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The Picaresque Novel of Spain

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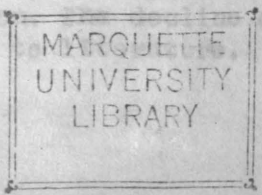
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The Picaresque Novel of Spain.

Introduction: Review of books on the picaresque novel, and their treatment of the subject. The importance of this field of literature. The picaresque type as mainly and typically Spanish.

About the time when the very serious Pilgrims came to America, and for nearly a hundred years before, and another hundred years after the reading world was entertained with tales of trickery and beggary based largely on the whereabouts of particular knaves in Spain. They began there with the famous "Lazarillo de Tormes"; first to appear in 1554, and ended, practically with "Periquillo de las Gallineras" in 1668. In other countries, however, the type continued in its popularity until finally, in 1735, there appeared what is generally considered the most famous picaresque novel of all, the "Gil Blas" of the French author Le Sage, who directly and inimitably followed the Spanish models.

There is a general agreement as to the causes of the production of rogues on a large scale in Spain and the ensuing rise of picaresque fiction among the reviewers of Spanish literature, such as Mr. H. Butler Clarke and Mr. George T. Northup, who each devote a particular section to the genre in their books on Spanish literature, and other writers more especially interested in the period of the Spanish rogue, such as Mr. Frank Wadleigh Chandler and Mr. Fonger de Haan. All in all, there exists considerable writing on the subject, and reading such authorities as the last two mentioned gentlemen gives one just being introduced to Spanish literature a finer and keener appreciation of what constitutes the picaresque element. Mr. Fonger de Haan has contributed what has appealed to me, particularly, as the most interesting survey of picaresque fiction; Mr. Chandler supplies the very detailed scholarly treatise on the subject. He writes very carefully and seriously realizing the extensive mass of material with which he has to deal. The scholar rather than the general reader seeking entertainment would be

attracted by his detailed treatment of the subject. Mr. Chandler continues his discussion of the picaresque in a work comprising two volumes which forms a kind of complement to his original research. In volume one of his *Literature of Roguery*, he shows what was the Spanish influence in other countries of Europe, in France, Germany, Holland, and England, while in volume two his subject is the development of the picaresque novel through the eighteenth century and up to recent times. The topics Mr. Chandler's plan propounds are, namely: a display of the causes giving rise to the Spanish rogue and his literature; a view of contemporary society through the rogue's eye; crude, early forms of the picaresque stories; the constant emergence of personality in them, or the definite character of the adventurer as distinguished from his adventures, as evolving out of the picaresque works; imperfect and allied forms; the decadence of the type, as a final topic. His work is a little long and encyclopaedic, but is, by that very fact, of value to any one who wishes to inform himself of the genre without reading the picaresque novels, as themselves. He describes the society of the rogue's environment in greatest detail, for instance.

Although the romances of roguery were the origin of modern realistic fiction, it is likely that they are studied for their historic interest, to-day, rather than for whatever enjoyment they may afford readers as works of fiction. Each volume contains innumerable adventures while a single chapter, alone, comprises enough material for a score of exciting modern tales of romance. Then, too, the humour is the type that appeals to coarse tastes; it is of a gross indelicate kind that would not certainly amuse modern readers. Pablo, the Sharper of Segoria, for example, gives us an account of the University of Alcalá, which included mostly a list of pranks and indignities, a description which must prove nothing short of disgusting to a reader seeking even the slightest nobility of expression that necessarily characterizes "worth-while" literature. The picaresque novels are replete, also, with grim pictures thereof, and the ever present jokes about hunger, starvation, and the avoidance thereof. To any one who would lose interest in such

books by becoming impatient with their narratives so different from our modern ones, Mr. Chandler's books would give a store of knowledge concerning the romances of roguery without requiring that he read the originals to obtain an appreciation of their period and conditions. But even his superfluity of details does not make it possible for one to grasp a true appreciation of the picaro, I believe. After reading the primal representative, "Lazarillo de Tormes", and after that Cervantes' "Rinconete y Cortadillo", and his famous "Don Quijote", Le Sage's "Gil Blas de Santillaria", translated into the Spanish by "Padre Isla" and, finally, Pereda's "Pedro Sanchez", one acquires a rather instinctive feeling of what is meant by the adjective picaresque, which no amount of delineation on the subject could give. Only so can one learn to recognize the picaro and what it represents.

Thus the reader comes to comprehend the symbol of the rogue revealing society as he preys upon it, and to see that the picaro was born as Spain adventured. The picaresque novel, the perfectly definite form of the literature of roguery, as Mr. Chandler refers to it, was conceived in Spain in the middle of the sixteenth century, and later matured in France. Juan Ruiz de Alarcon of late 16th and early 17th centuries introduced the idea of the character type through which was developed the moral thesis. But the original model the "Lazarillo" embodies Spain's methods, which at times appear brutal. In the trickeries and thefts there is a consciousness of Spain, including old and new Castile. There is irony in every picaresque design. Disorder, corruption, folly lie beneath the splendor that might deceive an onlooker in the picaro's day. The rascal seems to be moved by the same energy that had probably impelled his Spanish brethren to pursue crusades, and fields of adventure and exploring in lands of promise abroad. Therefore, as it has already been mentioned the reader of picaresque novels of Spain could not help but sense that the anti-hero makes the impression of a "conquistador", one preying upon his own land, and so it can be readily seen how no great master outside of Spain has created a vitally picaresque type that can equal the Spanish model. It shall be the aim of the remainder of this review to stress the importance of the picaresque novel as one fundamentally

and strangely Spanish, and to show the scope of this field of literature, and the historical conditions in which the genre arose, using as references the excellent authorities already cited.

Chapter 1.

Derivation of the word, picaro; definitions of the picaresque novel of different authorities.

Before beginning to attempt tracing the adventures of the anti-hero as reflecting the disintegrating play of the forces of evil in society it might be well to investigate how he received the appellation of picaro. Mr. George T. Northup in his book, "An Introduction to Spanish Literature" declares that to him no one etymological explanation offered so far is "wholly convincing". He continues his discussion by restating that the term, picaro, was first applied to a ragged street garnin. Corarrubias, in a dictionary of 1611, defined picaro, then regarded as synonymous with picaro as "el que es andrajoso y despedazado". With the increasing tendency toward crime the boys became to be termed "sharppers" and "rogues; they chose pursuits that were convenient covers to a life of petty crime, such as "bearers of heavy burdens", and the like. Finally the picaros became so numerous as to be a burden to their vicinities, when the municipalities limited their numbers, and compelled them to wear special costumes of green or red, as a mark of identity, which proved a warning to others who might have become victims of their tricks and pranks.

Mr. Fonger de Haan aims to establish, also, "the etymology and first appearance of the word, picaro," as he puts his purpose. He states that he wishes to arrive at a definition of the novela picaresca by an investigation of what constitutes a picaro. A definition of the picaro begins his explanation. Leaving a comparison of his definition with the others to a later paragraph it is better here to tell what explanation he has for the derivation of the word. He cites three sources, and therefore, gives a more detailed and deeper explanation than does Mr. Northup who only refers to a synonymous term and its definition.

First of all, the word may have been derived, he believes, from the word pica a lance for infantry, either because it was carried in war, or because the picaros were sold "sub-hasta" as prisoners of war. Secondly, Mr. de Haan declares that picaro might have come from the verb picar, meaning to pick up, an explanation which is to him not at all satisfying since neither the meaning of the accent sufficiently authorizes it. Thirdly, he cites the instance of the Italian piccolo, as a word more nearly approaching picaro in form. But the difficulty with the last explanation is that the Italian word does not connote what the Spanish word does, and hence the inequality of meanings does not warrant that derivation, to be sure. The Italian word has its equivalents in Spanish, one being, pequeño, for example, coming, probably, from the same root.

Although the etymology of the word is, supposedly, not clear and complicated, one received during a study of the picaresque novel in class is lucid and wholly convincing to me. The men of Picardy, called picards, were clever and tricky. As the Spaniards were sent into Picardy, by Charles the fifth, they came to know these picards, and thus the appellation of picaro may have been developed by the Spaniards. They might have carried this usage back to Spain where similar men of a roguish character like the picards of Picardy came to be termed picaros. Having received the word picaro and through an appreciation of its derivation come to better understand its signification we can follow Mr. de Haan's method of arriving at a definition of the novela picaresca through an investigation of who is a picaro, to repeat what has already has been expressed. Mr. de Haan precedes his definition with a reference to a dictionary definition of the picaro, also, which is "a person of lowest class, ragged and dirty, who is employed in low work", to which was later added the meaning, "astute; he who by skill and dissimulation attains what he desires". In Guzman de Alfarache, used for the first time, it signifies a thievish young rascal. Cervantes in Rinconete y Cortadillo uses the word for a ragged rascal. The ganapan likewise mentioned in the city ordinances of the sixteenth century, was greatly similar to the picaro,

but he differed in that he did heavier work, while the picaro was occupied with lighter tasks. It so happened that young boys could qualify as picaros. Mr. Haan cites the necessity of studying the city ordinances of the sixteenth century to discover when the picaros became to be recognized as a class of people. A mention of them occurred in literature in a letter not later than 1560 or earlier than 1548. They were referred to as people of a bad reputation who did not work for a living, who spent what they could gather on drinking and eating without ever concerning themselves about honor. Judging those points, even though the word picaro did not occur in *Lazarillo de Lormes*, we can well call *Lazarillo* "un picaro verdadero." After so determining the character of the picaro Mr. de Haan finally draws up his concluding definition of a novela picaresca. "It is the prose autobiography of a person real or imaginary, who strives by fair means and by foul play to make a living, and in relating his experiences in various classes of society, points out the evils which came under his observation;" a definition which could apply to the most typical novels of this class.

Mr. Northup criticizes possibly just such a definition when he considers that the majority of the many definitions attempted are too narrow and exclude works which should come under that head. Critics attempting to define the genre define really only its most typical forms. Novels introducing crime and criminals are not always picaresque. Neither is the detective story, wherein the interest lies, mainly, in the unreveling of mysteries of that type. Mr. Northup believes a true picaresque novel to be "a biography, usually an autobiography of a peripatetic rogue, recounting his adventures in the service of a series of masters, whose trades and professions are satirized" To this critic the picaresque novel is a humorous, satirical, and open reaction against the absurdities of the idealistic fiction of the time, expressed in a bitter, cynical, and often heartless tone.

As the novel continued to be developed, the autobiographical form

(1. Fonger de Haan- "An Outline of the *Novela Picaresca*" Chapter 11. p.8.)

(11. George T. Northup-Introduction to Spanish Literature-Chapter IX. p168.)

was not always regarded necessary for the purpose. Frequently, also, the satirical intention came to be stressed with less force. But a careful portrayal of a bad state of society characterizes the picaresque novels, generally, and unintentionally the authors hint at a correction of such a state of affairs, and so, in the end, do write satires, or at least criticisms. It is queer, however, that the anti-hero writes woefully about a society which includes himself, incidentally, as an object of criticism. The picaro upbraids priests and officials of the state very freely, but surely all the while his habits and general mode of living could not make him appear as least above reproach. Virtue is most lacking in him to enable him to qualify for or pose as a reformer. But, on the other hand the clever way in which the picaro succeeds in gaining sustenance is rather the thing to be looked for in the picaresque novels in place of methods of reform, as a point of amusement. Thus it is that Mr. Chandler's statement that the true test of the genre is the rogue's preponderance very succinctly expresses what constitutes the picaresque novel by pointing out its dominating element. The book may portray society and satirize its low conditions, but it does so only as background for a portrayal of the adventures of the picaro. More narrowly, the novel is a study of realism, since it investigates conditions of a degenerate society. Therefore, it would not be of interest to survey the origin progress, and scope of the picaresque novel in Spain.

Chapter 11.

Foreign sources; The Spanish source; the scope of the picaresque novel.

"The romances of roguery which flourished through Europe in the wake of the Renaissance found their first and most characteristic development in Spain in fiction of the gusto picaresco. But after a period of vagabondage at home the Spanish rogue, who took birth in the bed of the river Tormes was naturalized abroad in France, Germany, Holland, and England. Wherever he came his exploits and tales devoted to them were modified, more or less, by genius of

nation as well as by talent of transcribers. The fine, French mind, bringing to bear its energies upon the cultivation of this type produced after a century of careful tending the most perfect, if a blended specimen, in "Gil Blas." While the picaresque tale was a product of the Spanish soil, Mr. Chandler holds that its elements had existed earlier and elsewhere in literature. It was rooted in Germany, Holland, Italy, and England, as well. This critic goes back even further, and shows that the Greeks had novels of pirates and robbers. Leaders of land and water thieves figured prominently as heroes, not as rogues, however, for in the Greek novels rogues and heroes did not differ. The "Satyricon" of Petronius Arbiter provided a forerunner of the Spanish rogues. Except for the absence of roguery in the hero "The Golden Ass" of Apuleius was the best of all the classic works as an important model for the picaresque novel; the hero in his numerous changes of masters bore a closer analogy to the picaro. From it incidents were taken to furnish material for some of the first romances of roguery. It likewise furnished the essential idea of describing society through one serving many masters and observing and satirizing them in the narrative of his servitude. The "Picara Justina" refers to this Greek pattern. The model developed in the Middle Ages, until sufficient matter was gathered to be adapted to the picaresque form.

In that period were produced catalogues and classifications of peoples and events, such as the "Dance of Death", in which Death dances with every one from the Pope, Emperor, and King down to the lowliest individual, and hence a description of the castles is evolved. The "Roman de Penart" with its rogue hero, the fox similarly revealed fraud and deceit in society. In both of these works, however, the tricks are in the foreground and not the rogue, himself. Innumerable anecdotes were found in the fabliaux and the Italian novelle, such as the "Three Thieves of Jean de Boves" or the "Blind Men of Compeigne" of Conrte-Barbe, and the works of Sacchetti, Straparola, Cinthis and other Italians, examples of the fabliaux and the novelle, respectively. The novelle offered in addition to (1. "Chandler's Romances of Roguery" Chapter 1. page 1.)

the host of tricks many tragic situations, besides. Mr. Chandler compares England, Germany, Italy, and France as countries wherein the picaresque type had its earliest beginning. Germany he claims to hold first place as a leader in the process of the novel's development. It was in that country that the rogue began to share equal attention with his tricks. The closest approach to the picaresque novel antedating the appearance of the "Lazarillo de Tormes" was the "Till Eulenspiegel" of Thomas Murner, the first printed edition of which appeared in 1519. In comparison with Teutonic anti-hero, however, the Spanish representative appears as more of an individual character while the former typifies rather a traditional rogue of the fourteenth century to whom had been attributed ingenious tricks. Thus the idea of correlating the tricks of one rogue using as the connecting link the cheater himself reached its earliest and highest development in Germany.

A tardier development can be traced in England. The main criticism Mr. Chandler offers is that unity was lacking in English collections; separate exploits were narrated and formed parts of a picaresque sketch but a complete and consistent treatment of the rascal's life was lacking. The famous "Scoggin" of 1586, attributed to Andrew Borde, followed by the versified "XII. Mery Jests of the Wyddow Edythe" of 1573 by Walter Smith and the "Merrie Conceited Jests" of George Peele, printed in 1607 are English examples of picaresque types, although the last mentioned one would have to be excluded from the group if we accept Mr. Chandler's opinion that the actual knave-hero died in 1598. Comparatively in France and Italy the picaresque element appears to have been less dominant. A legend from the East; That of Solomon and Marcolphus was treated in Italy at the end of the sixteenth century after it had already been given attention in France, England, and Germany. But that time, also, the "Lazarillo" had already won its popularity in Spain. Also, the Italian central character was a hero rather than an anti-hero. In France the rogues were subjects for writers as early as the thirteenth century. Eustache le Moine versified the "Roman", and Rabelais, another Frenchman, created a rogue character of a kind in his Gargantua.

Common to all the aforementioned countries, as a source of material for later picaresque novels were the so-called "Books of Beggars", catalogues of the orders of rascals and cheats, preceding or contemporary with rogue fiction. The earliest representative of this class of literature was the "Liber Vagatorum", appearing in Germany for the first time in 1510, later versified in 1517, and reedited in prose by Martin Luther at Wittenberg in 1528. England came forth later in the century with John Audley's "Fraternity of Vacabonds" in 1561, and Thomas Harman's "Careat for Common Curetors" in 1567. In France the series began with "La vie genereuse des mercelots, gneuz, et boesmiens" of 1596. The vocabulary and slang of the thieves were an important feature of the beggar-books so far cited, those of Germany, England, and France. The Italian example was Giacinto Nobilis' "Il Vagabonds" of the early part of the seventeenth century; it treated of about thirty-seven orders of rogues, illustrating their functions by anecdotes. The English and French beggar-books more closely approximated the forms of fiction than did those of Italy and Germany which comprised, rather, mere lists of adventures. Although the French representative did not reach any high development it had to the greatest degree, nevertheless, the picaresque element, partially due to its autobiographical form, probably.

A typical Spanish beggar-book was Juan Hidalgo's work, published in 1609, his "Romances de germania con el Vocabulario por la order del a.b.c.", celebrating the thieves' slang. The "Desordenado codicia de los bienes agenos" of 1619, a distinct, and long tale about thieving, may, likewise, be considered a kind of beggar-book. The "Guzman de Alfarache" of 1599, the second of the important picaresque novels in Spain, included passages almost exactly similar to some in the Liber Vagatorum. Hence, the influence of these books on the picaresque novel is obvious.

"But although the picaresque novel unfolded from other types and individual works, such as "the Ass" of Apuleius, the "Roman de Renart", and compilations of tricks in the Beggar Books, the romances of roguery evolved,

rather negatively from the notion of the anti-hero".¹ The story of the anti-hero was produced from the story of the hero, as the comic anti-mask was evolved out of the solemn mask, both, in a way, resulting from a surfeited taste for the original type. The picaro surpassed all other anti-heroes, as the true Spanish representative, by careful observation of life, and his clever method of contrasting the real with the fantastic. He substituted as a point of interest the things of common, everyday experience for the imaginative conception of preceding heroes and anti-heroes. Thus the picaresque novel became grossly real and emphasized in all ways the lower elements of life. Its spirit was necessarily satirical and corrective since it portrayed the conditions of society only to criticize them. The sharper lived in a world of his own with little of the better part of human-kind taking any important part in it. Mr. Chandler criticizes the picaresque novel for its inferior type of unity, that of the identity of the hero, taking the place of the customary one, of place or action, for its undue attention to detail, and for its "endlessness", if it may be called that, created by the fact that the narrator could not tell of his own death.

At any rate, the picaro, although he was long in coming, came into being in Spain. The Lazarillo was the first representative of a long line. The book in which he tells his story is one of scarcely over a hundred pages, yet it seems wide and deathless as the land from Salamanca to Toledo which its hero crosses. It portrays disorder, corruption, folly as hidden beneath surfaces of splendor. The picaro came forth an outlaw, not a lawless character, however, in a time when Spain was adventuring and had little time for agriculture, and development at home in the fields of science, economy, and others. The vagabonds were in the majority and outnumbered the farmers. There were more ludalgoes and caballeros than artisans and merchants at that time, when Spain had reached, however, her spiritual climax under Isabel, Carlos the second, and Phillip the second. Then economic conditions were at their lowest and worst, a state of

(1-Chandler-"Romances of Roguery"- Chapter 1, page 14.)

affairs which was not bettered certainly by the expulsion of the Jews and Granadan Moors that formed a class of the country's craftiest and ablest cultivators. Soldiers in need of work added to making the situation more disastrous.

It is such conditions that the "Lazarillo" keenly portrays, becoming thereby a genuinely national model. The "Lazarillo de Tormes", the primary truly picaresque novel, is generally ascribed to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, a soldier, statesman, historian, and poet of the good old Spanish type of the reign of Charles, the fifth. The novel is said to have been written during his University career, during the years 1520 to 1523. It alone, constituted his fame, supposedly. It was first published anonymously thirty years later at Antwerp. The whole story consists of only nine short chapters, a lively and interesting narrative to the people of its day that won immediate popularity and provoked a score of imitators.

It opened a wide field for satire and imagination the possibilities of which it did not take Spanish writers long to appreciate and use. The true form later began to shrink to a kind of formula. The master Queredo, for example, uses the picaro as the embodiment of pessimism, a force with which to test and destroy the world. To Le Sage, on the other hand, the physical and intellectual movements of the rogue transcend his distorted spiritual manifestations.

Thus the literature of riguerie came to occupy a definite place in the history of letters. Although the subject matter and the form of such works were important, it was the former, depending upon observed actuality rather than ideals, that constituted its most characterizing element. But the roguerie must not be construed with villainy; the rogue born of the later Renaissance period deals with the occasional criminal tending to become professional, only, or with the professional criminal who stops short of villainy. Such a rogue is the picaro in "Lazarillo de Tormes". the novela picaresca that marks the birth of the genre in Spain. Henceforth its pattern, an autobiography of a picaro, a rogue, and in that form a satire upon the conditions and persons of the

time that occasioned it, was popularized. The social conditions in the peninsula provided just the soil adapted to the cultivation of the anti-hero as a literary type.

Chapter III.

Main causes for the production of rogues on a large scale in Spain; Conditions in Spain during the period of the rise of picaresque fiction; A rogues view of the society; a Summary of the orders of rogues.

Two main causes have been given to explain the production of roguery that was part of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They are: first, the closing of the military career to large numbers of persons when Spain declined from the brilliant estate she had enjoyed under Charles, the fifth; secondly the paralysis of industry by the stream of treasure that had flowed in from America. Professor Warren in his history of the early novel held that people took to living by their wits because they chose to do nothing else. Bruncture ingeniously suggests that the misdeeds might be ascribed to a perverted tradition. He claims that the rogues might have followed the example of characters in the currents books of chivalry, which is somewhat of a lenient view. The rogue fiction is also represented as having been a reaction against the books of chivalry and the prose pastorals. The readers probably grew weary of those highly artificial productions, and demanded something that portrayed life more accurately, as they knew it. "A surfeit of paragons of every possible and impossible perfection begot the anti-heroes paragons of indecorum and iniquity."¹

However, an examination of the social conditions in Spain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries holds an historically certain explanation of the causes of the sudden production of roguery as compared with the conjectured opinions of critics. The status of Spain at that time tells its own story, so to speak.

Spain was, particularly in the sixteenth century, a field for adventure. A war for faith waged at home against the Moors had ceased with the fall of the Granada in 1492. Then the adventuring spirit prevalent among the "conquistadores" received a momentum in the subsequent events. The menacing Turk barring the ancient

highways to the Indies had to be overcome; therefore, the bold were inspired to traverse the Atlantic to the south and west on a restless quest of discovery. And in that way a new world, a new world richer than the Indies originally wrought was chanced upon. The new America offered great promise to France, the Netherlands, Germany, and Italy. Under Charles V Spanish dominion spread from Africa to the North Sea, and from Naples to the Pacific. Enthusiasm and pride drove many into the ranks of soldiers and sailors.. Militarism in place of industry were, consequently, encouraged.

Concurrently, there was a transition from a medieval to modern state; feudalism was broken down. The nobility became deprived of their power which the Monarch and the people acquired. Definite class distinction as to the proper function of each was lacking. The clergy and the masses allied themselves with the monarch. Royal employment, alone, proved profitable. The army, civil positions, and the church were, mainly, the paths to advancement, while the more lowly and ordinary paths of life were neglected. At the same time the expulsion of the Jews and the persecution of the Moriscos, also banished from Spain by Philip III in 1609, injured the possibility for labor in the country that remained, for they, at least, were diligent workers. The results of such ill-taken steps soon became discernible. Military projects themselves may have been successful, but the results began to prove lamentable at home. A surplus of soldiery with their unwillingness to work in any other field, numberless idlers at Seville and San Lucar pleading to be accommodated in fleets to reach the Indies, deserted ploughs and shops, vain, proud, arrogant, discontented conquerors who still felt that they were destined to rule by force, thriftlessness everywhere, all of these helped to undermine Spain. And meanwhile the glory that seemed to encompass Spain during Charles' campaigning began to grow dim even before the end of his reign. By this time Spain had spent a great deal of energy in reaping a golden harvest which brought back to Spain was eagerly sought by less successful adventurers, and others who had remained at home. It was felt that it was only fair that the booty be shared. Hence the methods and plans of trickery became objects of study. Wit worked in place of hands, and those who lived thus lowered themselves to the very sordid miserableness

that they had started out to hate and avoid. As it has already been said, the picaros were a part of the distorted society they criticized so severely. But to return to the development of roguery a great deal more can be paid.

The sharpers lived a hand-to-mouth existence, depending wholly upon the success of their intrigues for subsistence. The field of adventurous exploit was diminished; Philip II instituted a bureaucracy, and proved to be a sombre, cold monarch in comparison with the more extravagant Charles. But Philip's system failed since the country was weakened by such inadequate legislation which lacked the power to recruit its energies. Taxes were levied to excess on the frugal peasants to pay for the expenses that such a national plan would entail. Honest industrialists were frequently forced to abandon the vocations they had maintained with such difficulty. The country was rich in gold and silver but it felt the pangs of hunger at the same time and lacked bread. Hence the popular theme of the picaresque novels, hunger, the evil of Spain, then, had its historical origin. People grew to be increasingly ugly and calculating hardened by the blows of suffering.

Ferdinand and Isabella believed that they could establish a unity founded on religion; their scheme resulted in too much distrust and treachery which a simpler faith might not have incurred. Philip II adopted a similarly elaborate system of spying to effect the laws of the political government. One historian relates that it was the wealthy Jews and Moors rather than the poorer country people that the Inquisition attacked. In 1499 the Catholic Sovereigns commanded the gitarros, gypsies, to forsake their nomadic life, and seek out masters or leave the kingdom within a short period. In 1539 Charles, V added a penalty of a sentence to the galleys should that law be disobeyed. Such restrictions ensued, more binding with each sovereign, however, until in 1633, Philip IV commanded the observation of the Christian religion. Then in 1692 they were prohibited from congregating in a single quarter. But the greater part of all the legislation was futile in the eighteenth century.

The bands of gitarros played into the hands of the picaros by contributing to the prevailing disorder. They differed from the picaros, however, in that they

lacked the spirit of chivalry. Fraudulent gain was commonly their aim. They often are portrayed as enemies or unworthy rivals of the picaros. At any rate, they comprised certainly the most dangerous element of society, poisoning the cattle, and the water, kidnaping children, and committing gross crimes.

During the reign of Philip II, the internal administration was successful while that abroad had many more failures. In 1588, he sent the Armada to its destruction in his project against England. Therefore, when the reign of Philip III was inaugurated Spain had already lost faith in herself on land and sea. The Moors had been expelled; a medieval economic policy had been too long retained; and manufactured goods were excessively imported. The big loans and consequential heavy taxes were additional worries for Philip II in about 1574.

The national decadence had by this time received a great impetus. The Spaniard always of a rather proud nature now became confirmed in his opinion that work was too lowly for him. Seville became replete with scoundrels, the residue of the wars and trips to the Indies that had ceased by that time. The valientes were of a class of bullies hired as bravos by gentlemen to execute acts of vengeance at a fixed rate. Criminalty was rampant everywhere. The idea of paid assassins was brought over from Italy. Even the courts of justice were corrupt. Robbers were found in the mountain pathways regardless of the close watch of the Santa Hermandad, a group of official guards placed on the highways to protect travelers, frequently alluded to in "Gil Blas". Deceit tricked many gullible Spaniards into losses on their part; the fields of pseudo-science was a profitable one for fraud. Thus "the seventeenth century in Spain found itself obliged to repent at leisure the mistakes of the sixteenth century"

Despite the fact that Spain was then leading a life of idleness with its vagabonds' vices, corrupted towns, and fruitless adventures, the country seemed to produce something of a flourish in the field of arts and letters.

(Chandler--"Romances of Roguery"***ChapterI, page40).

Cervantes after suffering personal privation and disappointment and witnessing a series of national disasters found his patriotic spirit finding expression in satire. Mere beggar-rogues were mouthpieces for writers. Calderon in his "Shalbe de Zalamea" portrayed lawless soldiery in conflict with ancient ideals of honor; he separated the ideas of religion and morality, even in his "Autos Sacramentales". In descriptions of national manners, comedies, and romances whatever was feigned attracted rather than whatever revealed the truth. While the rogue was a product of the decadence, he was a vigorous protest against it in literature. It was he who cited the situations of fraud and dissimulation that were the points of interest. Thereby, the tone of the picaresque works is more honest and straightforward than that of the more elegant efforts of the age. Thus the picaro was a good means for the expression of satire, for the exhibition of the vices of the day. He was a reliable representative since he came from the streets whereon the very crimes he relates were committed. There is a high point of humour in the way in which he praises the false, and chides the worthy. The picaro painted a picture of society in a queer way; he inverted his painting and represented true color values in freshness. This he does, for example, when he amusingly calls the worst the best, and goes on in praise thereof until we are made to feel the bitter feeling that must have made him break forth in a satirical tone.

Many kinds of people appear in the picaros picture of his times. "In the social world through which the Spanish picaro forges his way, the army, the law, the Church, and medicine share the professional honors, while students, publicans, robbers, gypsies, and Moriscos, hidalgos, and muleteers, barbers, players, and beggars are the dramatis personae of stock utility". That, in fact, is a summary of the fellow-members of the picaros society. Mr. Chandler describes them in greatest detail in his work, "Romances of Roguery." The soldiery with bragging and tricks lawlessness in youth, and poverty in old age, and eternally

needy condition provides a target for the picaro in his satirizing. Ample attention is likewise given the officers of justice; there are many lively jokes about lawyers in the picaresque novels. Guzman considers his lawyer necessary, but his lawsuits, very damaging.

If there had been freedom of attack as there was in Italy, more sarcastic statements may have been made about the Church; but the restraint effected by the Inquisition was too powerful to warrant such meddling. But all in all the satire on the Church was witty rather than caustic, hinting merely at inconsistencies in place of advocating reforms. "The example of the first Lazarillo which was only relieved from the ban put upon it in 1559 by the castigado edition of 1573 induced a greater show of respect for things ecclesiastic." The "Lazarillo" has devoted the most space to the Church of all the picaresque novels according to the opinion of Mr. Chandler. Among Lazarillo's masters number a priest, who is a miser; a friar, eager in pursuit of secular business and pleasure; and a buldero, (seller of bulls) who boasts of a fund of tricks to play upon the pious. The gullible Spainards in whom was implanted a strong religious sentiment were easily deceived by the picaros who appreciated this possibility for prosecuting his schemes. Hence religious cheats were certain to be profitable. The attacks made on the Church however, in picaresque novels were made in regard to the abuses of the Church, not the faith itself. All the leaders uphold the institution, even if they might have hinted that they disapproved of its specific method. The demand for union against the Mohammedan arms and dogma had kept the Church strong and intact. The picaro dared a great deal when he impudently and with candor declared his mind, more, in fact, than any other spokesman of any type of Spanish fiction.

"The class of devotees most railed at for hypocrisy are the hermits". Common in the seventeenth century some went into seclusion to escape

(1--Chandler--Romances of Roguery--Chapter 3, page 91.)

(11-Chandler-- " " " " " " 101.)

the world while others sought the profession as a means to deceive people; therefore, often the hermit was a roguish picaro himself, in a sense. Lazarillo de Tormes in the third account of his life meets at a church door a hermit who later proves to be less pious than he first claims to be.

The physician in the picaresque tales of both France and Spain deceived their patients as well as did the lawyers trick their clients out of good sums of money. They conceived complicated cures that generally affected the death of the suffering which was then pronounced simply to be God's will; and it was advantageous, indeed, that the dead could not complain to reveal the trickery of which he was the victim. In contrast to such impossible medication which was certain to prolong the illness was the theory that the patient should be let strictly alone so that nature could accomplish a cure since in her alone, was the source of vitality. Such a belief was put into practice by the physician in Gil Blas, who laid special stress on the curative properties of water.

The students in the picaresque novels comprise a riotous group. In imitation of medieval jest books the student is often presented as standing before doctors unabashed answering involved questions with little difficulty and an air of extreme self-confidence. "Little study and much carousing is their portion although some meet hardship in lieu of good cheer."

The innkeepers, like the doctors and lawyers, seize their customers at a disadvantage with a great pretense of endeavoring to serve them. The food is bad, the lodging-houses filthy, and the landlords dishonest, cooperating, very often with road-knights.

The picture of the gypsy bands of the picaresque novel hardly differs from that of a modern novel. As they always had been and are even now they play the roles of cheats and beggars. The picaros are often mistaken for gypsies, probably due to the fact that they add to the complication of the picaresque trickery

Greater feeling of hatred was directed against the Moriscos

than against any other class. The Arabs that did remain in the Peninsula after Islam's defeat became Christians to all external manifestations only; at heart they were still unbelievers. Therefore, Spanish authors of the period railed against them realizing their inward feelings.

The hidalgo is treated rather sympathetically by the picaro due, probably, to the bond of poverty common to both. The petty nobleman is a master generally to be tricked or served. The classic prototype of all proud hidalgos is the one with whom Lazarillo de Tormes engages himself as a page. But when the hidalgo ceases to be poor and proud and becomes benevolent, he loses his more interesting color with which he is painted in the picaresque novels.

The wandering Spanish rogues meet many muleteers, who generally prove to be rather insignificant characters, indifferent to whatever might pass them on their way. A more distinct Spanish figure is the barber, whose trade and simplicity, often, are targets for the picares satire. Wandering companies of players and poets, entertaining Bohemians are given their share of attention in the picaresque accounts. The "Viaje entretenido" of Rojas offers an excellent description of the life of the strollers and thereby a commentary on the Spanish stage at the end of the sixteenth century, even though it may lack unity in its construction as a story. Eight orders of companies and actors are described.

Begging offers a handy expedient to the picaro, one which he often uses as a disguise. Guzman de Alfarache declares; "No condition of life is so happy as that of a beggar, and fortunate were it indeed if every one could know when he were well off." ¹ Not all anti-heroes are of the same opinion; however, leaving the guiding of the blind to the Lazarillos and Alfaraches. Lazarillo's blind master is a fine example of the kind of mendicant portrayed in the picaresque novels; he had about a hundred prayers and a deceiving air of piety at his command.

Bands of sharpers and rogues in addition to the regular anti-heroes comprise the number of professional cheats in the picaros society. Seville is the scene of the "hampa" where they were supposed to have gathered. Cervantes in his "Rinconete y Cortadillo" pictures that meeting place very vividly. The story contains also two valientes, or bullies, Chiquiznaque and Maniferro, daring villains, of the most distinctly Spanish class of rogues. The braros assume the roles of mock students, elderly gentlemen with a pious air and rosaries, and others to effect their schemes in the particular territories and streets assigned them by the chief rogue. The "Desordenada Codicia" of Dr. Carlos Garcia is most explicit as to the organization of the rogues while the "Guzman de Alfarache" gives us a better, more interesting account of their activities. Dr. Garcia divides the thieves into categories as they were "catalogued" in the "Liber Vagatorum". According to this classification there were above a dozen orders of rogues in Spain.

They are: the salteadores, or highwaymen; the estafadores, who threaten the rich for large sums; the capeadores, who seized cloaks and other property at night usually at places of entertainment; the grumetes who stole aboard ships at night also, skillful in the use of rope ladders; the apostoles, pick-locks; cigarreros, who cut off parts of cloaks in public places; devotes, religious thieves who spoiled images; the satiros, cattle thieves who lived in the fields; the daccianos, who wickedly maimed kidnapped children only to sell them later; the mayordanos, who stole provisions and tricked inn-keepers; the cortabolsas, cut-purses, very common thieves; the duendes, or hobgoblins, sneak thieves; the maletas, working their way into homes wrapped up in bales or hidden in barrels; the liberales, who slandered for pay, and inflicted punishment, like-

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wise. A captain was generally at the head of the band of sharpers to direct their enterprises, and to whom all confessions and reports were to be made once a week. "Rinconete y Cortadillo" of Cervantes gives the reader a fine example

of such organization. The novices in the orders were given three months for preparing for their vocation. The profits accruing from the efforts of all sharpers were shared. Only six or less were permitted to work in the same section. Material for disguises, patches, false beards, and the like were given out by the leader. As to their religion the rogues were half Christians; they loved God but could not profess any love for their neighbors. They confessed their sins and felt contrition, but never attempted to make amends or restore any stolen property.

Thus society was received by the picaro in the greatest detail. The hidalgo was spared more than any other representative; the picaro seemed to sympathize with him feeling the same pangs of hunger that the proud gentleman experienced. In the picaresque novel that matters of the lower life necessarily received the most attention; however, in foreign countries the opportunity of attacking higher classes through the rogue as a spokesman was early appreciated and used. Charles Sorel distinguishes the romans comiques of the French from the picaresque fictions of Spain on exactly this ground. "Nevertheless, so thorough a canvass of society for its own sake as the Spanish romances of roguery offered was scarcely again to be had. The novel of manners refined meant the study of manners already beginning to succumb to the personal interest, and for that reason the picaresque tale of the Spainards in its very crudity is a mine of curious detail, and of value chiefly as such."

Chapter IV

The Spanish rogue; Lazarillo, the first example in literature; his story, in brief.

The order the rogue follows in his description of society is in accordance with his scheme of progress and adventures; thus he begins with the low estates and ends with the higher as he finally attains them. Service, travel, and fraud divide the picaros time. He is ever subject to events, "a bark beaten

hither and thither by the waves of chance. Some he surmounts, others bear him down. Buffeted on one side, he veers to the other." He lacks an idea of the will as a power to conquer and do; instead, the picaro remains content with being tossed about by the winds of chance, and asks only that those be fair.

"The picaresque novel of the Spaniards presents a rogue relating his adventures. He is born of poor and dishonest parents.-----He comes up by hook or crook as he may. Either he enters the world with an innate love of the goods of others, or he is innocent and learns by hard raps that he must take care of himself or go to the wall. In either case the result is much the same; in order to live he must serve somebody, and the gains of service he finds himself obliged to augment with the gains of roguery. So he flits from one master to another, all of whom he outwits in his career, and describes to satirize in his narrative. Finally, having run through a variety of strange vicissitudes, measuring by his rule of roguery the vanity of human estates, he brings his study to a close." ¹¹ Frequently the story closes with the picaros attainment of an honorable position, as Lazarillo became town-crier at the close of his narrative; or the story does not come to a final finish since the anti-hero himself still lives, in which case there is a promise of a narrative of additional events as soon as they shall have been lived.

The picaro presents everything in the story in the way of action, and nothing in the way of character. He is weak, often heartless, and improvident. Yet his mirth and spontaneity amuse us, and we do not censure him for his shortcomings. Material gain is a strong measure of attraction to the picaro; even in marriage he acts on the principle of avarice. His excuse for his entering the field of trickery is that starvation would be the alternative. On the whole, the Spanish picaro is not a villain; he threatens to kill but he never does so. He

(1-Chandler--Romances of Roguery--Chapter 11--page 59.)

(11--Chandler--Romances of Roguery--Chapter 11--" 45.)

has too much good humour and nature, and too little resolution to carry out calamitous plans. The picaro prefers to avoid rather than solve the problems of life; he is neither thoughtful nor consistent. He has little of emotion or sentiment in his make-up; he calculates situations with a sharp keen eye believing only whatever his senses testify to him. He is free from the ready belief of his age. His early instruction prepares him for a cheating career, and so he would not be expected to be easily deceived when he himself must pursue a course of trickery. Some of the rogues begin by attending school soon to be drawn away attracted by a life of freer existence while others enter life immediately making progress in the methods of fraud as they go on. No early evolution of character characterizes the younger picaro.

Such a picaro was Lazarillo, claimed to be the first specimen of his class to appear in the literature of Spain. Mr. Fonger de Haan opposes this supposition in his "Outline of the History of the Novela Picaresca." He objects to the work being called a novel since that unusually implies fiction. Little is known of its author, and, therefore, there is a possibility that it may be the story of the author's life. If that were so, the novel element would be lacking, claims Mr. de Haan. Also, if it be demanded that the hero of the work use the name picaro in any part of his career "Lazarillo" would have to be put aside, for the first time the word is applied to the anti-hero and appears in the story is in 1599, in the "Guzman de Alfarache".

But in answer to the first objection cited a fact of the history of the author's life can be recalled that seems to show the impossibility of the narrative being an account of the author's life. It is this; Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, to whom is attributed the work, was, supposedly, the fifth son of Marquis de Mondejar, born in 1503, within the precincts of the Alhambra during his father's tenure of office as first Spanish governor of Granada. He held the positions of historian of his country, ambassador to Venice, envoy to the Council of Trent, and special plenipotentiary to Rome. A man of such high dis-

inction in scholarship statecraft, and diplomacy could not have lived a life such as was Lazarillo's certainly. But to refute Mr. de Haan's hypothesis we must accept the fact of the author's life as certain. To add to the explanation that that fact affords us, there is the additional information that the book was written during the author's student days at Salamanca before he met with the toils and cares of life that later sobered him; hence the tone of gaiety and light-heartedness that abounds in his "Lazarillo". It was not published until 1554, however.

The story of "Lazarillo de Tormes" which proved the model for a series of picaresque novels that succeeded it is entirely and genuinely representative of the nature of the picaro, his life, and society. He tells his own story, and begins by informing us that he derived his surname from a river, having been born in the water-mill where his father was employed. Life was hard, and the father yielding to temptation gets into trouble, and disappears. Then the wife encounters a Moorish ostler by whom she bears a second boy. There is a passing allusion to the little brown brother whom Lazarillo fondles and keeps warm, and then the hardness of life reasserts itself. In order to provide for wife and child, the groom had made out too freely with the oats. So Lazarillo again sees the family group broken up, and his mother finds employment at an inn. Among the frequent visitors at the posada is a blind beggar who recognizes that the urchin may be useful to him; then the poor mother, feeling that it is the best she can do, gives the boy her blessing and leaves him with the blind man.

So Lazarillo became the leader of the blind beggar, and henceforth all leaders of the blind came to be called lazarillos. The Dictionary of the Spanish Academy interprets the noun as "el muchacho que guia and dirige al ciego." Hence the word crept into the language through its original use cited. But to return to the story of Lazarillo we can say that his adventures began when he became the guide for his first and blind master. The blind man had experienced hard circumstances that had developed in him cruelty and cunning. He soon gave the lad a painful proof of his power, thereby enforcing the lesson

that a blind man's boy must be more knowing than the devil. Up to this time Lazarillo had been artless and ingenuous, but this advice is not thrown away on him, and he realizes, once for all, that his lot is to contend with one who is really not much less astute than the Father of Lies.

The blind beggar's finest point and forte is his hypocrisy. He has memorized a hundred prayers or more which he recites in a low, well-modulated tone with an attitude of sincerest devoutness. Such a rascal Lazarillo had to outdo, if he could. The boy soon becomes a good match for him, however. The master took money but was avaricious, and might have allowed the boy to starve. To outwit him in such a case, Lazarillo slips a coin into his mouth when the blind man was paid for a prayer, and passes the rest of the money to his master. Stolen draughts from his master's drink were less successful for the blind man's suspicions were aroused, so that he kept a hand to his mug. It came to be, gradually, a case of Greek against Greek. The boy had profited by precept and example, and had the two been willing to combine resources, they might have held their own against the world. Lazarillo at last, having made things too hot for himself, became uneasy and left the old man.

The next employment he found was as servant and acolyte to a priest, at Maqueda, not far from Toledo, where he soon discovered that he had fallen into a far more trying situation. The priest proved no less stingy than the beggar. The starving boy would pray for deaths among the congregation for the sake of their accompanying funeral baked meats. Lazarillo used the bread-chest with ingenious contrivances to make the suspicion fall on the rats and a snake. Finally, the priest discovered his tricks. Then Lazarillo betook himself to Toledo and entered the service of a gentleman.

His new employer was the epitome of penury; his house unfurnished, and his larder, empty his pride kept up a gallant show for the world, and covered up all the deficiencies with decent, high sounding phrases. But he gave Lazarillo better treatment than did his two former masters. Lazarillo begged

for the two successfully, and the master deigned to stoop to share with the boy whatever he could reap. The feasting scene with its meagerly laden table is one of the best things in the book. Then an edict is put forth that prohibited begging under the pain of the lash, and the two suffer, consequently critical starvation. To make the situation worse, the hidalgo becomes, as is to be expected, more keenly aware of what is due to himself. "Que un hidalgo no debe a otro que a Dios y al Rey nada." In English, "For a gentleman can owe nothing, save to God and to the King." The man owns a house in his own country that would be valuable if made habitable, but still he has to escape those who pursue him to make him pay rent.

Then Lazarillo engages with a friar, and, next, a seller of Papal Indulgences. The portraits of both these characters incurred the censure of the Church; they contained descriptions of sham miracles being performed with great spirit. Lazarillo by this time had reached the age of adolescence. His next master was a chaplain whom he served as a water-carrier and general servant. Then at last, he attained his final, golden opportunity, and received a government appointment, and with it marriage. Such is the bare outline of the famous "Lazarillo de Tormes"; related with artistic realism. The charm of the story lies in its account of contemporary customs and lifelike sketches of local character. The errors of the anti-hero are excused on the ground of youth and hardship while his ingenuousness and geniality win over the reader of the "Lazarillo" in the end. And in its wake followed many other picaresque novels to provide amusement for the Spanish literary audience.

Chapter V

Precursors of the novel; a repertory of Spanish picaresque works, beginning with the "Lazarillo de Tormes" and ending with Pereda's "Pedro Sanchez".
(1-Fonger de Haan-"An Outline of the History of the Novela Picaresca"-

Chapters 11-XXVI.)

Before the autobiographical form became popularized in "Lazarillo de Tormes" works of a similar type in Spanish and in other languages of the Peninsula. Its development can be traced back to the poem of the Arcipreste de Hita called "Libro de cantares," considered one of the masterpieces of Spanish literature in which the author describes his escapades and seeking of pleasures wittily. But he lacks the chief characteristics of a picaro; he does not steal or beg for sustenance. Besides it is a poem, and, therefore, even though it be autobiographical in form, and satirical in its tone, does not qualify as a novel despite its suggestion of the picaresque. Another work that can be considered a forerunner of the novela picaresca is Roig's "Libre de les dones"; it, too, is a poem, and hence is excluded from the novel group. The purpose of the work, satire, particularly, causes it to be considered as rather introductory of the picaresque form. The "Celestina" with its many imitations, also deserves attention as paving the way for the novela picaresca. It is a long prose dialogue, hardly a play because of its extent and passages that could not be produced on the stage. It bears a most vivid portrayal of the lowest, most depraved conditions of humankind. But even though the work deals with base characters, and is, after, satirical in tone, the Celestina is not a novel, and much less a picaresque work. Classes of society are pictured in relation to one another, and the wickedness of the young men of the higher ranks is railed at, but any hint at reform for the prevailing evils is lacking. The existing evils are merely subject matter for the story; they are not described for any definite purpose.

But toward the end of the reign of Charles V, in the year 1554, there appeared a little unpretentious book, autobiographical in form that was the severest satire upon existing conditions of society. It was "La Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus fortunas y adversidades," the keynote of which was the eternal hunger that seemed to fill the Spain of its time. The substance of the book, and the story concerning its authorship have already been received. The fact that it expressed in a simple, unaffected style what everyone felt in the

disturbed conditions of its time accounts for its immediate success and popularity. Mr. Fonger de Haan insists that the frequent poor phrase constructions make the fact that it is the work of a high type of scholar such as de Mendoza appear impossible. To this critic the author must have been a person who had undergone such adventures in his youth. The claim that Mendoza wrote is no longer accepted. The book was first printed at Antwerp; three editions followed in 1554, at Burgos, Alcala; and Antwerp, also. Many editions followed thereupon until in 1559, the book was prohibited by the Inquisition because of its too free expressions concerning the Church, as already explained in Chapter III. Foreign copies continued to be brought forth, finally. In 1555 there appeared an imitation of the original "Lazarillo", poor in its conception of the real idea of the book, and in 1620 two other imitations were brought forth, one written by a Spainard at Paris, and the other entitled, "Lazarillo de Manzanares", which proved a poor imitation of satirizing Madrid life in 1620. The "Lazarillo" was translated into other languages in Europe in 1573. Frequent allusions to the book have been discovered in other works that have followed; Shakespeare refers to it, claims Mr. de Haan, and one of the best Dutch comedies, supposedly, is based on an adventure of the famous picaro. Its complaint against conditions was new, and not sufficiently strong to better the wretched conditions of Spain; so about half a century later another followed to recall what were the feelings of the people.

It was the "Guzman de Alfarache" of 1599. In 1598 Philip II, had died, and better conditions were expected under the new king. Instead, while merit was a measure in the old regime, in the new the favored succeeded, only. Pleasure was the policy that continued during the reign of Philip II's successors. Crowds gathered at Madrid eagerly awaiting positions. Mateo Aleman, the author of "Guzman de Alfarache" was probably, one of these. He had been administrator in the treasury, and prosecuted because of his incorrect accounts, he went to Mexico in his old age. He was born in Segille, and followed the career of a soldier early

in his life. His work manifests a knowledge of soldiers' tricks and ways. His "Guzman" has many points bearing directly upon Aleman's life history. The story is similar to its immediate predecessor, the "Lazarillo" in that it is autobiographical prose, but its anti-hero is different. Guzman is not driven to theft from sheer want, but, on the contrary he actually chooses to follow the course of a wicked rogue and ends his career in the galleys where he writes the story of his life meant to be a warning to others. The Inquisition never interfered in its publication despite the fact that it contained expressions stronger than some found objectionable in "Don Quijote". The author is considered to be one of the most representative of those who cried out in opposition to the evils of their day; his knowledge of Spain and intensely patriotic feeling necessarily made his work effective. It contains a great amount of the true picaresque character for the hero chose his evil course, and thus the book offers much of the ugliness that would naturally disgust us.

Then followed "La Picara Justina", in 1603, "a monument of Spanish literature mainly for the reason that it is the earliest important specimen of the wretched taste that was soon to prevail." The work has uninteresting adventures for a picaresque novel. A variety of verse and shallow witticisms characterize it; the thing that makes it important, mainly, is its language with its endless play upon words and combinations of ideas that furnish material for the pithy jokes of the graciosos, the comical characters in the Spanish classical drama.

To follow a strict chronological succession "El Viaje Entretenido" of Augustin de Rojas should come before the "Justina" directly succeeding the "Guzman de Alfarache". This book gives us a great fund of knowledge concerning the Spanish stage, being the autobiography of an actor who lived by his wits. Others did not follow his example very likely, since they lacked Rojas' ability to recount his adventures. The "Viaje offers interest from every point of view. The

book went through many editions, and became exceedingly popular. By this time the picaresque novel, and only such older works as the "Quijote" and the "Lazarillo" of a larger scope continued to be reprinted. Cervantes treated the picaresque novel, and only such older works as the "Quijote" and the "Lazarillo" of a larger scope continued to be reprinted. He describes their fraternity under the leadership of the strong Monipodio in his "Rinconete y Cortadillo", one of his "Novelas Ejemplares". His portrayal is exceedingly accurate and faithful. To Mr. de Haan Cervantes' "Rinconete and "Coloquio de los Perros" manifest greater power than the "Quijote". "The Quijote" may cause us to meditate again upon the relative merit of ideals and common sense, of egoism and altruism; but the perfection of form, the absolute composure of the author, the singleness of purpose, and the unequalled distribution of light and shade, make his shorter stories even dearer to me than the history of the immortal hero of La Mancha". Mr. de Haan says that whatever flaws may be found in the picaresque works mentioned can be blamed on careless editing.

Then followed one of the last specimens of the truly picaresque novel, the "Viaje del Mundo" by Cerrallos. The author had been a missionary in the West and East Indies. "By this time the picaresque is so firmly established in literature that we can hardly open a book but we find him. Everybody had experiences of a picaresque nature, and in whatever form he wrote sometime or other the story would be told. It was customary to have some personage of a book relate stories; if these stories happened to be an account of one's own life, they always became picaresque".

Such an example of Spanish prose writing of the seventeenth century is the "Pasajero" of Suarez de Figueroa, dated 1617. Having a tone of reality and good delineation of character it stands as one of the picaresque masterpieces of Spain. The "Marcos de Obregon" of Espinel, appearing in 1618, was written by a man who would have held a place in Spanish literature without this (1-Fonger de Haan-An Outline of the History of the Novela Picaresca"-Chp.6,p.24) (11-Fonger de Haan- " " " " " " " " " " 7.p.27)

novel due to his inventions of form of verse, poems, scholarly attainments and criticisms that he frequently contributed. By this time Spain began to tire of the picaresque novel, and only such older works as the "Guzman" and the "Quijote" of a larger scope continued to be reprinted. A certain weariness can be felt in Espinel's work.

Many Spainards lived at the French capital at about this time. Many made their living by teaching Spanish there, as many have the author of "La Desordenada Codicia de los bienes ajenos", dated 1619. The subtitle reads: "la antigüedad y nobleza de los ladrones" which hints at the scope of the work. The author "El Doctor" Garcia gives in the book an account of his conversation with a prisoner in some prison of Paris, who relates to Garcia his experiences as a thief and declares that beginning with Adam everyone who has attained any sort of position was a thief in some way. The book is a worthy contribution to our knowledge of members of the class of thieves, written in a pleasant, good style. It shows that the author must have done a great deal of extensive reading.

In Spain, Salas Barbadillo, reworked one of Cervantes' plays, into a novel and gave it the same title, "Pedro de Urdemalas". Parts of his work were later imitated by other authors. Some of this author's novels have been translated into other languages showing their popularity abroad while in Spain they have been neglected for the drama. At any rate they have not been reprinted since 1737.

Another book which holds a prominent place among Spanish prose works of this period is "Alonso, Mozo de Muchos Amos" or "El donado hablador", usually the subtitle, appearing in about 1626. The author is el Doctor Jeronimo de Alcala Yanez y Ribera. The story is told by a man who has seen much of the world, and tells his adventures to a priest, becoming too talkative and bothersome a servant to the latter, thereby. The work differs from the preceding novels in its number of many, well-told anecdotes and fables told by the narrator himself instead of being related by whomever the anti-hero chanced to meet.

Other books that should rank with the picaresque novels of Spain include "La Monja Alferez", published in 1629, the story of a young lady of noble birth from Biscay, and the "Comentarios del Desengañado" by D. Diego Duque de Estrada, an authentic autobiography by a person well known in history. The latter did not exercise any particular influence on the literature of its period, but it is worthy of a place among picaresque novels, just the same. "La Vida del Buscon" of Queredo, published in 1626 shows that the taste for picaresque literature was falling off since only that work due to its clever, almost racy lines among many other less sharp won public favor. For that reason the "Soldado Pindaro" of Cespedes, appearing in 1626, was not as popular as its variety of experiences would cause one to declare that it would be. Likewise some of the best picaresque novels of the time failed to win over the public. The three novels of Castillo Solorzano however, appearing in 1634, entitled "Teresa", "Trapaza", and "Garduria," written and published in rapid succession ranked high in appreciation, however. Then several years passed before a real picaresque novel again appeared. It turned out to be a part of a large work, a curious piece of literature rather than an artistic one, "The Siglo Pitagorico" of Eurique Ganez. The book is an account of a soul in its various transmigrations, written by an author of fair repute. With the books thus far named the treatment of the picaro in Spanish literature would end were it not that from time to time some author would write his own life or make use of the picaresque form to amuse the public and moralize upon conditions and circumstances which he did not favor.

Mr. de Haan would exclude Tope's "Doroteo" from among such books on the ground that the book is too retrospective, and is too much an account of the love-affairs of Tope, himself. Many critics declare that the series of picaresque novels end with the "Periquillo, el de las Gallineras," but Mr. de Haan would likewise omit this work from the number of picaresque novels, also, declaring it to be too much a series of moralizing speeches that the too virtuous Periquillo

makes. The wickedness that animated the preceding novels was lacking in the "Periquillo" to Mr. de Haan.

"The picaro had gone from literature but he arose to a higher rank, transforming himself from the ragged scamp he used to be into the shape and garb of the courtier. Alberom and Ripperda show us that sneak thieves and tricksters at cards were figures of the past; to rise to eminence, more pliability to the whims of others, and less indifference to appearances was demanded in the new era".¹ A good characterization of the state of Spain in the eighteenth century is found in the "Diego de Torres y Villarcel," the life history of a professor. Gomez Arias was another professor who wrote his life history in imitation of Torres. By this time the picaro had ceased to occupy the most important place as subject matter for novelists. In the eighteenth century imitation of the poorer specimens of the French appeared. In prose Feijoo and Isla only, occupy a worthy place. The famous "Fray Gerundio", a bitter satire on absurd mannerisms of the times, was written by the latter. Isla received an interest in the novela picaresca with his translation of Le Sage's "Gil Blas". Spain thus has claimed the primary invention of the picaro from which has grown the modern novel. The picaresque type was recalled in the stormy revolutionary days again. A work of that period is the "Gil Perez de Marchanalo" of Muntadas, an autobiographic account of a young, bright unscrupulous man's adventures, and his rise from the humble state of a newsboy to the high position of a "diputado" and minister of the crown. Such is the course of the modern picaro. Greater masters in the field of novelistic writing have reproduced parts of our century's history in the form of assumed autobiographies of a fictitious person. Perez Galdos wrote an account of eventful days of the contest waged between the autocrats and the liberals awakened by the national struggle against Napoleon's invading armies in his "Memorias de un cortesans de 1854." It lacks dramatic incidents and power, and is one of Galdos' lesser works, altogether inferior to the "Pedro Sanchez" (1-Fonger de Haan-"An Outline of the History of the Novela Picaresca"-Page53.)

of Pereda. This novel is one of the author's best, a history of the experiences of a young man in the days of the revolution of 1854. He comes to Madrid in the hope of finding protection in the support of a prominent political personage. The youth rises to a certain position in a newspaper office, and then later achieves fame in the revolt. Finally he attains a Governorship but finds himself betrayed at his height in his political career for his wife's upholding her social rank. All this was written as a supposed autobiography is a satire upon the ambitions who too anxious for success those happiness through their thoughtlessness. It strikes at officials who uphold their rank at the expence of their honesty, as well. Such characteristics class "Pedro Sanchez" with the picaro of early times. One book like this, a typical modern novel, is full demonstration of the influence which the picaresque novel exerted upon succeeding development in Spanish literature.

Conclusion: The influence of the picaresque novels on the development of modern fiction; decline of the Spanish rogue story; its contribution to literature.

All the elements necessary for the growth of our modern fiction were found in the picaresque novels; they treated of vagabonds, adventures, and the earliest and most vivid picturing of the manners and times. Thus the gulf between the old story for the story's sake, and the new story of the ethical life is bridged over by the romances of roguery in picaresque tales. They marked a certain progression toward the modern novel.

The social conditions in Spain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries furnished ample pretext for making the literary reaction found in the picaresque novels expressive of a social one. The decadence presented all the material necessary to arouse writers to conceive of a corrective fiction. Hence the Spanish picaro is unequalled; he is a product of his own soil. As one writer expresses it: "The Spanish rogue is sterile without the aspirational afflatus of his race in which he adventures, from which he reacts, and which he

embodies in ironic contrast".

Yet through the intrusion of romantic, fantastic, or moral motives, the picaresque novel in Spain lost its original character. "Beginning as collections of jests and in its restriction to actuality opposed to idealistic fiction, the picaresque novel had come to absorb the talent for observation of a people gifted in satire and striving manfully against social and political decadence. As a literary form it had been refined from its first crude, haphazard detailing of manners to a study of roguery in an anti-hero gradually emerging from his deeds; and it failed to attain to an actual study of character, at least it made manifest the importance of personal interest on the one hand, and inaugurated the careful scrutiny of common conditions on the other. Then, when all that was fresh and original, in the natural scenes of low life had found presentation, and the picaro himself from the frequency of his appearance had lost charm the decline of the romance of roguery was immediate and inevitable."

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But the picaro still lives among men, in a sense, and so we cannot make a complete review of all rogue literature that ever will be. As long as people will be entertained with tales of unscrupulous actions, new accounts of such as contributions to the store of picaresque literature will appear. The class will enrich itself as long as conditions make it possible. The interest in personality emerged from that centered about the anti-hero; the romances of roguery considered tricks not as schemes in themselves but rather as manifestations of the rogue's character itself. Thus the picaresque novel in Spain showed the change in the inevitable progression of fiction from events toward character. Since men and character are certain to remain a part of authors' subject matter, picaresque or rogue stories are promised with the very turn of events and future life.

Pio Baroja, born in 1872, a Basque, who began as a regional novelist of his native and neighboring provinces is a modern writer who adopts the form (1-Magazine Article: The Saturday Review of Literature, Feb. 13, '26-"The First Rogue" ---Waldo Frank.) (11-Chandler-"Romances of Roguery"--Chapter V, pages 394-5.)

(a)I Chandler, Frank Walleigh: "Literature of Roguery", Volumes I and II. of the novela picaresca. He aims to have things happen to his characters as they do in real life, and to give the novel a new form thus suited to modern life, one which is patterned however, as it has already been said, after the picaresque work. Therefore it is to be hoped that henceforth Spain, where so many picares have figured as the main characters in works of art, will produce more writers of high rank interested in the genre and inclined to add new material so as to make possible and continue the development of the novela picaresca, "modernly," the novel of manners, realistic in its expression.

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