Alonso de Salas Barbadillo wrote the picaresque novel *La hija de Celestina* in 1612, barely three years after the final expulsions of the *moriscos*.¹ The Spanish crown had striven to build a nation free of Orientalizing elements since the reign of Isabella and Ferdinand, and this course of action culminated with “La pragmática sanción de 1567,” and eventually the final expulsions in 1609. For the most part, the representations in literature of *moriscos*, the descendants of converted Muslims who had lived in Spain for generations, reflected a construction based solely on negative, even malignant, aspects; attitudes that were exacerbated by the politics of the Spanish government toward ethnic minorities. This essay, through the exploration of the spaces the *pícara morisca*, Elena, inhabits, will elucidate how the *pícara* in Salas Barbadillo’s *La hija de Celestina* is cast as a diseased aspect of society that needs to be banished from the hegemonic ideal of “nation.”² Critics such as Enriqueta Zafra and Jannine Montauban have studied in depth the marginalized representation of the *pícara*, including *La hija de Celestina*, with regard to her gender and her ties to the world of prostitution. However, few studies have analyzed the use of spaces in *La hija de Celestina* and its relation to the social situation of ethnic minorities of the Iberian Peninsula during an exceptionally complex moment in history. Michel Foucault’s theories on alternative spaces will be explored in order to demonstrate how the analysis of heterotopic spaces reveals Elena as a symbol of the fate of *morisco* culture in seventeenth-century Spain. In this essay, the vilification of the Moor, and especially of the *morisca*, will be contextualized within the sociopolitical environment pertaining to Hispano-Arabs in the Iberian Peninsula during the first half of the seventeenth century, paying special attention to the circumstances surrounding the expulsion of 1609.³ Finally, this study will scrutinize, particularly, the use of violence and

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¹ "La pragmática sanción de 1567," the final edict of Ferdinand II and Isabella I of Spain, declared that all Muslims who had converted to Christianity needed to abandon their Moorish customs and submit to Christian customs, otherwise they would be expelled.
² "nation." refers to the national identity and the concept of a unified Spanish nation.
³ The expulsion of 1609 was a key event in the Spanish Inquisition's efforts to eliminate Islamic influence in Spain.
punishment toward the transgressing woman in an effort to control her, while examining the different spaces where the *picara* dwells, transits, and to which she is confined.

Key to this investigation into Barbadillo’s literary work are two specific spaces of confinement: the carriage and the barrel. These spaces permit the *picara morisca* to speak to the reader and communicate, both directly and indirectly, the delicate situation of *moriscos* in Inquisitorial Spain. In order to better analyze the use of these spaces, it becomes useful to draw upon Foucault’s theories on alternative spaces, specifically his ideas concerning heterotopias. These alternative spaces become a safe zone where Spain’s minorities are able to articulate their uncertain situation and lack of place within Spanish society. In his talk “Of Other Spaces,” Foucault defines his concept of heterotopia as a space out of place. This space is contrary to a utopic space, a “counter-site” (24). However, while the utopia doesn’t occupy a concrete space, heterotopia does:

There are also, probably in every culture, in every civilization, real places—places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society—which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. (24)

While utopia is an idealized place, and dystopia is an imperfect place, heterotopia is defined as a space “outside of all places” (24), but always with a connection to the real. In order to achieve utopia (or at least an imagined utopia), heterotopic spaces may be utilized as places where those individuals who do not fit within mainstream society can be confined/enclosed/hidden. Heterotopia is thus a space different from utopia, while at the same time parallel to it. Heterotopias include sacred spaces where primitive societies would seclude groups of individuals, for instance, menstruating women (24). A menstruating woman in a primitive patriarchal society does not fit within normalized society, therefore she is relegated to a specific space, in the process “freeing” the community of her presence and creating a utopic illusion. These heterotopic spaces can evolve with time, with the development of, or change in, social customs. Foucault also includes mobile spaces, such as a ship or an airplane, as heterotopias where a group of unrelated people enter the space with the purpose of travel, creating a transitory mini-community that is dissolved upon arrival. This transitory type of heterotopic space appears in *La hija de Celestina* during her flight from Toledo to Madrid. This space is essential in order to
analyze Elena’s origin and the possible reasons for her behavior, and allows one to question why Elena is permitted to tell her story within this heterotopic space, thereby establishing herself as an undesirable social element. Furthermore, Elena’s final punishment incorporates another confined space: the barrel in which her body is placed. At the time of Elena’s death, the dead are still buried within church grounds, whether inside the church, or nearby (25). However, Elena’s body is not buried near a church or within the church itself because Elena is perceived as a social malady, so instead her body is disposed of by other means, as will be seen later in this essay.

The plot of La hija de Celestina begins in the city of Toledo, during the wedding of Sancho Villafañe, a young lord who is marrying a rich Christian lady for her money and social status. During the wedding celebrations, Elena catches his attention and, upon seeing her, Don Sancho falls in love. Through trickery, she procures a knife that belongs to Don Sancho and makes Don Sancho’s uncle believe that his nephew dishonored her. Don Sancho’s uncle gives Elena a generous sum of money in exchange for her silence about his nephew’s indiscretions. Once she has the money, she leaves for Madrid accompanied by her lover/pimp Montúfar, La Méndez (an elderly woman and confidante), and a teenage boy. It is during this journey that the reader finally has direct access to Elena’s voice, silenced until this point. In the space of the carriage in which they are traveling, Elena recounts her life story. The carriage becomes a heterotopic space: it is a space without a specific place, but with a physical presence; it is a mobile space, but hermetic and confined. It serves a purpose for a limited time because these four characters happen to inhabit it in that precise moment. In the hours that they travel together within this shared space, Elena becomes the narrator, while the other characters and the reader become the listeners and witnesses of Elena’s confession.

The space of the carriage in “Capítulo 3” (104) and Elena’s involuntary trip to Madrid produce a narrative situation different from the rest of the novel. The confined space of the vehicle gives Elena a privacy that she had not enjoyed in the previous action of the storyline. In this moment of crisis, Elena “quiso divertir a Montúfar para que no se desanimase” (Salas 106) (wished to entertain Montúfar so that he wouldn’t be discouraged). In the reduced space of the carriage, these four characters come together without the need to lie or cheat at this particular moment. According to Foucault’s theories on alternative spaces, the carriage becomes a heterotopia where a group of criminals evade justice in a critical moment while directly subverting the status quo. As Foucault explains: “heterotopias of deviation [are] those in which individuals whose behavior is deviant in relation to the required mean or norm are placed” (25). Following these guidelines established by Foucault regarding heterotopias of deviation, Elena and her sidekicks’ criminal and subversive
behavior turn the space of the carriage into a heterotopic space. It is in this context that Elena finds a moment of respite and is allowed to tell us her story, uncovering several relevant details that only confirm Elena’s social position in seventeenth-century Spanish society. The reader already knows Elena is a prostitute and has a general idea of her character and her lifestyle, but now Elena roundly confirms and delves, with copious detail, into her deviation.

Elena initiates her autobiographical tale saying that “mi patria es Madrid. Mi padre se llamó Alonso Rodríguez, gallego en la sangre y en el oficio lacayo. . . . Mi madre fue natural de Granada, y con señales en el rostro” (106–107) (my homeland is Madrid. My father’s name was Alonso Rodríguez, Galician by blood and servant by trade. . . . My mother was a native of Granada and with marks on her face). With those few words, not only is Elena’s origin uncovered, but also her connection with a pseudo-Celestina, her mother. “Capítulo 3” highlights Elena’s knowledge of celestinesque traits such as witchcraft, prostitution, and the subversion of moral codes in that she is sold as a virgin several times: “tres veces fui vendida por virgen” (113) (three times I was sold as a virgin). Elena, thus, is doubly dangerous because of her ethnic origin and her skills in areas that are deemed subversive and contrary to Christian behavior. Like her predecessor, Celestina, Elena’s ability to change her identity and manipulate the way in which others perceive her allow her to be bought and sold several times. This ability threatens Iberian society, and it is an ability common to other picaras and picaros who are able to travel and enter spaces regularly forbidden to them through their wit and deceit. However, Elena is different from other picaras such as Lozana or Justina in that she openly recognizes her heritage as a morisca. Lozana and Justina don’t address their heritage in a transparent way, although they leave clues that can point the reader in the right direction.

In the process of telling her story, Elena unknowingly gives voice to that part of Spain that the Spanish crown doesn’t consider an intrinsic part of the country. In the carriage, we enter a space in which, regardless of generalizations and negative stereotypes, there are references to the situations of non-assimilated moriscos who are not completely converted to Christianity, their marginalization, and the social perceptions that are projected on them. It also shows the double-identity that the morisco lives: the chasm between their private and public lives. The very same double name of Elena’s mother, María/Zara, refers to this double identity and her precariously liminal situation in Spanish society. The Spanish government’s fear of non-assimilation is embodied in Elena, whose most negative attributes have been inherited from her mother (her father is barely mentioned). The morisco problem is thus presented as a vicious circle that repeats itself time and time again and that is difficult, if not impossible, to break. It is in the heterotopic space of
the carriage that we see the hidden face of Spain, the disdained aspects of Spanish society that the Spanish crown—through prohibitions, edicts, and laws—has tried to hide and repress since the conquest of Granada by Isabella and Ferdinand. Elena becomes a mirror in which Spanish society is reflected, a mirror that returns a different image of itself, the “deformed” face of that utopic nation that the Spanish crown is endorsing through the expulsion and abuse of ethnic minorities. Elena’s body becomes that tangible object that allows us to look into heterotopic space: hybrid, chameleonic, and subversive, it represents everything that the Spanish crown attempts to exorcise from within itself.

Consequently, Elena’s background becomes of particular importance in order to understand her social position in early modern Spanish society and to gain a clear understanding of her ability to (re)invent herself when needed, according to context. Elena’s Christian father and Moorish mother fashion her into a hybrid subject, one who inhabits a liminal location between spaces (Bhabha 19). This characteristic of hybridity permits Elena to move fluidly between worlds and to negotiate her identity according to need and desire. Throughout the story, Elena is seen as a public woman, as a dishonored damsel, as a married rich woman, as a beggar and as a courtesan/prostitute in Madrid. Due to her mixed heritage, Elena is doomed to inhabit a space of marginalization. However, she makes the most of her situation and utilizes her knowledge of both the marginalized and the orthodox worlds in order to enter spaces naturally forbidden to her, such as the spaces occupied by the aristocracy: “caminó a la calle de los Cristianos modernos, en cuyas casas es más nueva la fe que los vestidos” (97) (she walked to the New Christians’ street, in whose houses faith is newer than their clothing). The effortlessness with which Elena moves in spaces exclusive to cristianos viejos, as well as cristianos nuevos, stresses her intelligence and ability to utilize and manipulate her appearance: “mujer de buena cara y pocos años, que es la principal hermosura, tan sutil de ingenio que era su corazón la recámara de la mentira, donde hallaba siempre el vestido y traje más a su propósito convenientes” (84) (a woman of good semblance and few years, that is the most beautiful attribute, so sharp of wit that her heart was a hole of deceit where she always found the dress and attire best suited to her devices). Elena’s outward appearance does not mark her as an outsider from mainstream culture; as a matter of fact, she is chameleonic and desirable. However, her behavior places her in the margins of society by dint of her ties to prostitution, her deviant activities, and her overall unrepentant attitude. Being the daughter of a Moorish slave, Elena is established as a direct descendant of that particular ethnic minority, including learned traits that are manipulated as a means of feeding the negative stereotype of moriscos, which include lying, Satanic worship, and especially deviant behavior and lustfulness (Perry, Handless 71).
In Elena’s character, the worst aspects of these stereotypes come together to form that negative mirror image of the imaginary homogenous nation that official discourse of Habsburg Spain is striving to form: the idea of a Christian nation that has exorcised ethnic and religious minorities from its midst. Elena threatens this homogeneity, not only by her questionable family origins, but also with her capacity to successfully move between ethnic groups and classes with ease. One of her most effective identity changes occurs when she tries to deceive Don Sancho’s uncle in order to steal his money. During this scene, Elena changes from a woman of the street of exotic beauty to a dishonored lady who presents herself as an old Christian. Elena must alter the visible markers that identify her as a *morisca* and prostitute in order to deceive Sancho’s uncle. From a public woman, she must become a naïve youth, and her sultry, exotic beauty must become demure and subtle. Elena procures dark clothing for herself and her cohorts and they travel to the abode of Don Rodrigo, Sancho’s uncle, where Elena introduces herself as “una señora montañesa que acababa de llegar de León” (98) (a country lady that has just arrived from León). During the early modern period, the mountainous regions of Spain (especially in the North) were connected to the idea of purity of blood and the belief that the true Spanish character, free of Orientalizing influences, dwelled in the mountain towns. Elena, therefore, by announcing herself as a “señora montañesa,” is in reality presenting herself as an old Christian. Once in Don Rodrigo’s presence, the threesome (Elena, La Méndez, and Montúfar) cries and pretends to be under great distress. Elena manipulates the situation masterfully:

Elena, que sabía que una mujer hermosa tal vez persuade más con los ojos llorando que con la boca hablando en lugar de razones acudió con una corriente de copiosas lágrimas . . . limpiándose ya con un lienzo los ojos por mostrar la blanca mano, y ya retirando el manto porque se viesen en el rostro las lágrimas. (99)

(Elena knew that a beautiful woman persuades more with tears than with her words, so instead of with rationality she arrived in a torrent of many tears . . . drying her eyes with a handkerchief in order to show her white hand, and removing her mantle so that they would see the tears running down her face.)
Elena utilizes her body, especially her beauty, in order to gain sympathy from Sancho’s elderly uncle. She also lets her hand, described as “blanca,” be seen even though we later learn that Elena is the daughter of a Moorish slave. This scene, in which Elena successfully passes herself off as someone who is opposite of who she really is, shows Elena’s manipulation of her own mixed origin: she passes as Christian/white when needed. The oppositional dichotomy of white/Christian/pure versus racialized/Orientalized/prostitute is exemplified in Elena when she fools Sancho’s uncle into believing her words. Because Elena is a racialized, Orientalized prostitute, it is necessary for her to reinvent herself by presenting herself as the type of woman that Don Rodrigo, a “montañés” himself, would believe and be willing to help (100).

The protagonist also displays an undeniable connection of morisca/conversa with witchcraft. The fact that Elena is a woman only exacerbates this connection since “Christians . . . analogously viewed women in general, and accused witches in particular, as treacherous and deceitful enough to drive men to madness or perdition. Thus, the popular imagination could conflate the threat of the secretive Jew, the diabolically empowered witch and the proverbial lustful woman” (Valbuena 208). Although it is clear that Elena is the daughter of a morisca, and not a crypto-Jew, her status as a new Christian is similar to that of the converso. Moriscos were also perceived as secretive since they were under suspicion of practicing their religion in the seclusion of their homes. Elena fits these perceptions by virtue of being a woman of mixed origins with ties to witchcraft. She mentions that her mother’s interest in witchcraft stems from her own upbringing and that her maternal grandmother had already taught her mother witchcraft in childhood and how to participate in satanic rites. Further, the text reveals a reference to her mother’s relations with demons when Elena says that “no se tenía por buen diablo el que no alcanzaba su privanza” (109) (there wasn’t a proper demon that hadn’t gained her trust). Elena concludes by saying that her mother’s behavior is only to be expected because “le venía de casta” (109) (it was in her blood). This vilification of the Moor reflects the sociopolitical context regarding ethnic minorities on the Iberian Peninsula during the years preceding the final expulsion of 1609, especially when framed within the context of Europe’s relationship with Islam.

In his book, Europe (in Theory), Roberto Dainotto explains that during the early modern period, Europe strove to define itself by using the most immediate threat to its cohesion as its oppositional contrast: “Another Europe—an eastern one . . . was being shaped by the advance of Turkish and Muslim armies: to the rest of the continent, this other Europe appeared dark, threatening, and quite Oriental” (33). By the end of the fifteenth century, Europe saw itself as an opposite to the peoples that declared Islam as their primary cultural
identity. However, Europe did recognize that there were possible commonalities between both cultures, especially after the “discovery” of America in 1492: America being a true “Other” in the eyes of Western Europe (39). At this point in time, Spain found itself in a very peculiar situation. Due to the influence of Oriental cultures during the Middle Ages in Spain’s quotidian culture, at the time of the discovery of America, Spain was perceived as Orientalized, as not quite European, as different from the rest of Europe. In her book *Exotic Nation*, Barbara Fuchs includes several examples of the reactions of foreigners upon arrival to Spain, and their perspectives on Peninsular everyday living, which they declared to be too “Oriental” (17). Thus, if Spain wished to be recognized by Europe as European, it had to erase all traces of Oriental cultures that might have existed amongst its constituents. The demonization of the Oriental other, with its direct connection to the dark arts and witchcraft, was an attempt to detach the Christian/European world from the Islamic/Oriental world. Rather than looking for harmony between both worlds, *moriscos* were portrayed as demonic, devious, and untrustworthy, completely removed from the ideal Christian identity that Spain wished to project. *La hija de Celestina* is one such example of this demonization. Her violent demise showcases the tensions that the presence of *moriscos* produced in Spain and the primal necessity to remove, at all costs, their manifestation from all aspects of society. The consequences of these efforts to assimilate *moriscos* and erase all traces of their cultural identity culminated in the Rebellion of the Alpujarras and the subsequent final expulsion of the *moriscos* from the Iberian Peninsula.

The rebellion of Las Alpujarras occurred in the years 1568 to 1571 as a direct response to Felipe II’s “Pragmática sanción de 1567.” *Moriscos* were obligated to abandon their customs, such as their way of bathing and dressing, and even their language. They were given two years to learn Castilian and show proof that they had indeed converted to Christianity: “y que las mujeres moriscas . . . dexassen las dichas almalafas, y traxessen mantos y tocas y sus rostros descubiertos, segun que los traen y trayan las Christianas Viejas” (“Pragmática sanción”) (and *morisca* women . . . should stop using haiks, and they should don mantles and headdresses leaving their faces uncovered, just like Old Christian women do). This conversion was expected through the removal of any openly identifiable markers that would have identified individuals as Muslims, such as ethnic clothing or speaking Arabic. However, even if they did follow the rules required by this edict, they were always under suspicion, from the Catholic State and common folk alike, of not being true converts: “los moriscos recién bautizados serán . . . atormentados en los años de su forzada asimilación cultural y religiosa. Están documentados casos en que se les procesa por bañarse” (López-Baralt 36) (recently baptized *moriscos*
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will be . . . tormented in the years of their forced cultural and religious assimilation. There are documented cases in which they are prosecuted for bathing). Following the introduction of such prejudiced demands, the moriscos rebelled in Southern Spain, in a mountainous area of Las Alpujarras, between Granada and Almería. This rebellion grew in force and gained support from moriscos not initially involved, including Moors from Northern Africa, after Christian soldiers were called to fight the rebels (Perry, Handless 122–23). Rather than the chivalric world described in Las Guerras Civiles de Granada by Ginés Pérez de Hita, the wars between moriscos and Christians at the end of the sixteenth century show a cowardly attitude portrayed by Christians. In many instances, after pillaging morisco towns, Christians returned to their homes without fulfilling their strategic military missions because their intentions tended to simply be opportunistic, their goal being only to enrich themselves (Childers 12). Once the Alpujarras Rebellion was contained in 1570, moriscos were relocated to other areas of Spain in an attempt to force them to mix within the Christian community and “disperse” their Muslim identity. Young children were given to Christian families to be raised as Christians, in many cases becoming slaves for those families (Perry, Handless 138).

Elena’s mother is a Muslim slave whose owners give her the name of María, but “aunque respondía a este nombre, el que sus padres la pusieron y ella escuchaba mejor, fue Zara” (107) (although she responded to that name, the one that her parents gave her and that she paid attention to the most, was Zara). Elena mentions that her mother is from Granada (106), but lives in Madrid. The situation of Elena’s mother reflects the reality of many moriscos from Granada who rose up against the demanding rules imposed in Felipe II’s “Pragmática Sanción de 1567.” Zara’s circumstances fit within this context. She was displaced, separated from her people, and reduced to servitude in Madrid where she “servía a un caballero de los Zapata” (107) (served a gentleman from the Zapata’s). Zara followed the Christian religion primarily out of fear of the Inquisition and incarceration rather than due to devotion (107). Although marrying a Christian would have provided her with a more stable social situation, she refuses to marry within the Christian faith: “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 rigorosamente exceptuando los gallegos, por parecerle que entre ellos y los moriscos la diferencia no es considerable” (107–108) (with the natural hate inherited from her elders, she was at odds with Christians, she excused herself from getting together with them, and with this, she made a firm vow to her Prophet, which she observed rigorously with the exception of Galicians, because she thought that between them and moriscos the difference was not considerable). The irony is hard to miss. In a society obsessed with blood
purity (Fuchs, *Exotic* 118), specifically the blood of *cristianos viejos*, Zara rejects the idea of marrying a Christian man because she does not consider them worthy of her. She does, however, make one exception: the Galician Pierres, father of Elena. Similar to *moriscos*, Galicians suffered from an undesirable reputation, and this type of treatment and marginalization unites the couple (García Santo-Tomás 108). Elena’s narration directly references the negative stereotypes ascribed to *moriscos*, by dint of association with what mainstream society considers anti-Christian behaviors/practices (witchery, worship of the devil, social subversion, lying). Through her recounting of the story, the reader is shown the harmful, negative, ignorant manner in which *moriscos* are represented, showcasing a lack of any factual references to the religious beliefs among *moriscos*, or Islam in general.

Although the government relocated *moriscos* and forbade them to dress in Arab fashion or to continue their traditions and customs, they maintained cultural practices. Mary Elizabeth Perry indicates that “It is difficult to know how many of the *moriscos* consciously engaged in the forbidden activities as a means to preserve their own religious beliefs. Changing into clean clothing on Friday and eating meat cooked in oil rather than lard might merely represent customary cultural practices than religious subversion” (“Veil” 44). Nonetheless, in many cases crypto-Muslim cultural practices resulted in censure and denunciation to the local authorities and Inquisition, despite many crypto-Muslims having forgotten the religious meanings behind these practices. As López-Baralt reveals, the texts in *Aljamiado* that have survived show the struggles of Muslims to maintain their culture and language. At the same time, they reflect the deterioration of the *moriscos’* knowledge of language, religion and customs. The most poignant aspect of *Aljamiado* literature is the realization of the anonymous writers that they were losing their Muslim identity and were unable to prevent it, expressing the frustration and agony of a dying culture (López-Baralt 139). Although crypto-Muslims manage to maintain some of their customs, by the time of the final expulsion, many of them had forgotten what these practices meant or emblematized within their identity.

The failure of the rebellion of Las Alpujarras and the consequent scattering of *moriscos* was not enough to achieve desired assimilation. *Moriscos* had successfully maintained a certain cohesion as a people with a common ancestry, regardless of efforts by the Spanish government’s various “Pragmáticas,” which were formulated to promote the integration process. When Salas Barbadoillo published *La hija de Celestina* in the years following the final expulsion, society’s views of the *morisco* population in Spain had become tainted with negative undertones. Although there were also great efforts made to avoid the final expulsion of the *moriscos*, certain stereotypes of *moriscos*, such as
being deceitful and dishonest, eventually formed part of their representation as a people in the Christian imaginary. These tendencies to typecast permeate literary production (Fuchs, Exotic 76). Salas Barbadillo makes use of those stereotypes and perceptions when Elena achieves her pecuniary goals through the dubious means of lies and deceit. He utilizes the idea of the Orientalized woman (the non-European “Other”) as promiscuous when he gives Elena the job of courtesan in Madrid, and finally exploits the stereotype of the morisco who practices dark magic when he supplies Elena with a witch as a mother.

Although *La hija de Celestina* offers a view of the marginal Spain of the seventeenth century, one of the most relevant factors of the picaresque novel, the first-person narration, is notably absent in this book. The only exception in narrative voice occurs within the heterotopic space in “Capítulo 3” (Chapter 3). Elena is given the opportunity to speak of her lifestyle and depravities precisely because they illustrate what the reader may have already suspected. Elena is a subversive element of society that needs to be stopped. This is accomplished in three levels: the dominant voice of the narrator; the control of Elena herself by means of her pimp/husband, Montúfar; and the patriarchal control of society at large that judge her at the very end of the novel. Elena is subversive because she is a *pícara*, she operates from the margins of morally acceptable society and, furthermore, she belongs to two marginalized classes, women and *moriscos*. As Anne Cruz explains: “In its mimicry of what the authors construe as female discourse, the female picaresque, while claiming to assume a feminine voice, in actuality bespeaks male prejudice, formulating a cultural strategy through which sexual and social reality is created and maintained” (158). These prejudices are displayed especially in the depraved behavior of criminal tendencies that Elena exhibits time and again, such as prostitution, robbery, and deceit. Instead of presenting the marginal picaresque world from the perspective of an internal narrator who is a protagonist in the story and will tell the reader her version of the story, *La hija de Celestina* uses the perspective of a traditional omniscient narrator. This narratorial voice allows for a representation of the marginalized world of *picaros* and *pícaras* from an outside perspective, laden with prejudice and assumptions of how the disenfranchised classes live and behave. While this perspective brings to light the underworld of the lower classes and warns the masculine reader of its dangers and negative consequences (Zafra 145), it also admits the allure that this world may have for upper class society, exemplified by don Sancho’s infatuation with Elena whose “ojos negros, rasgados, valentones y delinuentes” (Salas Barbadillo 85) (dark eyes, slanted, arrogant and delinquent) cast a spell on him. This fascination, however, is not healthy, since it jeopardizes the patriarchal order by threatening to disrupt the marriage between don Sancho and his Toledan lady (Zafra 151).
The picaresque leitmotiv of travel plays an important role in this essay, particularly as the means of entering the heterotopia created in the carriage. In early modern Spanish society, as in many other situations in which mobility is required, women in general are not allowed to travel on their own. Travel, of course, is not the only censured activity. Enriqueta Zafra highlights that any slip in conduct will result in the “mujer honrada” (honorable woman) becoming a “mala mujer” (evil woman) (Zafra 34–35). Elena obviously falls under the construction of the “mala mujer,” and, consequently, involves herself in activities not deemed appropriate for the decent woman. These activities include the change of identity, deceit, prostitution, and, of course, traveling. However, as Zafra indicates, whether or not a specific woman is deemed “good” or “bad,” in early modern Spain, she is always positioned under masculine control (34–35). Even the picara’s voice is absent: “Women do not necessarily sound like women, nor do authors always give them a voice in the narrative” (Friedman 71).

La hija de Celestina’s omniscient narrator, in his judgments on women reiterates the fact that the “honorable” woman can easily transmute into the “bad” one, and consequently echoes the prejudices of Salas Barbadillo’s social context. He tells us that no man is safe from the evil/dishonorable intentions of women and from a very probable disillusion: “¿Qué fías en tu mujer porque ahora es santa y virtuosa? ¡Ay, qué poco le debes a la experiencia! ¡Mal conoces las flaquezas de nuestra naturaleza miserable!” (117) (So you trust your wife because she is pious and virtuous? Oh, you owe personal experience so little! You understand so poorly the weakness of our miserable nature!). Elena’s rebelliousness and deceit seemingly imply that she takes control of her life, but, in reality, she is forever under the influence of her pimp, Montúfar. Meanwhile, her actions are scrutinized by the commentary of the omniscient third person narrator, who occasionally directly addresses the reader in the first person (117). The presence of these two masculine voices reinforces the dominant patriarchal discourse. As Zafra elucidates: “la creación del discurso patriarcal hegemónico, al que también se suma como parte integrante la novela picaresca femenina, depende de la construcción de la mujer como sujeto/otro controlado, lo que requiere en primera instancia que se muestre a la mujer fuera de control” (167) (the creation of a hegemonic patriarchal discourse, to which we can add as an integral part the feminine picaresque novel, depends on the construction of women as a subject/control other, which requires firstly to show women as out of control). This woman who cannot be controlled or confined is represented by Elena, who successfully manipulates those who come in contact with her. She is conscious of her power and exploits it fully, without regrets: “Elena agradeció al Cielo que la hubiese dado tan buena cara que ella sola bastase a servir de disculpa de todas las obras malas que hacía” (121) (Elena thanked Heaven for
giving her such a beautiful face that was enough to serve as an excuse for all the evil works she had done). Travel contributes to the motif of a heterotopic space, turning Elena into that out-of-control subject that official discourse sought to repress and eventually tried to destroy.

Due to her subversive nature and the threat she represents to an idealized society, there is an attempt to contain Elena within textual confines, permanently under the control of narratorial voice. Elena is constantly submitted to beatings and physical abuse. In all instances, this abuse occurs when she strives to escape Montúfar. She is beaten into submission on two levels: at the physical level in which Montúfar hits her, ties her up, and reduces her until she has no other option but to remain with him, and at the narrative level through the narrator’s commentary. With the only exception being that of the first-person narrated scene with the carriage, she is not allowed to tell her story completely or avoid her tragic destiny, previously foreshadowed in the form of her mother’s namesake, Celestina. Since Elena does not have the opportunity to directly address the reader with first person narration, she cannot openly “confess” her sins and deviations from societal norms as we would have observed in a canonical picaresque novel such as Lazarillo de Tormes or El Buscón (Rodríguez Mansilla 120). However, in “Chapter 3,” Elena’s narration in the first person serves to highlight the levels of deviation and social subversion that this pícara has achieved. Elena identifies herself first and foremost as the daughter of a morisca slave, and the role of Elena’s mother is especially important due to her ties to ethnic minorities in a historically critical moment.

Elena’s first attempt at freedom occurs when, on their way to Burgos, Montúfar falls ill with a fever. Elena had previously considered abandoning him, and thus Montúfar’s illness buys Elena the time she needs to escape with La Méndez. But their freedom is short-lived. Once Montúfar regains his strength, he catches up with them in the forest. He deceives them into believing that he is not angry with them, and when he has their trust, he ties them to trees, beats them and abandons them in the countryside. Elena is unable to escape both the beating and her fate to be constantly tied to Montúfar, just as women are contained within a patriarchal society. At the same time, Elena cannot escape the text. Even if she wants to leave, she is brought back to the story and hermetically enclosed within the expectations that the audience has of her. As Edward Friedman remarks: “The protagonist falls victim to the flaws of genealogy, the whims of fate, and the ironies of discourse, none of which she is in a position to control” (95). Elena cannot manipulate the outcome of her story because, unlike the canonical picaresque novel: “Male authors bring women into the domain of the picaresque without giving them freedom of speech and without liberating them from the constraints of their
social inferiority” (71). The third-person narration also insinuates what Elena’s final fate will be; since she is executed, she is separated from her own story and her own voice and will always be perceived how the author, and consequently the narrator, wished to present her. The text that the reader accesses is not a justifying memoir or first-person life story, as is customary in other picaresque novels, but rather a retelling of events from the point of view of a biased narrator.

After Montúfar beats the two women, he returns to make peace with them in an effort to gain more profit. He knows that Elena’s beauty is the source of his income and, without her, he will lose money: “y reconociendo juntamente que aquel dinero y joyas de la que había despojado era fuerza se le acabasen dentro de algún tiempo, y que el verdadero caudal estaba en la belleza de su rostro . . . volvió” (138) (and fully realizing that the money and jewels that he had taken away from her wouldn’t last him long, and that the true treasure was the beauty of her face . . . he returned). After making peace, the three reunite and swear eternal friendship. They head to Sevilla where they live begging for alms, while within the doors of their home, they enjoy a comfortable life. Their deceitful lifestyle is discovered, inciting Elena and Montúfar to escape justice and make for Madrid. Once in Madrid, they marry and Elena begins work as a courtesan, a court prostitute. As part of their marriage agreement, Montúfar accepts that if he wants money, he is destined to be a *cornudo* (cuckold): “Obligóse Montúfar, cuando se dio por esposo de Elena, a llevar con mucha paciencia y cordura—como marido de seso y, al fin, hombre de tanto asiento en la cabeza—que ella recibiese visitas” (148) (Montúfar was obliged, when he became Elena’s husband, to accept with much patience and sanity—as a wise husband, and eventually, a man that was holding so much on his head—that she was to accept visitors). The visits that Elena receives are those of her clients, and the reference to the heavy weight on Montúfar’s head is a reference to his disgrace as *cornudo*. The problems genuinely begin when Elena favors a youth who has no prospects in life or money, Perico el Zurdo. Jealous and embarrassed, Montúfar beats Elena in the same fashion as before (151). After the beating, Elena plans Montúfar’s murder and poisons him. Montúfar, discovering what she has done, tries to kill her with his sword, but instead, he is killed by Perico el Zurdo (152). It would seem that Elena might be able to escape justice as she has done before, but this time she it is not so. Her lover is condemned to be hanged, while Elena: “a la tarde la sacaron, causando en los pechos más duros lástima y sentimiento doloroso, al río Manzanares, donde, dándola un garrote, conforme a la ley, la encubaron” (153) (they drew her out in the afternoon, causing great sorrow and pain in the most hardened hearts, to the Mazanares river, where, after breaking her neck, they put her in a barrel). There is no mention of the years of abuse she
has endured during her relationship with Montúfar. Her dead body is thrown in the river near her birthplace, completing the circle of her life. Just as La Celestina suffers a violent end, Elena’s life is put to an end in a violent way, with no mercy shown.

Elena is an accessory to murder, but perhaps the most unforgivable crime that she executes is her constant subversion of patriarchal law and the deception of men with the potential to be productive members of society. Elena and her cohort receive the appropriate punishment, while Sancho is given the opportunity to repent and to contribute to society, reflecting the mores and expectations of the time (Zafra 147). For as much as she tries, Elena cannot escape the patriarchal dynamics of power because, as a racialized woman, she is socially confined to the ranks of second-class citizenship. Even though she is depicted from the beginning as a woman who lives in the margins of society and who does not meet the social standards of mainstream Inquisitorial Spanish culture, Elena is held to sociocultural norms and cannot escape justice for Montúfar’s murder.

The barrel in which her body is placed becomes a final resting place, a space of confinement, even a heterotopic space, where society deposits that which is not desired, has no value and subverts social mores. This pícara will eventually disappear and be forgotten. Elena must be excised from Spanish society due to her marginal life of crime, her lies, and deceit, and her morisca heritage. Even in death, there is no place for Elena in Inquisitorial Spain. The last space that she occupies, the barrel, becomes the vessel that successfully removes her from mainstream society. The encasement of Elena’s body in the barrel and the efforts made to dispose of the corpse exemplify the relationship between utopic nation/heterotopic space: that is, the role of heterotopic spaces in the construction of a homogenous nation. The disappearance of Elena in the river erases her from society, successfully excising the non-desired element from a Christian, European, “moral,” and patriarchal society, maintaining in the process the illusion of a utopic, homogenous construction.

Although Elena’s subversion of rules of conduct, especially female rules of conduct, may be part of the reason her punishment is depicted in such a harsh manner, we must not forget her morisco origins and the cultural background against which Elena’s story takes place. In the process of punishing Elena for her moral sins, Salas Barbadillo is also removing Elena’s presence as the daughter of a morisca from within Christian society, reflecting the final efforts of a Spanish state that wants to see itself free from Orientalized influences in the midst of a Christian nation. He silences Elena and brutally condemns her to continuously remain under Montúfar and the narrators’ control. This analysis of confined spaces in La hija de Celestina, specifically the carriage and the barrel, provides perspective on the sociocultural context of the time regarding
gender and ethnicity within seventeenth-century Spain. Foucault’s theories on heterotopic spaces facilitate new insights into Elena’s violent, unstable life, and how her tragic end echoes the fate of the morisco community in Spain. The Hispano-Arabs are ostracized, dispersed as a community, and finally expelled. Felipe III, in his order of expulsion of 1609, orders moriscos to immediately leave the country by ship (Fuchs, Novellas 126). Elena’s last vessel is the barrel in which her body is placed and thrown to the river Manzanares. Ultimately, she will make it to sea with the rest of the moriscos forced to leave. Elena embodies the remaining ethnic minorities in Spain, whose fate is to either be assimilated into mainstream Spanish society or to leave the land of their ancestors, disappearing, either way, from history and memory.

NOTES

1. The second edition of La hija de Celestina was published in 1614 under the name La ingeniosa Elena. Salas Barbadillo published it as part of a collection of short stories, but Elena’s story remains the same in this second edition (García Santo-Tomás 15).
2. The concept of nation-state as we understand it today did not appear until the 19th-century. In this essay the term is used to denote the Spanish government/crown’s common objectives.
3. In this essay I will use the term morisco to refer to Muslims converted to Christianity and their descendants. Moriscos may or may not continue practicing Islam in private. In the context of the Iberian Peninsula, crypto-Muslims are those moriscos who continue practicing Islam behind closed doors, even though they are apparently converted to Christianity. Finally, Hispano-Arabs refer to those descendants of moriscos or with Arab ancestry who consider themselves Spanish.
4. Translations are all my own.
5. Aljamiado is the Arabic spoken and written by crypto Muslims in Spain. In recent years there has been a renewed interest in Aljamiado literature thanks to the discovery of texts written in Spanish but utilizing Arab characters. This literature was written in secret and its topics tended to be “testimoniales y proselitistas” (López-Baralt 155). López-Baralt calls this literature, due to its nature, hybrid (120).
6. López-Baralt does an in-depth study of various examples of Aljamiado literature in her book Huellas del Islam en la literatura española (Capítulo VI). In this essay she analyzes, thanks to the Aljamiado literature, the consequences of the various Pragmáticas that directly affected the morisco population, and the results of these Pragmáticas in everyday life such as loss of the Arabic language, loss of religious knowledge and the frustration upon forgetting the reasons behind their own cultural practices.
7. Nobles who depended on moriscos to work their lands appealed against relocation and expulsion. There were also efforts made by non-nobles to avoid the loss of the morisco population (Perry, Handless 133).

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