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War of the Words

The Spanish Inquisition and *Lazarillo de Tormes*

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Introduction

In 1559, the Spanish Inquisition issued its third Index of Prohibited Books.[1] Of the 266 titles banned in the Index, only six were novels. While four of those novels were previously banned by the Roman Inquisition, two were banned for the first time: *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554) and its sequel, *Lazarillo de Tormes Parte Segundo* (1555).[2] This occurred during the Spanish Golden Age, a time of literary creativity during which *romances* (ballads), *pliegos* (chapbooks), and *coplas* (popular songs) were written.[3] This essay examines why the Inquisition in 1559 singled out *Lazarillo de Tormes*.

The Spanish Inquisition had been in existence for eight decades. It began in 1478 when Sixtus IV granted a petition proposed by Ferdinand and Isabella.[4] Its main purpose was to pursue *conversos* (recently-converted Christians) who had relapsed to prevent them from their old faiths.[5] As time progressed, it expanded to pursue other dissident groups such as Protestants and *Alumbrados* (Catholic mystics). By the close of the seventeenth century, as Cecil Roth has written, it attempted "to homogenize every sector of Spanish society."[6] Literature was one target of this homogenizing process.

Scholarship on the Spanish Inquisition spans as far back as the Enlightenment, but the first modern study was Henry Charles Lea's *A History of the Spanish Inquisition*, published in

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[1] Henry C. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain: In Four Volumes,* Vol 3 (New York, AMS Pr., 1988), 485.
[2] Reyes Coll-Tellechea, "The Spanish Inquisition and the Battle for Lazarillo: 1554-1555-1573" in *The Lazarillo Phenomenon: Essays on the Adventures of a Classic Text*, eds. Id. and Sean McDaniel (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell UP, 2010), 83.
[3] Lu Ann Homza, *The Spanish Inquisition, 1478-1614: An Anthology of Sources* (Indianapolis, Hackett Pub, 2006), 47.
[4] Henry C. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain: In Four Volumes,* Vol 1 (New York, AMS Pr., 1988), 158.
[5] Id., 145.
[6] Cecil Roth, *The Spanish Inquisition*. (New York: Norton, 1964), 50-51.

1906. In it, Lea faulted the Holy Office and the Crown for the decline of Spain.[7] After Lea, this "Black Legend" of the Spanish Inquisition persisted in academia throughout the first half of the century.

The Black Legend is problematic for a number of reasons. For one, its tendency to oversimplify is contagious and has seeped into other fields related to Inquisitional Studies. Henry Kamen elaborates, "It is significant that Spain is prominently absent from all studies of toleration, as though the concept was somehow not relevant in the peninsula."[8] Within the field, the Black Legend villainizes the Inquisition by portraying it as a monolith of oppression. This perspective oversimplifies inquisitorial ideologies which could be more nuanced.

Around the middle of the century, the "new generation" of inquisitional scholars generally shifted from a villainizing approach to an apologist one. Entire studies such as Henry Kamen's *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision* (1965) revisit the Inquisition under this new light. He writes how some within the Inquisition disagreed with its policies. In response to the 1559 Index, one Jesuit wrote:

> The faint-hearted have reacted by becoming more faint-hearted and those dedicated to virtue are in dismay, seeing that the Inquisitor General has published an edict forbidding almost all te books in Spanish that have been used up to now by those who try to serve God; and we are in times when women are told to stick to their beads and not bother about other devotions."[9]

Still, the Black Legend persists in some subdisciplines of Inquisition Studies. While apologists have somewhat reanalyzed and clarified the most popularly-studied spheres of the

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[7] Lea, *History of the Inquisition*, Vol 1, 528.
[8] Henry Kamen, "Toleration and Dissent in Sixteenth-Century Spain: The Alternative Tradition," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 19.1 (1988), 3.
[9] Idem., *Inquisition and Society in Spain in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1985), 90-1.

Inquisition (power relations, interreligious dynamics), there is still more work to be done in other, less-explored subfields such as literature.[1] While the image of a book-burning, zealous Inquisition makes for a compelling story, the historical truth is much more complex.

Throughout the Early Modern Period, Spain produced a rich tapestry of texts familiar to this day. Such works as *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554), *El Buscón* (1626), and, of course, *Don Quixote* (1612) were authored during what historians call the Golden Age of Spain (~1492-1681).[10] The author Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa (1571-1644) remarked how books were "so numerous and inexpensive that no one, no matter how tight one's budget, found it necessary to do without any book one might want."[11] The comic novel *Lazarillo de Tormes* tells the story of an uncouth rascal named Lázaro as he tries to survive in the underbelly of Spanish society. It is divided into six *tractados* (chapters) that begin and end with a different master for the boy. Ranging from clergymen to minor nobles, the masters are critiqued by Lázaro for the various faults in their characters.

Lazarillo de Tormes was widely read for its time. It was reprinted in four editions in 1554 and one edition in 1555.[12] Abroad, it was translated into French in 1560, English in 1576, and Dutch in 1579.[13] One might call it a bestseller of the Early Modern Period. It was so popular that it spawned two sequels. *El Segundo Parte de Lazarillo de Tormes* was published anonymously in 1555 Antwerp. In it, Lázaro transforms into a fish and journeys through an underwater reflection of European social hierarchy.[14] Another continuation was published in Paris in 1620 by Juan de

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[10] This periodization is determined based on Angel Alcalá's claim that the Golden Age ended upon the death of Pedro Calderón de la Barca; Angel Alcalá, "Inquisitorial Control of Humanist Writers in The Spanish Inquisition," in *The Spanish Inquisition and the Inquisitorial Mind* (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1987), 321.
[11] Sara T Nalle, "Literacy and Culture in Early Modern Castile," *Past & Present* No. 125 (1989): 76.
[12] Felipe E. Ruan, "Market, Audience, and the Fortunes and Adversities of Lazarillo De Tormes Castigado (1573)," *Hispanic Review* 79.2 (2011):190.
[13] Michael Alpert, *Lazarillo de Tormes and Francisco de Quevedo: The Swindler (El Buscón): Two Spanish Picaresque Novels* (London: Penguin, 2003), ix.
[14] Peter N. Dunn, *Spanish Picaresque Fiction: A New Literary History,* (Ithaca, Cornell UP, 1993).

Luna, an expatriate who wanted to "set the record straight concerning Lazaro's tribulations at sea."[15] Scholars often overlook these sequels because "they do not qualify as the original text and… do not convey the original author's intention."[16] Thus most focus on the 1554 text.

Lazarillo has received considerable attention from modern scholars. This is due to a number of reasons. For one, it is supposedly the first work of the *picaresque* genre. Deriving its name from the rugged soldiers returning from Picardy, the *picaresque* genre was popularized in the sixteenth century as an alternative to chivalric ballads. Unlike *Amadis of Gaul* or *Palmerin of England*, the *picaresque* novel deals with the day-to-day lives of those who dwelt society's underbelly. One might think of them as the literary equivalent of a genre painting. Because *Lazarillo* is thought to have spearheaded the picaresque, studies such as Peter N. Dunn's *Spanish Fiction: A New Literary History* and *The Spanish Picaresque Novel* use the work as a measure of the genre's development.[17] These studies are primarily literary. Meanwhile, historians usually focus on either its publishing process or its unknown author.[18] Very few have analyzed the relationship between *Lazarillo de Tormes* and the Inquisition. This is surprising, especially since the Inquisition did not denounce any fiction until the 1559 Index.

The 1559 Index was the result of a gradual development of Inquisitorial authority over literature. The Inquisition initially had no control over Spain's literary world. Grand Inquisitor Tomás de Torquemeda's *Instructions for Inquisitors* (1494) made no reference to censorship as an inquisitorial duty save for "the prescription deriving from canon law that anyone obtaining possession of a heretical book is bound, within eight days, to burn it or deliver it to the bishop or

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[15] Ibid.
[16] Coll-Tellechea, "Battle for Lazarillo," 76.
[17] Id., 75.
[18] Ibid.

inquisitor."[19] Censorship remained under monarchical jurisdiction until 1521, when Rome called upon Spain to moderate the importation and spread of Lutheran writings. In response, Grand Inquisitor Adrian of Utrecht issued a decree obliging the Inquisition to follow the papal request.[20] Over the next quarter-century, the Inquisition assembled what Virgilio Pinto calls a "censorship apparatus."[21] Its powers included condemning individual books (*censuras*) and distributing licenses to print other books.[22] The apparatus was formalized by the Indices of Prohibited Books which were lists of all the prohibited books.

Issued by High Inquisitor Fernando de Valdéz, the 1559 Index was a collaborative effort. Virgilio Pinto claims that the Indices were the "fruit of questionnaire[s] sent to the country's leading intellectuals and special commissioners."[23] These individuals were Inquisitional agents known as *calificadores*. The primary function of the Index was to control anything that resembled Protestant doctrine, with a secondary goal of reducing devotional literature in Castilian.[24] Though two Indices preceded the Index of 1559 (1547, 1551), it was the first of them to include fictional works.[25]

The Inquisition's decision to prioritize the censorship of theological works over fiction was a sensible one. Subversive works of theology were more dangerous because they explicitly posited arguments against orthodoxy. Their messages were more apparent to their readership. Meanwhile, subversive fiction was more cryptic in its attacks. Devices like double entendres and

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[19] Lea, *Spanish Inquisition*, Vol 3, 480.
[20] Id., 481
[21] Virgilio Pinto, "Censorship: A System of Control and an Instrument of Action," in *The Spanish Inquisition and the Inquisitorial Mind*, ed. Angel Alcalá (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1987), 305.
[22] Lea, *Spanish Inquisition*, Vol 3 483.
[23] Pinto, "Censorship," 182.
[24] Alistair Hamilton, *Heresy and Mysticism in Sixteenth-century Spain: The Alumbrados* (Cambridge: Clarke, 1992), 110.
[25] Lea, *Spanish Inquisition*, Vol 3, 485.

symbolism were employed to subtly denigrate the status quo. Furthermore, fiction carries a limitless amount of interpretations based on the connections its audience makes. The elusiveness of fictional subversion might explain why the 1559 Index fails to specifically cite why it condemned *Lazarillo de Tormes*.

As a source, the 1559 Index cannot answer why *Lazarillo de Tormes* was banned. At best, it defines prohibited texts as being, "suspicious," "erroneous," and having "scandalous content."[26] For this reason, the motivations behind the censorship of *Lazarillo de Tormes* have been a topic of scholarly debate.[27] In Angel Alcalá's 1984 publication of the *Inquisitorial Mind*, he claimed that "much work needs to be done before the explicit criteria and principles that governed the inquisitorial control of literature can be formulated."[28] Since 1984, numerous advances have been made, particularly analysis of the *calificadores*: those who determined which books to include on the Index.

Because of their contribution to the 1559 Index, *calificadores* are important in understanding why *Lazarillo de Tormes* was banned. Once a book was sent to them, they were to determine whether or not it was heretical based on their canonical knowledge. They did the same for accused individuals. According to Lea, "…when the sumaria, or preliminary array of evidence against the accused was collected, the theological points involved were submitted to three or four *calificadores*, who pronounced whether the acts or words amounted to heresy or

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[26] "1559 Index on Prohibited Books" in Lu Ann Homza, *The Spanish Inquisition, 1478-1614: An Anthology of Sources* (Indianapolis: Hackett Pub, 2006), 213; 214; Also note here how the Index maintained precedents such as anti-anonymity and other "common sense" reasons for banning. For example, it reaffirmed the ban on books written in Arabic and Hebrew that was originally included in the 1551 Index. Adorno, Rolena. "Censorship and Its Evasion: Jeronimo Roma¡n and Bartolomalome De Las Casas." *Hispania* 75.4 (1992), 813.

[27] Coll-Tellechea, "Battle for Lazarillo," 75.

[28] Alcalá, "Inquisitorial Control," 334.

suspicion of heresy."[29] Texts, like people, were possible sources of heresy to be condemned by the *calificadores*. Possibly because of their far-reaching role, *calificadores* have received much attention from historians like Alcalá. However, hardly any studies draw connections between *calificadores* and *Lazarillo de Tormes*.

Traditional scholarship conceives literature as the product of an author rather than the artifact of the reader. According to Homza, this is rooted is the "Enlightenment presupposition of the triumphant, individual authorial genius who wrote with a systematic program in mind, nineteenth-century critics imagined that the sixteenth- and seventeenth- century author was a sort of heroic creator who put forth his ideas to an audience that received them submissively, thus reducing the readers' role to a mere passive subject.[30] The *calificadores* complicates this approach. Certainly, they had a very active relationship with the texts they condemned. When reading, they drew interpretations based on their beliefs and knowledge. This study explores how their beliefs and knowledge may have shaped their reactions to the ideas set forth by *Lazarillo de Tormes*.

As agents of the Inquisition, the calificadores subscribed to Catholic orthodoxy. Furthermore, they were often selected from religious orders such as the Dominicans or Franciscans.[31] Besides monks, faculty members of the universities of Alcalá and Salamanca were among those chosen to collaborate on the 1559 Index.[32] Thus, it can be said that the *calificadores* were well-read individuals versed in the intellectual pursuits common to this time. They were knowledgeable individuals who would have been able to grasp the minutiae of literature. In other

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[29] Lea, *Spanish Inquisition*, Vol. 2, 263.
[30] Homza, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 48.
[31] Alcalá, "Inquisitorial Control," 308.
[32] Pinto, "Censorship," 183.

words, they would have been able to discern the subtle subversive devices employed by writers of fiction. It is also possible that, because of their academic and religious roles, some might have been in the public spotlight.

This study compares the text of *Lazarillo* to an expurgated version in an effort to understand what the Inquisition, advised by the *calificadores*, found problematic in the original. Starting in 1571, censors such as Benito Arias Montano were charged with censoring and re-releasing texts once featured on the Indices of Prohibited Books.[33] Whereas Montano's expurgations were primarily theological in nature, the expurgations of Juan López de Velasco were fiction and are thus worthy of attention for this study. Released in 1573, Velasco's *Lazarillo Castigado* was a censored, Inquisition-approved variant of the original, anonymously-written *Lazarillo de Tormes*. A royal privilege (lasting eight years in Castile and ten in Aragon) assured Velasco with exclusive rights over the work and prevented anyone else from editing.[34]

Whereas the 1554 edition of *Lazarillo de Tormes* receives considerable attention in academia, the expurgated version is often ignored.[35] Most scholarship deals with anonymity, the author's possible *alumbrado* identity, and the author's implicit intent behind the work.[36] The lack of attention given to the *Lazarillo Castigado* could possibly stem from the residual influence of the Black Legend. Under the assumptions made by the Black Legend, such expurgated works as the *Lazarillo Castigado* were of no literary merit because they were produced by a monolithically oppressive institution. However, recent scholarship has turned to the *Lazarillo Castigado*. Reyes Coll-Tellechea claims:

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[33] Ruan, "Market, Audience," 192.
[34] Id., 193.
[35] Coll-Tellechea, "Battle for Lazarillo," 76.
[36] Ibid.

> Until…2010, literary scholars have repeated that the inquisitorial censor's role was restricted to the deletion of the anticlerical or doctrinally heterodox passages and references from the 1554 text. Yet the textual evidence contradicts such a claim….(Instead,) Velasco's intervention in the history of *Lazarillo* was extensive, conspicuous, and surprisingly long-lasting.[37]

In sum, this study uses the 1559 Index, the *calificador* identity, and the *Lazarillo Castigado* to determine what the Inquisition found so troublesome about *Lazarillo de Tormes*.

[37] Id., 85.

Dismissing Possibilities

. Even though the Indices on Prohibited Books set obscure terms on the criteria for banned books, some rules were explicit. It is necessary to discount these explicit explanations before searching for an implicit answer. The unknown authorship of *Lazarillo de Tormes*'s could have served as possible grounds for prohibition. As explained by the Decree of the Suprema on Books (1558), "...books that do not have a sure author, place of printing, or printer shall be collected and inspected..."[38] Is it possible that the dubious origins of *Lazarillo de Tormes* could explain why it was censored? If so, any further investigation would be needless.

There are a number of reasons why the anonymity hypothesis does not apply to the censorship of *Lazarillo de Tormes*. First, one must take into account the nature of the picaresque genre as a whole. More often than not, picaresque novels claimed to be written by their main character.[39] In such circumstances, fictitious authors were tantamount to anonymous authors in that no one could be prosecuted for the production of a work. However, the Inquisition did not indiscriminately ban texts purely on the grounds of their anonymity. *El Buscón* provides one such example. Written in 1604 by Francisco de Quevedo, *El Buscón* was a picaresque novel told from the perspective of Don Pablos, a swindling adolescent. For years, Quevado took no credit for the work; indeed, it was even published without his consent.[40] Still, unlike *Lazarillo de Tormes*, *El Buscón* went uncensored by the Inquisition, even in spite of its anonymous author.

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[38] Homza, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 215.
[39] Alpert, *Lazarillo de Tormes*, xiv.
[40] Ibid.

Thus Inquisitorial *calificadores* may have considered the anonymity of such works as a motif of the genre rather than a strategy of subversion.

The picaresque was not the only genre with anonymous authors. For example, the work *Celestina* was published anonymously in 1499 by a German publisher in Burgos. While later editions revealed Fernando de Rojas as its author, it was not recognized in the 1559 Index on Prohibited Books.[41] Perhaps this was because of contemporary attitudes toward fiction as a whole. According to Fernando Bouza, "[t]he rhetoric of modesty expected of writers who considered themselves cultured demanded that they insistently deny any aspirations for public recognition."[42] Thus outside of the picaresque genre, anonymity might have been understood by censors as modesty on the part of the author. It seems more likely that anonymity posed a greater threat in theological texts. Without an author for those texts, the Inquisition had no person on whom to pin blame and prosecution. Thus the idea might blossom rampantly without any indication of the direction from which it originated. It is apparent then, that some rules in the Index of 1559 applied differently to the varying genres it included. Because it was both fictional and picaresque in nature, *Lazarillo de Tormes* could not have been banned exclusively on the grounds of its anonymity.

Even the rules of the 1559 Index that specifically applied to fiction cannot fully explain why *Lazarillo de Tormes* was censored. One such rule is Rule 7, which prohibits books "that deal with lascivious or erotic things, or other things that might be harmful to the good customs of the Christian family."[43] At first glance, *Lazarillo de Tormes* seems to fit this criterion. The first

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[41] Trevor R. Griffiths and Colin Counsell, *Celestina: Drama Classics* (London: Nick Hern Limited, 2004): v.
[42] Fernando Bouza, *Communication, Knowledge, and Memory in Early Modern Spain*. Trans. Sonia Lopez and Michael Agnew (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania, 2004), 43; perhaps what Bouza meant to say here is that an extent of public recognition was admissible, but that writers should not get too prideful.
[43] Alcalá, "Inquisitorial Control," 334.

tractado establishes Lázaro's family life, which is characterized by an overtly physical relationship between his mother, Antona Pérez and Zaide, a black converso.[44] Such comingling of blood between ethnicities was no doubt a source of scandal among readers.[45] On a more implicit level, Harry Sieber notes how the references to stockings and shoes in *Lazarillo de Tormes* indicate sexual exchanges.[46] However, if *Lazarillo de Tormes* was banned for its erotic content, then the Index of Prohibited Books would have included vastly more works of fiction than it did. This is because, "in one way or another all literary works deal with erotic matters and thus might appear harmful, depending on the censor's cast of mind and literary taste."[47] Indeed, romance played an integral role in Spanish literature during this period. As with anonymity and the picaresque, the erotic was likely overlooked by censors as an element of the genre of fiction. Proving this point is *Celestina*, which was not banned despite taking romance to a heretical level:

> "Sempronio: Well, aren't you Christian?"
>
> Calisto: I am Melibean. I adore Melibea. I believe in Melibea. I worship Melibea."[48]

Another possible reason as to why *Lazarillo de Tormes* was prohibited could be its denigration of the Catholic Church. For example, Lázaro characterizes his stepfather's commitment for his mother: "Seeing that love forces a poor slave to do this we ought not to be surprised that a priest robs his flock and a friar his convent for the benefit of his female devotees and others."[49] Other anti-clerical sentiment occurs further in the tale, the most glaring being the

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[44] *Lazarillo*, 6.
[45] Later, *limpieza de sangre* will be discussed in regard to this.
[46] Patricia W. Manning, *Voicing Dissent in Seventeenth-century Spain: Inquisition, Social Criticism and Theology in the Case of El Criticón* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 21.
[47] Alcalá, "Inquisitorial Control," 334.
[48] Rojas, *Celestina*, 7.
[49] *Lazarillo*, 6.

indulgence-seller in the fifth *tractado*.[50] According to Lázaro, "[h]e was arrogant, without principles, the biggest hawker of indulgences that I've ever seen in my life or ever hope to see – and probably the biggest one of all time. He had all sorts of ruses and underhanded tricks, and he was always thinking up ones."[51] Since the Inquisition was an ecclesiastical institution, one might presume that it sought to stifle such critiques. However, according to Michael Alpert, satires of clerical behavior often went uncensored in Spanish literature.[52] So long as the content was deemed satirical rather than polemical, contemporaries dismissed messages that might have otherwise been negatively received. For example, in *Celestina*, the eponymous character recalls her youth, when "some of them [churchmen] were saying mass and saw me enter the church, they would get all muddled and disturbed and end up saying the service all wrong."[53] Instead of brashly suggesting that churchmen cared more for carnal pleasure than for spiritual duties, Celestina uses humor to soften the harshness that typified anti-clerical sentiment. Even direct satires of the Inquisition went uncensored. *El Buscón* includes one scene that explicitly makes light of the Inquisition. In it, Don Pablos notes that a housekeeper refers to her chickens as "Pio." Taking advantage of the woman's religiosity, Pablos threatens to report her to the Inquisition for using the Holy Father's name in vain. The result is that he manages to secure the chickens for himself.[54] One might perceive this passage as a critique on Inquisitiorial overreaction, but evidently it was not serious enough to directly lead to *El Buscón*'s censorship. If such a blatant confrontation with the Inquisition was not grounds for censorship, then it is unlikely that jokes about the Inquisition caused the censorship of *Lazarillo de Tormes*.

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[50] *Id.*, 48.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Alpert, *Picaresque Novels*, xviii.
[53] Rojas, *Celestina*, 101.
[54] Quevado, *Buscón* 94-5

While the anonymity, eroticism, and anti-clericalism of *Lazarillo de Tormes* did not directly incur its prohibition, this does not mean that they went without Inquisitorial notice. The *Lazarillo Castigado* directly addressed these aspects. From the outset, Juan López de Velasco's authorship of the revised version resolved any issues concerned with anonymity. His association with the work granted the Inquisition control over *Lazarillo de Tormes*, thus mitigating its subversive effect. Furthermore, the *Castigado* excised many of the passages that would have been considered controversial. These portions included the one involving Zaide, the *tractado* with the indulgence-seller, and the *Segundo Parte* altogether.[55] Even though these portions were removed, they cannot be the only reasons why *Lazarillo de Tormes* was banned. Since other works shared similarly-subversive passages, what made *Lazarillo de Tormes* so exceptional to contemporaries?

[55] Ruan, "Market," 196; Id., 194; Id., 191.

Realist vs. Idealist

If the aforementioned reasons cannot explain why *Lazarillo de Tormes* was censored, could it be that its censorship was a consequence of its divergent aesthetic? Stylistically, picaresques follow a "realist" approach; that is, they attempted to reflect life accurately without sacrificing authenticity for plot. The Spanish literary canon instead followed an idealistic trajectory, both in plot and character. Roland and El Cid and embodied this virtue. For example, in reference to Roland, Ganelon says, "…you have no baron so courageous as he."[56] The pícaros in such works as *Lazarillo de Tormes* exposed humanity's _("foibles and tricks") Lázaro is a cunning youth who employs deception to succeed in life. Throughout the first *tractado*, for example, he finds different ways to steal wine from his blind master.[57]

Other aspects of picaresque novels make them realistic in nature. Settings play an important role in any work of literature. Michael Alpert notes how, "[whereas] the titles of the novels of chivalry – Amadis of Gaul and Palmerin of England – suggest remote and exotic locations… …the realism of a picaresque novel arises partly from its settings in well-known and identifiable places."[58] For *Lazarillo de Tormes*, such locations include Toledo and Salamanca.

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[56] *Song of Roland* (York University, Web), 16.
[57] *Lazarillo* Tractado Primero; It should be noted here that such trickery in fiction was not unprecedented. Peter Dunn notes that a "blind man guiding boy" archetype existed much before the rise of the picaresque genre. Particularly, the British Library shows illustrations in fourteenth-century manuscript of a boy playing various deceptions on his master such as stealing a chicken, slitting a sack, and using a straw to steal from his jug of wine; Dunn, *Picaresque*, 20.
[58] Alpert, *Picaresque Novels*, xvi.

Was it possible that such a departure from tradition led to *Lazarillo de Tormes*'s censorship? Recent scholarship rejects this hypothesis. According to Antonio Márques, the Inquisition's concerns were more directed at ideological content than at stylistic method.[59] Thus it becomes increasingly important for this study to posit *Lazarillo de Tormes* against Inquisitorial ideology, particularly in regard to the *calificador* perspective.

[59] Pinto, "Censorship," 184.

Of Scandal and Sin

It is apparent that *Lazarillo de Tormes* was not banned for such concrete reasons as its stylistic choices or its anonymity. Does a more abstract answer exist? As mentioned earlier, the Index prohibited texts that were "suspicious," "heretical," and had "scandalous content."[60] These terms carried different connotations to a sixteenth-century inquisitor than they do to a contemporary scholar. What, then, did such words as "sin" and "scandal" mean to the Inquisition? And what did they have to do with *Lazarillo de Tormes*?

Scandal: Blood Purity

Written in the 12th century, Chrétien de Troyes' *Knight of the Cart* manifests scandal through the character of Lancelot.[61] Outwardly, Lancelot is highly-regarded by his brethren such as Sir Galahad, who praises, "'My lords, I am due not praise…I am shamed to be honoured so, for I did not get there soon enough and failed because of my delay. But Lancelot was there in time and to gain greater honour than any knight has ever received.'"[62] Would Galahad think so highly of Lancelot if he knew the truth of his character? When stripped of his shining armor, Lancelot becomes an unscrupulous individual indeed. This is evidenced by his hidden dalliance with Queen Guinevere, the spouse of the king to whom he swore his blade.[63] Yet this is not what scandalizes him in *Knight of the Cart*. His public image is instead tarnished by something of which he is innocent – riding in a criminal's cart. [64]

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[60] 1559 Index on Prohibited Books" in Homza, *Anthology*, 213.

[61] Though *Knight of the Cart* was written a considerable number of years before the period in discussion, the character of Lancelot is especially useful in understanding how scandals operate in *Lazarillo de Tormes* – specifically with regard to the Squire.

[62] Chrétien de Troyes, Lancelot The Knight of the Cart, ed. Raffel Burton (New Haven: Yale UP, 2008), 273.

[64] Ibid., 215; this sort of cart designated specifically for criminals.

Here lies one definition of the "scandalous" as interpreted from Chrétien de Troyes. At its crux, scandal is public dishonor – not necessarily dishonorable behavior. An action might be considered scandalous by one individual but it only becomes communally recognized as a scandal when it is made known to the public. So long as foul facts remain hidden, a scandal will not arise

In this light, sixteenth-century notions of *limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood) could be considered a great source of scandal. This concept created a social division between Old Christians – those whose blood was considered 'untainted' by heterodox influence – and the recently-converted New Christians (*conversos*). As an ideology, it took precedence in defining where one ranked in society. Sicroff says, "To place virtue of one's personal deeds above the value of Christian 'blood purity' was indeed to subvert the society envisaged by Spanish Old Christians."[65] Thus *limpieza de sangre* was a basis for social stratification in Early modern Spain. To possess clean blood was to be recognized as an honorable individual. It bequeathed a number of privileges that were unobtainable otherwise. For example, the highest posts in Spanish governance were typically reserved for Old Christians.[66] [287 Lea 2] Instructions of 1488 required inquisitors to enforce by heavy penalties the incapacity of such descendants to hold any public office or to be admitted by holy orders

This limited power to a hegemonic group in a way that was reproducible. Furthermore, inquisitorial punishments varied with the blood purity of the accused.[67] Thus blood purity was a

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[65] Manuel Da Costa Fontes, *The Art of Subversion in Inquisitorial Spain: Rojas and Delicado* (IN: Purdue UP, 2005), 82.
[66] Id., 12.
[67] James Casey, *Early Modern Spain: A Social History* (London: Routledge, 1999), 230.

mark of honor (or dishonor) in Spanish society. At the same time, it was an image transposed onto reality rather than a true reflection of that reality.

The claim to blood purity was quite frequently a hollow one. Virtually every class of Spanish society bore *converso* blood of some kind. In 1449, royal secretary Fernan Diaz de Toledo argued to the Bishop of Cuenca that all noble houses from Castile could derive their descent from *conversos*.[68] The royal family itself possessed traces of *converso* blood from Ferdinand the Catholic's mother, Doña Juana Enriquez.[69] This genealogy meant that Spanish monarchs could not authentically claim pure blood, as much as this contradicted their rank in the social hierarchy.

But it was not the authenticity of blood that was important so much as the public recognition of that blood. To acquire that recognition, one had to possess the social capital needed to wring their blood of its impurities. Purchasing recognition was one method. For instance, the Holy Office of the Inquisition sold certificates that guaranteed blood purity, thus allowing the holder to occupy exclusive offices.[70] Juridical recognition was another. Kamen writes:

> In Aragon an assessor of the Inquisition of Saragossa drew up what became known as the *Libro verde de Aragón*, a genealogical table tracing the origins of nobility, from which it became clear that most prominent families in the kingdom had not escaped *converso* infiltration. This document was set down in manuscript in the first decade of the sixteenth century, soon to become a source of major scandal, for copies were passed from hand to hand, added to and distorted, until the government could no longer tolerate so vicious a

[68] Kamen, *Inquisition and Society*, 19.
[69] Fontas, *Subversion*, 12.
[70] Cecil Roth, *The Spanish Inquisition* (New York: Norton, 1964), 198.

slander and in 1623 extreme measures were taken by ordering all copies of the *libros verdes* to be burnt.[71]

Thus the inequity between New Christians and Old was constructed by social stature. The Old Christians claimed that stature as their birthright. Birthright reinforced inequity and vice versa in a vicious cycle. Aristocratic power in early modern Spain, then, was rooted on a claim rather than a credible fact. *Lazarillo de Tormes* likely clashed with the Inquisition because it threatened to challenge that claim, thus making a scandal of *limpieza de sangre*.

Limpieza de sangre was important to Inquisitorial ideology. This is because the Spanish Inquisition was, from its very roots, an institution dedicated to curbing heterodoxy of every kind. Jews were the first to be targeted. In a letter written to the Count of Aranda in 1481, King Ferdinand wrote, "The Holy Office of the Inquisition seeing how some Christians are endangered by contact and communication with the Jews, has provided that the Jews be expelled from all our realms and territories."[72] Afterwards, the Inquisition centered its efforts on *converso* groups.[73] Furthermore, all agents of the Inquisition were required to prove their *limpieze de sangre*.[74] Thus one's blood status determined where he stood in relation to the Inquisition. But for all of its influence, *limpieza de sangre* was an invented concept based more on belief than reality. This made it all the more necessary for the Inquisition to preserve its ideology. By 1530, Inquisitorial tribunals collected genealogies of their localities to better codify blood purity.[75] However, this did not prevent subversive messages from arising. In exposing the emptiness of

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[71] Kamen, *A Historical Revision*, 22-3.
[72] Idem, *Inquisition and Society*, 15.
[73] Alistair Hamilton, *Mysticism*, 8.
[74] Lea Inquisition, Vol 2, 285.
[75] Id., 288.

blood purity, *Lazarillo de Tormes* threatened to undermine the ideology used to substantiate the Inquisitorial apparatus.

According to some theories, the author of *Lazarillo de Tormes* was motivated to decry the hollowness of *limpieza de sangre*. Scholars such as Abrams and Hamilton posit that the novel was written in reaction to Juan Martínez Silíceo's imposition of an *estatuo de limpieza* (1547) [statute on blood purity] on the Toledo chapter of Franciscans where a number of *conversos* were employed.[76] If this was the case, then the author meant not only to attack something that directly oppressed him but also to dispute a principle that ordered all of Spanish society. It is no wonder, then that the Inquisition pursued *Lazarillo de Tormes*.

Lazarillo de Tormes addresses *limpieza de sangre* through the character of the Squire (*escudero*). During the third *tractado*, Lazaro travels to Seville and takes up company with this seemingly-aristocratic character. Only when he visits the Squire's home does Lázaro realize the truth, "I hadn't seen anything but walls, not a chair or a stool or a bench or a table…the house seemed to me like a ghost's hideout."[77] Even so, the Squire prides himself on his pure blood, announcing to Lázaro that he hails from Old Castile.[78] His image clashes with reality like *limpieza de sangre*. As codes and statutes were to *limpieza de sangre*, the fashionable clothes that adorn the Squire are his attempts to transmit an image that contradicts reality.

Literal cleanliness factored heavily into contemporary understandings of *limpieza de sangre*. This can be traced to Edicts of Faith, the pronouncements made by inquisitors whenever they first opened investigation in towns. Usually the Edicts placed much attention on one's

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[76] Anne J. Cruz, *Approaches to Teaching Lazarillo de Tormes and the Picaresque Tradition* (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 2008), 39; Hamilton, *Heresy and Censorship*, 67.
[77] *Lazarillo*, 36.
[78] Id., 41.

hygienic practices and cleanliness.[79] Such near-obsessive attention to hygiene is mocked in *Lazarillo de Tormes* through the Squire. Throughout the third *tractado,* the Squire repeatedly concerns himself with hygienic minutiae: "As soon as we entered, he took off his cape, and asking if my hands were clean we shook and folded it… When morning came, he got up and began to clean and shake his pants and doublet and coat and cape."[80] From the bread he eats to the clothes he wears, the Squire obsesses over all things hygienic.[81] While this means little to a modern interpreter, it meant everything to Inquisitorial censors. Contemporary authors used this kind of literary pattern as a form of subversion. Diego de Arce was a censor at the end of the sixteenth century who reflected on this, claiming that certain terms and expressions "reeked of the language of the heretics."[82] One such term might be *limpieza* (clean). Since it was used to designate legal status, "*limpieza*" could spark associations within the readers' imaginations, even if used in a different context. This is what Anne Cruz calls polysemic, in which "different meanings interlace, disguising one another, thus creating diversionary movements and the possibility of multiple interpretations."[83] Censors would have connected the Squire's preservation of cleanliness with their own preservation of *limpieza de sangre*.

Theoretically, *limpieza de sangre* could only be preserved if Old and New Christian blood was kept separate. In this regard, the Inquisition made some efforts to ensure smooth succession of blood. For example, one of the most common crimes it punished was "that of alleging that fornication among the unmarried was no sin."[84] Again, in typical realist fashion, *Lazarillo de Tormes* suggests that things were not always as they seemed. The first *tractado*

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[79] Roth, *Inquisition*, 75-6.
[80] *Lazarillo*, 154; *Lazarillo*, 157.
[81] Dunn, *Picaresque*, 27.
[82] Pinto, "Censorship," 316.
[83] Cruz, *Teaching Lazarillo*, 38.
[84] Roth, *Inquisition*, 195

defies normative bloodline distinctions through the interracial relationship of Zaide and Lázaro's mother, Antona Perez.[85] Zaide's relationship with Antona might be seen as social climbing to a status higher than his blood. One that, from a contemporaneous outlook, exceeds the mark of his blood. This would not have been lost on those censors who were insecure about discrepancies between their blood and station. Throughout the fifteenth century, many *conversos* succeeded in the sort of liberal professions that would lead to inquisitorial office.[86] By the mid-sixteenth century, the ones who identified as Old Christian masked the residue of New Christian in their bloodlines.[87] Still, that residue undoubtedly weighed on their minds and made them consider their positions precarious. The Inquisition's production of genealogical records testifies to the extent to which they hoped to strengthen the line between Old and New Christian.[88] It is possible that Zaide's appearance reminded them of how thin that line truly was.

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[85] *Lazarillo*, 5.

[86] Hamilton, *Heresy*, 66.

[87] It has been argued that Squire represents the self-consciousness of New Christians in denial. Representing this, the Squire hangs a ring of large rosary beads from his belt; *Lazarillo*, 34.

[88] Hamilton, *Heresy*, 68 .

Sin: Pride

Besides scandal, *Lazarillo de Tormes* also meets the 1559 Index's criteria of sin. Studies of early modern morality can clarify the Inquisitorial concept of sin. Hilaire Kallendorf's *Sins of the Fathers: Moral Economies in Early Modern Spain* compiles and analyzes sixteenth-century Spanish *comedias* in an attempt to uncover the foremost moral concerns of the period. She discovers that Pride made the most frequent appearance amongst the Seven Deadly Sins and the Decalogue; as such, she also concludes that Pride ranked the highest amongst contemporaries' concerns.[89] At first glance, one might dismiss Kallendorf's conclusion as solely rooted in quantified data. Fictional concerns do not necessarily equate to the concerns of the real world. However, didacticism was still a governing principle for crafting fiction in the Early Modern Period.[90] One work that represents this moralizing tendency is Gracian's *El Criticón* (1651). It follows Andrenio, the "natural man," who has grown up apart from civilization. Throughout the work, Andrenio reinforces the Golden Rule, with his most famous phrase being, "Respect yourself as you would have others respect you."[91] Since *comedias* were intended to teach moral lessons, the fact that they frequently address pride indicates that it troubled contemporaries greatly.

Stanley J. Nowak concurs with Hilaire Kallendorf and uses Dante Alighieri's *Inferno (*1320*)* to demonstrate how highly pride was ranked as a sin. Nowak mentions how Pride was placed at the base of the Purgatorial Mountain by Dante.[92] Even though Dante's *Inferno* was

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[89] Hilaire Kallendorf, *Sins of the Fathers: Moral Economies in Early Modern Spain* (U of Toronto, 2013), 117.
[90] *Lazarillo de Tormes* is no exception to this. According to Fred Abrams, Lazarillo was a didactic treatise directed to or against Juan Martínez Silíceo, the archbishop of Toledo from 1546 to 1557; Cruz, *Teaching Lazarillo*, 39.
[91] Manning, *Voicing Dissent*, 155-7.
[92] Stanley J. Nowak, "The Squire as an Incarnation of Pride in 'Lazarillo de Tormes'," *Modern Language Studies* 22.1 (1992), 17.

written in Italy in the fourteenth century, it was highly influential. The Inquisition likely prioritized pride in the same way the Catholic Church did, as influenced by the *Inferno*.

The significance of pride in Early Modern Spain can be traced to language as well. Many synonyms exist for the sin, including "*altivzes*, *soberbia*, *vanidad*, and *arrogania*."[93] Pride occupied a sizable space within the Spanish imagination.

Furthermore, inquisitorial punishment was deployed in part to curb pride amongst heretics.[94] This viewpoint was expressed by Gaspar Isidro de Argüello, member of the Inquisitorial Suprema. In his "Instructions of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, Handled Summarily Both and New,"[95] he wrote: "And because those reconciled individuals must perform and complete their penances with humility, and feel the pain of their efforts, the inquisitors must order them not to possess public offices or benefices."[96] Important here is the use of the term "humility," as it frames the Inquisitorial punishments as humbling mechanisms. These mechanisms were used to relegate unworthy heretics to a stratum of society in which pride had no place.

In this period, power was expressed in visual signifiers. This caused unease for such an institution as the Inquisition, which desired to reinforce a Catholic power base. Thus many of the humbling mechanisms of punishment disentangled pride from power through the use of visual indicators. One such indicator was the sanbenito: a penitential garb worn for a set period of time

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[93] Kallendorf, *Sins of Fathers*, 16.
[94] Inquisitorial punishments weren't purely intended to curb pride. Curbing pride was instead a means to the end of penance.
[95] Even though it was written in 1627, the Instructions were a collection excerpted from prior instructions issued between 1484 and 1561, thus still making them relevant to the period during which *Lazarillo* was banned; Homza, *Anthology*, 65.
[96] Id.

by those deemed guilty by the Inquisition.[97] The sanbenito visually humbled oneself by stripping him of his pride. Also, the names of the accused were inscribed on the sanbenito so that others would know the identity of the condemned individual.[98] Furthermore, the sanbenito was hung up in a local church, "to the… shame of one's family."[99] On one hand, the communal nature of parish churches further compromised an individual's honor. On the other, families were major sources from which individuals would draw their pride and power. For a sanbenito to hang indefinitely in a parish church meant that the entire family would suffer shame for however long it hung there. Usually, this could last for quite some time. According to Lea, "As sanbenitos wore out or became illegible with time, they were replaced, and finally superseded by yellow linen cloths, bearing full details of the name, lineage, crime, and punishment of the culprit."[100]

The Inquisition employed humiliating punishments besides the sanbenito. In the *Vergüenza* (shame), the culprit was stripped to the waist and led through the city as the town-crier announced his sentence.[101] This was especially humiliating for women because they, too, were stripped to the waist.

The auto de fe (act of faith) is perhaps the most infamous of Inquisitorial punishments. Condemned individuals were marched to the main plaza of a city to have their cases read before the public. The function of this ritual was to penance the condemned (through either repentance or pyre). The means to that end entailed a process of humbling. For example, those who attended

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[97] Kamen, *Inquisition and Society*, 186; according to Lea, sanbeno "perpetuity" was to be understood in the same sense of imprisonment "perpetuity." Both were coterminous and the sentences were almost always two years; Lea, *Inquisition*, Vol 3, 163.
[98] Id., 209.
[99] Casey, *Early Modern Spain*, 230.
[100] Lea, *Inquisition*, Vol 3, 166.
[101] Id., 138.

the spectacle were given indulgences of forty days.[102] The Inquisition thus incentivized the public exposure of shame. The public visibility of the auto de fe meant that targets of the Inquisition suffered having their crimes known to all. Furthermore, the ritual itself forced shameful acts upon the culprits. For example, they were marched through the streets in their sanbenitos. Also, "those sentenced to death were taken away on the backs of donkies by the civil authorities to the *quemadero* (the site for burning on the outskirts of the city)."[103] It would be difficult to regain one's dignity after such an occurrence, especially if included in effigy.

A contemporary account of the first auto de fe in Toledo in 1486 reads that penitents were "not to wear silk or scarlet or colored cloth or gold or silver or pearls or coral or any jewels."[104] This was assuming that the penitents could afford such luxuries after their prosecution. According to Henry Kamen, "[i]n most cases confiscation of goods occurred so that even if a prisoner escaped with a prison sentence of a few months he came out an orthodox Catholic indeed but facing a life of beggary."[105] Bereft of the tools used to demarcate power, the penitents also lost their pride as well. These humbling mechanisms demonstrate the extent to which the Inquisition viewed pride as a problematic symptom of heresy. Because it was considered such a grievous sin, pride was repeatedly curbed by the Inquisition.

Lázaro's character's pride likely attracted Inquisitorial ire. Born to a prostitute, Lázaro belongs to one of the lowest levels of Spanish society and consequently has claim on neither pride nor power. However, late in the book, he manages to secure for himself a post in Toledo as the town crier.[106] On one level, this post was considered an honorable one on account of the

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[102] Id., 209
[103] Helen Rawlings, *The Spanish Inquisition* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2006), 39.
[104] Kamen, *Inquisition and Society*, 191.
[105] Id., 186.
[106] *Lazarillo*, 58.

public service it afforded. Again, in the first Toledan auto de fe, the penitents were forbidden from such posts. Thus Lázaro - a character whose birth relegates him to social iniquity - manages to attain a semblance of power through his occupation. Considering that Lázaro was a mere beggar earlier in the work, his sudden climb to power makes him an upstart. In a society where social mobility was theoretically constrained by *limpieza de sangre*, Lázaro's climb to prosperity would have likely been viewed with unease. Kallendorf notes, "The Pride of the lower classes undoubtedly posed a threat to the early modern Spanish order. An upstart such as the lady-in-waiting Anne Boleyn, who rose in English society to become queen to King Henry VIII, thus becomes emblematic in the Spanish imagination of the social dangers to which Pride can lead if left unchecked."[107] Pride might weaken *limpieza de sangre* by convincing a person that he or she could exceed his or her current station. Without pride, an individual becomes humbly content with his or her place in life.

The Inquisition's attempts to homogenize the Hispano-Catholic community also entailed an attempt to maintain a consistent hegemon. Because a trickle-down of power threatened to disrupt this status quo, it was considered dangerous. Thus, Inquisitorial officials might have feared that readers would identify with the struggles of Lázaro and seek to follow his path. This is the reason why the *Castigado* edition reframes the story of Lázaro, making seek self-advancement through the squire's tutelage rather than through his own agency.[108] Montano thus reframed a subversive work into a didactic one that could be accepted by Inquisitorial standards. The Inquisitorial apparatus, then, worked in more ways than one: not only curbing dissident messages, but also curving those messages toward hegemonic values.

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[107] Kallendorf, *Sins of Fathers*, 32.
[108] Felipe Ruan, "Market, Audience," 195.

While pride in the lower classes was considered disruptive, pride amongst the upper classes had the potential to be far more dangerous. An excess of pride indicated a misplacement of power. The upper classes could only possess power as long as their morality justified their positions. *Lazarillo de Tormes* likely became a candidate for censorship because it questions that morality. This occurs when Lázaro encounters the Squire, a hidalgo who personifies this pride.[109] Even though a hidalgo ranked lowest in the Spanish nobility, the Squire is the only aristocrat with whom Lázaro interacts in detail. Thus he can be interpreted as a representation of how the author conceived Spanish nobility in general. Amongst the wayward priests and charlatans whom Lázaro meets, the Squire's social position likely made him the most likely character with whom *calificadores* could identify. This made it all the more probable for *Lazarillo de Tormes* to be banned for the Squire's fault in character.

The author conveys the Squire's pride through building on literary precedents. One such precedent is explained by Kallendorf, "proud characters in comedias…are almost universally associated with high fashion."[110] Again, if such measures as the sanbenito and nudity inspired humbleness, it makes sense that the opposite held true for pride. The Squire strikes Lázaro as prideful from the beginning of their relationship, "…he was quite well dressed, his hair was neat..."[111] Important here is the fact that the Squire is mainly characterized by the care he gives to his appearance. The author alluded to a literary commonplace that was likely intelligible to the learned *calificadores*. Elsewhere in the *tractado*, the Squire prepares for Mass by cleaning his

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[109] *Lazarillo*, 29.
[110] Kallendorf, *Sins of Fathers*, 21.
[111] *Lazarillo*, 29.

garments, combing his hair, and strapping on his sword.[112] This indicates a clear desire of the author to convey a conscientiousness toward fashion.

Aside from visual signifiers, pride is also attached to the Squire through language. Particularly, Lázaro finishes his description of the Squire by terming his gait as "proudly."[113] Because the work is seen from the perspective of a morally-grey picaro, it is unlikely that the character Lázaro refers to the actual sin of pride here. Nevertheless, it would have struck a chord with *calificadores* - especially those from monastic backgrounds. Since he is one of the only nobles Lázaro encounters in the novel, the Squire represents that social category.[114] To pair that social category with the sin of pride implied a subversive perception of that group.

Lazarillo's perception of prideful nobles was at variance with how those nobles fashioned their own identities. The disillusionment with one's own power was a dangerous characteristic among the aristocracy. Thus nobles strove to portray themselves as level-headed. Many ideals for noble behavior derived from Baldassare Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier* [1528]. Castiglione maintained that *tranquillitas*, or tranquility of the soul, was a focal virtue of nobility. Specifically, he praised "a quiet manner as an enviable mark of the grave and dignified man ruled by reason rather than by appetite."[115] Rooted in stoicism, *tranquillitas* means control over those emotions that make one succumb to sins such as pride or greed. Portraiture from this period often depicted nobles whose faces were impassive (Fig 1, 2, 3). Art historian Ann Jensen Adams argues that this was a deliberate effort on the part of the nobility to convey their self-

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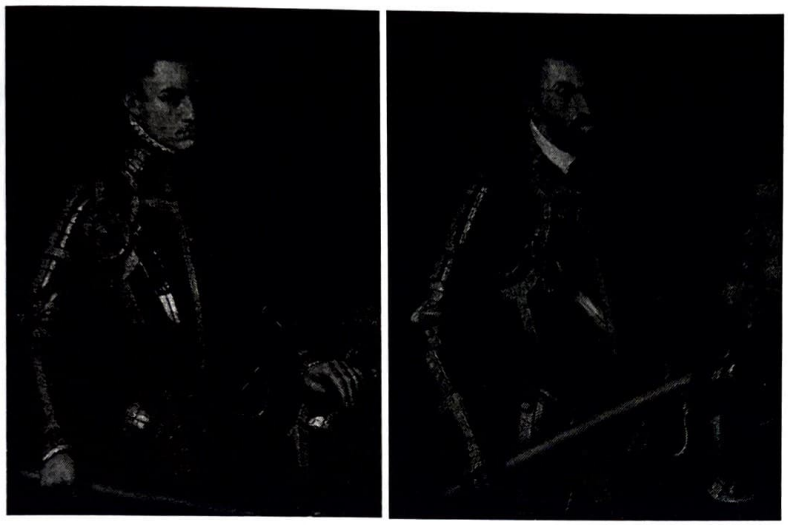
[112] Id., 34.
[113] Id., 29.
[114] Squire's noble status is indicated by his name in the original Spanish version (escudero/hidalgo), as well as the sword he wears. This is because only nobles were allowed to openly wield swords in Spanish cities at this time; Casey, *Inquisition*, 154.
[115] Ann Jensen Adams, "The Three-Quarter Length Life-Sized Portrait in Seventeenth-Century Holland: The Cultural Functions of Tranquillitas," 170.

mastery, or *tranquillitas*.[116] The well-read *calificadores* likely knew of these courtly attitudes and found the ones in *Lazarillo de Tormes* to be at odds with the ones held in vogue.



Left: Antonio Moro *Nassau, Prince of Orange.*
Note: Adams used this portrait to defend her argument.
Right: Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, *Charles V,* c. 1550.
Note: Charles V's portrait is used here to transfer the point to Spain. Note austerity characteristic of Habsburg court; mostly monochromatic (defying fashion of Squire). Facial expressions are near identical in their impassion.

[116] Id., 167; it should be mentioned here that the article concerns Dutch art history. However, Castiglione's work was highly influential all across western Europe, and thus would have found its way into Spanish court circles.

Squire and Castigado

It is clear that the Squire was a troubling character to Inquisitorial *calificadores*. On one level, this was due to the Squire's implicit attacks on aristocratic bloodlines and their pride. On another, the realism of this character was likely another cause of concern. The Squire was not a fantastical satire but a realistic one. For example, Nowak notes how:

> [t]he Squire's prolonged and fanciful description of how he would ingratiate himself with a rich master is rudely interrupted by a man and an old lady demanding the rents due on the house and bed. The Squire says that he has to go out and get change and never returns! This abrupt departure after the long, detailed autobiographical narrative, is appropriately shocking, as it contrasts the fantasy and reality..."[117]

Had the Squire been more fantastical, the reader could suspend belief and think of *Lazarillo de Tormes* as a story rather than an implicit critique. For these reasons, the character was one who struck too close to home for the *calificadores*. This was perhaps why the Squire received the most amount of attention in the Velasco's *Castigado* edition. According to Reyes Coll-Tellechea:

> It can be said that up to this point (before squire) the censor let stand certain totally reproachable forms of behavior by major characters – such as greed, lack of compassion, selfishness, and the commercial use of religious practices. Instead, what Lopez de Velasco seems to go after are the instances in which Lazaro dares to judge such conducts as representative of entire institutions.[118]

Rather than excising the Squire *tractado* altogether, Velasco instead changed the character. This was done by reversing Lázaro's evaluation of the Squire. Originally, Lázaro thought the Squire to be unjustifiably egotistical: "I wish he wasn't quite so vain and that he

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[117] Nowak, "Squire as Pride," 30.
[118] Reyes Coll-Tellechea, "Battle for Lazarillo," 87.

would come down to earth and face facts a little more."[119] Velasco's Lázaro is instead influenced by the Squire to achieve his position as a town-crier.[120] The Squire thus plays a positive role in Lázaro's trajectory. There is also an implicit message here that one cannot advance himself in society without the aid of a noble. Velasco thus reasserted the social hierarchy by placing Lázaro under the Squire's influence. In doing so, he transformed a *picaresque* work into a didactic one.

[119] *Lazarillo*, 38.
[120] Ruan, "Market, Audience," 195.

Conclusion

Lazarillo de Tormes could have been targeted by the Inquisition for any number of reasons, but the "scandal" of *limpieza de sangre* and the "sin" of pride underscore aristocratic hypocrisy in such a way that they undoubtedly attracted the concerns of those *calificadores* involved in the 1559 Index. On one hand, *Lazarillo de Tormes* scandalized the idea of a blood purity through implicitly critiquing its reality. In doing so, it questioned the very ideology that justified the social hierarchy of Early Modern Spain. On the other hand, the work portrayed an image of prideful nobility that was too realistic to be ignored as some wacky satire. Thus the work could have been considered both sinful and scandalous by contemporaries familiar with Inquisitorial ideology.

While it is true that the Inquisition banned books through such measures as the 1559 Index, it also reproduced books such as Velasco's *Lazarillo Castigado*. The Inquisition thus shifted the canon of literature to standards that were appropriate to its ideology. It may have forbidden books, but it was hardly the book-burning, knowledge-hating institution that the Black Legend would have others believe.

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