drinker. He was not sent back to the East by Madrid bureaucrats 'for health reasons' and executed on 6 November, 1586. See also Braudel, 'La mort de Martín de Acuña'. For abuse of the embassy, see also Salas Barbadillo, Don Diego, 157; and Gillespie, 'Estebanillo and Simplex', 291. On fake diplomats, see Zapata, Miscelánea, 29-31. See Vida de Alonso de Contreras, 115b, on the assassination of the French king, Henry IV in 1610. See Bossy, Giordano Bruno, on diplomatic spies in Elizabethan Britain.

[76]

Cierto soldado mal trapillo
Que anda siempre envuelto en malos trapos;
Que sabe más de embustes que de hazañas;
Que ha quebrantado el quinto mandamiento
En calles, en esquinas, en tabernas,
Mil veces, y ninguna con espada,
Ni con daga, ni abuja, ni guijarro,
Ni con boca de fuego.
(Salas Barbadillo, El caballero Puntual, 223-4).

[77] Don Diego de Noche, 216.

[78] Juan de Salinas, Poesias humanas, 393.

[79] Liñán y Verdugo, Guía y avisos, 51. See also Salas Barbadillo, Pedro de Urdemalas, 137; and ibid., El tribunal de los Majaderos, 257. For the interplay between paid thugs and hired satirists, see page 174 above. See also Kennedy, 'Studies in Tirso, I', 277-86, on the repentistas of Calle de majaderos, and related hostilities.

[80] Quiñones de Benavente, 'Jácara de doña Isabel la Ladrona, que azotaron y cortaron las orejas en Madrid', in Entremeses, loas y jacaras, 362-363. For antuvión, see footnote 72 above.

[81] Fuller notes that there is slang enough in Langland and Skelton, and that Coplande uses a few pedlar's phrases at the beginning of the sixteenth century (Beggars' Brotherhood, 96-7).

[82] See Alonso Hernández, La Germanía; León, Victor, Diccionario de argot español (Madrid, 1980); Vega Suert, Vocabulario caló y de germanía (Barcelona, 1909); Sainéau, L'Argot ancien; and Dekker, Guls Hornbook. See also J. Rutherford, Pícaro, on origins of the word pícaro. I am grateful to Doctor Rutherford for letting me see his manuscript.

[83] See Luna, Lazarillo, ch. XI, 72; and Hill, Poesias germanescas, 'Vocabulario de la germanía', s.v. BOLA, COMENDADORES DE BOLA, 109. According to Riquer, this last expression denotes 'alegría o placer' (ibid., n. 8). See also Alemán, Guzmán de Alfarache, I. 1. 7, 194; and López de Ubeda, La Justina, Bk. 1, ch. 3, no. 3 (vol. 1, 236). For soplones, see page 384 above.

[84] Luján, Guzmán de Alfarache, II. 1. 8, 380a; and II. 3. 11, 429b.

[85] De la Hermanía, 134-5. See Appendix 8.H, for gurapa and related naval words.

[86] Instead of per modum sufragii they say 'por modo de naufragio'; for estipendio they say 'sacaban el estupendo'; and for Hiercania they say 'marinero de Tarpeya y un tigre de Ocaña' (Rinconete y

Cortadillo, 104). See Chapter 7, footnote 51 above, for Marco Ocaña.

[87] Vida de Contreras, 99b. Compare López de Ubeda, La Justina, Bk. 2, pt. 3, ch. 2, no. 1 (vol. 2, 555): 'La Sancha estaba atónita, oyendo la nueva jacarandina'.

[88] Salas Barbadillo, Don Diego, 184.

[89] El Buscón, 188.

[90] Salas Barbadillo, El sagaz Estacio, 227.

[91] El Buscón, 186. See also Céspedes, El soldado Pindaro, 295b (hermano moreno, seor hidalgo); and Tirso de Molina, El condenado por desconfiado, 1. 9. 485, p. 77: ('voarcé... seor hidalgo').

[92] 'El soldado echaba a cada suerte doce votos y otros tantos pesias, aforrados en "por vidas"' (Quevedo, El Buscón, 99). See also Hurtado de Mendoza, Cada loco con su tema, Jornada 1ª, 459; Tirso de Molina, El condenado por desconfiado, 1. 9. 485, p. 77; 1. 9. 493, p. 77; and 1. 12. 844-7, p. 100. For other expletives, see Estebanillo González, ch. II, 296a ('cuerpo de tal'); and La Eufrosina, I. 6. 10, p. 82 ('Arrenego de tantas honrras').

[93] El Mesón del mundo, 125-7.

[94] See Gregorio González, 200; and Luna, Lazarillo, ch. VII, 44.

[95] Ardid de la Pobreza, 469b.

[96] See pages 388 and 385 above, on cigarreros and courting in carriages respectively.

[97] Lugo y Dávila, De la hermanía, 131. Macareno was the name of a resident of the district called la Macarena in Seville; and it also meant chulo or bravucón. Huncia was sedge - both medicinal and aromatic; but juncia also meant boastfulness, and presumption (for 'junciana o jacarandina', see López de Ubeda, La Justina, Bk. 2, pt. 2, ch. 4, no. 2 (vol. 2, 470)). Poleo refers to mentha pulegium - medicinal and aromatic; and also to excessive temerity. In contemporary argot, it meant 'el que encubre los ladrones' (Hill, Poesías germanescas, 'Vocabulario de la germanía', s.v. POLEO). Jayán refers to myrtle; and in argot, a pimp (ibid., s.v. JAYAN). Marquiza refers to a high-class prostitute (ibid., s.v. MARQUISA; and see page 293 above).

[98] Villamediana wrote of Toledo:

Loca justicia, muchos alguaciles,
cirineos de putas y ladrones,
seis caballeros y seiscientos dones,
argentería de linaje viles;
doncellas despuntadas por sutiles,
dueñas para hacer dueñas intenciones,
necios a pares y discretos a nones,
galanes con adornos mujeriles;
maridos a corneta ejercitados,
madres que acedan hijas con el vino,
bravos de mancomún y común miedo;
jurados contra el pueblo conjurados,
amigos como el tiempo de camino,
las calles muladar; esto es Toledo.

(Poesía impresa, 457).

The poem is of very uncertain authorship. Góngora and Quevedo have also been attributed with its composition. See Góngora, Sonetos, 653. Compare also Sonetos, 656, 668, on Madrid.

[99] Barrios, Sociedades secretas, 209.

[100] Garcia, La desordenada codicia, 149. Individual types will be examined later. Compare the compagnonnages, who employed an esoteric system of insignia by which they were known to their fellows; canes, coloured ribbons, and earrings (see Martin Saint-Léon, Le compagnonnage, 259-60).

[101] Las Siete Partidas, Partida II, Tit. XXI, Ley XXI, 'Que cosas son tenudos los caballeros de guardar', fol. 75r. Compare page 156 above, for chivalric ideals in universities.

[102] Relacion de la Cárcel, 1356. Attention to dress was also an accredited knightly property (see Salillas, El delincuente español, 30).

[103] Estebanillo González, ch. I, 289a; see also Luis Vélez, Diablo Cojuelo, Tranco I, 22b, on Cojuelo's moustache. Marcos de Obregón, Relación 3ª, descanso 12 (vol. 2, 195). See Appendix 8.I, for symbolic values of facial hair.

[104] See 'De otro valentón, sobre el túmulo de Felipe III', in Obras de Trillo y Figueroa, 405. See also:

> 'Quae est ista quae ascendit de deserto...?',
> preguntó un socarrón a un licenciado.
> in lege bellacorum graduado,
> de bigote engomado y cuello abierto?
> ('A la marquesa de Denia', 194, ibid., p. 405).

[105] 'A un Narciso, Sátira', in Cozquilla del gusto, 43-4.

[106] Don Diego, 228. Sometimes, ingenuity and spit would suffice though, as one of Justina's suitors demonstrates:

> Comenzó a hilar y torcer los bigotes, metiendo el uno en la boca, mientras el otro se hilaba, y, torcidos ambos, dio un soplo que sirvió de goma para entiesarlos; trás esto, recorrió espada y daga, y, finalmente, dando un rodeón al chapeo, alzó los ojos y dijo: 'Reina mia, ¿hále enojado alguno? Que ¡Vive Dios! que le acabe'.
> (La Justina, Bk. 4, ch. 3, 712).

On attention to moustaches, see also Vida de Alonso de Contreras, 99a-b; Salas Barbadillo, Pedro de Urdemalas, 180; Enriquez Gómez, Gregorio Guadaña, 267b; Remiro de Navarra, Los peligros de Madrid, Peligro 2º, 31; Alemán, Guzmán de Alfarache, II. 3. 8, 444-5; and ibid., I. 3. 10, 457; Céspedes, El soldado Pindaro, 295b; and Fernández de Ribera, Mesón del mundo, 84. See also Castillo Solórzano, Bachiller Trapaza, (ed. Valbuena), 1515; and Santos, Tarascas, 280, 'Tercero dia, Martes'.

[107] See 'Mi herruza' (Vida de Alonso de Contreras, 137a); and 'valentias y roldanajes' (López de Ubeda, La Justina, Bk. 4, ch. 3 (vol. 2, 712)). For 'durindana', see La Justina, Bk. 1, ch. 1 (vol. 1, 156); and page 370 above. This also meant justicia in argot (Hill, Poesías germanescas, 'Vocabulario de la germanía', s.v. DURINDANA, 113).

[108] Siegfried's sword Mimung is of this provenance. See Keen, Chivalry, 53, n. 36, on sacral swords.

[109] 'Otro romance', in Ledesma, Conceptos espirituales, 360, line 47. For references to the Carolingian tradition, see Santos, Día y Noche, where the parodic name for the rufián, Pagote, is Dardin or Darderin d'Ardeña, one of the twelve 'pares' of France, who appeared in Charlemagne's Crónicas (see Navarro Pérez (ed.), Discurso IV, 62, n. 45).

[110] Obligados y ofendidos, p. 41, lines 851-2. See also Quevedo, Obra poética, II, p. 217, line 201: 'su espada será Tizona'. For Tizona and Colada, see also Quevedo, Obra poética, III, 149, no. 784, 'El Cid acredita su valor contra la invidia de cobardes'. Perhaps inadvisedly Estebanillo González sniggers at the valientes' dialogue, and is rewarded by their attention: 'Habiéndome hecho conde de Puñoenrostro, arrancó la tizona, quizá por haberle yo negado la colada' (ch. II, 296a). For El Conde de Puñoenrostro, see page 362 above.

[111] Hospital de incurables, 288.

[112] See León Pinelo, Anales, 88-9. Two years later, between 28 February and 8 March 1566, it was decreed that criminals' arms be surrendered to the arresting officers, and that no daggers must be carried, but swords were still allowed (ibid., 92).

[113] Día y Noche, 95. For más de marca, see also Alemán, Guzmán de Alfarache, I. 3. 10, 456; ibid., II. 2. 5, 211; Cervantes, Rinconete y Cortadillo, 83; Salas Barbadillo, El caballero Puntual, 87. See also page 277 above, for adaptation of the term to prostitutes' high-heels. Contemporaries adopted the expression to parody anything exceeding respectable limits, including a man's age:

> Es el señor don Vejecio
> Una edad de más de marca,
> Grande guarismo de días,
> Tarabilla de semanas.

(Polo de Medina, 'Escrito en la Academia a un hombre muy viejo que galanteaba una niña', in Obras completas, 271).

For bans on the unsheathed sword, see Santos, Día y Noche, 103, 182, and 183; and Lope de Vega, El peregrino en su patria (1604), 424.

[114] For similar rituals in knights and compagnons, see page 351 above.

[115] It was, of course, in its sheath.

> Es el valentón que anda rufaldado con su espada, levantada la punta en alto y el brazo izquierdo sobre ella; amigo de cuchilladas y pendencias; trato propio de rufián o matasiete... vale lo mesmo que rufián, porque lleva la espada de diferente postura que los otros y porque se pica de valiente.
>
> (Covarrubias, Tesoro, s.v. ESPADACHIN).

[116] On 'Travelled Gulls', see Howell, Forreine Travell (1642), 65. In England they were evidently known as swaggerers (see Shakespeare, King Henry IV Part II, Act II, scene 4, lines 67-103, pp. 526-27). I am indebted to Professor Round for this last reference.

[117] García, La desordenada codicia, 244. See Appendix 8.J, for more examples of hacer piernas, and a Sicilian connection.

[118] Gregorio Guadaña meets an innkeeper who carried 'una daga tan ancha como su conciencia, y más larga que su vida' (Enríquez Gómez, 263a).

[119] See Appendix 8.K, for cachas amarillas. For zinguizanque, see Hill, Poesías germanescas, 'Vocabulario de la germanía', s.v. ZINGUIZANGUE, 124.

[120] See Rodríguez Marín (ed.), Rinconete y Cortadillo, citing Cabildo de 22 de junio de 1607.

[121] Every contemporary Spaniard was a theologian (see Le Febvre, L'Incroyance, 213, and 377; Menéndez y Pelayo, Historia de los heterodoxos, V, 398; and Bennassar, Valladolid, 384). See Appendix 8.L, for longanimity and pusillanimity.

[122] 'Literature and the Delinquent', 131.

[123] Quevedo, 107.

[124] See Deleito y Piñuela, Mala vida, 106, citing Rodríguez Marín, Clásicos castellanos, tomo XXVII, 166. The blurring of sacred and profane in external ritual was, in any case, a notable feature of medieval religion, which Delumeau and Toussaert doubt was truly Christian (see Bideleux, 'Popular Catholicism', 22; and Toussaert, 'Le sentiment religieux', 248).

[125] 'A un valentón en la apariencia, que llevaba un puñal muy largo, y un rosario de cuentas gruesas pendiente junto a él', 157, in Poesías humanas, 400. The administrator, Doctor Serna, replied:

Aunque en la cinta pendiente
rosario y daga le ves
tan en uno al portugués
más devoto es que valiente.
Si del coraje que miente
te quieres desengañar,
incítale a batallar,
que en el rebato de Braga
yo le he visto de la daga
para el rosario apelar.

See also Chapter 7, footnote 171 above, for rosary beads and the go-between.

[126] See Hill, Poesías germanescas, 'Vocabulario de la germanía', s.v. JUAN, 116. Compare García Mercadal, Estudiantes, 204. The religious houses were a more attractive target than churches, because the friars rarely gave up an offender to the Law. The most a thief could expect in punishment was a whipping by a procession of friars within the cloisters and an exhortation to mend his ways (García, La desordenada codicia, 92).

[127] Cervantes, 104.

[128] Ibid., 81.

[129] See Fernández de Ribera, El mesón del mundo, 124. For more on thieves and religious devotion, see Barine, 'Les gueux d'Espagne', 875-7.

[130] 'Sodomita, querrá decir vuesa merced', replies Rincón (Rinconete y Cortadillo, 82). See also page 283 above, for patron saints of Monipodio's gang.

[131] For one case, see Deleito y Piñuela, Mala vida, 106, n. 2, citing A. Rodríguez Villa, Noticias de Madrid, 20 January, 1636, 12 and 13. In popular literature, types oscillating between holy hermits and bandits appear in Castillo Solórzano, La Garduña; Vida de Alonso de

Contreras; Tirso, El condenado por desconfiado; Calderón, La Devoción de la Cruz; and the later Lesage, Gil Blas de Santillana.

[132] García, Desordenada codicia, 150.

[133] Carranza, Comentarios, I, 467-75; Luther, vol. 38, pp. 159, 175, and 183; vol. 2, p. 273; and vol. 8, p. 203. For Tridentine encouragement of intercessionary saints, see page 80 above. See also 22nd Session, ch. 3, in Schroeder (ed.), Canons and Decrees, 146.

[134] Salas Barbadillo, 254. On the association between Saint Martin and the underworld, see Cervantes [attrib.], La tía fingida, 1740b; Salas Barbadillo, Don Diego, 32; Zabaleta, Fiesta por la mañana, 152; López de Ubeda, La Justina, Bk. 4, ch. 5 (vol. 2, 735); Espinel, Marcos de Obregón, Relación 1ª, descanso 8, 160; Cervantes, Don Quijote, II, 58 (vol. 7, 272); and Cervantes, Pedro de Urdemalas, Jornada 1ª, line 630-1, p. 651.

[135] Salas Barbadillo, Acto 2º, 198. See examples of the Virgin's protection of miscreants in the offices of the Cántigas de Santa María; Jesús Montoya Martínez, Las colecciones de milagros de la Vírgen en la Edad Media: el milagro literario (Granada, 1981), 152-53; and Johannes Herold, Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary, edited by Eileen Power (London, 1928); all cited by Flynn, 'Rituals of Solidarity', 67, n. 10. See also Gonzalo de Berceo, Milagros de Nuestra Señora, ed. D. Devoto, Milagro VI, 'El ladrón devoto', 47-9.

[136] For Mercury and his patronage, see Guillén, 'Definition of the Picaresque', 84; Camporesi, Libro dei vagabondi, 390; Björnson, 'The picaresque hero', 258; and Erasmus, Praise of Folly, 33. For Mercury and madness, see Garzoni, L'ospedale de' pazzi incurabili (1586), 242.

[137] Cervantes, 744. For literary references to Mercury, see Espinel, Marcos de Obregón, Relación 1ª, Descanso 3 (vol. 2, 109) (pies aguileños); and Salas Barbadillo, El Malcontentadizo, 281.

[138] La desordenada codicia, 150. After extracting the traditional fifth share of the spoils, the money was disposed of according to strict rules:

> Se saca el diezmo, para obras pias, cuales son, socorrer los enfermos y necesitados de nuestra compañia, rescatar los encarcelados y remediar las afrentas que se hacen a los que no tienen blanca.
>
> (ibid., 147).

[139] Cervantes, Rinconete y Cortadillo, 85.

[140] See Justina, who associated the demandador with a 'cofradia de trasgos o zorra de morrazos' (López de Ubeda, bk. 2, pt. 3, ch. 4 (vol. 2, 588)).

[141] Salas Barbadillo, 212. Compare page 20 above, on lack of confraternities for lower classes.

[142] See also a contemporary jácara on the burial ritual for criminals. First the priest officiating delivers a homily. Then a friend reminds the women they have lost a comrade:

> Ya, señoras taberneras,
> Les ha faltado un Cofadre,
> Más borracho que su padre,

Por ser cofadre de veras
Que al vino llamaba madre.
(Bonilla y San Martín (ed.), El testamento del pícaro pobre, by Damón de Henares [Pedro Lainez?, d. 1605], 73).

For Doncella de la Vera, see page 279 above. The need for subsidization of the minimal funeral rites was probably the single most important reason for association among the criminals, who risked being left unburied and eaten by dogs. On dogs eating the dead, see La Justina, Bk. 1, ch. 3, no. 3, 'De la muerte de los mesoneros' (vol. 1, 224), where Justina's father dies in a brawl and a dog eats his body. See also page 83 above, on the fate of the unburied.

[143] The man was 'caballero milagroso' (Salas Barbadillo, 189).

[144] Quevedo, 187; see page 177 above on Alvarez's circle of acquaintance.

[145] See Hobsbawm, Bandits, 13, and 21; and Pastor Petit, Bandolerismo en España, 12. Contrast page 357 above, on mafioso activities. On bandidos generosos, see Deleito y Piñuela, Mala vida, 104-5, n. 2, citing Castro y Rossi, Costumbres de los españoles en el siglo XVII, 88; and Pellicer, III, 176, 'Avisos de 17 de mayo de 1644'; and op. cit., 163, 'Avisos de 12 de abril de 1644'. Compare Migueletes, on page 87 above.

[146] See Barrios, Sociedades secretas, 206, n. 10, citing A. di Blasio, Usos y costumbres de los camorristas (Madrid, 1921); and page 356 above.

[147] For designations as 'guild' in France, see Montaiglon and Raynaud (eds), Recueil général des fabliaux, IV, N.97, 93-111; and Deschamps, Oeuvres complètes, V, N.1022, 291ff. See Parker's review of French, Italian, and English documents on delinquent beggars, and ways in which they organized themselves or were classified by contemporary observers ('Literature and the Delinquent', 142-3).

[148] Erasmus, El Cartuxano, 175a-b. See also Augustine, De ordine, liber secundus, cap. IV, cols 999-1000, in Migne (ed.), Patrologia Latina, XXXII. Proof of this need is seen in the development in Languedoc (1464), for example, of an enormous lockpicking fraternity (secte de crocheterie) with about four hundred members. It had a king and a constable at its head, and employed a special slang (see Geremek, Margins of Society, 129-32).

[149] Compare Tirso de Molina's El condenado por desconfiado, where the valientes organize a competition to judge the most accomplished criminal, offering a laurel for the winner (I. 12. 695, p. 93). See also page 166 above.

[150] See Geremek, op. cit., 131, n. 164, citing particularly the influence of Carlos García, L'Antiquité des larrons, translated by Vital d'Audiguier (Paris, 1621). Vital de Audiguier (1569-1624), a soldier-writer, also translated Cervantes's Novelas Ejemplares, and Espinel's Marcos de Obregón. See G. de Ardennes de Tirac, Etude historique et littéraire sur Vital d'Audiguier (Paris, 1887). Henri Sauval, Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris (Paris, 1724), I, 513, 516, cited by Geremek, op. cit., 131. Sauval was said to be a historian of low quality and reliability (Geremek, op. cit., 82). He may also have known Tirso de Molina's El condenado por desconfiado.

[151] Hay depositario entre ellos, en cuya casa se recojen los hurtos, y arca de tres llaves, donde se echa lo que se hurta, y lo que se vende, y sacan de alli para el gasto y para cohechar los que pueden para su remedio. Cuando se ven en aprieto son muy recatados en recibir que sean hombres esforzados y ligeros, cristianos viejos; no acojen sino a criados de hombres poderosos y favorecidos en la ciudad, ministros de justicia; y lo primero que juran es esto, que aunque los hagan cuartos pasarán su trabajo, mas no descubrirán los compañeros; y ansi cuando entre gente honrada de una casa falta algo, que dicen que el diablo lo llevó, levántanselo al diablo que no lo llevó, sino alguno de estos, y de haber la cofradía es cierto y durará mucho más que la señoría de Venecia, porque, aunque la justicia entresaca algunos desdichados, nunca ha llegado al cabo de la hebra.

(Zapata, Miscelánea, 49-50).

Zapata's contemporary, Alemán, alluded to the existence of a Sevillian thieving fraternity: 'Dejémoslos y vengamos a los de mi oficio y a la cofadría más antigua y larga' (Guzmán de Alfarache, II. II. 7, 237). Significantly, in contemporary France the Compagnonnages were forming with similar features; in Germany and the Netherlands there were printers' unions; and throughout Europe freemasons, Rosicrucians, Family of Love, and other secret sects were emerging (see Kamen, Iron Century, 117-8; Martin Saint-Léon, Le compagnonnage; and Yates, Rosicrucian Enlightenment, 72, et passim. See also footnote 275 below).

[152] See Basas Fernández, El Consulado de Burgos, 32; and Robert Smith, Spanish Guild Merchant, 8.

[153] Basas Fernández, op. cit., 49. 'Merchant' in this context meant wholesaler, exporter and importer, and not retailer (ibid., 50).

[154] In 1687 the town's Corregidor was also Prior of the Consulado, with a consequent merging of municipal and mercantile institutions (see ibid., 220, citing Espejo and Paz, Las antiguas ferias, 323, 330-37).

[155] In many cases confraternities did print their own newsheet and other material (see Chapter 4, footnote 133 above), but it is unlikely that any but the great archconfraternities would have been in a position to make loans to the King, especially as their stated aim was not to create 'monipodios', but to look to the physical and spiritual needs of members.

[156] See Keen, Chivalry, 56.

[157] Ibid., 192.

[158] Marriage was not always an obstacle to entry, though the wife had to give her permission (Forey, Military Orders, 135). And in 1238 Gregory IX reprimanded the Hospitallers for allegedly keeping prostitutes in their houses and neglecting the vow of chastity (ibid., 170).

[159] Ibid., 135.

[160] Ibid., 138.

[161] Ibid., 163, n. 16.

[162] Ibid., 103-4, 106-15.

[163] See Barrios, Sociedades secretas, 204; and Hill, Poesías germanescas, 'Vocabulario de la germanía', s.v. REY, 122.

[164] See Carroll, Cult of the Virgin Mary, 99, citing Maarten J. Vermaseren, Cybele and Attis, The Myth and the Cult (London, 1977), 115; and for a picture of the galli, see Grant Showerman, 'The Great Mother of the Gods', Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, Philology and Literature, Series 1 (Feb), 221-333 (1901), 272. See also Apuleius, The Golden Ass, Book VIII, 27-28; and pages 43, and 56 above.

[165] Obra poética, II, no. 712, p. 380.

[166] Ibid., II, no. 533, 'Procura también persuadir aqui a una pedidora perdurable la doctrina del trueco de las personas', p. 35.

[167] 'Suceso de un novio que trocó la noche de su boda bebida con la purga de un enfermo', in Gallardo, Ensayo, II, 295, Donaires del Parnaso (1624). Hurtado de Mendoza alludes to 'el gallo menos rufo' in a poem parodying the blind man's coplas ('Quintillas imitando las de ciego, porque se pidieron en este estilo', in Obras poéticas, I, 296-300 (300)).

[168] For example, new entrants to the Garduña, chivatos, gave advance warning of danger to their fellows by imitating animal cries. Garduña = ferret < carcadún = weasel (archaic). In thieves' argot, names for members include: águila, buzo, cisne, comadreja, gerifalte, golondrino, gruñidor, jorgolino, lince, lobo, and murciélago (see Hill, Poesías germanescas, 'Vocabulario de la germanía').

[169] See Daraul, Secret Societies, 114; Barrios, Sociedades secretas, 207-10; and Espasa-Calpe, s.v. GARDUÑA.

[170] Hill, Poesías germanescas, 'Bayle', XXVII, 66, lines 311-18. Further research may authenticate these names as members of the Garduña.

[171] Academias del jardin, Academia 2ª, 161-3.

[172] When his character, Casquillos, takes to crime in the fairs, he is so successful that: 'Se soñó Archipámpano, y echó a dos carreras, por si saliese la una falsa, que picaba de galán y reventaba de valiente' (Guia y avisos, Novela 12ª, 256). See also Archipámpano, in Avellaneda, Don Quijote, pt. 7, ch. 35, 450. See page 252 above, on equivalent beggars' terms. See Appendix 8.M, for listing of related words.

[173] See Rinconete y Cortadillo, 83-4. Compare the medieval chivalric code established by Alfonso X:

> Doquier que los omes se hallaban con ellos, se les humillaban (76r)... que puede llegar a honra de Emperador, o de Rey e ante no lo puede ser bien asi como no podria ningún clérigo, ser obispo, si primeramente no fuese ordenado de preste misa cantano.
>
> (Segunda partida, tít. XXI, ley XXIII, 'En que manera deuen honrrar los caualleros').

[174] Quevedo, 145-6.

[175] Salas Barbadillo, 238.

[176] Lugo y Dávila, De la hermanía, 137. Encomendado was subordinate to the encomendador. Encomienda, a concession of land and jurisdictional rights to the Military Orders. Lo encomendado is an allotted task. Posta is a sentry box or sentinel; a gambling den; and in argot, an alguacil (see Hill, Poesías germanescas, 'Vocabulario de la germanía', s.v. POSTA). See also Garcia, La desordenada codicia, 146-7.

[177] 'A Ruffler', said Dekker, 'after a yeare or two takes state uppon and becomes an Upright-man (but not an honest man)' (Guls Hornbook, 93).

[178] Vida de Alonso de Contreras, 122-3. See page 447 below, on pobretes in prison.

[179] Ch. II, 295a.

[180] See Appendix 8.N, for jaque and origins of the word.

[181] See Cervantes, Don Quijote, I, 5 (vol. 1, 185). His equivalent in the prostitutes was la Jayana. One of these appears in Luis Vélez, El diablo Cojuelo, 'vestida de verde muy larga de estatura, y muchos pretendientes por abajo a pie, soldados, capitanes, abogados, artífices, y profesores de diferentes ciencias' (Tranco VII, 35b). Quevedo brings together some of this hierarchy, and its corresponding prostitute ranks, in 'Toros y cañas en que entró el Rey nuestro señor Don Felipe IV', in Obra poética, II, no. 693, line 165, p. 283:

> Por jayán mayor de marca,
> no hay iza que no le entreve;
> no hay marca que no le atisbe;
> no hay jaque que no lo tiemble.

[182] Salas Barbadillo, 256-8.

[183] See García, La desordenada codicia, 147. The perpetrator of the theft and the captain received an equal (unspecified) amount, whilst the accomplices received a third, and the spies a fifth. Very approximately then, the captain and perpetrator must have earned a fifth each.

[184] Don Diego, 161-2.

[185]

> El procurador que nos defiende, el guro que nos avisa, el verdugo que nos tiene lástima... son también bienhechoras nuestras las socorridas que de sudor nos socorren, ansi en la trena como en las guras... el escribano, que si anda de buena, no hay delito que sea culpa ni culpa a quien se dé mucha pena; y por todos estos que he dicho hace nuestra hermandad cada año su adversario con la mayor popa y soledad que podemos.
>
> (Rinconete y Cortadillo, 85).

[186] See page 433 below, for ritual drowning and other executions. Gurapas meant galleys in argot (see Hill, Poesías germanescas, 'Vocabulario de la germanía', s.v. GURAPAS).

[187] Porras de la Cámara, quoted by Apraiz, 'Curiosidades cervantinas', 243-4. See page 323 above, for more of this letter.

[188]

> Pero como dos alevosos bastan a condenar un justo, y en este siglo miserable no valga la inocencia, si no es favorecida, por ir las leyes donde quieren los reyes, sucedió que, no

embargante los reproches que dio a los testigos, harto suficientes para convencer la malicia del acusador y manifestar la inocencia del acusado, les condenaron a muerte.

(García, La desordenada codicia, 64).

See also Lugo y Dávila, De la hermanía, 145, on corruption. Apparently use of false witnesses and perjury of jurors continues today in trials of underworld characters. Al Capone told Larry Adler in 1928 that he paid a juror to hold out for a verdict of manslaughter, to save his right-hand man, Johnny Torrio, from the electric chair. Torrio got a long prison sentence, and when Capone thanked the juror, he replied: 'Mr Capone, you don't know what a dumb buncha bastards I hadda put up with. They wanted to acquit 'im!' ('Capone buys perverse justice', The Sunday Times, 22 August, 1993, p. 2.7).

189 Haciendo vivas diligencias un grande amigo del mayor privado que entonces tenía Apolo, lo supo dél en confianza. Este tenía otro grande amigo, a quien se le cedió con la misma obligación; déste pasó a otro, y del otro a otro, de modo que discurriendo las palabras en confidencia de un grande amigo a otro grande amigo, supieron dentro de dos horas los pícaros de la cocina de Apolo lo mismo que él, y con no menor certidumbre, y aun con mayores circunstancias, por las glosas y comentos que se le añadían.

(Salas Barbadillo, Don Diego, 104).

See Vélez, El ollero de Ocaña, 145b, on the post-boy's diplomatic immunity. There is also a hint of corruption in a poem by Enríquez Gómez:

A cuatro cuartos de parte,
Como carta de estafeta,
Le vende por recoleta
Doña Dama de la Corte.

('Letrilla VI', in BAE, 42 (1875), 391).

190 See García, La desordenada codicia, 105-6. For avispones, see Rinconete y Cortadillo, 94.

191 Obligados y ofendidos, line 2633, p. 88. For another reference to fuelle in the context of 'bellows', see 'Soneto', in d'Ors, Vida y poesía de Ledesma, 327: 'Los fuelles de oración soplan contino/ hasta que enciendas un carbón tiznado...'. See also 'Los valientes y tomajonas: Baile', in Quevedo, Obra poética, III, 249-56 (250); and ibid., 'Relación que hace un jaque de sí y de otros', 275-81 (278).

192 Writing from prison to his moll, Escarramán describes the outcome of a fight:

Supiéronlo los señores,
que se lo dijo el guardia,
gran saludador de culpas,
un fuelle de Satanás.

('Carta de Escarramán a la Méndez', no. 849, in Quevedo, Obra poética, III, line 49, p. 262).

For another occurrence of fuelle de satanás, see Lope de Vega, 'Romance de Escarramán, vuelto a lo Divino'.

193 Trillo, 'Cartilla del amor al vino, a unas Damas que presumieron engañar al Poeta con algunas cetrerías', in Obras, 66. See also ibid., 'Romance XVIII', p. 149; and Ledesma, 'Soneto', in Conceptos

espirituales, I, p. 327. See page 328 above, for other musical references to torture.

194 Llamemos cuatro soplones
Destos que llaman canutos,
Y acudiendo a sus tributos,
Ejerciten sus cañones,
Y hallarémonos a obscuras.
(Lope de Vega, El caballero del Sacramento, Act 1, p. 457a-b). See also Polo de Medina, 'Romance a Apolo', in El buen humor de las Musas, 299. See page 396 above, for cañuto, and other names connected with air. See also Cervantes, El coloquio de los perros, 202; Enríquez Gómez, Gregorio Guadaña, IV, 264a; Luna, Lazarillo, ch. I, 11-12; and Santos, Día y noche, 83.

195 'Al Nacimiento. En metáfora de un vestido contra la premática', in Ledesma, Conceptos espirituales, I, p. 53, line 13. See also 'Epitafio a la muerte de un medio soplón, y truan', in Maluenda, Cozquilla del gusto, 125:

Este del aire, sustento
daba a su cuerpo: donaire
gastó mucho, y quedó al aire,
pues ahora es nada, y viento.
Fue soplón, aunque sencillo:
y en el mundo sopló tanto,
que pudo estar en un manto
embargado por soplillo.

196 Gregorio Guadaña, 275b.

197 Día y Noche, 86. Compare Salas Barbadillo, Don Diego, 185; and Céspedes, El soldado Pindaro, ch. XV, 305a, who says in Seville they were called curioso. Interestingly, there is no mention of the Linajudos.

198 'Letrillas', BAE, 42 (1875), 389.

199 Llámase Correas,
En su antigua casta
de tanta nobleza
que de puro antigua
caduca de vieja.
Díganlo sus armas,
digna y clara muestra
de la hidalga sangre
que tiene en sus venas:
una águila trae
en una tarjeta
y en campo dorado
sus cuatro correas.
('Otro romance', in Ledesma, Conceptos espirituales, I, 360, line 111).
For águila representing a high-calibre prostitute, see Maluenda, Cozquilla del gusto, 'Bayle', p. 126; and ibid., 'Sátira a diferentes cosas', p. 157.

200 See Hill, Poesias germanescas, 'Vocabulario de la germania', s.v. AGUILA, p. 106.

201 Don Diego, Aventura 7ª, 179. See also Remiro de Navarra, Los peligros de Madrid, Peligro 2º, 'En el soto', 23. For more on

eagles, see Salas Barbadillo, El caballero Puntual, 52; and Fernández de Ribera, Los anteojos de mejor vista, 48. Aguilucho, as distinct from aguila, was the receiver of stolen goods (see Hill, Poesías germanescas, 'Vocabulario de la germanía', s.v. AGUILUCHO). The term appears in La Justina, along with aguila (López de Ubeda, Bk. 1, ch. 3, no. 2 (vol. 1, 214)). Alonso Hernández finds no explanation for the term, nor any text using it (La Germanía, 52). There is an interesting use of aguilucho in a twentieth-century novel, Nosotros los Rivero, by Dolores del Medio, in which the father is named Aguilucho, his son is Germán, and his daughter, Lena, the name of the stereotyped go-between.

[202] Fernández de Ribera, 49. And when Philtra in La Eufrosina describes her first clients at the brothel as two students, Cariófilo exclaims: 'Ha, ladrones, essa es la instituta en que ellos estudian, y después suplen con grauedad la falta de las letras desimuladas con malicia, y son los que nos escalan la tierra' (ed. Menéndez y Pelayo, I. 3, p. 78a). See also page 385 above, on caballeros de la Tuna.

[203] See Appendix 7.G for gamblers.

[204] Estebanillo González, ch. V, 310b.

[205] Salas Barbadillo, 227.

[206] 'Hácese antana, que asi llaman ellos ponerse en la iglesia, y envia cada dia por los ocho o diez reales' (Quevedo, 'Capitulaciones de la vida de la Corte', 466). See also Quevedo, 'Los valientes y tomajonas: Baile', in Obra poética, III, 251; Hill, Poesías germanescas, 'Vocabulario de la germanía', s.v. ANTANA, 107; and page 392 above, on other words for church asylum.

[207] Comentarios, Part 2, 109. On efforts of the Sevillian chapter to evict the criminals, see Morales Padrón, Historia de Sevilla, 126, n. 29, citing RP. La Coruña. 7 de mayo de 1520. AMS. Sección 1ª, carpeta 5ª, núm. 70. Refuge was declared invalid if the crime was treason (Lope de Vega, El caballero de Illescas, Act 1, p. 113a). On abuse of church asylum, see Quevedo, El Buscón, 188; Zapata, Miscelánea, 27; Cervantes, La Gitanilla, 51; and Zayas, Aventurarse perdiendo, 29. See also Chapter 10, footnote 94 below.

[208] See Alonso Hernández, La Germanía, 96, for this theory. See Appendix 8.O, for derivation of chulo. See Quiñones de Benavente, Entremés de los ladrones y Moro Hueco y la parida, 627, for another reference.

[209] 'Romance de el cumplimiento del testamento de Maladros', in Hill, Poesías germanescas, XXXIII, 93-104 (100, lines 574-77). For mandil, see Alonso Hernández, La Germanía, 99-101; Fernando de Zárate, El valiente Campuzano, Jornada 1ª, 570c; and Estebanillo González, ch. VI, 317b. It seems the word mandil came first, followed by trainel:

Garla nueva germanía
Porque no sea descornado;
Que la otra era muy vieja
Y la entrevan los villanos...
Al mandil llama trainel
Porque lleva y trae recados.

('Romance', XXV, in Hill, op. cit., 60, lines 30-4, and 65-6).

For traynel, see also Salas Barbadillo, Tribunal de los majaderos, 257; and Cervantes, Pedro de Urdemalas, in Teatro completo, 651, lines 638-47.

210 'Respuesta de Lampuga a la Perala' (1852), in Quevedo, Obra poética, III, 287, line 113.

211 'Con ayuda del jifero, al baratillo de la ropa vieja y usada' (Estebanillo González, ch. II, 296a). In Malaga some time later he is recruited by the armadores. Aspiring to leadership here, he pretends to have wounded a chulo with his jifero and invokes church refuge (Estebanillo González, ch. V, 312a). Compare Vida de Alonso de Contreras, 78b.

212 Liñán y Verdugo, Guia y avisos, Novela 7ª, 152-3.

213 Otros hay de valor y fuerzas, espadachines, valientes, pendencieros, indómitos, incorregibles, habladores, arrogantes, glotones, presumidos, en tanto que hasta a sus mismos amos se atreven, perdiéndoles el respeto y cortesía. Estos nacieron más para ser servidos que para servirse de ellos, más para mandar que obedecer. Son éstos los que imitan los leones. Los otros que sirven de carro y arado, son los boyes, han menester la aguijada y que los asista el amo a todo lo que hacen; son perezosos, lerdos, comedores, amigos del ocio, rumiando de noche lo que tragan de dia.
(Machado de Silva, 'Tercera parte de Guzmán de Alfarache', 99).

214 'Entremés de Mazalquiví', 65. Aguado is received in the lower ranks of hombres de bien, between student and valiente, because: 'Habíase ya acuchillado una o dos veces, y aunque no mató ni hirió, no huyó, que son principios de la jerigonza valentónica' (Liñán y Verdugo, Guía y avisos, Novela 7ª, 152). Compare Céspedes, El soldado Píndaro, ch. XIV, 304a. In all these lower stages a sword appears and hence the title, Espadachín (see page 371, above). See also Polo de Medina, Academias del jardin, Academia 3ª, 182.

215 See García, La desordenada codicia, 146. In all schools young Nippers practised on dummies trimmed with bells.

216 Toman el nombre de la semejanza que tienen con aquellos muchachos de los navíos, los cuales suben con grande ligereza por las cuerdas a lo más alto del mástil, y los mareantes le llaman gatos o grumetes. Y así, los que tienen este nombre, hurtan de noche subiendo ligerísimamente por una escala de cuerdas, al cabo de la cual hay dos anzuelos de hierro, para que, arrojándola hacia la ventana, se asga del encaje della, y puedan fácilmente subir y vaciar la casa.
(García, La desordenada codicia, 91).

Known in England as Anglers, grumetes wore frieze jerkins and gally slops, and carried a staff about six feet long with an iron hook at one end for opening windows. They stole linen and sold it to a broker, who credited them with half its value (Dekker, Guls Hornbook, 93).

217 Lo primero que habéis de hacer, es esto: hacé cuenta que viene un hombre por esta esquina, y luego, en viéndole venir, habéis de echar mano y tentarle la capa; y si tiene buen pelo, le llamamos Pedro, y si es raída, Rodrigo.

((Anon.), Entremés del Capeador, in Cotarelo (ed.), Colección de entremeses, I, I, 116-9 (117)).

Compare Hill, Poesias germanescas, 'Vocabulario de la germania', s.v. PEDRO. There may be several meanings for the following account of a judge, 'poca persona y mucha justicia', who stands in the doorway 'arrodrigonado a un puntero que traia por vara de noche' (Fernández de Ribera, El mesón del mundo, 98). It seems more likely that the allusion is to his sword or vara in this case. See also ibid., 61 ('Rodrigones o cepas'). For more on capeadores, see García, La desordenada codicia, 91; García Mercadal, Estudiantes, 204; and Deleito y Piñuela, Mala vida, 95.

218 See González Palencia, Noticias de Madrid (8 October, 1623), 317; Santos, Las Tarascas, 'Abusos del quinto dia, Jueves', 316; Quevedo, El Buscón, 166; Enríquez Gómez, Gregorio Guadaña, ch. XII, 281a; and Vida de Alonso de Contreras, 80b.

219 ch. X, 61-2. For maleta, see Garcia, La desordenada codicia, 148; and García Mercadal, Estudiantes, 206. He was known in England as a hobgoblin or little snakesman (Fuller, Beggars' Brotherhood, 206). For other examples see Middleton, Family of Love, II. 4. 22.

220 Ch. III, 302b. See also García Mercadal, Estudiantes, 206; and García, La desordenada codicia, 148.

221 'Jácara, CXXXII', in Alfay, Poesias varias, 207, lines 57-64.

222 Arguijo, Cuentos, 204.

223 Alemán, II. 2. 4, 194.

224 See Shakespeare, King Henry IV Part II, Act II, scene 4, line 120: 'Away, you cut-purse rascal!' (p. 527). Other methods of Nipping the Bung, as it was known, were plucking the Gull by the sleeve and claiming acquaintance, or by accidentally knocking him against a pillar, or pretending to fall in a swoon at his feet, so that when he bent down, his purse dangled invitingly before the thief's face (see Fuller, Beggars' Brotherhood, 148-54).

225 Apenas cumplió los ocho de su edad cuando, entrándose por los templos en los mayores concursos, sutil hacia presa en las bolsas más recatadas, por que siempre es lo mejor lo más escondido.
(Salas Barbadillo, El caballero Puntual, Residenciados del Lunes, 278).

226 Timoneda, Cuento XCVI, 375. See also Salas Barbadillo, 'Epigrama 54', in El caballero Puntual, 116:

Quisome un ladrón cortar
La bolsa, mas yo acudi,
Y en la mano recibi
La herida que le iba a dar.
Y fuera el daño mayor,
Don Juan, que siempre llorara
Si la bolsa me cortara,
Que esta es la mano mejor.

227 'Refiere su vida un embustero' (761), in Quevedo, Obra poética, III, 44.

228 El sagaz Estacio, 227.

229 Y para que todos los puestos de la ciudad estén siempre suficientemente proveídos, está ordenado que cada oficial que llegare de nuevo a un puesto, ponga una señal, mostrando por ella el número de ladrones que en aquella parte se hallan. Y así, el primero que llega, pone un dado en cierta parte, escondido, y notorio a los de la compañía, vuelto hacia arriba el as. El segundo pone el dado en el dos. El tercero en el tres. El cuarto en el cuatro. Y así de los demás hasta el seis, y en llegando al dicho número no queda en aquel puesto otro del mismo oficio, porque, según nuestras ordenanzas, no podemos estar más de seis en una parte; y cuando alguno se va, vuelve el dado sobre el número de los ladrones que quedan, de tal suerte, que, siendo seis, el primero que se va pone el dado en el cinco. El segundo en el cuatro y el tercero en el tres: por el cual número se conoce el de los ladrones que de aquel oficio quedan.
(García, La desordenada codicia, 149-50).

230 See Barrios, Sociedades secretas, 209, n. 12, citing Di Blasio, Usos y costumbres de los camorristas (Madrid, 1921), and others.

231 García, op. cit., 149.

232 Cervantes, Rinconete y Cortadillo, 86. For more on underworld rules, see page 251 above. Compare la Garduña: 'Todos los hermanos han de estar decididos a morir mártires antes que confesores, so pena de ser degradados, expulsados de la hermandad, y, si fuese preciso, perseguidos por ella' (art 9. Espasa-Calpe, s.v. GARDUÑA).

233 See Forey, Military Orders, 143, especially n. 49; and Martin Saint-Léon, Le compagnonnage, 212, 219.

234 Salas Barbadillo, El sagaz Estacio, 231; Quevedo, El Buscón, 187.

235 See Martin Saint-Léon, op. cit., 41-2, for a discussion and details of parodies of Christian religious mysteries in the compagnonnages. For certain alleged impieties in Templars' rituals, see ibid., 26-7.

236 La hija de Celestina, 857a. See also Castillo Solórzano, 'Romance a las cosas que suceden en estos tiempos', in Gallardo, Ensayo, II, 304. See pages 269, and 282 above, on Arrepentidas, and allusions to the bishop's mitre.

237 Compare Tirso de Molina, El condenado por desconfiado, 1. 12. 760-3, p. 98.

238 Guía y avisos, Novela 7ª, 165. See also ibid., Novela 13ª, 273. Quevedo was especially fond of parodying the association with choral or church singing (see also page 384 above):

El Gangoso es pregonero,
Tiple de los azotados,
Abreviando el 'quien tal hace'
Al que no le paga el canto.
(Quevedo, 'Carta de la Perala a Lampuga, su bravo (Jácara)', in Obras, 264-6 (265)).

239 Liñán y Verdugo, Guía y avisos, 241. For normal usage of this word, as a choir-stall or lectern, see Garibay, Memorias, lib. VI, 531. See page 328 above, for another meaning. For a misogynistic view on women's indiscretion, especially under torture, see García, La desordenada codicia, 147. For a refutation of this attitude, see Padre León, Apéndice de los ajusticiados, cited in Dominguez Ortiz,

Crisis y decadencia, 68; and Barrionuevo, Avisos (16 December 1654), I, 94b. For 'songstresses' in literature, see Salas Barbadillo, La hija de Celestina, 856a; and Lugo y Dávila, De la hermanía, 136.

[240] Don Diego, 203. See also Fernández de Ribera, El mesón del mundo, 100; Alemán, Guzmán de Alfarache, II. 3. 7, 442; Espinel, Marcos de Obregón, Relación 1ª, descanso 14 (vol. 1, 234); and Salas Barbadillo, El sagaz Estacio, 231. See also 'Respuesta de la Méndez a Escarramán: Jácara', in Obras de Quevedo, II, 254-8 (256):

Miren qué huevos le daba
El asistente a tragar,
para que cantara tiples,
Sino agua, cuerda y cendal.

For equestrian metaphors and their overlaps with the world of prostitution, see Appendix 8.P.

[241] Garcia, La desordenada codicia, 66. See also Luján, Guzmán de Alfarache, I. 7, 379a.

[242] Valdivielso, 364, line 1544.

[243] Alfabeto cuarto, s.v. IGLESIA.

[244] Relación de la Cárcel, 1350.

[245] Ch. V, 315b. For other references to Iglesia, see Lope de Vega, El peregrino en su patria, lib. 4, 392; Enríquez Gómez, Gregorio Guadaña, ch. XI, 279a; Quevedo, 'Jácara V', in Obras festivas, II, 225; Quiñones de Benavente, El doctor Juan Rana, 547-8; and Gregorio González, El guitón Honofre, ch. 14, 204-5. The contemporary court chronicler, Zapata, claimed that different sectors of society used different appellations in this context. Speaking of the duels in his youth (c.1540), he says that it was common to use fulano or Pedro y Juan, to avoid divulging names. He adds that fulano was also used in lawsuits and at university oposiciones (Miscelánea, 300).

[246] Cervantes, 84.

[247] Relación de la Cárcel, 1356.

[248] See Martin Saint-Léon, Le compagnonnage, 26, especially n. 1, for hypothetical links between compagnonnages and Templars.

[249] See ibid., 57, on compagnonnages.

[250] Las ferias de Madrid, Jornada 2ª, 73. For ordinaries, see Fuller, Beggars' Brotherhood, 124-6.

[251] No. 542, in Obra poética, II, 23.

[252] On Gonzalo Xeniz, see Herrera Puga, Sociedad y delincuencia, 298, n. 30, citing Padre León, Appendiz Primero de los Ajusticiados (1596), Caso 207, fol. 317v; Vincent, 'Les bandits morisques', 394; Domínguez Ortiz, Crisis y decadencia, 60, citing Padre León, op. cit.; and Rodríguez Marín (ed.), Rinconete y Cortadillo, 101. For contemporary accounts, see El testamento de Maladrós, dealing with Xeniz's resistance to the attack led by the Asistente, el Conde de Priego, before 1595. See also Zapata, Miscelánea, 40; and Céspedes, El soldado Píndaro, ch. XIV, 303b, and XXII, 320a. See Alonso Hernández, La Germanía, 280, for a list of other heroic names of great significance to the contemporary underworld.

[253] See Lope de Vega, Antonio Roca o la muerte más venturosa; and Cervantes, Don Quijote, II, 60-1 (vol. 8, 31-57).

[254] See Pastor Petit, Bandolerismo en España, 57-62.

[255] El catalan Serrallonga, y bandos de Barcelona. See also Victor Balaguer, Don Juan de Serrallonga o los bandoleros de las Guillerías (1858). For a full biography and bibliography of the Catalan bandits, see Pastor Petit, Bandolerismo en España, 43-235. See also Hobsbawm, Bandits, 13-21.

[256] Lugo y Dávila, De la hermanía, 134; Luna, Lazarillo, ch. XII, 77.

[257] 'Bayle, LXXIX', in Hill, Poesías germanescas, 188, lines 41-44. See also Polo de Medina, 'Caballero de la Tenaza', 226.

[258] El soldado Píndaro, ch. XII, 297b.

[259] ch. III, 321b. For references to Hector, see Lugo y Dávila, De la hermanía, 139; and Calderón, Devoción de la Cruz, 147, line 1735. See Appendix 8.Q, for references to Cacus, and to cowardice amongst valientes.

[260] Enríquez Gómez, Gregorio Guadaña, 277b. For aire, see page 384, above. Ambiguity was, in any case, the aim of contemporary writers, who exploited the alliterative potential of two mythological underworld heroes, Cacus and Bacchus, both having especial relevance for the valientes. For example Martin, the lackey in El ollero de Ocaña, says to don Nuño:

> Que soy Hércules divino,
> Si tú, ladrón, eres Caco,
> Y aun para matarte, Baco
> Me dió un montante de vino.
>
> (Vélez, 146c).

See Appendix 8.R, for other mythical underworld heroes.

[261] It was said that the ruffians of Seville commended themselves, before fighting, to God and to a successful physician in Seville called Dr. Hidalgo de Agüero, who developed a method for treating wounds called vía particular, as against the usual vía común (see Hidalgo de Agüero, Avisos (1584), cited in Granjel, Medicina española, 224).

[262] See Deleito y Piñuela, Mala vida, 195. See also Estebanillo González, ch. V, 310a.

[263]

> Por Dios, que te han molido como alheña
> Y te han desmenazado como flores,
> Y que eres más sonado y más mocoso
> Que un reloj y que un niño de doctrina.
>
> (Cervantes, El rufián viudo, 551b-52a).

[264] 'Romance de Escarramán, vuelto a lo Divino' (1615), pp. 318-9.

[265] See page 78 above, on nazarenos; and see page 379 above, on gallos.

[266] 'Academia segunda', in Obras escogidas, 164.

[267] See Salillas, El delincuente español, 27.

[268] Gregorio Guadaña, ch. XI, 280a.

[269] 'Pendencia mosquito: Jácara', in Obras de Quevedo, 294-7 (297). And in 1612, Gaspar Serrato adapted a jácara to Christ's Passion (cited in Deleito y Piñuela, Mala vida, 195).

[270] 'A Don Francisco de Quevedo', in Sonetos, 546. On venera, see page 41 above. Only knightly and clerical brethren were allowed to wear the sign of the scallop, emblem of Santiago pilgrims (see Forey, Military Orders, 177).

[271] El testamento del picaro pobre (ed. Bonilla y San Martin), 65-75. Compare an account in Chaves, Relación de la Cárcel, 1347, on comfort and aid offered by fellow prisoners to a condemned man.

[272] See Historia general de la Orden de Santo Domingo y de su Orden de Predicadores, parte IV, caps 27-30: cap. XXVII: 'De la vida marauillosa del santo Fray Christóual de la Cruz (año 1563)', quoted from Matute y Gaviria, Hijos de Sevilla, I, 151, by Hazañas y la Rúa, 'Los rufianes de Cervantes', 53-81 (54-55).

[273] See Rumeu de Armas, Previsión social, 321; and Morales Padrón, Historia de Sevilla, 89.

[274] The Mafia tradition, which preceded the modern Mafia, seems to be an exception to the rule. Sixteenth-century bandits in Sicily operated from the hills, offering protection to the poor and oppressed, and resisting despotic government (see Mackenzie, Secret Societies, 204). It was essentially a family unit, and hence also a permanent one. It was not until the late nineteenth century that the Sicilian peasantry was forced by Mafia policy to emigrate to American cities for work, where they set up satellite groups of the Mafia (ibid., 208).

[275] See Ferrer Benimeli, La masoneria española, 5-6, 19; and Knoop and Jones, Genesis of Freemasonry, 71.

[276] Compare, for instance, the relation between Saint Crispin and the shoemakers, and Saint Joseph and the carpenters. These were certainly members of the various rival compagnons in France (see Martin Saint-Léon, Le compagnonnage, 276).

10. BROTHERS BEHIND BARS

10.1 The Problem of Punishment

Prison was a normal fact of existence in medieval and early modern Europe. A rhymed work of the second half of the fourteenth century ventured the theory that a man of seventy-two slept for thirty-six years, his childhood innocence lasted fifteen years, and sickness or prison took up five.[1] The reasons for frequent imprisonment and its social consequences are complex, reflecting contemporary metaphysical thought and juridical practice. Firstly, under medieval canon law imprisonment was custodial, not punitive, so that plaintiff and accused alike were liable to detention to ensure the appearance of both parties at the hearing. Punishment was a separate issue, sometimes performed publicly in market places or at crossroads. Secondly, as the body was the only accessible personal property in the late medieval to early modern period, when money and production were still relatively undeveloped, corporal punishment was a macabre affair, governed by a medieval preoccupation with God's harmony, which made of external appearances a cipher. So if a man was known by his appearance, incarceration of someone who upset the social order was not a satisfactorily visible restoration of that order.[2] This idea was upheld at Trent:

> The Apostle admonishes that those who sin publicly are to be reproved publicly (I Timothy 5: 20; c.1, X, De poenit., V, 38). When therefore anyone has publicly and in the sight of many committed a crime by which there is no doubt that others have been offended and scandalized, it is proper that a penance commensurate with his guilt be publicly imposed on him, so that those whom he by his example has led to evil morals, he may bring back to an upright life by the evidence of his correction. The bishop, however, should he judge it advisable, may commute this kind of public penance to one that is secret.[3]

Sixteenth-century prisons were consequently not designed to hold people for long periods. Prisoners were there awaiting trial, or the fulfilment of a sentence of execution: banishment, galleys, or the payment of fines. Sometimes political or Inquisitorial prisoners might also suffer lengthy terms of protective custody, although even if a life-sentence was imposed by the Inquisition, most offenders would be released after about three years if they showed contrition, or be sent into more tolerable monastic surroundings, or placed under house arrest. Penal detention for priests, however, who could not be executed, had long preceded a general trend to incarceration of laymen for murder,

sodomy (pecado nefando), robbery, sorcery, forgery of coin or papers, abortion, rape, cattle-rustling, and desertion from the armed forces.[4] When the procurator, Chaves, wrote his account of the Cárcel Real de Sevilla soon after 1585, he estimated that there were one thousand, eight hundred prisoners in Seville, but considering the hundreds of trials and the 'customary' three days between arrest and sentence, he did not consider this an excessive number. His estimate is corroborated by the historian of Seville, Alonso Morgado, who put the upper limit in 1587 at one thousand, eight hundred, of which one thousand, three hundred usually earned a reprieve.[5] Demographic and climatic factors also played a part in swelling these numbers periodically. When plague, famine, and disease struck, it was customary to find scapegoats and publicly appease divine wrath. Disaster also destroyed people's livelihoods and plunged many into debt or forced them into crime. As Seville experienced many of these calamities in the 1580s and 1590s, the large numbers quoted above may be justified.[6] Those who knew how to survive the system had a comfortable life, as Zapata observed:

> Que el decir que el contento engorda, téngolo por falso, porque los condenados a muerte que no tienen mucho contento, salen de las cárceles gordísimos.[7]

But for the uninitiated, it was a different story. Conditions in prison were often foul and unhygienic. Prisoners complained to the visitors that they risked contracting dangerous illnesses because of insanitary conditions. Píndaro's experience in Toledo reveals the squalor in which they lived, sharing their cells with rats and huge gadflies.[8] The problem of overcrowding was aggravated by cruel Alcaides like the notorious Martín de Lanuza in Madrid at mid-seventeenth century. Barrionuevo recorded that he packed men into the Cárcel de Corte like sardines, until their bones crunched. Lanuza was so unpopular that an untimely death was frequently predicted for him.[9]

The increase in crime at the end of the sixteenth century in Spain and its effect on urban society has already been analysed. But what happened to the criminal when he was removed from the street milieu and transplanted into an institution designed for his correction? Why was the prison regarded as the underworld training school for the elite? An answer to these questions lies in two forces working in the prisons which might be seen as diametrically opposite to one another: help and instruction from pious confraternities aiming to reform the wrong-doer,

or at least to save his soul; and adaptation of the prisoner to a new and semi-autonomous regime, which aimed, like the pious confraternity, to prepare the prisoner for his return to civilian life, only in this case, by teaching him the best tricks the underworld had to offer. Because of this dichotomy, the question of brotherhood in prison will be dealt with in two sections: first the Helping Hand offered by society through pious confraternities, and second, the anti-society formed as an alternative. This should then facilitate an assessment of the relative importance of each for the prisoner.

10.2 Reform from the Helping Hand

By the sixteenth century prison-visiting had become a major pious work in Spain. Its inspiration was in the biblical Works of Mercy, interpreted by Morgado as:

> Consuéllase el afligido preso, cuya propria, y verdadera calidad es entristecerse. Dáse de comer al hambriento, de beber al sediento, pues por estar encarcelados, y no poder pedirlo, y mendigarlo, pierden la salud, y muchas veces las vidas. Dáse el vestir al desnudo encarcelado, cuya desnudez pide ser más remediada; visitándose los enfermos, que de ordinario hay tantos en las Cárceles. Redímese el cautivo, que lo son estos pobres miserables, mientras duran sus prisiones.[10]

The provision of material benefits to prisoners thus had to go hand-in-hand with spiritual care, but it had to be financed by collection of alms in the streets. Confraternities were formed for this work, whose brothers wore the distinctive apparel of the limosnero. Salas Barbadillo's character, Montúfar, dressed as a limosnero in Seville, conveys their typical demeanour, whilst also revealing the potential in this work for low-life infiltration of confraternal activities (compare Chapter 3, footnote 97 above).

> Buriel pardo, ferreruelo largo y sotana que llegaba hasta la media pierna, y poniéndose calzas groseras del mismo y zapato de baquetón, con una campanilla en las manos salió por las calles diciendo en altas voces, una y muchas veces: 'Loado sea el Santísimo Sacramento', instituyendo en los muchachos de la ciudad esta buena costumbre, enseñándoles de camino la Doctrina Cristiana... Pedia limosna para los pobres de las cárceles, a quien llevaba de comer todos los días sobre sus hombros, cargándose unos esportones llenos de todo bastimento.[11]

The distance between prisoner and confraternal brother was not so large as to represent two disparate worlds, and this had its advantages. The prisoner came to look upon the confraternal brother as his friend

and ally in an otherwise hostile institution. There was therefore a good chance of securing a confession and repentance, and of acquiring a new member for the confraternity. On the other hand, there was also the possibility that the confraternal brother might be won over to the criminal ranks, not so much by overt defection, but by misuse of his office to facilitate the prisoner's escape (see page 435 below). A brief survey of contemporary Spanish jurisprudence and prisons will serve to explain how a man lost his liberty and entered this no-man's-land.

Each major city and 'lugar de consideración' had its own rector, the Corregidor. Together with various judges of inferior status, he administered civil and criminal justice according to the law. Appeals against his judgement went to higher councils called Cancillerias: one at Valladolid, the other at Granada. The highest court of appeal was the Consejo Real presided over by the King, who sat in audience every Monday and Friday in a public hearing. Plaintiffs usually paid a procurator to represent them here.[12] Sentence might be passed in camera on the day of the hearing,[13] but lawsuits could also drag on for years. Villalón was surprised to find that, where thirty to forty years was normal in Spain, in Turkey a lawsuit never exceeded one month.[14] The legal machinery in Spain was rendered still more complex by the number of different tribunals, each having their own jurisdictional powers and prisons. Numbered amongst the prisons in Seville were the Cárcel Real,[15] and those of the Audiencia, Santa Hermandad, Casa de Contratación, the Cathedral Chapter, and the Inquisition.[16] The time between sentencing and execution was usually a matter of two to four days.[17] Sometimes the machinery moved faster, for reasons of expedience.[18]

The alternative was no better: to rot in jail awaiting the end of the slow bureaucratic process, or else to acquire the money with which to bribe the functionaries. The King, too, was evidently worried by the inordinate delays experienced by prisoners appealing against their sentence, which might cost them their life.[19] There was a clear need for legal representation here which confraternities sought to address. This was where the urban patriciate came in, whose compañías de los ajusticiados had developed by 1600 from free, secular associations of predominantly artisan composition, into closed consortia of notables and urban patriciates. It is thought that the reason for the exceptional

increase in power of these confraternities during what was effectively the last century of their existence, was in their capacity to exercise not only a religious function, but also complex secular ones, through notaries and lawyers with good working knowledge of legal systems and public order.[20] A confraternity in Seville described by Chaves comprised thirty-three of the city's notables with the following functions:

> Sirven de solicitar los negocios de los presos pobres, acomodarlos con las partes, alcanzar perdón de sus culpas, soltarlos sin costas, por las cuales ninguno se puede detener; y si es poca la cantidad, pagarla. Tienen lugar preeminente en las visitas de cárcel, donde están asistente, oidores, jueces ordinarios, demás de un padre de la Compañía por superintendiente, que hace lo mismo.[21]

Those directly engaged in this work, like Chaves, were known as procuradores del común, who defended every poor prisoner free of charge. The system of representation was known as the Visita.[22] In sixteenth-century Seville, visiting was twice per week. Additionally, all the prisoners were visited in Easter week by procurators with the Regente of the Audiencia Real, his Oidores and Alcaldes. The results were impressive: 'Son muchos los presos, que por medio destas visitas de Cárcel se despachan, y más, y menos de diez y ocho mil presos en cada un año'.[23] Literary accounts of the period, like one by the beggar, Honofre, testify to the continued activity of procurators in the seventeenth century.[24] In a costumbrista sketch by Santos in 1663, scriveners and notaries in the Cárcel de Corte at Madrid are refusing their aid to prisoners without money: '¡Ah, pobre de mí!' cries a prisoner, 'Sin abogado y en visita. ¿Qué haré?'.[25] As so much depended upon the procurator, it is easy to see how powerful they became at this period. Quevedo parodied the reaction of one prisoner bewildered by their legal jargon:

> Preso por desvalido y delincuente,
> más pago la prisión que mi pecado,
> Yo tengo de señor lo visitado,
> y del yermo, lo solo y penitente.
>
> No entiendo ¡vive Cristo! aquesta gente;
> mandan que siga, y tiénenme cerrado;
> lo de a prueba y estése me ha cansado,
> y el ser el susodicho eternamente.
>
> Siempre me están pidiendo los derechos:
> conversación que a Bártulo cansara
> y a cincuenta letrados barbihechos.

Yo presento testigos cara a cara;
mas si pudiera presentar cohechos,
el siga, como el diablo, se soltara.[26]

Some prisoners were saved from execution or galley service by 'privileges' periodically granted to confraternities by King or Pope. The first confraternity to gain this annual privilege was San Giovanni Decollato in Rome, but other international confraternities connected with prison work, like the Gonfalone or the Pietà dei Carcerati, also obtained these concessions.[27] Selection of a prisoner depended upon confraternal discussion of his relative merits, particularly of his active seeking of salvation. But it might also be subject to financial considerations. Prisoners who could pay compensation in exchange for life and liberty were often favoured, with the excuse that, being a relatively ill-endowed brotherhood, money so gained could be used to ransom debtor prisoners, and to help the ex-prisoner to feed and clothe himself and his family until he was again earning. Even this outlay had sometimes to be repaid when the released man's income allowed.[28] The other benefit accruing to the confraternity from its work in releasing prisoners was the publicity attracted by public celebration of the event.[29]

The development of the sixteenth-century prison confraternity accompanied a new exigency based on the old medieval concept that a citizen condemned to death was privileged to be spared Hell. Popular credence now attached to a final test, which replaced the terrible Last Judgement. Consequently, the last moments of the condemned man's life were fundamental to his future salvation or damnation, and so he must not be alone at that time. Having the opportunity of dying penitent assured his salvation, unlike those who died unprepared through accident or illness. His fate (if innocent), was held to be no worse than that of John the Baptist, the Christian martyrs, or Christ himself, and if he was guilty, he was encouraged to identify with the repentant thief who died with Christ and went straight to paradise.[30] Whether the prisoner was released or executed, the accent was always on publicity. Public comforting of the condemned prisoner was especially pronounced in Catholic Spain. Reasons for this are basic to an understanding of the prison confraternity. Because of the potential in prison work for corruption, or, as was more often the case, for expedient use of confraternal power, it will be helpful to investigate comforting work in

some detail, before attempting to answer questions posed earlier about introversion in the confraternity.[31]

The confraternal role was two-fold: the condemned man was accompanied to his death with the optimum chance of achieving personal salvation; and secondly, the public spectacle was edifying to the crowd. Italian archconfraternities sponsored numerous satellites in Europe to fulfil this task. The Roman White and Black Penitents, established in 1264, and 1488 respectively, were not the first of their type, but served as models for others (see page 79 above). In Spain one of the earliest specialist lay confraternities was the Hermandad de la Santa Caridad in Toledo, supposedly established by the Cid to bury the dead during the seige in 1085. Burial by the Santa Caridad came to be regarded as a social necessity. Caridad buried all brothers and persons resident over seven years in a house, and also any Toledan citizen who paid 1,000 maravedís for an 'entierro encomendado'. People of quality paid more. Caridad also buried free those poor people not belonging to a burial confraternity, prisoners dying on the gallows, in prison, or by ritual drowning.[32] Best known of the international comforting confraternities, however, was the Roman San Giovanni Decollato (della Misericordia), established in 1488 by some Florentines. Its specific purpose was the comforting of criminals condemned to death by the law court of the city of Rome.[33] By late sixteenth century its fame in Europe was such that on a visit to Spain in 1594, the Italian Papal Nuncio, Camillo Borghese, understandably supposed that the Misericordia always did this work:

> Cuando hay algún ahorcado, van pidiendo la mañana antes que él muera con unas campanillas limosna para hacerle decir misas, de manera que al tiempo que le ahorcan ya le han dicho muchas misas de requién para su alma, y los acompaña una cofradia situada en el iglesia mayor, llamada la Misericordia.[34]

It was the duty of comforters to make a full report to the confraternity on their prison work. These reports were charted in confraternity manuals, appearing first in manuscript form, then as printed books. They were designed to ensure that brethren secured the most efficacious confession and deepest contrition. Manuals were kept by nearly all lay fraternities engaged in comforting the condemned during the late Middle Ages and Renaissance. They were produced not only for edification and instruction, as part of the wider genre of literature on the art of dying well, but also as a testimony to the

success of the comforter. The form of these works was fairly uniform, incorporating a series of answers anticipating the prisoner's questions or objections, and specifying a programme of song and prayer throughout the prisoner's last night.[35] Besides instructing how to offer spiritual assistance at the execution, and subsequent burial of the body, confraternal manuals raised the delicate question of whether the comforters should be present at pronouncement of the sentence; who should bring the news; and whether the prisoner should be shackled during the comforting ritual. Normally sentence was brought to the prisoner's cell by the Alcaide, accompanied by a comforter.[36] The involvement of a comforter and ritual penitence performed by the prisoner were a necessary part of any account of sentence of execution. It was fitting, therefore, that when Estebanillo González was sentenced to death at Tarazanal, he should have included in the account those two features: adopting the Jeronymite posture of penitence, he picked up a stone and feigned to beat his breast with it, until suddenly he heard the bells of the Santa Caridad brethren coming to confess him.[37]

The comforting ritual ended with the procession to the gallows, headed by a boy ringing a small bell to announce the forthcoming execution, and exhorting the crowd to pray. He was followed by children of La Doctrina, clerics, religious, alguaciles, halberdiers, constables, the hangman, and the prisoner on foot or mounted on mule or horse, with a placard on his back proclaiming his crime.[38] Camillo Borghese was struck by the differences between Spanish and Italian execution rituals:

> Los condenados a la muerte salen vestidos de paño blanco con un bonete azul, y se llama hábito de la concepción, con que ganan muchas indulgencias en aquel paso, y caballeros en un borrico, maniatados delante, con un crucifijo en las manos y dos religiosos a los lados que le[s] conhortan a bien morir, y ellos con un cabestro de esparto a la garganta. Y los que azotan y echan a galeras o ponen a la vergüenza pública, también de la misma manera van encima de sus borrigos con albarda, esposas y grillos. Delante van dos pregoneros, diciendo a voces la causa de sus muertes y detrás el alguacil que los prendió y el escribano de la causa, a caballo, pasando por las calles ordinarias y dejándolos rezar a cada imagen o iglesia que toparen.[39]

It was a noteworthy transgression of this last concession to be allowed to stop and pray at intervals, when, in 1654, Don Antonio de Amada was led in procession so precipitously that he was not taken through the usual 'stations' of Madrid on his via crucis.[40] Despite this haste, and the diligence of his guards, however, Amada was snatched

from the gallows by a Franciscan and a group of priests. More conventional methods of help are described by the Jesuit visitor, Padre León, whose delaying tactics sometimes rescued a man from execution, and at others at least ensured his soul's salvation, by having procured the time necessary to prepare him spiritually for death.[41] Familiarity with these spectacles generated cruel parodies. In a comedia de repente staged by the poets in El caballero Puntual, Juan plays a traitor condemned to death. He is put on an old nag, bound hand and foot for execution, with pregoneros broadcasting his crime, and 'religious' comforting him, helping him to prepare for dying. The prank ends in disaster, with Juan mercilessly exposed to the ridicule of the town's population.[42] Once at the scaffold, the supplicant's attention was focused on a small, painted panel with handles (tavoletta) depicting scenes from the Passion and Crucifixion, or the Beheading of John the Baptist. Standing on a ladder, the comforter held the tavoletta before the prisoner's eyes, until he judged the man dead (fig. 14). Sometimes the frame at the sides of the picture was considerably widened to ensure he did not inadvertently see the executioner or his instruments and suddenly lose his nerve. Papal indulgences were often bestowed on those kissing the tavoletta, which thus constituted one of the relics sanctioned by the Church.[43]

Cofradías de los ajusticiados, as these confraternities of comforters were called, recognized the difficulty of ensuring a cortège for a condemned man, because his death was popularly believed to invite a reprisal on the living by the community of non-living. The myth of a caccia selvaggia fuelled a terror of being swallowed alive by the maws of the undead,[44] and the Church struggled hard to replace this horde of unrelenting dead with a reproving procession of souls in purgatory. One solution was to urge the condemned man to avert this supernatural vendetta, by pardoning those sentencing him to death.[45] This gesture and his good example to the crowd were his last chance to perform a worthy action, and the only sign of the comforters' success. Nor should one overlook the expediency of this gesture to a Church which practised secret, nocturnal execution of prisoners likely to incite the crowd to violence or to preach heretical ideas. Another way to encourage popular participation in these events was by concession of indulgences to confraternities of comforters, and by sanctioning of the cult of relics connected with the execution: objects given to the condemned as viaticum

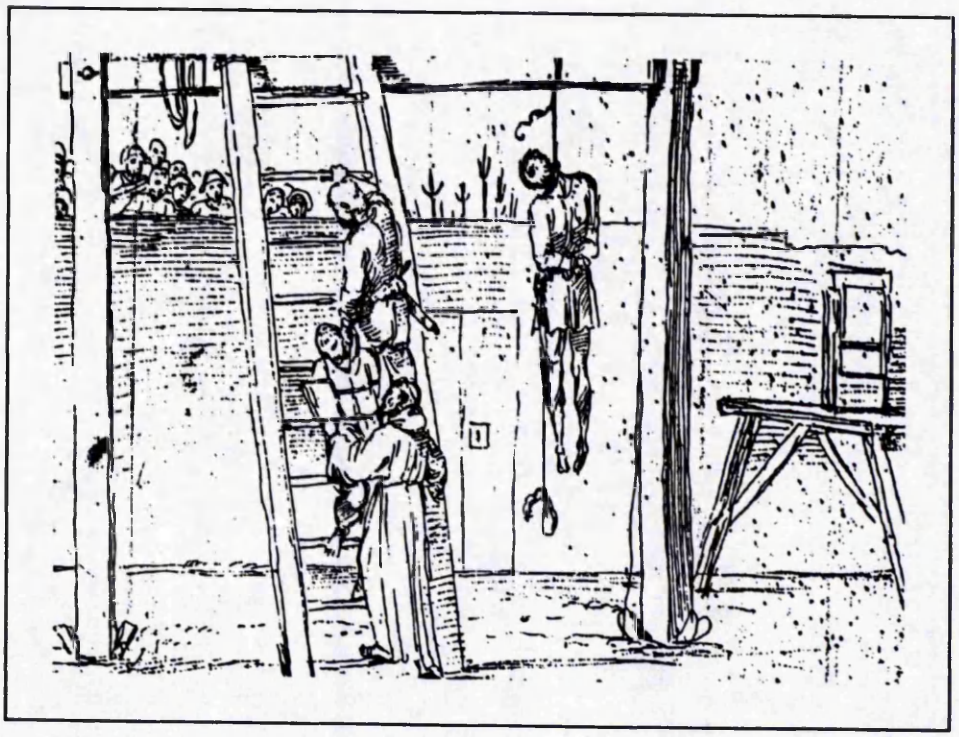

fig. 14. Hangman, Comforter, and Condemned Prisoner

were to be carefully retrieved and stored. The noose was sometimes kept by the confraternity and ceremonially burned on the annual feast of the Beheading of Saint John the Baptist.[46]

The fate of the body after death depended on the crime committed. From the medieval period, hanging or burial was considered as anticipating the torments of Hell, towards which the criminal undoubtedly went. Those executed were originally refused burial, and with it the possibility of resurrection of the body. The corpses of hanged men were therefore left to dry out and rot in the sun, until they fell off the scaffold 'para castigo, y exemplo', and were then usually eaten by dogs and pigs.[47] Towards the end of the Middle Ages, however, there was a change in civil attitude towards burial of the condemned. Provisions were made for respect for the human body, which had to be buried with all its limbs, even if executed by mutilation.[48] By the 1560s in Spain all secrecy was expunged from the confraternal ceremony of collecting the dead for burial. León Pinelo records in 1568 that in Madrid:

> Este mismo año se introdujo por la misma Cofradía de la Soledad otra procesión que llaman de los ajusticiados. Traíanse en secreto de los caminos el Jueves antes del Domingo de Pasión al Hospital de Antón Martín. Y el Viernes siguiente por la tarde iba por ellos el Convento de Vitoria, y aun se convidaban otras Religiones para este acompañamiento y así traían los huesos a enterrar al cimenterio del mismo Convento. Lo que hoy se hace es que el Jueves referido salen a caballo los cofrades con su cruz de madera y entre cada dos un Religioso de la Orden con unas medias literas y van a los caminos por los huesos que hay en ellos y los traen al Humilladero de San Francisco. Y el Viernes por la tarde hay alli sermón, y luego en la propia forma con hachas encendidas y a Caballo viene el entierro al cimenterio o Lonja de la Vitoria.[49]

If comforting work was the brainchild of medieval Italian archconfraternities (Gonfalon, Decollato, and Pietà), which sponsored satellites in Spain, the reverse influence is seen in another aspect of prison confraternal work: ransom of the captive. This work deserves a mention in the present analysis of help offered by society to the prisoner, because ransom of captives from the Infidel brought great renown to the Spanish Merced and Trinidad confraternities in the sixteenth century, when Spanish naval enterprises were so beleaguered by aggression from the Turks and Berbers. Both confraternities developed from the great medieval Religious and Military Orders of Mercedarians and Trinitarians. The Mercedarian Order had been established in Seville by Peter Nolasco in 1218. Then in the fourteenth century, natives of

Barcelona resident in Seville established the Hospital, Hermandad y Cofradía de NS^{a} de las Mercedes under the patronage of the Mercedarian Order.[50] Meanwhile the Order of Trinitarians for the Redemption of Captives had been established by John of Mata and Felix of Valois in the late twelfth century, approved by Innocent III in 1198. To supply it with funds for its pious work a confraternity affiliated with it was subsequently established. Brethren enjoyed a plenary indulgence on assuming its scapular, again at death if they were wearing it, and also upon returning from infidel lands with redeemed captives. Predictably, the safe return of brothers and captives was always an occasion for popular celebration.[51]

10.3 Refinement in the Anti-society

Conversion and admission to the prison confraternities was not the only chance of survival for a prisoner in need, however. If he was to endure the rigours of prison life from day to day, it was safer to adapt to the new society in which he found himself. Some contemporary sources stressed the anarchic element in prison life. According to a prisoner in Seville's Cárcel Real, prison life was:

> Un caos confuso, sin distinción alguna. Es un abismo de violencia, en el cual no hay cosa que esté en su centro. Es una torre de Babilonia, adonde todos hablan y nadie se entiende. Es un compuesto contra natura, en quien se ve la paz de dos contrarios, mezclándose el noble con el infame, el rico con el pobre, el civil con el criminal y el pecador con el justo. Es una comunidad sin concierto, un todo 'per accidens', un compuesto sin partes, una religión sin estatutos y un cuerpo sin cabeza.[52]

10.3.1 A Language of Babel?

In order to test the truth in this outburst, it will be necessary to examine evidence of societal organization behind bars, following the same methodology as in previous chapters: social, religious, and organizational features. Taking first evidence of a social life, it was inevitable that a strong spirit of solidarity should develop during periods of long confinement in close proximity, and prisoners soon developed their own communication systems.[53] One of the inmates in Seville obligingly explained their esoteric language, which was presumably common to all Spanish prisons, being only a specialized version of the thieves' slang. Its inclusion here is justified by the clarification it offers, not only on prison argot, but on rituals and procedures practised in contemporary civilian life. The original remark went: 'Señor, hoy es el día de mi fiesta, y se me hace merced de la

escribanía de un puerto, con un capelo de cardenal'. The explanation was even more obscure than the remark it purports to clarify:

> Sabrá vuestra merced que algunos de tercio y quinto, oficiales de topo y tengo, sobre el siete y llevar, se encontraron conmigo un domingo a media noche, y hallándome con el as de palos, dió su suerte en azar y yo quedé con el dinero. Picáronse y, deseando vengar su agravio, se fueron a Cipión, manifestando una llave universal que en mis manos habían visto, sobre lo cual se hicieron largas informaciones por los señores equinociales, y al cabo de un rigoroso examen que se me hizo, no hallándome bueno para Papa, me dejaron el oficio de cardenal.[54]

'El cardenal' refers to the bishop's mitre (coroza) he will wear, and the bruises on his back incurred by the whipping, prior to his galley sentence. 'Los de tercio' are those in his company who keep watch while he robs, and take a third of the spoils. 'Los de quinto' are receivers paid with a fifth of the gains. 'Topo' and 'siete y llevar' are card-games. In short, the thief was attacked by his look-outs and receivers wanting their share, but he fought them off and was denounced to their president, Cipión. Incriminated by the master-key in his possession, the 'nocturnal gentlemen' try him and sentence him to a whipping.[55] Even new prisoners often had difficulty in understanding this jargon. Chained and shackled in a Madrid prison, El Jayán tells Pablos why he was imprisoned:

> Decía que estaba preso por cosas de aires, y así, sospeché yo era por algunos fulles, chirimías o abanicos. Y a los que le preguntaban si era por algo de esto, respondí que no, sino por pecados de atrás, y pensé que por cosas viejas quería decir, y al fin averigüé que por p.[56]

There was reason enough for Pablos's immediate reaction to protect his hindquarters, since there was a certain uniformity in prisoners' clothing, everyone wearing 'Lenten dress' and a version of Saint Augustine's habit so slashed that attending to nature's needs was an easy matter.[57]

Galley slaves were more fortunate, being given 'la ropa del rey: dos camisas, dos pares de calzones de lienzo, almilla colorada, capote de jerga y bonete colorado'.[58] But it was usually only the slaves whose appearance was instantly recognizable as a sect. Their distinguishing mark, the shaved head, was part of the universal social convention of branding marginals, and could not really be compared with the voluntary adoption by many brotherhoods of a unifying dress or emblem.[59] Some of these brands, however, merit a brief mention, because even if they were

imposed by authorities outside the particular group, nevertheless they were still used to stereotype the slave in literature. Obscure references, therefore, to the paraphernalia worn by the slave, reveal the importance to society of their unifying emblems. One of them was the argolla. Originally this was an iron neck-ring used for execution: 'Instrumento ingenioso con que, a dos vueltas de un tornillo, en un abrir y cerrar de ojos se está en la otra vida'.[60] By 1625 it had been officially outlawed, but the name survived to denote the neck-ring worn by slaves and some prisoners, with which they would be chained together.[61] The instrument alluded to by Barrionuevo was the primitive garrote. Frequent coded references to the slave punned on this distinctive emblem:

> Sus padres fueron viles, su patria nobilisima; éllos con hierros en los rostros, con hierros en las gargantas, y muchos mas yerros en las costumbres, manifestaban ser esclavos; mas el color de su rostro aun los infamaba más, porque los acusaba por mulatos.[62]

Those professing to be enslaved of a woman, as for example, the gambler who falls for Justina, also claimed to wear these accoutrements:

> Por cierto, señora, en lo que toca al ofrecerme el empréstito, v.m. me ha echado una ese y un clavo, y una argolla y un virote, y una cadena, y unos grillos, y una amarra (mejor dijera: y una albarda), para todos los días que yo viviere.[63]

López de Ubeda introduces another emblem of the slave here: an 'S' on one cheek and an emblem like an 'I' on the other. The emblem is apparently still used by pious confraternities, which call themselves collectively Esclavitudes or Esclavonías. The brand originally denoted that its wearer was outside the law: 'SI = Sine Iure, porque el esclavo, no es suyo, sino de su señor, y así le es prohibido cualquier acto libre'.[64] It also means, like a calambur ('ató dos palos'; 'a todos, palos'), that one is subordinate to the other like its slave: 'S y clavo'.[65] Contemporary documentation on slaves always describes the brand. A slave re-captured in Valencia (1620) was documented by the Bayle:

> Joan Borrueso de hedat de vint anys, blanch, ab poques barbes, senyalat en les galtes, ço es, en la galta dreta una S y en la squerre un clau.[66]

Like the neck-ring, the brand was used as a cryptic reference to the slave. Elena's mother, who came from Granada, had: 'señales en el

rostro, porque los buenos han de andar señalados para que de los otros se diferencien... al fin esclava'.[67] Like the neck-ring, the brand also became a convention adopted by lovers: 'Tuya soy, ponme un clavo y una ese en estas dos mejillas'.[68]

10.3.2 Prison Rituals: Homo ludens or Homo lupus?

The obligatory use of distinguishing emblems, and the existence of an esoteric language, which was merely imported from the criminal world, are poor indicators alone of true solidarity in prison. It was stated earlier, however, that the purpose of the processional ritual was to advertize and so maintain the status quo in a given society.[69] In the case of prisoners, processional ritual other than that practised by the judiciary featured strongly in their lives. El desfile de los ajusticiados, for example, was a macabre enactment of the trial, in which a prisoner was sentenced to death. Two prisoners accompanied him in procession, followed by the 'hangman', the 'scrivener','alguaciles', and a hooded figure representing the prison comforter. The procession filed through the galleries and corridors led by a bellman (pregonero) shouting: 'Esta es la justicia que manda...' The procession was met with laughter and banter as it wended its way, but it also invited serious meditation.[70] El ensayo para morir was played by fewer prisoners, and often cost the protagonist his life. Standing on a bench, he was made to put his put his head in a makeshift noose, and jump off the bench, swinging back and forth. The ritual helped some to prepare for the actual hanging, and for others it answered their curiosity about the tightness of the rope, the feeling when one's tongue sticks out, etc.[71] Rituals of a less sombre, but equally cruel nature, were aimed at diversion and alleviation of boredom. At night, when silence was imposed, they played la culebra, chasing an imaginary snake with their boots among the sleeping men.[72] Quevedo's Pablos and his comrades suffer a culebrazo in prison, which persuades them all to pay la patente, if it means pawning their clothes. And for la mariposa, a lighted taper was inserted between the fingers of a sleeping prisoner, who was often badly burnt in consequence.[73]

Sometimes, as in el juego de cañas, diversion was a mere pretext for escaping. On one occasion in Seville forty-eight players dressed as Indians in paper livery lined up in six teams on wicker horses. Prior to the event a hole (guzpátaro) had been drilled with broken pottery and helmets as an exit point in the prison wall. The material extracted was

carried in their hats to la servidumbre. A roster of duties was worked out which ensured that the work was finished on Saint John's Eve. Next day a fiesta was held, when even the most dangerous prisoners were allowed out of their cells to watch. The jousters rode across the courtyard in pairs and disappeared into a room. After impatiently waiting for them to return, a prison officer went to investigate and found the hole in the wall. According to one source, twenty-one escaped and three were caught. The success of this venture apparently introduced a new word into popular literature, borrowed from the argot: guzpátaro, which served as a metonym for the event.[74]

10.3.3 A Religion without a Doctrine?

In all but these last games, it would seem that Christian brotherhood was lacking in prison. Like the gambler outside prison walls, the prisoner was said to have no God, and no fear for his salvation. There was a popular legend which told how a pimp sentenced to death refused to pray when the news came, insisting that his companions cut the cards and play on. The theme of the godless criminal, however, had a long ancestry.[75] Doubtless influenced by this tradition, Luján's Guzmán commented that God's mercy was everywhere except in prison. Outside, if a man was cold, he could beg clothes and firewood; at night he could find a straw bed to lie on; the hungry could beg in the streets; the sick could go to a hospital. But none of this, he claimed, applied in prison.[76] Chroniclers fuelled the godless legend with tales of the wayward prisoner being forced to say his prayers. There was doubtless some truth, however, in the scenario recorded by Chaves in Seville's Cárcel Real, where the sacristan made the prisoners kneel at his altar using a whip, after which 'váse cada uno de nuevo a pecar, otros a renegar, y otros a hurtar'.[77]

However, the strength of popular opinion tends to stifle the all-important devotional aspect of most prisoners facing their death, who often complained of lack of spiritual exercise.[78] Large numbers joined, or helped to establish, penitential confraternities. Those in the Cárcel Real de Sevilla were especially famous, as Morgado concedes in 1587:

> Y aunque entre los presos de menos honra se recrecen hurtos, pendencias, heridas, y algunas muertes dentro de la misma cárcel, también hay en ella otras cosas de consideración, como son dos cofradias, la una del Sanctisimo Sacramento, y otra del Dulcisimo Nombre de Jesús contra los juramentos. De las cuales son hermanos los mismos presos. Y de la

> limosna, que entre ellos se allega, tienen su cera, y mandan decir sus Misas.[79]

The principal aim of the Nombre de Jesús confraternity was to banish blasphemy and sham vows, both of which were endemic to the prison psychology. Prisoners promised to inform on any of their brethren heard swearing or blaspheming: 'una gran novedad en la historia de la cárcel'.[80] Another confraternity was the Visitación, whose function and dedication were based on the comfort given by the Virgin Mary to Elizabeth and John the Baptist whilst they were in prison.[81] Chaves conceded that these confraternities were more virtuous than their Establishment counterparts:

> Sale viernes santo por lo bajo y alto de la cárcel que es mucho: piden todas las noches con su imágen por la cárcel, y llegan mucha limosna: acompañan a esta demanda los más valientes y los más tenidos: y aunque parece que no tienen alma, en esto muestran ser muy devotos.[82]

The Sevillian townspeople thought the Visitación's Good Friday fiesta, with mass, music, and public penitence, was a better spectacle than their own.[83] Naturally there was a strong element of pathos in a spectacle which many prisoners could expect to repeat when their sentence was pronounced. Sometimes religious and secular ceremonies converged, as in an Auto público in Valladolid where three prisoners who had blasphemed against officers of the Inquisition were paraded with the other penitents, wearing gags, corozas and sanbenitos proclaiming their crimes and sentence.[84] One chronicler thought that the prescribed penitence undergone by prisoners reduced the crime rate in Valladolid:

> En Valladolid no hay borrachos, ni picaros, ni matachines, ni rufianes, ni embozados, ni valentones, ni espadachines, ni nocheriegos, ni espías...; cada uno trata de vivir por sí y para sí, sin matar a los demás, porque luego un Alcalde de Corte los hace poner encima de un burro y administrarles quinientos azotes; y si acaso llegó a sacar la espada, luego le cortan la mano y dan fin en un punto del valiente.[85]

At this stage in the prisoner's career, the spirit of brotherhood was particularly strong, however degraded it may seem to outsiders in time and space. Some allowance must be made for the continual tension between doctrinal and popular religion which prisoners professed, and for the spirit of collectivism which exceeded all traditional bonds of possession. What apparently stands for blatant hypocrisy and egotism, may in fact represent a stronger bond of kinship than any other seen in the present study. In Seville, for example, the prisoners' whores came

to bid them farewell in ritual mourning attire bewailing their fate as any wife would. In a formulaic exchange between them strangely reminiscent of the Crucifixion, one prisoner begged his woman to have his body quickly taken down and washed.[86] Meanwhile the other valientes in hired mourning-dress filed in procession, chanting a litany and carrying candles. They counselled the condemned man: 'Don't look at anyone crying for you, and don't preach. You are a son of Seville and should not show any cowardice: 'Una muerte había vuesa-erced de morir: ¡Bienaventurado él que muere por la justicia! De la señora Beltrana no lleve vuesa-erced cuidado; que aquí quedo yo, y nadie la dará pesadumbre'. It should be said that this episode is told in different contemporary versions as a joke, but what may sound at first like an amusing plundering of the condemned man's assets would actually represent a system of mutual aid for the 'widow' akin to that seen in pious confraternities.[87] The last three days of the condemned man's life were spent in the enfermería with two priests, where he made his confession and took communion. On the last night he gave a banquet (echar tajada)[88], then went to die the next day as if to a wedding.[89] Yet despite sardonic overtones, Catholic dogma dictated the execution ritual, as a contemporary satire indicates:

> Contrición, confesión, misas,
> Credo en boca, Cristo en mano,
> Todo en el ahorcado es bueno,
> Solo el verdugo es lo malo.[90]

Escape at this stage was still possible, either by an eleventh-hour reprieve negotiated by the prison confraternal comforter, or by an organized assault involving a sizeable number of the local population. On the night he was to be garrotted in Seville, five hundred supporters of the Valencian jurisconsult, Francisco de León, stormed the prison and rescued him, during a larger disturbance supposed to be a Portuguese invasion, which kept the town's forces busy elsewhere. And in Cerdeña and Salamanca (1654) prisoners were seized from the gallows, though details are lacking of these events.[91]

10.3.4 A Community without Order?

Christian caritas therefore operated along the same lines in prison as it did in other confraternities: helping the needy by providing material and spiritual succour; providing for widows and orphans; arranging a vigil and the last rites; and staying with the body, in the prisoner's case, until it was released from the gallows. It might be

argued that much of this mutual aid came from the prison confraternity. But the evidence of coordinated escape attempts sugggests another force at work, with as much, if not more power than its Establishment counterpart. Administration and hierarchical organization will form the last section of this inquiry into the existence of a prison anti-society. The first point about political life behind bars is that, as Zapata suggested, some prisoners left in better condition than when they arrived.[92] Evidently for the elite, prison as a refuge and centre of operations had much to offer. There was a programme of social insurance, which purported to include protection against personal injury by other inmates.[93] Some had separate rooms, others were graded according to their status and crime, and those with sufficient money paid to sleep outside the prison.[94] 'La nobleza de la prisión consiste en la buena bolsa', said Garcia's informer.[95] Priests and religious had individual cells and paid nothing for them because (interesting paradox) they were held in greater respect than the other criminals. These privileged prisoners were feared and respected by the sota-alcaide, who presided over admissions at the main gate, entering the name and crime of newcomers in a register, along with the names of alguaciles and judges who passed sentence, and the scriveners present at the hearing. The attractions of interfering with this process encouraged the valientes to 'negotiate' with the sota-alcaide and his staff:

> El alcaide, de quien son tributarios, los favorece; los alguaciles, con quien parten y viven, les dan la mano; los porteros y guardas, que comen con sus hurtos, les regalan y ayudan; y así, las órdenes terribles, las asperezas y rigores que justamente se dispusieron para el castigo y enfrenamiento destos, solo se ejecutan y cumplen con el pobre inocente y con el hombre honrado y de vergüenza, que su desdicha, más que no sus pecados..., les trajo a semejante desventura.[96]

Admission to prison involved a 'picturesque' ritual. In Seville's Cárcel Real entrance was gained through three doors. The first was called Puerta del Oro, because of the doorman's lucrative business here in allocating cells according to what a prisoner could pay. After registration of his crime, the prisoner is passed to the next door, while the first doorman halloos his crime in nautical fashion: '¡Hola!' and the other answers: '¡Ai-la!'. If the crime is debt, the first one cries: '¡Ahí va el señor cien-ducados!'. '¿Está allá?', says the other, and: '¡Acá está!' is the reply. Those entering prison with money are spared this ordeal, which classifies them according to code-words: the

amancebado is labelled: 'por lo que se usa'; the thief is arrugador or murcio; the sométicо, 'porque contaba'; and the pimp, jermán. There is an account of this ritual in a Barcelona jail by Coello, Rojas and Vélez, where new prisoners are announced by the Alcaide as: 'El de la moneda falsa... El Embustero Alcahüete... El Representante..., El Estudiante valiente, por la sátira..., El Ciego que vende coplas, por casado cuatro veces...', and 'El Vejete, por el incesto'.[97] At the second door in Seville, Puerta de Cobre, the doorman publishes the crime this time by knocking: twice for breach of the peace or assault, three times for resisting arrest; four knocks for a thief; five for murder, six for sodomy, and seven for a galley slave. The third door, Puerta de Plata, takes its name from the fee exacted for removing the chains, or for relocation in a better part of the prison.[98] Despite national differences, in essence, the admission ritual seems to have been fairly standard, to judge by contemporary remarks on extortion. In the jail at Naples, Guzmán de Alfarache finds:

> Al fin, en entrando por la cárcel, y escribiéndome en el libro, salen un enjambre de gente de la vida a arrebatar de mí, que si no les pareciera de la carda, me dejaran molido como carne momia.[99]

Two 'marquesones, gente de lo de Dios es Cristo, de entuvión y la valentona', teach him the prison lore, above all not to expect 'palace fare' with 'church alms'. They each have servants to clean their cells. Commonly, these potentates were called 'germanes, o envalentados, o bravos o rufos, o jayanes de popa'.[100] The nautical inference in this last name signals how the hierarchy worked. Those sentenced to the galleys were the true lords in prison, whose self-esteem came from their being accounted part of the King's patrimony. Only the King could order their release.[101] Their status entitled them to practise extortion on the others. Seville's Cárcel Real had a system known as el animero, in which poor prisoners received a daily ration of bread weighing 3 lbs, to be shared between three of them. As they had no knife, they had to ask one of four prisoners designated oficiales de contar raciones, who cut it into four, keeping one of the middle portions (el ánima) for himself. It is not inconceivable that the oficiales were operating their own version of the refrigerium, either by apportioning out nourishment for the soul (and not the body), or else by inviting the (almost) dead to reward them with spiritual favours for their charity.[102] Prisoners also paid for lights in the corridors which burned all night, and for a

lighted lamp in the cell. The system is mentioned in a play by Coello set in Barcelona, when an old man ventures to ask his fellow prisoners: '¿No dotaremos de aceite una lamparilla aquí?'[103] According to Chaves, three picaros in each cell in the Cárcel Real were employed by the germanes to sweep and clean, empty chamber-pots, and destroy the bugs, and in summer they ventilated the rooms for the germanes.[104] Chaves's account is corroborated by Alemán, whose experience of the same prison is reflected in his picaresque novel. Here, Guzmán is promoted to germán:

> Galeote soy, rematado me veo... Hiceme de la banda de los valientes, de los de Dios es Cristo. Púseme mi calzón blanco, mi media de color, jubón acuchillado y paño de tocar... Con esto y cobrando mis derechos de los nuevos presos, pasaba gentil vida y aun vida gentil.... cobraba el aceite, prestaba sobre prendas, un cuarto de un real por cada día. Estafaba a los que entraban. Dábales culebras, libramientos y pesadillas.[105]

Another source of income for those relegated to the lower echelons of power in prison, was to seek employment by the valientes as pobretes, who offered to find people by touring the building calling out names.[106] Such was the power of prison valientes that a rule of silence prevailed over all their dealings. If a man is killed here, said Luján, by the time the alcaide and warders arrive, they look like choirboys on a Sunday school outing, and there is no weapon to be found. Their guile is so incredible, that if Cacus were to revive, he would find himself a pupil at their feet.[107] One of these valientes portrayed in a Madrid prison had all the usual insignia found in the valiente: 'Unos bigotazos que le llegaban a las orejas, con que se preciaba mucho, porque eran tan gordos y torcidos, que parecían cabos de cirio amarillo'.[108] He had total control of the prison. The lower prisoners served him, and if any dared to countermand his orders, he would twirl his moustaches and declare: 'Pues por vida del Rey, si me enojo, que al pícaro y a ellos les dé mil palos'.

Though it may appear to have been an autocratic association, geared, like the gamblers, to the preservation of its most prominent members, there was some evidence that activities provided for the common good, even if this meant collusion with prison staff. The prison valiente was no altruist, and doubtless sought to set up his own regime of abuses. But this could also entail curbing or eradicating abuses by prison staff. Abuses arose because jailers endeavoured, by bribery and embezzlement, to recoup the expense

of paying the King for their post. It was therefore easy for prisoners to gain the upper hand, by operating a thriving currency with which to buy privileges and power. Currency came from some unexpected sources. The women whose pimps were in prison, of course, brought in their earnings. But they also stimulated the movement of currency by working within the prison, a practice which especially angered the Holy Sacrament confraternities.[109] In Seville many ingenious plans were adopted to hide prostitutes from the warders, but they were usually let off when discovered, because the prisoners claimed that to arrest them would endanger their livelihood.[110] Forgery was also rife in prison, where inmates could operate freely. El Vizcaíno at Seville forged bills of account, or changed instructions in mercantile correspondence, which he intercepted with the help of a post-boy (correo). When his accomplice finally betrayed him by confessing to León, proof was almost impossible. Even the receivers of the bills could not detect the forgery.[111] So lucrative were these transactions that some would not leave prison when their sentence was served.[112] A barber in the Cárcel Real stayed on another six years after his release, giving his services there. Sometimes, however, a reluctance to leave was dictated, if not by economics, then by political expedience or intimidation. Anyone lucky enough to win his reprieve was besieged with debtors (real or imagined), both prisoner and jailer:

> El carcelero le pide el drecho de la prisión, la entrada, salida y estada de ella, el dormir, el hablar, el comer, el estornudar, el toser, hasta la vida...; y cuando ya le ha dado lo que sin cuenta pidió, le pide para guantes, la carcelera para chinelas, los mozos para zapatos y la moza para una cofia. El perro le pide que le pague lo que ladró por él la noche, el gato el trabajo que tomó limpiándole la cámara de ratones.[113]

One couple about to leave jail in Seville could not afford to pay, and had to leave their child as security, but as it cried and kept everyone awake, it was deposited at the Iglesia Mayor.[114] The rationale behind this extortion lay in medieval jurisprudence, which provided that in principle the prisoner paid for his own upkeep, this constituting the gaoler's only income. Those who could not pay for a pallet or bundle of straw to make themselves a litter, were reduced to the dungeon, which oozed with damp, and they had to pay a rent even for this. Nothing had changed fundamentally by the sixteenth century. In Barcelona's jail,

Peregrino is beaten and abused because he cannot pay his entrada or salida:

> Bullía el tráfago, importunaba el ruego, la solicitud cansaba, la necesidad pedía, el hambre suspiraba, la libertad gemía, la procuración atendía al interés, la pluma a la codicia... la ley pedía ejecución, el castigo ministros y el favor dilaciones. Quien le tenía salía por el aire, y a quien le faltaba aun no hallaba la puerta, que unas partes azotan a los que tienen espaldas y en otras a los que no las tienen.[115]

Including the cost of torture, Gregorio Guadaña's spell in prison cost him over 200 escudos, and would have been 2000, were it not for his 'juez de por medio'.[116] There was a flourishing trade in this sort of sponsorship. Calling themselves procuradores, after the legal counterpart, they would greet the new prisoners like long-lost friends: '¿Acá está vuesa merced?', and offer to sway the judge and scrivener for a fee.[117] The system was called cobrar la patente. Its operation amounted to a variant on the desfile de los ajusticiados. Novices submitted to a mock interrogation and were sentenced to torture. Written confirmation of its execution could then be arranged for a fee. Chaves describes the racket that the hangman ran selling lighter tortures:

> Y acaece para esto vender el vestido y quedarse en cueros, porque le hacen entender que si el negocio llegare a tormento, que es bien tener de su mano al verdugo.[118]

The practice of putting chains and shackles on a prisoner interested Camillo Borghese, who commented on the differences in Spanish prisons. All criminals caught in flagrante had their weapons confiscated, which were redeemable on payment of a fee. Even debtors were shackled. Dangerous prisoners were doubly chained and put in the dungeon.[119] Often they had to pawn their clothes to obtain the necessary fee.

10.4 Prison Life in its Literature

On the strength of the evidence presented, one cannot compare the prison anti-society with the guild, except in so far as the organizations both aimed to protect their particular 'trade' or 'profession'. The prison fraternity was more autocratic than the guild, having one or two despotic leaders who dominated the rest. There is a temptation to view their organization as self-seeking; to imagine that it worked on the principle of survival of the fittest; and that consequently there could never be true Christian brotherhood behind

bars. The danger in this assessment is of judging by criteria inappropriate to the situation. For example, viewed from outside sixteenth-century Catholic society, a cult of external rituals at the expense of devotion suggests a hypocritical religious faith. But even pious confraternal brothers sometimes fell short of true orthodoxy, and of altruism. The thief, the prisoner, and all the underworld classes, on the other hand, professed an unswerving faith in God, in their future salvation, and in the efficacy of their charitable and devotional efforts to achieve that salvation. Contemporary writers often illustrated the contrast between the sinner and the avowedly devout, but pusillanimous, layman.[120] Despite the apparent pathos in prisoners' attempts to provide for body and soul at the hour of death by acts of misericordia, their beliefs and practices were no less deserving than those of pious laymen. It may be that modern interpretations of events are coloured by literary representations which, in the interest of good narrative style, place all the emphasis on the underworld's laconic attitude to life. But it is important to understand that criminals believed in theft and crime being their chosen métier, with its own social utility and its own sense of professional "honour", as much as the shoemaker or carpenter believed in his occupation. To the criminal, delinquency was a matter of familial inheritance, and ultimately, of divine providence. It was not his place to question, but to diligently do his duty. And if in prison the rules changed a little; if rituals became more cruel, and survival depended on a sharpening of wits and force; the basic aim of cohesion was the same as that of other organized groups: to reform or strengthen characters, and make them fitter for the chosen task. Those who faltered were expendable. The concept of schooling in prison was therefore appropriate. Whether it was in gambling, forgery, theft, pimping, or leadership, prison society could be said to have trained each prisoner in his criminal speciality.

The survival of the prisoners' fraternity under constant repression testifies to its strength of purpose. Does its survival also owe something to a prison mythology? There is strong evidence of the existence of both oral and written traditions to perpetuate their lore, their heroes, their language, and their rites. In parallel with the pious confraternity, the life and functions of the prisoners' community are preserved for posterity, not only through oral transmission, but through a wider cultural heritage. Notaries and priests left full records of their interviews with prisoners,[121] and some popular writers

drew on their personal experience of prison life. Lope de Vega and Cervantes had both served a term in jail, and Alemán had worked as a prison inspector. Contemporary historians also added to this picture.[122] Although prisoners normally lacked the facilities or education to contribute directly to this literature, one or two personal records survive.[123] Sometimes fellow prisoners attempted to steal some of the fame accruing to more notorious prisoners, with written accounts of their heroes' last days. Such was the case when a blind man in Barcelona's jail is so impressed by sharing his cell with Serrallonga, that he asks a student to write some coplas for him, offering him 'un dobloncete por el metro'. Later, when Serrallonga has been sentenced, the blind man persists:

Ciego:	Yo le daré para guantes, Si él de la sátira quiere La relación escribirme.
Estudiante:	Vamos, y el cuidado deje A mi pluma, que he de hacer Que la de Virgilio tiemble.
Ciego:	¿Es poeta?
Estudiante:	Y de los cultos, Que lo que escriben no entienden Ellos ni el mismo demonio.
Ciego:	Será la obra elocuente; Vaya un villancico al cabo.[124]

More important biographies were written by friends outside prison, who published 'repentances' after their deaths. These constituted a well-worked genre in parts of sixteenth-century Europe.[125] Spanish copies are elusive today, but evidently their success was sufficiently worrying in 1619, for Philip III to issue a pragmatic seeking to curb the entrepreneurs: 'Premáticas a instancia y suplicación del Reyno en que se manda que las décimas de las execuciones que se hizieren no se cobren, sino fuere aviendo pasado setenta y dos horas desde la en que se travare'.[126] The elegiac tone of such décimas is undeniably satirical, but their imagery captures the essence of this phase in a criminal's careèr. The resulting romanticization immortalizes the man in his métier. He could hope for no better fate:

A Cogullo le sacaron
Por un hurto venial,
Entre gente tan honrada,
A la vergüenza no más.
El es un bellaco pueblo,
Y azotan en él muy mal:
Azotones desabridos,
A menudo y sin contar.

La gente, mal inclinada;
De tan poca caridad
Que a un forastero azotado
Ninguno le viene a honrar.
Con un pícaro no hicieran,
Amiga, tan gran maldad:
Solo y sin muchachos iba,
Y azotar que azotarás.
Hanse servido de darme
Ministerio de humedad,
Donde empujando maderos
Soy escribano naval.[127]

NOTES TO CHAPTER 10

[1] Guenée, Tribunaux et gens de justice, 291-2, citing Fr. 1728, 271, from E. Mâle, L'art religieux de la fin du Moyen Age en France (Paris, 1949), 303-4. See also Paglia, La Pietà dei carcerati, 42-3. For studies on El Cárcel Real de Sevilla, see Morgado, Historia de Sevilla, Book II, 192-202. See also Morales Padrón, Historia de Sevilla, 122; and Pike, Aristocrats and Traders, 199, for bibliographies, modern and contemporary, of prison life.

[2] See Appendix 9.A, for symbolism of punishments.

[3] See Trent, Session 24, 'Decree concerning Reform', ch. 8, in Schroeder (ed.), Canons and Decrees, 198.

[4] On imprisonment in the sixteenth century, see Black, Italian Confraternities, 221. The long terms served by Fray Luis de León, Bartolome de Carranza, and Giordano Bruno, may be exceptions to this rule. Carranza spent seventeen years in prison, and ended his life under house arrest.

[5] Morgado, Historia de Sevilla, 194, 196; and Chaves, Relación de la Cárcel, col. 1341. See also Morales Padrón, Historia de Sevilla, 124, whose source sets the figure at one thousand three hundred for this period (Escribano del Crimen de la Audiencia, Cristóbal de Rivera, Sevilla, 5 de junio de 1581, in ibid., Catalogue Add. 28342). Fernández-Guerra also claims a figure of one thousand eight hundred prisoners at this time, and adds that the Cárcel Real saw six to eight whippings and executions per week, and fifty galleys sentences. His figures are based on information supplied by Licenciado Porras de la Cámara (Alarcón, 52).

[6] The river flooded its banks in 1583, 1586, and 1590-96; and plague struck in 1580-82, and 1598-1601 (see Morales Padrón, Historia de Sevilla, 111, n. 16, citing B.M. Add. 28353 (144-163) Title Miscellaneous Letters). On Spanish prisons, see León Pinelo, Anales, 103 and 329. For modern treatment of the institutions, see Patricia Shaw Fairman, Madrid y los madrileños según los visitantes ingleses de la épocoa (Madrid, 1966), I, 137-45, cited by M. Navarro Pérez (ed.), Día y Noche, by Santos, 94, n. 65, 'Discurso VII'; and Brunel, Voyage d'Espagne (Cologne, 1666), cited in Devèze, L'Espagne de Philippe IV, II, 376. See also Morales Padrón, Historia de Sevilla, 227.

[7] Miscelanea, 67.

[8]

> El rigor de aquellas sabandijas y el fatigable hedor, el rumor de los grillos y cadenas, los gemidos de aquestos, la gritería y música de estos otros, me tuvieron inquieto hasta más de las once, y entonces cuando pensé dormir acrecentó el desvelo una pesadumbre mosquita que se armó entre las pajas.
> (Céspedes, El soldado Pindaro, 295b).

[9] On Lanuza, see Barrionuevo, Avisos, I, 62b (30 September, 1654), and 91b (1654). On sanitation in Roman prisons, see Paglia, La Pietà dei carcerati, 29.

[10] Historia de Sevilla, 197-8. On Jesuit involvement in prison work, see Paglia, La Pietà, 39-41, 146; and Flynn, 'Charitable Ritual', 341-2. Jiménez Salas lists 48 contemporary Spanish foundations which helped prisoners (Asistencia social, 248).

[11] La hija de Celestina, 853a.

[12] Recourse to the Spanish Consejo Real was frequent in the light of proven corruption in the Cancilleria. On 5 July, 1624, during an inspection of the Cancilleria de Valladolid, don Fernando Ramirez Fariñas sacked some oidores, suspending others (González Palencia, Noticias de Madrid, 98). See also Santos, Dia y Noche, 'Discurso V', 76, and 'Discurso VI', 86; and Barrionuevo, 9 September, 1654, in Avisos, I, 57b, on miscarriage of justice. Kagan notes the need for a study of this institution as a judicial body (Lawsuits and Litigants, 264, Appendix). See Donato, Relación de España, 1192b-93a, for more on Spanish jurisprudence. For an account of contemporary Bohemian jurisprudence, see Hermosilla, Diálogo de los pajes, ch. IX, 158.

[13] See lawsuit on 1 September, 1582, in Garibay, Memorias, 400.

[14] Viaje a Turquía, 116a.

[15] Cárcel Real was at the end of calle de la Sierpe alongside the Plaza de San Francisco. See page 334 above, for the gamblers' link with calle de la Sierpe.

[16] Inquisitorial prisons were described by Eugenio d'Ors as: 'never the dismal holes which we imagine: they were composed of spacious cells, all of them furnished, clean and well-lit. In many cases, prisoners brought their own furniture; and for those who asked, there was always the use of a library, of paper, pen and ink' (Epos de los destinos, cited by Sciascia, Death of an Inquisitor, 14). See Sciascia, op. cit., 13-16, and footnote 123 below for another opinion.

[17]

> Preguntéle de qué habia muerto y dijome que de bien aventurado, pues habia sido padeciendo por la justicia como decían, y que toda su vida la había sustentado, y que era tal su vida que supo su muerte dos días antes, según se habia dicho en casa, y que habia muerto rodeado de sacerdotes.
>
> (Fernández de Ribera, El mesón del mundo, 120).

[18] Liñán y Verdugo wrote in 1623 of a man wrongly accused of murder: 'Llegando la hora de que se visitase, el visitarle y el condenarle a muerte fue todo uno, diciéndole como estaba probado con cuatro testigos mayores de toda excepción' (Guía y avisos, 108-110). And in 1626 a merchant and his son who resisted having their premises inspected were arrested, sentenced, and hanged four hours later. The Corregidor then advised the Consejo, 'y pareció bien' (González Palencia, Noticias de Madrid (June 29, 1626), 143). On time to execution, see Quintillas de la Heria, 100; Castillo Solórzano, Noches de placer, 295; Life and Acts of Enriquez de Guzmán, 28; Salas Barbadillo, La hija de Celestina, 856a, and 858a. See also Luna, Lazarillo, 80 (two weeks).

[19] See 'Relación de las personas que parecen estar condenados a galeras en el oficio de Pedro de la Fuente, escribano del crimen de Granada, que se han presentado en grado de apelación y no han traido sus pleitos y del tiempo que ha que se presentaron', 1567-72, leg. 29, no. 2, in Paz (ed.), AGS. Diversos, p. 285, no. 1423; 'Relación de los presos que tenian apelado ante la Chancilleria de Granada y no habían presentado sus causas. Idem de los que estaban sentenciados dos veces y pendían sus causas por apelación. Idem de los sentenciados a galeras por menos de cuatro años', 1568-72, leg. 29, no. 4, in ibid., p. 287, no. 1432.

[20] See Prosperi, 'Il sangue e l'anima', 967, for this view.

[21] Relación de la Cárcel, col. 1343.

[22] See Dicc Aut. s.v. PROCURADOR: 'El que por oficio en los Tribunales y Audiencias, en virtud de poder de alguna de las partes, la defiende en algún pleito o causa, haciendo las peticiones y demás diligencias necessarias a logro de su pretensión'. See also Fernández de Navarrete, Conservación de Monarquías, 305. In 1340 they had established themselves in a collegio authorized by Pope Benedict XIII to protect the poor prisoners from arbitrary interpretations of Roman and Canonical law. On history of procurators, see Paglia, La Pietà dei carcerati, 22, n. 68, citing V. Monachino, La carità cristiana in Roma (Bologna, 1968), 173. On Sacra Visita, see ibid., n. 69, citing C. B. Piazza, Eusevologio romano (Rome, 1698), 187-90. Alexander VI (1492) confirmed this institution, also nominating the prison visitors. On ineffective, or cursory Visitas, see Santos, Día y Noche, 97.

[23] Morgado, Historia de Sevilla, 194.

[24] Deparóme Dios un procurador hecho a mi modelo, a quien, después de haber mirado el orden como me podría escapar, que me costó algún trabajo en la imaginación, me descubrí.
(Gregorio González, Guitón Honofre, 206).

[25] Día y Noche, 97. Clearly there were many releases, but later observations show that the Visita was sometimes a mere charade. By 1637 when Colmenares wrote his Historia de Segovia, procurators were (possibly) in decline: 'gran nombre; más hoy poca potestad' (vol. 2, ch. XLIV, 297, año 1570). Prisoners could appeal but most knew it to be a futile gesture. Chaves relates that the more audacious would tell the notary to register scores of appeals: to God, to the Audiencia, to himself, and to anyone else who would listen. Then they would drown their sorrows in the prison's alehouse (Relación de la Cárcel, 1363).

[26] 'Duélese un preso en los términos mismos de sus visitas' (546), in Quevedo, Obra poética, II, 26.

[27] In Spain there were extraordinary concessions of privileges for the visit of the Prince of Wales on 24 March, 1623 (see León Pinelo, Anales, 246; and González Palencia, Noticias de Madrid, 51; and compare op. cit., p. 83, 11 November). For other occasions, see Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 194, n. 107, citing AGS, Consejo Real, leg. 203, fol. 4; and Calvo Lozano, op. cit., 126-29 (visit of the Queen to Burgos); León Pinelo, Anales, 268) (visit of Papal legate to Madrid, 1626); Simancas, Vida, 173a (death of the Pope, 1571); and Black, Italian Confraternities, 219-20.

[28] See Appendix 9.B, for details of ransom system. Re-habilitation was as great a problem as incarceration. Frequently prisoners would return voluntarily to prison, as in the case of Luján's Guzmán de Alfarache, released from Naples. Once outside, he finds nowhere to go and returns to prison, writing petitions like a 'procurador y preso de bona voya' (II. 1. 8, 380b). Compare Chaves, Relación de la Cárcel, 1367; and Rey de Artieda, 'Carta a don Miguel Ribellas, reprehende los juegos y pleitos', in Discursos, 162, on buena boya.

[29] For details of the ritual in San Giovanni Decollato in Rome, see Edgerton, 'A little-known "Purpose of Art"', 46, n. 6, citing Francesco Riccardi, Direttorio per il maestro di cerimonie della

ven. archiconfraternità di S. Giovanni Decollato di Roma (Rome, 1803), 17).

[30] See Weisz, Pittura e Misericordia, 4, for more on this aspect of dying.

[31] See page 80 above, on the relative orthodoxy of confraternal charitable work; and page 84, on whether misericordia was basically self-seeking.

[32] On the medieval concept of death by execution, see Dante, 'La preparazione alla morte', 257-8. On Caridad, see Apuntes, 416, no. 57, cited in Jiménez Salas, Asistencia social, 242, n. 18. On Archicofradía de Paz y Caridad, see Lallemand, op. cit., IV, 169, in Jiménez Salas, op. cit., 242, n. 19. The Hermandad de Santa Ana de los Convalecientes, whose purpose was the visiting and burial of prisoners, especially priests, was (arguably) a branch of the Archicofradia de la Santisima Trinidad de Roma (see León Pinelo, Anales, 123). Pisa cites among the works of the Santa Caridad in the parish of Santa Justa y Rufina, Toledo, burial of those who died by drowning or hanging (La Ciudad de Toledo, 94). For history and symbolism of culleum (encubar), see Eslava, Verdugos y torturadores, 86, and 132; J. H. Mozley (ed.), Burnel the Ass, 134; Luther, The Book of Vagabonds, 54; and Valbuena y Prat (ed.), Hija de Celestina, 859, n. 1, by Salas Barbadillo.

[33] On Giovanni Decollato, see Edgerton, 'Purpose of Art', 46; and Prosperi, 'Il sangue e l'anima', 965, n. 14, citing L. Firpo, Esecuzioni capitali in Roma (1567-1671), in Eresia e Riforma nell'Italia del Cinquecento, Miscellanea (Florence and Chicago, 1974), I, 309ss. It became a model society, whose brothers were called on to 'comfort' the condemned heretic, Giordano Bruno, in 1600. For Italian confraternities dedicated to accompanying the condemned, see Monti, Le confraterità medievali, I, 97, 122, 130-31, 141, 159, 252, 272, 274, 275, 281, 298, cited in Sandre Gasparini, 'San Giovanni Evangelista della Morte', 781.

[34] Rélation du voyage en Espagne, 251.

[35] For confraternity manuals, see Edgerton, 'A little-known "Purpose of Art"', 58, n. 12, citing Libro dei testimenti di Giustiziati: Giornale dei fratelli della venerabile Archiconfraternità di S. Giovanni Decollato detta della Misericordia della natione fiorentina di Roma, MSS, Archivio de Stato, Rome; published in Giuseppe Rondoni, 'I "giustiziati" a Firenze (dal secolo XV al secolo XVIII)', Archivio storico italiano, 28, series 5 (1901), 209-56; and Stefano Sieni, Firenze boia (Florence, 1973). See also Prosperi, 'Il sangue e l'anima', 971-2,, n. 29, citing Catalogo degli autori e delle materie spettanti alla conforteria, edited by C. A. Macchiavelli (Bologna, 1729); and Prosperi, art. cit., 986, citing P. Giacinto Manara, Le notti malinconiche nelle quali con occasione di assister a condannati a morte si propongono varie difficoltà spettanti a simile materia (Bologna, 1668). For a bibliography of literature on purification of the anima and ben morire, see Becker, 'Aspects of Lay Piety', 195, n. 2.

[36] See Avellaneda, Don Quijote, ch. 8, 140, for another rendering of the ritual at Zaragoza. Details of the sentence are given in Tirso de Molina, El condenado por desconfiado, 185-86, line 2366; Hurtado de Mendoza, Epistolas, 144-6; and [anon.], Entremés de la Cárcel de Sevilla, in Gallardo, Ensayo, II, 1376.

[37] Estebanillo González, ch. V, 316a.

[38] On comforting and execution ritual, see Weisz, Pittura e misericordia, 4, citing Zanobi de Medici, Trattato utilissimo in conforto dei condennati a morte in via di giustizia (Ancona, 1572), 2, 9, 13-16, 10, 25, 28. See also Eslava, Verdugos y torturadores, 61-72; and Prosperi, 'Il sangue e l'anima', 973, and 985, n. 64, citing F. Carlo Verri da Cremona, Ricordi per essercitar il caritativo officio d'aiutar a christianamente morire quei meschini che sono dalla giustitia condannati a morte (Milan, 1672), 25. On processional details, see Weisz, op. cit., 5; Morales Padrón, Historia de Sevilla, 127; Chaves, Relación de la Cárcel, col. 1342; and Santos, Día y Noche, 72-4. For accounts of French and Italian rituals, see Guibert, Les confréries de Pénitents, 128, n. 2; and Montaigne, 'Journal de voyage en Italie, 1210.

[39] Rélation du voyage en Espagne, 251.

[40] Pedíale el Vicario muy aprisa los términos. Se le daba por horas. Sacáronle a ajusticiar enlutado, en mula, a las diez y media, apresurando la ejecución... Metiéronle luego en la plaza, sin llevarle por las calles, subiéndole tan aprisa al cadalso, que unos a otros se atropellaban.
(Barrionuevo, Avisos (agosto 15 de 1654), I, 44a).

[41] For another case of Franciscan rescue from the scaffold, in Valladolid, 1592, see Eslava, Verdugos y torturadores, 151. See Guibert, Les confréries de Pénitents, 129, for an eighteenth-century complaint that the ritual accompaniment in anonymous robes invited escape attempts (compare Chapter 3, footnote 97 above).

[42] Salas Barbadillo, El caballero Puntual, 151-6. Compare page 441 above, on el desfile de los ajusticiados, and page 182 above, on an academy ritual.

[43] See Appendix 9.C, for details of hanging and more on tavoletta.

[44] See page 54 above, for origins of caccia selvaggia. Compare Cervantes, Don Quijote, I. 19.

[45] On the ritual of the hangman asking the prisoner for pardon in Spain, see Eslava, Verdugos y torturadores, 41-50. For reference to the myth of the souls of the dead returning to earth, see Torquemada, Coloquios satíricos, 164.

[46] Cutting of the rope after execution was a responsibility normally reserved for the lower-ranking brothers. Sometimes statutes provided that, if during the execution a hand or an eye were detached from the body, it should be carefully stowed in a box, but above all the blood must be preserved. The associated cult of spilt blood was designed to reassure supplicant and spectator that violence and shame done to the body had limits, but it also led to obscure necromantic practices. Kissing the feet of hanged men, as they would a holy relic, was still practised in 1663, to the disgust of Santos, for whom the man dying in the knowledge of God and of his final hour was still a criminal (Día y Noche, 74). On popular cults and beliefs associated with death by execution, see Prosperi, art. cit., 963-4; and Ginzburg, 'Charivari', 174. See Prosperi, art. cit., 964, on drinking of the blood.

[47] Morgado, Historia de Sevilla, 370. Compare pages 83, and Chapter 9, footnote 142 below. On the fate of criminals, see Vincent-Cassy,

'Prison et châtiments', 266-8, citing Ordonnance des Rois de France, II, 282; and VIII, 130; Le Goff, La civilisation de l'Occident médiéval (Paris, 1964), 633; and Rusche and Kirchheimer, Punishment and Social Structures, 29. See Guibert, Les confréries de Pénitents, 52-3, for a French account of dogs eating the bodies. For the seventeenth-century unburied criminal, see also González Palencia, Noticias de Madrid, 156. For authorized dissection of criminals' bodies, and for vivisection, see Granjel, Medicina española, II, 49-51; Eslava, Verdugos y torturadores, 249-51; Edgerton, Pictures and Punishment, 210-5; and Prosperi, 'Il sangue e l'anima', 992, n. 88, citing ASF, Strozziane, s. I, 97, cc. 1r-7v, dealing with the fate of one Jacopo di Gimignano da Castel Monsagrato in Florence, 1566. Dissection of the bodies of indigents at the University of Barranquilla, Bogota, allegedly continues today, with the disturbing discovery that the police receive payment for providing live indigents, who are garrotted at the university (see Pilar Lozano, 'La policia, acusada de vender los cadáveres de mendigos a la universidad de Barranquilla', El Pais, viernes 20 de marzo de 1992, p. 21).

[48] On changing sensitivity to burial of the condemned, see Sandre Gasparini, 'San Giovanni Evangelista della Morte', 782.

[49] Anales, 99.

[50] See Zapata, Miscelánea, 58. The confraternity broke away from its parent order in 1524, but as the hospital's patrimony only extended to six beds, it was absorbed by the Amor de Dios in 1584. The Merced was a rigorous order. Brothers had to travel to foreign lands and bargain with the enemy for release of a captive, often at the expense of their personal liberty (López Martínez, 'Jesús de la Pasión', 178-82). On the Mercedarians, see E. G. Friedman, Spanish Captives in North Africa in the Early Modern Age (Madison, WI, 1983). I am grateful to Professor Round for this last reference.

[51] For a Mercedarian celebration of ransomed captives, see Santos, Día y Noche, 17. See also Alcalá, Yáñez, Alonso, mozo de muchos amos, 545b. See Appendix 9.B, for other ransom confraternities.

[52] García, La desordenada codicia, 38.

[53] In Toledo's Cárcel de la Inquisición they communicated by knocking: once for 'a', twice for 'b', etc. (see Caro Baroja, Vidas mágicas, III, 258-60, 'Vida y milagros del doctor Milanés' (buscatesoros), citing the ex-archpriest of Brignano in the Inquisition's prison in 1660).

[54] García, La desordenada codicia, 47-8.

[55] See page 367 above, for 'escribano de la mar'; page 391 above, for quinto; page 330 above, for card games; and compare murciélagos, Chapter 9, footnote 168 above.

[56] Quevedo, El Buscón, 141. For aire references, see page 384 above.

[57]

> En el vestir se guarda gran uniformidad, andando todos vestidos de cuaresma y con el hábito de San Agustín, pero tan acuchillado, con tantas faltriqueras y tan acomodado a las pasiones del cuerpo, que, sin deshacer la pretina de los calzones, no les falta una solución de continuo con que satisfacer al flujo de vientre.
>
> (García, La desordenada codicia, 40).

[58] Alemán, Guzmán de Alfarache, II. 3. 8, 452. For dress of slaves in the mines, see Bleiberg, 'Alemán y los galeotes', 352. See also Graullera Sanz, La esclavitud, 121.

[59] Quevedo wrote a jácara about the galley-slave which sums up his salient features: appearance, language, and career:

Más raso voy que día bueno;
Con barba sacerdotal,
Soy ovejita del agua,
Que me llaman con silbar.
Letrado de las sardinas,
No atiendo sino a bogar,
Graduado por la cárcel,
Maldita universidad.

('Respuesta de Lampuga a la Perala: Jácara', in Obras, 267-70 (268)).

For beards and learning, see page 43. See also Paglia, La Pietà dei carcerati, 70; and Villalón, Viaje de Turquía, 34b.

[60] Description of argolla in Barrionuevo, Avisos (15 August, 1654), I, 44a. See also Estebanillo González, ch. III, 298a. For a more realistic account of this method of execution, see Eslava, Verdugos y torturadores, 220-48, especially 232.

[61] See Céspedes, El soldado Píndaro, ch. XXIV, 366a, describing the legal argolla and the illegal meno; see also Castillo Solórzano, 'El socorro en el peligro', in Tardes entretenidas, 296-8. On the implement used to link convicts together, see Alemán, Información secreta (legajo 2°), cited in Bleiberg, 'Alemán y los galeotes', 348; Luján, Guzmán de Alfarache, II. 3. 11, 429b; and Estebanillo González, ch. III, 298a, and ch. V, 315a. For the argolla in China (1592), see Ordóñez de Ceballos, Viaje del mundo, Book 2, ch. XVII, 362a; and in Syria (1613), see Colmenares, Historia de Segovia, II, ch. XLIX, 410, n. 92.

> El círculo de hierro o de oro que trayan al cuello, y oy dia se traen los de hierro los esclavos, por afrenta y custodia, los de oro la gente noble por honra y adorno.
>
> (Covarrubias, Tesoro, s.v. ARGOLLA).

[62] Salas Barbadillo, El curioso y sabio Alejandro, 7a.

[63] López de Ubeda, La Justina, Bk. 2, pt. 2, 'La picara romana', ch. 2, no. 2, 'De la vergonzosa engañadora' (vol. 2, 418). See also Lope de Vega, La Dorotea, III. 7, p. 362.

[64] See Hazañas y la Rúa, 'Los rufianes de Cervantes', 262, on Esclavitudes. Definition provided by Covarrubias, who adds:

> 'Hame echado fulano una ese y un clavo': hame puesto en obligación de servirle con gran reconocimento. De la palabra esclavo, se formó la cifra de una S y un clavo; la cual se suele poner en una y otra mejilla a los esclavos, especialmente si son fugitivos.
>
> (Covarrubias, Tesoro, s.v. CLAVO).

[65] Compare Alonso Contreras, who accepts a dangerous assignment: 'Señor, suplico a Vuestra Excelencia, me conceda este viaje, y por esta merced póngame en el rostro una ese y un clavo' (Vida de Alonso de Contreras, ch. XIII, 125a).

[66] ARV. Baylía 210, fol. 77, cited in Graullera Sanz, La esclavitud, 119, n. 8. For other brands, see ibid., n. 9, citing ARV. Baylia 206, fol. 282; and ibid., n. 10, citing ARV. Baylia 210, fol. 42.

[67] Salas Barbadillo, La hija de Celestina, 839b. See also Vélez, El diablo Cojuelo, Tranco VII, 35a-b. For distinguishing marks, see pages 200, 246, and Chapter 6, footnote 33 above.

[68] Cervantes, El rufián viudo, 550a. See also Céspedes, El soldado Píndaro, Book 1, ch. XII, 297a; and ibid., Book 2, ch. XV, 350a.

[69] See page 47 above.

[70] The game was terminated by disposition in 1580 (see Herrera Puga, Sociedad y delincuencia, 126, n. 17, citing Padre León, Appendiz Primero de los Ajusticiados, Caso 24, fols 228r, 228v, 229). The notion of 'Homo homini lupus est' is glossed in Luque Fajardo, Fiel desengaño, II, 31: 'no tiene el hombre mayor contrario que al mesmo hombre'.

[71] Herrera Puga, op. cit., 128, n. 20, citing León, op. cit., Caso 24, fols 228v, 229.

[72] Herrera Puga, op. cit., 123, n. 13, citing León, Compendio, Parte 2ª, Tratado de la Cárcel, cap. 3, fol. 113, lín. 22.

[73] Herrera Puga, op. cit., 124, n. 16, citing León, op. cit., cap. 3, fol. 113, lín. 26. See Quevedo, El Buscón, 139-44, on la patente; and compare student novatada, page 158 above.

[74] See Céspedes, El soldado Píndaro, ch. XI, 296a. See also Herrera Puga, Sociedad y delincuencia, 130-32, citing Chaves, Relación de la Cárcel, no. 7, AM de Sevilla; and León, Compendio, Parte 2ª, cap. 31, fol. 215v, lín. 14. In the last two versions forty escaped. For juegos de cañas, see page 166 above. On guzpátaro, see Alemán, Guzmán de Alfarache, II. 3. 8, 446. For another escape attempt, see Chaves, op. cit., col. 1360.

[75] On the card game that stops for nothing, see Alemán, Guzmán de Alfarache, II. 3. 8, 445; Arguijo, Cuentos, 236; Garibay, Cuentos, 217, 219; and Melchor de Santa Cruz, Floresta española, IV parte, cap. VI, 'De justiciados' (most of the 13 stories). For the card game, see Francisco de Alcocer, Tratado del juego (Salamanca, 1559), ch. 1; Covarrubias, Remedio de jugadores (1543), Pt. 1, ch. 1; Luque Fajardo, Fiel desengaño, I, IV and V; A. de Torquemada, 'Coloquio primero', Coloquios satiricos, 488-99.

[76] Guzmán de Alfarache, II. 1. 7, 379.

[77]

> A una voz dicen la salve a voces al tono que el que les enseña, y su reponso en forma; y acabando, dice que digan una Ave María y un Pater Noster por los que bien hacen a los pobres de la cárcel y los favorecen, y luego otro tanto por su libertad, y otro por los que están en pecado mortal, que Dios les traiga a verdadera penitencia; y otro tanto a las ánimas. Y rematan con que todos juntos a una voz dicen: 'Señor mío Jesucristo, pues que derramastes vuestra preciosa sangre por mí, habed misericordia de mí que soy gran pecador'.
>
> (Chaves, Relación de la Cárcel, col. 1355).

[78] At Rome in 1622, fourteen prisoners in Tor di Nona petitioned the Pope for a change of chaplain because: 'Oltre l'esser balbutiente

che la sua messa non è intesa dalli prigioni della Sala Regia'; and also because he was not in the habit of giving confession, so that some died unshriven (Paglia, La Pietà dei carcerati, 172, n. 84, citing Bertolotti, Le prigioni, 23). Thirteen more asked for a new chaplain because: 'E idiota negligentissimo'. Others said he ate their food and wine given as alms (Ibid., 24, in Paglia, op. cit., 172, n. 85).

[79] Historia de Sevilla, 193.

[80] See Herrera Puga, Sociedad y delincuencia, 202-4, citing Juan de Santibáñez, Historia de la Provincia de Andalucía de la Compañía de Jesús, Parte 2ª, lib. 2, cap. 10, núm. 2, copia inédita.

[81] La vocación de esta santa congregación es de NSa de la Visitación, porque como la Virgen María, Señora Nuestra, fue a visitar a Santa Isabel y a San Juan, estando en la cárcel de su madre y fue llena del Espíritu Santo, así a su modo los de esta congregación visiten a los presos y los llenen de consuelo.

(Padre León, Parte 2ª de la Cárcel, cap. 5, fol. 120v, lín. 6, cited in Herrera Puga, Sociedad y delincuencia, 209, n. 46).

On origins of the Visitación, see Morgado, Historia de Sevilla, 195-8; Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga, Anales eclesiásticos y seculares de la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla... desde el año de 1246... hasta el de 1671 (Madrid, 1677); Santibáñez, op. cit.; Martín de Róa S.I., Flos sanctorum (Seville, 1615); and Antonio de Solís, Anales de Sevilla. It was established on 8 September, 1585.

[82] Chaves, Relación de la Cárcel, col. 1342.

[83] Los Jueves santos hacen ellos por los corredores, y patio una gran procesión con sus túnicas, derramando mucha sangre en memoria de la Pasión de nuestro Maestro, y Redemptor Jesú Christo. Todo con mucha devoción, con sus Pasos, y Música en la procesión, y con mucha cera.

(Morgado, Historia de Sevilla, 193).

[84] Luna, Lazarillo, ch. XII, 81. Compare page 280 above, for corozas.

[85] Pinheiro da Veiga, Pincigrafía, 516. It was likely that death would ensue from so many lashes. Liñán y Verdugo's character, Juan, a notorious pegadillo, gets four hundred lashes: 'dado a no dejarle con vida, y si escapase con ella, diez años a las galeras, al remo y sin sueldo' (Guía y avisos, Novela 11ª, 242). See also the whipping of El Mellado de Antequera in 'Jácara, CXXXIII', in Alfay, Poesías varias, 209. Compare pages 267, and 281 above, for whipping of women. After a whipping, the resulting tight-fitting skin was referred to euphemistically as 'un jubón sin costura', or 'cotón colorado' (see 'Jácara, CXXXIII', 208, in Alfay, op. cit., 209; and Estebanillo González, II, 295b). Sometimes the whip marks were said to resemble Saint Andrew's cross, the red cross fashioned out of cloth and sewn onto the yellow cape of Inquisitorial 'penitents': 'A fe, señor Don Pablos, que si le oyera, que yo le acordara que tiene las espaldas en el aspa de San Andrés' (Quevedo, El Buscón, ch. IV, 145). The mark earned for some the dubious title of Caballero del Aspa (see Salas Barbadillo, La hija de Celestina, 858a). For aspado, see page 78 above.

[86] Chaves, Relación de la Cárcel, col. 1347. Compare morisco and folk customs of burial described by Guevara, on page 80 above.

[87] See Appendix 9.D, for contemporary versions of this story.

[88] See Chaves, Relación de la Cárcel, cols 1347, 1362. Compare Black, Italian Confraternities, 218-9, on ben morire in Bologna.

[89] See Chaves, op. cit., 1362; [anon.], Entremés de la Cárcel de Sevilla, 1379; and Alemán, Guzmán de Alfarache, II. 3. 8, 445.

[90] Francisco de la Torre, 'Epigrama XXII', in Floresta de varia poesia, 2ª parte, BAE, 42 (1875), 567.

[91] Barrionuevo, Avisos (9 September, 1654), I, 57b. See also Juan de Piña, Casos prodigiosos y cueva encantada, 20-21, for an arson attack on a jail at Madrid. Even the last supper could be used as a pretext for escape (see Chaves, op. cit., col. 1359). See also Padre León, Compendio, cap. 31, fol. 214v, 215, lin. 1, for another eleventh-hour escape. Compare confraternal connivance, page 434 above.

[92] See page 428 above.

[93] See García, La desordenada codicia, 145. Fights often broke out due to cramped conditions and the lowest in the hierarchy suffered most. Slaves caught on the run were particularly vulnerable. Joan de la Cruz was caught in 1631 at Carlet, fleeing from his master in Granada, but released soon after and confined in the house of the Corregidor de la Corte, because the other prisoners were stealing his clothes (Graullera Sanz, La esclavitud, 86). For a present-day prison cooperative in Seville, founded by interns, 'conscientes de la situación económica y de rechazo que nos espera al salir en libertad', see Alfredo Valenzuela, 'La reinserción empieza en la cárcel', El País, domingo, 20 de septiembre de 1987, p. 28.

[94] See Chaves, Relación de la Cárcel, col. 1348; and Paglia, La Pietà dei carcerati, 73. To cite one notorious case, Lope Ponce, illegitimate son of el Vicario de Carmona, had raped a woman and killed Jorge de Portugal, but his death sentence was never enforced, through having influential friends. Instead he stayed in prison, leaving and entering at will, even having an affair with a married woman, which scandalized the city. Eventually his luck ran out and an alcalde from the Chancillería de Granada had him hanged (see León, Appendiz 1º de los Ajusticiados, caso 24, fol. 230v, cited by Herrera Puga, Sociedad y delincuencia, 145-6). See also Herrera Puga, op. cit., 221, n. 3; Morales Padrón, Historia de Sevilla, 126, on prison refuge.

[95] La desordenada codicia, I, 37. Amongst two hundred and fifty-two prisoners at Castel Sant'Angelo, there featured cardinals (Petrucci, Bandinelli, Soderini, Del Monte, Carlo Caraffa), bishops and abbots (Fererri and Benassai), nobles and military, and artists (Paglia, La Pietà dei carcerati, 73, n. 238).

[96] Céspedes, ch. X, 293b. Compare , ibid., 275b; and Salas Barbadillo, El caballero Puntual, ch. VII, 280-1. See Salillas, El delincuente español, 365, for a modern account of corruption.

[97] El catalán Serrallonga, y bandos de Barcelona, 581. See page 270 for more cases of bigamy, etc.

[98] These were the higher chambers, the infirmary, the Entresuelos, and Sala Vieja. For more on admission procedure, see Chaves, Relación de la Cárcel, cols 1343-4. Morgado disputes the order of these doors, putting Puerta de Hierro last (Historia de Sevilla, 192).

The most secure cells were the Cámara del hierro, the Galera vieja or Galera nueva. Prisoners here had usually fallen victim to the Inquisition, if they could not be accomodated in its own prisons. The only significant difference in Roman prisons seems to be that prisoners awaiting trial were lodged in a separate part from those sentenced, unless Spanish accounts failed to stress this. The Pubblica da basso at the bottom of the prison was for the poor: debtors or otherwise. They paid nothing for their stretch, and survived on charity from the Carità or Pietà. They were thus called de compraehensis. They also received the alms donated by passers-by into a box at the door (Paglia, La Pietà dei carcerati, 26-8). See also op. cit., 72, on Inquisitorial prisoners in the Papal State.

[99] Luján, II. 1. 7, 378a-b.

[100] Chaves, Relación de la Cárcel, col. 1364.

[101] See Chaves, op. cit., col. 1346; and Quevedo, 'Respuesta de Lampuga a la Perala: Jácara', in Obra poética, III, 267:

Todo hijo de tintero
No tiene que mormurar,
Pues en Sanlúcar fui güésped
En cas de su Majestad.

See Zysberg, 'Galères et galériens', 383-5, on galley-slave hierarchy in Marseilles. For another reference to popa, see page 380 above.

[102] See page 46 above. Chaves described this extortion:

Entre los tres una hogaza,
uno que va repartiendo
y en pago de su trabajo
saca un pedazo de en medio.
A éste el ánima le llaman,
y tiene algún animero
tan mal ánima, que quiere
llevarse del pan el medio.
(cited in Barrios, Sociedades secretas, 99).

[103] Coello, Rojas Zorrilla, and Vélez, El catalán Serrallonga, y bandos de Barcelona, 581.

[104] Chaves, Relación de la Cárcel, col. 1345. Out of the taxes paid for cleaning and lighting, the portero received half, and the jermanes half. Citizens of Seville tried to break this monopoly by testamentary bequests to the prison, but these and other charitable donations barely touched the problems of poor prisoners: 'Es cosa averiguada, que de solamente la limosna cotidiana, se gasta en ración de los dichos presos pobres de treinta a cuarenta mil maravedis todas las semanas del año'. Parish confraternities rose to the challenge. In the Cárcel Real they provided three salaried procuradores de pobres, and paid 900 ducats every three years for cleaning the prison. The funds were bequeathed in perpetuity by confraternal members (see Morgado, Historia de Sevilla, 196; and León Pinelo, Anales, 336, on bequests to prisons in 1647).

[105] Alemán, II. 3. 8, 444.

[106] For pobretes, see page 381 above.

[107] Guzmán de Alfarache, II. 1. 7, 379b.

[108] Espinel, Marcos de Obregón, Relación 3ª, descanso 12 (vol. 2, 194).

[109] In Marseilles the Company decreed that gaolers admitting prostitutes would be severely punished. It also had grills fitted, through which visitors could talk, but only if a lady of virtue was in attendance (see Allier, La cabale des dévots, 68). Compare Chill, Company of the Holy Sacrament, 139, for Limoges. See also Paglia, La Pietà dei carcerati, 31, on embezzlement by warders in Rome.

[110] Padre León, op. cit., cap. 31, fol. 216v, lin. 5, cited in Herrera Puga, Sociedad y delincuencia, 166, n. 18.

[111] Padre León, op. cit., cap. 25, fol. 195v, lin. 20, cited in Herrera Puga, op. cit., 144-5, n. 43.

[112]
A un mozo principiante
En oficio de ladrón
Le metieron en prisión.
Que ¡Dios que era un ignorante!
Tuvo la prisión por vicio,
Mudó el pesar en placer,
Que allí acabó de aprender
A poca costa el oficio.
(Salas Barbadillo, 'Epigrama 12: A Celio', in El caballero Puntual, 116).

On gambling in prison, see page 324 above.

[113] García, La desordenada codicia, I, 41.

[114] Padre León, op. cit., cap. 2, fol. 177v, 178, cited in Herrera Puga, Sociedad y delincuencia, 185, n. 57.

[115] Lope de Vega, El peregrino en su patria, 93-4.

[116] Enríquez Gómez, ch. IX, 277a.

[117] See also Alemán, Guzmán de Alfarache, II. 3. 7, 435; and Alcalá Yáñez, Alonso, mozo de muchos amos, Parte 2ª, cap. I, 541a. For procuradores, see page 431 above. See Geremek, Margins of Society, 18, on medieval jurisprudence.

[118] Chaves, Relación de la Cárcel, col. 1357. For pagar la patente, see also 'Carta de Escarramán a la Méndez' (849), in Quevedo, Obra poética, II, 262; and Coello, Rojas Zorrilla, and Vélez, El catalán Serrallonga, y bandos de Barcelona, 582.

[119] Rélation du voyage, 251.

[120] See Tirso de Molina, El condenado por desconfiado; and Calderón, La devoción de la Cruz.

[121] See Chaves, Relación de la Cárcel; Padre León, Parte 2ª de la Cárcel; and García, La desordenada codicia.

[122] Works include that of the lawyer, Cerdán de Tallada, Visita de la Cárcel (Valencia, 1574); the priest, Bernardino de Sandóval, Tratado del cuidado que se ha de tener con los presos pobres (Toledo, 1564); Morgado, Historia de Sevilla; and Ortiz de Zúñiga, Anales eclesiásticos y seculares (Madrid, 1677). See also modern studies by Rodríguez Marín, Miscelánea de Andalucía, containing 'La cárce en que se engendró el Quijote' (Madrid, 1927); C. López Martínez, La Hermandad y la imagen de Jesús de la Pasión (1939); Carlos Petit Caro, Sevilla en la obra de Quevedo (Seville, 1946); and Herrera Puga, Sociedad y delincuencia.

[123] See a series of five poems written by a prisoner, published in BAV, Vat. Lat. 7182, fol. 475, cited by Paglia, La Pietà dei carcerati, 29-30. Commenting on three cells of the prison in Palazzo Chiaramonte, seat of the Holy Office from 1605 to 1782, covered with morbid inscriptions and drawings, etched in two or more superimposed layers, Pitré suggested in 1906 that these 'prison palimpsests' were the work of eccentrics (Of the Holy Office in Palermo and of One of its Prisons, in National Edition of the Works of Giuseppe Pitré, vol. XXVI (Rome, 1940), cited by Sciascia, Death of an Inquisitor, 13). One of these was written by a poet, Simone Rao:

> Open your eyes to this terrible gloom,
> And find yourself alone in fear.
> Wherefore 'tis writ upon this tomb:
> Abandon hope all ye who enter here.
> Down here, we know not if 'tis night or day,
> Though tears we know, of pain and cruelty.
> And in this tomb, who knows if ever we may
> Hear struck the long-awaited hour of liberty.

[124] Coello, Rojas Zorrilla, and Vélez, El catalán, Serrallonga, y bandos de Barcelona, Jornada 3ª, pp. 581, 583.

[125] See Fuller, Beggars' Brotherhood, 101-4, especially 102, n. 1, citing the Repentance of Robert Greene, Maister of Artes. Wherein by himselfe is laid open his loose life, with the manner of his death (London, 1592), 11 (Bodley head qtos).

[126] Colección de Reales Cédulas del Archivo Histórica Nacional, I, p. 45, no. 234, citing Cons. Lib. 1531, no. 23; Inq. Leg. 3583, no. 6: pragmatic issued on July 21, 1619 in Lisbon.

[127] 'Respuesta de Lampuga a la Perala: Jácara', in Obra poética, III, 267-70 (268). See also pages 367, and 439 above, for more puns on galley-service.

CONCLUSION

It has been said that research into secret societies is 'a department of history which is not only obscure and highly controversial, but by ill-luck the happiest of all hunting-grounds for the light-headed, the fanciful, the altogether unscholarly, and the lunatic fringe of the British Museum Reading Room'.[1] This attitude may have arisen in response to two failings: a notable lack of information on marginal groups of the past; and lack of confidence in popular literature as a reliable source of historical information. Organized crime today does have its scholarly researchers. There exist both scholarly and fictional works on the Mafia, which, far from damaging the organization, supposedly appeal to its sense of theatre.[2] Publication of criminal achievements certainly enhances both individual and collective status, and increases popular empathy, as the case of the Kray twins demonstrates. The Krays were evil men, but glamour is no respecter of morality, as countless films, books, and articles on the twins have testified. Long before their arrest in 1968, with subsequent trial for murders, large-scale fraud, extortion, and intimidation, the Krays had been cooperating with John Pearson's research into their organization. Today, after twenty-five years in prison, they have created their own cottage industry behind bars: 'a criminal equivalent to the Brontë sisters'.[3] It has been claimed, perhaps with good reason, that whilst the Krays ran the underworld, there was no mugging or petty crime. Does this qualify them to be classed as heroes, then, or villains? Evidently their high literary and screen profile guarantees that henceforth they will be both.

There are lessons to be learnt from this modern cult of the underworld criminal. Literature has immortalized names, and while the quality of autobiographies is unlikely to inspire a historical researcher, there are still important questions to be asked of these texts: mention of a name, or a date; a letter or a newspaper cutting. It is only with hindsight that a patient researcher can fit these pieces together into a coherent picture. Only now, for instance, can the facts emerge about underworld infiltration into the political world, through connections with Lord Boothby.[4] On the evidence advanced in this thesis, organized crime and its documentation does not differ in Britain today from Spanish organized crime and its reportage in the Golden-Age.

The public wanted to know about it, and the underworld wanted the public to know about it. Lacking newspapers, however, popular fiction served as the source of information. It was often the case that the author or academy gave information almost in coded form: an allusion to a ritual, a symbol, a word or a name. Those conversant with this code might discern all they wished to know by following publications from that source. Villamediana's career in politics and crime caught popular attention then in just the same way as the Krays have done today. Without recourse to the unwitting testimony in popular fiction, we might never have known of the king's involvement in Villamediana's murder, or of the possible reasons for it. Indeed, without these and the myriad other facts gleaned from popular literature, we might have doubted the existence of an organized underworld in Spain of the early modern period.

It has been the aims of this thesis to establish, first, that, if used appropriately, popular literature has a valid contribution to make to social history; and secondly, to add to existing knowledge on criminal organizations by investigating the sort of bonds which held them together. In order to do this, it was necessary to start with a few hypotheses: that brotherhood was basically Christian and voluntary, and that it served as a means of protection against adversity. Our findings show that a Catholic background was desirable, but not always the norm - groups of Jews and conversos certainly people the literary academies, and even had their own confraternities.[5] A criterion of voluntarism is harder to substantiate. Penitential confraternities were highly selective, and operated more like the Religious Orders, banning members from leaving, unless it was to join a stricter organization. Amongst the beggars, thieves and thugs, voluntarism was replaced by a kind of contractual obligation, dependent upon the training a member received, and the inside knowledge he acquired. The difference here between guild and secret society is very tenuous, especially as a vow of secrecy was prevalent in these organizations. But secrecy was also enforced in the pious confraternities, a fact which doubtless encouraged subversive activity, and invited suspicion from King and State.[6] There is no doubt that membership of any organization we have studied afforded a useful measure of protection from repression. Certain groups acquired sufficient power to infiltrate judicial and other organizations with the

aim of perverting the course of justice. This is especially true of the violent criminals, but prostitutes, gamblers and beggars also joined forces with local authorities as informers. Crime, and not sanctity, seems to have been an essential ingredient of brotherhood. But this was not unique to Golden-Age Spain. Historical models on which Golden-Age organizations were based show the same ambivalence between religious purpose and criminal activity. The case of the Knights Templar and other Military Orders bear this out.[7] One other surprising conclusion relates to the power of written and oral literature. All organizations studied generated a cultural legacy which outlasted their ephemeral organization. Mythological heroes, from the Wandering Jew to Vilhán or Cacus, all inculcated patterns of social behaviour and kinship, of economic and political structures, for the next generation to copy. A few myths with a religious infrastructure, such as the myth of Apollinario and his divine mission, on which the Garduña claimed to be founded, however, are more concerned to transmit the beliefs and values of Spanish culture, than to lay down a code of behaviour i.e. the dominant religious creed is Catholicism, which tolerates no other; Mary is the intercessor, whose encouragement is manifest in tokens endowed with supernatural powers. This type of myth, however, seems to be an exception to the norm, showing convincingly how the speculative, philosophical communitas inevitably declines and falls in most brotherly groups into a pragmatic, this-worldly structure and law, because of the need to mobilize and organize resources, and to control members to that end (compare page 106 above).

To summarize, we have found that terms such as guild, fraternity and secret society represent a continuum of brotherly units, rather than discrete compartments, and that Golden-Age Spain witnessed an enormous growth in numbers, size and power of all these types of brotherhood. Paradoxically, whilst adapting the system of pious confraternities to their own purposes, societies of marginals succeeded in developing social units with more marked fraternal characteristics than their counterparts in polite society: esoteric codes of language and behaviour, instruction and organization of work, and a sophisticated welfare system. They were, moreover, essentially open in membership, permitting social intercourse in their associations between low and high-born, and between petty criminal, oppportunist, and instinctive

villain. In this open structure, which elected its own leaders, lies the answer to their fearsome autonomy, the best example of which we have seen in prison. The last chapter, then, is vital to our re-assessment of some a priori conceptions of brotherhood. By interrogating our texts for answers to questions previously formulated, instead of following the writer's intention; by wide reading of contemporary sources, for a better understanding of meanings and context; and by supporting that reading with an equivalent volume of reading on related disciplines by modern writers, the picture we now have represents a less flawed image of society in Golden-Age Spain than that produced by more traditional approaches. The study has not only contributed to existing knowledge of marginal groups, but has paved the way for further investigation into the close connections between Spanish criminal societies, and later criminal organizations such as the Mafia, which is generally thought to be of very recent origin.

NOTES TO CONCLUSION

[1] John Saltmarsh, review of Douglas Knoop and G.P. Jones, Introduction to Freemasonry, in Economic History Review, VIII (1937), 103. For other quotations critical of studies of secret societies, see Roberts, British Poets and Secret Societies, 1-3.

[2] For scholarly works, see L. Barzini, The Real Mafia (New York, 1954); ibid., The Italians (New York, 1965); Giovanni Alfredo Cesareo, La Mafia; Gaetona Falzone, Storia della Mafia (Milan, 1978); V. Frosini, F. Renda, and L. Sciascia, La Mafia: quattro studi (Bologna, 1970); Luigi Natoli, Origini storiche della Mafia (1963); Gaia Servadio, Mafioso. A History of the Mafia from its Origins to the Present Day (London, 1976); and ibid., Angelo La Barbera: The Profile of a Mafia Boss. For fictional works, see William Galt (pseud. of Luigi Natoli), I Beati Paoli; Tomasi di Lampedusa, Il Gattopardo (Milan, 1978); Emanuele Navarro della Miraglia, La Nana ([Bologna], 1963); Luigi Pirandello, I vecchi e i giovani (Verona, 1931); and Leonardo Sciascia, Il giorno della civetta (Turin, 1961).

[3] Reggie has written Villains we have known and a slim volume of poetry; Ronnie has contributed My Story, and their older brother, Charles (now released), has published Doing the Business. There is a limited edition family photo album available for £250, tickets for Krays' supporters' parties in night clubs, and a limited edition painting for £199. A percentage of the proceeds, together with records, films and T-shirts go to the twins. Ronnie's wife, Kathy Howard, meanwhile, has published Murder, Madness and Marriage, about life with the Krays, and stars of TV and cinema are organizing marches and releasing records campaigning for the Krays' release (see Maurice Chittenden, 'Stars back Campaign to free Kray Twins', The Sunday Times, 3 October, 1993, p. 1.7).

[4] John Pearson, 'Dangerous Liaisons: The Truth about the Krays and the Tory Peer', The Sunday Times, 8 August, 1993, pp. 2.1-2.

[5] See pages 185, and 125 above; and Horowitz, Jewish confraternities.

[6] See page 108 above.

[7] See page 108 above.

APPENDIX 1: BROTHERHOOD AND OTHERHOOD

A. Confraternal Letters

Because in origin letters of confraternity amounted to an exchange of gifts, it is doubtful whether such agreements had any degree of legal force. Being vowed to poverty, monks could make no such gifts; but they could exchange potiora et precelsiora caritatis munera: the service of mutual intercession. It would consequently have been inappropriate for spiritual even more than for temporal gifts to be subject to legal sanction or to be deemed to create legal obligations. Therefore formularies emphasized that their basis was consuetudo. Letters of confraternity were also drawn up at ecclesiastical councils and synods (Cowdrey, 'Legal Problems', 235; and Suárez Fernández, art. cit., 46-78). Benefits of a temporal nature related to the relief of internal conflict by recourse to an associated house after expulsion/flight (hospitality, adjudication if necessary, custody), help in material distress caused by fire, or war.

B. Patria chica

The Spanish concept of patria chica has always aggravated internecine factionalism, especially in Holy Week:

> ¿En qué país católico hay nada semejante a las procesiones de Sevilla en Semana Santa? Las imágenes rivalizan en lujo y esplendor, y las cofradías encargadas de cada una de ellas entablan una 'guerra psicológica', sentimental, con las agrupaciones rivales. Entre quienes llevan esas imágenes, en tan espectaculares y dramáticas procesiones, hay hombres del pueblo, que como pueblo, pueden ser anarquistas (a veces lo son) que sueñan con arrasar la estructura social y con ella la Iglesia; pero como portadores de 'su' imagen (el Jesús del Gran Poder, la Vírgen de la Macarena, etc.) son capaces de matarse en defensa del honor y de la supremacía de aquellas estructuras.
>
> (Américo Castro, Realidad histórica, 143).

C. Confraternal Colours

Abbé Molinier explains the symbolism of these colours: 'Le noir, couleur de deuil et de larmes, exprime la sainte tristesse que accompagne la pénitence; le bleu, couleur du ciel, la consolation qu'elle engendre; le blanc, couleur d'innocence, la pureté qu'elle acquiert; le gris, couleur du travail, la mortification que la suit' (Abbé Molinier, Des confrairies Pénitentes, ou il est traicté de leur institution, reigles et exercices (Toulouse, 1625), cited in Guibert, Les confréries de Pénitents, 35). For a Spanish instance of colour symbolism, see Nicolás Núñez, Cárcel de Amor, edited by K. Whinnom, in Dos opúsculos isabelinos, 57-63. Colours also spoke of national traits. Agulhon says with reference to Provence that for the more startling colours (red, violet, etc.), one had to leave the kingdom and go to Italy or to Avignon (Pénitents et Francs-Maçons, 88). In fifteenth-century Italy, black seems to have become fashionable in aristocratic circles, perhaps as a means of distinction from the 'flashy new rich'. Sixteenth-century soldiers were advised never to wear black and always to wear a plume, so that their identity would not be mistaken (see Burke, Historical Anthropology, 159, on social symbolism of colours, citing M. Baxandall, Painting and Experience in Renaissance Italy (Oxford, 1972), 14ff). But around 1600 black might in some circles have been associated with

support for Spain, while Francophiles wore a more colourful French style, ridiculing the Spaniards for their black clothing reminiscent of desperados, widows, and bankrupts (Carlos García, Desordenada codicia, 202). On black and white enmities in France, see Agulhon, op. cit., 135; and for politicization of colours, see ibid., 277.

D. Medieval Insignia

During the Great Devotion new penitents had been given two little fabric crosses to wear on the right side of the chest. One was red, the other white, and they wore a beret marked with 'T', emblematic of men who weep for their sins ('Signa Thau in frontibus virorum gementium' (Ezekiel 9: 4)).

E. Confraternal Whips

The most detailed description found for confraternal whips, relating to the Gonfaloni in Rome, speaks eloquently of the underlying fanaticism which often developed from this penitential practice. Riera said of the whips:

> Per darse percosse più pungenti, poneuano nella cima de quelle le punte di sproni, & acute stellette, punte d'achi, & spille d'argento, quali pungeuano, & penetravano oltre la pelle insin'all'ossa, leuando tal'hor dalle spalle alcuni piccioli pezzetti de carne tutti sanguinolenti del quale il pauimento, & le strade erano tutte tinte, & bagnate. Ma tutto questo non pareua bastante ad alcuni, i quali giudicano appartenersi loro di battersi più crudelmente.
>
> (R. Riera, Historia del gran Giubileo MDLXXV, Gregorio XIII, Summo Pontefice (Macerata, 1580), 95f, cited in Wollesen-Wisch, 'The Archconfraternità del Gonfalone', 24, n. 56).

See Martz, Poverty and Welfare, 165, n. 18, citing AGS, PE, leg. 40, Proceso del ospital de San Lázaro de Toledo, 1592, on problems relating to storage of these impedimenta of discipline.

F. 'Confraternities of roisterers'

> Echase de ver la traza de vivir desta gente en juntas que también se dice se hacen en España, en muchas partes, a manera de cofradías, que los lugares en algunas ermitas y romerías les dan de comer por costumbre antigua, principalmente en Castilla la Vieja, Galicia, y Asturias, en fiestas que hacen allí; a donde se suelen hallar y juntar en grande cantidad y número dellos, hombres y mujeres, y van de cincuenta y sesenta leguas a este efeto; adonde hacen sus conciertos y repartimientos, comiendo y bebiendo en demasía, y se citan para otras déstas en diferentes partes..., en grande deservicio de Dios y daño destos reinos... Fray Pedro de Mena, generalísimo al presente de la Orden de los Mínimos..., dice que predicó, a petición de la villa de Mallén, en una ermita, a una destas cofradías y congregaciones, adonde vio a su parecer más de tres mil hombres y mujeres juntos, todos mendigantes, y echó de ver y oyó tantas cosas y desórdenes de mal ejemplo, que le causó grande admiración el consentirse.
>
> (Pérez de Herrera, Amparo, Discurso 1º, 42-3).

G. Saint Hilarion

Saint Hilarion (c.291-c.371), Palestinian abbot who promoted the hermit's life and founded a monastic order. His biography was written by Jerome, who admired him greatly (see Oxford Dictionary of Saints, s.v. HILARION; Bede, Martyrology; and E. Coleiro, 'St. Jerome's Lives of the Hermits', Vigiliae Christianae, 11 (1957), 161-78).

H. Development of Corpus Christi

For development of Corpus Christi, see Rubin, 'Corpus Christi fraternities', 98-106; and Varey: 'It started as a protest against the followers of Berenguer (Berengarius of Tours c. 1000-1088), a scholastic theologian who believed the bread and wine in the sacrament remained bread and wine, and the faith of the believer transformed them subjectively into the Body and Blood of Christ' (Spanish Corpus Christi, 3). Holy Week is still an excuse for a paroxysm of spectacle, when profane and sacred mix so intricately that at times its historical meaning becomes confused, as the following remark by a twentieth-century spectator reveals: 'Creo que algunos desviamos la finalidad de la Semana Santa, ya que ésta se ha hecho como acto religioso y no profano' (see Ariño Villarroya, 'Relaciones', 477, citing local magazine Parlem).

I. Processions for Nuestra Señora de Atocha

León Pinelo's chronicle mentions some twenty-two such processions between 1562 and 1644, of which twelve were for the health and future of the royalty. Even in royal calamities a certain protocol had to be observed. When in 1623 Queen Isabelle bore a sickly daughter, who subsequently died, the statue of NS^a de Atocha came to the palace. The appropriateness of this action was seriously questioned afterward. But if the death of a royal infant was deemed unworthy of NS^a de Atocha's ministrations, it was a different matter when some relics from Germany were met in Barcelona on 8 May, 1598 with a great procession of disciplinants. When the relics reached Madrid, the statue of NS^a de Atocha was returned to her shrine: 'que ya se sabe cuán solemne seria', says an awed León Pinelo (Anales, 164). For other processions involving NS^a de Atocha, see León Pinelo, Anales, 141 (departure of the Armada from Lisbon in 1588); Reglà, Bandolers, 59 (conquest of Tunis by Euldj Alí in 1570); and Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 102-3 (closing of Trent in 1571).

J. Foreign Pilgrims

> He sido informado... que pasan y se hospedan cada año por el dicho hospital [de Burgos], dándoles allí de comer de limosna dos o tres días conforme al instituto dél, ocho a diez mil franceses y gascones, y de otras naciones, que entran con ocasión de romería por estos reinos, sin que se sepa por dónde vuelven a salir, ni a qué vienen, ni si van a sus romerías, y que algunos años ha sido mayor el número de ellos... Es cosa cierta que por otras deben de ser muchas los que cada año andan por estos reinos, llevando y sacando mucho dinero dellos para hacernos guerra por ventura con ello propio... [y] sembrando sectas malditas contra nuestra santa fe católica, y que la limosna que éstos llevan, será más justo se reparta entre nuestros pobres naturales, y en particular les cabrá muy buena parte a los vergonzantes.
>
> (Pérez de Herrera, Amparo, Discurso 1°, 40-1).

K. Lay Autos

In 1558 seven young tradesmen from Orihuela (Valencia) decided to commit to memory an auto written by a local surgeon, and perform it on a pilgrimage to Toro, in Old Castile. A sizeable audience of over two hundred, paying an admission fee of 4 maravedís/person, assembled at a few hours' notice to watch a presentation that dealt with the Seven Deadly Sins, the Seven Cardinal Virtues, the Devil and Christ (Nalle, 'Religion and Reform', 249).

L. Suppression of Mystery Plays in Europe

In France, mystery plays were suppressed as early as 1548, when the Parisian confraternities were forbidden to perform them. In Italy, however, the suppression of religious theatre was not as thorough. It may have become detached from the Church, but it survived. Both Borromeo and Paleotti failed to suppress the comedias, despite their strong disapproval (Bideleux, 'Popular Catholicism', 218). For sixteenth-century Florentine suppression of confraternal sacred representations, see Turchini, 'Controllo', 418-40; Black, Italian Confraternities, 116; Corrain and Capitanio, 'Rappresentazioni sacre', 254-72; and see Black, op. cit., 113, for sporadic Italian survivals.

M. Christianization of Pagan Superstitions

On the Christianization of pagan superstitions, see Bataillon, op. cit., 639, who notes Cervantes's gentle mockery of ritualistic devotions, his surprise at the miracles worked at sanctuaries, and the evidence there of 'lámparas, velas, mortajas, muletas, pinturas, cabelleras, ojos, [y] piernas' (see Don Quijote, II, 8 (vol. 4, 188); Persiles, Book III, ch. 5 (vol. 2, 48), on NS^{a} de Guadalupe; and El licenciado Vidriera, 112 (NS^{a} de Loreto)). Partly the problem stemmed from classical borrowings into the Christian religion. Cervantes knew that in the Roman Pantheon the cult of saints had superseded that of gods. He also knew that la Monda de Talavera was a pre-Christian feast whose homage had been transferred from Venus to the Virgin Mary (see Persiles, Book III, ch. 6 (vol. 2, 61)).

N. Wild Man Rituals

In Paris the Faculty of Theology wrote to prelates of Gaul on 12 March, 1444, condemning the profane activities of the people during celebration of Mass: 'Larvati, monstruosi vultibus, aut in vestibus mulierum, aut leonum, vel histrionum, choreas ducebant, in choro cantilenas inhonestas cantabant, offas pingues supra cornu altaris juxta celebrantem Missam comedebant, ludus taxillorum ibidem exarabant, thurificabant de fumo foetido, ex corio veterum sotularium, et per totam Ecclesiam currebant, saltebant' (cited in Varey, Spanish Corpus Christi, 7-8, n. 27).

O. Hellekin

Hellekin, leader of the dead, appeared in Ecclesiastic History by Ordericus Vitalis (1075-1143?), who tells how a priest near Chartres met the entire Wild Horde in 1091: an endless procession of damned souls, men and women, clerics and laymen, some carrying household instruments, others clad in black and burning armour, all of them miserable and tormented. At the head of the procession of what Vitalis calls Hellekins was a giant carrying a heavy club (see Bernheimer, Wild Men, 64, n. 40, citing Historiae Ecclesiasticae, Libri XIII, edited by Le Prévost (Paris, 1838-55), III, 376; O. Driesen, Der Ursprung des Harlekin, ein kulturgeschichtliches Problem (Berlin, 1904), 24; and O. Höfler, Kultische Geheimbünde der Germanen (Frankfurt, 1934), I, 99).

Compare Cervantes, Don Quijote, I. 19, for an encounter with 'ánimas en pena'. A twelfth-century Italian legend of the family of Hoillequin, Herlechin, or Hernequin, Count of Bologna, killed in 882 fighting the Normans, is said to have contributed the idea of a racket of pots, pans, and little bells. The Germanic saga of the Erinyen or Töchter der Nacht concerned three Furies riding horses breathing fire to the end of the earth. Their Greek counterparts were sometimes identified with the Eumenides, hideous avenging deities, who were probably personified ghosts of murdered people.

P. Social Attitudes to Disparity of Ages in Marriage

On disparity of ages regarded as sexual perversion, see Rossiaud, 'Fraternités de jeunesse', 69-71, n. 9, who finds that for late medieval S.E. France, in the lower classes 15% of men between forty and fifty were twenty to thirty-four years older than their wives, and 30% of thirty-year olds were eight to sixteen years older. He finds no reference to a disordered charivari after 1450 (art. cit., 85).

Q. European Feasts of Fools

Sixteenth-century Amiens had a prince des sots who wore a fool's headdress and rode hobby-horses (Swain, Fools and Folly, 80). In a discussion in 1444 at the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris, the following explanation had been offered for the Feast of Fools:

> But, they [its defenders] say, we act thus in jest and not seriously, as has been the custom of old, so that the foolishness innate in us can flow out once a year and evaporate. Do not wineskins and barrels burst if their bungs are not loosened once in a while? Even so, we are old wineskins and worn barrels; the wine of wisdom fermenting within us, which we hold in tightly all year in the service of God, might flow out uselessly, if we did not discharge it ourselves now and then with games and foolishness. Emptied through play, we may become stronger afterwards to retain wisdom.

(See Migne (ed.), Patrologia Latina, CCVII (1904), 1169-71, translation Davis, 'Reasons of Misrule', 48).

APPENDIX 2: PUBLIC SANCTITY AND PRIVATE PROFANITY

A. Modern Theories of Protestant and Catholic Ethics

Theories of Protestant and Catholic ethics taken from Bataillon, Erasmo y España, 157-76; Ross, Assembly of Good Fellows, 143-5, especially 143, n. 12, citing Max Weber, Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, translated by Talcott Parsons (New York, 1958); Pullan, Rich and Poor, 361-67, 371-422; and W. K. Jordan, Philanthropy in England, 1480-1660 (London, 1959), 18, 20, 151-239. On collective salvation, see Schroeder (ed.), Canons and Decrees, 45; and Black, Italian Confraternities, 11, n. 29, citing Concilium Tridentinum: diariorum, actorum, epistolarum, tractatum nova collectio, 13 vols (Freiburg, 1901-38), V, 790-820; and B. M. G. Reardon, Religious Thought in the Reformation (London and New York, 1981), 56, 102, 195-6, 249-50, 271-2, 311. See also Barnes, 'De Poenitentibus', 223, 201; Flynn, 'Rituals of Solidarity'; R. Smith, Spanish Guild Merchant, 65; Henderson, 'Flagellant Movement', 158; and Christian, Local Religion, 142. Some modern scholars take the view that poverty was consciously fostered and fed by Catholicism (Morales Padrón, Historia de Sevilla, 100). Compare Ife, Reading and Fiction, 139, on the evils of charity; and Rosen, 'Irrationality and Madness', 229: 'But whate remedy to releve us your poor sike lame and sore bedemen? To make many hospitals for the relief of the poore people? Nay truely; The moo the worse, for ever the fatte of the hole foundacion hangeth on the prestes berdes' (Simon Fish, A supplicacyon for the beggers (1529), in A Miscellany of Tracts and Pamphlets, edited by A.C. Ward (London, 1927), 16). Fish proposed that the clergy be expropriated, and the hospitals and related facilities directed by the King.

B. Medieval Control of Lay Confraternities

From the thirteenth century a new laity had arisen, composed primarily of townsmen [who] proved less willing to have monks pray for them, more willing to have a voice in their own salvation. From within the ranks of the laity came a demand for a new type of churchman, one more concerned with preaching and evangelizing than with contemplation, one more committed to helping laymen achieve salvation. This demand was eventually met by the creation of the Mendicant Orders. Pope Clement VI had retaliated on 20 October, 1349 by issuing a bull attacking the wearing of a habit as a sign of the confraternity's rejection of church authority, seeing their exercise of flagellation as an end in itself: salvation unaided by the priesthood (Barnes, 'De Poenitentibus', 12). Pope Clement VI cited in Fredericq I, nos. 200-I, in Henderson, 'Flagellant Movement', 159, n. 100.

C. Saints Simon, Mammon, and Robert

> Llégase otro año y tornan a hacer la fiesta de Sant Roberto, porque son devotos de la cueva de Sant Patricio que está en la isla de Ibernia; e con gastar seis o siete reales que de avemarías los llevan en el sermón, piensan que tienen buen título de tornar a los tractos de su Sant Simón que profesan y a los cambalaches de la señora de Santa Mamona... dicen que tienen bulas de más de diez años; que cada una les da indulgencia plenaria 'toties quoties', con que mueran con señal de cristianos. Demás de todo lo sobredicho, han hecho decir las misas de Sant Amador y de las once mil vírgenes, con todo el número de candelas que estatuyó su padre Marforio refrendados en Monte Caballi... Item traen consigo una nómina con un escripto que dice: 'si ergo me quaeritis,' junto con ciertas reliquias que dicen que son parte de una

> muela del robusto Sansón, con un poco de malla de los armados que guardaron el Sancto Sepulcro... con estas y otras perdonanzas... piensan que les pueden sobrar perdonanzas de que pueden hacer mercedes a sus amigos por vía de traspaso.
>
> (Alejo Venegas, Agonía, 156a).

Saint Simon and Saint Mammon: burlesque personification of simony and the cult of Mammon. Said Venegas: 'Simón fue un mágico que presumió competir con San Pedro. Este, viendo que por la imposición de las manos recebían los cristianos el Espíritu Sancto, quiso comprar por dinero aquella virtud, y entonces le respondió San Pedro: "Mal provecho te haga tu dinero, que pensaste que el don de Dios se posee por dinero"' (Breve declaración, 312). Saint Amador may be related to Saint Amarus, whose legend links with Calderón's El Purgatorio de San Patricio. Saint Patrick's Cave is popularly believed to be another route to purgatory for those wishing to expiate their sins. Saint Robert was the renegade son of William the Conqueror, who finally repented and gained divine forgiveness. Robert's Men, on the other hand, were bandits and marauders. The eleven (or erroneously transcribed eleven thousand) virgins were massacred at Cologne with Ursula, who was fleeing from marriage to a pagan prince (see Maury, Légendes pieuses).

D. History of Confraternal Flagellation

On theories regarding the history of confraternal flagellation, see Barnes, 'De Poenitentibus', 28-9, citing Antoine de Ruffi, Histoire de la Ville de Marseille (Marseille, 1696), II, 84; and Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 321. On confraternities of the True Cross and the origin of flagellation, see Christian, Local Religion, 185, n. 4, citing Marie-Claude Gerbet, 'Les confréries religieuses à Cáceres de 1467 à 1523', Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez, 7 (1971), 75-105; J. Meseguer Fernández, 'Las cofradías de la Vera Cruz: documentos y notas para su historia', Archivo Ibero-Americano, 28 (1968), 109-10, 199-213; Gabriel Llompart, 'Penitencias y penitentes', 229-49; T III, 561-65; Rafael Ortega Sagrista, 'Historia de las cofradías de la Pasión de Semana Santa', Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses, 3: 10 (1956), 9-71; [Barcelona] Manual de Novells Ardits, 4 (1895), 147; Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 321-3; Llompart, 'Desfile', 43; Cortés, 'Las primeras cofradías de disciplina', in Miscellanea Vallisoletana, II, 531. See also Sánchez Herrero, Las cofradías de Sevilla, 28, n. 77, citing J. Bermejo y Carballo, Glorias religiosas de Sevilla o noticia descriptiva de todas las cofradías de penitentia, sangre y luz fundadas en esta ciudad (Seville, 1882), 233, 349; and S. Montoto, Cofradías, 134-38. See also A. Sánchez Gordillo, Religiosas estaciones que frecuenta la religiosidad sevillana (Seville, 1982), 151, cited in Sánchez Herrero, op. cit., 14. Controversy over penitential confraternities does not stop at their origins. On distinctions by national or geographical boundaries, see Pecquet, 'Compagnies de Pénitents', 5. Vovelle concludes that the confraternal phenomenon is southern in origin ('Travaux et enquêtes', 261-3). On chronological distinctions, see Cassan, 'Multiples visages', 34; Alvarez Jusué, 'La Esperanza de la Macarena', 152; and Black, Italian Confraternities, 100, who asserts that in seventeenth-century Italy many confraternities designated as flagellant took on other devotions and philanthropic activities, and discipline disappeared in all but name, some flagellation being merely symbolic, with silken flails displayed as symbols of penitence. Compare León Pinelo, Anales, 98; Bideleux, 'Popular Catholicism', 157; and Black, 'Perugia', 444. For geographical theories on confraternities in general, see Lionel Rothkrug, Religious

Practices and Collective Perceptions: Hidden Homologies in the Renaissance and Reformation, Historical Reflection VII, no. 1 (Spring, 1980), 50-52, cited in Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 62. See also P. Chaunu, Le temps des deux réformes de l'Eglise (Paris, 1975), 198; Deleito y Piñuela, La vida religiosa, 162; and Trexler, 'Ritual in Florence', 205.

E. Ritual Penitence Imposed by Church and State

In 1533 the tradition had not changed in Barcelona, where participants in a confraternal procession were described as: 'minyons a peu descalç i en camiseta... portant llums enceses en les mans' (See 'Despedida y recepción de peregrinos a Montserrat para solicitar la salud de la emperatriz Isabel, del 23-6-1533 y 26-3-1533', Dietari del Antic Consell barceloní, vol. 3, 468-69; and P. J. Comes, Llibre de algunes coses assenyalades (Barcelona, 1878), 428-31, in Llompart, art. cit., 240). On ascetic tradition of flagellation, see Henderson, 'Flagellant Movement', 147-8. On ritual undress, see Llompart, 'Penitencias y penitentes', 230-33.

F. Rope Halters and the Flagellant

In sixteenth-century Valencia sentence passed on the morisco doctor, Gaspar Capdal of Buñol, echoed the ancestral tradition of wearing a rope round the neck: 'por la que le condenamos a que allí públicamente - en día de auto de fe, en forma de penitente, en cuerpo, descalço y con coroça de hechicero invocador de los demonios y soga desparto a la garganta' (see Garcia-Ballester, Medicina, ciencia, y minorias, 116, n. 220, citing AHN, Inquisición de Valencia, leg. 549). And in 1632 Jerónimo de Liébana was tried and condemned by the Consejo Real de Madrid, which ordered that:

> Con una vela en la mano, soga en la garganta, coroza en la cabeza, e insignias de hechicero y embustero, saliese Liébana al auto de fe, abjurando allí de sus errores, se le dieran cuatrocientos azotes y fuera enmurado perpetuamente, con los alimentos y penitencias que se le ordenasen.
> (see Deleito y Piñuela, Declinar de la monarquia, 278).

Often, but not always, the wearing of a rope halter round the neck signified secular, prescribed punishment, whose origins owed as much to Moorish custom as to Christian tradition (see Zaragoza Rubira, 'Sociología médica', 395).

G. Source Comparison for Details of a Penitential Procession

Compare León Pinelo's account of the 1623 processions with that of Soto y Aguilar in Historia de Felipe IV:

> Estas cinco religiones iban, unos, en silencio y contemplación, con Cristos crucificados en las manos; otros, con calaveras en las manos; otros, con saco de cilicio sin capillas, cubiertos los rostros y cabezas de ceniza; otros, con coronas de espinas y abrojos, corriéndoles harta sangre de ellos; otros, con sogas y cadenas por los cuerpos y a los cuellos, y cruces a cuestas; otros, con grillos y prisiones en los pies; otros, aspados y liados con sogas; otros, hiriéndose los pechos con piedras; otros, con mordazas y esposas; otros, con huesos de muerto en las bocas; unos, en oración de contemplación; otros, cantando himnos; otros, las letanías; otros, los salmos... anduvieron muy largas y penosas estaciones, que duraron más de cinco o seis horas,

volviendo los santos religiosos a sus conventos tan fatigados, que muchos estuvieron enfermos algunos dias.

(Deleito y Piñuela, Declinar de la monarquia, 161-3, n. 35, citing Manuscrito de la Real Academia de la Historia; and Amador de los Rios, Historia de la Villa y Corte de Madrid, III, 308-9).

H. Processional Precedence

Cases of processional precedence and ensuing violence include one in Noticias de Madrid about a man who knifed a penitent for splashing blood on his valona (González Palencia, 24 March, 1623, p. 51). For other contemporary accounts, see Santos, Tarascas, 'Abusos del cuarto dia, miércoles', 296; Hidalgo, Diálogos, 307b-8a; Garibay, Memorias, 440, 475; and Cortés, Miscelánea vallisoletana, 58. On suspension of precedences, see León Pinelo, Anales, 291. Compare accounts in secondary sources by Lea, Indulgences, 480, on nineteenth-century Sicily; Américo Castro, Realidad histórica, 243; Nalle, 'Religion and Reform', 256, n. 24; Rumeu de Armas, Previsión social, 379; Horowitz, 'Jewish Confraternities', 111; Edward Muir, Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice (Princeton, 1981), 190, 201; Martz, Poverty and Welfare, 187, n. 24; and Morales Padrón, Historia de Sevilla, 272. See also Moreno Navarro, 'Cofradías sevillanas', 40, n. 5, citing José Gestoso y Pérez, 'Las Cofradías en el siglo XVII', La Andalucía, núm. extraordinario (1899), in AMS.

I. Flagellation and Gallantry

Para darse azotes gallardamente y hacer saltar la sangre a un punto determinado, hay reglas formuladas, y maestros que las enseñan, y caballeros que las aprenden, como se aprenden las artes de la danza y de la esgrima... Para ser admirado y hacer bien las cosas, es preciso no accionar con el brazo y mover sólamente la muñeca, que sean dados los golpes sin precipitación, y que la sangre que salta de las heridas no manche la túnica... Los disciplinantes andan por las calles pausada y ceremoniosamente, y, al llegar frente a las rejas de su amada, se fustigan con una paciencia maravillosa. La dama observa esta caprichosa escena desde las celosías de su aposento, y, por alguna señal bien comprensible, les anima para que se desuellen vivos, dándoles a entender lo mucho que les agradecen aquella bárbara galantería. Cuando los disciplinantes, en su camino, tropiezan con una señora hermosa, suelen pararse a su lado y sacudirse de modo, que, al saltar su sangre, caiga sobre el vestido de la dama. Esto es una notable atención, y la señora, muy agradecida, les da las gracias.

(Aulnoy, Relación, 120-21, cited in Deleito y Piñuela, La vida religiosa, 165).

J. Rosary Devotion

Each decade consists of a Pater, ten Aves and one Gloria Patri, and in its complete shape the Apostle's Creed is to be recited on the small crucifix attached to the end, followed by two Paters, three Aves and a Gloria. The fifteen decades are divided into three parts, devoted respectively to the five joyful, the five sorrowful and the five glorious mysteries, on which the devotee should meditate while repeating the prayer, although those incapable of meditation can earn the indulgences by simple devotion. On history and development of the Rosary devotion, see Lea, Indulgences, 484-88; and Black, Italian Confraternities, 30, n. 23, citing G. Angelozzi, Le confraternite

laicali: un'esperienza cristiana tra medioevo e età moderna (Brescia, 1978), 42-3; Meersseman, Ordo fraternitatis, 1144-1232; and others. See also Moreno Valero, 'Religiosidad popular', 485; Lançon, 'Confréries du Rosaire', 121-2; and Harding, 'Mobilisation of Confraternities', 99-100. Mystery in one usage meant an incident in the life of Our Lord or of the Saints, regarded as an object of commemoration in the Christian church or as having a mystical significance. Hence, each of the fifteen divisions of the rosary corresponds to the 'mysteries of redemption' (OED, s.v. ROSARY). On the place of Mary in the hierarchy of saints, see Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 318-9, n. 34, citing J. C. Broussole, Etudes sur la Sainte Vierge, 2 vols (Paris, 1908), II, 324; and Flynn, art. cit., 45, n. 47, citing Mary V. Gripkey, The Blessed Virgin Mary as Mediatrix in the Latin and Old French Legend prior to the Fourteenth Century (Washington, D.C, 1938); Mary Warner, Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary (New York, 1976); and others.

K. Marian Shrines in Literature

Describing a location fit for the Virgin, Lope de Vega skilfully manages to weave the names of countless Marian shrines into what reads as coherent text:

> Que puesto que viviendo este mortal destierro le dio Nazaret tan estrecha casa, después de su glorioso tránsito los agradecidos hombres, al beneficio de haberles dado de sus entrañas aquel nuevo Redentor de cautivos, de la merced que nos hizo y de la trinidad de su eterno Padre, le labraron e hicieron muchos dedicados a la grandeza de su excelso y bienaventurado nombre. Loreto engastó su aposento felicísimo en que oyó la salutación angélica en un templo insigne que con alta veneración es visitado del mundo. Roma le consagró muchos de la religión engañosa de los romanos, y España, entre infinitos, tiene por memorables: Monserrat, el Pilar, la Peña de Francia, la Cabeza, el Sagrario de Toledo, la Antigua de Sevilla, el Puche de Valencia, la Atocha de Madrid, la Caridad de Illescas y el Insigne Guadalupe.
>
> (El peregrino en su patria, 447).

L. The Catholic Concept of Purgatory

> Since the Catholic Church, instructed by the Holy Ghost, has, following the sacred writings and the ancient tradition of the Fathers, taught in sacred councils and very recently in this ecumenical council that there is a purgatory, and that the souls there detained are aided by the suffrages of the faithful and chiefly by the acceptable sacrifice of the altar, the holy council commands the bishops that they strive diligently to the end that the sound doctrine of purgatory, transmitted by the Fathers and sacred councils, be believed and maintained by the faithful of Christ, and be everywhere taught and preached.

(Council of Trent, Session 25 (1563), 'Decree concerning Purgatory', in Schroeder (ed.), Canons and Decrees, 214).

M. Luminary Symbolism

Santa Lucía was another favourite saint associated with the luminary in Spain. Her cult is mentioned in a work by Cervantes: 'Sale un mozo con su caja y ropa verde, como estos que piden limosna para alguna imagen'. The lad cries: '¡Den, por Dios, para la lámpara del aceite de Señora Santa Lucía, que les guarde la vista de los ojos!' (La guarda cuidadosa, 565b).

On luminary symbolism, see Coulet, 'Le mouvement confraternel', 108, citing B.-A. Hanawalt, 'Keepers of the lights: late Medieval English Parish Guilds', Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies (1984), 21-37. See also Bideleux, 'Popular Catholicism', 121, on Lucca; Sandre Gasparini, 'San Giovanni Evangelista della Morte', 775, on Padua; and for France, see C. Vincent, 'Confrérie comme structure d'intégration', 113. On luminary > óbolo/candela, see Rumeu de Armas, Previsión social, 35-6, citing AHN. Documentación del monasterio de Summo Portus, leg. 383, doc. E-12. See also Dieterich, 'Brotherhood and Community', 85, on luminary as tax. By the sixteenth century luminary came to mean any general fund paid towards the upkeep of church buildings, altar linens, candles, and other administrative expenses.

N. Desecration of Cemeteries

> La dicha iglesia tiene un cementerio en el cual se entierran cada año, así de la Collación como del Hospital del Amor de Dios, unas 800 personas, y están sepultadas de mucho tiempo más de 100,000 cristianos. Hemos hallado y visto muchas veces perros sacando parte de los dichos cuerpos de los sepulcros y comiéndoselos, y los vecinos comarcanos, no teniendo respeto a la decencia del lugar, echan de noche mucha suciedad e inmundicia de sus casas en el dicho cementerio, descubierto y sin cerrar.

(Documentos importantes del Archivo Municipal de Sevilla, sin fecha, de la segunda mitad del siglo XVI, III, in Herrera Puga, Sociedad y delincuencia, 86, n. 24).

O. Introspection in Confraternities

A report on Seville's confraternities by Dr. Gabriel Ortiz de Caicedo, Teniente Mayor de Asistente in 1586, inclines a little toward caritas, at least in its presentation and emphasis:

> Como son en cada una Iglesia Parrochial las dos cofradias, una del Sanctisimo Sacramento, y otra de las ánimas de Purgatorio, sus muchos hermanos, el honrar de sus defunctos, su mucha cera, fiestas, remembranzas, Misas y sufragios. Y entre todas tiene consideracion señalada la insigne cofradia de San Pedro, fundada en su misma Iglesia por el año 1583, de hermanos todos Clérigos y por Prior un Obispo. Las públicas limosnas por todas las Pascuas y Domingos del año, con todos los pobres públicos de todas las collaciones, y el continuo secreto socorro, con los secretos y vergonzantes. Y sobre todo, sus breves y bulas plomadas, todas llenas de infinitas gracias, indulgencias y perdones, para sus confrades, vivos y defunctos y bienhechores.

(Morgado, Historia de Sevilla, 473).

On amigables componedores and caritas, see Rumeu de Armas, Previsión social, 122; Mackenney, Tradesmen and Traders, 6 and 49; and De la Roncière, 'Les confréries à Florence', 310.

P. Confraternal Embezzlement

On confraternal misappropriation of funds in France, compare Agulhon, Pénitents et Francs-maçons, 105, n. 103, citing Johannès Bouche, L'assistance, le relèvement moral des prisoniers et l'oeuvre des prisons d'Aix (Aix, 1898), 13: 'Il importait de faire connaître au public que les fonds destinés aux pauvres prisonniers n'étaient pas employés au profit de la confrérie des pénitents'. Where assisted housing schemes were operated by confraternities, Venetians joined to exploit these

benefits, or officials allocated houses to friends and relatives (Pullan, 'Abitazione al servizio dei poveri nella Repubblica di Venezia', Dietro i Palazzi: Tre secoli di architettura minore a Venezia, 1492-1803, edited by G. Gianighian and P. Pavanini (Venice, 1984), 39-44; and ibid., Rich and Poor, 64-5, 77, 149, 185, 337-55, 428).

Q. Shameful Poor

The Bologna confraternity for vergognosi, S. Marta, defined them in 1567 and again in 1641 as 'gentlemen, citizens, rich merchants, artisans with capital resources from honoured, not vile or abject, arti, who were born in Bologna, who have lived well and honoured in the city, but who had now fallen into poverty, and at present were truly poor and needy'. Bernardino of Siena defined vergognosi thus: 'The worst condition is the poverty of nobles who have lost their riches, and can no longer keep up their social status, so to help them secretly is a major work of charity'. On pauperibus verecundis, see Black, Italian Confraternities, 139-49, citing San Bernardino, op. cit., 86-88; and Cornelio Benincasa, Tractatus de paupertate ac eius privilegiis uberrimus (Perugia, 1562), 15). See also Ricci, 'Povertà', 326-32; and Trexler, 'Charity and Defence', 64 ('shamed poor'), and 67 ('embarassed elite'). Statutes of Corpo di Cristo near S. Croce (1491) define pauperibus honestis as 'qui ipsi mendicare erubescunt elemosynas' (see V. Meneghin, Documenti vari intorno al b. Bernadino Tomitano da Feltre (Rome, 1966), 170, cited in Sandre Gasparini 'San Giovanni Evangelista della Morte', 785, n. 2). Later qualifications excluded shopworkers and servants, but not sculptors, painters, and surgeons.

R. Migueletes

Often they were renegades hiding in the mountains:

> En Cataluña intentaba un cuerpo de migueletes algunas novedades, andando haciendo muchos insultos por todas partes; fue contra ellos un batallón de infantes y caballos de los nuestros. Retiráronse parte a una caseria, cosa de 30, fortificándose en ella. Pusiéronle fuego y quemáronlos vivos, y a los demás mataron y prendieron, que habrán despachado.
>
> (Ibid., I, 58b, 9 September).

Barrionuevo also records for September 12: 'En Cataluña los franceses se han ido retirando a las montañas... También se dice que hemos tomado una gran tropa de micaeletes, y entre ellos, un capitán suyo muy afamado, de quien harán justicia' (I, 65a). On Migueletes, see also Vida y sucesos del fingido obispo griego, Francisco Camacho, cited in Serrano Sanz (ed.), Autobiografías y memorias, ci. In its origin the name miguelete probably derives from the inhabitants of Miguel Estéban in Toledo (Espasa-Calpe, MIGUELETE).

S. Specialist Hospitals

One problem consolidation had sought to resolve was the persistence of extinct institutions like San Lázaro and San Antón, because the diseases they had treated in the Middle Ages had virtually disappeared, to be superseded by, for example, hospitals for the mad, and for syphilitics. These last institutions were called vulgarly Las Bubas. In some places the General Hospital supplemented their work, as in Salamanca:

> Hay un hermoso hospital
> De Santa María la Blanca,
> Donde se curan reliquias
> De las flaquezas humanas,

Y el General, cuyo nombre
Da a entender de lo que trata.
(Lope de Vega, El Bobo del Colegio, 188).

Probably the most famous hospital for bubas in Spain was NSª de Gracia in Zaragoza, whose name was usually sufficient clue to the malady. Estebanillo González accompanied a lady to Zaragoza:

> La cual era en sí tan generosa y tan amiga de agradar a todos y de no negar cosa que le pidiesen, que en virtud de los regalos y mercedes que me hizo por el camino, comí dos meses de balde en el hospital de NSª de Gracia, que no es de los más ricos de España, y adonde con más amor y cuidado se asiste a los enfermos, y adonde con mas abundancia se las regala.
>
> (Estebanillo González, 303b).

For more on NSª de Gracia, Zaragoza, see page 196 above. For other Salamancan hospitals, see Rico-Avello, Un pícaro médico, 51. San Marcos in Leon was still administered in 1605 by the order of Santiago, who had originally built it for pilgrims to Santiago. Justina says it was built: 'para que estén allí malos los franceses y otras gentes que van camino de Francia y no buscan a Gaiferos' (Justina, Bk. 2, pt. 3, ch. 1, 'De la mirona fisgante' (vol. 2, 528-9, n. 11)).

T. Pasquin

Burke says that literature on Pasquino is disappointing, except for an anthology of his utterances by R. Silenzi, and F. Silenzi (eds), Pasquino (Milan, 1932); and a forthcoming work by A. Reynolds (Perception and Communication, 96-127, citing P. Skippon, 'An Account of a Journey', in A Collection of Voyages, edited by A. and J. Churchill, 6 vols (London, 1732), VI, 491). For Spanish reference to Pasquin and Marforio, see Lupercio de Argensola, Rimas, 88, 'Esta carta se escribió a don Juan de Albión desde Lérida, ciudad de Cataluña, en donde se hallaba el autor, en la sazón en que vino de Alemaña la serenísima Emperatriz María, cuyo secretario fue después'. See also Webster, Duchess of Malfi, II, 1, line 45, p. 71:

Duchess:	But sir, I am to have private conference with you about a scandalous report, is spread touching mine honour.
Ferdinand:	Let me be ever deaf to't: One of Pasquil's paper bullets, court-calumny, a pestilent air which princes' palaces are seldom purg'd of.

The editor says that Pasquil was either a schoolmaster or a cobbler in fifteenth-century Rome. A statue in the Piazza Navona took his name. The original Latin pasquinades were collected and published in 1544. The form had its greatest vogue in Italy between 1585 and 1590 (ed. cit., 71, n. 49). According to Edgerton, the pasquino emerged as the pitture infamante (effigies of shame) tradition was dying, in the fifteenth century (Pictures and Punishment, 124).

U. Nombre de Jesús Confraternities

Despite its being a sixteenth-century dedication, the Nombre de Jesús must have had a medieval antecedent in the Italian Nome di Dio, also of Dominican inspiration. On Nombre de Jesús, see Estatutos del Nombre de Jesús (1561), Archivo Diocesano Avila, in Sobrino Chomón, Documentos de

antiguos cabildos, 346; Harding, 'Mobilisation of Confraternities', 100-01; Duhr, "Confréries", Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique, II, col. 1474; and AMZ, leg. 916, Ordenanzas de la Cofradia del SS Nombre de Jesús, lugar de Muelas, in Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 335-36. See also Nalle, 'Religion and Reform', 259, n. 34, citing ADC, CE, leg. 749, exp. 354. For Nome di Dio, see Black, Italian Confraternities, 69, and 64. An early Nome di Dio was promoted by Fra Bernardino da Feltre (Observant minor) in the Vicenza area in 1496, the first of many to be formed in sixteenth-century Italy (Black, op. cit., 69).

APPENDIX 3: POLITICS AND POWER

A. Monopolism and Confraternal Litigation

A typical case of monopolism occurred in 1607 at Madrid where rivalry between the Cofradía de NS^a de la Natividad, formed by guild potentates, and the Cofradía de San Antonio, formed by the artisans, had to be mediated by a court of law. This was not a rivalry of 'Santos y Patronos', or of competition in fiestas. In this instance Masters wanted to keep wages low, and Officials consequently went on strike from the workshops after unanimous agreement in the confraternities, whose funds supported their action. Recourse was also had to violence with muggings and intimidation of the strike-breakers and Masters. These last took their complaint to the Consejo de Castilla, listing 'palizas y golpes, ligas y monipodios, negativas a trabajar como no fuese con jornales, elevados, y solidaridad huelguística de todos los oficiales', and other, more fanciful accusations regarding the moral behaviour of the Officials. In 1609 the Consejo ordered that both confraternities unite into one, called NS^a de la Natividad y San Antonio, whose administration be entrusted to Masters and Officials in equal number (Rumeu de Armas, Previsión social, 246-7).

B. Hermandad Vieja

On Hermandad Vieja, see Suárez Fernández, 'Hermandades castellanas', 5-39. See also Julio Puyol y Alonso, Las Hermandades de Castilla y León. Estudio histórico seguido de las Ordenanzas de Castronuño hasta ahora inéditas (Madrid, 1913); Antonio Paz y Melia, La Santa Hermandad Vieja y la Nueva Hermandad General del Reino, RABM, 1 (1897), 97-108; Montalvo y Jardin, Hermandades de Castilla (Madrid, 1862); A. Alcalá Galiano, Antigua constitución política de Castilla, sus Cortes, Hermandades, etc. (Madrid, 1864); Teodoro Ruiz Jusué, 'Las cartas de Hermandad en España', AHDE, 15, 387-463; Marvin Lunenfeld, The Council of the Santa Hermandad: A Study of the Pacification Forces of Ferdinand and Isabel (Coral Gables, FA, 1970); and María del Carmen Pescador del Hoyo, 'Los origenes de la Santa Hermandad', Cuadernos de la Historia de España, 55-56 (1972), 400-443.

C. Sacrament Confraternities

On model Sacrament confraternities, see Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 334, n. 65, citing Ch. Cordonnier, Le culte de Saint-Sacrement (Paris, 1923), 223-37; Angelozzi, Le confraternite, 42; and Servando Arboli y Farando, La Eucaristía y la Inmaculada: Devoción española (Seville, 1895). The Congregación de los Esclavos del SS Sacramento y de la Vírgen Desterrada was established in Valladolid (1613) by P. Antonio de Alvarado, who wrote Guía de los devotos y esclavos del SS Sacramento (Barcelona, 1613; 1910). In Madrid, the Congregación de Indignos Esclavos del SS Sacramento was established in 1608 by a Discalced Trinitarian, Fray Alonso de la Purificación. The confraternity's libro de asiento says there were four hundred members, among whom featured some of Spain's best-known literary names: Salas Barbadillo, Espinel, Quevedo, Cervantes, Lope de Vega, and the preacher Hortensio Félix Paravicino. For membership of specific Sacrament confraternities, see Espasa-Calpe, CERVANTES. On Espinel's membership, see also Carrasco Urgoiti (ed.), Marcos de Obregón, 15; and on Salas Barbadillo, see Valbuena Prat (ed.), La Hija de Celestina, 829a.

D. Indulgences and Blessed Objects

On objects invested with indulgences, and blessed candles, see Lea, op. cit., 507. The practice was (arguably) initiated by Paul III and Paul IV (1555-59), though Lea traces it to earlier indulgences attached to blessed candles granted by Adrian VI, and confirmed by Clement VII in

the Bula de la Candela de NS^{a} del Rosario, published in 1536 by the Commissioner General of the Spanish Cruzada (Indulgences, 508). Everyone paying two reales became a member of the confraternity of NS^{a} del Rosario and received a blessed candle decorated with an image of the Virgin. Several mythical legends grew up around these candles, including the cult of one allegedly held by Ignatius Loyola when he died in 1556. For related myths, see ibid., 508, n. 4, citing Huguet, Vertu Miraculeuse des Lampes et des Cierges allumés en l'honneur de Marie, de Joseph et de Sainte Anne (Paris, 1875), 22, and 16-20; and Lea, op. cit., 509, n. 1, citing Stewart Rose, Saint Ignatius Loyola and the Early Jesuits (London, 1870), 603.

E. Scapulars

The scapular consisted of two squares of woollen cloth tied together with wool or string, which the wearer wore, one on the chest, the other on the back. They often bore insignia. There are eighteen scapulars currently approved by the Catholic Church (see Carroll, Cult of the Virgin Mary, 68). For pectorals in twelfth-century Auvergne, see Meersseman, 'Etudes dominicaines', XXII, 14.

F. Stationarios

Arnobio called them errantes/erratici, whereas Petronio designated them as plani, and to Saint Agustine they were vagi, vagabundi, vagatici (Arnobio, Adversus nationes (Turin, 1934), in Camporesi, Libro dei vagabondi, xi, n. 2). See also Brant, The Ship of Fools, 303, 'Of folysshe beggers and of theyr vanytees'. Stationarios were especially prevalent at mid-sixteenth century, when Pedro de Urdemalas declared in Viaje a Turquía:

> No faltan algunos frailes modorros que les muestran ciertas piedras con unas pintas coloradas, en el camino del Calvario, las cuales dicen que son de la sangre de Christo, que aun se está allí, y ciertas piedrecillas blancas, como de yeso, dicen que es leche de Nuestra Señora, y en una de las espinas está también cierta cosa roja en la punta que dicen que es de la misma sangre, y otras cosas que no quiero al presente decir.
>
> (Villalón, 11a).

His companion, Juan, confesses that the deception cannot be revealed, now that they have access to the richest houses in the land, and his accomplice, Matalascallando, adds mischievously: 'No nos falta sino pluma de las alas del Arcángel Sant Gabriel' (12b).

G. Papal Policy on Questors in Spain

Striking a political blow at Charles V, whilst relations between them were greatly strained, in 1546 Paul III advocated restraint of extortionate practices, which were then flourishing in the Spanish dominions and constituted a large source of revenue for the Spanish treasury. Charles himself had entertained some scruples about questors when, in 1524, he had forbidden them from interfering unnecessarily with the labours of the people and punishing them for non-attendance at sermons, from compelling them to take the bulls against their will, from forcing them to go beyond the bounds of their towns or parishes in accompanying the bull on its arrival and departure, and from oppressing them in any manner (see Lea, Indulgences, 412). On sixteenth-century papal diffidence regarding indulgences, see also Lea, op. cit., 424.

H. Cruzada Indulgence

The Cruzada indulgence was originally the formal remission, on papal authority, of the sins of those who took part in a crusade. By the end

of the Crusades, the original forty-day penance imposed by Penitential books (which until the eleventh century influenced Church law), for killing in war, had been inverted: 'Those who make this journey shall win remission of all penance' (cited in Keen, Chivalry, 45-46). Doubtless influenced by contemporary abuses, Lope de Vega invoked this original concept in his La Devoción del Rosario. When the monk, Pedro Germán, asks Antonio the reason for his grief, Antonio points to his 'borla roja' and the red cross on his chest bestowed on him by the late Pius II (Enea Silvio Piccolomini (1405-64)), and replies that he should renounce his cross for not having died a martyr to the Turks (91b).

I. Secrecy and Initiation Rites

Augustine had justified secrecy on the grounds that as the mysteries of Christianity were incomprehensible to human intellect, they should not be derided by the uninitiated; secondly, he claimed secrecy produced greater veneration for the rites; and thirdly, secrecy increased the 'holy curiosity' of those wishing to be initiated into the experience of Christianity, which encouraged their striving to a perfect knowledge of the faith. Secrecy, then, acquired a ritual value exploited by all associative bodies to prevent any boasting (of penitential behaviour or charitable work in the case of confraternities), and sometimes also to avoid ridicule and abuse from outsiders. There were earlier precedents too. In Classical Greece certain secret religious ceremonies known as 'mysteries' (the most famous being those of Demeter at Eleusis) were allowed to be witnessed only by the initiated, who were sworn never to disclose their nature. And 'mystery' in the New Testament also means a secret, religious truth revealed through Christ to His Church (OED).

J. Confraternal Elections

In some confraternities officials were chosen on the saint's day by the old incumbents, with the aid of four or five of the oldest and wisest brothers. In others an elaborate tripartite system known as insaculación was adopted. Originating in the guild-structured society, it involved a preliminary scrutiny of favorable candidates by the elders. The names of candidates for office (or representative beans, jetones, etc.) were then placed in a pouch and drawn out by lottery. The system adopted by an (unnamed) Sevillian confraternity active in helping prisoners in the Cárcel Real, however, was closer to the university system, where competition for votes was called vacante y oposición (Chaves, Relación de la Cárcel, col. 1342). On elections, see Martz, Poverty and Welfare, 189; and Marcos Martin, 'El sistema hospitalario', 343. See also Barnes, 'De Poenitentibus', 128-36; Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood, 59-60; and Barzman, 'Accademia del Disegno', 38, on the tripartite scruttino/squittino, imborsazione and tratta.

K. Dominicans and anti-heresy provisions

Before the Dominicans were ceded control over the Inquisition between 1234-44, the Bologna confraternity, The Brothers of Penitence, under episcopal control, had refused to admit any heretic or accused person (haereticus, de haeresi diffamatus). Under the auspices of the Friars Preachers, on the other hand, the later confraternity of Santo Domingo still required that novices be orthodox above suspicion, but those who had been accused (infamatus) or just suspected (suspectus) of heresy, could undergo a period of probation, until their good conduct (conversatio) had been re-established (Meersseman, 'Etudes dominicaines', XX, 13).

L. Libros verdes

The name is thought to come from Aragonese bound parchments of privileges and ordinances (Domínguez Ortiz, La clase social de los conversos, 107-8). A twelfth-century version at Cardeña dealt with dispute settlement (see El Becerro gótico de San Pedro de Cardeña, edited by L. Serrano, cited by R. Collins, 'Visigothic Law', 92, n. 26). Martínez-Ferrando mentions a municipal register (Llibre Verd) in late-medieval Valencia which carried more sinister implications:

> El consell municipal de València disposà obrir un registre de veïns que ve a recordar-nos el que portaven els censors romans amb anàloga finalitat. En l'esmentat registre figuraven tots els habitants de la ciutat amb la nota secreta corresponent dels seus bons o mals costums, informació que estava confiada a un cos especial de policia urbana. Segons els antecedents que obressin en el registre les sol.licitacions de càrrecs públics eren o no eren ateses. El registre fou conegut amb el títol de 'Llibre del bé i del mal' i també de 'Llibre Verd', al.lusiva a persones de vida dubtosa.
>
> (Martínez-Ferrando, Baixa edat mitjana, 1676).

M. Morality and the Confraternity

> Muchas vezes acaesçen ruydos, muertes, daños e desonrra e males en los barrios e casas do las mugeres del mundo están; e para esto escusar hordenamos e mandamos que qualquier persona, ansi cofrade desta nuestra hermandad o otro qualquier que non sea cofrade de los que agora son o seran de aquí adelante que tienen o tuvieren ençensuadas o alquileadas o en otras qualesquier maneras las casas de los señores desta nuestra hermandat, que non acojan muger del mundo en las dichas casas nin en alguna dellas para hazer mançebia en ellas.
>
> (Ordenanzas de Nuestra Señora de Sonsoles (1516), cap. lxxxv, p. 205).

N. Council of Trent and Icons

> The holy council commands all bishops... [to] instruct the faithful diligently in matters relating to intercession and invocation of the saints, the veneration of relics, and the legitimate use of images... not, however, that any divinity or virtue is believed to be in them by reason of which they are to be venerated, or that something is to be asked of them, or that trust is to be placed in images, as was done of old by the Gentiles who placed their hope in idols (Psalms 134: 15ff); but because the honour which is shown them is referred to the prototypes which they represent, so that by means of the images which we kiss and before which we uncover the head and prostrate ourselves, we adore Christ and venerate the saints whose likeness they bear.
>
> (Council of Trent, Session 25 (1563), 'Decree concerning Purgatory', in Schroeder (ed.), Canons and Decrees, 215-17).

O. Confraternal Art

Frequent inclusion of confraternal officers in works may have been a concession to human vanity, or a recompense to those who usually had to pay the cost of commissioning works of art. Sometimes competition with other confraternities and a fear of being rated unworthy inspired these

commissions. On inclusion of confraternal officers in art works, see Hills, 'Piety and Patronage', 37; Lançon, 'Les confréries du Rosaire', 126-7; and Black, Italian Confraternities, 249-51: In 1506 the Scuola della Carità prefaced a lesser commission: 'Because it is necessary first to honour God and then to be equal to the other confraternities; it is necessary to have a painted banner'.

P. Legend of Santo Domingo

See José González Tejada, Historia de Santo Domingo de la Calzada, Abrahán de la Rioja, patrón del obispado de Calahorra y de la Calzada, y noticia de la fundación y aumentos de la santa iglesia catedral y ciudad nobilissima de su nombre, sus hijos (Madrid, 1702); Luis de la Vega, Historia de la vida y milagros de Santo Domingo de la Calzada (Burgos, 1606); Gonon, Vitae Patrum Occidentalium (1625); and Ribadeneira, Flos sanctorum (Cadiz, 1865). For other versions of the legend of the hens at Santo Domingo, see Jacobo Sobieski (1611), in García Mercadal, Viajes por España, 126; and William Lithgow (1620), Peregrinations, 384-85. I am grateful to N. Round for this last reference. See Keen, Chivalry, 213-15, for more about vows made over a bird.

Q. Legend of Saint Julian

Jacobo de Varaggio says: 'Iuxta quoddam magnum flumem, ubi multi periclitabantur quodam hospitalem magnum statuerunt, et omnes qui vellent transire fluvium incessanter transveherent, et hospitio universos pauperes reciperent'. Vicente de Beauvais relates: 'Sic abeuntes ad quendam fluvium pervenerunt et tugurium ibi facerunt, ut ibi poenitentiam suam facerent; et omnes qui vellent transire fluvium pro Deo transponerent'. Finally Pedro de Natal tells how: 'Abeuntes iuxta fluvium ubi multi peribant hospitale fecerunt in quo omne pauperes hospitio recipiebant et penitentiam pagebant omnesque inde itinerantes Iulianus transvadabat' (see Cortés y Vázquez, 'San Julián', 70). Jacobo de Varaggio, Leyenda aurea; Antonino de Florencia translated Varaggio's Vidas de los santos, and wrote Flos sanctorum (Barcelona, 1602). The quotation is from Maurólico in the introduction by Bollandus (see Cortés y Vázquez, 'La leyenda de San Julián', 70, n. 22). See also La Fontaine, L'oraison de Saint Julien, in Contes et nouvelles en vers, 120-28; Mira de Amezúa, El animal profeta, San Julián; and San Julián, in Obras de Lope de Vega, RAE, IV, 395-420.

R. Legend of Santiago

As patron saint of Spain, Santiago also generated a host of legends. The Liber Sancti Jacobi was a collection of writings designed to encourage the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. It included a Guide des pèlerins and a fabulous account of the wars of Charlemagne, the Chronique du Pseudo-Turpin, composed between 1140 and 1150 by the Cluniac monks. Emile Mâle wrote that travellers could have taken other than the four great routes to Santiago through France, but the Guide directs them to the Cluniac monasteries, which were aligned along the Santiago route (Emile Mâle, cited by Joseph Bédier, Commentaires sur la Chanson de Roland; and Légendes Epiques, III, dedicated almost entirely to relations between chansons de gestes and the pilgrimage of Santiago, in Lambert, 'Ordres et confréries', 369). Lambert thinks the Livre de Saint-Jacques was not the work of the Cluniac monks, but possibly of a French clergyman (art. cit., 387).

S. Legend of Rocamadour

A more diffuse but definite legendary aura attached to a sixteenth-century Marian pilgrimage to Rocamadour in France. Its confraternity was not an association of inhabitants of one town, but a communion of prayers and merits established between the monks of Roc Amadour and

pilgrims of the remotest regions. The shrine contains a black statue of the Virgin Mary, said to have been sculpted by the publican, Zaccheus, later beatified as San Amador. In the chapel which houses his tomb there, a sword hangs from the ceiling, allegedly the famous Durandaal owned by Roland. The shrine also had a hospital for pilgrims. There is no trace of societal organization of periodic meetings, or of lay directors elected by confrères, or of daily duties. The twelfth-century confratres ecclesiae de Rocamadour only promised to make the pilgrimage annually, or at least to invest an annual cens. (It was, then, a pious association of voluntary vassals of a Marian sanctuary). Sixteenth-century Zamora, Valladolid, and Salamanca each had a Marian confraternity affiliated with the order of Rocamadour, devoted to hospitalization of the sick and lodging of poor pilgrims. Members aspired to make a pilgrimage to France at least once in their lives. There were others, too, in Northern Spain. Cortés y Vázquez cites a pilgrim hospital at Toro dedicated to Roque Amador, and another in Salamanca. This last confraternity is mentioned in a eulogy of the town by Lope de Vega:

> Hay una gran cofradía,
> Que de Roque Amador llaman,
> De hijosdalgo conocidos.
>
> (El Bobo del colegio, II. 4. 188).

Another confraternity to Roque Amador at Zamora survived rationalization, retaining its own wards in the new Hospital General de SS Trinidad. And in Seville the confraternity survived by affiliating in 1623 with the state-organized Sacrament, which then called itself the Hermandad del SS Sacramento, NS^a de Roca-Amador y Animas Benditas. On Rocamador, see Meersseman, 'Etudes dominicaines', XXII, 15; and Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 267, n. 120, citing Archivo Diocesano de Salamanca, uncatalogued papers of 1581; ibid., 198, n. 113, citing Benedicta Ward, Miracles and the Medieval Mind (Philadelphia, 1982), 145-50; Jean Rocacher, Rocamadour et son pèlerinage: Etude historique et archéologique (Toulouse, 1979); and ibid., n. 114, citing AHPV, Caja 13, no. 14; and Libros de Actas, 31 October, 1543, fol. 295v; 9 September, 1528, fol. 130v; 6 April, 1554, fol. 349; Meersseman, 'Etudes dominicaines', XXII, 15; and M. Villar y Macías, Historia de Salamanca, III, cap. XIII, 127. See also Flynn, op. cit., 47; Cortés y Vázquez, art. cit., 126, n. 32, citing Antonio Cuadrado Chapado, Apuntes históricos de la Ciudad de Toro (Zamora, 1897); and Angel de Apraiz Buesa, Salamanca Camino de Oriente. Discurso de apertura del curso académico 1945-46 (Madrid, 1945). For Seville, see Pedregal, 'Devoción de las Animas', 193. Espasa-Calpe gives a bibliography (s.v. ROCAMADOR), citing Odo de Gissen, Histoire de Notre Dame de Roqueamador (1632); and Villeneuve, Notes historiques sur Rocamadour (Tulle, 1879). A bandit by the name of Roque Amador appears occasionally in popular works. Though his connection with the pious work is tenuous, it may be that he represents the so-called bandido-generoso, who devoted himself, like Robin Hood, to helping the poor (see Espinel, Marcos de Obregón, Relación III^a, descanso 24 (vol. 2, 477a); and Alonso de Contreras, Vida, 98b. See page 410, n. 82 below, on bandido generoso).

R. Confraternal Didactic Literature

For didactic themes, see M. Schiavone's introduction to his edition of Ficino's Teologia Platonica (Bologna, 1965), I, 3-71; and compare ibid., Problemi filosofici in Marsilio Ficino (Milan, 1957), cited by Becker, 'Lay Piety', 195, n. 2.

APPENDIX 4: LUNATICS, LOVERS AND POETS

A. Spanish Universities

Foundation dates of universities in Spain: Palencia (1208-9); Salamanca (c.1227-8); Valladolid (mid 13th century); Barcelona (1450); Sigüenza (1472); Zaragoza (1474); Avila (1482); Palma (1483); Valencia (1500); Santiago (1504); Alcalá (1508); Seville (1516); Toledo (1520); Lucena (1533); Sahagun (1534); Granada (1537); Oñate (1542); Gandia (1547); Osuna (1548); Osma (1551); Almagro and Oropesa (1553); Baeza (1565); Orihuela (1568); Tarragona (1572); Vich (1599); Oviedo (1604); Pamplona (1619); Tortosa (1645); Mallorca (1691); (Madrid < Alcalá (1836), Cervera (1714) (see Reynier, La vie universitaire, 102-3).

B. Meanings and Origin of 'Academy'

For sixteenth century as 'the century of academies' in Italy, see Yates, French Academies, 1. See also Pevsner, Academies of Art, 7, citing M. Joannis Jarkii, Specimen Historiae Academiarum Eruditarum Italiae (Leipzig, 1729); and Maylender, Storia delle Accademie d'Italia. On meanings and origin of 'academy', see Pevsner, Academies of Art, 3; and Espasa-Calpe: ACADEMIA. Fifteenth-century Italian academies include Ficino's Platonic Academy in Florence, and those of Cardinal Bessarione in Rome, Pomponio Leto in Rome, and Aldo Manuzio in Venice. Another early one was the Accademia di Napoles established by Giovanni Pontano at mid-fifteenth century, sponsored by Alfonso I of Aragon. One of the most famous academies was Gli Intronati, praised by Cervantes in Persiles, Book III, Ch. 19 (vol. 2, 182-3). It established a group in Sienna in 1525, and sponsored others besides. For a bibliography on Spanish academies, see Narciso Alonso Cortés, Noticias de una Corte literaria (Valladolid, 1906).

C. Spanish Index

The Bull banned works already condemned before 1515, as also works by heresiarchs, translations of the New Testament, vernacular works on Catholic controversies, lascivious or obscene publications, and works on astrology and related topics (geomancy, chiromancy, sorcery, mixing of poisons). Translations which had been purged of heretical content were allowed. The dealing in and possession of books were subject to strict rules of exhibition and authorization, even if this should apply to the inheritance of books by heirs and executors of wills. Finally, bishops and general inquisitors were free to prohibit even those books permitted, if they saw fit. The penalty for breaching these rules was excommunication.

D. Salamancan Rectors in the Golden Age

Rectors at Salamanca in the sixteenth century included the marquises of Spínola, Villena, Poza, and Aguilar; counts of Uceda, Benavente, and Montalvo; dukes of Sessa, Segorbe, Villahermosa (Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola), and Béjar, and at the end of the sixteenth century, the young Gaspar de Guzmán (Olivares).

E. Student Hedonism

> Me hize de la valentona, y de los que por su gusto salen de noche a buscar y acuchillar al corregidor: allí me enseñaron a florear los naipes de mil maneras; y porque era de ordinario el juego de la carteta, el juntar encuentros y azares, saber alzar por donde conocía que venía el azar, y otras mil tretas con que pelaba algunos novatos, aunque yo de nada me aprovechaban; que lo que por aquí adquiría, gastaba en meriendas a Nuestra Señora del Val, y viajes a

Madrid con algunas hembras y otros mancebitos de tan buenas costumbres como yo, Venta de Viveros y juego largo; que es camino aquel donde se gastan hartos reales, de padres que los sudan para enviar a hijos que no los lloran...

Pero otros tan mal curiosos y de perversa inclinación y rudos ingenios, que a quince años de matricula y diez cursos en cada facultad, no saben leer ni escribir. Estos eran mis camaradas, los que se preciaban de pícaros y desvergonzados. A las ocho de la mañana a esperar la farsa y al 'prestiti'; que es la obligación de acudir a San Ildefonso, templo de la universidad, solo pasar de la una puerta a la otra. De noche la cota, espada y rodela; de dia bastaba ver las escuelas desde la plaza de Santa Maria.

(Guzmán de Alfarache, II. 2. 6, 390b-91a).

F. Student Immunities

Los maestros que muestran las ciencias en los estudios, pueden juzgar sus escolares en las demandas, que hubieren unos con otros, y en las otras que los hombres les hiciesen, que no fuesen sobre pleito de sangre y no les deben demandar ni traer a juicio delante otro alcalde, sin su placer dellos. Pero si les quisieren demandar, delante de su maestro: en su escogencia es de responder a ella o delante del obispo del lugar, o delante del juez del fuero, cual más quisiese. Mas si el escolar, hubiese demanda contra otro que no sea escolar, entonces debe le demandar derecho, ante aquel que puede apremiar al demandado. Otrosi decimos, que si el escolar es demandado, ante el juez del fuero, y no alegare su privilegio, diciendo que no debe responder, si no adelante, de su maestro, o ante el obispo, asi como sobredicho, y si respondiere llanamente a la demanda, pierde el privilegio que había, cuanto en aquellas cosas sobre que respondió, y debe ir por el pleito adelante, hasta que sea acabado, por aquel juez ante quien lo comenzó.

(Alfonso X, Siete Partidas, 2ª Partida, tit. xxxi, ley 7, 'Quales juezes deuen judgar a los escolares' (vol. 1, fol. 115r)).

G. Discipline in Medieval and Early Modern European Universities

By 1645 relations between students and townspeople had deteriorated so far that steps were taken to suspend university privileges and subject students to common law. In university law the birch was unknown until the fifteenth century, and punishments had been notoriously light, even after universities had secured criminal jurisdiction over their own members in that period. In later additions to the statute of 1432 at Bologna there is a provision that a student should not be arrested (except for treason) without permission of the Rector, that he should not be dragged through the streets, and that he should be admitted to bail when accused of carrying arms (see Rashdall, op. cit., II, 612). On student privileges, see Geremek, Margins of Society, 152; and Reynier, La vie universitaire, 8-16. On student jurisdiction, see Reynier, op. cit., 191-8; Rashdall, Universities of Europe, II, 605-14, and I, 165-88. On student crimes, see Bennassar, Valladolid, 554, n. 2, citing AHPV, Sección Universidad, leg. 1.

H. Early Journalism

Germany seems to have been responsible for the beginnings of journalism. The Frankfurter Zeitung appeared in 1615; the first French newspaper was printed in 1620 in Amsterdam, where the first English newspaper was also

published in the same year; Florence got a weekly gazette in 1636, Rome in 1640, Genoa in 1642, the Estates General of the Dutch Republic in 1649, and in Spain the Gaceta de Madrid was first published in 1661 (see Kamen, The Iron Century, 281).

I. Argensola's Speeches to the Anhelantes

> Considerando yo que los más de vuesas mercedes son caballeros aficionados al ejercicio militar y que para este fin hay en esta ciudad fundada la antigua y nobilísima Cofradía de San Jorge, tengo deseo que alguno de vuesas mercedes se aficione a imitar a Lipcio y que así como él doctamente describió la milicia moderna, enseña la forma de los ejércitos romanos, sus armas ofensivas y defensivas... Finalmente me parece que las armas no se traten sólo de palabra sino que se ejerciten, y que el último jueves de cada mes salgan armados los caballeros que quisieren al justador, y se encuentren o corran lanzas, y en la casa que el jueves precedente hubieren señalado, tornean a pie sin gasto de galas, antes con pena irremisible al que hiciere alguna.

('Discursos pronunciados en una academia de Zaragoza. Día segundo', Obras sueltas, I, 309-26).

> Digo, pues, que el intento de esta Academia es hacer una confección o masa de diversas profesiones... Y no contentándose los Académicos con ejercitar solamente las fuerzas de su ingenio, quieren también ejercitar las del cuerpo y la destreza de las armas. Y así, uno de ellos ha propuesto mantener un torneo de a pie a los caballeros académicos y a otros cualesquiera en la forma que se verá en su cartel.

('Obras sueltas', I, Discurso 1, 316, cited in Arco y Garay, La erudición española, 66, n. 22).

J. Literary certámenes

There were literary certámenes in Seville dedicated to Saint Martin (1568); Saint Francisco (1591); the Holy Sacrament (1593); Saint Roch (1600); Saint Peter (1605), and another was held in 1610 on the occasion of the beatification of Saint Ignatius of Loyola. In Toledo (1605) a certamen was held on the birth of Philip IV and in 1608 another was dedicated to the Most Holy Sacrament. There was one in Madrid (1614) to celebrate the beatification of Saint Teresa, and another organized by Lope de Vega on the beatification of Saint Isidore (15 May, 1620) - see BAE, 38 (1872), 'Justa poética al bienaventurado San Isidro en las fiestas de su beatificación', 143-58. Contributors to this last included López de Zárate, Guillén de Castro, Villamediana, Espinel, Francisco de Medrano, Luis de Belmonte, Calderón de la Barca, Pérez de Montalbán, Tirso de Molina, Salas Barbadillo, Mira de Amescúa, Castillo Solórzano, and Pantaleón. See also Pinelo, Anales, 242; Justa literaria en loor y alabanza del bienaventurado Evangelista (1531), in Angel Lasso de la Vega, Historia y juicio crítico de la escuela poética sevillana en los siglos XVI y XVII (Madrid, 1871), 100, n. 1; and Santiago Montoto (ed.), Justas poéticas sevillanas del siglo XVI (1531-1542) (Valencia, 1955). For a reference to the chivalric joust, see Cervantes, Persiles, Book I, ch. 22 (vol. 2, 143-7).

K. Parodic Rules for a Poet's Survival

Quevedo wrote a rule-book parody in 1613 advocating a hunting/high season of literary activity, and a distillation of existing works, whose sublimate might enrich contemporary efforts:

> Advirtiendo los grandes bochornos que hay en las caniculares coplas de los poetas del sol, como pasas a fuerza de los soles que gastan en hacerlas - ponemos perpetuo silencio en las cosas del cielo, señalando meses vedados (como a la caza y pesca) a las musas, porque no se acaben con la priesa que las dan... Por cuanto el siglo está pobre y necesitado de oro y plata, mandamos que se quemen las coplas de los poetas, como franjas viejas, para sacar el oro y plata que tienen, pues en sus versos hacen sus ninfas de todos metales como estatua de Nabuco.
>
> (Quevedo, Premáticas del desengaño contra los poetas güeros, in 'Premáticas y aranceles generales', 437).

Polo de Medina published a set of rules which alluded to similar problems. In an effort to save money, he begins, no poet should have fruit painted and hung in his house, or any other foodstuff, 'porque ojos que no ven corazón que no llora' (Caballero de la Tenaza, 215). See also Salas Barbadillo, Casa del placer honesto (1620), cited in Brownstein, Rogues and Courtiers, 129-45; and Sánchez, Academias literarias, 184-5.

L. Comedias de guapos

For bibliography on comedias de guapos, see Caro Baroja, Vidas mágicas, 95-6. A sample of contemporary works might include: Lope de Vega, El valiente Juan de Heredia; Jiménez Enciso, El valiente sevillano; Enríquez Gómez, El valiente Diego de Camas; Luis Vélez, El valiente toledano; Monroy y Silva, El más valiente andaluz, Antón Bravo; Cantón Salazar, El valiente Barrionuevo; López de Zárate, El valiente Campuzano; Belmonte, Afanador de Utrera; Cubillo de Aragón, Añasco, el de Talavera; and Quevedo, Pero Vázquez de Escamilla.

M. Aristocratic Academy Membership

The names of some Spanish academy members would seem to bear out the aristocratic connections. In Seville, for example, the academy that met in the house of Francisco Pacheco was attended by Don Jorge de Portugal (Conde de Gelves and son of the poet Don Alvaro), Don Fernando Enríquez de Ribera (Marqués de Tarifa), Gonzalo Argote de Molina, and Don Juan de Arguijo; all celebrated poets of the end of the sixteenth century. And Academia Pitima in Zaragoza declared:

> Es condición que ninguno pueda tener asiento en la Academia que no sea de ella, sino que sea el que quisiera entrar titulo, o caballero muy notable, o de particular respeto y obligación; cuya deliberación ha de ser de consentimiento de la mayor parte de los que concurrieren en la junta, y cuando sucediere entrarse sin licencia el promovedor se levante y cese la Academia.
>
> (Sánchez, Academias literarias, 254, citing Pitima, 'Ley 10').

N. Italian Esoteric Academies

In 1560 the Accademia dei Segreti was established at Naples by Giovanni Battista della Porta for research into astronomy and experimental physics. The members called themselves I Segreti because they knew their unprejudiced studies might be endangered by publicity, and in fact their meetings were soon prohibited as contrary to the new Tridentine

spirit. On esoteric academies in Italy, see Pevsner, Academies of Art, 18-19. In 1603 the Accademia dei Lincei was established in Rome for the purpose of investigating problems of science and astronomy. Its president was Marchese Cesi. Their first meetings were held secretly, and discovery led to dissolution a few months later. In 1609 they reunited under more favourable auspices. In 1610 Porta joined, followed a year later by Galileo. The academy collapsed in 1616 when Galileo came under investigation by the Holy Office.

O. Academic Initiation

As in other novatadas, ritual humiliation was the aim: the culto graduado is introduced to the company by his sponsor at the sound of a silver bell (compare Vélez, El diablo Cojuelo, 43b). The secretary reads out a proclamation, then the Beadle bids him kneel on a cushion. His memorial (a piece of cultist poetry), is read out by the Secretary, and privately deliberated by a tribunal. Summoned to hear their decision, the graduand has to undress to 'calzas y jubón', and a veil is put on his head, whilst oboes (chirimias) play. He is given a coloured gown and a necklace of jet and salp (tunny fish), whose symbolic value is explained to him. In essence this is the same ritual as that of entry to the brotherhood of learning in the university, and to that of arms in the Military Orders.

P. Internal Control of Academic Work

'Item, es condición que los papeles que se hubieren de leer en la Academia, como sean discursos voluntarios, fuera de los que, por via de sujeto o penitencia, el promovedor hubiere dado a los académicos, se hayan de consultar primero con él, y si le pareciere no ser digno de que se lean, lo determine con advertencia de dos testigos, y asi haya de pasar por esa determinación y no se lea en la Academia' (Academia Pitima, 'Ley 12', cited by Sánchez, op. cit., 254).

Q. Medieval Parodic Rules

In the thirteenth-century Carmina Burana, the novice is cautioned never to be up in time for matins:

Ordo noster prohibet matutinas plane.
Sunt quedam phantasmata, que vagantur mane,
Per que nobis veniunt visiones vane.
Si quis tunc surrexerit, non est mentis sane.
Ordo noster prohibet semper matutinas,
Sed statim cum surgimus, querimus popinas;
Illuc ferri facimus vinum et gallinas.
Nil hic expavescimus preter Hashardi minas.
('Il Vangelo dei Vaganti', st. 9-10, p. 2).

This may be aimed at the confraternal éveille-matin, whose duty it was to rise an hour before services began and awaken the other members (see Barnes, 'De Poenitentibus', 98; Gabriel, Student Life, 166; and Fuller, Beggars' Brotherhood, 75).

R. Italian Parodic Rules

The Florentine Capitoli per una Compagnia di Piacere, for instance, require that a member be older than thirty. He must have a sambenito and only confess in Holy Week. He must not observe a vow of silence, and must divulge any secret entrusted to him, sowing discord among members. He is instructed to covet his neighbours' goods, and the penalty exacted for being physically attractive is to show his legs publicly. Qualification for leadership is based on the size of his feet, the owner of the largest being elected (Macchiavelli, 411-4). For

another example of parodic Italian statutes, see del Baddia, 'La Compagnia della Gazza', 92-109.

S. Poeta badea

The image, badea, is also used by Trillo y Figueroa, in intriguingly similar circumstances:

> Que todo pasa en Madrid.
> Hay letradazos hundidos
> Muchos mas que el pozo ayrón,
> Que con letras de melón
> Son badeas conocidos.
> ('Sátira IX', lines 7-11, in Obras, pp. 263-5).

T. 'A uno que le pedía versos'

> Pídeme voacé que le haga coplas
> metido entre gambetas y atambores;
> pólvora no se casa bien, y amores,
> que se espanta Cúpido de manoplas.
>
> Pero vaya de juego, los cíclopes
> fueron de yerro grandes machadores;
> no va bien por aquí, campo de flores,
> tampoco por aquí viento que soplas.
>
> Ofrezco a Satanás tan mal oficio.
> Sin duda que la vena esta opilada,
> que salen estrujados los concetos.
>
> Deje hacer dos años de ejercicio,
> que yo le enviaré una carretada
> de décimas, canciones y sonetos.
> (attributed to Góngora, in Sonetos, 651).

See page 326 above, for gamblers and flores; and see page 384 above, on soplar.

U. Aristocratic Bandits

Don Luis Nieto de Silva, Vizconde de San Miguel, Caballero de Calatrava, and gentleman-in-waiting to Philip IV, turned to banditry in 1654, deflowering virgins, courting nuns, beating up husbands to rape their wives, and insulting clergy, military and justices. His biography was written by his brother (see Memorias de Don Félix Nieto de Silva, Marqués de Tenebrón, edited by Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, Sociedad de bibliófilos españoles (Madrid, 1888); and Morel-Fatio, Soldats espagnols du XVIIe siècle, Etudes sur l'Espagne, Serie 3^a (Paris, 1904), cited by Deleito y Piñuela, Mala Vida, p. 151-2).

V. Cofrades del Parnaso

For cofrades del Parnaso, see Cervantes, La Galatea (1585), Book VI, 419-60, on the burial of Meliso; and sources cited by Vicente Gaos in the introduction to Cervantes, Viaje del Parnaso, 34. These include Juan de la Cueva, Viage de Sannio (1585); ibid., Coro Febeo (1587); Infierno de los enamorados; Santillana, El triunphete de amor; Gil Vicente, Nao de amor; and works by Barahona de Soto, and Pedro Rodríguez de Ardila. See also Matías de los Reyes, El curial del Parnaso (1624); Perugino Cesare Caparoli, Viaggio in Parnasso (1582); and Trajano Boccalini, I ragguagli di Parnasso (1612), 6, 39, and 199. Dorotea, in Las harpías de Madrid, says her suitor, a would-be poet, does not feature in Lope's Laurel de Apolo (Castillo Solórzano, 147). A discussion follows about the reactions of poets excluded from Lope's eulogy of some three hundred poets, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese.

*The element of backslang in several of the names chosen typifies the air of marginality attaching to these literary academies in general.

W. Membership of Academia de Madrid

Members of the Academia de Madrid included Alonso de Oviedo (Lúcido Intervalo), Jacinto de Aguilar (don Zafiro), José Camerino (Don Carinemo), José Pellicer (Lisofeo Zeligerpio), Diego de Silva (don Silvano), Juan de la Barreda (don Abanico de Jurreda), Castillo Solórzano (Don Ansolo), Pedro Méndez de Loyola (don Gerardico), Gabriel de Corral (Coriandro), Gabriel Bocángel de Unzueta (don Gelcombo), Nicolás de Prada (Pradelio Flaquicel), and María de Zayas (see Jerónimo de Cáncer y Velasco y Anastasio Pantaleón de Ribera: Vejámenes literarios [edited by Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín] (Madrid, 1909), 40, cited in Sánchez, Academias literarias, 57-8).*

X. Academic Novels

Salas Barbadillo's work, La casa del placer honesto (1620), was possibly the first experiment in Spain with the academic structure. King notes that it was modelled on the Decameron, and has some affinity with the youth's organization set up in Love's Labour's Lost (see Academias literarias, 124). See also Lope, Los pastores de Belén (Madrid & Lérida, 1612); Miguel Botelho de Carvalho, Prosas y versos del pastor de Clenarda (Madrid, 1622); Manuel Fernández Raya, Esperanza engañada (Coimbra, 1624), II; Juan Enríquez de Zúñiga, Amor con vista (Madrid, 1625); Jacinto Maluenda, Bureo de las musas del Turia (Valencia, 1631); Tirso de Molina, Deleitar aprovechando (1635), and ibid., Los cigarrales de Toledo (1624).

Y. Academic Riddles

One riddle in Jerónimo de Contreras's, Selva de Aventuras (1565), posed in an academy at Pisa, questions the identity of a beautiful immortal damsel (the soul), buried in a dark sepulchre (the body) and surrounded by three powerful adversaries: the world, flesh and the devil (Libro 3°, p. 483). For discussion on the soul imprisoned in the body, see Speak, 'Glass Men', 861-2; and ibid., 'Odd Kind of Melancholy', 197-202.

Z. Romance contra los que toman tabaco

Gremio de las manchas pardas,
Tabaquista naricismo,
que con el humo y el polvo
mostráis gusto y tenéis vicio.

Nasón abultado en marca,
más Nasón que el mismo Ovidio,
que te falta para taco
sólo ser de granadillo.

Narigón más dilatado
que esperanza de judío,
remanente de excrementos
y taller de pasadizos.

Naso conterno de Martir
que haces, por encendido,
para fina zanahoria
caravanas de novicio.

Narigonio uñas abajo
que puedes, por lo aquilino,
tener el tintero y cajas
del coronista de Cristo.

Narizote criminal
como dardo arrojadizo,

Narichata remachada
más desfogo de mohinos
que les sirves de modelos
a brazos y a falderillos.

Naricilis, tan infante
que aún no eres nariz de anillo,
pues parece que tu dueño
puso en tu lugar su ombligo.

¿Quién te ha inclinado al tabaco
¡oh cónclave antojadizo!
que tragar el humo y polvo
sólo es porción de precitos?

Réditos al polvo pagan
diluvio de romadizos,
que de tal polvo, tal lodo,
dice el brocardico antiguo.

¿Sin decirte el Mementote
tomas polvo? ¿Quién ha visto
que a cada instante te encuentres
con el miércoles corvillo?

Si cursas la evacuación,
gremio narigudo, afirmo

que andas muy mal sin contera
según estás de buido.

Nariz de mediana talla,
de anchuroso frontispicio,
que puedes servir de vaina
a dos jiferos cuchillos.

Narigueta (corta en fustas)
de tan prevenido aliño,
que dice lo arremangado
que para todos se hizo.

que con la gran polvareda
perderás a don juicio.

Graduado en chimenea
de las del país más frío,
puede ir quien humo lleve,
chispas come y traga cisco.

(Las Harpías en Madrid, 128-29).

AA. Lifespans of Spanish Golden-Age Academies

The Academia Pítima lasted three months; La Academia Imitatoria de Madrid (1586), Los Humildes (1592), and La Academia de Madrid (1608), each lasted only a year, as also did La Academia de los Montañeses del Parnaso (1616), founded by Guillén de Castro in Valencia; the Academia Selvaje, presided over by Francisco de Silva y Mendoza, lasted from 1612 to 1614; and Sebastián Francisco de Medrano's Academia Poética de Madrid (1616-1622) was unusually long-lived, only ending because its founder entered the priesthood. There were exceptions of course. The Academia de Madrid started in 1623 and lasted at least forty years (see page 189 above); and the Ociosos lasted into the eighteenth century (see Sánchez, Academias literarias, 261, 312, and on Ociosos, ibid., 305). Among provincial academies in Zaragoza, Seville, Valencia, and Huesca, only the Academia de los Nocturnos (1591-1594), in Valencia lasted three years (see Romera-Navarro, 'Querellas y rivalidades', 494).

BB. Hospital de Ignoscents

The Valencian association comprised a hundred priests and three hundred each of lay men and women for the purpose of founding and maintaining the hospital:

> Los mantenedores de tan benéfica institución sean diez ciudadanos, mercaderes o de similar condición, pero que no puedan serlo presbíteros, caballeros, dignificados con generosidad o paratge, juristas o notarios, y no porque cada una de estas clases no merezca las mayores preeminencias y honores, sino porque dicha obra debe ser totalmente laïca y de hombres llanos en lo tocante a categoría, jurisdicción y toda clase de actos, y no de los mencionados estamentos... si alguien después de admitido fuere armado caballero, ordenado presbítero, investido de hábitos religiosos... sea ipse facto excluído de la cofradía y no pueda en adelante volver a ser admitido.

Statutes cited in García-Ballester, Historia social de la medicina, 27, n. 42: Privilegio real firmado en Barcelona el 15 de marzo de 1410, AHPV, edited and translated to Castilian by D. Simo y J. Calatayud, El primer hospital psiquiátrico del mundo (Valencia, 1959). Compare page 112 above, on exclusion of churchmen from pious lay confraternities.

CC. Doctor-Poet Relationships

Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera, medical advisor to Philip II and III, was a reputed poet, whose Enigmas filosóficas (1617) were celebrated with compositions by Alarcón, Salas Barbadillo, Céspedes, and Valdivielso (see Fernández-Guerra, Alarcón, 230-2; and Doctor Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera, Proverbios morales y consejos cristianos y enigmas filosóficas, naturales y morales, con comento (Madrid, 1618), lib. II, centuria III,

quincuagena V, p. 236). Alarcón's contribution to the publication was the one in which he first appended a 'Don' to his name, thereby earning a glut of satirical attacks from his colleagues. Other sixteenth-century doctors who were also poets include López de Villalobos, López Pinciano, López de Ubeda, Juan Méndez Nieto, Juan de Vergara, Pedro Sanz de Soria, Francisco de Campuzano, and Gerónimo Virués, who belonged to los Nocturnos (see Granjel, Medicina española, 91).

DD. Reason-Unreason Polemics

Commenting on the number of beds in NS[a] de Gracia at Zaragoza Murillo said in 1616: 'Don't think the number excessive, since it being the truth (as stated by the Holy Spirit) that the number of the insane is infinite, it is certain that they are not all in the hospital' (D. Murillo, Fundación milagrosa de la Capilla de la Madre de Dios del Pilar y excelencias de Zaragoza (Barcelona, 1616), 212, cited in Chamberlain, 'Early Mental Hospitals', 145).

EE. Arm Badges and Abraham Men

On arm badges and Abraham Men, see Alexander and Selesnick, History of Psychiatry, 53; Fuller, Beggars' Brotherhood, 78; Rosen, 'Irrationality and Madness', 222; and Dekker, Belman, 98-9. A badge for Abram men or Toms o'Bedlam was introduced in 1504 in England (see J. H. Thomas, Town Government in the Seventeenth Century (London, 1933), 115-6; and John Aubrey, Natural History of Wiltshire, edited by Britton (Wiltshire Topographical Society, 1848), 93, cited in Rosen, art. cit., 222, n. 11). See Camporesi, Libro dei vagabondi, 299, on Buratti. For 'Lunatick lollers', see Langland, Piers the plowman, I, 235-7.

FF. Therapy for Melancholy

For learned accounts of musical cures, see Samuel 16. 16-23; du Laurens A Discourse, 107; Ficino, Commentary on Plato's 'Symposium' of Love, Speech VII, p. 170; and Burton, Anatomy of Melancholy, I, 117, 124-6, 132. For popular accounts of the same, see Quiñones de Benavente, La Malcontenta, 740a; ibid., Los cuatro galanes, 522; ibid., El examen de maridos, 757b; Lope de Vega, La Dorotea, III, 4, p. 337; ibid., El peregrino en su patria, 251; and Aguilar, La gitana melancólica, 146. On classical theories of herbs, fruit, and potions causing melancholy, see Dedekind, Grobianus, 147, 188; Martial, Epigrams, XI. 6. 12-13; Horace, Epistle, I. 19; and Pliny, Natural History, Book 25, ch. 21 (vol. 5, 96-8). For contemporary medical theories on fruit and potions, see du Laurens, op. cit., 108, and 105 (all fruits). For popular interpretations, see Cervantes, Licenciado Vidriera; John Dryden, The Spanish Friar, II. 1. 142; Ferreira de Vasconcellos, Eufrosina; Quiñones, Los cuatro galanes, 519 (figs and melancholy). For modern discussion of the charmed fruit, see Casa, 'Structural Unity', 243; Herford, Literary Relations, 217; Forcione, Humanist Vision, 275; and Speak, 'Glass Men', 857. On cerebral pathology (viz, dryness of the brain), see Liñán y Verdugo, Guía y avisos, 115-6, citing Jerónimo Cardano, Varietate rerum. See also a modern discussion, in Speak, 'Odd Kind of Melancholy', 201.

GG. Agrippa - "Of Madness..."

> They say therefore, when the mind is forced with a melancholy humor..., [it] is wholly carried into imagination, and doth suddenly become a seat for inferior spirits, by whom it oftentimes receives wonderfull wayes, and forms of manuall Arts. So we see that any most ignorant man doth presently become an excellent painter, or contrivers of building, and to become a master in anysuch

> Art. But when these kinds of spirits portend to us future things, then they shew those things which belong to the disturbing of the Elements, and changes of times, as rain, tempests, innudations, earthquakes, great mortality, famine, slaughter, and the like... But when the mind is turned wholly into reason, it becomes a receptacle for midle spirits. Hence it obtains the knowledge, and understanding of natural, and humane things. So we see that a man sometimes doth on a suddain become a Philosopher, Physitian, or an excellent Orator, and foretels mutations of Kingdomes, and restitutions of Ages, and such things as belong to them, as the Sybill did to the Romanes; but when the mind is wholly elevated into the understanding, then it becomes a receptacle of sublime spirits, and learns of them the secrets of divine things, as the Law of God, the orders of Angels, and such things as belong to the knowledge of things eternall, and salvation of souls. It foresees things which are appointed by Gods speciail predestination, as future prodigies, or miracles, the prophet to come, the changing of the law. So the Sybills Prophecyed of Christ a long time before his coming.

(Agrippa, Occulta philosophia, Book I, 'Naturall Magick', ch. 60, pp. 132-34, 'Of Madness, and Divinations which are made when men are awake, and of the power of a Melancholy Humour, by which spirits are sometimes induced into Men's Bodies').

See also Book III, 'Ceremoniall Magick', ch. 6, pp. 357-8, 'How by these guides the soul of man ascendeth up into the Divine nature, and is made a worker of Miracles'; ch. 33, pp. 451-2, 'Of the bonds of spirits and of their adjurations, and castings out'; ch. 44, pp. 496-9, 'Of the degrees of souls and their destruction or Immortality'; ch. 45, p. 499, 'Of soothsaying and Phrensie'; ch. 46, pp. 500-03, 'Of the first kind of phrensie from the Muses'; ch. 47, p. 503, 'Of the second kind from Dionysius'; ch. 48, pp. 504-7, 'Of the third kind of phrensie from Apollo'; ch. 50, pp. 508-11, 'Of rapture, and extasie, and soothsayings, which happen to them which are taken with the falling sickness, or with a swoune, or to them in an agonie'.

HH. Butter Men and Other Melancholics

Compare Burton, Anatomy of Melancholy, Pt. 1. Sec. 3. Mem. 1. Subs. 3, 403; Walkington, Opticke Glasse, 70r; and du Laurens, A Discourse, 103: 'A Baker had conceiued that he was made of butter, and no man could make him come neere either the fire or his ouen, he was so much a fraide of being melted'. In the version by Ludovicus a Casanova (Hieroglyphica et emblemata medica, 58), this remarkable baker (generally claimed to be from Ferrara) lives in Brussels, and the story is further embellished: 'and completely naked, he had himself covered with leaves to keep him cool' (cited, with more accounts, in Blok, Caspar Barlaeus, 112).

II. Lovers' Melancholy in Europe

To Spaniards the affliction was typically Portuguese. There are references in La Dorotea to murrio and saudades, and a comment by Fernando in answer to Felipa's observation that he must be a splendid tragedian, that: 'Tengo los ojos niños y portugesa el alma' (IV. 1. p. 391). The Portuguese, however, regarded melancholy as an African trait. A comparison between Ferreira de Vasconcellos's La Eufrosina (1555), and its Castilian translation (1631) reveals some interesting distinctions. Speaking of the melancholic consequences of too much reading, Cariofilo says: 'Dexemos estas melancolias para los pretendientes' (I. 1. p. 68a,

edited by Menéndez y Pelayo). Compare: 'Leixemos essas merencorias pera os Africanos' (p. 33, ed. Asensio).
The effect of melancholy on Eufrosina is given in detail in both Castilian and Portuguese versions:

> Alguas horas a acho pensatiua e alheya da liberdade, e descuido com que sohia rir e folgar, e com nada ter conta como quem era isenta de cuydados. Quando faz desfiados canta cantigas muyto sentidas. Nos liuros que lee todo seu feyto he buscar passos d'amores, e gosta muyto delles. Nota muyto trouas tristes e motos de entendimentos sotijs. De noyte acordame que nao pode dormir, e pratica em cousas que todas sabem ao que traz no pensamento.
>
> (Eufrosina, IV. 1. p. 235 (Asensio)).

Compare the Castilian version:

> Algunas horas la hallo pensativa, ajena de la libertad y descuido con que antes se reía y holgaba, como quien no tenía cuidados ni cuenta con nada. Cuando hace labor, canta versos sentidos. En los libros que lee, todo su fin es buscar pasos de amores, y gusta mucho dellos. Repara en los versos tristes y en las sentencias de entendimientos sutiles. De noche no puede dormir y habla en cosas que dan a entender lo que trae en el pensamiento.
>
> (IV. 1. p. 121b (Menéndez y Pelayo)).

APPENDIX 5: THE BEGGARS' BROTHERHOOD

A. Beggars and the Threat of Heterodoxy

Hay en estos reinos más número de lo que se puede creer de personas, entre hombres, mujeres, niños y niñas, que, con ocasión deste vicio, entretejidos entre algunos que habrá que lo son verdaderos, viven como gentiles; que ni confiesan, comulgan, ni oyen misa, ni pienso saben la dotrina cristiana, y, con achaque de pedir limosna y que son pobres, deben de comer carne en los dias prohibidos por la Iglesia, sin licencia de médicos espirituales ni corporales. Y es tanta verdad esto, que ninguna persona, de muchas a quien yo lo he preguntado, confiesa ni dice lo contrario, sino que no se acuerdan haber visto casi a ninguno déstos comulgar, confesar, ni oír misa, antes estorbar el oirla con atención a los demás que la están oyendo, y pidiendo limosna a Nuestro Señor con oraciones para si, y para socorrerles sus pobres y necesitados.

(Pérez de Herrera, 'Discurso 1°', Los Albergues de Pobres, 24-5).

B. Blind Beggars and Mutual Aid

Item estatuimos y ordenamos que si algún confrayre estará enfermo y tendrá algunos parrochianos para decir oraciones que porque la tal devoción de los dichos parrochianos no se haya de perder que los mayordomos que son o por tiempo serán de la dicha confraria hayan de hacer decir las tales oraciones y subvengan de todo aquello al tal enfermo mientras durara su enfermedad y en después hayan de tornarle sus parrochianos.

(quoted in Rumeu de Armas, Previsión social, 270).

C. Begging from Asturian Leper Houses

Un malato, o persona nombrada por el mayordomo, haga questa por el año por todo el distrito, y jurisdición pidiendo limosna, para la dicha malatería, de pan, carne y vino, y para hacer la dicha questa, al tal malato o persona nombrada, se le dé cabalgadura para que vaya hacerla en ella y lleve un libro chico y asiente lo que les dan y mandan en limosna, y el mayordomo lo reparta entre los malatos, y mientras que durase la dicha limosna, sustente por ella los dichos malatos y no gaste de la renta de la malatería.

(see Granjel, Medicina española, 106, citing J.R. Tolivar Faes, Hospitales de leprosos en Asturias durante las Edades Media y Moderna (Oviedo, 1966)).

D. Poor Relief Treatises

For a good summary of poor relief treatises, see Javier Herrero, 'Renaissance Poverty', 200-03. Fray Domingo de Soto, Deliberation in Favour of the Poor (1545), cited by Jiménez Salas, Asistencia social, 24, n. 8: 'Y este fue el saber y providencia de Dios: que hubiese ricos, que como ánima sustentasen y gobernasen los pobres que como cuerpo, sirviesen a los ricos, que labrasen la tierra, y hiciesen los otros oficios necesarios a la republica'. See also Gabriel de Toro, Thesoro de misericordia divina y humana... con los necesitados (Salamanca, 1536), in Rev. Int. de Sociologia, 35 (1951), 189; 36 (1951), 501; 39 (1952), 185ff, cited by Jiménez Salas, op. cit., 25, n. 10; and Tomás de

Truxillo, Tratado de limosna (1563), ch. X, cited in Jiménez Salas, op. cit., 24, n. 9.

E. Priorities in Italian Poor Relief

Bernardino of Siena gave his order of priority in alms-giving as follows: the donor's family, saints, the honest, friends, Christians (as opposed to infidels), nobles whose poverty is not their fault and who are ashamed to be poor, and finally, other poor. Among the last, he advocated preference be given to the imprisoned, those afflicted by age, sickness, disability or blindness, and girls of marriageable age whose honesty is in imminent danger unless they are coupled in marriage - and similarly for young wives (Omnia Opera, III, 86-88, in Amleto Spicciani, 'The poveri vergognosi in fifteenth-century Florence', Aspects of Poverty in Early Modern Europe, edited by Thomas Riis (Florence, 1981), 828-829; in Black, Italian Confraternities, 138).

F. Statistics on Spanish Beggars

Spain had at this time a hundred and fifty thousand vagabonds, Herrera estimated, while the worthy poor amounted to only ten per cent of the population. On figures for sixteenth-century poor in Spain, see Ballesteros y Beretta, Historia de España, 216. In a 1561 census 9.54% of the population was poor. In 1587, 1597, and 1599, Valladolid tried to do a census of the shifting population of poor (Bennassar, Valladolid, 443; see also ibid., 138).

G. Social Security in Early Modern Spain - Hermandad del Refugio

Loans facilities were now made available to labradores by the new Real Hermandad de NSª del Refugio y Piedad (1615), where formerly they had only been available to agricultural workers. The Hermandad was established in Madrid for the invalid poor by the Jesuit P. Antequera and Andrés Espínola. Each night a priest and two lay brothers patrolled the town. Those found sleeping on doorsteps, especially children, were taken to the Casa del Refugio to be fed and given a bed. Next day they were taken to hospital for treatment, if appropriate, and then returned to their parents, or else to the Desamparados. Sick foreigners were sent home, and madmen to Zaragoza. On rudiments of Spanish social security system, see Rumeu de Armas, Previsión social, 206. On the Refugio, see Callaghan, 'Corporate Charity', 159-86; Ballesteros y Beretta, Historia de España, IV, 216; and León Pinelo, Anales, 214-8. See Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 153, on Hospital de NSª de la Candelaria and NSª de la Misericordia in Zamora, which, like Refugio, operated an ambulance service. See Jiménez Salas, Asistencia social, 238, on other confraternities giving ambulance and domiciliary aid, and 151-3, for the most complete listing available to date of poor relief institutions between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.

Luque Fajardo's observation about a concomitant proliferation of hospitals and charitable institutions is a useful resumé of the works undertaken by contemporary confraternities such as Giginta's Casas de Misericordia, and Herrera's Albergues, which represented a positive move away from the older confraternal philanthropy, organized on the principle of the Helping Hand, towards one of self-help:

> ¿Qué sea la causa de no haber en la república hospital de tahures, siendo el número tan grande y tal su perdición? Bien sabéis cómo en nuestro lugar hay cuna pública, que es un hospital de niños expuestos; hay, demás desto, hospital para muchachos perdidos, hospital para soldados, hospital para viejos, hospital de enfermos, convalecientes, incurables, de San Antón, de San Lázaro y hospital general

> de mendicantes; con más uno de peregrinos y otro de faltos de juicio. Sin duda, Florino, que me ha puesto en cuidado; porque si enfermedades vienen de ocasión de culpas y ofensas de Dios..., sin comparación deben ser más graves las de esta gente, pues los dejan totalmente desamparados en toda suerte de males, llenos de necesidad.

(Fiel desengaño, II, 196-7; and compare Villalón, Viaje de Turquia, 8a).

H. Parisian Cours des Miracles

Hugo describes the Parisian Cours des Miracles as an immense dressing room where beggars gathered to prepare their wounds and sores for exhibition on the following day: the Narquois (false soldier) whistling away whilst undoing his bandages, unstiffening his sound and vigorous knee; the malingreux preparing his leg for the morrow with celandine and ox blood; and a young hubin taking a lesson in epilepsy from an old sabouleux (hustler), who teaches him the art of foaming at the mouth by chewing on a piece of soap (Les misérables, pt. V, bk. 2, ch. 1, pp. 1007-25). The term appeared in the 1630 and 1632 Lyonnais editions of Jargon as 'Cour de Miracles ou Piolle Franche où les Argotiers et les Gueux font leur retraite'. A full description is found in the 1660 edition of Girardon, and in that of Jean Musier c. 1690, but disappears soon after (see Chartier, 'La "Monarchie d'Argot"', 275-311).

I. Beggars' Badges and Emblems - Pícaros and Ganapanes

> Las señales no sinifican más mal ni bien que la causa porque se traen, por ser hechas y dispuestas ad placitum, hoc est ex impositione hominum (que son cosas inventadas por los hombres, al gusto y plácito dellos), como dice Aristóteles en Las Periamenias, que son las señales cosa voluntaria. Y así, los hábitos de las Ordenes de Caballeria sinifican nobleza y valor; y los roquetes de prelados, y ropas de los consejeros de V. M., dignidad y autoridad; y los hábitos y señales de las Ordenes Mendicantes, y otras, religión, mortificación y pobreza; y las becas y hábitos de los colegiales, tan señaladas y de diferentes colores que, cuanto más viejas y rotas son, se tienen y estiman por de más autoridad y honra, letras y limpieza de linaje. Y las señales de los penitenciados, forzados, ladrones, y de esclavitud, son infames por lo que muestran y denotan; y asi las de pobres no sinificarán más que pobreza, la cual no es vileza, luego no es infame.
>
> (Pérez de Herrera, Amparo, Apologia y Discurso 5°, 141).

Zamora limited ganapanes to ten:

> A los cuales se daría por distintivo una caperuza de Palencia blanca y colorada, sentando sus nombres en el Regimiento, con prevención de que ningún otro usará del oficio, so pena de cien azotes.

(Haan, Pícaros y Ganapanes, 23, n. 77, citing 'Pregunta 254', p. 322, in El averiguador universal, 3ª época, año 1° (Madrid, 1879)).

Later the limit was raised to twelve:

> Usando precisamente para distinguirse caperuzas azules los ganapanes, y verdes los picaros, con prohibición para éstos de meterse a corredores ni medidores de trigo y vino, por lo que sisaban.
>
> (Haan, op. cit., 24, n. 78, citing C. Fernández Duro, Memorias históricas de la ciudad de Zamora (Madrid, 1882-3), II, 264-429).

Haan claims the first measure was promulgated in 1540, and the second one in 1605. Salamanca sanctioned twenty-four ganapanes: 'Y esta ciudad les dé caperuzas azules, y a doce pícaros amarillas, y no haya otros algunos en esta ciudad, pena de vagabundos' (Ibid, 24, n. 79, citing Ordenanzas desta ciudad de Salamanca, que por su mandado se recopilaron de las viejas (Salamanca, 1658), lib. V, tit. XXXIII). In 1595 Pérez de Herrera defined them as those who 'andan trabajando en llevar cargas, haciendo oficio de ganapanes por escusarse de trabajar' (Amparo, Discurso 3º, 98). He also sought to delimit them by advocating the use of coloured hoods:

> Seria bien que hubiese número en cada lugar destos ganapanes, nombrados por la justicia o por alguna persona a quien fuere bien cometerlo, y que sean en el número que pareciere bastar para allí, trayendo para ser conocidos alguna caperuza de color azul, como me dicen traen en Toledo y otras partes... desta suerte se podria mejor distinguir quién vive sin ocupación y anda vagabundo.
>
> (Ibid., 99-100).

Haan found no information on numbers or dress for picaros in Madrid or Seville, but a numerical limit may have been imposed by 1635, when the cook of a Madrid inn bewailed:

> ¡Ay, olla mía! ¿No eres tú la que solias ser hartazgo y deleite común de todo carretero alcaladino y pullista... de todo ganapán del número y el mejor del número de los ganapanes?
>
> (Picaros y ganapanes, 26, n. 87, citing Salas Barbadillo, Coronas del Parnaso y platos de las Musas, fol. 117).

J. Dacianos

> Iba con dos chapines en sus manos, llevando arrastrando el cuerpo, sólo con la defensa de dos corchos, que atados en las rodillas, las defendían de que las piedras las ultrajasen; la cabeza llevaba con un casquete lleno de sangre y pez, toda cogidos; el pescuezo ligado con unos trapajos llenos de sangre aguada, que parecía materia; los brazos del mismo modo, las piernas rodeadas de orillos y sus voces llenas de lástima y clamores. Pedía 'por un solo Dios crucificado, que bajó del cielo a la tierra a padecer afrentas, por el pobre tullido y llagado, que arrastrando por este suelo miserable pide limosna a los católicos cristianos; así la piedad divina los libre de verse como a este vil gusano ve'; decíalo con un tono espacioso y sonoro y de rato en rato levantaba el cuerpo, enderezándose sobre las rodillas, para que sus voces llegasen a las viviendas altas y sus ojos viesen quién ofrecía su santa limosna (Santos, Día y Noche 107-8).

K. Fake Beggars in Medieval and Early Modern Europe

For an account of fake beggars in fifteenth-century France, see Chartier, 'La "Monarchie d'Argot"', 291; for Italy, see Camporesi, Libro dei vagabondi, xxxiii; and Black, Italian Confraternities, 187, n. 66, citing B. S. Pullan, 'Abitazione al servizio dei poveri nella Repubblica di Venezia', in Dietro i Palazzi. Tre secoli di architettura minore a Venezia, 1492-1803, edited by G. Gianighian and P. Pavanini (Venice, 1984), 39-44 (41).

L. Beggar Kings

The leader of the French organization was termed 'King', and his subordinates had titles taken from the monarchical state (see Kamen, Iron Century, 401; and Chartier, 'La "Monarchie d'Argot"', 283-5). See also Roi de Thunes and roi des pellerins passans, which appeared in a late fourteenth-century French poem ('Le grand testament de taste-vin, Roy des Pions', Recueil de poésies françaises, ed. Montaiglon, 77-83 (80)). See also Roi de la Coquille (Chartier, 'La "Monarchie d'Argot"', 291, n. 24, citing L. Sainéau, Sources de l'Argot ancien (1912), I, 85-110); Henri Sauval, Roi (293, n. 28); and page 56 above. Chartier thinks the office of king of beggars came from a transposition of other offices involved with the marginal population. One was le Roi des merciers, the other was le Roi des ribauds. In fifteenth-century France he had a dual function: 'Chasser les vagabonds et larrons de l'hôtel du roi, visiter et contrôler les berlans (maisons de jeux) et les bordels' ('La "Monarchie d'Argot"', 291, n. 26). This last king does not appear after 1460. Henri III suppressed the Roi de la basoche and Roi des merciers. The only evidence of a royal nomenclature in Spain is in medieval Valencia: 'A València exercia autoritat sobre les meretrius un funcionari que adquirí gran popularitat pel seu títol grotesc de Rex arlotum o "rei dels arlots"; anomenaven arlots els homes vils i de mala vida' (Martínez-Ferrando, Baixa edat mitjana, 1670).

M. Juan de Espera en Dios

The literary character of Juan de Espera en Dios emerged again in Part XXXII of Comedias Nuevas (Madrid, 1669): Comedia famosa. Las cinco blancas de Juan de Espera en Dios, said to be written by Antonio de Huerta and set in the days of Tiberius Caesar, even though Enoch, Elias and Cain also feature (see Caro Baroja, Vidas mágicas, I, 358-9, n. 42, citing Emilio Cotarelo, Catálogo descriptivo de la gran colección de "Comedias escogidas", Boletín de la Academia Española, 48 vols (Madrid, 1914-), XVIII (1931), 779). There is also a reference to Iuan de Espera en Dios in Ferreira de Vasconcellos, La Eufrosina, V. 9. p. 150b (ed. Menéndez y Pelayo); but contrast with the original version in the Asensio edition, p. 342. According to the sixteenth-century philosopher, Alejo Venegas, the name is a corruption of Juan devoto a Dios, referring to Saint John the Evangelist (Agonía).

> Publiqué adivinar lo que estaba por venir, hallar los perdidos, reconciliar enamorados, descubrir los ladrones, manifestar los tesoros, dar remedio fácil a los enfermos y aun resucitar los muertos. Y como de mí los hombres tenían noticia, venían luego postrados con mucha humildad a me adorar y besar los pies y a ofrecerme todas sus haciendas, llamándome todos propheta, discipulo de Dios... Eran tan fáciles en el crédito que con un palo arrebujado en unos trapos o un pergamino con unos plomos o sellos colgando, en las manos de un hombre desnudo y descalzo, luego se arrojaban y humillaban al suelo, y venían adorando y ofreciéndose a Dios sin se levantar de allí hasta que el prestigioso cuestor los levantase con su propia mano... Decíame yo ser Juan de Voto a Dios.
>
> (El Crotalón, Canto 4, 143-5).

N. The Literary Tradition of the Beggars' Brotherhood

The landmarks in this tradition are: Ratsbuch (1381); Teseo Pini, De cerretanorum origine eorumque fallaciis (1484-6); Liber vagatorum (MS 1455, published at Pforzheim, 1509-10); Der Betler Orden (1509); Brant,

Ship of Fools; Cock Lorell's Bote (1512); Copland, Hye Way to the Spital House (1531); The Fraternity of Vagabonds [published by John Awdeley] (1561); Thomas Harman, A caveat or warning for common cursetors vulgarly called vagabonds (1566); Thomas Dekker, The Guls Hornbook and the Belman of London (1608-9); and Rafaele Frianoro (pseudonym of Giacinto Nobili), Il Vagabondo (1621). Moralists were swift in their condemnation of this lowering of the standards of taste. For Jerónimo de Zurita, chronicler of the history of Aragon and Secretary of the Spanish Inquisition, the suppression of superficial literature appeared to be one of the chief reasons for the existence of censorship (Jerónimo de Zurita, 'Dictamen acerca de la prohibición de obras literarias por el Santo Oficio', RABM, 8 (1903), 218-21). In practice, however, censors were more concerned with ideologically dangerous literature than with 'superficial scribblings' (see Kamen, Iron Century, 284).

O. Origins of picaro

Earlier precedents for picaro include, for instance, the thirteenth-century Le garçon et l'aveugle (edited by M. Roques (Paris, 1912)). See Parker, 'Literature and the Delinquent', 113. The etymology of picaro is a fascinating subject. Its precursors include mozos de cocina (as in Villalón, Viaje de Turquía, 74a, and 107a), and ganapanes. An early seventeenth-century Castilian translation of La Eufrosina supplies pícaro for vilao (IV. 5. p. 127b), and puntinha (V. 1. p. 133a). For exhaustive studies on this word, see A. Bonilla y San Martin, 'Etimologia de "Picaro"', RABM, 3ª época, 5 (1901); ibid., 'Las más antiguas menciones de ganapán, y de pícaro', Rev. Critica Hispanoaméricana, 1 (1915); Vicente de la Fuente, La sopa de los conventos (Madrid, 1868); Haan, Pícaros y Ganapanes; and Rutherford, Pícaro: Historia de la palabra y del personaje (unpublished). I should like to thank Professor Rutherford for letting me have a copy of the above manuscript. Like all the chart-toppers of the day, Lazarillo spanned a number of refundiciones. It was translated to German in 1617, and had reached most of Western Europe by the eighteenth-century. Refundiciones include: (Anon.), Segunda parte de Lazarillo (Antwerp, 1555); Luna, Segunda parte de Lazarillo (1620); and J. Cortés de Tolosa, Lazarillo de Manzanares (Zaragoza, 1617). Another acclaimed picaresque work was Quevedo's El Buscón (1626), which had an 'unhappy imitation' in Gregorio Guadaña [1644] (see Deleito y Piñuela, Mala vida, 115). For more on the picaresque debate, see Geremek, Margins of Society, 200, 154, and ibid., 'Criminalité', 357.

APPENDIX 6: SISTERS OF VICE AND MERCY

A. A Bibliography of Prostitution

For general studies on prostitution, see Bullough, Sexual Variance in Society and History (Chicago, 1976) 433-4; ibid., Sin, Sickness and Sanity: A History of Sexual Attitudes (New York, 1977), 140-1; Derrick Sherwin Bailey, Sexual Relation in Christian Thought (New York, 1959), 206; Nina Epton, Love and the English (London, 1960), 68, 91; Merry Weisner Wood, 'Birth, Death and the Pleasures of Life: Working Women in Nuremberg 1480-1620' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, WI, 1979), 271-90; all cited in Flynn, 'Confraternal Piety', 284, n. 162. For historical studies on Spanish prostitution, see Deleito y Piñuela, La mala vida; Pedro Pérez de la Sala, 'La prostitución en la Corte' in 'Costumbres españolas en el siglo XVII', Revista de España, 134 (1891), 425-42, and 524-43; and art. cit., vol. 135 (1892), 192-208, and 330-42.

B. Two Public Brothels in Seville - La Resolana and San Bernardo

Two other public brothels in Seville were La Resolana, which was probably between Torre del Oro and Old Arenal, and San Bernardo, outside the city walls. These locations are specified in the anonymous Sátira de Alonso Alvarez de Soria:

> Ninfas que en las tasqueras
> Del Compás, Resolana y Santo Bernardo,
> Sobre humildes esteras
> Tendéis el pobre y traqueado fardo,
> Y, por virtud del hongo,
> Es vuestra ambrosia Parago y mondongo.

(Bonilla y San Martín (ed.), 'Testamento del pícaro pobre', 230).

C. Philip IV's Condemnation of Public Brothels

> Sólo sirven de profanación, de abominaciones, escándalos e inquietudes, y de traer divertida mucha gente infamamente; y porque no es justo dar lugar a esto en república tan cristiana... pues de lo contrario puede justamente temerse algún castigo, por lo que su Divina Majestad se irrita y ofende con ellos... fue acordado: que debíamos mandar y mandamos por esta nuestra carta, que queremos que tenga fuerza de ley y pragmática sanción, como si fuera hecha y promulgada en Cortes, que de aquí adelante en ninguna ciudad, villa, ni lugar de estos reinos se pueda permitir ni permita mancebía ni casa pública.

(Pragmatic of 1623, cited in Deleito y Piñuela, Mala vida, 55).

> Ordenamos y mandamos que de aquí en adelante en ninguna ciudad, villa ni lugar de estos reinos se pueda permitir ni se permita mancebia ni casa pública donde mujeres ganen con sus cuerpos, y lo prohibimos y defendemos y mandamos se quiten las que hubiere; y encargamos a los de nuestro Consejo tengan particular ciudado en su ejecución, como de cosa tan importante, y a la Justicia que cada una en sus distritos lo ejecute, so pena de que, si en alguna parte las consintieren o permitieren, por el mismo caso les condenamos en privación de oficio y en cincuenta mil maravedis, aplicados por tercias partes: Cámara, juez y denunciador.

(Pragmatic of 1632, cited by Navarro Fernández, op. cit., 80, in Deleito y Piñuela, Mala vida, 55).

D. Prostitutes and Sumptuary Regulations

> Otrosí, mandamos et tenemos por bien que las barraganas de los clérigos ni de los legos, ni otras mujeres algunas mal enfamadas, que no traigan faldas rastrando de manto, ni de pellote, ni sayas, ni cendales, ni otros adobos ningunos: et si los trajere, que pierda los paños et que se los tome el alguacil (XXXVI).

(Guichot, Historia del Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, I, 218, in Rodríguez Marín, Rinconete y Cortadillo, 108, n. 101).

E. The Valencian High-Heeled Prostitute

> En una mujer ataviada se ve un mundo: mirando los chapines, se verá a Valencia...; en el agnus y las demás reliquias, a Roma; en las bujerías y brinquiños de vidrio, se verá a Venecia; en las perlas y corales, a las Indias Ocidentales; en los suaves olores, a las Orientales...; de suerte que es un mapa del mundo, donde se ven reunidas las mayores partes dél.

(Fray Juan de la Cerda, Libro intitulado Vida politica de todos los estados de mugeres (Alcala, 1599), fol. 478, cited by Rodríguez Marín (ed.), Rinconete y Cortadillo, 43, n. 16).

F. Puta de celosía

The puta de celosía, put either a latticed screen in her window, or a green branch, a handkerchief, or braid (Salas Barbadillo, La hija de Celestina, 857a). See also Alemán, Guzmán de Alfarache, II. 3. 5, 398: 'Cuando estaba tomada la posada o dejaban caer la celosia, o ponian en la ventana un jarro, un chapín o cualquier otra cosa, en que supiesen los maridos que habían de pasarse de largo y no entrasen a embarazar'. Alonso Hernández claims that the puta de empanada/encerada put a waxed cloth or oilcloth in the window, or even a carpet (La Germania, 43). The term Encerada, however, may be an allusion to the candle she used (see page 284 above).

G. Drawbacks to Public Punishment of Prostitutes

> Si alguna déstas comete algún delito de hurto, hechicería, o es vagabunda o alcahüeta, o otra cosa por que merezca vergüenza pública - azotes, coroza, y destierro - y se ejecute en ella la sentencia, no por eso queda emendada ni escarmentada, sino más conocida, para que acuda a ella quien la hubiere menester para sus liviandades, pudiendo andar con libertad y a su albedrío por otras partes (siendo cierto que las leyes que mandan enmelar y emplumar a estas que tercian en el pecado de sensualidad, parece quieren sinificar con esta manera de castigo y afrenta, que, así como las plumas por ser livianas se pegan a la miel, de la misma suerte se llegan los hombres livianos y sensuales a las alcahüetas); y así, siendo conocidas, son más buscadas... Pues aquí, en Madrid, han ahorcado poco ha a una, a la cual habían dado mil y quinientos azotes en diferentes veces, sin haber escarmentado, ni emendádose, hasta que le costó la vida. Y la semana pasada, en este mes de otubre, me dicen que dieron aquí a una cuatrocientos azotes, a la cual se le había dado ya mil y seiscientos en diferentes veces, con que llegan a dos mil, y aún no ha parado.

(Amparo, Discurso 4º, 119-20).

A sentence approaching 2000 lashes must surely have run the serious risk of proving fatal.

H. Prostitutes and the Law

> Certain things are said to be wrongly acquired, however, because they are acquired from shameful occupations, for example, prostitution or play acting. Such things one is not obliged to restore and hence one is bound to pay tithes on them just as on other personal goods. The Church should not accept these tithes, however, as long as the people giving them are in sin, lest the Church appear to co-operate in their sin. After they repent, however, their tithes may be accepted.
>
> (Aquinas, Summa Theologiae, 2a 2ae, 87, 2 (vol. 39, 149)).

I. Piscatorial Terms

Terms from the fish population were also applied to the prostitutes. Thus trucha was the opposite of abadejo, gusarapa, or bagasa, who were old, ugly, and infirm prostitutes:

> Yo quisiera ser de quince años y más hermosa que Lucrecia para servir con todos mis bienes habidos y por haber a vuesa merced... pero puede creer que si llegamos a Alcalá, le tengo de servir allí.. con un par de truchas que no parecen de los catorce, lindas a mil maravillas y no de mucha costa.
>
> (Avellaneda, Don Quijote, pt. 5, ch. 2, 71).

> Veréis unas atunes
> cargadas de oro y plata,
> con mantos de soplillo,
> vendiendo las ijadas.
> Tapadas de medio ojo
> cada punto se hallan,
> abadejos mujeres,
> arremendando caras.
> El rico es el bonito,
> el pobre es la pescada,
> las truchas son las hijas,
> las madres son las carpas.
>
> ('Los nadadores', in Quevedo, Obra poética, III, 387, no, 871).

See also Celestina, Auto 7, 120; and López de Ubeda, La Justina, Bk. 3, ch. 1 (vol. 2, 557 and 635), for truchas. Bagasa became by metathesis Gabasa. For association between nuns and truchas, see Obras de Trillo, 86, 'A una monja habiendo dado al poeta unos gaznates en un locutorio'; and Salinas, Poesías humanas, 161, 'Itinerario IV', lines 329-32.

J. Prima-tercera puns

Cervantes was particularly fond of juxtaposing the two words: 'Jamás quisimos admitirlos (a las celestinas o quitadoras de vello) porque las más oliscan a terceras habiendo dejado de ser primas' (Don Quijote, II, 40 (vol. 6, 185)). And when one of Prado's beggars becomes entangled with a 'widow' and her two daughters: Olimpa (enjoyed and desired by many) and Lucrecia, 'pero sin Tarquino' (as no-one had forced her integrity); all three are arrested on separate charges: 'la madre por tercera, y las hijas por primas de la música de Cúpido' (Ardid de la pobreza, 476b).

K. The Celestina Tradition

For the Celestina tradition, see Caro Baroja, Vidas mágicas, I, 110-28. Greek dramatists include: Aristophanes, The Clouds, and The Knights. In the Latin tradition are: Horace's character, Canidia in Satires I. 8. 24, p. 99; I. 8. 48, p. 101; II. 1. 48, p. 131; and II. 8. 95, p. 245;

Terence, Andria; Plautus, The Two Menaechmuses (Menaechmi); ibid., The Comedy of Asses (Asinaria); and The Captives. Twelfth-century works include: Maurilianus Pamphilus, Pamphilus de Amore cum comento familiari (called De Vetula, in some editions); and Ovid's character, Dipsas, in Amores, I. viii. 2, pp. 346-55. Fourteenth-century works include: Juan Ruíz, Libro de Buen Amor; Alfonso Martínez, Arcipreste de Talavera, El Corbacho (Reprobación de amor mundano). Sixteenth-century works include: Juan de Sedeño (1540), who versified the acts of Celestina; Urrea, who included one versified act in Cancionero (V) (1513); and ibid., Penitencia de amor; Ortiz de Stúñiga, Farsa en coplas sobre la Comedia de Calixto y Melibea; Feliciano de Silva, Resurrección de la Celestina (1536); Gaspar Gómez de Toledo, Tercera comedia de Celestina (1559); Sancho Muñón, Cuarta Celestina o los amores de Lisandro y Rosalia (1542); Sebastián Fernández, Tragedia Policiana; Rodríguez Florián, Comedia Florinea; Francisco de las Natas, Comedia Tidea; Joaquín Romero de Cepeda, La Comedia Selvago; Villegas Selvago, Comedia Selvagia; Hurtado de la Vera, Dolería del Sueño del mundo (1572); Alfonso Velázquez de Velasco, La Lena, el Celoso; Luis Hurtado, La Policiana (1547); Lope de Vega, La Dorotea; Agustín de Salazar y Torres, Segunda Celestina; Ferreira de Vasconcellos, Aulegrafia; Ulysipo; and Eufrosina; anon., Comedia Thebaída; Comedia Serafina; and Comedia Ypólita (1521); and Francisco Delgado, La lozana andaluza (1527). For Celestinesque activities, see also Quevedo, El Buscón; Lazarillo de Manzanares; and Don Quijote de Avellaneda.

APPENDIX 7: THE GAMBLERS' GUILD

A. Religious Manipulation and State Control of Playing Cards

Luther had compared the Pope to the six of bells, the Turk to the eight of bells, and the Emperor to the King. 'Lastly', he said, 'our Lord God comes, deals out the cards, and beats the Pope with the Luther, which is His ace [Daus]' (Luther, Tischreden 1: 491-2, no. 972, cited in Smoller, 'Playing Cards and Popular Culture', 189). On German packs of cards, see Schreiber, Die ältesten Spielkarten, 91, n. 22, cited in Smoller, art. cit., 188. For the Spanish response, see Maravall, La literatura picaresca, 507, citing Cortes de Toledo (1538); Cortes de Valladolid (1544); and Cortes de Valladolid (1555). See also León Pinelo, Anales, 115, on a pragmatic against gambling on 18-22 February, 1575. On official Tridentine censure, see also Luque Fajardo, Fiel desengaño, I, 147; and Martínez Ferrando, Baixa edat mitjana, 1676-77:

> Les ordinacions de l'època prohibeixen el préstec de jocs de daus tant a cases particulars com en places, tavernes, hostals i bordells; igualment prohibeixen el préstec de diner a jugadors. Els càstigs eren de 50 dies de presó amb cadena al coll i grillons als peus. En els càstigs estaven inclosos àdhuc els miradors o badocs... El més nefast era el de daus, que es veia prodigat pertot arreu per places, tuguris i tavernes. Els jugadors, en el seu apassionament, acostumaven a renegar de Déu. "Més que lo diable, fa el joc de daus en despit de Déu", deia el sant.

Card-playing amongst religious is attested early in the history of the game (Huizinga, Homo ludens, 57). In 1377, a German monk wrote a treatise describing and defending cards. And by the sixteenth century, cards were being used for propaganda purposes in teaching institutions. Thomas Murner invented games to teach his students the elements of logic and the Institutes of Justinian, and published books on the topic (see Smoller, 'Playing Cards and Popular Culture', 184, n. 6, citing Henry René d'Allemagne, Les cartes à jouer du quatorzième au vingtième siècle, 2 vols (Paris, 1906), I, 20, and II, 28). Murner's books include Chartiludium Logicae (1507); and Chartiludium Institutae Summariae (1518). See R. Caillois, Les jeux et les hommes (Paris, 1958); and Geremek, op. cit., 280, n. 64, citing P. Berthelot, Le Parnasse satyrique du quinzième siècle (1625), edited by M. Schwob (Paris, 1905), N. LXX, 139.

B. Prison as the Gambler's Training School

> Lo que puedo afirmar con verdad es haber más juegos y más tahures en la cárcel que en la villa; pues los que nunca jugaban acá fuera, dentro en la prisión les hacen tahures, aunque no quieran, y, una vez sabido el oficio, en la ciudad no le olvidan. A la cárcel se recogen muchos del oficio, estando libres, a solamente jugar, pareciéndoles estar más seguros de visitas de justicia, como en efeto pasa... Después de medianoche, cuando el alcaide se recoge, queda la coima por cuenta del lamparero, con las barajas viejas, que son suyas de derecho. Suele valer gran dinero respeto de los presos que vienen de noche, que gustan de gastarla jugando por incomodidad de cama y aposento.
>
> (Luque Fajardo, Fiel desengaño, II, 239).

C. The Art of Marking Cards

> Hiciéronme avivar la lumbre con un poco de carbón, a cuya brasa puso el italiano un crisol con un poco de oro y una candileja con plomo. Desempapeló mi español sus cartas, y novenidas del correo; y sacando de un estuche unas muy finas y aceradas tijeras, empezó a dar cuchilladas, cortando coronas reales, cercenando faldas de sotas por vergonzoso lugar, y desjarretando caballos, señalando las cartas por las puntas para quinolas y primera, dándoles el raspadillo por la cartera, y echándoles el garrote y la ballesta para las pintas, sin otra infinidad de flores.
>
> (Estebanillo González, ch. III, 298b).

D. Doctored Dice

The same Flores (or techniques for cheating) applied to dice. In England there were fourteen different fake dice, the main one being a Langret or Fulham, so-called because of the prevalence of gamblers in Fulham. The Fulham was longer on the three and four than on the other sides (see Fuller, Beggars' Brotherhood, 169; and Nashe, Unfortunate Traveller, 255, 261-3). Substitution of false dice was originally the art of the foist, who rapidly exchanged the true die, as it fell on the floor, with a fake one. Some of these dice were delicately treated with hair and quicksilver. The quater trey was loaded so that four or three would come up. Estebanillo González describes the manufacture of fake dice:

> El italiano en una cuchara redonda de acero empezó a amolar sus dados, sin ser cuchillos ni tijeras; haciéndolas de mayor y de menor, de ocho y trece, de nueve y doce, y de diez y once; y después de haber hecho algunas brochas, dando barreno a dos docenas de dados, hinchó los unos de oro y los otros de plomo, haciendo fustas para juegos grandes y para rateros.
>
> (Estebanillo González, ch. I, 290a).

It takes him a month to learn the skill. Compare Camporesi: 'Si falsono dadi col mettere argento vivo, piombo o oro ne'bucchi di detti dada da una sola banda' (Libro dei vagabondi, 383). Galley-slaves also prepared cheating dice (see Alemán, Guzmán de Alfarache, II. 3. 8, 458).

E. The Art of Making Fake Dice

> Altri lassano una faccia più larga dell'altre o limano alcuni corni, e questo lo fanno perché la parte più grave più spesso si ferma di sotto, scoprendo la parte opposta. Questo medesimo fa la faccia più larga, che con più facilità resta di sotto mentre piglia più spazio della tavola, e secondo che la faccia opposto alla larga o al peso sará di più punti o di meno: si dicono dadi del più, o dadi del meno, aiutandosi molti ancora ne'dadi non alterati mirabilmente con l'artifizio della mano, e cosi a tempo massando fanno la massa de'denari nelle lor tasche.
>
> (Camporesi, Libro dei vagabondi, 383).

F. European Court Cards and Suits

Court cards (and suits) varied from country to country and from period to period, each card-painter often designing his own suits. These included bells, acorns, leaves, pomegranates, hearts, printer's inkers, books, and wine pots. The choice of suits might reveal a topical moral message: thus printers' inkers and books opposed cups and wine pots.

There was even international variation in the number of suits. Some decks carried a serious message and Latin inscriptions, others portrayed bawdy, scatological, peasant scenes. Smoller suggests there may be a thematic pattern accompanying certain numbers: love, strife etc. Common to all decks, however, was the fool (also called Knave, Untermann, and Saturn) (see 'Playing Cards and Popular Culture', 200). See also Hugo, Les Misérables, Pt. 4, Bk. 7, ch. 3, p. 518, on picture symbolism for gamblers.

Smoller notes a common association between the suits of a German deck and social classes. There is certainly some overlap with Spanish suits described here by Luque Fajardo, except that the society he portrays could be that of the underworld in its different subgroups. Thus the German suit of bells (Schellen), the suit of the fools, is probably that of diamonds (oros); the suit of cups (Roth) portraying the aristocratic burghers is the same (copas), standing for the drinkers; the suit of spades (Grün), standing for soldiers, would relate to the valientes of the sword suit (espadas); and finally, the suit of acorns (Eicheln), standing for the swine of no value, probably relates to that of clubs (bastos), for the peasants.

G. A University Faculty of Gambling

> Léense en ella [la universidad]... facultades mayores: leen sus cátedras de prima los cuatro reyes; y por tanto se llama el oficio regentar. El de oros lee de codicia; el de copas, catedrático de visperas, lee de glotoneria o de bucólica, como quien anda cargado después de comer; el de espadas trata de injusticias, y el de bastos, el poco fundamento que en el juego debe hacerse, como bienes que no tienen jugo ni raíces. Los cuatro caballos son doctores del claustro, graduados por suficiencia y ventajas; las sotas, estudiantes que cursan las escuelas. Retor es el catedrático de prima; los conciliarios están en el cinco oros; maestro de ceremonias, el as de bastos; portero, la espadilla; el cuatro bastos trae las mazas de los bedeles; armas de la Universidad tiénelas el dos oros, y el as deste manjar sustenta los actos públicos, da los grados autoritate regia, con licencia de su Majestad, que asi lo publica el blasón que trae por orla.
>
> Arguyentes son ordinariamente las espadas; las copas, como antiguas, ponen réplicas con uno y otro brindis; los bastones entran de por medio, allanando dificultades; y, últimamente, los oros son conclusiones averiguadas. De aquí salen las soluciones de los más fuertes argumentos; de esta universidad salen también estudiantes para frailes y soldados o para navegantes, por haber acabado los cursos en el juego. Vótanse las cátedras por sobornos, especial la de artes, que casi siempre anda entre sofistas, hombres que con falacias engañan a los bobos; medicina, en ninguna manera la profesan, como gente poco cuidadosa de su salud, estando engañados y creyendo que tienen naturaleza de bronce... El vejamen dale de ordinario el que gana al perdidoso, en quien se continúan y llueven todas las inclemencias e infortunios.
>
> (Luque Fajardo, Fiel desengaño, I, 240-1).

H. Spanish Card Games

Card games included: tres, dos y as, quinola, primera, primerilla, un triunfo vadeado, polla, carteta o juego del parar (anda boba), cartilla,

espadilla, las rifas, veintiuna, treinta y una, and rentoy. Santos's Arca de Noë adds to this list a few more: Cientos de quince, treinta, a la flor, capadillo, tenderete, bazas, triunfo, Polla, renegado, vueltas, baciga, pintas, carreta, el Cuco, matacán, malcontento (División VI, 110-11). Pintas - 'juego de naipes, especie del que se llama del parar. Juégase volviendo a la cara toda la baraja junta, y la primera carta que se descubre es la del contrario, y la segunda del que lleva el naipe, y estas dos se llaman pintas' (Dicc. Aut.). Primera - card game in which each player gets four cards. The winning hand is a flush, having four cards of the same suit (Dicc. Aut., cited in op. cit., 240, n. 125).

I. European Decks

English and Italian decks had fifty-six and four court cards (King, Queen, knight, and page). The French pack had fifty-two. See Willshire, A Descriptive Catalogue of Playing Cards; Tilley, History of Playing Cards; Lacroix, Les arts du moyen âge, 219-56; José Puiggari, 'Juego de Naipes catalán del siglo XV', Revista de Gerona, 111 (1891); N. T. Horr, A Bibliography of Card Games and of the History of Playing Cards (Cleveland, 1892); and A. Lensi, Bibliografia italiana di girochidi carte (Florence, 1892).

J. Dice and Religious Symbolism

> Curiós és el simbolisme que el fogós dominicà imaginava en la numeració dels daus: l'as evoca la figura de Jesucrist; el dos, les dues coses que hem de procurar salvar en el nostre pas pel món, o sia, el cos i l'ànima; el tres, la Santíssima Trinitat; el quatre els Quatre Evangelis, el cinc, les cinc nafres de Jesucrist; el sis, els sis sagraments de l'Església.
>
> (Martínez-Ferrando, Baixa edat mitjana, 1677).

K. A Parody of Góngora's Gambling

> Este que en negra tumba, rodeado
> De luces, yace muerto y condenado,
> Vendió el alma y el cuerpo por dinero,
> Y aun muerto es garitero;
> Y alli donde les véis, está sin muelas,
> Pidiendo que le saquen de las velas.
>
> Ordenado de quínolas estaba,
> Pues desde prima a nona las rezaba;
> Sacerdote de Venús y de Baco,
> Caca en los versos y en garito Caco.
> La sotana traía
> Por sota, más no por clerecía.
>
> ... Clérigo, en fin, de devoción tan brava,
> Que, en lugar de rezar, brujuleaba;
> Tan hecho a tablajero el mentacato,
> Que hasta su salvación metió a barato.
> Vivió en la ley del juego,
> Y murió en la del naipe, loco y ciego.

(Quevedo, Obras completas (ed. Buendía), 443, 'Epitafio al mismo').

APPENDIX 8: THE 'BLOOD BROTHERHOOD'

A. Military Dress in Early Modern Europe

About 1540, when Alonso Enríquez de Guzmán went into battle, he went armed with a pike and a sword on his belt, wearing white shoes, a doublet of white velvet, and a gilded corselet. Having no body armour, he received seventeen wounds below the waist and on the arms (Life and Acts, 40). Meanwhile Alonso de Contreras records how he inherited from some renegade soldiers court-martialled and hanged: 'las capas, espadas y coletos, muy buenos jubones, medias y ligas, sombreros, dos jubones agujeteados famosos y algún dinerillo' (Vida de Alonso de Contreras, 99a). Coloured stockings and garters were de rigueur (see Chaves, Relación de la Cárcel, 1356; and Salas Barbadillo, Don Diego, 185). Middleton described the soldier as a baboon in man's apparel: 'His head crowned with a tower of white feathers, his face almost hidden by a high, sharp-edged collar that might have cut his throat by daylight' (cited by Fuller, Beggars' Brotherhood, 132). The Spanish chronicler, Fernández Navarrete, insisted that this effeminate military dress had originated abroad, and that the time spent in stiffening collars shortened the life of man and collar. Besides representing a drain on the economy, because the cloth had to be imported, he claimed the collars demeaned a Spaniard's reputation: 'Cuando los españoles ponian temor al mundo, habia en España más armeros, y menos personas que cuidasen de este mujeril traje' ('Discurso XXXIII', Conservación de monarquías, 275-6). But he was ploughing the sea, as he unconsciously admitted, for the fashion had a long ancestry. Quoting from Tertullian, he said clothes had done more harm to a republic than arms: 'plus togae laesere republicam, quam loricae' (op. cit., 283, n. 32, citing Tertul. lib. de pallio). See also a Loa in praise of ladrones, in Rojas Villandrando, El viaje entretenido, 461. It is worth noting here that the same criticism was levelled at European knights in the twelfth century, when Orderic Vitalis, William of Tyre, and Peter of Blois all complained that contemporary knights had lost their vigour, unmanned by effete fashions (see Keen, Chivalry, 233, n. 51). Eventually popular objections prevailed. Ordinances of 1632 banned calzas acuchilladas among soldiers and insisted on:

> Gregüescos o calzones anchos, con medias calzas de estambre rojo y zapato de becerro o vaca, con cintas... jubón de faldetas... sombrero de fieltro blanco a la valona, con el ala terciada o levantada por un costado, sostenida con la toquilla ceñida enderredor de la copa y adornada con una o dos plumas de avestruz.

(See Deleito y Piñuela, El declinar de la monarquía, 179, n. 2, citing Clonard, op. cit., 406).

See Cervantes, Don Quijote, I, 27 (vol. 2, 306); and Alemán, Guzmán de Alfarache, I. 1. 4, 155, for calzones acuchillados. Gregüescos (Andalusian zaragüelles) or galligaskins also originated in Walloon (see Covarrubias, Tesoro, s.v. BALON). They were breeches with contrasting slashes. See references in Don Quijote, II, 18 (vol. 5, 60); II, 70 (vol. 8, 199); II, 31 (vol. 6, 16); Lope de Vega, La Dorotea, II. 3, p. 224; IV. 2, p. 343; IV. 2, p. 469; Salas Barbadillo, Don Diego, 227; Lope de Vega, Las ferias de Madrid, Jornada 2ª, 56; and ibid., El caballero del milagro, Acto 3º, 181a. See also John Day, The Blind Beggar of Bednal-Green (1659), 39.

B. Facial Hair and the Soldier

They wore the hair cut round with earlock (tufos), quiff (copete), beard grown under the lower lip (perilla) and handlebar moustache (bigote

alzado). Quevedo's biting satire of two lindos in hell shows that by early seventeenth century society was becoming disenchanted with lindos and their affectations:

> Al bajar allá dos lindos,
> quedaron los diablos ciegos,
> porque los lindos son gente
> que el diablo no puede vellos.
> Los trajes que acá se usan
> sirven allá de usos nuevos;
> que ya traen todos los diablos
> azul, guedejas y petos.
> ('Sátira' (786), in Quevedo, Obra poética, III, 155).

See also Maluenda, 'Bayle de Marica', in Cozquilla del gusto, 145, on copetes and guedejas.

C. Crime in Madrid (1637)

> No es creíble la gran cantidad de ladrones y capeadores que andan en Madrid; pues, en anocheciendo, no hay nadie seguro a pie, ni a caballo, ni en coches, habiendo desnudado un grande de España y un título y un mayordomo de Su Majestad, sin otros muchos casos notables, con lo cual se han dado gran prisa a prender gente, y se cree ahorcarán unos cuantos dellos la semana que viene.

(Rodríguez Villa, Nuevas de Madrid desde 24 hasta fin de enero de 1637, 78, cited in Deleito y Piñuela, Mala vida, 96, n. 2).

D. La Lonja de San Felipe

San Felipe el Real was the convent of the Augustinians erected by Philip II near Calle Mayor, opposite the Palacio Villamediana. Its steps were:

> Lonja de noticias, solaz de ociosos, mercado de mentiras, cita de pretendientes, cuartel general de soldados de Italia y Flandes, y Centro en fin del bullicioso hervidero de la corte, a donde, como a un mar, afluían y desaguaban nuevas de cuanto en ella acontecía.

(Monreal, Cuadros viejos, 157, cited by Laurenti (ed.), 73, n. 17, in Lazarillo, by Luna).

For the satirical poem, 'La Lonja de San Felipe', see Salas Barbadillo, El caballero Puntual, 223-39, quoted on page 292 above. See also Salas Barbadillo, El caballero Puntual, 53, on locations in Madrid. In Valladolid they gathered at el Corrillo and el Prado de la Magdalena. Alcalá and Salamanca were the bastions of scholarly delinquents. León had its Rollo, and La Sauceda near Ronda was a refuge for bandits, especially Roque Amador.

E. El Real de las Almadrabas and Spanish Underworld

El Real de las Almadrabas and inland at el Arroyo de San Juan was effectively an immigration centre. Many came here from a village called Don Benito in Extremadura. They were 'gente de mala vida, foragidos, matadores, ladrones y jugadores'. These Western Spaniards formed the armadores, who maintained a bloody rivalry with the remendadores de redes from the Levante. Both types, said León, usually ended up in the Cárcel Real de Sevilla (see Herrera Puga, Sociedad y delincuencia, 431, n. 31, citing León, Parte 1ª de la Cárcel, cap. 27, fol. 86v, lin, 8). See also engravings by Jorge Hoefnagel of inhabitants of Arroyo de San Juan and their canvas tents (Astrana Marín, Vida de Cervantes Saavedra, V, cap. LXI, 209). For maps showing the centres of underworld activity, see Alonso Hernández, La Germanía, 256-61. For more on Las Almadrabas,

see Herrera Puga, op. cit., 416, n. 3, citing León, op. cit., cap. 14, fol. 34. For other underworld areas of Seville, including la Huerta del Rey, la Macarena, las Gradas, the abattoir, and la Heria de Sevilla, see Herrera Puga, op. cit., 71-82; Alemán, Guzmán de Alfarache, I. 1. 2, 122; and II. 3. 6, 416; Cervantes, Don Quijote, I, 17 (vol. 2, 21); and Morales Padrón, Historia de Sevilla, 119-20. For other locations in Spain, see Deleito y Piñuela, Mala vida, 180-4; and references in Alfay, Poesías varias, 'Jácara', CXXXIII, 209.

F. Contemporary Contract Killings

In a twelve-month period from 1622-3, the young Marqués del Valle was riddled with stab-wounds on the night of 25 July, 1622; don Fernando Pimentel, son of el Conde de Benavente, was killed in the Plazuelo de la Paja on the night of 8 August, 1622; and el Conde de Villamo was murdered on 20 February 1623 at the door of the church of el Hospital de Antón Martín (González Palencia, Noticias, 31). The Condestable de Castilla killed his servant; el Marqués de Cañete was killed by a lackey; and the Duque de Pastrana's coachman mugged him. The playwright, Pedro Rosete, was also attacked, allegedly because his comedia, Madrid por de dentro, depicted gamblers, pimps, women of ill-repute and swaggering valientes (see Pellicer, Avisos de 23 de abril de 1641). See Mem. Hist. Esp., XIX, 118, for another case.

G. Knife Skills

The desjarretazo required great skill, and was often fatal. It was inflicted on the back above the highest rib, and could cleave the spinal cord in two. Unfortunately for the diestro, as the assailant was sometimes called, it risked exposing him to a stab in the stomach. La plumada described a wide curve from right to left and back with a rapid flick of the arm. La culebra was inflicted by throwing oneself to the floor on the left arm, whilst striking out with the right and slashing the victim's stomach vertically. When a victim approached his attacker too fast, he risked impaling himself on the knife. This was el floretazo. The very skilled knifemen used la corrida, an oblique movement right or left across the ribs. It called for sang froid, and risked receiving a wound in return.

H. Gurapa and Naval Connections

The word gurapa was quickly absorbed into popular speech. It came from gura meaning punishment in the galleys, and also more generally, officers of justice. Guripa also meant 'soldado raso, granuja o golfo; guardia'. Galley service invited puns on the theme of escribiente del mar, or dar de palos al mar, and organista de palos (Quevedo, 'Carta de la Perala a Lampuga, su bravo (Jácara)', Obras, 265); escribano naval (Quevedo, 'Respuesta de Lampuga a la Perala', op. cit., 268). In the same syntagma, see 'Jácara, CXXIII', in Poesías, (ed. Alfay), 209; and page 439 above (escribanía de un puerto). Gurapas < Arabic gurab meaning ship; guro meant alguacil from gurullo > grullo.

I. Facial Hair and Honour

Facial hair had long been connected with honour (see page 43 above). There is a well-known medieval literary account of public humiliation by loss of the beard in Poema de Mio Cid, when El Cid removes part of Count García Ordóñez's beard (Poema de Mio Cid, Cantar 3°, 3270-3300, pp. 286-87). See also ibid., 2832, p. 263; and 3186, p. 281. I am grateful to Professor Round for reminding me of this reference. See also Shakespeare, King Henry VI Part I, Act 1, scene 3, lines 47-48, p. 594: 'Priest, beware your beard; I mean to tug it, and to cuff you soundly'. For medieval law against pulling of beards, see Serra Ruiz, Honor, honra e injuria, 38-40.

J. Hacer piernas

For Hacer/echar piernas, see also Salas Barbadillo, La hija de Celestina, 848a; Liñán y Verdugo, Guía y avisos, 146; Hidalgo, Diálogos, 3°, cap. 5, p. 313b; Santos, Día y Noche, 144; Lope de Vega, Las ferias de Madrid, Jornada 2ª, 74; and Gracián, Criticón, Lib. 2°, crisi 5, 472. For types associated with the gait, see Barrionuevo, Avisos (14 October, 1654), I, 68b (doctor); Lope de Vega, El caballero de Illescas, Acto 2°, 129a (lackey); Estebanillo González, ch. V, 311b (valiente); Liñán y Verdugo, Guía y avisos, Novela 7ª, 163 (galán); Santos, Día y Noche, Discurso 3°, 46 (dama); and Quevedo, Obra poética, III, p. 165, line 17. See also Padre León, Apéndice de los ajusticiados, cited by Herrera Puga, Sociedad y delincuencia, 433; Estebanillo González, ch. II, 291a. By mid-seventeenth century the gait had been appropriated by (or accredited to) the international underworld. Barrionuevo's reference to Sicily is significant: 'De Cataluña no se tienen muy buenas nuevas, muchos alborotos, poco gusto; falta de gente y poco dinero, y el francés haciendo piernas, conque nos recelamos de algunas visperas sicilianas' (21 October, 1654, Avisos, I, 71a).

K. Cachas amarillas

The two covers of the navaja were called cachas. Thus cuchillo de cachas amarillas referred to the colour of the bone or ivory handle: 'El uno tenía una media espada, y el otro, un cuchillo de cachas amarillas, que los suelen llamar vaqueros' (Rinconete y Cortadillo, 71). See also: 'Poniendo el uno mano a su media espada, y el otro al de las cachas amarillas...' (ibid., 75). Chaves found this bone-handled knife in prison: 'un cuchillo de cabos amarillos en la calza' (Relación de la Cárcel, 1356). For cachas amarillas, see also Cervantes, El rufián viudo, 549b; ibid., Coloquio de los perros, 184; and Alonso Hernández, La Germanía, 131.

L. Longanimity and Pusillanimity

El condenado por desconfiado, by Tirso de Molina, is a good example of the Spanish criminal's longanimity, defined as: 'an untired confidence of mind in expecting the good things of the life to come' (Blount, Glossogr., s.v. LONGANIMITY (1656)). According to James Howell, longanimity was something of a national trait among Spaniards (Giraffi's Rev. Naples, II (1652), 198). Longanimitas is therefore the opposite of pusillanimitas or 'scrupulosity', the name by which melancholy, in the sense of a morbid doubt about the adequacy of devotion alone as a means of attaining one's salvation, was known in religious houses of the late sixteenth century. For more on this topic, see Speak, 'Glass Men', 862.

M. Proto and Archi lexis

See also Polo de Medina, Epigrama II, 'A un hombre que se limpiaba los dientes sin haber comido', El buen humor de las Musas, 258 (archinariz); ibid., Romance: 'A una dama que leyendo un papel a la luz de una vela se quemó el moño', 265 (archifenix); ibid., Romance, 309 (archiflechero); ibid., 'Escrito en la Academia a un hombre loco, que sentía que le volviesen el juicio en este tiempo', 277 (archiculto); Luna, Lazarillo, ch. IX, 54 (archipícaro); Quevedo, El Buscón, 41-5 (archipobre y protomiseria); Lope de Vega, El laurel de Apolo, 197a (archipastor); ibid., 189a (archimandrita); and Céspedes, El soldado Pindaro, ch. XIV, 303b (archimandrita). For examples of proto neologisms, see Vélez, El diablo Cojuelo, Tranco X, 45a (protodemonio); Salas Barbadillo, El curioso y sabio Alejandro, 2b (protopícaros); Polo de Medina, 'A una dama...', op. cit., 264-5 (protomoño, protogolosa); 'A Santiago de Medina cuando le casó con Julia' (510), in Villamediana, Poesía impresa,

p. 967 (protocornudo); and Castillo Solórzano, Las harpías en Madrid, 91 (protofigura).

N. Origins of Jaque

Problems with orthography and phonology have produced different renderings of this word. For example, writing in 1614 of his thirty-four-year stay in America, Ordóñez de Ceballos relates a conversation with an Indian chief, whose words were interpreted as: 'Yo soy el azaque Capi; mi valor ya le habrás experimentado; mi estado es de los mayores del valle de Uraba, pues tengo más de doce mil vasallos' (Historia de la ciudad de Jaén, ch. XXXVII, 465b). For other examples of jaque, see Cervantes, Entremés de el vizcaíno fingido, 575a. See also a pun on xaque/jaqueca/Jaca, in Remiro de Navarra, Los peligros de Madrid, Peligro 6°, 77.

O. Chulo

In Anglo-Saxon the related term was ceorl, churl, or freedman, next in rank above the slave. He was originally a general dealer or itinerant shopkeeper with attendants, but soon degenerated into vagrancy by receiving and disposing of stolen goods, or by including a fugitive in his retinue (Ribton-Turner, Vagrants and Vagrancy, ch. 1, 4).

P. El potro and Confession

The instrument for obtaining confession was called the potro, which attracted many equestrian metaphors: potro rucio, and mal jinete. See also:

> Por arremangar un cofre,
> Fueron los desventurados,
> La mitad diciplinantes,
> Jinetes de medio abajo.
>
> (Quevedo, Obras completas, III, 266).

For equestrian metaphors in the prostitutes' context, see Chapter 7, footnote 142 above. For a rufián's confession/execution, see Quevedo, Hora de todos, cuad. xxv, 125. See also Alfay, Poesías varias, 'Jácara CXXXIII', 209: 'Verdad es que en mis andanzas/siempre he sido un mal jinete,/ pues me dan, en descubierto/ de la adarga, los reveses'.

Q. Cacus and Cowardice

Villamediana describes Jorge Tobar, a state official, as 'rabi, por las uñas Caco,/ y otro no menor bellaco,/ compañero en el hurtar' ('Cuando Felipe III desterró al Duque de Lerma', in Obras, 283). See also ibid., 'Procesión: A Felipe IV, recién heredado', 295; Castillo Solórzano, La Garduña, ch. XI, 204a; Céspedes, El soldado Píndaro, ch. X, 294b; Salas Barbadillo, 'Vida de un hombre, que fue sobra y trasto de la república, a quien ella dio el escandaloso nombre de Mala Lengua, Malos Pies, y Malas Manos', El curioso y sabio Alejandro, 15b; Quiñones, El Avantal, 49; Salas Barbadillo, Don Diego, Aventura 6ª, 165; Cervantes, Don Quijote, II, 49 (vol. 7, 102); and Polo de Medina, 'Romance a Apolo', in Obras completas, 300. A phonological and orthographical resemblance between Caco and Coco (the bogeyman of children's tales) has sometimes misled editors. Salas Barbadillo's song of a gypsy girl ends:

> ¿Qué os parece de la niña?
> Si la avéys de acometer,
> Ved, que es coco de las bolsas,
> Alerta, y no os descuidéis.
>
> (Salas Barbadillo, Pedro de Urdemalas, 122).

Andrade says that Coco is the children's bogeyman, an interpretation which may have influenced the spelling in this and other editions. However, in context the reference is surely to Caco.

For examples of cowardice, see Salas Barbadillo, Pedro de Urdemalas, 180; Cervantes, 'A un valiente', in Alfay, Poesias varias, 44; Liñán y Verdugo, Guía y avisos, Novela 12ª, 256; and Luis de Avila, Cancionero, cited by Zapata, Miscelánea, 453; also cited by Tiknor, I, 512.

Other popularly stereotyped mythical figures of the underworld heroes include Diego Moreno, the cuckold (see Salas Barbadillo, El sagaz Estacio, 238; and Quevedo, Sueños, 241); Pedro de Urdemalas, 'mozo de muchos amos y amigo de hacer burlas' (see Quevedo, Sueños, 234; and Valdivielso, Auto de las ferias del Alma, 343); Don Diego, the archetypal valiente (see Quevedo, Sueños, 225-6, 236); and Matalascallando (see Quevedo, Sueños, 241; and Villalón, Viaje a Turquía).

K. Mythical heroes of the Underworld

BROTHERS BEHIND BARS

A. Symbolism of punishment

There is a whole symbolism to be studied behind punishments and the crimes committed. The choice of punishment was dictated, according to Augustine, by the part of the body which had sinned. Consequently the medieval blasphemer had his tongue pierced or his mouth burnt until his teeth showed; a thief had his hand cut off, and so on. On symbolic punishments, see Vincent-Cassy, 'Prison et châtiments', 266-8. See also Eslava, Verdugos y torturadores, 62-72, 83-96, and 115-20. On the significance of crossroads, see Berceo, Milagros de Nuestra Señora, Milagro VI, 'El ladrón devoto', 42, st. 147; and Milagro XXV, 'El milagro de Teófilo', 114, st. 778. See also Vélez, El diablo está en Cantillana, Jornada 3ª, 169c. On theories of corporal punishment, see Rusche and Kirchheimer, Punishment and Social Structures, 29.

B. Ransom Work

Of three hundred ransomed prisoners a year, priority was given to debtors in the Cofradía de NSa de la Visitación para sacar los presos de la Cárcel in Seville (Morgado, Historia de Sevilla, 196-97). Additionally, on Easter Sunday the religious would visit with alms to bail out those who only had need of the money to buy their freedom (see Herrera Puga, Sociedad y delincuencia, 208-9, n. 46, citing León, Parte 2ª de la Cárcel, cap. 5, fol. 120v, lín. 6). See also Vincent-Cassy, 'Prison et châtiments', 265, 268, and 273, n. 24, citing F. Aubert, 'Le parlement et les prisonniers', Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile de France (1893), 1-14 (10, n. 5, and 12); and 'Registre criminel du Châtelet', Revue Historique, vol. 61, 225, and others, on medieval France.

Besides the two giants of ransom work, other orders and confraternities were active in this field. Morgado names the Cartesian order and other unspecified churches and hospitals in this respect (Historia de Sevilla, 375, and see 321). There was also the pilgrim confraternity of Santiago (1161), and the Jesuits, who procured the liberation of the soldier, Jerónimo de Pasamonte, held in captivity from 1574 to 1592. Jiménez Salas lists fifty-nine Spanish foundations in all, which ransomed prisoners of the Saracens. On Trinitarians, see Lea, Indulgences, 497; Jiménez Salas, Asistencia social, 247, n. 1, citing Congregations of Discalced Trinitarians established in Moguer (Huelva, 1581), Seville (1596), and Malaga (1606). Their first success was in 1199 in Morocco, and the work continued until the end of the eighteenth-century, when slavery was finally abolished. On other ransom confraternities, see Saezmiera Uyarra, Santo Domingo de la Calzada, 116, on Santiago confraternities; and Caro Baroja, Vidas mágicas, I, 329, citing Jerónimo de Pasamonte's ransom by the Jesuits.

C. Ritual of Execution

If the supplicant wanted to make a new confession the Brother would tactfully restrain any foolish whims, or give him some act of contrition. But if he judged a new confession to be necessary, he would signal to the executioner to stop, descend from the ladder, and give his tavoletta to the confessor, who took his place. After giving him absolution, confessor and comforter again changed places (see Edgerton, 'A little-known "Purpose of Art"', 46-8; and Black, Italian Confraternities, 82, and 219). It was also common practice in this period for the executioner to wear a wide-brimmed hat to obscure the scaffold from the prisoner's view. This measure was in the prisoner's best interests, for if he panicked, the hangman might also lose his nerve and perform badly. Hanging and beheading were still at this time

dependent on the hangman's skill (see Eslava, Verdugos y torturadores, 193-4). The hangman's technique involved jumping onto the prisoner's shoulders to tighten the noose. Quevedo satirized the process in 'Los valientes y tomajonas: Baile':

> Mandáronle encordelar
> Los señores la garganta,
> Y, oliendo las entrepiernas
> Al verdugo, perdió el habla.
>
> (Obra poética, III, 251).

D. "Leave it to me" - Mutual Aid and the Dying Prisoner

One of these anecdotes had to do with the execution for forgery of a priest of the Order of Saint John the Evangelist. Sentenced to hang by the Judge (Alcalde) Pareja, he called out from the gallows: 'Exurge, Domine, et judica causam tuam.' His legal representative, the priest Josefe Morán, said in reply: 'Déjese V. M. ahorcar que aquí quedo yo' (Arguijo, Cuentos, 168). Alemán also relates this story: that the forger appealed against his sentence, because he belonged to a religious order (evangelio), and was thus entitled to ecclesiastical trial. His appeal was refused due to lack of confidence in his written credentials. At the foot of the gallows a notary came to him and said, 'We have tried all we can, and believe me, I think the judge is making a grave mistake, but since it is to be this way: "preste V. M. paciencia, déjese ahorcar y fiese de mi, que acá quedo yo."' (Guzmán de Alfarache, II. 1. 8, 131). All of these stories were published in Seville of the early 1600s.

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