

# “CON SEÑALES EN EL ROSTRO”: SALAS BARBADILLO’S *LA HIJA DE CELESTINA* AND THE APOLOGIST RHETORIC OF THE MORISCO EXPULSION

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*“Por quanto la razón de bueno y christiano obliga en conciencia a expeler de los Reynos y repúblicas las cosas que causan escándalo y daño a los buenos súbditos y peligro al Estado, y sobre todo ofensa y deservicio a Dios nuestro señor, habiendo la experiencia mostrado que todos estos inconvenientes ha causado la residencia de los Christianos nuevos moriscos en los Reynos de Granada y Murcia y Andalucía, porque demás de ser y proceder de los que concurrieron en el levantamiento del dicho Reyno de Granada cuyo principio fue matar con atroces muertes y martirios a todos los sacerdotes y Christianos viejos que pudieron de los que entre ellos vivían . . .”*

Royal decree for the expulsion of the Moriscos  
from Andalucía (1609).

*“Llamábanla sus amos María y aunque respondía a este nombre, el que sus padres la pusieron y ella escuchaba mejor fue Zara.”*

Elena, *La hija de Celestina* (1612).

AT the dawn of the seventeenth century, Spain was in the grip of a vigorous debate over the future of the Moriscos, many of whom continued to practice their Islamic faith and traditions and resisted State efforts to assimilate them into the Christian mainstream. This debate over what became known as the “Morisco Problem” (*la cuestión morisca*) culminated in the Morisco expulsion in 1609 during the reign of Phillip III. This same period also witnessed the rise of the Spanish picaresque novel, which established itself as one of the most popular literary genres of its time. A frequent figure of the Spanish picaresque at the time is the Muslim or Morisco *hechicera*

who practices love magic and alternative forms of medicine. Examples include Sabina, a former Muslim slave turned *hechicera* in Mateo Alemán's *Segunda parte de Guzmán de Alfarache* (1604); Aldonza de San Pedro, mother of Pablos and an *alcahueta-prostituta* in Francisco de Quevedo's *Historia de la vida del Buscón* (1626); and Zara, a Muslim slave turned *hechicera*, in Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo's *La hija de Celestina* (1612). Despite these representations of the *hechicera* as Muslim, Sánchez Ortega observes that it was the Gypsy community that was most closely associated with *hechicería* in early modern Spain. She explains that this association was so strong that its presence dominated many works of the period.<sup>1</sup> The Spanish picaresque novel at the time of the Morisco expulsion, however, often depicts the *hechicera* as Muslim and inherently dangerous. This representation echoes the anti-Islamic State discourse that silenced public debate and dominated the printed word in Spain once the expulsion began.<sup>2</sup> The royal expulsion decrees drew heavily upon the ideas and words of the Apologists, a powerful minority of clergy and laymen who sought to justify the expulsion. The Apologists argued that the Moriscos were incapable of becoming faithful Christians and described them as a cancer, infection, or deadly weed that must be removed if Spain was to reach its full potential as a Catholic nation. They stressed the Moriscos remained loyal to the Islamic faith and could restore Muslim control of the Peninsula through relations with Muslims in Northern Africa and the Ottoman Empire.

Salas Barbadillo's *La hija de Celestina* appeared in 1612, during the later stages of the expulsion and height of the Apologist treatises. The novel depicts the Morisco *hechicera* as a subversive catalyst for death and destruction, echoing the Apologists and royal expulsion decrees. Scholars of the early modern period have valued the Spanish picaresque novel for its social realism and criticism during a period of decline and transformation within the Spanish empire. Maravall, for example, describes the Spanish picaresque as a "testimonio en el que se refleja una imagen mental de la sociedad" and notes that "nos traslada el conjunto de creencias, de valoraciones, de aspiraciones, de pretensiones que se reconocían en el mundo social y aquellas atrevidas negaciones de las mismas en las que se estimaba desmoronarse gravemente el sistema establecido" (13). In light of these qualities, I propose that *La hija de Celestina* may be read not only as social commentary on the aspirations and fears of early modern Spain at the time of the Morisco expulsion, but also as a form of anti-Islamic propaganda that worked in tandem with the Apologists and served to support or justify the expulsion. To illustrate this quality, I examine the Morisco figure of Zara, a former Muslim slave turned *hechicera*. Although her presence is confined to a single chapter, Zara is fundamental as the mother of Elena, the novel's protagonist. This study contextualizes Zara in relation to the Apologist rhetoric and expulsion decrees to reveal similarities between the three and the possibility that *La hija de Celestina* may have functioned as a political tool to influence public opinion and justify the State's actions during the Morisco expulsion.

The debate over the Moriscos began with the re-conquest of Granada in 1492. Although Ferdinand and Isabel stipulated that the Granadan Muslims could continue practicing their Islamic faith and customs,<sup>3</sup> in 1498 the archbishop of Toledo, Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, arrived in Granada and began to implement forced

conversions. Harvey notes that with these conversions, “Cisneros and his staff began to adopt a much more outwardly militant, even physically confrontational, approach” (28).<sup>4</sup> Despite these efforts and subsequent prohibitions on Muslim culture and the use of Arabic, many Moriscos continued to practice Islam in secret as the debate over the Morisco Problem intensified.

Hopes of assimilating the Moriscos were severely eroded by the Morisco uprising in the Alpujarras Mountains of Granada in 1568, a response to Phillip II’s prohibition of Arabic and Muslim culture in 1566 two years earlier. These prohibitions were particularly severe in Granada:

A primeros del año 1567 el nuevo presidente de la Audiencia de Granada Pedro de Deza promulgó un nuevo edicto por el cual se restringían aún más las libertades de los moriscos: se les prohibía hablar en su lengua; tenían que aprender el castellano en tres años a partir de esa fecha; extendiendo también la prohibición a escribir o leer en árabe, en público o en privado; se les obligaba también a que dejaran de vestir a su manera; a cambiar sus apellidos moros por otros cristianos, a abandonar sus costumbres, sus comidas y sus ceremonias; se les prohibía incluso hacer uso de sus baños, para que no siguieran con su costumbre de las abluciones prescritas por el Corán. Detrás de estas medidas estaba la vana pretensión de que esta gente debía abandonar toda identidad propia para asimilarse y confundirse con la población cristiana española de siempre. Pretensión que era muy poco realista, teniendo en cuenta la fuerza de la cultura y la religión musulmanas. (Cabañas 64)

Feros describes the Alpujarras uprising as “un acontecimiento que transformó radicalmente los términos del debate” and notes that accounts of the event charged the Morisco rebels with “matar indiscriminadamente a cristianos, destruir villas, quemar iglesias y asesinar a curas y a otras autoridades eclesiásticas” (75, 76). Although Christian authorities defeated the uprising, it was now believed the Moriscos were fighting “no sólo por la independencia de Granada, sino, más importante, por la restauración del poder musulmán en la Península” (Feros 76). This fear intensified in 1582 when authorities discovered a Morisco plot for aid from Muslims in Algeria. For the first time an official body recommended the king adopt radical measures to address the issue. The Alpujarras uprising and this discovery strengthened the Apologists’ arguments and, as will be seen, are referenced in the expulsion decrees.

Despite these events, Spain was conflicted about the causes of the Morisco Problem and how to resolve it. Some Church and State intellectuals favored expulsion or even slavery or execution, while others argued the expulsion of baptized subjects was both counterproductive and prohibited by Church laws of morality. Some intellectuals believed the Moriscos to be immune to change and inherently unable to ever become faithful Catholics, while others blamed their lack of integration into the Christian mainstream on Spanish authorities and society that had rejected and marginalized them (Feros 68-69). Morisco sympathizers, such as the humanist Pedro de Valencia, argued for the inherent dignity of the Moriscos and called for more appropriate means to convert them, such as intermarriage with Old

Christians (Ehlers 129). In his *Tratado acerca de los moriscos de España*, published in 1606, Valencia presents the Moriscos as a population that is part of the very fabric of Spain's history and character:

en quanto a la complexión natural, y por el consiguiente en quanto al ingenio, condición y brío son españoles como los demás que habitan en España, pues ha casi novecientos años que nacen y se crían en ella y se echa de ver en la semejanza o uniformidad de los talles con los demás moradores de ellos. (78-81)

In reality, the Moriscos accounted for no more than five percent of Spain's total population at the time of the expulsion.<sup>5</sup> In addition, the Christian population of northern and central Spain was steadily increasing, further eclipsing the Moriscos. Thus, the expulsion may be considered "a cruel coup de grâce to a community long in decline, not a measure of self-defense taken by Christian folk in any real danger of being demographically overwhelmed and outbred" (Harvey 13). Instead, the final decision to expel the Moriscos has more recently been understood as a political attempt to foster public support for Phillip III, who had signed an unpopular peace treaty with Holland just days before he proclaimed the expulsion (Feros 67). Thus, the Spanish State had to face the difficult task of convincing its public that the expulsion was not merely political, but right and necessary.

In light of this debate and political motivation, the Morisco expulsion provoked what Márquez Villanueva calls "una crisis de conciencia colectiva" for generations of Spaniards since "La expulsión colectiva de un pueblo bautizado carecía de precedente en la historia de la cristiandad" (62). The Apologists had to be convincing, therefore, especially since they were part of a small minority of Spaniards who favored expulsion. Nonetheless, the Apologists had State support and their collective discourse became "una verdadera campaña de propaganda en sentido moderno, nacida al calor de la España oficial y cristiano-vieja" (Márquez Villanueva 65). Many of the Apologist treatises are extensive and contain hundreds to over a thousand pages. Hutchinson, for example, observes that these treatises "no son justificaciones puntuales sino grandes historias panorámicas en las cuales los moriscos ya tienen su papel asignado" (139). Most Apologist treatises appeared from 1610 to 1618, during or just after the expulsion, and their timing suggests a concern that the expulsion might not be completed or could be reversed: "A universally popular and praised decision would certainly not inspire copious volumes of justification, and the apologists therefore seek to place themselves within a debate they see as largely still undefined, and one whose official outcome still lay undetermined" (Bartels 11).

Among the most influential proponents of the expulsion was Juan de Ribera, Archbishop of Valencia from 1569 until his death in January 1611. Ribera was "perhaps the most vocal expulsion proponent of the highest political standing" and "the chief spokesman for the campaign, influencing over the course of decades the many clerics with whom he came in contact" (Bartels 6). While initially optimistic the Moriscos could be assimilated into the Christian mainstream, Ribera gradually became disillusioned and eventually argued for their expulsion. Ribera's influence

is readily visible across the Apologist treatises, such as those of Pedro Aznar Cardona, *Expulsión justificada de los Moriscos españoles* (1612); Damián Fonseca, *Justa expulsión de los moriscos de España* (1612); Marcos de Guadalajara y Javier, *Memorable expulsión y justísimo destierro de los Moriscos de España* (1613); and Jaime Bleda, *Crónica de los moros de España, dividida en ocho libros* (1618). Rather than present new arguments or ideas, the Apologist treatises reveal two primary functions: “primero, que unifican las tradiciones, lenguajes e interpretaciones que se habían venido utilizando hasta esos momentos para hablar de los moriscos; y, segundo, hacen posible la circulación masiva de estas justificaciones y argumentos” (Feros 84). Hutchinson observes that the Apologists present the Moriscos as enemies of the state who deserve to suffer by divine right. He explains the Apologists seek to “deshumanizar a los moriscos, desespañolizarlos y convertirlos en enemigos de la fe” (141). They refer frequently to the Moriscos as “malas hierbas,” “la peste” and “sierpre” to “enajenar a los moriscos y vaciarles de todo carácter humano” (Hutchinson 140). This separation and dehumanization of the Moriscos allows the Apologists to present Morisco pain and suffering caused by the expulsion as joy and victory for Spaniards:

Lo que permite esta deshumanización de los moriscos son los mismos motivos que se encuentran en todos los textos de los apologistas, aunque no sólo en éstos: la firme convicción de que los moriscos sean ‘tan moros’ como los de África, por un lado, y de que sean enemigos naturales del estado español. Los moriscos por su gran culpa *merecen sufrir*, y cuanto más sufren más demuestran la justicia divina y humana, y más razón *nos* dan para celebrar ese dolor ajeno de los *soberbios* a quienes Dios ‘desha-ze’. Su dolor *no* es nuestro dolor: al contrario, su dolor nos consuela y alimenta nuestra felicidad. (Hutchinson 129, emphasis in original)

The influence of the Apologist treatises is visible in the royal expulsion decrees. Although many of the Apologist treatises were published during or after the expulsion, their ideas and words circulated prior to the expulsion in the form of oral discourses to Phillip III and leading Church and State officials. The expulsion decrees were printed and distributed widely and set the tone for later publications about the event. They stress that efforts to integrate, assimilate, and convert the Moriscos had failed and present the Moriscos and their disobedience as a source of harm and danger (Feros 82). These qualities are especially visible in the decree for Andalucía, with its explicit references to Morisco violence, the Alpujarras uprising, and the Moriscos’ alleged relations with the Turks:

Por cuanto la razón de bueno y christiano obliga en conciencia a expeler de los Reynos y repúblicas las cosas que causan escándalo y daño a los buenos súbditos y peligro al Estado, y sobre todo ofensa y deservicio a Dios nuestro señor, habiendo la experiencia mostrado que todos estos inconvenientes ha causado la residencia de los Christianos nuevos moriscos en los Reynos de Granada y Murcia y Andalucía, porque demás de ser y proceder de los que concurrieron en el levantamiento del dicho Reyno de

Granada cuyo principio fue matar con atroces muertes y martirios a todos los sacerdotes y Christianos viejos que pudieron de los que entre ellos vivían, llamando al Turco que viniese en su favor y ayuda . . . Demás de lo cual han cometido muchos robos y muertes contra los Christianos viejos, y no contentos con esto, han tratado de conspirar contra mi Corona Real y estos Reynos, procurando el socorro y ayuda del Turco, yendo y viniendo personas enviadas por ellos a este efecto. (in Feros 83)

This generalization of the Moriscos as a source of death, crime, and conspiracy against Old Christians and the State is an image that did not consider varying degrees of assimilation of the Moriscos into the Christian mainstream and ignored the bonds between Old Christian and Moriscos that had formed over centuries. Instead, this image was meant to convince Spaniards that all Moriscos were a threat to their own and Spain's well-being.

Once the decrees were issued, justification for the expulsion dominated the printed word across all literary genres and silenced the previous debate:

Una vez se ordena la Expulsión, la defensa de la justificación se convierte en dominante, casi exclusiva. Y lo hace ya no en los debates y entramados institucionales y oficiales, sino que toma el espacio público. Lo hace masivamente, a través de la imprenta, y a través de todos los géneros literarios – desde el documento oficial, a la novela, el teatro, la pintura, o las entradas reales. (Feros 81)

Among the literary forms that reflect this shift is the picaresque novel. Due to its popularity by the end of the sixteenth century, the picaresque novel was a timely vehicle for writers who wished to influence public perception of the Moriscos. With the publication of Mateo Alemán's *Primera parte de Guzmán de Alfarache* in 1599, the Spanish picaresque became one of the most widely read and popular literary genres of early modern Spain. Claudio Guillén, for example, observes that the *Guzmán* "was one of the first authentic best sellers in the history of printing" and "Its huge success immediately transformed a narrative form . . . into a convention" (143). Part One of Cervantes's *Don Quijote*, published in 1605, offers additional testimony when Ginés de Pasamonte declares to Don Quijote in Chapter XXII that the autobiography he is composing "Es tan bueno . . . que mal año para *Lazarillo de Tormes*, y para todos cuantos de aquél género se han escrito o escribieren" (224).

Two movements that broadened the picaresque's influence were the growth of print culture and the rise of a diverse consumerist readership. Gilbert-Santamaría explains that the growth of print culture in early modern Spain led to the emergence of private libraries and greater public access to the printed word (86). These conditions contributed to the rise and popularity of the novel, as works such as *La Celestina*, *Lazarillo de Tormes*, and the *libros de caballerías* became extraordinarily popular and catered to the tastes of "an audience that was already expanding beyond the horizons of the traditional literate classes" (Gilbert-Santamaría 86). Authors now had to consider a wider range of readers and tastes. Popular writers such as Lope de Vega, Mateo Alemán, and Cervantes responded to "emerging market mech-

anisms” that forced them to rework inherited poetic ideas in order to appeal to “the demands of popular taste” of “an increasingly heterogenous public” (Gilbert-Santamaría 16). In this new age of literary consumerism, audiences demanded representations that addressed their preferences and attitudes (Gilbert-Santamaría 18-19). As one of the most popular genres of its time, the Spanish picaresque novel had to contend with these demands. Reed, for example, observes that foundational works, such as the *Lazarillo* and *Guzmán*, project “a certain anxiety about the reaction of their potential readers, as well as uncertainty about their readers’ identities, qualities, and tastes” (17).<sup>6</sup> Like its predecessors, Salas Barbadillo’s *La hija de Celestina* reflects an awareness of its intended aristocratic, courtly audience. Rey Hazas observes that this work combines qualities of the picaresque and courtly novels, two of the most popular forms of the time (50). He explains that “la visión del mundo que ofrece *La hija de Celestina* . . . es plenamente conservadora, más aún, defensora de la sociedad estamental y aristocrática, de sus privilegios de clase y de casta, así como de las diferencias éticas y sociales que esta concepción presupone según el abolengo heredado” (63).

Salas Barbadillo (1581-1635) was born into a wealthy family of Old Christian descent and lived most of his life in the literary circles of Madrid. After the death of Cervantes in 1616, Salas Barbadillo was considered by many to be the finest Spanish novelist of the time (García Santo-Tomás 11-16). While not a lot is known about Salas Barbadillo’s life, his apparent lack of ties with ethnic minorities may have influenced his more stereotypical depiction of Moriscos.<sup>7</sup> Fielding, for example, observes that Salas Barbadillo “[took] advantage of all the negative aspects associated with this ethnic group . . . to write consciously within a maurophobic discourse” (192). As writer and intellectual, Salas Barbadillo may have used the picaresque novel, in part, to influence public opinion and assist State and Apologist efforts to justify the expulsion. Maravall observes two primary tracks of the Spanish picaresque novel, “reformista” and “represiva,” and explains that Salas Barbadillo’s work falls into the latter category, reflecting a desire to repress the rebellion and desire for change that was intensifying under Phillip III:

Y así, algunos de los autores del género parecen sugerir, más bien, que no hay más salida que reforzar la represión, en todas sus clases. Tendríamos entonces dos vías, reformista o represiva en que, dentro de ciertos límites, se mueve la literatura picaresca . . . habremos de colocar al autor del *Guzmán* en la primera dirección, mientras que Salas Barbadillo podría ser ejemplo de la segunda. (13)

During this period of decline and rebellion, Salas Barbadillo diverged from previous models of the picaresque in order to appeal to the traditional, aristocratic tastes of his intended readership. Foundational works such as the *Lazarillo* and *Guzmán* present the *pícaro* as a product of a social evolution that is shaped by contact with others, whereas in *La hija de Celestina* the *pícaro* is a static character “whose corruption is inherent, not the result of a socializing process” (Bjornson 91). As will be seen, this quality of inherent corruption is central to Salas Barbadillo’s depiction of Zara and Elena and, by extension, of the Moriscos as a source of danger and subversion.

*La hija de Celestina* projects an Old Christian, aristocratic world-view in which the protagonist's corrupt nature is pre-determined by her Muslim blood. In "Capítulo 3" Elena explains her mixed origins to Montúfar, her traveling companion and eventual husband: "mi patria es Madrid. Mi padre se llamó Alonso Rodríguez, gallego en la sangre y en el oficio lacayo" (106). Readers of the time would have likely understood Elena's father to be of Old Christian descent since northern Spain is the birthplace of the Christian Reconquest and a region historically associated with pure, Old Christian blood. Elena's mother, however, was a Muslim slave from Granada, precisely the opposite of northern Spain since Granada was Spain's last Moorish kingdom and site of the Alpujarras uprising:

Mi madre fue natural de Granada, y con señales en el rostro – porque los buenos han de andar señalados para que los otros se diferencien – servía en Madrid a un caballero de los Zapatas, cuya nobleza en aquel lugar es tan antigua que nadie los excede y pocos los igualan. Al fin, esclava; que no puedo yo negarte lo que todos saben.

Llamábanla sus amos María, y aunque respondía a este nombre, el que sus padres la pusieron y ella escuchaba mejor, fue Zara. (106-07)

Here Elena appears reluctant to label her mother as slave. Instead, she first praises her as one of "los buenos" who served a distinguished noble family of Madrid. Although at the outset she avoids the word "esclava," her eventual use of the term is followed by a declaration of her mother's Muslim roots and abiding loyalty to Islam. Zara's "señales en el rostro" refer to the facial markings worn by slaves in early modern Spain. These markings consisted of a letter *S* pierced by a vertical letter *I*, or "clavo," thus forming the label "esclavo." The vertical line could also be read as the letter *I*, with the *S* and *I* standing for *Sine Iure*, which according to Covarrubias meant "el esclavo no es suyo, sino de su señor, y así le es prohibido cualquier acto libre" (García Santo-Tomás 107, n. 64). Although Zara is later freed from slavery, she cannot escape her "señales en el rostro" that forever mark her as Muslim. Branded both physically and socially as a slave, Zara is an objectified, ethnic "other" that has no place in Spain's future as a Catholic hegemony and must be removed. Just as the Apologists and expulsion decrees depict the Moriscos as a deadly weed or cancer that must be removed for Spain's safety and well-being, so too is Zara marked forever in Salas Barbadillo's text as Muslim and therefore inherently dangerous, despite efforts to assimilate her. Readers of the time also would have associated Zara's Granadan roots with the Morisco uprising in the Alpujarras Mountains, which, as noted above, is referenced in the expulsion decrees circulating widely at the time *La hija de Celestina* was published. It is also noteworthy that while Zara is originally from Granada, Elena was born in Madrid. Zara's displacement from Granada to Madrid echoes the fate of the Granadan Moriscos who were dispersed throughout central Spain in 1571 after the defeat of the Alpujarras uprising in an effort to assimilate them into the Christian mainstream. In addition, Zara's allegiance to her birth name rather than "María," which her masters use with her,

suggests that she underwent a forced conversion to Christianity (Fielding 206-07). Her eventual marriage to a Galician, meanwhile, recalls the Spanish Crown’s attempts to assimilate the Moriscos through intermarriage with Old Christians.

The early seventeenth-century reader would have likely associated Zara with subversive behavior. After the fall of Granada in 1492, Morisco women were largely responsible for the preservation of Muslim culture and traditions in the Iberian Peninsula: “las mujeres son las campeonas de lo que se podría llamar resistencia pasiva de los moriscos. Sin su obstinación, sin su acendrada fidelidad, se habrían perdido muchos ritos y costumbres ancestrales” (Vincent 592). Perry explains that many Morisco women transformed their homes into “a space of resistance” where they taught their children the prohibited Arabic language and Muslim prayers and supervised the observation of Muslim holy days and fasts, circumcision of male infants, dietary restrictions, and ritual washing of the body for daily prayer and burial (*The Handless Maiden* 65). Further proof of Morisco women’s subversive acts to preserve their Muslim culture are the sacred Arabic texts, called *herçes*, that Morisco women hid within their clothing during Inquisitorial raids on their homes. The *herçes* were Koranic passages written on a piece of paper, which was folded and sealed in a cloth sack, and covered with a finer cloth. The *herçes* were typically worn around the neck or sewn into women’s garments since they were believed to have magical powers for healing but had to be carried or worn to be effective (Surtz 424-25). During this time, traditional Muslim attire took on new meaning for Morisco women as a sign of their Muslim heritage and a symbol of resistance to Christian authorities. In addition, Muslim and Morisco slaves were exempt from the expulsion due to their status as property of their Old Christian masters (Perry, *The Handless Maiden* 167). Slaves were also allowed to practice their Islamic faith within their master’s home (Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent 257), creating an intriguing dynamic between confinement and freedom. Female slaves were highly valued for their domestic skills and ability to reproduce more slaves for their Old Christian owners. Christian authorities, meanwhile, feared these women since they could inculcate Muslim culture and religion in their children, who assumed slave status and remained with their mothers throughout infancy (Perry, *The Handless Maiden* 166-71). Zara, therefore, is not only branded physically and textually as slave, but also may have been labelled by the early modern reader who would have further defined Zara as a potentially dangerous threat based on these associations.

Elena also observes her mother’s false appearance as a faithful Christian, a stereotypical image that also plays into the image of the Moriscos presented by the Apologists and expulsion decrees. Zara’s false pretenses were motivated by fear of Christian authorities and the Inquisition, which had imprisoned her parents:

Era [mi madre] persona que en esta materia de creer en Dios se iba a la mano todo lo que podía, y podía mucho, porque creía poco; verdad es que cumplía cada año con las obligaciones de la Iglesia, temerosa de estos tres bonetes que dejamos en Toledo, porque de su cárcel salieron a morir mis abuelos. (107)

The “tres bonetes” Elena mentions is an example of synecdoche that refers to the headwear Inquisitional authorities wore during tribunal sessions (García Santo-Tomás 107, n. 65). As Zara complies with the “obligaciones de la Iglesia,” she deceives even the priest to whom she went to confess the sins of her masters: “íbase a los pies del confesor a referir los pecados de sus amos, de quien siempre se quejaba; porque su persona la justificaba tanto, que, si fuera verdad lo que ella al padre de su alma decía, la pudieran canonizar” (107). In addition, Zara refused several offers of marriage from Old Christians in her youth, despite the freedom from slavery that such intermarriage would have granted her. Underlying these rejections was Zara’s inherent hatred of Old Christians, identified here by the green or red crosses that members of military orders wore on their chest:<sup>8</sup>

Pareció bien en su mocedad, y tanto que más de dos de las cruces verdes y rojas desearon mezclar sangres, ofreciéndole la libertad; pero ella, que *con natural odio, heredado de sus mayores*, estaba mal con los cristianos, se excusó de no juntarse con ellos, y así, hizo de esto firme voto a su Profeta, que observó rigurosamente exceptuando los gallegos, por parecerle que entre ellos y los moriscos la diferencia no es considerable. (107-08, my emphasis)

These qualities that Elena highlights in her mother are reminiscent of the royal decrees and the arguments of those who favored expulsion, declaring that by their very nature the Moriscos were immune to change and could never be made into Christians. In addition, Zara’s initial rejections of intermarriage with Old Christians echoes the Apologists and the expulsion decrees that stressed all efforts to assimilate the Moriscos, including intermarriage, had failed.

When Zara’s mistress dies, she is freed from slavery and marries. After the birth of Elena, Zara decides to follow in her own mother’s footsteps and becomes an accomplished *hechicera*, an occupation presented as inherently Muslim:

Ya ella [Zara] había mudado de oficio, porque volviéndosele a representar en la memoria ciertas lecciones que la dio su madre – que fue doctísima mujer en el arte de convocar gente del otro mundo, a cuya menor voz rodaba todo el Infierno, donde llegó a tanta estimación que no se tenía por buen diablo el que no alcanzaba su privanza –, empezó por aquella senda; y *como le venía de casta*, hallóse en pocos días tan aprovechada, que no trocara su ocupación por doscientas mil de juro . . . (109, my emphasis)

Not only is the profession of *hechicería* associated with Muslim blood, but also with the devil, further presenting the Moriscos as enemies of the Church and State, as do the Apologist treatises. In reality, however, *hechiceras* included women of Jewish, Gypsy, and Mulata descent, with Gypsy women being more closely associated with this profession. Nonetheless, Salas Barbadillo presents *hechicería* as inherently Muslim as Elena attributes her mother’s success as *hechicera* to the fact that “le venía de casta” (109).<sup>9</sup> Alberola observes the appearance of the Muslim or Morisco *hechicera* in the Spanish picaresque novel is more frequent at the time of the Morisco expulsion (“La hechicería étnica” 67-68) and notes a tendency “a rela-

cionar la hechicería con dos oficios: esclava y alcahueta; y con una etnia: los moriscos” (“El papel de la hechicería” 484). This association served to justify the failure or demise of the Morisco *hechicera* and condemn her to a life of indecency: “Se usa la hechicería conjuntamente con la calidad de cristiana nueva para negativizar la ascendencia y el entorno del pícaro y justificar su fracaso vital, la imposibilidad de medrar socialmente y de llevar una vida digna y decente” (484). As I will now discuss, this ethnic condemnation applies to both Zara and Elena. Both characters have abilities that grant them success, yet these same abilities are depicted as inherently Muslim and serve to justify their deaths.

Elena explains that her mother soon became a successful and influential *hechicera*: “antes que yo pudiese roer una corteza de pan y me hubiesen en la boca nacido para ello los instrumentos necesarios, [mi madre] tenía en su estudio más visitas de príncipes y personas de grave calidad que el abogado de más opinión de toda la Corte” (109). Zara soon earned the name “Celestina,” a name she embraced as a badge of honor: “Como el pueblo llegó a conocer sus méritos, quiso honrarla con título digno de sus hazañas, y así, la llamaron todos en voz común ‘Celestina’, segunda de este nombre. ¿Pensarás que se corrió del título? ¡Bueno es eso! Antes le estimó tanto, que era el blasón de que más cuenta hacía” (110). Zara’s greatest talent as *hechicera* is the ability to restore women’s virginity by manipulating the signs that would reveal whether or not a woman has had sexual intercourse: “Y, sobre todas sus gracias, tenía la mejor mano para aderezar doncellas que se conocía en muchas leguas” (110).<sup>10</sup> In addition, Zara is able to deceive men of the most powerful ranks of patriarchal society: Church, aristocracy, and the merchant class. Elena explains that her mother even sold her own daughter into prostitution and that “Tres veces fui vendida por virgen: la primera a un eclesiástico rico; la segunda a un señor de título; la tercera a un genovés” (113). As Fielding observes, this ability intensifies Zara’s threat to the patriarchal social order:

Through her talents as “remiendavirgos,” Zara is able to rewrite the body, manipulating the signs that would reveal the truth of having been already exposed to sexual intercourse . . . Because Zara is able to manipulate and rewrite through sewing, a talent that is considered exclusively feminine, she threatens patriarchy. By utilizing those abilities that she possesses because of being a woman (sewing, weaving), she is able to fabricate virgins and deceive those who are obsessed with a woman’s virginity: the supporters and enablers of a patriarchal system. (209-10)

The text further elucidates the ability of Zara to deceive and subvert since the “virgos contrahechos” by her mother’s hand, not once but twice, passed as virgins that were even more valued and desired than actual virgins:

Y hacía en esto una sutileza extraña, que adobaba mejor a la desdichada que llegaba a su poder segunda vez, que cuando vino la primera. De modo fue, amigo, lo que te cuento, que sucedió en realidad de verdad que hubo año y aun años, que pasaron más caros los virgos contrahechos de su mano que los naturales . . . (110)

Salas Barbadillo makes it abundantly clear that Zara's ability to "aderezar doncellas" is her greatest talent as *hechicera*, a profession in which she excels due to her Muslim blood. Although Zara married a Galician Old Christian, she firmly maintained her Muslim identity, knowledge, and practices, which are presented as a subversive threat to the patriarchal social order and male honor code. Because Zara is Muslim, she is a dangerous threat.

Due to her success, Zara fears the authorities will discover her and departs for Seville with her daughter. Her presence in the novel ends abruptly as Elena explains that her mother was attacked and murdered by a band of thieves en route to Seville: "Partímonos a Sevilla, y en el camino, por robarla [a mi madre], unos ladrones la mataron" (113). This sudden erasure of Zara from the novel reflects the Apologist discourse that argued for swift, decisive action to rid Spain once and for all of the Moriscos. Zara's presence in the novel is contained to Elena's first-person narration in "Capítulo 3" and Zara herself never speaks. This absence of voice and textual distance between Zara and the reader diminish any feelings of sympathy the reader may have for Zara, despite her complex life as a former slave caught between her Muslim roots and Christian authority. This separation and objectification are reminiscent of the political discourse in the royal expulsion decrees and Apologist treatises that sought to vilify and dehumanize the Moriscos.

Zara plays a central role in *La hija de Celestina* as a means to highlight Elena's Muslim lineage. As the daughter of a Muslim slave from Granada and an Old Christian from Galicia, Elena represents the Iberian hybrid blend of Christian and Muslim that so concerned early modern Spanish authorities. While Zara is a Morisca by intermarriage with an Old Christian, Elena is Morisca by blood. Although her mixed blood means that she is socially marginalized, it allows her to pass as a white Christian woman even though her mother was a Muslim slave. Elena is as an outspoken, wandering woman of mixed origins who is able to conceal her Muslim identity, even among aristocratic Old Christian men. Fielding observes that this ability to disguise her identity reflects the tensions that the Spanish state experienced as it tried to rid itself of ethnic minorities but faced "racial and religious markers that are not so easily identified" (186-87). Bjornson notes that Elena's Muslim lineage means she is "no longer a plausible human character but a one-dimensional caricature . . . [whose] life is viewed and condemned from a position of moral superiority" (104). This "position of moral superiority" is that of the omniscient narrator who controls the novel and relegates Elena to the third person. Only in "Capítulo 3" is Elena allowed to speak for herself in the first person. Ironically, her narration tells of her mixed origins and Muslim mother, the source of Elena's own devious, subversive nature that ultimately condemns her. Elena's traveling companion in the novel is Montúfar, who is also a pimp and Elena's eventual husband. Montúfar regularly abuses Elena before and after they are married. When she later becomes interested in a young man, Perico el Zurdo, Montúfar becomes enraged and beats her. This causes Elena to poison Montúfar, for which she is taken to justice and hanged. After her death, Elena's body is put in a barrel and thrown into the Manzanares River, the same river from which she was born. While we are told very little of Elena's father, she herself describes in detail her mother's Muslim

roots and evolution from slave to *hechicera*. Elena’s own devious ways and deceitful nature are depicted as qualities she inherited from her Muslim mother. Throughout the novel, Elena is especially deceptive and cruel to aristocratic Old Christian men. As Bjornson observes, she remains unchanged by contact with society and is eventually punished by Spain’s legal system according to traditional, aristocratic values (104-05). As Zara’s daughter, Elena cannot escape her nature and is presented as “a diseased aspect of society that needs to be eradicated from a patriarchal white Christian society” (Fielding 186).<sup>11</sup>

The mother-daughter relationship between Zara and Elena personifies the dangers to Spain’s well-being that the Apologists use time and again in their treatises and that are reiterated in the royal decrees for expulsion. Elena’s first-person narration about her mother allows Salas Barbadillo to present danger and corruption as traits that are inherently Muslim and passed from one generation to the next, a quality also seen in the expulsion decree for Andalucía. The subversive qualities and ability to deceive others as *hechicera* that earned Zara the name “Celestina” also define Elena, who follows in her grandmother’s and mother’s footsteps as *hechicera*. Elena is “la hija de Celestina” and, as Fielding notes, “is extremely mischievous and cruel to the victims that fall prey to her tricks and manipulations” (184). Like the image of the Moriscos in the Apologist treatises and expulsion decrees, Elena is unable to change her inherently dangerous nature due to her Muslim lineage. Anything less than death at the hands of Spain’s legal system would allow for the continuation of such behavior in Elena’s own children and grandchildren. In similar fashion, the royal expulsion decree for Andalucía proclaims the Moriscos “causan escándalo y daño a los buenos súbditos y peligro al Estado.” It reminds Spaniards that “todos estos inconvenientes ha causado la residencia de los Christianos nuevos moriscos en los Reynos de Granada y Murcia y Andalucía” who should be noted for “ser y proceder de los que concurrieron en el levantamiento del dicho Reyno de Granada cuyo principio fue matar con atroces muertes y martirios a todos los sacerdotes y Christianos viejos que pudieron.” Like the expulsion decrees, Salas Barbadillo presents the Moriscos as inherently dangerous and a threat to Spain’s well-being. At the center and foundation of it all is Zara, a figure that allows Salas Barbadillo to establish the supposedly inherent threat posed by the Moriscos and contribute to the justification of their expulsion.

Salas Barbadillo strategically depicts the *hechicera* as Muslim precisely as Spain was in the final stages of the Morisco expulsion, an act motivated largely by political reasons to enhance public perception of the Crown. The Apologist treatises and royal expulsion decrees sought to convince Spaniards that the expulsion was essential for Spain to prosper as a Catholic hegemony. Not only does the appearance of *La hija de Celestina* in 1612 coincide with the final stages of the Morisco expulsion and the emergence of the Apologist treatises, it also coincides with the rise of the Spanish picaresque novel and early modern Spain’s expanding readership. As a product of these converging circumstances, Salas Barbadillo chose a literary vehicle with the potential to meet a wide audience and incorporated into his work the anti-Islamic rhetoric and attitudes that began to dominate once the expulsion was underway. He positions Zara’s presence in the early stages of the novel, highlighting her Muslim heritage and ascent from slave to *hechicera* in order to jus-

tify Zara's swift demise and the final condemnation and death of his protagonist, Elena. Capitalizing on the popularity of the picaresque novel, Salas Barbadillo created a fictionalized representation of the Morisca that reinforces the anti-Islamic rhetoric of the Apologists and the royal expulsion decrees. When considered in relation to these texts, *La hija de Celestina* may be more holistically understood as a political tool that perpetuated anti-Islamic attitudes and continued to foment fear and suspicion of the Moriscos in post-expulsion Spain.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> "La inmensa mayoría de los gitanos que llegaron ante el Santo Oficio fueron mujeres acusadas de prácticas supersticiosas y hechicería. Tan conocida era esta faceta de los gitanos que los autores del Siglo de Oro . . . se complacían sacando a escena gitanas y gitanos que decían la buenaventura o avisaban a los protagonistas de sus desventuras amorosas. En efecto la imagen que de ellos tiene el gran público, incluso en nuestros días, hace referencia con frecuencia a este tipo de actividades, recogiendo así la gran tradición literaria de los grandes autores de los siglos XVI y XVII y también del XVIII y XIX" (Sánchez Ortega, *La Inquisición* 87-88).

<sup>2</sup> Antonio Feros explains that "Lo que antes había sido un vivo debate . . . pasó a convertirse en una opinión casi unívoca que se manifestó en todo tipo de textos impresos . . . El discurso oficial, y la 'opinión pública' se hicieron una, y esto afectó a todos los géneros literarios durante el siglo XVII" (69).

<sup>3</sup> For further discussion of the conditions contained in the Capitulations of Granada that promised the Granadan Muslims freedom to continue practicing their Islamic faith, culture, and traditions after the re-conquest of Granada, see Caro Baroja 45-54.

<sup>4</sup> For further discussion of Archbishop Cisneros and these forced conversions see Harvey 28-31 and Caro Baroja 55-60.

<sup>5</sup> Spain's population was approximately 8 million at the time of the Expulsion (Elliot 86), while the total number of Moriscos expelled was around 320,000 (Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent 82-83). Harvey reminds us, however, that this latter number may be slightly conservative since "We are dealing with a religious group . . . driven into clandestinity and which had many reasons for avoiding the prying attentions of authority; a group of which many members sought at various periods to slip away illegally abroad and some to 'pass' and merge into the majority" (10).

<sup>6</sup> For Reed, the picaresque's diverse readership likely included "aristocrats, courtiers, *conversos*, country gentry, the urban bourgeoisie, clergy, students, [and] some women" (17). Chevalier, meanwhile, reminds us that while early modern Spain witnessed a growing reading public, only about 20 percent of its population was literate and engaged in the act of reading books. Within this 20 percent, those who read fictional prose or "literatura de entretenimiento" were *hidalgos* and *caballeros*, some *letrados*, university professors and intellectuals, high clergy, and servants of noble families who had access to the library of their master (29-30).

<sup>7</sup> For the life and literary career of Salas Barbadillo, see García Santo-Tomás 11-27.

<sup>8</sup> "Las cruces verdes pertenecen a los caballeros de las órdenes militares de Alcántara y Avis; las rojas a los de Santiago, Calatrava y Montesa. Es decir, los pretendientes de esta mujer eran gente distinguida" (García Santo-Tomás 107, n. 67).

<sup>9</sup> In early modern Spain, *hechiceras* were considered authentic professionals and included women of myriad backgrounds and ages: “Casadas, solteras, viudas, ricas y pobres, mujeres de todas las edades y condiciones comparecen ante los inquisidores de todos los tribunales por haber llevado a cabo prácticas supersticiosas . . . ya como profesionales de esta auténtica *magia amorosa*” (Sánchez Ortega, *La mujer y la sexualidad* 139). Using spells, prayers, and potions made of ingredients from their own kitchens, these women were deemed capable of predicting the future of male-female relationships, enhancing a man’s sexual desire for his wife, and making men impotent during extra-marital sexual encounters. This perceived ability to alter or control male sexuality (“ligar y desligar voluntades”) is the quality most often recorded during Inquisitorial hearings with *hechiceras* (Sánchez Ortega, *La mujer y la sexualidad* 157). As practitioners of sorcery and alternative medicine, *hechiceras* established female networks that allowed them to circulate medicinal knowledge from one generation to the next, providing them professional work, economic security and independence (Sánchez Ortega, *La mujer y la sexualidad* 139). Inquisitorial records reveal a particular concern or fascination with *hechiceras* who assisted other women in matters of love and sex: “Las mujeres preocupadas por las cuestiones del corazón fueron quienes proporcionaron más trabajos a los funcionarios inquisitoriales, encargados de exterminar y perseguir estas cuestiones” (Sánchez Ortega, *La mujer y la sexualidad* 138).

<sup>10</sup> This ability is also seen in the original *Celestina* character in Fernando de Rojas’s *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*, published in 1499. As Pármeno explains this skill of *Celestina*, he notes that she “Hazía con esto maravillas, que quando vino por aquí el embajador francés, tres vezes vendió por virgen una criada que tenía” (Rojas 154).

<sup>11</sup> Fielding observes the “maurophobic undertones” embodied by Elena, who is presented negatively as “the exotic other” and whose harsh punishment “may very well be interpreted as a reflection of the ramifications of the final *morisco* expulsion” (12).

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