Protean Pythagoras: Social Critique in *El Diálogo de las Transformaciones* and *El Siglo Pitagórico*

By

VICTOR NIETO CERVANTES II

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Spanish

in the

OFFICE OF GRADUATE STUDIES

of the

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

DAVIS

Approved:

_____

John Slater, Chair

_____

Adrienne Martin

_____

Diana Aramburu

_____

Daniel Stolzenberg

Committee in Charge

2022

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank everyone that helped make this dissertation possible. I want to acknowledge that I have received a lot of guidance, support, inspiration, and reassurance from many people during this project. Firstly, I would like to thank my advisor John Slater and all the members of my committee, Adrienne Martín, Diana Aramburu, and Daniel Stolzenberg for their time and the invaluable expertise they have shared over the years that came to shape this dissertation. I remember the many conversations in John Slater's office about Spanish literature that planted the seed that has grown into this research. I am also appreciative of the years of support from the department of Spanish and Portuguese at UC Davis. I am grateful for the support of department administrators, Mandy Bachman, and Maria Ruby.

I am indebted to colleagues, family and close friends that have aided me along the process, offering insight, encouragement, and thoughts about this project. This dissertation has been the culmination of a journey of a lifetime. I'm thankful to my family for their constant unwavering support as I embarked on this work. A special thanks to my parents Victor and Mary Cervantes for encouraging me to pursue the education that has led to this work. I would also like to recognize my aunt Belinda Alvarado for fostering a love of the Spanish language.

During this program I have had the privilege to work with and interact with wonderful colleagues that provided significant moral support and inspirational perspectives: Gustavo Segura, Melissa Patiño-Vega, Lina Reznicek-Parrado, Eugenia Fernandes, Diego Valdecantos-Monteagudo, and Rebeca Rubio. I am profoundly grateful to Leonardo de Oliveira Silva for his honest advice and friendship. From the times we shared workspace in the library to reading and providing feedback on my late drafts, he was one of the people that helped me get across the

finish line. A special thanks to Sue Jean for taking time to help structure and organize the last phase of this dissertation. Her support was invaluable.

Lastly and most importantly, I dedicate this dissertation to my partner Rocio Medina, without whom I would not have been able to reach this point. Thank you for your constant support.

Abstract

In early modern Spain, the ancient philosopher and mathematician Pythagoras became a potent symbol of desire for harmony in a state coming to grips with its identity, values, and limitations. This Spanish Pythagoras was more than a geometrician associated with the hypotenuse of a triangle, and not simply the cult leader he had been in antiquity: Spanish Pythagoras was a figure both political and moral. In Spanish literature, Pythagoreanism constituted a language with which to challenge systems of oppression. This dissertation examines the Pythagoreanism—from politics to the picaresque—of two books written about a century apart: *El diálogo de las transformaciones de Pitágoras* (1530) and *El siglo pitagórico* (1644), books that serve as conceptual bookends of a period of concentrated humanist and philosophical interest in Pythagoras.

While Spanish Pythagoras evidences the profound influence of Lucian of Samosata's *The Rooster or the Dream* and Apuleius' *The Golden Ass,* in the *Diálogo* and the *Siglo* he takes on many guises and speaks to a range of controversial subjects. Spanish Pythagoras: denounces the violent expansion of the Hapsburg Monarchy in the Americas and suggests that evangelization is only a pretext for the seizure of precious metals; he calls human beings to live in greater harmony with animals; and insists on the reform of governmental institutions such as the Inquisition.

Bad governance, oppression, corruption, and exploitation were cyclical in nature; they moved from person to person and place to place just as Pythagoreanism imagined that the soul transmigrated from body to body. This pervasive movement of evil was a "transmigración de los vicios," a trasmigration of vices, that could be combatted through the harmoniousness and compassion that the anonymous author of the *Diálogos* and Enríquez Gómez attributed to

Pythagoreanism (Enríquez Gómez 61). The anonymous author of the *Diálogo* and Enríquez Gómez, in *Siglo pitagórico*, found in their representations of Pythagoreanism ways to wrestle with the failures of Spanish society and empire, as well as to imagine a different future. This dissertation demonstrates that the Pythagoreanism of the *Diálogo* and the *Siglo pitagórico* proposed tools, framed in the language of the transmigration of the soul, to break this cycle. The Pythagoreanism of the *Diálogo* and the is flexible and mutable, rather than strict and doctrinaire. Theirs is a protean Pythagoreanism.

Table of Contents

Introduction: Pythagoreanism in Spanish Literature from the Sixteenth to the Seventeenth Century.

What most people know about Pythagoras has to do with mathematics and his eponymous theorem (a2 + b2 = c2). In ancient Greece, however, a cult of Pythagoreans adhered to the teachings of Pythagoras; they believed in the transmigration of souls or metempsychosis[1], the process by which the soul passes upon death into new bodies, human or animal. The soul was immortal and inhabited body after body until it attuned itself to the divine. This dissertation examines a significant moment in the history of Pythagoreanism, at a point in time between his status as cult leader and his vague identification with the hypotenuse of a right triangle: Pythagoras' importance and utility in two important texts of early modern Spanish literature.

In order to understand what Pythagoras meant in early modern Spain, it is helpful to return to ancient Greece, if briefly, to see what he meant to his early followers and came represent. Pythagoras' spiritual objective was to understand the nature of man's connection to the divine and to attain knowledge through remembrance of past lives. Memory and recollection of the lessons of past incarnations were a way to tap into hidden knowledge that had been lost over time. The belief in the transmigration of souls emphasized a kinship with living things and prohibited violence against people and animals. As a result, compassion, temperance, harmony, and friendship were essential to the Pythagorean' worldview[2]. These virtues, they believed, were an antidote to avarice and pride. In order to live compassionately, temperately, and harmoniously, Pythagoreans adhered to a strict diet, dress code, and daily routine. They placed attention on harmony of living things in connection to the divine as opposed to individual wealth and power.

[1] Metempsychosis is a synonym for transmigration of the soul. Another synonym for this process is palingenesis.
[2] An example of Pythagorean friendship is exemplified in the story of Damon and Pythias.

The philosopher's ideas and philosophy had a long reaching impact which continued to inspire and influence centuries after his death. As improbable as it sounds, Pythagoras' influence reached out even to early modern Spanish literature where writers wrestled with their own search for harmony, morality, and justice. In Spanish literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, early modern Spanish authors seized upon the satirical representations of Pythagoreanism by Lucian of Samosata (125 AD–180 AD), who lived six centuries after Pythagoras, fusing Lucian's mordacity with Pythagoras's compassion. This strange combination, both utopian in its desire for harmony and devastating in its satire of imperial excesses, constituted a set of literary motifs that I call Spanish Pythagoreanism: cutting and kind, playful and serious, looking back to classical antiquity while never losing sight of the grave social ills plaguing the Hispanic Monarchy. For example, in *El siglo pitagórico* (1644), or "the Pythagorean age," the Spanish writer, playwright, and poet, Antonio Enríquez Gómez (1601-1661) uses metaphysical transmigration as a vehicle to expose the unjust treatment of *conversos* by the inquisition, disregard for the lives of soldiers, distrust in physicians' ability to heal, and unmerited authority of court favorites. Bouncing from body to body in a fantastic journey of transmigrations, a soul experiences the corruption, depravity and desperation of people living in early modern Spain. Formally, Enríquez Gómez oscillates between poetry and prose, rhythmic and stylistic registers. Spanish Pythagoras emerges as potent symbol of desire for harmony in a state coming to grips with its identity, values, and limitations.

This dissertation examines the Pythagoreanism of two books written about a century apart: *El diálogo de las transformaciones de Pitágoras* (1530) and *El siglo pitagórico* (1644). They serve as conceptual bookends of a period and concentrated interest in Pythagoras in Spain. Spanish Pythagoreanism was intensely engaged with Greek and Roman antiquity and evidences

the profound influence of Lucian of Samosata's *The Rooster or the Dream* and Apuleius' *The Golden Ass.* The influence of Lucian and Apuleius on Spanish Literature has been studied in great detail; Michael O. Zapala, paraphrasing Antonio Vives Coll, recognizes a "indebtedness of a number of Spanish authors of the Golden Age to Lucian" (1) and explains that "Golden Age Spaniards read Lucian's works in a highly reactive way and gloss his texts with their own insights and concerns" (167). As for Apuleius, P.G. Walsh explains that López de Cortegana's Spanish language translation of Apuleius (1525) exercised "considerable influence on the birth of the picaresque in Spain" (xlv). While the picaresque generally evinces a deeply critical view of Spanish hypocrisy and corruption, Apuleius and Lucian provided the *Diálogo* and the *Siglo* with a model for using Pythagoras to criticize the greed, callousness, and the violence of imperial Spain. Pythagoreanism provided not only the diagnosis, but also the cure: the Florentine humanist Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499), well known to Spanish authors as evidenced by Susan Bryne's *Ficino in Spain* (2015), saw in Pythagoreanism a means to create social harmony. The improbable alloy of a picaresque sensibility, the ethical critique of Pythagoreanism, Ficino's utopian harmonies, and the biting humor of Lucian and Apuleius, placed Pythagoras at the center of a new genre building on satirical and philosophic traditions of the past. Spanish Pythagoras, in the one hundred years between the *El diálogo de las transformaciones de Pitágoras* and *El siglo pitagórico*, constitutes a way of representing, and therefore understanding, the world.

two books contributed to the development of a Pythagorean critique of Spanish society as it was going through drastic changes during the early modern period: *Diálogo de las transformaciones de Pitágoras* and *El siglo pitagórico*. This dissertation focuses on the first Spanish translation of a classical text with Pythagoras as a moral guide (*Diálogo de las transformaciones de Pitágoras*), followed by a jump of about 100 years to *El siglo pitagórico*

and the development of Pythagorean elements to critique more specific aspects of Spanish society. By bridging the gap between these two works of literature a century apart, we observe a shift in utility to address expansion of imperialist practices to internal politics. Pythagoras and Pythagorean elements in literature grow from challenging emerging issues in the first half of the sixteenth century through analogies and classical examples to later address specific concerns for reform of an imperial subject in the seventeenth century.

The chapters of this dissertation are all concerned with the utility, knowledge, and significance of Pythagoras and Pythagoreanism in two works of early modern Spanish literature: *El diálogo de las transformaciones de Pitágoras* and *El siglo pitagórico.* Neither author followed the teachings of Pythagoras. Instead, the anonymous author of the *Diálogo* and Antionio Enríquez Gómez, in *Siglo pitagórico,* found in their representations of Pythagoreanism ways to wrestle with the failures of Spanish society and empire, as well as to imagine a different future. The *Diálogo* risked censure not only for its critique, but for its association with Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466 AD -1536 AD). Erasmus was not a Protestant, but he did hope to reform the Catholic Church; despite his relative moderateness, the Suprema of the Inquisition was worried that Erasmus' influence was spreading in Spain. Indeed, Erasmus had translated one of the Greek source materials for the *Diálogo* into Latin: a satirical text by Lucian of Samosata. Further solidifying the connection between Lucian and Erasmus, Marcel Bataillon explains in his work *Erasmo y España*, that the resurrection of the *diálogo lucianesco* was due to Erasmus who was seen by his contemporaries as a modern Lucian (643). As a result, adaptations and translations of Lucian influenced a great deal of Golden Age Spanish literature (Boadas 135). It was because of Erasmus work that the *Diálogo de las transformaciones* was even possible.

It is worth mentioning that other countries used the lucianesque dialogue and Pythagorean transmigrations to criticize. Giordano Bruno's Cabala del Cavallo Pegaseo (1585) written during his stay in Oxford, is another example of the use of Pythagorean metempsychosis in Renaissance literature. Werner von Koppenfels explains that this dialogue comes from literary trend of "metempsychosis in the tradition of Lucian's Dream and Apuleius Metamorphosis, and a deeply ironical praise of folly of Erasmian descent" (70-71). This tale of transmigration satirizes abuses of religion and learning. Using the transformation of Onorio from a donkey into the philosopher Aristotle and back to donkey. Sydney L. Sondergard and Madison U. Sowell explain that the main character Onorio' "assinity is Pythagorean literally in every sense, even when this leads to amusing contradictions" (xxvii).

Lucian at the beginning of the sixteenth century, was generally considered an acceptable author, but he began to raise flags because his satirical works were used by reformers to criticize what they saw as corruption and hypocrisy in their time. Emulators of Lucian's style were subject to scrutiny and punishment by authorities (Herrero 58-59). The *Diálogo* may have warranted scrutiny both for their association with Erasmus and Lucian for their critical position with respect to the institutions of the state and those in power. However, the *Diálogo* distinguishes itself by adapting to a new circumstance, shifting from Lucian's satire of Roman and Hellenistic context to a Spanish one. The *Diálogo,* Ana Vian Herrero explains, is part of a new trend that in the first half of the sixteenth century "se convierte... en un campo de experimentación para todos aquellos escritores que quieren investigar y experimentar" (23).

Both the *Diálogo* and the *Siglo* provide readers with a flexible and mutable Pythagoreanism, rather than a strict and doctrinaire set of prescriptions. Theirs is a protean Pythagoreanism. Proteus, of course, was and elusive Greek sea god that could divine the future

but was changeable as the sea itself. Much like this mythological figure, the Pythagoras we find in the *Diálogo* and the *Siglo* shares an elusive nature and ability to take on many guises and speak to concerns that range from the illicit expansion of the Hapsburg Monarchy in the Americas to the reform of governmental institutions such as the inquisition. So, how did the age come to belong to Pythagoras according to Antonio Enríquez Gómez? What made the "siglo" "pitagórico"?

To answer these questions, it is necessary to take Spanish Pythagoreanism seriously. Previous research on Pythagoras and Pythagorean elements in Spanish literature have underestimated their impact on the *El siglo pitagórico*[3] for example. Scholars such as Carmen de Fez, Teresa Santos, and Nechama Kramer-Hellinx acknowledge the author's use of transmigrations and Pythagoras but do not give much attention to issues of philosophy or utilization beyond structural elements, such as picaresque metempsychosis, and satirical imitation of Lucian and Apuleius. Teresa de Santos paraphrases Carmen de Fez maintaining that the presence of Pythagorean philosophy is merely structural, or "mero artificio estructurante" (33). Kramer-Hellinx observes the use of the "doctrina pitagórica" to prove its moral thesis "así que el marco pitagórico sirve de medio en que se desarrolla su actitud" (314). This dissertation builds off Kramer-Hellinx observations which links Pythagorean doctrine as a setting to prove a moral argument but goes further to question practical matters and institutions. It is clear from the present scholarship that there is an opportunity to reveal a literary trend which used Pythagoras

[3] Scholars of Antonio Enriquez Gomez continue to study his corpus and meet to add to the corpus of research about this Spanish author. Most notably with collection of essays by José Ignacio Díez Fernández and Carsten Wilke. *Antonio Enríquez Gómez: un poeta entre santos y judaizantes*. Edition Reichenberger, 2015 and more recently, another collection of essays put together by Felipe B. Pedraza Jiménez and Milagros Rodríguez Cáceres, *Enríquez Gómez: política, sociedad, literature.* Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2020.

as a means to reckon with the external and internal issues of early modern Spain in two examples of Spanish literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth century.

So how was Pythagoras seen at this time in Spain? This philosopher represents to Spanish writers not just a concern with the supernatural or mystical but with the pragmatic and political. The ethereal is joined with the temporal much like Pythagoras' appearance in the *Diálogo* and the *Siglo*. It reinforces Spanish moral ideals that run parallel to the philosophy of Pythagoras and also voices a critique of corrupt systems not consistent with his ancient teachings. Pythagoras becomes a way to approach problems of the day by discussing topics that were important to his followers two thousand years before, such as community, justice, compassion, and anti-materialism. By reimagining and reinterpreting this ancient Greek philosopher, Spanish writers encountered a means to engage with their own identity by reckoning with these philosophic traditions and forms. This dissertation argues that protean Pythagoras and Pythagorean philosophy filtered through lucianesque satire provided Spanish writers with a means to challenge moral and social issues that were developing throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth century.

Methodologically, my approach builds on Vincent Barletta's approach in *Death in Babylon* (2010), in which he explores the representation of Alexander the Great in Iberian literature. Early modern Spanish authors, Barletta demonstrates, reinterpreted Alexander as a symbol of triumph, crushing failure, and the dangers of confronting the Other. He shows how "...early modern Iberian writers seeking both to theorize empire and to carve out a path by which mortality might be overcome call on (or, perhaps more accurately, conjure up) Alexander the Great" (Barletta16). In short, Spanish authors tailored Alexander to suit their specific needs. They did much the same thing with Pythagoras and Pythagoreanism. They read themselves through Pythagoras by conjuring up new examples from past representations. In this way,

Pythagoras, much like Alexander the Great, provided early modern Spanish writers with a language and form to engage with their present by adapting a legendary figure from the past. Ana Vian Herrero writes that many imitators, such as the anonymous author of the *Diálogo,* found Lucian's satire adaptable "muchos imitadores sucesivos comprendieron la apertura y adapabilidad del mensaje lucianesco a contextos y sociedades diversos" (105). One example of this adaptability is the change of location of a story about gold-digging ants. Originally, they referred to mythological creatures in India but are transferred in the *Diálogo* to *Las Indias.* The small addition of the plural drastically changes the circumstances from ancient periphery to early modern periphery. The Pythagorean satire shifts to address Spanish imperial expansion and warns about hypocrisy.

Pythagoras and Pythagoreanism were useful to Spanish writers because he was a very well-known philosopher who was also being reinterpreted in Renaissance Europe to suit the purposes of their time. Pythagoras had undergone many reinterpretations over the centuries, from the Neoplatonists to the medieval period. Pythagoras' mutability, as mentioned earlier, made him a protean figure. Marsilio Ficino played a significant part in the diffusion of Pythagorean texts because, as translator, he made Pythagoras more accessible to an eager public. Ficino also found the teachings to be beneficial and valuable to the creation of a new modern world. "Living a Pythagorean life," for Ficino, was "compatible with Christianity," Joost-Gaugier explains (82). Other intellectuals such as Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494) and Johannes Reuchlin (1455-1522) were also inspired by Ficino to study Pythagoras and Pythagoreanism. Mirandola and Reuchlin looked to its potential to unlock an esoteric world through numerology and ties to the kabbalah. Artists and architects such as Leonardo DaVinci, Raphael, Leon Battista Alberti, and Juan de Herrera were all stirred by Pythagorean ideas from his sacred numbers, divine

proportions, and the music of the spheres. Pythagoras was on the minds of many during the Renaissance and this included Spain.

Spanish intellectuals and theologians such as Juan de Pineda (1513-1593), José Luís Vives (1493-1540), and Suárez de Figueroa (1571-1644) also engage with the trends of Renaissance Pythagoreanism. All of whom would recognize Pythagoras as an example of harmony in form and proportion. While similarities existed among readers of Pythagorean works across Europe, as we shall see, the Spanish political context made a significant difference in the construction of Pythagorean critique. In Spanish literature, Pythagoras became a language with which to challenge systems of oppression. For the *Diálogo,* the conversation between Micilo and Pythagoras, in rooster form, is used to question the right to take land and riches from the indigenous peoples in the Americas "plugiese a Dios que fuese liícita su posesión, porque no sé yo con que color ellos pueden tomar a aquella gente el oro que poseen" (204-205). In the *Siglo,* Pythagoras' concept of transmigration shifts to forefront the recycling of bad values that uphold unjust systems, best exemplified by the *malsines,* or inquisitorial informers, that lie for financial gain at the expense of innocent *converso* families. The language of Pythagorean movement poses a way to escape the cycle "deben seguir los que se quisieren librar de la transmigración de los vicios" (Enríquez Gómez 61). In other words, this philosophic movement became a way to imagine new ways to live and organize a society reborn from the classical past.

As opposed to Ficino, who explicitly called himself a follower of the Pythagoras (Joost Gaugier 29), and Reuchlin who connected Pythagoras to the numerical secrets of the Kabbalah. Spanish writers, on the other hand, adapted the Pythagoreanism to reinforce moral ideals and warn against heresies. Spanish intellectuals and theologians learned the histories about Pythagoras and his followers from biographies like Iamblichus's (245 CE- 325 CE) *The life of*

Pythagoras. The philosopher was recognized in Spain as an important historical figure and but ultimately, still a pagan. However, his ideas were still recognized as very important and useful. For example, Juan Luís Vives saw in Pythagoras and Pythagoreanism a way to highlight "social issues and Christian charity" while also holding him in high regard "as a model of morality, particularly in the areas of friendship, sharing, and the law, which for him exemplified the correct way to live" (Joost-Gaugier 50). The Spanish approach to Pythagoras was concerned with using Pythagoras as a Christian model for bettering society morally and pragmatically. It is telling that Vives regarded Pythagoras as a model for the law, because the *Diálogo* and the *Siglo* both will confront issues of legality and morality of systems of authority. Spanish writers found a utility in Pythagoras to reveal truths that they found useful and at times inconvenient. The connection with Pythagoras and picaresque literature in Spain provided a genre of social introspection with which to apply these Pythagorean models.

In the early sixteenth century, picaresque literature was in its incipient stages, giving voice to social critique through semi-autobiographical stories. According to Francisco Rico, the influence of Apuleius in autobiographical fiction about young men who toil and suffer under many masters was common "en los aldaños de 1550, dondequiera que lo vemos, trátase del *Baldo, El crotalón* o el *Diálogo de las transformaciones,* muestra inequívoca dependencia del *Asno de oro*" (57). Starting in 1530, philosophical and satirical representation of Pythagoras and Pythagoreanism offered writers a system and personality to critique societal failings even before *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554). Looking to a tradition of satirical representation of Pythagoras, an anonymous Spanish writer used Lucian as a model for their own version of satirical critique, the *Diálogo de las tranformaciones de Pitágoras*. It was a retelling of a dream conversation between a shoemaker and a rooster that speaks as a reincarnation of Pythagoras. The dialogue exhibits

picaresque like parts inspired by Apuleius's *The Golden Ass,* most notably, in the transformation into a Donkey and its misadventures. Antonio Enríquez Gómez, further develops the picaresque representation of Pythagoras in *El siglo pitagórico,* in which a nameless soul goes on a series of transmigrations in order to find a virtuous body to inhabit. In this book a nameless soul goes on a series of transmigrations in order to find a virtuous body to inhabit. *El siglo pitagórico* has been read by Teresa de Santos, Glen F. Dille, and Rosa Navarro-Durán as pseudo-picaresque because the wandering soul protagonist does not really fit the motive of the classic *pícaro* who navigates a vicious world by learning how to trick in order to survive and eat. The blending of Spanish Pythagorean literature with the picaresque tradition plays an important part in the development of a subversive literature in early modern Spain.

Pythagorean elements of satire infuse the developing picaresque genre with an especially subversive spirit that takes to task powerful societal institutions and professions of authority. For example, in *El* siglo, the spirit inhabits a *malsín,* or informer for the holy office of the inquisition, and not only reprimands the immoral agent for their treachery but implicates a powerful system that incentivizes this behavior. Much as the literature of the picaresque reveals the ills of society and injustice, Pythagorean picaresque sought an answer to similar problems of greed, avarice, and pride by looking to the past for the answers uncovers solutions to problems that have in fact continued to plague society in new and even more fraught forms. From the middle of the sixteenth century to the seventeenth century.

The anonymous *Diálogo de las transformaciones de Pitágoras* is one of the first books to use Pythagoras in as a literary character in Spain. It is a near translation of the Roman satirist Lucian of Samosata's, "The Rooster or The Dream." It changes the context slightly to be relevant to the concerns of early modern Spain but maintains many of Lucian's structural and

plot elements. The story centers on the interactions between a shoemaker and a talking rooster possessed by the soul of Pythagoras. On the surface the interactions between the two serve to promote a humble life and temperance, however, by shifting perspectives, the Pythagorean picaresque become useful to challenge emerging systems of power and expansion in early modern Spain. The satire takes examples from antiquity, such as reference to the Gold-digging hairy ants or the tyrant Dionysus II of Syracuse to argue against the exploitation and conquest of indigenous people as merely financial. Revealing the justification of just war to be hypocritical. Their motivation is not to save souls, but acquire riches, or, as the *Diálogo* says, what colonists truly want is "ver entre las piedras el oro relucir" (204). This theme of the dehumanizing wealth and corrupt hypocritical institutions is further developed in the next *El siglo pitagórico* .

El siglo pitagórico continues from the traditions of its predecessors and takes the literary representation to a new innovative form. For example, the *Diálogo* presents Pythagoras speaking as a rooster who tells exemplary stories[4]. The lessons learned are from the roosters's past lives and his is the voice that guides. What Antonio Enríquez Gómez does is transmute the satire about transmigrations of Pythagoras and centers a nameless soul´s journey instead. The setting is a dream but now grounded in the realities of the Spain of Enríquez Gómez. He changes the form from a dialogue to collection of poems and a prose narrative that exhibit bad examples of early modern Spanish life and society. In *El siglo pitagórico* the speaker and authority changes because the main character is now a nameless spirit of the early modern period. Unlike in the

[4] Beside these two books, *El crotalón* (1553) by Cristóbal de Villalón. It is also inspired by the same satire previously mentioned by Lucian of Samosata, but draws from more sources such as the Bible, Greek and Roman Mythology, and writers of the classical period. It is a less subversive book than its predecessor and intends to instruct about good Christian morals without presenting challenges to Spanish empire building. It is evident that the image of Pythagoras was useful to tell stories, write literature with a purpose, and to facilitate a deeper look at the surrounding world. However, this is work for a future study. A deep study of this book would be useful to see a wider understanding of the phenomenon of Pythagorean interpretation in early modern Spain.

Diálogo in which Pythagoras, in the form of a rooster, is one of two main characters, in the *Siglo*, Pythagoras is nothing more than a disembodied spirit, an absentee guide that appears in the beginning and near the end of the book. Additionally, unlike the sustained conversation of the aptly named *Diálogos*, the protagonist soul of the *Siglo* recounts the many lives of its quest to find a virtuous body. The book consists of chapters named for the bodies that the soul transmigrates into that recount a life from birth till death. Each chapter transmigration highlights the faults in a wide variety of people that contribute to the problems of society. Soul and body debate how these people from court favorites and soldiers to thieves and inquisitorial informers, all contribute to the continued ills of Spanish society. Unfortunately, the protagonist soul is unable to persuade or convince anybody of their sins or faults. At the end of the *Siglo*, after all hope is lost, the soul encounters a virtuous body. This body turns out to be a teacher that gives a final explanation of moral goodness and specifically addresses the critical responsibilities of intellectuals, judges, court favorites, and the general public.

El siglo pitagórico uses the legacy of Pythagoras' belief in remembrance and structure of the transmigration of souls as a means to critique Spanish society and pose the question: what can be learned from the lives of all these individuals? The goal of Enríquez Gómez's book is to confront the issues of his time by interrogating all levels of society. He explains in his note to the readers of the book a desire to interrogate and deny unjust behaviors "reprobando errores" in order find just values "aprobando virtudes" (61). This confrontation uncovers the cruel, selfish, and greedy behaviors that corrupt society and hinder it from living up to its moral potential. *El siglo pitagórico* presents stories about how the soul travels over time and space to learn in order to progress and escape the cycle. Interestingly, the means to achieve this social justice and refocusing of society was to utilize a debunked heretical belief in the movement of souls into

new bodies. Despite this, *falsa doctrina* as he calls it, the presence of Pythagoras values and interest in harmony still play a vital role in the story.

El siglo pitagórico was written during the author's exile (1605 - 1649) in Rouen, France to escape debts and the attention of the inquisition. Enríquez Gómez came from a *converso* family that had converted to Christianity and been targeted for generations under the inquisition for alleged crypto-Jewish practices. In exile he critiqued what he saw as in need of reform and change back in Spain. Away from home, Enríquez Gómez wrote in solidarity with other exiles and groups persecuted by the inquisition. In support of Portuguese independence and friends of Portuguese Jewish heritage, He wrote *El triunfo lusitano* (1641), which gave "cierta esperanza de cambio en el estado de cosas de la península" (Santos 17) for victims of inquisitorial injustice. Literature, Enríquez Gómez exhibits, was a means to promote change. This is why *El siglo pitagórico* has such practical motive. Though the book is fantastic in its setting, it focuses on very pragmatic issues about legal rights and roots of injustice that he himself witnessed. After nearly one hundred years since the *Diálogo de las transformaciones de Pitágoras* used Pythagoras to critique and challenge, Enríquez Gómez transforms the Pythagorean satire to address recent injustices committed against marginalized communities. It is clear that in a *Siglo pitagórico*, the fundamental ideals of Pythagoreans are still a potent means to interrogate injustices. Through witty poetic verses and the pseudo-picaresque prose narrative of Gregorio Guadaña, readers are privy to exploitation of new power structures such as the failing of health care professionals, greedy court favorites, and corrupt judicial agents.

This dissertation begins with a wide look at Pythagoras in Renaissance Europe and then moves to literary analysis of two examples of Spanish literature with clear Pythagorean influences. Chapter 1 "Protean Pythagoras in Renaissance Europe" contextualizes a renewed

interest in understanding and interpretation of Pythagoras and his beliefs throughout Renaissance Europe. Intellectuals, such as Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, Johannes Reuchlin saw in Pythagoras and Pythagoreanism exciting ways to interpret their world. The Pythagoreans of the past became a way to imagine a future of harmony and community. Appreciation for Pythagoras spread was also visible in art of Raphael and architects like Alberti. Contributing to this trend, Spanish intellectuals, like Juan de Pineda, Suarez de Figeroa, Juan Eusebio Nieremberg repurposed this protean Pythagoras to suit their context and needs. This Spanish Pythagoras was both a moral example of Christian charity, temperance, friendship, and a heretic to be torn down for his pagan belief in transmigrations.

Chapters 2 begins the analysis of *El diálogo de las transformaciones de pitágoras* and explores Spanish writers' utilization of Pythagoras and Pythagorean elements to engage with moral and societal problems and examines the lucianesque dialogue. The account of a dinner and subsequent dream of Micilo, one of two main characters, who shows a misguided valorization of wealth and status over the dignity of others. The initial steps to this callous process of dehumanization in which the individual metonymically suggests global problems. Pythagoras, in response, brings up the dangers of this mentality through the example of the tyrant, Dyonisius II of Syracuse. The lesson is made all the more compelling by the Pythagorean virtues of compassion and respect for life that are presented as part of the solution.

Chapter 3: "Fusion of spirit: Sacred Dignity and Radical Compassion toward Humans and Animals" Whereas the previous chapter warned of the dangers of the dehumanizing gaze as a product of excessive greed and ambition, this chapter reverses the gaze and includes respect for human and animal life. A discussion between Pythagoras and Micilo explores the ideal life as a parallel between animal and human existence. This chapter centers on the relationship between

humans and animals by highlighting a vision of ideal existence shared by both and mirrored their suffering. Radical interspecies compassion can be understood through a fusion of human and animal spirit within the structure of transmigrations. Comprehending Pythagorean respect for animals as kindred beings reveals how revolutionary compassion for animals foments a respect for the dignity of mankind.

Chapter 4: "Global implications a Pythagorean case against imperialism" is the final chapter to concentrate on the *Diálogo de las tranformaciones de Pitágoras*. It widens the scope of the critique to encompass the global implications of greed and ambition. There is a continuation of the dehumanizing gaze of Chapter 2 that shows the extent to which this perspective creates wide reaching imperial systems that devalue life. Micilo questions the ethics and justice of imperial possession and the treatment of native peoples. At the time of the *Diálogo*'s publication, Bartolomé de las Casas, "Protector of the Indians," was starting to debate the cruel treatment of the indigenous peoples of the Americas and the legitimacy of the conquest. The analogy of a tyrant king makes a case against imperialism.

With a well-established analysis of the *Diálogo de las tranformaciones de Pitágoras*, we move on to study the legacy of Pythagorean thought and satirical tradition a century later. Pythagoras continued to be relevant and useful as a way to talk about societies hypocrisy and failings. Chapter 5: "What's really Pythagorean about *El siglo pitagórico*?" introduces the author Antonio Enríquez Gómez. A close reading reveals how Pythagorean elements are present in the mechanics of transmigration in the structure of the book, the representation of philosopher himself, the acquisition of knowledge through memory, and the exaltation of Pythagorean virtues. Antonio Enríquez Gómez uses elements of Pythagorean philosophy and Pythagoras himself to support and highlight his argument that the ills of society propagate but can be

addressed and fixed by confronting the sources of these problems. *El siglo* is as the preliminary laudatory sonnet by A.G. De La Coste praises, a "Espejo del ser humano" (Enríquez 68) that puts up a mirror for humanity and its institutions to see its faults. One important issue is the corruption and greed of *Malsines* that bear false witnesses for financial gain. The act is wrong individually, however a systemic apparatus incentivizes this behavior and leads to more of the same injustice. Enríquez Gómez shows a world full of vice and corruption, yet the Pythagorean dream seeks an alternative path to bring out humanity's divine nature and awaken us to our place in a much larger heavenly system that lives up to its Christian values.

After examining how *El siglo pitagórico* engages with Pythagoras and Pythagoreanism the following chapter focuses on a specific section of that book. In chapter 6: "Unlocking the Secrets of the *Tetractys* in *El siglo pitagórico*'s Temporal Academy," the *tetractys* is a geometrical concept that represented perfection to the Pythagoreans. It even functioned as part of an oath that they swore to Pythagoras as the one who gave them this sacred figure or concept. The chapter is an in-depth look at the meaning of a four-way discussion in the style of an academy in the longer transmigration of Gregorio Guadaña . The academy in early modern Spain was an intellectual activity in which differing opinions were debated in order to better understand a topic. Considering the Pythagorean idea of the *tetractys* and tetrads in the book it becomes clear how the structure informs the exchange of ideas and production of knowledge as an exercise in proportion and harmony.

The second examination of the *tetractys* explores another academy. Chapter 7: "Spiritual Academy: Tuning a World of Discord in *El siglo pitagórico*." This chapter is similar to the previous one in that it continues to emphasis the *tetractys* as an important number that signifies perfection. Here the participants in the academy are spirits that speak in tetradic forms. They also

communicate in many voices that eventually compose a harmonious understanding of moral truths. Lastly, a final representation of the *tetractys* drives home the main issues of the book in the final thoughts of a virtuous man. The presentation of the *tetractys* and the final discussion completes the process started in the previous chapter. Much like the tuning of an instrument the message of *El siglo pitagórico* becomes clear. Knowledge is a process of bringing together different perspectives like notes to form a harmonious song.

Finally, "The next transmigration: Pythagoras and Pythagoreanism in Mexico" presents a further glimpse into Pythagoras' impact across the ocean in a new context and newly independent nation. He is now a voice of dissent against the tyranny of Santa Ana in Mexico. In the end, we see how protean Pythagoras and Pythagoreanism continues to be a powerful vehicle to critique and challenge. Now as a Mexican rooster he speaks of a nation plagued by issues that hinder its future potential. Pythagoras is also lauded by prominent Mexican intellectuals such as José de Vasconcelos as an inspiration for reforms to education and society. Perhaps it truly is like the laudatory *décima* for *El siglo pitagórico* by Francisco Luís Henríquez de Mora exclaims, "Queda Pitágoras vivo y el siglo desengañado" (Enríquez 69). By observing the outstanding influence of Pythagorean thought throughout different times, societies, and continents, this book clarifies the many reinventions and manifestations of the protean Pythagoras. This mode of representation presents alternatives of dealing with different problems throughout history. This study recovers the lessons from this tradition and bestows the 21st century reader with several ways to keep investigating the values that rule the human experience.

Chapter One: Protean Pythagoras in Renaissance Europe

Pythagoras is an elusive figure. It is known that he was born in the 6th century B.C.E. on the island of Samos but little else is certain. Modern researchers have also found it difficult to find a definitive Pythagoras. In the search for the historical Pythagoras, Geoffrey Lloyd posits that Pythagoras might be considered "a mystic, a sage, a religious leader, a charismatic figure, a guru, a magus, a wonderworker, a shaman, a philosopher, a cosmologist, a mathematician, [and] a scientist?" (24). In many texts of antiquity, Pythagoras is more legend or myth than a man of flesh and blood. The meaning of his life and work changes over time, challenging us to find him as he transforms, from one age to the next. As a result of this protean nature, he remains a relevant and revered figure even today. To begin this examination of the protean Pythagoras of the Renaissance, we will focus on a broad view of Europe and how interpretations of Pythagoras were formed, reformed, and utilized to emphasize different aspects. Similarly, repurposing and utilization of Pythagoras takes place in Spain to reinforce Christian morality, infuse royal palaces, and give a satirical form to critique social injustices.

This particular search, the focus of this chapter, locates Pythagoras in Renaissance Europe, which was going through a Pythagorean revival with renewed interest in his purported associations in regard to achieving spiritual harmony –through attunement to the divine through number and lifestyle– and their potential applications for society visible in art, architecture, philosophy, and literature. This chapter offers a wide view on the development of Renaissance Pythagoras, throughout the continent, and most importantly by Spanish writers, philosophers, architects, and poets. This chapter begins a study of Spanish literary representations that will be informed by his trend of Pythagorean appreciation. Much like the rest of Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Spain benefited from a long tradition of Pythagorean ideas pasted on

by Neoplatonist writers. Though the goal is not to study historical Pythagoras and Pythagoreanism, a brief overview of this foundation bears fruit throughout the dissertation by understanding the representations of Pythagoras that have filtered through the ages and provide insight in new applications.

To begin a look at Pythagoras and Pythagorean philosophy in Renaissance Europe, it is useful to understand what historians know about him, his philosophy, and how it is transformed over time. Building on this background, we will explore the ways in which Renaissance scholars, theologians, politicians, artists, and architects understood, molded, and employed Pythagoras and Pythagorean philosophy. Renaissance thinkers such as Marsilio Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, and Johannes Reuchlin demonstrate a deep appreciation of Pythagoras and a desire to study cosmology, the music of the spheres, and esoteric knowledge of the universe. Pythagoras, much like the Greek god Proteus, is a mutable being who shifts his form like water filling a glass vessel. It is this adaptability that made Pythagoras significant from ancient times to the present while simultaneously making it hard to pin down precisely what he signifies. Pythagoras is simultaneously famous and difficult to study. Neither Pythagoras nor his contemporaries left behind a written record relating to him or his philosophy. This means that Pythagoras is a figure shrouded in the mists of time and obscured by contradictory information.

Researching Pythagoras has been fascinating and yet frustrating. Accounts of his life are extraordinary. They tell of his miraculous healing (he once healed a sick man with music), infinite wisdom (his followers believed that he possessed a special connection to knowledge of past lives), a founding of a strict way of life (including dietary restrictions such as vegetarianism), and supernatural abilities (bilocation). However, the sources throughout the centuries seem to contradict each other or give different accounts. One example of these

contradictions is the case for Pythagoras´ strict vegetarianism espoused by Eudoxus and Empedocles but denied by Aristotle, who concluded that Pythagoras did not forbid the eating of all animals (Huffman 12).

As I mentioned, what we do know is that Pythagoras was born in the 6th century B.C.E. on the island of Samos. He was famously a proponent of the transmigration of souls, a form of reincarnation in which the soul returned in different forms, sometimes in a human body, but sometimes in the body of an animal. Because believers did not know into which sort of being their soul might transmigrate, they felt it obligatory to respect all life forms. Those life forms might be, after all, their soul's next home. This respect is clear in the popular Pythagorean doctrine that "all animated beings are kin, he taught, and should be considered as belonging to one great family" (Guthrie 126) which connects humans and animals (plants are not mentioned as vessels for transmigration) intimately as inhabited by the same animating soul. He also founded a way of life based on rituals and strict routine that emphasized discipline, silence, and secrecy. This *bios pythagorikos* –or Pythagorean lifestyle– emphasized a life of temperance and anti-materialism over excessive ambition and greed. The clandestine nature of their community incited deep curiosity as well as animosity by outsiders about what exactly might be happening in these Pythagorean communities as well as what secrets they had uncovered. As a result, his followers were later persecuted for their unwillingness to share these secrets; this persecution ultimately led to the destruction of their community in Croton and later Metapontum.

It is surprising, in spite of Pythagoras' fame during in his lifetime, that the first of the writings that describe his life and teaching date from 150 years after his death. This delay in written accounts is not unlike the New Testament gospels that speak of the teaching of Jesus Christ. It was in the centuries that followed that his legend grew to mythic proportions. As a

consequence of his growing legend, in the first and second century B.C.E., it became popular to exaggerate the written representations of Pythagoras and give him sole credit for almost every truth in pre-Socratic Greek philosophy, from the invention of philosophy and music to mathematical theorems and cosmological systems. Even more confusing is the existence of forgeries passed off as having been written by Pythagoras himself, in addition to "pseudo-Pythagorean treatises forged in the name of early Pythagoreans such as Philolaus and Archytas" (Huffman 7). These false accounts surface interspersed with more trustworthy sources in later accounts. However, some of the most reliable evidence about Pythagoras comes from Plato, Aristotle, and their later students.

Due to these exaggerations and forgeries, it is hard to know anything certain about Pythagoras. This multiplicity of representations arises due to the multiple interpretations of the philosopher to meet the needs of the various writers that used him as an authority. Nevertheless, Pythagoras -in the fashion of the transmigration of souls- seems to appear in multiple forms after his death to suit the needs of his subsequent followers and their historical moment. Despite the fact that there are no texts written by Pythagoras himself, and even though the difficulty of proving his personal achievements, his philosophy would be spread by his followers and would continue to be debated centuries after his own lifetime. Although there are many difficulties in studying Pythagoras, it is his impact or influence rather than his corporeal existence and proof of personal achievements that continues to capture our imagination.

Two authoritative studies of Pythagoras are W.K.C. Guthrie's *History of Greek Philosophy,* and Walter Burkert's *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism.* Both books were published in 1962 and present differing views on the philosopher. Guthrie's Pythagoras is a mathematician; he bases his claim on the study of pre-platonic sources. Adversely, Burkert

rejects this notion and attributes these mathematical advances to his later followers who took up his philosophy and name centuries later. More than anything else, Burkert presents Pythagoras as a sage who engaged in religious ritual in an attempt to bring his followers closer to an understanding of the interconnectedness of all things (Lloyd 26). Both historians create a persuasive account of the development of Pythagoreanism but arrive at vastly different conclusions. Today modern historians such as Leonid Zhmud continue to critique the modern consensus of the historical Pythagoras. The main difficulty is that Pythagoras and Pythagoreanism, as Luc Brisson states, share what "we grant on the one hand to science, understood as coherent stable knowledge relating to the sensible world, and on the other hand to religion, understood as the belief in existence of beings who are not perceived in any way by the senses, but whose power is acknowledged and who are a cause for concern" (45). The question of Pythagoras is still not and may never be definitively solved, although not for lack of effort or admiration.

Although there is no definitive image, the multiple representations of Pythagoras are intriguing. The differences between what is thought of Pythagoras today versus what he was known for in his time and the centuries after his death exhibit his protean nature. Today, Pythagoras is seen as a scientist synonymous with mathematics, triangles, and theorems. Pythagoras in the most credible records was famous for four reasons: expertise on the soul after death or transmigration of souls; expertise on religious ritual; a wonderworker that could bilocate; and the founder of a way of life with strict dietary restrictions based on ritual and self-discipline (Huffman 1). The process of change in characterization shows a transformation over time that stripped Pythagoras of his religious elements in favor of rational scientific contributions. In the Renaissance the two characterizations were still very much intertwined as

religious men were also forerunners of scientific thought. Regardless of this evolution, what remains constant about Pythagoras is his multiple interpretations by those who sought to benefit from his famous name.

Going back to the first fantastic reinterpretations of our protean Pythagoras in the first centuries B.C.E., by Neopythagoreans, it was popular to present him in an exaggerated legendary mythological sense. Neopythagorean movement was "an amalgam of early Pythagorean material with the teaching of Plato, the Peripatetics, and the Stoics" (Guthrie 39). Based on some of these accounts, three ancient biographies were written to quench people's curiosity about the enigmatic philosopher. Neopythagorean writers such as Diogenes Laertius (ca. 200-250 CE), Porphyry (ca. 234-305 CE), and Iamblichus (ca. 245-325 CE) gave a varied biographical glimpse and a look into his world. Iamblichus focuses on his way of life and his divine aspects while Diogenes' and Porphyry's biographies focus more on events in his life. What is important to note here is the varied emphasis of each; for Iamblichus, he was a divine soul and concerned with divine mathematics while Porphyry presented an almost messianic figure, "setting him up as a rival to Jesus" (Huffman 4). The three biographies demonstrate Pythagoras' continued popularity and the new interpretations that told different stories to varying effect. Although this makes it hard to locate a historical Pythagoras, it is useful as a means of showing how the philosopher is repurposed to fit the needs of subsequent ages and will continue to be used in this manner. As a result, the story of Pythagoras changes depending on who is telling the story and for what purpose.

The biography by Iamblichus of Chalcis, *The Life of Pythagoras* or *On Pythagorean Life*, exemplifies how the many stories attributed to Pythagoras connect him to larger systems of knowledge. In it, we read both credible histories of Pythagoras and unsubstantiated anecdotes.

Consistent with early sources, Iamblichus' Pythagoras was born in the 6th century B.C.E. on the island of Samos. Iamblichus also describes Pythagoras' early life and his establishment of a community in Croton and later Metapontum. On the more legendary side, Iamblichus describes Pythagoras' journey to all parts of the Eastern Mediterranean world to learn the secret wisdom of Egyptians, Persians, and Chaldeans (Guthrie 61). These connections that Pythagoras makes carry ancient esoteric knowledge to Greece and later the Italian peninsula or what was then called Magna Greacia. Iamblichus points out the esoteric heritage of Pythagoras as part of an unbroken line of divine understanding that was given to man by God. It is unsure if his philosophic teachings were acquired in his travels to Egypt and Babylon. Despite the uncertainty, Pythagoras becomes an inheritor of hidden divine knowledge that gives authority to those who follow his examples and can decipher his secrets, in this case Iamblichus.

Pythagoreans' interaction in Croton society was disputed. Gordon describes the Pythagorean society as lacking political goals in the establishment and maintenance of the Pythagorean social experiment (131). However, Carl Huffman, paraphrasing Catherine Rowett, claims a more integrated structure that held ties with the aristocracy and ruling oligarchy that held political sway for a time (119). This issue makes it difficult to gauge how the community operated, either as a secret society that isolated itself or a community that was much more integrated with the city's elite and eventually exerting political power. He is either a revolutionary philosopher who breaks with society or a respected wise man who formed part of its ruling class. These contradictions are important to recognize in the greater context of this ever-changing representation as it shows a repurposing of Pythagoras that benefited specific ways of thinking, even those that were diametrically opposed. This will be particularly relevant when we look at the Spanish literary context that sees contradictions as well.

Owing to the strict secrecy of Pythagoreans, not everyone could have access to the mysteries of his hidden knowledge. The teachings of the ancient Pythagoreans were not meant for the uninitiated public but needed to be earned through great effort (Guthrie 76). Further obscuring the teachings from outsiders, Pythagoras taught the use of enigma to present greater meaning to his initiates through cryptic *acusmata*, or symbolic phrases. Acquisition of wisdom was a process of hearing and correct interpretation of mysteries. As part of this process, divine knowledge could only be achieved through focused study and adherence to a strict lifestyle. Another important aspect is the presence of the sun as a power source for the intellect. As Pythagoras was associated with the Greek god Apollo, the sun becomes an integral manifestation of the divine. To this end, they practiced quiet meditation bathed in the rays of the morning sun to open them up to the mysteries of nature and the divine. The secrecy and the protection of the wisdom gained in the community were paramount. It was forbidden to divulge the secrets of the master and in one case when his follower Hippasos revealed some of the secrets of Pythagoras (the dodecahedron), he was expelled from the community for the transgression and ostracized (Guthrie 79). It is odd that a group that held so much respect for the greater kinship of humanity is simultaneously so protective of knowledge that could in theory unite mankind. In the end, not everyone could know the secrets of the universe, however they could devote themselves to a more virtuous existence.

According to Iamblichus, the Pythagorean lifestyle placed great importance on living with purpose. Finding harmony with the divine and living a virtuous life was central in this pursuit. Achievement of this end brought a closeness to God represented as mystical number – the monad- and the divine as well as a greater understanding of the inner workings of the universe. The monad will also become an important concept Neopythagoreanism almost 600

years later, which was absorbed by Neoplatonists and used by Plotinus (204 –270 C.E.). To access this wisdom, followers adhered to a strict code of silence, frugality, and ascetic routine. To the Pythagoreans, the material world was a distraction from the true nature of existence and thus would have to be avoided to allow for quiet contemplation and the desired focus on universal truth.

The deification of Pythagoras in later traditions –mainly the writers of the first and second century B.C.E– is clear in the work of Iamblichus. This mythological representation fueled the larger-than-life aspects of Pythagoras and continued to spread the myth of the wise man favored by the gods. His power was seen as gift of Apollo, and he came to be viewed as an incarnation of one of the gods. He was referred to as the Hyperborean Apollo, the Pythian, and Paia. All of these names refer to the divine sun's origin in the north and medicinal properties. The sun played a vital part in his teachings as his followers were told to meditate and converse in the light of the sun. It was from the sun that humanity is literally and metaphorically enlightened. This divine solar connection makes Pythagoras the bringer of divine light and harmony. The divine connection is the aspect that will continue to be utilized and repurposed to give authority, even as Pythagoras loses his association with Apollo in favor of the Christian God in the Renaissance and ultimately is secularized as a rational mathematician and scientist today. Given the representation of Pythagoras as eternal, his physical death seems to be inconsequential and almost glossed over. After his mysterious death –accounts differ as to when and how– his followers continued his lifestyle and contemplation of the inner workings of the universe. Thus, writings of Iamblichus, Porphyry, and Diogenes Laertius over 800 years later are testament to the continuous curiosity about Pythagoras that spread the myth of his divinity and the promise of his lifestyle while associating him with older traditions of knowledge.

In the centuries after the biographies, Pythagorean influences would later manifest themselves in different ways and inspire scholars, architects, musicians, religious leaders, mathematicians, astrologers, and occultists to delve deeper into the greater meaning evident to those who take the time to carefully observe. As a timeless figure, Pythagoras became the protean being who made possible all future interpretations by links to a lineage of ancient knowledge systems and traditions such as Orphism, Egyptian mystery cults, Plato, and Plotinus. It is partly by Iamblichus's interpretations "in which Pythagoreanism and Platonism were inseparable and rooted in Orphic theology" (Brisson 57). The process of spreading this version of Pythagoras as part of a longer tradition of inheritor of ancient knowledge and mentor to later wisdom was more widely accepted due to writers such as Iamblichus. The assimilation of Pythagoras into other traditions was one of the main reasons for his longevity. As a result, the path of this knowledge of Pythagoras is durable and extends itself for centuries. Brisson recognizes this longevity in key moments of transferring this knowledge such as "in the neo platonic school at Athens and Alexandria, then in the Byzantine world" and influence of intermediaries such "Marsilio Ficino, was transmitted to the Renaissance West" (57). In the end, protean Pythagoras was reborn over and over again into new ages and continued to be influential to those who sought to advance knowledge.

Owing to the tradition of reinterpretation of Pythagoreanism, Pythagoras would be just as important during the Renaissance as he was in antiquity. Michael J.B. Allen owes the complexity of understanding Pythagoras and Pythagorean wisdom in the Renaissance to the fact that "leading philosophers and historians of the age read a host of later developments and assumptions back into their source material, and thereby recreated Pythagoras in their own image, one invested with their own enthusiasm and preoccupations" (435). Luckily for this

study, it does not seek a connection to the pure historical truth of Pythagoras, but rather to show the influence of his mutable spirit and the resultant true enthusiasm of his reinterpretations during the Renaissance throughout Europe.

What is fascinating about Pythagoras in the Renaissance, and what shall be observed, is that his representation continues the tradition of his repurposing and takes on even more innovative interpretations and applications. Protean Pythagoras would be utilized in new theoretical and pragmatic ways. Some scholars and theologians wanted to create a more just society and understand humanity's role and potential in relation to God's universe. In order to achieve their goal, they cast Pythagoras as a unifying element of all knowledge traditions and a conduit to esoteric wisdom. Pythagoras thus became a teacher and guide for the new men of the Renaissance. Others such as artists and architects desired to use his focus on harmony through proportion and number to construct perfect structures that reflected their humanist ideals and notions of a modern world.

Renaissance philosophers, scholars, mathematicians, and architects such as Marsilio Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, and Leon Battista Alberti came to inherit all the past interpretations and representations of Pythagoras and reformulated them and repurposed them in new ways. Renaissance humanists sought the pure wisdom of the classics, as it was believed that great wisdom had been lost to the crushing forces of time and needed to be recovered in classical texts. It is this fervent search for meaning in antiquity that leads to a renewed interest in Pythagoras and the philosophies he inspired. Thus, the early Renaissance was essential in the study of the philosopher because of the union of interested scholars and because large quantities of newly found Greek manuscripts full of primary sources were made available. It is from these sources

and Greek scholar émigrés that Pythagorean ideas would come to flourish throughout Europe again and in new forms.

One of the new ways that informed the Renaissance version of Pythagoras followed old patterns of looking back at him with present preoccupations, as J.B. Allen has pointed out earlier. The new issue was how to reconcile Pythagoras' pagan beliefs with the Catholic church. The answer was to make them one. The Renaissance initiated an intense push to fuse classical authority with Christian themes in the church. Christian theologians such as Clement of Alexandria, St. Jerome, Saint Augustine, Cassiodorus, and Isidore of Seville came to revere Pythagoras and his teachings as a moral authority and as the first to recognize the soul's immortality. Pythagoras was respected as the teacher of Plato and a bastion of moral virtue. In addition, he was recognized as an intellectual guide for all mankind in the pursuit of a virtuous life. He is also seen as foretelling some of Christianity's most important teachings such as a need for temperance, generosity, and love of your neighbor. By associating the teachings of Jesus Christ in conjunction with his created an unofficial "Saint" Pythagoras. He was one of these classical authorities or fonts of ancient knowledge so important to the Renaissance ideal of finding harmony and constructing a new society based on classical forms. His teaching and subsequent followers would come to influence a great many disciplines, such as music, art, architecture, philosophy, mathematics, geometry, astronomy, medicine, magic, and erudition. To the Renaissance mind he was absorbed into the Christian worldview with relative ease, just as he had been reinterpreted so many times before.

Aside from the rediscovered sources that were newly translated from Greek to Latin, some of Pythagoras' teachings continued to be known in western Europe in the form of moral teachings that aligned with many Christian beliefs. These teachings continued to be passed from

the medieval period to the Renaissance in the *Golden Verses* as pithy adages of how to live a virtuous life in a vice-ridden world. A testament to Pythagoras' position of moral authority is evident in the many publications and widespread understanding of the *Golden Verses* as tenets of Christian behavior. This collection of enigmatic verses contains a list of dictums that could lead a person to live a more virtuous life. This interest is evident in Fillipo Beroaldo Senior's *Symbola Pythagorae* (1503)[5], published in Bologna, as it showcases Pythagorean moral truths as hidden in the realm of the symbolic or enigmatic. The Church subsequently interpreted the Pythagorean truths for the benefit of the masses and the betterment of Christian society.

In adding to the moral authority of Pythagoras, he maintained his associations to past knowledge traditions while staying relevant to the builders and thinkers of the Renaissance. He was still represented as a crucial link in the chain of divine esoteric knowledge that stretched from pure ancient sources through the sensitive minds that could connect and share it with the worthy or initiated. All in all, the name of Pythagoras in Renaissance Europe carried a strong air of authority and understanding for scholars, theologians, architects, and alchemists. In accordance with this authority, simply mentioning that he had said something in Latin, "Ipse Dixit" could make one's point more valid. Moreover, his teachings and influence would be discussed and inspire the pursuit of greater harmony of the soul, body, and polis. Pythagoras throughout the Renaissance is seen as many things, but common to all is an understanding of his importance in the foundations of man's pursuit of harmony and virtue. The writings associated with Pythagoreans would be part of the rebirth of classical ideals in the imagining of a new and early modern world.

[5] This text was published and made available in the appendix of *Pythagoras and Renaissance Europe: Finding Heaven* by Christiane Joost-Gaugier. (pp. 248-265)

One of the best means of seeing how Pythagoras was perceived in the Renaissance is through depictions of art[6]. Art is a useful tool because it shows visual and symbolic cues of what is important about Pythagoras. These images of Pythagoras show a man working to understand and create harmony, pursuits that were also of great importance in the Renaissance. In fact, Johannes Reuchlin (1455-1522), a Hebraic scholar and classicist who devoted himself to revealing esoteric Pythagorean ideas as part of the Jewish Kabbalah, may have had access to a sculpture of Pythagoras in the cathedral in Ulm, modern day Germany (Joost-Gaugier 151). In the Ulm sculpture, by Jörg Syrlin the Elder, Pythagoras is playing a lyre and singing in Renaissance garb while staring longingly at the altar. The anachronistic clothing choice makes it clear that Pythagoras was a figure of the Renaissance and still relevant and in fashion. Pythagoras is one of only four figures that are presented in three-dimensions and is one of eighty-nine exemplary figures of the Catholic church, Greek myth, and legend. This distinction is curious because Pythagoras was a pagan, but his placement fits in with the tradition to reinvent classical authorities as essentially Christian. Represented as the founder of music, Pythagoras' image recalls his ability to cure social ills of the soul by song. Through music one could heal the soul of laziness, ignorance, excessive desire, and intemperance. Access to this image may have inspired deeper appreciation in Reuchlin to discover what other secrets Pythagorean ideas were to be discovered. The art ultimately demonstrates how accessibility to representations of Pythagoras in a public space kept him in the minds of those that beheld it.

Although most people were not reading texts by Pythagorean writers, the public gained familiarity with Pythagoras through images that they could understand quickly.

[6] I am indebted to the impressive work of Christiane Joost-Gaugier's *Pythagoras in Renaissance Europe: Finding Heaven* for providing examples of Pythagoras in the art examples that showcase the aesthetic presence of Pythagoras throughout Renaissance Europe.

The commissioning of art that commemorates Pythagoras is testament to the desire of Renaissance patrons of the arts to celebrate Pythagoras as a person worthy of admiration. As a result, he is portrayed in Renaissance art as a wise teacher, discoverer of arithmetic and music, as well as practitioner of magic through the use of numbers. Joost-Gaugier gives a fascinating account of Renaissance images that help conceptualize Pythagoras and the elements with which he is associated through woodcuts, sculptures, and paintings (145 – 161). Through her work we see Pythagoras depicted often speaking to a mentee or seated in study. The first images are connected to music. Sculptor Luca della Robbia represents him as a bearded man listening to the sounds emitted from the striking of hammers against an anvil in his *Pythagoras Discovering Music* (1437). The other images with musical instruments and hammers demonstrate the importance of Pythagoras in the fields of harmony and music. A woodcut from Franchino Gaffurio's *Theorica musicae* (1492) shows Pythagoras testing the progression of harmonies on bells, glasses of water, strings, and flutes all of various sizes. These images make clear the association with music and its discovery through observations as important moments to enshrine in collective memory. Recalling the image in Ulm, the importance of musical study is primarily to make better Christians by healing their souls of vices. Thus, Pythagoras' pursuits illuminate valuable lessons that can be accessed by all.

Aside from images associated with music, Pythagoras is portrayed as a respected teacher and philosopher. One example is in the bas-relief by Luca della Robbia, *Pythagoras Teaching Arithmetic to Plato* (1437); in which Pythagoras is shown teaching a student (Plato) who is counting on his fingers. In addition, a woodcut from Fillipo Calandri's *Arithmetica* (1491) depicts Pythagoras holding a tablet with the numbers 200 and 400 while smaller almost childlike figures are seated below him in a receptive and engaged posture. Above him is a circle with an

inscribed inverted triangle. This representation of Pythagoras as teacher and investigator is very widespread in Renaissance Europe and gives us a clear understanding that they saw themselves as students who could harness the knowledge of Pythagoras in new ways.

The final depictions that I will mention are of Pythagoras as a great philosopher. The Renaissance painter Rafael portrays Pythagoras as studious man kneeling and writing in a book in the famous, *School of Athens* (1510). The philosopher is shown to be among the great minds of antiquity and ancient Greece. He is thus part of a long heritage that has made the world of the Renaissance possible. Similar to Reuchlin, this anachronistic painting may have influenced Miguel de Cervantes to use Pythagorean elements such as the tetractys in *Don Quixote* (de Armas 56). Later in this dissertation the use of the tetractys will be explored further in the work of Antonio Enríquez Gómez's *El siglo pitagórico*.

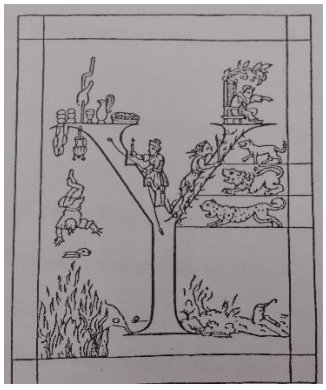
The last image displays a mythical Pythagoras in the work by Annibale Carracci, *Bearing the Globe* (1595). This depiction of Pythagoras alongside Hercules bearing the globe on his shoulders, places him on equal footing as a demigod. So, Pythagoras is connected in art to a historical and mythic past. All these images show what the builders of the Renaissance wanted to achieve: the realization of the next step in the long line of men like Pythagoras. The artistic representations of Pythagoras as a teacher of harmony through number, healer, and unifying philosopher are consistent with the subsequent interpretations of scholars and theologians. Renaissance thinkers in Europe cast Pythagoras as a divine figure who could guide mankind toward virtue and a more harmonious existence. Pythagoras's teachings bear mystical power and esoteric truths that offer his followers a glimpse at the inner workings of God's creation. This Pythagorean quest for truth and the promise of knowledge would come to shape the ideas and

lives of the intellectuals of the Renaissance, such as Ficino and Pico della Mirandola and Johannes Reuchlin.

In the Renaissance "true" wisdom was the product of piety, knowledge, and moral discipline (in accordance with the Pythagorean's interpretation of wisdom as divine insight). To the great minds of the Renaissance, Pythagoras was the purveyor of ancient ideas and ideals that would prove instrumental in the creation of a man reborn in the truth and harmony of a lost golden age. These ideas included Peace, Harmony, Concord, Ethical Conduct, Astrology, Frugality, Altruism, Alternative Medicine, and Meditation. They would use Pythagoras' teachings, "to articulate and create a unified world of their own design, to broaden Christian concerns, and to create a new idealism based on the concept of Pythagorean harmony" (Joost-Gaugier 3). For these reasons the fusion of his philosophy and ideas later attributed to him was deemed useful and necessary to the Christian scholars, intellectuals, and theologians of Renaissance Europe.

Pythagoras nearly became a saint to his Renaissance acolytes.
It is from this quasi beatification of Pythagoras, and acceptance by Christian theologians, that he came to be seen as a Christian moral arbiter and intellectual guide. In other words, he was an authority of the path toward living a Godly and virtuous life in the Christian sense and no longer just pagan. Early Renaissance writers like Florentine scholar, Coluccio Salutati (1331-1406), write about Pythagoras in this way. Joost-Guagier explains how works such as *De Laboris Herculis* (1390) uses the epic story of Greek hero Hercules and his labors to exemplify a difficult Christian search for moral and divine truths (19). Alongside this Christianization of the labors of Hercules, he discusses the Christianization of a story about the symbolic origin of the Greek letter Y. There is an anecdote of the letter "Y" as invention of Pythagoras to illustrate the

necessary choice of virtue over vice and its implications on the soul's eternal life. The bifurcation of the letter symbolized a split path between virtue and vice.



The Pythagorean Y
Geoffrey Tory's *Champfleury*, 1529. (Taylor)

Both in the Christianization of Hercules and in the story of the moral Y, the soul's eternal journey was of vital interest and controversial for Christian thinkers and scholars. They agreed on the concept of an immortal soul that is responsible for its free choice between virtue and vice but not on the transmigration of the soul into new bodies. Despite the inconsistencies, Pythagoras was assimilated into a Christian framework with little difficulty. Because of the work begun in the early Renaissance to spread Pythagorean moral virtues, attention to Pythagoras would flourish and cultivate new applications.

Following the models set by early Renaissance understandings of Pythagoras as moral authority by Colluccio Salutati, Poggio Paggiolini, and Francesco Filelfo, Pope Pius II (Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini) saw the moral teaching of Pythagoreans as ideal in the education of Christian men. The fact that the most influential figure in one of the most powerful institutions sought to implement parts of the Pythagorean lifestyle within the Catholic faith should make clear the importance of Pythagoras to Renaissance society. In accordance with the practice of frugality and quiet contemplation of the Pythagoreans, Pope Pius II encouraged young men to

restrain their appetites and desires to live more virtuous and godly lives, "boys would do well to curb their wanton behavior by following the methods taught by Pythagoras for restraining their reckless appetite" (Joost-Gaugier 23). Thus, the many Catholics who made up the Holy See were encouraged to follow the path set by Pythagoras and his Pythagoreans to achieve a godly life. The admiration of Pythagoras and desire to emulate aspects of his philosophy inspired some of the most influential scholars of the Renaissance to go beyond moral applications to utilize Pythagoras' philosophy to create a more harmonious world based in numerology and sacred geometry.

Renaissance Pythagoras became more accessible because of one scholar's desire to uncover the esoteric knowledge of classical Greek texts. In Florence, the Medici rose to positions of wealth and political power and were patrons of some of the greatest humanists and artists of the Renaissance. One of those under their patronage was the humanist scholar and priest, Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499). Ficino would prove to be the first and most influential of the Renaissance scholars of Pythagorean esoteric knowledge. Ficino translated primary sources from Greek to Latin. These translations helped to bring the teaching of Pythagoras to a wider readership. This opened up information about his moral teaching, understanding of the nature of the soul, and divine comprehension of the universe to a wider audience.

Letters to his contemporaries demonstrate Ficino's great appreciation for Pythagorean practices. He believed that these practices helped heal the soul and body, created harmony and closeness to God, and promoted brotherly love and justice. According to Ficino, one of the Pythagorean ways to come closer to God is in the practice of frugality and avoidance of materialism. By stripping away the material world's importance –by avoiding avarice and practicing temperance– man becomes free to access the divine. Ficino himself adhered to this

principal and applauded its practice by other Christians: “Entreating others to follow Pythagorean tenets…Living a Pythagorean lifestyle is not, he elucidates, incompatible with Christianity” (Joost-Gaugier 82). Recalling Pope Pius II and his proposed education for young men, Pythagorean teachings on moral living in the pursuit of virtue were mostly consistent with Christian views on frugality and morality. Ficino promoted Pythagorean works in various fields, though primarily, moral teachings, theological understandings, medical procedures, and musical study. As Christianity sought to define and promote moral goodness, the teachings of Pythagoras helped to support the authority of such practices. As a result, a Pythagorean life became a Christian model.

In pursuit of this ideal, Ficino recognized the necessity to feed oneself in humble ways and concentrate on harmonious living as the Pythagoreans and Christ taught. Ficino championed many tenets of Pythagoras and stated that after Christ he followed Pythagoras. According to Joost-Guagier, the conflation of Christ and Pythagoras is even more clear in his letters to contemporaries (82). In his correspondence, Ficino used the harmonious imagery of the Last Supper and the marriage in Cana as examples of humble meals of fish and bread to argue against extravagance and excess. The union of biblical stories as essentially in agreement with Pythagorean principles helps to make Ficino’s case that Pythagoras was a precursor to Christianity. Moreover, admiration for Pythagoras also supported other important writers and philosophers to whom Ficino also wanted to give more credence, namely Plato.

The link between Plato and Pythagoras intrigued Ficino as an example of the transfer of sacred knowledge of the soul and sacred numbers to his present. Ficino’s masterpiece, the *Theologia Platonica* (1482), concerns itself with Plato’s philosophy on the immortality of the soul as inherited by Pythagorean ideas. He illuminates the Pythagorean legacy in Platonic

concepts of sacred number formations as essentially Christian, “Plato identified a monadic God who was the ‘One’ doctrine he learned from his Pythagorean teachers who associated it with Apollo. This principle, Ficino tells us, was passed on to Christian theologians” (Joost-Gaugier 86). Moreover, Ficino explains the anticipation of the Christian Trinity as the perfected notion of Plato’s three primordial causes based upon a “Pythagorean systematization of the world” (86). The discovery of these numerical representations of the divine excited Ficino because it allowed him to be part of this transfer of knowledge in which he could now follow in the footsteps of Pythagoras and Plato. There is no doubt that he succeeded, consequently paving the way for others to discover Pythagorean possibilities.

Ficino noticed the footprints of Pythagoras as a being who had traveled through the ages to inspire others by his lifestyle and legend. This journey of reinterpretations can be likened to the doctrine of transmigration of souls, as Pythagoras was reborn in the subsequent ages to open a path for others of kindred motivations. Consistent with this journey, in Ficino’s *Theologia Platonica* Pythagoras is presented as a traveler through space and time. Allen also calls him a “soul-voyager, a philosopher who had undergone a sequence of incarnations even at times into animals and plants” (441). These subsequent incarnations speak to the protean nature that allows Pythagoras to provide various points of authority. Focusing on the transmigration of souls, Pythagoras was deemed an authority due to his memory of lives and lessons lived. However, the true power of Pythagoras’ soul is its flexibility. Because his philosophical tenets were not an organized religion but a collection of beliefs about lifestyle and desire to understand the universe through number.

The idea of transmigration of souls clashed with the teachings and understandings of Christian thinkers precisely because “it gave rise to fundamental cosmological questions about

what it is to be a seeker in a world of becoming, about our connections with other lives in an ordered and harmonious cosmos" (Allen 443). The issue comes from the understanding of the nature of the soul. To Catholics, the rational soul of man was different than animals and was created by God in his image. In addition, the body and soul are more intimately connected than in simple corporeal receptacles for transmigrations. The notion was mostly ignored or dismissed by Christian thinkers as simple misunderstanding or follies of an otherwise great classical mind. Ironically, the transmigration of souls, the idea for which Pythagoras was most famous in antiquity, was rejected as heretical and downplayed, even by Ficino. The transmigration of souls fundamentally changes man's favored position as chosen by God because it emphasizes the intimate link between all of creation and God. The multiple existences, made possible through the transmigration of souls, provides a greater understanding of the all-encompassing interconnectedness of the cosmos "Such reincarnations and soul-journeys obviously entail a belief in the immanence of the divine as well as the connectedness of humanity with all present life and with past and future time" (Allen 443). As a result, the world is not a resource given by God to be used at our discretion, but a sacred world endowed with the same divine spirit that animates our bodies. Despite the heretical nature of the transmigration of souls, Ficino's work and translations of Pythagorean works served to influence his contemporaries. Protean Pythagoras was finding new Renaissance forms.

Largely thanks to the tireless work of Ficino, other great scholars such as Pico della Mirandola, Johannes Reuchlin, Lefèvre d'Étaples, and Erasmus of Rotterdam were inspired to delve deeper into Pythagorean beliefs and make their own reinterpretations. Pico della Mirandola also recognized the path to divine truth by employing Pythagorean ideas. Much like Ficino and Pope Pius II, Pico appreciated Pythagorean doctrines on poverty, frugality, peace, and friendship

and sought to promote these ideas while living them himself. However, his primary goal was to find the unity of all sacred knowledge. Pico sought to unify philosophy by reconciling Platonists and Aristotelians to reveal the light of true knowledge in concord and harmony. Pico most admired the importance of the unifying concept of the monad –the one all— encompassing God who contains all within his mystic number as architect of a perfectly structured universe. Further explaining his position, "Pico's Pythagoreanism is encapsulated in his advice to those who wish to discover the concord inherent in all philosophical works: Master number symbolism, enigma, and secrecy" (Joost-Gaugier 88). By these means, Pico believed one could discover the secrets of the universe that unite all knowledge under a single system. He highlights the mystical significance of number formations in connection with Christian ideas. One example is the importance of Pythagorean philosophy of the triangle as a manifestation of the unity in the Holy Trinity. Yet another example is the importance placed on the quaternary or *tetraktys* as numerical microcosm of the universe and fount of all knowledge, so important to Pythagoreans that it constituted an oath of allegiance. These sacred symbolic numbers helped Pico to theorize the union of all knowledge traditions including religions other than Christianity. In later chapters we will analyze *Siglo pitagórico* with this sacred number formation in mind.

Consistent with Pico's unifying project, the Kabballah of Jewish tradition was also useful because of its symbolic numbers that made up the whole of existence in divine truth. To Pico, "Truth is proved by numerological patterns" (Joost-Gaugier 89). These patterns of numbers gave a glimpse at the harmony of all knowledge as linked in the unbroken chain of wisdom from antiquity to the Renaissance. In essence what Pico truly sought was a universal knowledge that could unlock the secrets of existence, a system that contained everything within its infinite structure. Although centuries later, the idea is hard to even contemplate but Jorge Luis Borges

provides a glimpse at the very same concept of the "All" of the Kabbalah in the short story *The Aleph* –first letter of the Hebrew alphabet and representative of the hidden infinite aspect of God– which contains within itself all experience, consciousness, and history occurring simultaneously. This is essentially the idea behind the monad or the one as God of Pythagorean, and Neoplatonist, philosophy that Pico want to understand. Returning to Pico's objectives with Pythagorean knowledge, this information allowed the potential to cure the ills of the conflicting forces of the worldly and the celestial, represented in the dyad of opposing forces. Much like his contemporaries, the allure of Pythagoras was a desire to find harmony and how to attune humanity to a universe almost beyond our comprehension. In the end, the protean Pythagoras for Pico was a unifier of seemingly disparate truths that offered a glimpse into esoteric truths waiting to be discovered.

The Italian city-states of Florence and Rome were not the only areas to have new perspectives on and interests in Pythagoras. The writings and fame of Ficino and Pico would spread and inspire new communities of scholars with various interests in Pythagoras and Pythagorean thought in other European countries. In Germany, following the lead of Pico, Johannes Reuchlin delved deeper into the Kabbalistic components and what he understood to be Abrahamic roots of Pythagorean thought. Reuchlin's greatest work, *De Arte Cabbalistica* (1517), dedicated to Pope Leo X, sought to prove a Jewish patrimony through Moses and delve into the enigmatic studies of sacred numbers and the secret harmony of the celestial. An example of the Jewish foundations of Pythagoras is explained in the possible influence for the *tetraktys* – equilateral triangle with four points making up each side to which the Pythagoreans saw perfection in number and swore an oath. Reuchlin explains how Pythagoras took the idea from the Jewish Tetragrammaton (Joost-Gaugier 124).

He also wrote about occult applications of what Ficino called natural magic and esoteric truths about the organization of the universe according to key numbers and mathematic principles. To Reuchlin, all this knowledge needed to be shared for the benefit of society. He also mentions the letter Y and the choice of virtue over vice, “Reuchlin proclaims that this letter enables humans to achieve a harmony reflecting that of the universe” (124). After observing the representation of Ficino, Pico and now Reuchlin, the protean reinterpretations of Pythagoras become more distinct. To Ficino, Pythagoras enhances Christianity and provides a means to understand the harmony of the celestial in concord with the earthly. Pico sees Pythagoras as key to unifying all knowledge and faiths as part of the same system. Finally, Reuchlin, like Pico, seeks unity, but his emphasis is on Jewish Kabbalah and its influences on Pythagoras.

Other parts of Europe would also cultivate a fascination with Pythagoras with similar but contexts of their own. In France the scholars inspired by these revived teachings of Pythagoras also took on an esoteric and occult perspective. The universe was a puzzle composed of numbers that could be unlocked to discover the true inner workings of nature. Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (1455-1536) adopted these perspectives and looked to find a numerical harmony in classical and esoteric writers such as Pythagoras. The French writer was able to venture into these uncertain philosophical waters and avoid outright persecution by the church due to the work of Ficino and the protection of the French king Francis I. The writers of antiquity were shown to be compatible with Christianity, going as far as to prognosticate Christianity’s eventual arrival and triumph. Across the English Channel the English thinkers did not have such an overt appreciation for Pythagoras’ esoteric teachings but did mention him and respect his mathematical attributes and moral authority. Thomas More (1478-1535) admired Pythagoras for his truths and presentation of the morally virtuous path but did not go as far as Ficino in the pursuit of esoteric truths and

magical power. Dutch philosopher Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466-1536), also a close friend of More, was also an admirer of Pythagoras though he never labeled himself a Pythagorean. As many others mentioned above, he did respect Pythagoras as an authority on morality and contemplated the immortality of the soul as the philosopher had done. It is evident that Pythagoras was being talked about and admired by important philosophers throughout Europe. Furthermore, this diffusion made possible the reinterpretations of Pythagoras that went beyond the theologians and scholars. As we shall now see, Pythagorean ideas were applied in the production of Renaissance ideals of public planning and architecture as well. The fruits of this revival of Pythagoras would be erected in the harmonious architecture of palaces, churches, and public spaces.

The influence of Pythagorean harmony was not only present in the moral and theological but also in the practical and artistic. Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472) was a humanist, author, poet, priest, philosopher, mathematician, and architect who understood Pythagorean teaching to be crucial in the construction of an ideal modern space. Alberti was one of the first architects of the Renaissance to hypothesize how harmony should be made manifest in the design and construction of buildings. Alberti had a very humanistic education, which included more than just practical applications of building. In line with the education put forth by Pythagoreans, the modern architect should understand philosophy, history, geometry, medicine, music, astronomy, and justice. All of these fields were necessary to construct a new modern world while considering not only the building process but also the purpose of the edifice, societal implications, number symbolism, and proportion to bring harmony. In concordance with one of the Pythagorean teachings of virtue, Alberti confessed to an admiration of frugality and parsimony. Pythagoras preached a disdain for luxury and excess as vices, which were born of

intemperance and avarice. Thus, his buildings would emphasis simplicity and plainness in design. In keeping with Pythagorean ideals, he aspired to build in a pure and harmonious nature in the construction of domestic and religious structures.

Alberti understood that form and harmony are achieved in the balancing of opposites. In practice, this balancing of parts of a structure establishes harmony through proportion. The creation of harmony through number, form and proportion mirrors the harmony that is naturally present in the composition of the universe, thus the "like attracts like" principle of the Pythagoreans is made manifest. This harmony was paramount to Alberti, who stressed its importance in understanding modern architecture. In the construction of buildings, each part depends on the other so that nothing can be subtracted without disrupting the whole of the edifice. In keeping with this idea of the ideal, Alberti emphasized these forms in the structure of an ideal church. The church was to be the centerpiece of the city. It needed to sit on a platform to elevate it above the earthly structures as adornment of the city and perfect focal point. The ideal structure of a church was a circle. He claimed in concordance with Pythagoras that the circle held a particularly beautiful and pure aspect. The structure in the form of a circle would elicit from the spectator an impressive sweeping view of infinite harmony. The circles, having no beginning or end, would inspire the attendee to contemplate the ineffable wonder of the divine.

Following in the vein of Alberti, Luca Pacioli (1447-1517), a Franciscan friar and intellectual, came to view Pythagorean principals in the construction of harmony as modern. Pacioli wrote the *Summa arithmetica* (1494) and praised Alberti for the application of mathematics in the fields of astrology, proportion, and architecture. Pacioli believed so earnestly in the importance of modern architecture that he scorned some architects who continued to build in the Gothic style, calling them "a disgrace to the discipline." He added that they "therefore will

never know the joy that Pythagoras experienced when he discovered the true proportion of the straight lines of the right triangle…these architects make torturous and deformed buildings" (Joost-Guagier 112). This comment makes it very clear that Pacioli believed that the Pythagorean ideas of number and proportion are so important that to not adhere to them is sacrilege in the art of building. The intellectuals of Renaissance society were striving to achieve harmony not only of the mind, but also of spirit and stone. The manifestation of harmony was paramount and any architect who did not reach back to the classical truths to build toward this modern age was not only retrograde but worse, a traitor to his craft and art.

Even Leonardo Da Vinci (1452-1519), one of the most important and well-known names of the Renaissance, also had connections to Pythagorean tenets. Da Vinci and Pacioli collaborated on one of Pacioli's works, for which he provided illustrations. Da Vinci also held the work of Pythagoras in high regard and recognized his authority as one of the great classical minds to be followed, revived, and ultimately applied to the creation of a new modern world. As an artist, Da Vinci acutely understood the importance of number and proportion in achieving beauty and harmony. Similar to many other Renaissance thinkers, he understood that the correct numerical organization could bring man closer to the divine and celestial. Renaissance artists sought to elicit awe and the overwhelming nature of the divine through their various mediums. As Pacioli was trying to accomplish this feat through the study of mathematics and architecture, Da Vinci attempted to capture pure beauty in a variety of mediums.

Another Pythagorean influence on Da Vinci is evidenced in his disdain for the material and his vegetarianism. Da Vinci saw the accumulation of material goods and luxury as morally wrong and sought out a simpler life of learning and spiritual growth. Although this can be attributed to his Neoplatonist philosophy, the truth of the matter is that it is firmly based on

crucial tenets of Pythagoreanism and fits perfectly in the teachings of Pythagoras as the mentor of Plato. Da Vinci also was a staunch defender of life and animals. He strongly opposed the murder of what he saw as innocent creatures to vainly feed our own egocentrism. The killing and mistreatment of animals was a product of this valorization of the material over the spiritual. Pythagoras recognized that animals were our brothers and had souls, so too did Da Vinci see their death as fratricide. He noted with indignation the excessive and wanton mistreatment of animals as a sin that led to man's cruelty towards even himself.

Up to this point we have observed a broad view of the primary players and representations of the Protean Pythagoras. The path of this dissertation seeks to understand how Pythagoras comes to be important in Renaissance Europe and consequently in Spain. We began with a consideration of how Pythagoras was understood in antiquity and what we know of his life and the subsequent reinterpretation of his life to suit those who used his name for authority or those who truly considered themselves followers inspired by his doctrines. In the Renaissance, scholars in Europe used his image as a paragon of moral virtue, guide to a virtuous life, and unifier of all knowledge to foment social changes in the construction of a new modern ideal. Pythagoras became a way for Renaissance thinkers to push the envelope: artists to remake him to model of the time; architects and urban planners to create new harmonious modern spaces and structures in line with Pythagorean ideals.

All of the above was taking place in Spain as well: Spanish scholars presented a Pythagoras who was useful in the improvement of society; architects built impressive palaces and holy structures with Pythagoras in mind to create a world in harmony with the divine. Recalling the fact that Pythagoreanism was not a religion but a series of beliefs and concepts, calling oneself a Pythagorean was not a prerequisite to appreciate and apply the ideas even when

some aspects were not taken seriously. For the sake of this dissertation, Spanish interpretations of Pythagoras appear in literary texts that utilize Pythagoras in forms that are consistent with his philosophic and satirical representation and yet tied intimately to the Spanish context and point of view. From the writings and works of Spanish admirers we know that Protean Pythagoras is fully alive in Spain.

Although Early Modern Spain found itself in opposition to the protestant northern countries politically and institutionally, their scholars were very familiar with works beyond their countries. Rather than ignore the writings of other Renaissance authors as was portrayed in protestant propaganda, "Renaissance Spanish authors were more inclined to synthesize interdisciplinary ideas and generic models into their hybrid texts. Rather than exclude what might to us seem doctrinal material, they experimented with its incorporation into various prose and verse models" (Byrne 71). Susan Byrne challenges the notion of intellectual isolationism to show how a giant of the Renaissance such as Marsilio Ficino was not only read but respected in many fields of study (71). She also points out the fact that Ficino's work was authoritative in early modern Spain is evidenced in the presence of his books in libraries throughout Spain as well as in textual references in a wide variety of writing of the period. Ficino was thus recognized as an authority in many fields such as medicine, astrology, theology, and ethics. Ficino was without a doubt one of the most important conduits for diffusion of Pythagorean thought across Europe; it is no different in Spain. This diffusion did not stop at the Pyrenees, as Spanish writers also interpreted and applied Ficino's teachings of Pythagoras in their own ways.

The diffusion of works about Pythagoras surely entered the Iberian Peninsula through Spanish contact with Italy. One example of these types of exchanges is most famously demonstrated in the introduction of Italian poetic forms such as the sonnet to Spain,

immortalized in the iconic meeting of Juan Boscán and Andrea Navagero in 1526. The meeting would lead to the beautiful sonnets of Garcilaso de la Vega and later Luis de Góngora. Thus, the passing of knowledge between the two peninsulas is quite well documented. As for the works and understandings of Pythagoras, they too inspired a re-invigorated interest in this ancient Greek philosopher by important Spanish scholars, theologians, architects, and writers. Protean Pythagoras had found a Spanish form to address new concerns.

One of the interested in Pythagoras was Juan de Pineda (1521 – 1599?), a Franciscan theologian, teacher, historian, scholar, and philosopher. He was born in Madrigal in the province of Ávila and subsequently studied philosophy, logic and ultimately theology in Salamanca. His *Los diálogos familiares de la agricultura cristiana* (1580) is considered his masterpiece. This multivolume work seeks to provide an accessible encyclopedic moral guide to "la república Cristiana y señaladamente de nuestra nación española" (126). His writing was aimed to benefit the populace by providing educational dialogues that would teach the curious about a diverse array of topics. It is therefore no surprise that he saw in Pythagoras a means to cultivate a healthier Christian republic. Pineda describes Pythagoras as the "maestro de silencio" and makes mention of his sources as Diogenes Laertius, Lucian of Samosata, and Diodorus. There is a recounting of the life of the philosopher and his cult. Pineda draws a connection in behavior between the Pythagoreans and the early primitive Christian church citing Laertius "que ponían sus haciendas en común para todos – como dice la Escritura divina que lo hacían los cristianos de la Iglesia primitiva" (Vol. III Diálogo XIX 320). It is clear that for Pineda Pythagoras' role is to demonstrate parallels in order to reconstrue Pythagoreans as Christians who experienced God's early presence but misinterpreted it. Pineda also makes note of the studies of Pythagoras in Egypt, Babylon, and Crete in which he learned to be a "gran mágico" and highlights the study

of “nigromancia.” This position is useful as a warning; Pineda recognizes that Pythagoras possessed mystical powers that belong to God alone. In this instance Pythagoras was a lesson of what to avoid. Therefore, Pythagoras helps Pineda to describe the divine will of God in the pagan world and provides a warning against delving into forbidden knowledge.

This complicated view of Pythagoras is continued in the dialogues concerning his appearance and fate. Pineda depicts Pythagoras as a quiet, clean, and handsome man who dressed all in white and possessed a very temperate disposition and vegetarian eating habits. He does not seem to harbor any ill will toward the philosopher, except when in he is conflict with the Redeemer as prophet and Son of God. Pineda calls out the perceived ridiculous notion that the martyr Antemio praised Pythagoras in “ultraje de nuestro Redentor.” In the end, despite not really bashing Pythagoras, he states “y así tuvo muchas otras virtudes, más como eran para cumplir el mundo, él y ellas fueron al infierno” (321). This passage is interesting for its matter-of-fact nature. According to Pineda, this philosopher is not in heaven but rather suffering in hell, despite his virtue. Pineda’s primary issues with Pythagoras come from his deification as an incarnation of Apollo, his use of magic, and his belief in palingenesis or the transmigration of souls. Nevertheless, his authority as a moral guide and link to a pre-Christian past in which God’s influence was ever present even without men’s knowledge. Ultimately, Pineda’s Pythagoras shows a desire to exemplify good behaviors that according to the church can strengthen the faithful and dispel perceived errors. Subsequent writers will contextualize Pythagoras for Spanish readers in a similar fashion but pulling from Italy more directly.

Some concrete understandings of Pythagoras in Spain come from Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa (1571-1644) in his monumental work *La plaza universal de todas las artes* (1615). This book is partly a translation of Tomaso Grazoni´s *La piazza universale di tutti le professioni del*

mundo (1585), but as Mauricio Jalón explains, Suárez makes a great number of additions to the encyclopedic compendium to make the work partly his: "añade textos que sirven de comentario adaptado a nuestra cultura"(32). The modus operandi of both Pineda and Suárez are quite similar as they both use their writing to ameliorate the ignorance of the masses through education. Suárez discusses a wide range of topics by presenting the importance and history of professions, sciences, and arts. One of the distinctions he makes is between types of knowledge and work as equally important: "ser por todas razones cosa honrosa saber ciencias y artes, así liberales como mecánicas" (70). One of the examples illustrates that Pythagoras was a great philosopher but also worked at a time as a *mozo de mulas* or muleteer. In essence, the great mind of Pythagoras partook of both types of labor, philosophical and mechanical, as both are important.

Pythagoras is mentioned on many occasions throughout the book in a laudatory manner, referring to his knowledge and the power of his words as pure manifestations of truth: "se lee haber sido tan estimado Pitágoras, que le honraron como a semidiós los crotoniatos y metapontinos, haciendo un templo de su misma casa. Y, como cuenta Cicerón, tuvo a cerca de todos tanta antigüedad que sola su opinión valía por verdad; y, cuando se alegraba su dicho, bastaba solo decir: *Ipse dixit*" (329). The anecdote of Pythagoras´s authority and the power of his words is known in Spain as in other parts of Renaissance Europe. Merely saying, *ipse dixit* (he said) spoke to the validity of a statement and is testament to how important his words were to the ancients as well as the Renaissance. Suárez recognized Pythagoras' authority in medicine, arithmetic, and alchemy. However, much like Pineda, he sees a problem with superstitious beliefs and lunacy of the transmigration of the souls.

One of the fields in which Pythagoras was prominent according to Suárez had to do with numbers and their connection to the heavens. Pythagoras is the primary font of the work and

knowledge of *Aritméticos*: “En esta ciencia salió tan insigne Pitágoras que por ella se elevó al conocimiento de las cosas celestes” (Suárez de Figueroa 233). Here Pythagoras is given credit for the field and its potential to understand celestial works through numerical formulations. Spanish writers understood those that work with numbers in this manner owe a great debt to Pythagoras. Suárez describes numerical mysticism as follows:

> “Pitágoras decía correr la naturaleza de los números por todas las cosas, y que su conocimiento es la verdadera sabiduría que asiste en todas las bellezas primas, divinas, incorruptibles y siempre existentes, por cuya participación vienen a ser bellas todas las cosas. De aquí procedió entender él mismo, por la unidad, a Dios óptimo máximo, sabiduría increada y eterna” (234).

Following this understanding, Pythagoras defines the world in sacred manifestations of number that reveal a oneness and observable method to contemplate the eternal and divine. Numbers held secret meaning and significance. Suárez explains each number up to ten and their meanings in Christian theological terms. For example, the *monade*, or one, is symbol of peace and concord, friendship, and piety “por no tener división” (236). The *Triad* was just as powerful a manifestation of the Holy Trinity. Suárez also touches on the Pythagorean ideas of the *tetractys* or “cuaternidad, a quién los pitagóricos llaman fuente de la perpetua y siempre emanante naturaleza; la cual, simbólicamente contiene y representa el nombre de Dios inefable, cuadriliteral, revelado en los sagrados libros de Moisés” (237). Even though the symbolic numbers are discussed in compatible Christian configurations, Suárez has a point of contention with what he thinks are “supersticiones fundadas en número” (245). Consequently, the work with interpreting numbers as perfection has, “ningún valor” (245) according to him. Also, the important symbol of the *tetractys* is declared to be false. It is curious that Suárez would rebuke the importance of divine number representations while taking the time to define all of them in Christian concepts. The vision of Pythagoras and his philosophy here shows a version like that of Pineda. To Suárez, Pythagoras is simultaneously a great mind to be known and revered for his

wisdom and pagan heretic. We understand that our protean Pythagoras is embraced as well as critiqued, simultaneously pulled closer and pushed away. In essence, what Suárez does is to explain the number mysticism of Pythagoras and validate the Christian aspects while removing the pagan. Despite his statement that the number superstitions have no value, they obviously do in the context of Christian tenets.

Juan Eusebio Nieremberg (1595-1658) was a very prolific Jesuit scholar, theologian, and polymath. He was a member of the Society of Jesus and studied at the Universities of Salamanca and Alcalá, where he became an expert in the arts and theology. He writes in praise of Pythagoras in his popular work *De la diferencia entre lo temporal y eterno* (1643) and places him among the wisest in history, crowning him as one of the "mas sabios del mundo y los principes de todas las ciencias" (290). As a Jesuit, Nieremberg syncretized Renaissance hermetic understandings with scholastic traditions in a way similar to the efforts of Pico and Reuchlin, albeit with less overall attention to Pythagoras. To Nieremberg, the world was interconnected with the heavens and the earthly, the temporal and the eternal. These connections helped to observe the vast new wonders of the American continent and its flora and fauna. In keeping with ideological imperatives, the observations of these natural phenomena reached to the Holy Scriptures as reference (exegesis). Two of Nieremberg's scientific works are *Curiosa y oculta filosofía* (1649) and *Historia naturae, maxime peregrinae* (1635)[7]. The former was written from lectures given at the Colegio Imperial and present material ranging from natural philosophy, books of secrets, and nature's curiosities and wonders. The *Historia naturae* presents American

[7] Nieremberg´s work has come of interest in understanding the Spanish Boroque period. The work of José Ramón Marcaida López seminal book demonstrates the essential work of Nieremberg to center the history of Spanish early modern sicence. Marcaida López, Ramón José, *Arte y ciencia en el Barroco español: historia natural, coleccionismo y cultura visual*. Spain, Fundación Focus-Abengoa, 2014.

natural histories and novel curiosities in an explanatory manner. It was a way of describing and understanding the world within its historical context.

His respect for Pythagoras is not surprising, in that Nieremberg searched out knowledge as many Pythagoreans did, as a means to come closer to God and peek behind the curtain of a deceitful world that had hidden God's truth. Juan Pimentel explains Nieremberg's perspective and motive as follows

> "To study the facts of nature, or more correctly to decipher them, was to unveil the mysteries of the Creator. The task of the philosopher, therefore, was to read and interpret the universe, which by definition was apparent and deceitful. Indeed, the natural world was made of hidden, arcane, but also holy truths" (99).

In Pythagorean fashion he investigated the natural world to discover its secrets in connection to God's truth. Nieremberg mentions Pythagoras in his *Obras filosóficas* (1651) as an example of achieving virtue through good works, understanding of the planets, authority on numbers, and healing of the spirit through music. Nieremberg sees Pythagoras as one of antiquity's great minds and mentions him as a means to strengthen his own positions as an antecedent of God's will and presence. Pythagoras was a source of finding the truth he so fervently sought. There are lessons to be learned from the traditions and lifestyle of the Pythagoreans. The imitation of these daily practices could, in Nieremberg's eyes, be implemented to better Spanish society. For example, Nieremberg uses the philosopher's followers as an example to back up his claim to *ocupar los días para alcanzar, y ejercitar las virtudes*. He explains Pythagorean's daily process as worthy of imitation as a means of working with purpose "Esta doctrina deben imitar todos..." (Nieremberg 72). The reason for this praise, he specifies, is due to its goal of spending the day with the intent of doing good works "tenían por instituto de su profesión examinarse a la noche, proponer a la mañana, y considerar como habían de obrar bien, leyendo dos veces al día una instrucción de su maestro, para ajustarse con ella" (72). The importance of good works and a life

that focuses on devoting ones waking hours to a divine purpose is praised as a way for Christians to find their path. This emphases on Pythagorean humility and life of intention proves to be useful as a way to promote Christian ideals. Pythagoras in a Spanish context embodies a means to promote and achieve harmony in early modern Spain.

Much like the importance placed on specific lifestyle practices that should be emulated, Pythagoras is also recalled by Nieremberg in conjunction with notions of harmony of the soul and music. As mentioned earlier, Pythagoras is acutely associated with music, particularly the music of the spheres. Nieremberg recalls the story of Pythagoras as healer of a youth's passions through mu sic "De Pitágoras dicen Julio, y Santo Tomás que acordadas harmonías quitó algunos de sus vicios, especialmente redujo a vida casta a un mancebo Tauronitano, extinguiéndole el ardor de su apetito" (385). Here Pythagoras is linked to the action of healing of the sinner's soul by his expertise in musical harmony. Nieremberg also describes how Pythagoras' use of *acordadas harmonias* to counteract *algunos de sus vicios* and to soothe passions leads to readiness to hear God. The music, he claims, positions the soul to better hear God "porque avezinandose el alma a las cosas superiores, se dispone mas para o" (325). Additionally, Nieremberg recognizes that achieving harmony in the soul is paramount for Christians and yet again it is Pythagoras who exemplifies this ancient truth as valuable in his present. Pythagoras is therefore the founder of lifestyle and a healer of the soul.

In addition to this harmony in the soul, the knowledge of divine composition through numbers makes it possible to become closer to attune to God and better understand the harmony in his creation. Nieremberg makes clear that this Pythagorean harmony is based on numbers that help understand God and his creation. He explains the importance of understanding *aritmética* in Chapter XXVI entitled *En qué modo ayuda la Aritmética al conocimiento de Dios*. In this

chapter the knowledge about the natural world designed by God "Con grande industria, y Aritmética ordenó Dios que por grados subiésemos a su conocimiento del ser, al vivir, del vivir, al conocer, del conocer, a su grado sobre esencial" (416) The observation of the celestial by means of numbers allows Christians to connect with God on a level impossible otherwise. The emphasis on numbers and God coincides with the Pythagorean ideas that "que Dios era número" (417). Ultimately, for Nieremberg Pythagoras is a figure of the distant past; however, he is still relevant enough to be imitated and celebrated for what he can offer Christians. In the same way that Pineda and Suárez recognized Pythagoras' authority in the classical past as a link in the chain to the present, so too did Nieremberg.

The Spanish view of Pythagoras looked to better Christians' understanding of their faith and the world. The anonymous book *Diálogo de las transfromaciones de Pitágoras* (1530) took from a lucianesque satire, Apuleius, and Erasmus to highlight Christian morality and values. Lucian's depiction of Pythagoras was used to ridicule false philosophers and charlatans. "" (Herrero). Later Spanish writers of literature such as Cristobal de Villalón (1510-1588) and Antonio Enríquez Gómez (1600-1663) will follow these representations of the Spanish protean Pythagoras as moral authority and proto-Christian to educate and foment social changes through entertaining wordsmithing. They will also take and repurpose material from a satirical tradition of representing Pythagoras to reveal the ills of society. They will create yet another protean example infused with the work of contemporaries as well as older works. But before that, it is worthwhile to discuss the Spanish men who would build structures for the crown that emphasized Pythagorean ideals of harmony through number and proportion.

In that regard, Pythagoras' influence in Spain is most visible in some of its royal edifices. Joost-Guagier points to the architecture of the Palace of Charles V in Granada and El Escorial as

two prime examples of Pythagorean mathematics of harmony and numerology (241). Part of Pythagorean philosophy attempts to connect with the divine or celestial through sacred numbers. One of the ways to reach this plane of harmonious existence was through the observance of divine numbers and forms such as squares, cubes, and triangles. Although triangles and the number three typically elicit Pythagorean considerations, other numbers (such as 4, 7, and 10) are just as important in creating a space worthy of celestial harmony and divine power. An example of this construction of numerical Pythagorean harmony is present in the structures commissioned for the king himself. Pedro Machuca (1490-1550), the architect commissioned to build the palace of Charles V in Granada, used Pythagorean philosophy of composition to create an appropriate space suited for the Hapsburg emperor. Machuca put to work Italian concepts drawn from Pythagorean "ideas of modernization" learned on his travels to Rome.

Other architectural manifestations of Pythagorean philosophy are present in the construction of the royal palace of Felipe II. El Escorial, built between 1563-1584, was constructed with the divine purpose of housing God's chosen monarch and as the symbolic focal point for Christendom. This infusion of meaning was inscribed throughout the building. Maria M Portuondo describes the iconography of the royal library through the writings the librarian of the Escorial, José de Sigüenza (1544-1666). Allegorical frescos that adorn the ceiling depict Pythagoras in association with music, arithmetic, and philosophy. Sigüenza is well aware of the symbolic power of Pythagorean numerical mysticism and El Escorial are a building that truly exemplifies the importance of form and numbers to create a divine space and harmonious flow. John F. Moffitt elucidates the implementation of Pythagorean geometric motifs in Herrera's drafting of the ground plan and raising of the auspicious Escorial "an exercise in pure geometry and Christain metaphysics" (86). Herrera "unquestionably interested in symbolic proportionate

systems," saw the palace as "best represented by Pythagorean number systems...that he maintained in a mystical sense" (84). This Pythagorean construction is evident in the description of its composition:

> "A composition of 3's and 4's, the entrance opens up to four arcaded courts of the monastery on the right balanced by the four of the college on the left. Beyond and directly on the central axis is the church – rectangular in original plan but transformed to a perfectly centralized Greek cross plan. The apex of an equilateral triangle that can be inscribed in the circle that circumscribes the entire square of the structure corresponds with, as René Taylor points out, the most hallowed part of the church" (Joost-Gaugier 236).

The palace is an extraordinary building in its scope and hidden spiritual meaning and it "provides a vivid illustration of the reconciliation of Christian civic ideals with Pythagorean lore. Enshrined in their geometric forms the enigmatic numerical codes suggest sublime truths that would be apparent to the initiated" (237). As mentioned earlier, the presence of Pythagoras was a constant in shaping not only perception but also practices in early modern Spain. This importance is immortalized in the most important building in the reign of Phillip II. The symbolic nature of El Escorial is made richer by the use of number mysticism to create a building of physical importance as well as profound symbolic meaning. This meaning is made all the more harmonious by the Pythagorean elements that infuse its planning. For the Spanish, Pythagoras unlocks a path to closeness to God and his divine design.

While Spanish writers were grappling with how to understand Pythagoras, he was also being used to construct some of the most important symbolic structures in the country. In Spain, as in the rest of Europe, Pythagoras was a key figure in many fields. For the Spanish context, he was important as a classical philosophical authority who was mistaken only in his heretical beliefs about the soul. His understandings about the importance of numbers serve to validate Catholic beliefs that are contained in sacred numbers such as the Holy Trinity and the omnipotence of God as One. Pythagoras is a healer and exemplar of living a life in accordance

with the divine. Lastly, he is a guide to creating harmony, in divinely inspired architecture and in recognizing the virtuous path to God. Protean Pythagoras in the Spanish context will continue to be represented in literature with some of the same goals in mind. The literary representation of not only Pythagorean philosophy, but also the philosopher himself will prove to be useful to create harmony in a Spanish world perceived as full of lies and vice.

To close this wide-ranging chapter in search of Pythagoras, it is evident that we cannot truly know the real Pythagoras. Modern scholars and historians have debated what can be truly attributed to the philosopher. Luckily for this study the goal is not to find the real Pythagoras or prove his intellectual ownership of theories and philosophies. As a figure who inspired the writings of others rather than writing his own, we are left with their interpretations and representations. It is precisely these writings that come to encompass the Pythagorean philosophy and its diffusion throughout the ages. The soul of Pythagoras travels through time and is received over the centuries to come in various incarnations and for various purposes. The time period of interest here is Renaissance Europe, and particularly Spain. These Pythagorean influences are visible in structures, paintings, and literature of Renaissance masters. Pythagorean philosophy provided the blueprints for a virtuous life, the construction of harmonious form, and a greater understanding of our place in the universe. To Renaissance thinkers he was regarded as much more influential than just an ancient mathematician, as he is seen today. Pythagoras was held up as one of the classical period's greatest minds and his teachings would prove influential in the construction of a world that strived for the pure and harmonious in number, form, and proportion. Through Pythagorean ideas the creative minds of the Renaissance would build edifices of harmony in stone and soul while contemplating the composition of the universe as celestial blueprints of the divine.

We have discussed that during the Renaissance Pythagoras is almost fully Christianized and elevated almost to sainthood in an effort to assimilate the great minds of antiquity into the Church. This chapter has shown that Pythagoras was recognized and reinterpreted at the time by a wide range of accomplished people: natural philosophers, theologians, scholars, artists, and architects throughout Europe. Some of the most important in the reconstruction of Pythagorean writings were largely indebted to the work of Marsilio Ficino and Pico della Mirandola. Through these two scholars most of Europe would come to see Pythagoras in new and exciting ways. As with other writers of antiquity, the Renaissance used classical authorities to create a modern ideal. Likewise, once in Spain, Pythagorean ideas would be fused to such quintessentially Spanish literary genres as the picaresque. Theologians and scholars such as Pineda, Suárez, and Nieremberg recognized the importance of Pythagoras and his usefulness to cultivate and educate better Christians.

Later, in the hands of Villalón and Enríquez Gómez, Pythagoreanism became a means to heal society's ills by allowing the reader to experience and confront society's many problems through the guise of the controversial notion of the transmigration of souls. Understanding the reach of Pythagoras and Pythagoreanism in early modern Spain reveals a desire similar to other Renaissance scholars, artists, architects, and theologians. In looking to the protean figure of Pythagoras, Spanish writers found a means to link their present worldview to an antiquity that promised a pure wisdom to be rediscovered and revived for the benefit of those who can discover its secrets. Pythagoras represents a means to unveil the secrets of harmony with the divine and to create a world lived according to its potential. It was obvious to Spanish writers that there are many problems in society and humanity in general. Pythagoras and his Pythagoreans offered an

example to follow and an ideal to strive for in an ancient past that felt God's presence before he had revealed himself. Pythagoras functions as a medicine to remedy the ills of society.

The following chapters of this dissertation will demonstrate how certain early modern Spanish writers borrow from this tradition. They utilize Pythagoras as a salve to infuse their work with a way to heal the ills of society. Humanity's problems and shortcomings are identified by Pythagoras in the past, such as avarice, ambition, excessive materialism, and intemperance, are still corrupting the soul of mankind. Through this literature, Spanish readers could be entertained as well as educated as to how to live as intended by God. Ultimately, protean Pythagoras finds a new form that is suited to the Spanish context that sought harmony in a time of growing disillusionment.

Chapter 2: Moral Transformations: Spanish Critique of Emerging Dehumanizing Gaze and Artifice of Wealth and Status.

"Yo te ruego que me enseñes mi bienaventuranza, y cuenta desde que fuiste nacido hasta ahora que eres gallo; y como fuiste en cada uno transformado" -Micilo (207)

The anonymous *Diálogo de las transformaciones de Pitágoras* (1530) tells the story of a fantastic conversation between a humble shoemaker named Micilo and his *Gallo* (rooster). To the amazement of the shoemaker, as well as the reader, the *Gallo* speaks to Micilo in a human voice. Miraculously, this bird comes to reveal himself to be the most recent transmigration[8] of the famous Greek philosopher, *Pitágoras* (Pythagoras). He goes on to explains how he, *Pitágoras*, has lived many distinct lives and has experienced all manner of human and animal life. He claims to have lived as a warrior, philosopher, tyrant king, a wealthy miser, a donkey, a prostitute, a frog, and much more. After having lived so many lifetimes, *Gallo* has a moral lesson to teach his master Micilo and lots of experiences to recount from the many forms or *transformaciones* he has taken. For Micilo the lesson is to embrace a humble temperate life but the story actually evinces a troubling change in perspective at the root of an exploitative economic system that incentivizes people to see each other as commodities.

As the epigraph demonstrates, this is a book about learning and transformation. This is clear as Micilo pleads "Yo te ruego que me enseñes mi bienaventuranza" (207). He begs to be taught a different perspective on his circumstances, or in other words, longs for a transformation of his worldview. According to the Diccionario de Autoridades (1726), *bienaventurado* can be defined in three ways; a person that has died and is now enjoying the presence of God in heaven, experiencing happiness, and metaphorically as a simple person without malice. According to the

[8] Transmigration or metempsychosis describes the cycle of human immortal souls that pass upon death of the mortal body to a new recipient, human or animal. The belief is closely connected to the ancient Pythagoreans. The movement and rebirth of the immortal soul has been compared to reincarnation in Hindu religion.

same dictionary, the noun *bienaventuranza* is defined "se llama así la gloria, vista, y posesión de Dios" which is consistent with the first definition of *bienaventurado*. In line with these definitions, Micilo wants to be taught how he should understand happiness and how it is connected to God's favor.

The second half of the epigraph focusing on the action of transformation of the *Gallo* "y como fuiste en cada uno transformado" (207) can be seen in two different ways. First the *Gallo* is physically changed in each past life and secondly is morally transformed by experiences lived. Ultimately, the *Diálogo* represents Micilo's path toward understanding that an ideal life is a humble existence beyond the enticements and false appearances of riches and social status. In other words, Micilo is awakened to the realization that his life as a shoemaker is more fortunate and closer to God than that of the richest or most powerful king. Likewise, he is made aware of the dangers of blind faith in the acquisition of capital and affluence over the dignity of living beings. The primary means of achieving this moral transformation in Micilo is predicated on the conversation with the multifaceted figure of Pythagoras as a *Gallo*.

Pythagoras as a fictional character is useful as a means to critique and challenge society. This chapter focuses on the dehumanizing gaze of excessive ambition and wealth as part of emerging systems of exploitation in the *Diálogo de las transformaciones de Pitágoras*. I argue that the transformative process of awakening Micilo also draws the attention of the reader to the roots of money's power to mask inhumane treatment even going as far as to convince the oppressed to participate in and perpetuate the same system. This is most evident in the dialogue between Pythagoras, as rooster, and his master Micilo. By analyzing Micilo's account of a dinner party and a troubling dream, it becomes apparent that a desire for wealth and status arouses an insidious perspective that devalues the life and dignity of others. The nascent dehumanizing gaze

becomes fully realized in Pythagoras' cautionary tale about his transmigration into the body of tyrannical king Dionisio. This murderous monarch functions as an analogy for grotesque systemic authority that is produced from an obsession with wealth and power. Recalling Pythagorean ideals, that are reified as Christian values, makes the presence of a fictional Pythagoras even more relevant because of the implicit connected to a philosophy that also strove to create a community based on harmony with the divine and humble life of purpose. The refocusing of Micilo and the readers' gaze is important because it reflects a desire of the anonymous author to use literature to foment social change based in part, and made possible by, ancient Pythagorean values that were compatible with Christian beliefs.

It is in this guise that the representation of Pythagoras is useful to the author of the *Diálogo* and as we shall see, for Antonio Enríquez Gómez' *El siglo pitagórico*, to call out vices of the day in favor of a better more ideal path. Spanish writers were looking at a Spanish Pythagoras that represented a tradition of semi-Christian values and means to challenge traditional structures of power. In other words, the *Dialogo* like other Spanish texts that will follow in the next century utilizes the satirical model of Pythagoras and enduring Pythagorean values such as temperance and harmony to question the values of their society and administration of empire. Pythagoras stands in as a way to talk about a larger system of existence and harmony within a community.

The *Diálogo* comes from a satirical tradition, but assessing this satire is difficult. One way to approach the satire of the *Diálogo* is to contrast the historical Pythagoras and the character of Gallo-Pitágoras. As we have seen, the many accounts of Pythagoras and Pythagoreanism make it almost impossible to pin down a single, reliable, and historical Pythagoras (Huffman 2). What stays constant throughout the centuries is Pythagoras' status as an

outsider who sought a connection with the divine and a greater understanding of the true nature of the cosmos through number mysticism. Luckily, we don´t have to find a historical Pythagoras, rather, it is a search for a philosopher that has been reinterpreted by Renaissance thinkers and writers. Although the satirical influence of Lucian wanted to tear down the representation of Pythagoras for some of his beliefs, it also emphasizes the character of *Gallo-Pitágoras* as a philosopher that teaches his student, Micilo, valuable lessons about how to live a moral life. In essence, the satirical representation of the classical philosopher serves as a means to critique the problems of the day by taking from Pythagoras what is useful and disregarding what is not like. Much lik Antonio Enríquez Gómez would do "sacando de una opinión falsa [metempsicosis] una doctrina verdadera " (61).

Although the book obviously does not promote a return to ancient Pythagoreanism or a renewed cult of Pythagoras, it does label ideas about the dignity of life, anti-materialism, and pacificism as Pythagorean, if entirely compatible with Christianity. It seems strange that an ancient pagan Philosopher's ideas would be present in a story about Christian morality, nevertheless, as shown in the previous chapter, Pythagoras was a respected figure for many Renaissance thinkers, theologians, humanists, and philosophers, such as Marsilio Ficino and Pico della Mirándola. To some he was a link in the chain of esoteric knowledge passed from antiquity to the thinkers of the Renaissance. Pythagoras and Pythagorean ideas in the sixteenth century, albeit in new Christian interpretations, illuminate the presence of divine harmony in number, proportion, music, and moral behavior. All this is to say that Pythagoras was on the mind of the writers and intellectuals of the Renaissance throughout Europe and most notably as a guide to ideal moral behavior for Christians.

In this *Diálogo*, Pythagoras is more than just a guide or moral authority: he is the founder of a philosophy characterized by its respect for human and animal life. This radical ethics concerning the value of all life is most saliently embodied in the fusion of man (Pythagoras) and animal (the "Gallo" or form that Pythagoras' soul inhabits) in the character I will call *Gallo-Pitágoras*. It is precisely the recognition of the shared spirit that breaks with a purely utilitarian perspective in favor of an all-encompassing respect for life. This recalls Pythagorean adherence to vegetarianism and nonviolence. Because if we share a soul with animals, how can we eat them and kill them? If life is sacred, how can we destroy it? To achieve this empathic turn, the dialogues of Micilo and *Gallo-Pitágoras* reveal the costs of excessive wealth and dehumanizing ambition, vices that begin as personal foibles but lead toward wholesale condemnations of imperial expansion and exploitation. It is this understanding of private peccadillos as metonymies of global ills that makes the *Diálogo* both substantively different than its satirical antecedents (such as Lucian's) and electrifying to read even today. What is for Micilo personal is for Spain political. The *Diálogo de las transformaciones de Pitágoras* is, as stated earlier, at its heart about the moral lessons that transform Micilo into a herald for a better way to understand life, which is essentially Pythagorean. In this chapter we see the beginning of that change of perspective that starts with a challenge of personal responsibilities and in the ensuing chapters will widen in scope to encompass the treatment of animals and ending with a critique of Spanish imperial expansion.

Highlighting Pythagoras and the Pythagorean aspects of the *Diálogo* shows how useful he was to Spanish writers to critique and challenge the problems that they saw as not only contemporary but a direct continuation of harmful past systems. The character *Gallo-Pitágoras* functions paradoxically as a timeless *zeitgeist* that uncovers a proliferation of problems from

antiquity to early modern Spain. It provides direct insights and examples of failures and consequences suffered from unfettered greed and ambition, most notably in the dehumanizing gaze of Micilo and the life of a tyrant king. Moreover, the echo of Pythagoras and the associated presence of a moral voice proves valuable to express this challenge to Spanish society's problematic worship of wealth and status. *Gallo-Pitágoras* sees Micilo as another to fall for this mindset "estás en la misma necedad de que está el vulgo ignorante en la opinion que tienen de los ricos" (206). As an alternative to these tragic patterns, the book implicitly represents Pythagorean principles of community that emphasized a temperate and humble existence. To reiterate, the book is a recognition of a need for radical Pythagorean compassion that is still valuable in pursuit of a better existence.

The trend of representing of Pythagoras, transmigrations, and Pythagorean values would prove to be fertile ground. Future writers such as Cristóbal de Villalón (1510-1588), Alfonso de Valdés (1490-1532), and Antonio Enríquez Gómez (1600-1663) would further experiment and put up a mirror of self-reflection to the dilemmas of their times. Accordingly, the *Diálogo de las tranformaciones de Pitágoras* forms part of an important tradition of anonymous works that critique Spanish society, including canonical works such as *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554), *El crotalón* (1552-1556), and *El viaje a Turquía* (1557) (the latter two attributed to Cristóbal de Villalón). It is worth noting that the anonymous *Diálogo* precedes *Lazarillo* by some twenty years, suggesting that Spanish Pythagoreanism helps usher in a new period in the literature of social critique in the Hapsburg Monarchy. Thus, the anonymous critique proved a compelling instrument.

Ana Vian Herrero asserts that anonymity served multiple purposes for the author. Firstly, the absence of authorship provided an air of credibility in a voice of an insignificant member of

society such as the case of *Lazarillo de Tormes* and the shoemaker Micilo of the *Diálogo*. Secondly, the act of writing anonymously protected the authors from reprisals and allowed them to denounce "la superstición de sus contemporáneos, las falsas devociones y romerías, el culto de las reliquias, los excesos de la clerecía, del Papa y la curia romana, la necedad de los filósofos pedantes, la vida regalada e inmoral de los ricos o tiranos, y no deja de reflejar indirectamente las contiendas castizas de su siglo" (Herrero 57). Anonymity both shielded authors from personal attack and allowed their books to stand on their own.

The *Diálogo* itself is an innovative book that draws from new literary techniques of its time to adjust the source material to its present circumstances. Ana Vian Herrero notes a confluence of genres and forms that come together in the *Diálogo*, such as the imitation of Greek dialogues and the *fármaco*, or medicine, that satirizes (153). Thus, the *Diálogo* is an exercise in the strength of renaissance dialogue as it draws from many different techniques and genres of a dramatic and narrative style, "Esta es la razón por la que el género se convierte, en la primera mitad del siglo XVI hispánico, en un campo de experimentación para todos aquellos escritores que quieren investigar y ensayar nuevas maneras de contar ficciones" (23). The openness to experimentation demonstrates just how important innovation was in finding new ways to tell old stories or to apply new circumstances to old forms. The *Diálogo de las transformaciones de Pitágoras* innovates riffing on the past by using an earlier satirical representation of Pythagoras reborn to unveil truths in a new dream for the future.

The *Diálogo* uses a fantastic and dreamlike setting to solving problems and assessing troubles of Early Modern Spain. Within these oneiric spaces, characters could challenge, interpret, and engage difficult topics to open a world of understanding unreachable otherwise. The dream and fantasy elements in the Renaissance were interpreted "como una apertura al otro

mundo, como modo de resolver un problema, como forma de evasión, como conocimiento de uno mismo, etc." (Herrero 33). The *Diálogo* functions within this framework and brings awareness to Micilo's misguided ideals, resolve misconceptions, and learns through lessons of a talking rooster. In line with Lucianesque satire, the truth through artifice: a mask of reality. "En la sátira lucianesca," Asunción Rallo Gruss "se inventa una máscara (un sujeto ajeno) y una ultra realidad, y la discrepancia con la realidad cercana y conocida agudiza el efecto sobre el ingenio del lector" (Rallo Gruss 107). Authors like Luis Vélez de Guevara, *Diablo cojuelo* (1641) and Calderón de la Barca, *La vida es sueño* (1635) will use this same tyartifice in the next century, to ask questions about the nature of the world in which they lived. The *Diálogo*, almost a century earlier deftly adapted this lucianesque technique of the dream to awaken its readers to truths hidden and a better way to live one's life by transmigrating the spirit of Pythagoras to reveal truths yet again.

Although the book takes critical positions about the negative effects of achieving wealth and influence throughout the *Diálogo*, the text seems to be very orthodox and supports the status quo to some extent. However, the book is not a tool to dupe the masses into accepting poverty in favor of financial interest of the rich and powerful. The actual goal is to expose the false connection between virtue and wealth. Ultimately revealing how *bienaventuranza* is something accessible to everyone. *Gallo-Pitagoras* counsels Micilo to appreciate his life and not aspire to riches and fame, because avarice and ambition are ultimately corrupting elements that lead to pain and cruelty. Micilo, his mentor advises, should forget about social mobility when he is already more fortunate than rich men in his work and station, "Pues óyeme, y ten por presupuesto que en toda mi vida nunca vi estado de hombre más bienaventurado que el tuyo"

(206). *Gallo-Pitágoras* commands ultimately that Micilo's frugal, modest, and productive existence is the most fortunate of lives, and is in fact the ideal.

This message that the rich are poor, and the poor are rich seems only to sustain the social order that is already in place. However, despite this orthodoxy, *Gallo-Pitágoras* tries to speak truth to power about the corruption of the upper classes, the dehumanizing gaze of greed, and the dangers of propagating the flawed worldview held by Micilo –and the general public– that money and influence are signs of virtue or goodness. This mask of virtue applied to vicious treatment and behavior is exactly what is being challenged. The entire system is put into question when people are asked to see each other as worthy of dignity as opposed to what can be extracted from their worth in financial terms. The *Dialogo* paints a very Pythagorean picture of a world where people see their connections to a larger harmonious system of life of animals and people. *Gallo-Pitágoras* achieves this by highlighting revolutionary Pythagorean ideas that seek to promote temperance and anti-materialism over ambition and greed, not to uphold the system but to challenge its hold on our minds. Not to tear it down but to exist despite it.

The process of revealing the truth to Micilo is hindered by a lack of clear vision and fanciful thinking. The stories Micilo tells himself represent one way in which Micilo's self-deception. In a reference to King Midas, Micilo is unable to see or wake up from his false understanding precisely because he his blinded by his greed for gold "Dexa ya, mi buen Mida, de fabular del oro con esa tu insaciable avaricia. Ciego estás, pues solamente pones tu bienaventuranza en la posesión de mucho oro y plata" (200). The *Diccionario de autoridades* (1732) defines *Fabular* as "hablar sin fundamento, o inventar historias o cosas increíbles." In this case, *lo fabulado* is a lie that Micilo is telling himself to about the importance of money. In contrast, *Gallo-Pitágoras* promotes radical ideas that embraced a life of humble poverty and

harmonious non-violent existence. Consequently, the best life could be human or animal and is highlighted by quiet work– much like the Pythagoreans themselves that practiced silence without possessions and respect for all life. Thus, a life not dominated by money and the accumulation of riches away was prudent as *Gallo-Pitágoras* explains the ideal existence, as "Entre los brutos cuando era rana; entre los hombres siendo pobre hombre como tú, porque tú no tienes que temer próspera ni adversa fortuna, ni te pueden perjudicar." (289) The path of humble poverty and prudence is most ideal because of a lack of fear and negative attention. *Gallo-Pitágoras* continues and mentions one can sleep sound because your existence does not attract violence and jealousy "No estás a luz del mundo porque nadie te calumnie; solo vives, sin prejuicio de otro, comiendo de tu sudor ganado a tu placer, sin osuras ni daño de tu ánima. Duermes sueño seguro sin temer que por tu hacienda te hayan de matar ni robar. Si hay guerra no hacen cuenta de ti, si préstamos ni censuras tenemos que te ha de caber nada. En conclusión, que bienaventurado el que vive en pobreza si es prudente en la saber solevar" (290). As *Gallo-Pitágoras* defines this life in its lack of comparison towards others, producing for oneself, and earning to fulfill one's necessities. The ideal life is one that blends in with the environment. This inconspicuous soul is safe and not in danger in this environment. Closeness to God, as a *bienaventurado*, achieved in a humble existence and quiet life of work.

A Pythagorean current is present in this praise for the humble life that does not seek to dominate or foment envy from his neighbors. This idea of Pythagorean anti-materialism and lifestyle was understood for example, Juan de Pineda (1521? -1599?), Spanish theologian, historian, and intelectual, mentions this anti-materialist community and lifestyle[9] in volume III of

[9] It should be noted that Pineda regarded Pythagoras as a heretic because of his belief in the transmigration of souls and was sure that he was burning in hell. What is important for this reference is that Pineda regarded parts of the Pythagorean ideas to be congruent and compatible with Christianity. Thus, Pythagoras and Pythagoreanism were a

the *Diálogos familiares de la agricultura cristiana* (1577-1580), "qué ponían sus haciendas en común para todos –como dice la Escritura divina que lo hacían los cristianos de la Iglesia primitiva– …y acostumbró a los suyos a no comer carne por parecerle cargoso nutrimento y engorroso de aparejar" (320). The link with the early church and community demonstrates how some Pythagorean elements were similar to the teachings and early structures of the Christian church. Pineda wrote the *Agricultura cristiana* to provide a means for the faithful to familiarize themselves with how to be better Christians. Pineda also mentions dietary practices but describes the reasoning more about digestion. However, what he leaves out are reasonings beyond the biological, such as foods hard to digest hinder the state necessary for quiet contemplation, in addition to vegetarianism fomented by a kinship with living things. Predating Pineda's work by 50 years, the anonymous author of the *Diálogo de las transformaciones de Pitágoras* makes the comparison subtle, through the use of works such as *bienaventuranza*; Pineda makes the comparison explicit, which ultimately serves to underscore differences more forcefully.

Micilo's experiences and fantasies are a manifestation of the deceptive nature of wealth and the real consequences of putting money and status above everything. Micilo explains that he is invited to dine with a wealthy man named Éucrates; after the dinner, Micilo has an implicitly violent dream in which he inherits Éucrates' wealth and status. The dream seems harmless but the complete erasure of a family is troubling. He doesn't show any sympathy for the death of the Éucrates while he dreamt "que era muerto y sin hijo que le heredase" (199). By substituting himself for Éucrates' heir he is taking the families wealth and position in society. Even though his is a dream, Micilo's desire to form part of Éucrates' world –at any cost–is freighting. The pursuit of excessive financial gain appears incompatible with respect for others; material wealth

useful lens to make points about the present. This practice of interpreting antiquity is also present in the work *Philosofia secreta* (1585) by Juan Pérez de Moya (1512-1596).

and death are inextricably linked. Micilo unknowingly has embarked on the wide path to perdition while being mesmerized by luxury along the way. It will be *Gallo-Pitágoras* that will counter this perspective, teaching and transforming Micilo by recounting the consequences of excessive wealth and ambition in his past lives.

From the very start of the *Diálogo*, it is clear that *Gallo-Pitágoras* is literally and figuratively awakening his master from his sleep. He had been enjoying his happy dream of possessing riches and gets angry that because of the crowing even in his dreams he cannot escape his poverty, "aun en la noche no me sea posible huir de la pobreza clamándome tú con tu canto enojoso" (182). In the *Dialogo*, the *Gallo* wakes Micilo from his dream with his *canto*, or song. How Micilo understands his "pobreza," the impoverished circumstances to which he does not want to awaken and from which he cannot flee: "no me sea possible huir." Micilo ardently claims that waking from the dream was more upsetting than if he had actually lost everything, "que me fue mas enojo que si verdaderamente todo lo perdiera, y deseaba soñar viente noches arreo sueño tan deleitoso para mi" (200). He wishes that he could continue the gratifying dream for twenty consecutive nights. Unfortunately, the dream is not real much in the same way as the idealized fantasy of wealth. He literally pulled from a dream and figuratively from a false understanding of the world.

The dream also seems to be more important than actually having and losing his riches and status. The artifice is more important than the real to the shoemaker, the dream serves as a potent opiate, offering a pleasurable illusion of what could be. In response to this dream, *Gallo-Pitágoras* begins his discourse on Micilo's blindness and refers to him as Midas, alluding to the Greek myth of the tragic consequences of avarice for gold. The comparison of loss of Midas' family to his avarice seems very relevant to the dream since Micilo has imagined killing off a

family to usurp their place in society. In the case of Micilo it is worse because he does not care about their deaths as Midas lamented the loss of his family. Moreover, *Gallo-Pitágoras* points out Micilo's fatal flaw, "pues, solamente pones tu bienaventurança en la posesión de mucho oro y plata" (200). The possession of gold is the sole factor that determines Micilo's good fortune and character and therein lies the problem, a problem the Pythagoreans also sought to solve.

Micilo defends his position by claiming he is not the only one that thinks in this manner, and that if in fact *Gallo-Pitágoras* has transformed and lived in "todos los estados de los hombres," (206) he would have experienced the effects of money and its pleasures firsthand. Micilo explains further that the hope to acquire wealth is a driving force for happiness, "Y no es ahora nuevo consentir en el oro nuestra felicidad, pues abasta la esperanza de lo haber para dar ánimo al cobarde, salud al enfermo" (201). In this instance, Micilo is not claiming that gold grants our happiness "consentir en el oro nuestra felicidad" but that the hope of obtaining it is enough, "abasta la esperanza" to uplift the cowardly and heal the sick. Wealth seems to take on an almost religious faith where merely the hope or belief in it can grant salvation. This idea of hope calls back to the anger of Micilo at the interruption of his dream rather than the prospect of a real loss of money in his actual life. Micilo's stance echoes the belief of the public that even those without means get pleasure from the hope, or dream, of the possibilities of fortune. The internalized inferiority of Micilo shows how he has convinced himself to be content with a false happiness of the idea of unattainable wealth and the possibility of what it could do for him. He may not be able to achieve riches, but no one can stop him from the hope and dream of them and he is content to dream. In this first moment of the story the consequences of wealth and the propagation of the structures that strip the dignity of people are clear.

The experiences and the dream of Micilo shows just how the individual can be seduced by the glitz and glamour of wealth and devalue the worth of living things. The irony of this is that Micilo is resisting the life that will by the end of the story be reframed as an ideal rather than a deficiency, he will recognize his *bienaventuranza*. As mentioned earlier by defining *bienaventuranza* and *bienaventurado*, Micilo will be taught that his current life is in fact simple but close to God and therefore happier. Nevertheless, the act of waking Micilo from a dream to reality is not a pleasant one, as anyone awoken in the middle of the night would attest. Despite the rude awakening, *Gallo-Pitágoras* sees himself as a loyal servant that is doing a happy service, *muy agradable servicio.* He believes that by waking Micilo from his dream he can be liberated from his master's current status, "no seas pobre cuando despiertes" (184). The awakening of Micilo can be interpreted in two ways: to give him more hours of labor that will feed and support him and help him realize that he is mistaken about his status. This subjunctive clause also alludes to the possibility that Micilo may not be as poor as he thinks. The true riches that are achieved from waking and working are developed further in the *Diálogo* as a repudiation of money and power.

Labor and the daily life of a cobbler such as Micilo would be dominated by his productivity and the goods he produces as part of a community. Elizabeth A. Lehfeldt describes in her study of "The Daily Life and the Family of Renaissance Spaniards" how labor and community played a central role for rural peasant communities as well as their urban counterparts. Micilo's labor is the force that brings him stability. Continuing on, *Gallo-Pitágoras* then adds that if Micilo prefers to sleep, he will leave him alone, but reminds him that the dream of being rich is an illusion that waking up from would cure, alluding to the potential work that could be done and the realization that his station is actually more fortunate. There is an

importance placed on being productive as a means to gain moral riches that lie beyond money or influence.

This first interaction sets the stage for the rest of the *Diálogo* as an effort to persuade Micilo of the error of his thinking in favor of a humble life of fulfillment and community. The dream of being rich and powerful is simply a dream/illusion that functions on two levels. First, the state of being rich and powerful for the shoemaker is out of reach for his social standing. He can only dream of that life. Secondly, the abstract idea of riches and power are a dream in themselves as they are no more real than Micilo's false dream. Consequently, waking from the false impression of money and power, one may not be as poor as one may think because the simpler life is actually richer than a life of vanity, luxury, and fame. As *Gallo-Pitágoras* states explicitly, "tu fantasia te regocijas de una vana felicidad" (192). To counter this false impression, he makes the case throughout the *Diálogo* that a more fulfilling life is to be had in the countryside with honest work than in the cities, palaces, and even the institution of the church. Micilo awakes from a literal and figurative dream of false notions about the meaning of riches and power by hearing the many cautionary past transmigrations of *Gallo-Pitagoras*. In the end, Micilo is being persuaded to reevaluate his station in life and what is most important is not to just merely accept his place but reframe the notion of *Bienaventuranza*. He comes to see that living a life of harmony within his surroundings is in fact the ideal existence, he is *bienaventurado*.

The awakening of Micilo is a gradual process that grows from the exchange and questioning of ideas throughout the *Diálogo*. After the awakening, the conversation begins as Micilo and *Gallo-Pitagoras* start getting to know each other. Unexpectedly (as he is a poor shoemaker) but consistent with the dream structure of the text, Micilo is knowledgeable about the life of Pythagoras, Roman mythology, and a great many topics about history. For example,

he recalls the myth of the transformation of *Alectryon* into a rooster as punishment for failing as a look out to his master Ares who was having an affair with Venus. *Gallo-Pitágoras* validates the veracity of this myth told by Micilo but changes the topic to more important matters and then introduces himself as the most recent transmigration of the philosopher Pythagoras. He then asks if Micilo knows anything about Pythagoras. In response, Micilo speaks of the information that he knows about the famous philosopher, "¿Acaso dizes por un sofista encantador el cual constituyó que no se comiessen carnes ni habas, manjar muy suave para la despedida de la mesa, y aquel que persuadió a los hombres que no hablasen por cinco años?" (189). Micilo calls Pythagoras a *sofista encantador*. According to Covarrubias dictionary (1611), *sofista* is a term that used to refer to wise men but came to describe those that appear to have knowledge but are charlatans that trick people. Micilo is thus challenging the authority of *Gallo-Pitágoras*. The knowledge of Micilo also focuses on two restrictions, dietary and speech. He knows that Pythagoras convinced his followers not to eat beans and imposed a code of silence. These points were well known aspects of the Pythagoreans. The restriction on consuming beans was particularly ridiculed. However, *Gallo-Pitágoras* avoids these topics for the moment and asks if he knows about his transmigrations or the passing of his soul into new bodies, such as his life as the warrior Euphorbus of the Iliad, but Micilo is not aware of such a story. Micilo adds, "no sé más sino que dizen que este Pitágoras había sido un hombre embaído que hazía prodigios y encantamientos" (189). At this point it is clear that Micilo thinks that Pythagoras is a figure that tricked people with false appearances that could do miraculous things to enchant those around him for personal gain. *Gallo-Pitágoras* does not appreciate the attack on his character and adds that Micilo does not know his habits and practices. This perspective on Pythagoras as a conman is ironic because *Gallo-Pitágoras* will later help Micilo to see beyond the superficial artifice. The *Diálogo*

reassesses and transforms the narrative. What is important is not what is commonly known about him in popular representations but is addressed in a first-person account of events as a fictional representation with echoes of a moral guide and revealer of truths.

Micilo´s knowledge of Pythagoras gives voice to a sort of general understanding of the philosopher. It is here that Micilo calls *Gallo-Pitágoras* by his father's name, *buen hijo de Menesarca*. This subtle point by Micilo supports the position that he represents a common knowledge that was acquired orally. Further, *Gallo-Pitágoras*' comment earlier shows a recognition of a lack of formal knowledge "Por cierto tú me pareces muy sin letras, oh Micilo, pues no has leído los versos de Homero" (185). It is clear that Micilo proves to be a capable and active participant in this dialogue and not just a simple recipient of information. From this rustic knowledge of a shoemaker, Micilo proceeds to challenge the identity of *Gallo-Pitágoras* further. There is a funny exchange in which Micilo reasons that the rooster could not be Pythagoras because of contradictions in behavior and belief, "tú te has contradezido" (190). To prove his point, Micilo calls out that the rooster ate 5 beans and is now speaking. Both of these go against what Micilo knows about the figure of Pythagoras; first that he abhorred beans and forbade their consumption, and secondly, that Pythagoras imposed a silence of 5 years on his followers which would inhibit him from talking. *Gallo-Pitágoras* acknowledges the validity in these arguments but responds by pointing out to Micilo that he does not know how he came to be in the present form. Furthermore, as Pythagoras the man he abstained from beans but as a rooster, he is nourished in a different manner. Thus, the circumstances of each life are unique to a certain extent.

This process of clarifying narratives of the past, including those pertaining to Pythagoras, becomes part of how authority and credibility is established in the *Diálogo*. An accepted

narrative is presented to later be challenged and recontextualized. By means of the *Diálogo*, a different understanding is brought to light informed by the examples provided by the various transformations or transmigrations. The exchange, curiosity, and respect of Micilo and his rooster drives the *Diálogo*. Thus, *Gallo-Pitágoras* asks that Micilo listen to his lives and how he came to be transformed into many different people and animals and what events transpired. The beginning of the conversation explores a choice that situates Micilo at a crossroads, imaging the possibility of enjoying wealth either in material form or knowledge. He must choose between a dream of wealth and power or hearing about the transformations of *Gallo-Pitágoras*. Micilo is excited by the possibility of this fascinating story and tells *Gallo-Pitágoras* that faced with the choice of returning to his dream of material possessions and wealth or hearing about his transformations, he chooses them both "juzgaría igual los tus sabrosos cuentos con aquella sobrosa posesión de riquezas en que yo me sonnaba estar" (191). This statement of equal standing between the dream of wealth and the recounting of the transformations of *Gallo-Pitágoras* shows the two paths that Micilo can take and his eagerness to listen.

On one side is the exciting dream of luxury and material possession and on the other an awakening to a much larger world of experiences of people and animals. The opposing paths recall the Pythagorean use of the letter Y as a means to illustrate a narrow path of virtue versus a wide path toward vice. Micilo is at this crossroads and is intrigued by both paths and doesn´t see them as morally at odds. He can go back to sleep in his ignorant bliss, or he can hear the events of many lifetimes and the lessons they hold. At this moment he holds the two as equal. At the conclusion of this interaction, *Gallo-Pitágoras* is intrigued to hear what exactly Micilo dreamed and why it was so enjoyable. Micilo narrates the circumstances of a dinner party and his subsequent dream. In this section, the critique is clear that wealth cloaks vice as well as promotes

violence in its acquisition. This seemingly mundane story and dream functions as a seed to a nascent perspective that dehumanizes in exchange for financial gain and social status.

The personal observations and perspective of Micilo focuses on the artifice of wealth and the implicit dangers of succumbing to a false dream cloaked in the excitement of attending a banquet. This is demonstrated through the experiences of Micilo being invited to a dinner and a dream he has shortly afterward. The focus on self-interest above all else becomes a defining factor for the interactions at the banquet and the following dream of his host's death afterword. Micilo slowly starts to devalue the lives of others in the pursuit of wealth and status. This part of the *Diálogo* illustrates the development of vice masquerading as virtue through outward signifiers of wealth and the dehumanizing gaze of ambition.

To begin with, Micilo shares his version of the events about his recent dinner invitation, banquet, and dream. Micilo is eager to talk about the dream that he so enjoyed. *Gallo-Pitágoras* reins in Micilo and implores him to start with the dinner first. Thus, Micilo explains that he came upon a rich man that he knows named Éucrates. The interaction with Micilo and Éucrates appears to be routine as they seem to be familiar with each other, or at least Micilo knows Éucrates. However, this is the first time the shoemaker has been invited by a rich man to dine "¡Oh Pitágoras! Sabrás que ayer, regido con una buena fortuna me topé con Éucrates y saludándole como yo lo tenía en costumbre, me encubría cuanto podía por vergüenza que no viese me capa despedazada" (193). Micilo fixates on his good fortune at receiving such an invitation and his shame of the signs of his poverty. The interaction emphasizes the joy of being invited to a world out of reach in addition to the routine shame and hiding of the poverty apparent in one's appearance. Because of his shame, Micilo regularly hides the fraying and holes in his cloak. The seemingly fortuitous invitation provides him with a glimpse at a life that he sees

as better in all ways to his current condition. However, the invitation is extended to him with a stipulation, it is contingent upon the illness of another guest. Thus, another person becomes an obstacle.

The nascent dehumanizing gaze starts with the desire to attend the dinner party. Éucrates is having a large dinner party for his daughter and one of the invited guests is sick and may be unable to attend. The rich man tells the shoemaker that he may take the place of the sick man if he does not in fact show up. Although the invitation is conditional and not very warm, Micilo takes it to be the opportunity of a lifetime and desperately desires to attend. Micilo wants to replace the sick man at Éucrates' dinner, so much so that he asks God to afflict the sick man with "algún frenesí, o modorilla, o dolor de costado, o gota, de tal manera que le hiciese quedar en casa" (194). Micilo's desire to attend this dinner is so important that he actively wishes misfortune or chronic illness on someone for his own benefit. The selfish disregard for the wellbeing of others is troubling and will become more pronounced as the story develops. Micilo implicitly plays the zero-sum game of power and wealth. In other words, he starts to give little thought to the pain of others for his personal gain. This lack of compassion or consideration is a behavior that will repeatedly come up as Micilo and *Gallo-Pitágoras* talk about wealth and power. *Gallo-Pitágoras* will later address this degradation and its consequences in his later transmigrations into different individuals. It becomes clear that as the callous attitude toward the life of others gets more pronounced so too are the punishments in this life and the next.

The dynamics of false appearances and what they hide is also developed as Micilo prepares to attend and tries to enter the party. The emphasis on clothing highlights the process of what is hidden and what is shown, appearances versus reality. Outward appearances are the first thing that people observe and use to identify. These impressions come to signify inherent traits,

such as virtue and wickedness. Although, this superficial veneer may hide something far different, it is by outward signifiers that people judge others. Micilo takes care to hide his worn clothes as he had done earlier "puesta mi pobre capa de la parte más limpia y que sus agujeros menos se paresciese" (195) because his worn appearance will not only reveal his poverty but lead others to judge his character as wretched or void of virtue. In this world of luxury, appearance constructs its own reality. In this way, clothing plays a defining role for all guests at the party Micilo wants to attend. Understandably, he doesn´t want to be judged by his appearance as a character flaw. Clothing and character will be further explored with the appearance of an ill guest.

The character of Tresmópoles, the ill guest, comes to represent the grotesque exaggeration of luxury as a mask. When Micilo arrives, he notices that the man he was supposed to take the place of has come despite being very ill. This man is Tresmópoles[10], a 70-year-old philosopher carried on a chair by four men. Micilo notes that Tresmópoles may be dressed well but is in fact not what his clothes make him out to be "traía unas vestiduras muy hipócritas" (195). As mentioned earlier, clothing is used as an identifier of position and even virtue. The clothing is not hypocritical itself but hides a repugnant character and body in the case of Tresmópoles. Micilo recognizes that the irresponsible and callous act of Tresmópoles' attendance and condition are not in agreement with his well to do garb. Literally, the decrepit body of Tresmópoles is draped in beautiful clothes. In other words, his clothes appear respectable while his condition and behavior say the opposite. The two men are juxtaposed.

[10] The name has multiple spellings throughout the chapter. Micilo calls him Tresmópol for most of the chapter but later as Tresmópoles. Éucrates, the host of the party, also changes the name Temóspol. The reason for the variations in the name may reflect the lack of attention on the part of Micilo to the actual name of the despised *filósofo podrido*. I refer to the character as Tresmópoles because it is the name of the character in Lucian´s *Gallo*. There may also be some abbreviation of the name in the text.

Thinking of Micilo in this same way shows the worn-out clothing of Micilo is not a true indicator of his grace and worth but does not prove he is himself virtuous. However, what is actually revealed is that Micilo wants to put on the artifice of wealth and is inadvertently willing to pay the price by acting as callous as the man he sees as a hypocrite. Micilo has brought into the idea that what matters is how people see and judge based on appearances, although he has not realized it himself. It is worth noting that clothing and dress had a symbolic importance to ancient Pythagoreans to focus their attention on purity rather than distinguishing luxury.

Micilo continues to develop more of a disregard for others in pursuit of his own personal benefit through his interaction with the old philosopher. The philosopher's health becomes a major point of contention with his death trivialized. He paints a disgusting image of the situation with Tresmópoles complete with sounds and fluids. The old man arrives in a truly grotesque state "gemía muy doloroso y tosía y escupía muy asquerosamente; venía amarillo e hinchado" (195). His disgusting diseased body is unavoidable and prompts others to inquire about his condition. Tresmópoles is encouraged by another guest to go home as he is very ill but offers a stupid excuse that a philosopher must not break his promise to a friend because of any type of sickness. Micilo steps in and addresses the issue that he sees as an obstacle to his personal benefit. He tells Tresmópoles that their host Éucrates would be pleased if he died in his home with his servants rather than attend the party with his cough. Micilo questions, what would happen if his soul left him as he seems to be knocking on heaven's door "que le parece, según venís, que no podéis mucho durar" (195). It is clear that Micilo has an ulterior motive to want Tresmópoles to leave so he can stay. However, it is more troubling that Micilo doesn´t really worry about the other guests or sickness but rather his tentative invitation being revoked. His desire to stay makes the

philosopher's life an obstacle and dehumanizes him. Micilo´s singlemindedness, while understandable, would gladly sacrifice this man´s life for self-interest.

The selfishness that pervades this dinner party in Micilo, Tresmópoles, and even the host Éucrates reveals a larger system that dehumanizes and commodifies in its self-serving ambition. This is exemplified in Micilo's continued efforts to attend the event. He single-mindedly works to attend while Tresmópoles also wants to take part despite his ghastly condition as a health hazard to other guests. The host Éucrates is also guilty of this selfish behavior but in a more subtle way. After the exchange between Micilo and Tresmópoles, Éucrates arrives to settle the matter. The host, Éucartes, thanks the philosopher for coming sick to the party, and assures him that he would have sent the party food to his home as not to miss out. Éucrates then begs him to take his seat. Micilo realizes that he will probably not get to attend the party being shut out by the arrival of the *filósofo podrido* and lack of a place to sit. Micilo is about to leave when Éucrates stops him and asks him to stay and partake of the festivities. To make room, Éucrates sends his son to eat with the women to open a seat for Micilo. It is here that the selfishness of Éucrates is betrayed, but not to Micilo, who is blinded by his desire to eat and be at the party. Ironically, the newly available seat is directly in front of Tresmópoles, "Como ninguno se quiso sentar junto al hambriento filósofo por no le ver toser, viendo aquella silla vacía que estaba enfrente dél fueme allí sentar, de lo cual mucho me pesó" (197).

Micilo is uncomfortable with the gross philosopher but bears the situation in order to participate in the dinner and festivities. It is not hard to see that Micilo is used selfishly by Éucrates in two ways. First as a means to fill an empty seat which would make him look bad as a missing guest may indicate a rejection of the invitation. Micilo was just a means to fill a seat that could literally have gone to anyone. Second, and much more disturbing, is the hiding of his

selfish ulterior motives behind generosity of letting Micilo stay at the party. The seat Micilo is given is directly in front of the sick philosopher would have occupied Éucrates' own son. In the guise of being a magnanimous and accommodating host, Éucrates actually uses the situation to remove his son from the danger of proximity to the most likely contagious Tresmópoles. Éucrates is fine with putting Micilo in harm's way instead of his son, all while making it seem as if he has done him a great favor. The party is a show of power and status at its core that pits people against each other for a seat at the table. Éucrates shows his power and wealth to the public in this celebratory spectacle while ordering those that can participate and what space they may occupy. Even the sickly and the poor must be present to witness the opulence, i.e., Micilo and Tresmópoles. Selfishness and distraction are on full display at the party.

As mentioned earlier, this event is about the appearances and deceptions draped in luxury and wealth. The dinner is an orchestrated theatrical performance complete with dancing, music, sights, smells, and graceful movements of well-dressed servants (*pajes*). The event dazzles Micilo even in the presence of the "maldito viejo…el cual con su tos y escupir me hinchía tanto de asco" (197). Micilo ardently wants to enjoy the spectacle but is confronted with the insistent presence of something that he wishes to ignore but is unable. Thus, it is evermore clear that riches and power encourage a person to ignore the needs and humanity of others. In the end, Micilo explains to *Gallo- Pitágoras* that the dinner was splendid, but Tresmópoles got in the way by constantly trying to talk to him and persuade him that the night was day and day night. Micilo describes his ire for the sick philosopher and wishes yet again for his death because he is getting in the way of his good time "quisiera yo ver antes su fin de aquel traidor, porque el gozo de tanto bien me estorbaba" (199). Micilo focused attention on his own personal enjoyment over the health of others is a product of the dehumanizing desire for wealth and power precisely because

they foment a disregard and callous perspective on others as expendable commodities in the pursuit of individual ambitions.

The dinner essentially represents the mesmerizing effect of riches and ambition as well as the hiding of the consequences of those power structures that support them. Micilo has wished harm upon another multiple times, first in order to attend, and later because of ruining his amusement. Tresmópoles shows little thought of others in order to eat, and Éucrates would let Micilo get sick instead of his own son to fill all his seats. Narcissism informs all their decisions, hidden behind superficial appearances of civility. Another example of the false artifice of wealth recalls the importance of clothes, the elegant dress of the servants hides their subservient position behind a shiny façade. Everything seems to be superficial, be it Micilo's cloak, the *vestimentas hipócritas* of Tresmópoles, the well-dressed servants, and the false generosity of Éucrates. As the story of the dinner experience ends, *Gallo-Pitágoras* oddly remarks at the good fortune, *buena fortuna*, that Micilo has experienced and distaste for the old philosopher's behavior. This statement of good fortune is most likely just a statement of the recognition of Micilo's enjoyment of a free meal. The critique of the selfishness is not explicitly stated by *Gallo-Pitágoras* and does not directly attack the experience of Micilo. The rebuke of the behavior comes as he recounts transmigrations that highlight the same inherent problems of wealth and ambition as corrupting elements that are present at the dinner party. As Micilo continues his discourse about what he dreamed afterward, the extent to which the dehumanizing gaze develops further becomes clear.

The dream that follows continues directly from the previous experience with the participants at the dinner and reveals what Micilo was most impressed by and what *Gallo-Pitágoras* hopes to teach. Micilo's dream is that Éucrates dies and has no son to inherit his fortune. Surprisingly, Micilo was named in Éucrates last will and testament that he is to inherit

everything, as if he was his son. Micilo is therefore transformed into a respected rich man that cannot believe his new position thinking from where he has come "ser yo el que antes solía coser sapatos" (200). Micilo has all the money, respect, and influence he could ever desire or hope in this fantasy. In addition, he is also pleased to be able to host his many friends and be served on gilded plates of silver and gold. In essence, Micilo's dream is to expropriate the rich Éucrates' seat as host and benefactor by means of death and erasure.

The dream demonstrates the next level in the development of a lack of regard for others in the pursuit of gold and power. While the first encounter was grounded in a real situation the dream allows for an unfettered look at the consequences of unbridled desire for wealth and ambition at all costs. In essence, the ambition for wealth fosters a disregard for the wellbeing of others. As seen earlier, Micilo had wished sickness and death of Tresmópoles in the earlier dinner to partake of the festivities and later to better enjoy himself. Now, Micilo continues this practice of imagined violent elimination by dreaming of the death of Éucrates and the complete erasure of his son, ironically whose seat he took at the dinner. It is evident that the oneiric prosperity is only achievable by the death or replacement of others. It is worth mentioning that the death of Éucrates is not directly caused by Micilo, however subconsciously imagining the possibilities of the destruction of a family and children is completely glossed over. Micilo does not lament the loss of life but focuses directly on his own benefits, newfound riches, and higher position in society. It is clear that the acquisition of wealth and status is an inherently aggressive and violent undertaking that disregards the lives of others. It is precisely at this point that *Gallo-Pitágoras* will teach Micilo by sharing his past lives and the misfortune, cruelty, and death endured by himself and those around him. In highlighting these examples of Micilo and the lives of *Gallo-Pitagoras,* Pythagorean influences about the avoidance of excessive ambition and

material wealth in favor of temperance and anti-materialism surface as key elements to strive for as a harmonious existence.

Gallo-Pitágoras uses this anecdote by his master Micilo in praise of riches and status as the point of departure to give examples of the specific dangers of excessive riches and ambition. By describing the misfortunes of his past lives, and most importantly as a tyrant king, he teaches and transforms Micilo by providing negative cases and the consequences. The case of the past life as the Tyrant king Dionysius the younger of Syracuse illustrates the price of cruelty and violent destruction of human life to maintain position and acquire more wealth. The events of the inhuman rule and atrocities give *Gallo-Pitágoras* much shame to have inflicted on so many "¡oh Micilo, vergüenza tengo de te lo dezir!" (213). Even before taking the throne of Syracuse, *Gallo-Pitágoras* recounts how cruel tyranny was inherited and his drive for wealth and power was insatiable. His father, the previous king, was also known for his viciousness and carried the epithet, the cruel. Money plays a vital role in achieving power for Dionysius the younger who needed the people to elect him as the next king over his siblings. To this end, he seized the treasury to pay the outstanding salary of the soldiers as well as released three thousand men that were imprisoned for not paying high tributes and forgave these tributes for three years. In essence, he leveraged the approval of the people and political authority by financial methods. Unfortunately, once given the crown, Dionysius continued the tyranny of his predecessor and exceeded it. The systemic nature of these tyrants is made even more clear when an older Syracusan woman that has seen many kings of Syracuse prays for the long life of Dionysius the younger "porque si acaso de suceder otro tan malo y más peor" (227). The names of the rulers change but the system creates more excessive cruelty. To *Gallo-Pitágoras* this vicious perspective is a passed from one generation to the next. Tyrants are thus made by the systems

they inhabit that encourage and perpetuate cycles of violence as a means to acquire personal wealth and power. Micilo's eagerness to harm and destroy to attain wealth and status are precursors to the excessive crimes of Dionysius.

Gallo-Pitágoras further explains the dehumanizing perspective that leads to the violent appropriation of money and property as well as the erasure of anything or anyone that stands in the way. The economic oppression of exorbitant tributes that were recently forgiven prior to election were reinstated and doubled with false justifications of made-up wars. Worse still, he ruthlessly murdered his siblings and a thousand elites of the city which Gallo-Pitágoras describes with horrific detail "porque tenía sospecha a de mis hermanos yo los degollé y después los quemé, a ellos y a mis parientes y aquellos mayores de la ciudad, que fueron más de mil" (213). The graphic violence of slit throats and burned bodies of close family members are clearly the product of the blinding desire for power and wealth based on the newly crowned king's singularly selfish intention to simply, as he puts it "aunmentar tesoros para defender mi mísera vida" (213). The acquisition of money is supported by a totally dehumanizing perspective that sees people as mere obstacles to be removed or simply resources to be exploited. This recalls the dream of Micilo and the desire for the death of Éucrates and the erasure of his heirs to appropriate their family wealth and place in society. Though Micilo ponders these destructive events they are eerily similar to the actions taken by Dionysius the younger. They both deal with the violent removal of obstacles to power and the erasure of their bodies. To Micilo it was a fantasy of death and disappearance and for Dionysius it is the violent murder and reducing to ashes of the remains.

Gallo-Pitágoras tells this violent episode not only to show how the highest in society obsessed with wealth and status can cause enormous pain and suffering for their kingdoms and

subjects, but that the life of a potential virtuous ruler is not as glamourous as it would seem. He explains how the endless responsibilities and pressures of ruling are overwhelming. *Gallo-Pitágoras* tells Micilo directly "si piensas que más descanso y contento tiene un buen rey que con traquilidad y quietud gobiernan su reino, engañaste de verdad, porque visto he que viven sin ningún deleite ni plazer" (217). This argument is meant to completely awaken Micilo from the false belief in the fortunate life and inherent virtue of the nobles and ruling class. In addition to the vices of palace life, duplicitous servants, and sycophantic advisors, the most taxing is the burden of rule that lies beyond the kings own personal virtue "Alléganse a esto los odios, las invidias, las murmuraciones de los menores, de las guerras, disensiones y desasosiegos de sus reinos, que todo ha de caer sobre él y su buena solicitud" (222). *Gallo-Pitágoras* specifically points out the ill treatment of *míseros labradores* and their families on the *las ecomiendas de las capitanías* that are subject to violence and mistreatment by soldiers and other lords. The king, despite his personal virtue, is also responsible for all the subjects in the kingdom. This will be further discussed in the later chapter on imperial implications of the *Diálogo*. More importantly, as head of state the ruler must preside over diverse systems of government, economy, and societal structures. In fact, the deeper problem lies in these structures.

By looking at Pythagoras as the embodiment of a set of values that requalify the ideal for which to strive, *Gallo-Pitágoras* contextualizes the power structures that lead to vicious behavior through the past of life and assessment of kings. Pythagoras and the Pythagorean community represented through *Gallo-Pitágoras* look for meaning outside of money and position by looking to the past. Spanish writers were not looking at Pythagoras in the same way as Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, or Reuchlin, rather he provides a tradition of semi-Christian values[11] and means to

[11] I say they are semi-Christian because many of Pythagorean values were adopted by the early church and praised as the Golden Verses. What is important is the compatibility of core values.

challenge traditional structures of power. In other words, the *Dialogo* like other Spanish texts that will follow in the next century utilize the model of Pythagoras and enduring Pythagorean values such as temperance and harmony to reassess the values of their society and administration of empire. Pythagoras thus stands in as a way to talk about a larger system of existence and harmony within the community. Nonviolence and anti-materialism become products of respect for life. Although it is clear that the book is not advocating for a return to ancient Pythagoreanism or a renewed cult of Pythagoras himself, what is Pythagorean is the set of values that place worth on moral ideals that served to challenge the proliferation of greed and power in favor of community and harmony.

While the literature that used Pythagoras shows the desire for a better world by breaking the hold of money and status, at the same time some were applying these ideas in practice. Ideas of *utopianism* in New Spain placed an emphasis on humble labor and community were being put into practice. Beatriz de Alba Koch shows that idea of a "New Spain" in the mid sixteenth century was perspective that saw the possibility of a better new society could be built in the Americas (106). One such example of this turn toward the building of community and harmony comes from Vasco de Quiroga (1470-1565) a priest, judge, and reformer. In the year 1530, the same as year as the *Diálogo* is written, Quiroga arrived in New Spain and worked to establish the indigenous communities or *hospital-pueblos* that sought to emulate idealized early Christian communities (108).

Quiroga was attempting to utilize the ancient philosophy and Christian beliefs "In employing the republican town model Don Vasco selected an ancient symbol of European and Christian origin" (Verástique 124). Quiroga took further inspiration from Thomas More's *Utopia* and Plato's *Republic* in the design of these indigenous communities that were to given autonomy

and a trade while being instructed in the Catholic faith. Present day Michoacan, Mexico has a legacy of artisanal expertise that developed from these efforts. While not Pythagorean in nature, the implementation of these urban developments created spaces that sought to create harmony and balanced living while reforming the dehumanizing exploitation committed through the *encomienda* system. Although the utopian idealist system ultimately failed to help the indigenous Purépechas (140), the attempt to create community that strive for a harmony was real. It placed community and faith over economic and dehumanizing exploitation. All this is to say that as the *Diálogo* is using Pythagoras to critique and advocate for a change in perspective and practice more in line with Christian moral values, others like Quiroga and Bartolomé de las Casas, tried to implement social changes that fundamentally seek a respect for life and desire to exist in harmony and community. It is important to note that this respect for life did not seek to bring down the imperial system but challenge its dehumanizing practices in a Christian context.

This chapter looks at how the presence of Pythagoras as a character facilitates understanding of the dangers of the dehumanizing gaze of excessive ambition and wealth in the *Diálogo de las transformaciones de Pitágoras* (1530). The fictional character of *Gallo-Pitágoras* acts as a moral guide that challenges the humble shoemaker Micilo about his notions about *bienaventuranza.* The transformation in the book comes in the form of an awakening of Micilo to the recognize the artifice of money and status as well as the many lives of *Gallo-Pitágoras*. As Micilo recalls his experiences at a dinner party and a dream it becomes apparent that a desire for wealth and status arouses an insidious perspective that devalues the lives of Tresmópoles, Épulon, and Épulon's family. The dehumanizing gaze is hidden behind a mistaken belief in the virtue of wealth and power. *Gallo-Pitagoras* in response gives his account of a past life, or transformation, in which the same process that Micilo was beginning to develop at dinner and in

the dream becomes fully realized in the tyrant king Dionysus. Through the negative example it is clear that refocusing is necessary and this is where Pythagorean ideals become useful. Greed and excessive ambition are vices that are identified by Christianity and the Pythagoreans. Therefore, the presence of a fictional *Gallo-Pitágoras* calls back to an ancient philosophy that also strove to create a community based on a harmony with the divine and humble life of purpose. Micilo´s transformation is one of perspective because he is taught to see his *bienaventuranza* in a humble existence of community and labor. The refocusing of Micilo may reflect a desire of anonymous author to use literature to foment social change based in part by ancient philosophies that were compatible with Christian beliefs. Pythagoras as a fictional character proved useful as a means to critique and challenge the problems of the day. Problems that have historical precedence that like *Gallo-Pitágoras* have taken new forms while retaining the same spirit. The critique of early modern Spain through the lens of Pythagoras continues in the next chapter with a consideration of connections to the human and the animal.

Chapter Three: Fusion of Spirit: Sacred Dignity and Radical Compassion Toward Humans and Animals.

> "Porque los ricos del mundo mientras viven cometen nefandísimos pecados, robos, usuras, latrocinios, fuerzas, teniendo a los pobres en menosprecio, es determinado por toda nuestra infernal congregación que sus cuerpos padezcan penas entre los condenados y sus ánimas vuelvan al mundo a informar cuerpos de asnos, hasta que conforme a sus obras sea nuestra voluntad"
> (*Diálogo de las transformaciones de Pitágoras pg. 242*)

Transformation much like in Ovid's *Metamorphosis* is change of forms as a consequence of actions or events. The different forms can be into animals, human-animal hybrids, minerals, and plants. Many times, these transformations are because of a transgression and are meant to punish the transgressor. This Ovidian change of forms is not the same as the *Diálogo* however it does references Greek and Roman Mythology. The transformations infused with a Pythagorean structural component in the *Diálogo* attempts to teach a lesson about empathy and compassion. This is accomplished by drawing attention to parallels and similarities in different forms, in this instance human and animal. The epigraph describes the punishment of *Gallo-Pitágoras* for his life as rich and amoral person who looked down on the poor. Consequently, he is sentenced to suffer the existence of a donkey. The fact that the life of a donkey is associated with pain and suffering and that the rich should be forced to live this life indicates a divine attempt to balance and produce empathy and compassion in the punished. The logic goes that if one knows the pain of others they will respect and have compassion toward them, thus learning to appreciate their dignity. The process also recalls the old adage about having sympathy and promoting empathy "to walk a mile in another´s shoes" or in this case hooves.

The transformation from high to low is meant to not just punish but to teach and foment understanding of the poor, be them animal or human. The *Diálogo de las transformaciones de*

Pitágoras has shown a fundamental desire to teach. In the last chapter we saw how the lesson was for Micilo to be on guard for a gradual dehumanizing of people in favor of wealth and status. The anti-materialism is made all the more potent with the understanding that Pythagoreans also held similar beliefs about the dangers of ambition and greed. In this current chapter, the focus shifts to the interactions between human and animals. The book does not outright advocate for animal liberation, nor does it place them on true equal footing with humans, but it uses animals as way to draw attention to respect for life by presenting their suffering at the hands of the same systems as humans and the parallels that exist between them. Again, Pythagorean tradition also looked to respect animals and the dignity of humanity by recognizing a shared spirit in different bodies.

The intimate connection between animals and humans is undeniable. Humanity tends to see itself mirrored in their non-human counterparts and form close relationships through proximity. This is clear in humans naming animals they work with or care for domestically. Because of this deep connection, the mistreatment or violence toward them can be so jarring and inhumane. Further, cruelty toward animals has long been understood as an indicator of potential violent behavior toward people. The logic follows that if a person can be cruel to animals, they surely will be just as vicious to people. The DSM-5 [12]recognizes cruelty to animals as a sign of future antisocial personality disorder or a conduct disorder. Unfortunately, within this paradigm the suffering of animals is subordinate to human considerations. It is a common trope in cinema and television for a serial killer to begin with the torture of small animals before committing heinous violent acts on people. This is not to say that simply loving animals will stop violence committed by people toward each other, but the devaluing of life and propensity for cruelty are

[12] The *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* 5th Edition.

clearly linked. Violence committed against animals seems to be much more ubiquitous than just neophyte serial killers. In fact, violence toward non-human animals can take on much more mundane forms in the guise of sport, culture, science, and gastronomy. From animal testing of cosmetics, the production of *foie gras*, the spectacle of bullfighting, to the space flight of Laika the Soviet space dog, animals' bodies end up serving humans goals and needs. Paradoxically, the animal can be both close friend and mere resource to be exploited for human benefit.

The ease with which non-human animals can be subjected to violence as part of larger systems shows how we ourselves can inadvertently participate in these structures that similarly treat people as a means to an end. The first step to challenging these mentalities is to shift perspectives and reassess what is important, ideal, or moral. It may not be possible to break down these systems completely but perhaps there are alternatives that promote different values with which to live. One of the ways to engage with these ideas is through literature. Writers of the sixteenth century in Spain, such as Oliva Sabuco, Juan Luis Vives, Juan de Pineda, and Bartolomé de las Casas were engaging with thoughts about the capacities and nature of animals and their relationship to humans. The *Diálogo de las transformaciones de Pitágoras* can also be read as an attempting to negotiate animal and human interactions in Early Modern Spain. The presence of the spirit of *Pitágoras* as a character, whose esoteric beliefs advocated for respect of animal life, makes this shift all the more powerful. This interspecies interaction is most clear in the presentation of *Gallo-Pitágoras* as a hybrid entity. The liminality of the character encourages a shift in perspective on the treatment of animals by drawing attention to parallels in ideal existence, superstitious relationships, and allusions to the picaresque that foster empathy through shared suffering.

Animals are ubiquitous in Spanish literature as early as the Castilian translation of *Calila e Dimna* (1251), in which animals are presented in anthropomorphic guise to teach exemplary moral lessons similar to Aesop's *Fables*. Don Juan Manuel (1282-1348) also restates some of the stories of *Calila e Dimna* in his didactic work *El conde Lucanor* (1335). These works used animals to exemplify human traits and values. Similarly, they are anthropomorphized and inscribed with human signifiers that make them more human than animal. In early modern Spain, animals elicited many reactions within the emerging Spanish empire "The animals of the Spanish empire were seen primarily as food, labor, entertainment, and battlefield weapons. They were also the subject to a range of human emotions…Spaniards feared, denigrated, admired and even loved animals as they used them metaphorically, and as they sometimes befriended them as solace in a harsh world" (Alves 5). As Alves explains, it is clear that animals are intimately tied to every level of Spaniards' lives in a variety of ways. Taking from this tradition, the animal is fertile ground to scrutinize early modern Spanish systems on all levels. They will help to reveal the shortcomings of a societal structure that values the wrong ideals.

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the primary reason for the devaluing of human life is the pursuit of wealth, power, and status. The book warns against the dangers of greed and ambition though examples from the past. Therefore, Micilo comes to learn how he was blinded by the promise of gold and position as signs of virtue and the dark path that it encourages. In the end, the ideal life is shown to be an appreciation for a humble existence that emphasizes community, harmony, and temperance. The guiding voice of *Gallo-Pitágoras* offers a means to look across many tragic lives and misadventures that mistakenly valued excessive greed and ambition to the detriment of themselves and others. In the *Diálogo de las transformaciones de Pitágoras*, the figure of *Gallo-Pitágoras* is useful not only to highlight Christian values that align

with ancient philosophic traditions and beliefs but to challenge perspectives that lead to a dehumanizing gaze and lack of compassion for life in general. History of esoteric thinking in Spain allows us to think about mystical ideas within the extension of power structures. At least starting in 1530, It has a critical social function. Esoteric philosophy becomes a tool for social critique here that will develop further a little over a century later with Antonio Enríquez Gómez's *Siglo Pitagórico.*

For this chapter, Pythagoras as a Rooster creates a space to focus on radical compassion for life instead of the gradual cruelty seen previously. The story refocuses the morally ideal existence in both human and animal representations. The placement of parallel ideals examines how and what moral goodness looks like in a world where humans and animals are given a shared spirit and sacred dignity. The hybridity of *Gallo-Pitágoras* as spirit between human and non-human animal seems to extend its radical compassion to nonhuman actors as well as human. The animal is even recognized in Micilo when he is told that he was once a gold-digging ant. The book is essentially an intellectual exchange between a human and anthropomorphic non-human animal. The longest transformation of the book is the retelling of *Gallo-Pitágoras*' account of his life as a donkey inspired by Apuleius' *Golden Ass*. Thus, the specific relationship between *Gallo-Pitágoras* and Micilo points toward the relationship between humans and animals broadly and allows for an examination of the two. This is accomplished by observing two mirrored moments: the first a shared ideal between the shoemaker and the frog, the second a common suffering of donkey and muleteer. In both instances, the animals natural or unnatural treatment illuminates an alternative perspective for the human. Although the lesson is directed toward the human, the animal ideal can be seen separate and distinctly.

In the book, animals and humans are repeatedly exploited victims of the same systems that reduce all life into objects for consumption. Though not mentioned in the text it is worth noting that animals were used in the maintenance of these cruel structures such as the war dogs used in Hispanola. Dogs were employed and trained to be instruments of war and terror as mentioned by Las Casas in his *Brevísmima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (1552) "enseñaron y amaestraron lebreles, perros bravísimos que en viendo un indio lo hacían pedazos en un credo, y mejor arremetieron a él y lo comían que si fuera un puerco" (Las Casas 82). The human and animal relationship mirror each other's violence and brutal consumption. The Indians in this are reduced to a food source as they are likened to pork, *Puerco*. The opposite mirrored relationship is also true. Abel Alves touches on a shared exploitation of animals and some humans in early modern Spain. He writes that animals "slaved for Spaniards even as subordinate humans often did, and therein lay the complexity" (71). Further, solidarity or familiarity between animal and humans was contingent upon how they interacted: "In daily interactions with other animals, many humans could see similarity and continuity, while others tried to minimize semblance in order to exploit another being with greater ease" (71). In this way, greater similarity between the species was an obstacle to the need to differentiate in order to comfortably exploit. So, with this in mind the parallels between ideal animal/human existence and the mutual suffering of donkey/muleteer are important because they create a sense of continuity and semblance. In other words, seeing oneself in the animal and vice versa primes the reader to connect on a more intimate level. As a result, compassion and empathy for the animal is also toward humans.

The closer the experiences between animal and human undeniably promote understanding and compassion. The *Diálogo* encourages readers to rethink the status of the

animal and to challenge simple anthropocentrism by "engaging the question of the ethical treatment of animals" in the words of Erica Fudge (106). What Fudge calls "reading animals" is "about humans as much, if not more than, animals" (106). In this case it makes a moral argument. Centering of the animal experience as more than an extension of human perspectives and symbols allows us to see them as different but equally important as human beings. Reading the *Diálogo* and Fudge in light of each other allows us to trace "the constructed (as opposed to the natural) nature of our relationship to animals" so that "we might be able to change it" (106). The reevaluation of the mistreatment of people and animals becomes clear in the parallel of idyllic natural state and contrasting unnatural suffering as objects of production.

The argument for the humane treatment and dignity of animals in the *Diálogo* is intimately tied to Pythagorean vegetarianism and prohibitions on killing or ritual sacrifice. The animal to Pythagoreans was imbued with the same soul as humans owing to a belief in transmigration or metempsychosis. In other words, animals and humans shared an animating soul and thus were equally sacred life forms. For this reason, Pythagoreans followed specific diets to not consume the flesh of animals as kindred beings. In the book, *Gallo-Pitágoras* and Micilo discuss animals and their natural environment as well their relationship and utility to humans. The non-human animals that are mentioned specifically are rooster, ants, camel, donkey, frog, peacock, and cattle. As the first section of this chapter unveils the developing systematic dehumanizing effect of excessive ambition and acquisition of wealth, so too this section analyzes animal representations and the mistreatment of animals for human benefit. In presenting the animal with a voice and human soul, their suffering becomes harder to ignore, prompting empathy for them and a shift in perspective. Returning to Alves, the more resemblance people see between non-human animals and other human beings the harder it is to outright exploit them.

In other words, understanding them leads to understanding ourselves. Yet again, Pythagoras as a symbolic figure serves as a conduit to challenge callous destruction of life and the promotion of a radical compassion.

Although it does not place animals and humans as equals, the *Diálogo* encourages an empathic treatment similar to its perspective shift on the poor and meek as the ideal. The animal in the *Diálogo* is connected to the human but maintains a distinct nature. The ideal human existence according to *Gallo-Pitágoras* is not to chase wealth and status but to live a harmonious just life of modest community; in the case of Micilo, as we have seen, this is exemplified in the humble shoemaker.

A similar statement about life lived in community is made about the ideal life of animals via an unassuming frog. Between the shoemaker and the frog there are obvious differences but what is most important is how they exist and interact with their surroundings in a natural state. The application of Pythagorean ethics to the life of animals is revealed at the end of the *Diálogo* at the behest of Micilo "– Pues dime ahora lo que me prometiste, que deseo mucho saber cuál estado te pareció mejor. [Gallo] –Entre los brutos cuando era rana; entre los hombres siendo pobre hombre como tú… que bienaventurado el que vive en pobreza si es prudente en la saber solevar" (289). Although the frog and humble shoemaker seem to be very different, they share an importance in the text owing to their connection to a community and unassuming status. In other words, what makes them ideal is the way they thrive naturally in a system that is not dominated by violence, greed, or ambition. Thus, the compassion and empathy for the humble life of the shoemaker is shared and paralleled by the unassuming amphibian.

In drawing an interspecies parallel, the frog and shoemaker represent an example of the golden mean, neither fortunate nor unfortunate and avoid the corrupting force of wealth and

ambition on the soul in a natural state. *Gallo-Pitágoras* explains that the poor shoemaker is able to live as if "no tienes que temer próspera ni adversa fortuna…solo vives sin perjuicio de otro, comiendo de tu sudor ganado a tu plazer, sin osuras ni daño de tu ánima" (290). Thus, the negative factors for the soul are wealth and the ambitious gaze of others that would seek to seize his good fortune. The defining factor in this quote is the act of controlling ones earning, *ganando a tu plazer,* and surviving off one's own labor *comiendo de tu sudor*. In essence, the shoemaker controls his labor rather than being the abuser or abused in an exploitative system. For the *Diálogo* the ideal is a return to a natural state and the opposite is unnatural and constructed. The ideal life does not engage in the constructed cycle of violent acquisition of wealth and status. The exploitation of an oppressive system of labor as fortunate is a lie or a constructed reality. The shoemaker lives a temperate life of quiet work that does not endanger his soul. The resemblance between the frog and the shoemaker draws attention to a shared value that encourages praise of both life forms even though the former serves as an example for the human to follow.

Focusing on the frog specifically, its lifecycle is placed within a community or ecosystem that showcases the ideal in the animal. The frog's ideal life is described in equally temperate and natural manner as the shoemaker "Muy buena, porque luego hizo amistad con todos los géneros de peces que allí andaban y todos me trataban bien. Mi comer era de las ovas del río, e salida a la orilla saltando y holgando con mis compañeras pacíamos unas herbecicas delicadas y tiernas que eran buenas para nuestro comer" (286). Friendship, *Amistad*, is the centerpiece of its semi-aquatic lifestyle. The frog cohabitates with various fish species that treat him well. In addition, the frog is healthy and well fed by eating delicate herbs and river eggs. The animal ideal is thus to be left to live in its natural habitat as part of a greater ecosystem. Conversely, the frog is not preoccupied with accumulating more than it needs nor does it desire to exploit the other creatures

of the pond, this is not in its nature. The representation is not simply a signifier of human traits as the frog does in fact cohabit with other beings that are not predators and eats what is available in the pond. Another shared aspect with the shoemaker is the invocation of life in the median "No teníamos fortuna ni fuego, ni tempestad ni otro género de acaecimiento que nos perjudicase" (286). The ideal in both cases praises the Aristotelian notion of *aurea mediocritas*: neither prosperous nor unfortunate but in the middle. Unlike the shoemaker, the frog does not need a profession to achieve its ideal state, it can just live as it was meant to do. Thus, the shoemaker can learn to live in line with the ideal of the frog in a community that is not dominated by economic transitions. The idyllic natural life outside of a constructed utilitarian exploitation will appear again in this chapter with the depiction of the happy infancy of the donkey. This asinine transformation drives home the stark difference between the natural and exploitative. In line with Erica Fudge's reading of the animal, comparison provides a better understanding of the human ideal while simultaneously extending empathy. Human can learn from the animal and at the same time learn to respect them through shared experiences.

It is worth noting that the appearance of these ideal existences leaves out realities such as natural predators and dangers. The frog could be eaten by a snake or a bird even though it is among its community. The shoemaker though not specifically the target of soldiers pillaging or thieves, may still be targeted, nonetheless. Looking to the ancient Pythagoreans as a non-violent pacificist community, they were also the targets of violence by outside institutions and jealous kings. The point being made about the ideal existence is not devoid of dangers, rather stands in spite of them. A focus on harmony and solidarity within a community or ecosystem is a radical perspective that imagines a peaceful natural existence in contrast to violent consumption. Violence does not have to be the norm in fact it can be avoided when people shift their values.

The animals presented show an existence that is not based in violence but orderly system. However, as will be discussed, the presence of other animals reveals a different experience connected to their close proximity and utility to humans. An experience not of the ideal natural state but of opposite unnatural suffering and constructed systems of exploitation. The next parallel places a donkey and muleteers on a similar path that uncovers a shared unnatural state of abuse and stolen labor.

Unfortunately, other animals, particularly domesticated beasts of burden, are represented by their utility or service to humans. Examples other than the frog are abused and treated with little dignity and even outright cruelty. The book presents the donkey as an animal that lives a physically demanding life. The donkey was very important in early modern Spain and unfortunately "they [donkeys] have received little recognition for their service and at best contradictory treatment in literature" (Martin 55). Martín points out that the donkey has been associated with servile, stubborn, and dumb behavior in writings of Homer, Aesop, and Apuleius while also being a symbol of humility, suffering, and peace in the Bible (55). However, in the *Diálogo* the similarities between the donkey and its human handlers inculcate empathy and compassion. This rethinking of the donkey is also complicated because of a narrative similarity to the literary figure of the *pícaro*. *Gallo-Pitágoras* relates the events of the life of a donkey [13]and livestock passed from owner to owner much like the pícaros *Lazarillo de Tormes*, *Guzmán de Alfarache* or *Gregorio Guadaña*. A salient critique of the utilitarian abuse of the animal in the *Diálogo* arises from these inhumane events and cruel treatment by various masters. Much like the negative examples of the lives and destruction wrought by tyrants, rich men, and other positions of power, the mistreatment of animals as portrayed from their perspective also serves

[13] Similar in trajectory and structure to *The Golden Ass* by Apuleius (c.124 A.D – c.170 A.D.), The transformation into a donkey, work for subsequent masters, and misfortunes is similar to the transmigration of *Gallo-Pitágoras*.

as a powerful testimony to the callous behavior toward fellow living creatures. This is where Pythagorean ideas about justice and community are particularly useful to conceptualize a radical respect for animals and by extension humanity.

The animal related component to Pythagorean thought springs directly from a desire to live in harmony within a greater system in a vastly interconnected cosmos. The belief of transmigration of souls or metempsychosis plays a crucial role in this outlook as it serves as a conduit to connect all animate beings in a sacred commonality. Centering the *Diálogo* on this movement of souls inevitably draws attention to similar goals, the reframing of perspectives and morals. Transmigrations –referred to as transformations in this book– entail the repeating cycle of the immortal soul's journey to occupy new animate bodies both animal and human after mortal death. The shift in nomenclature is a clear sign that the book molds the concept, not to believe in it outright but to arrive at a similar conclusion about a need to reevaluate societies priorities and moral shortcomings. The problem is precisely a lack of kinship and recognition of a faulty system that pushes people and animals into unnatural states rather than community the places importance in the natural.

The shadows of Pythagoreanism in the book help to make the case for community and a more natural existence. The shared sacred kinship between animal and human was central to the Pythagorean notion of justice which informed a practice of vegetarianism and respect for all forms of life. Neoplatonic biographers of Pythagoras such as Iamblichus, Porphyry, and Diogenes Laertius describe a respect for animal life that resulted in dietary restrictions and taboos about animal sacrifice as a way to purify the soul and live harmoniously in community with the sacred. Iamblichus notes in his well-known biography, *The Life of Pythagoras*, how

justice is intimately linked to forming community with other people and beings in a great fellowship or kinship:

> "Justice is introduced by association with other people, while injustice is produced by unsociability and neglect of other people. Wishing therefore to spread this sociability as far as possible among men, he ordered his disciples to extend it to the most kindred of animal races, considering these as their intimates and friends, and would forbid injuring, slaying, or eating any of them. He who recognizes the community of element and life between men and animals will in much greater degree establish fellowship with those who share a kindred and rational soul" (Guthrie 99)

Looking at the *Diálogo* in light of this idea of justice, it is clear the text taps into this search for justice. It uses the multiple kindred relationship of Micilo/*Gallo-Pitágoras*, Shoemaker/Frog, and donkey/muleteer to emphasis living a more natural existence. One that respects life not as merely a transaction but as a member of a fellowship of life.

The dehumanizing gaze of ambition is challenged by a radical compassion of transmigratory communitarian animism. The effect of kinship and affection is undeniable in contemporary stories of farmers that spare animals from slaughter because they have connected with the animal on a personal level. Another animal friendships in early modern Spanish literary context can be seen in the love and respect Sancho Panza feels toward his *Rucio* in *Don Quijote*. Consequently, if the animal is now family and animated by the same spirit, consuming its flesh, or abusing it would be problematic. Vegetarianism was thus a statement of solidarity with the sacred souls of animal brethren. Returning to Iamblichus, Pythagorean reasons for vegetarianism are a means to foment peace among men:

> "Pythagoras also ordained abstinence from animal food, for many reasons besides the chief one that it is conductive to peaceableness. Those who are trained to abominate the slaughter of animals as iniquitous and unnatural will think it much more unlawful to kill a man or engage in war. For war promotes slaughter, and legalizes it, increasing it, and strengthening it." (Guthrie 103)

In taking a conscious look at the killing and consumption of animals, Pythagoreans fostered a greater compassion for human life as well. Abstaining from animal flesh was also linked to temperance as consumption of certain foods "produced intemperance and lull the vigilance and genuine energies of the reasoning power" (Guthrie 103). In the previous examples of the dehumanizing gaze of wealth and ambition it was evident that people can be encoded as mere objects to be exploited. The practice of respecting the dignity of non-human animal life promotes respect for human life as well. The *Diálogo* does not push for vegetarianism or a prohibition on the eating of animals but shows a desire for a more peaceable coexistence. The examples of human and nonhuman animal suffering and death are shown to be immoral and unnatural.

The *Diálogo* offers a moment of debate about the use of animals and their treatment in superstitious practices that also opens a space for compassion. A case is made against haruspicy and augury that involve mutilation and sacrifice of animal bodies for divine knowledge of the future. The argument takes place between Pierres and Perequín, two owners of *Gallo-Pitágoras* in the anecdote about his transmigration as a donkey. They debate omens and foretell the future by means of augury and haruspicy. Pierres tells Perequín that he is concerned about a bird's flight and the omen it entails. He gives a series of examples as to why prognostication is valid and exemplified in history by Julius Caesar and others of antiquity that used animal sacrifices or haruspicy that used animal viscera to see the future. The debate is centered on the debunking of superstitious belief and not advocating for animal rights. However, the implications of the prohibition of these practices demonstrates a separation of the nonhuman animal from the human that makes it safe from these particular traditions. In other words, the animal is recognized not as a signifier of future human events but an autonomous entity that lives independently of human events. Perequín states a disbelief in the signification of a birds flight "¿quién será tan falto de

saber que pueda afirmar que las aves con su vuelo, ora en la mano diestra o siniestra, cantan o no, que significa en nuestras obras bien o mal?" (280) This direct mentioning of animal's perspective as beings apart from people separates and protects from one type of objectification. Perequín argues against the ritual murder of animals and mutilation of their bodies to divine the future and discern omens or the favor of the Gods. Perequín focuses on the impetus theory of animal movement and that their bodies have no connection to the foretelling of events that are completely disconnected. There is a rebuke of the utilitarian view of the animal as a currency for divine influence in favor of a recognition of an agency that is divorced of symbolic meaning for humans. In other words, Perrequín states that the ritual sacrifice of animals should not be committed, therefore advocating for a more humane treatment for them.

With the mention of bird and animal haruspicy, at first glance it doesn't seem like there is any sympathy for animal bodies and violence. The bird and bull are mentioned as a means to foretell human misfortunes through augury and haruspicy. The case against these is centered on superstition and not on sympathy for the animal. Perequín, argues that the animal has no connection to human events and cannot be used to tell the future. One of the positions he takes describes animals as beings without reason and thought that are moved by instinct. His reasoning is that since they are unaware of why they move or act, they can have no true bearing on the events of humans. This argument is in line with the intellectual thinkers of early modern Spain such as Francisco de Vitoria (1483-1546), Gómez Pereira (1500-1567), and Francisco Suárez (1548-1617). The animal is not regarded as equal to humans in this way of thinking as they are specifically differentiated in relation to human reasoning. Perequín is clear about humankind´s superior position over animals "[¿]Pensar que Dios omnipotente hiciese que un tan perfecto

animal como es el hombre, y de tan alto entendimiento, ¿que conociese lo que estaba por venir por las obras de las miserables avecicas y de brutos sin uso de razón?" (280).

Nevertheless, the defense of the animal body against superstitious practices shows they are not merely objects to be used, but just not as perfect or blessed as humans. The more sympathetic view of non-human animals that is present in the debate is in line with the later understanding of Spanish writer and philosopher Oliva Sabuco (1562-1622). Her medical treatise, *La nueva filosofia de la naturaleza del hombre* (1587) shows "Rather than a dominion over other animals that focused on killing for pleasure, use and abuse, Sabuco's world was permeated with sympathy, emotion and compassion" (Alves 46). The non-human animal shares emotions similar to humans and therein produces compassion for their suffering. The *Diálogo* creates space for this interpretation by emphasizing the similarities rather than the differences that enable enslavement. This will be developed in the intimate parallels depicted in the transformation of *Gallo-Pitágoras* as donkey with a human soul.

Returning to transmigration into animals, the mistreatment they receive at the hands of their masters foments compassion and empathy by centering the non-human experience. One of the most radical and well documented ideas of the ancient Pythagoreans was the belief in metempsychosis and the movement of immortal human souls into bodies other than human one's. In fact, because of this spiritual connection with animals, Pythagoras promoted vegetarianism and prohibition on the killing of animals as a path to harmony and world peace[14].

[14] It is worth pointing out that there are many stories about Pythagoras that mention his interactions with nonhuman animals. He is recalled as having calmed a dangerous bear by tempering its spirit by approaching it and rubbing it. As a result, he tamed it and it no longer sought to harm people. He is also said to have told fisherman he knew the exact number of fish that were caught in a net. when he got the number right, he asked them to let the fish go. None of the fish died in the process. Lastly, he persuaded an ox to not consume the beans as they were bad for it. All of

The effect of recognizing the sacred in all life discourages an excessive exploitation of nature and promotes a more compassionate perception of the world. This perspective was ridiculed by a contemporary of Pythagoras. Xenophanes wrote a famous anecdote about Pythagoras stopping a man from beating a dog. The reasoning was that Pythagoras heard in the cries of the dog the soul of a dear friend. Although, the story is meant to mock the philosopher it reveals a radical compassion for the non-human animal whose life is placed as equal in worth to our own. This respect for the non-human animal is present in the *Diálogo* in the transmigrations into animals. Much like Pythagoras hearing the soul of a friend in the yelps of a dog being abused, the reader becomes privy to the soul within a beast of burden. Thus, humanizing the non-human as part of a sacred whole.

In the *Diálogos*, the consequence of a life of sin and crimes is to be condemned to inhabit the body of a donkey. It is clear that to make the life of a donkey a punishment implies its inherent heavy burdens, work, and physical abuse. Thus, it is poetic justice that the rich and powerful that abuse their authority are brought down to the lowest level of service as a non-human agent, that of the donkey. It is no surprise that Micilo is amazed at this drastic shift in the fate of *Gallo-Pitágoras* status from human monarch to pack animal, "Oh donosa transformación de rey y filósofo en asno!" (244). Micilo also recognizes the nature of this change of form by calling it *donosa* or comical and ironic. The horrible existence of the ass is a grim comeuppance because as a tyrant king and miserly rich man he will now be subjected to the same mistreatment and suffering he carelessly visited on others. Although living as non-human animal is the

these interactions demonstrate an empathetic connection to the nonhuman animal that protects, commiserates, and recognizes their sacred dignity.

punishment, it does not mean that the life of that animal is not worthy of value and compassion. On the contrary, the example of this life brings Micilo a closer conception of the life of an underappreciated and overworked domesticated animal. The joke is that *Gallo-Pitágoras* has become an ass but the lesson to be taken away is of compassion for other, which undoubtably includes the routinely abused donkey.

To begin, *Gallo-Pitágoras* explains how after living a life of sins and crimes his spirit descends to the underworld of Roman mythology by way of the river Acheron to be presented before the furies Aleto and Tisiphone as well as the judges Minos and Pluto. The punishment to live in the body of an ass for 10 years is a product of the accumulation of past offenses against others as stated in the epigraph to this chapter. *Gallo-Pitágoras* recounts moment of animation of the first-born donkey in Egypt. The negative view toward animal bodies and the indignation of their lowly status is obvious in the initial thoughts of *Gallo-Pitágoras*, "yo me vi metido en cuerpo tan vil pensé reventar de enojo" (243). The rejection of the prospect of a life as a non-human animal is telling. Nevertheless, the subsequent description of the young foal's thoughts, picturesque infancy, and later mistreatment contradict this initial revulsion toward the donkey. *Gallo-Pitagoras* does not want to live this existence, however the life of a donkey reveals a call to compassion for the non-human animal.

The transformation into donkey offers valuable insights into the nature and treatment of the domesticated non-human animal. Through the description of the life of donkey as punishment, it is clear that this existence is arduous and full of misfortunes. However, the beginning of his life as a donkey is surprisingly idyllic and happy. As the donkey reaches maturity the treatment changes as it can now work and carry cargo. As the donkey is sold, stolen, and given to different masters, Micilo is taught lessons about vice. The allusion to the picaresque

and the shared suffering of people that work alongside this beast of burden drives home the sympathetic perspective between the donkey and human.

The beginning of the young donkey's life is surprisingly supportive and demonstrates a loving relationship between human and non-human animal. The owner of the baby donkey is described as a rich Egyptian that cares for the newly born animals. *Gallo-Pitágoras* states that the owner saw him as *pequeño y bonito* and recognized his capability to care for him "que me podia mantener" (244). The beauty of the baby donkey acknowledges a special quality in the tiny creature that elicits an emotional response and emergent connection with the human owner. This beauty is in stark contrast to the initial reaction calling the asinine body to be vile. In an act of pity and care, the Egyptian owner makes sure that the newborn donkey was nourished by its mother even as he resisted nursing. *Gallo-Pitágoras* mentions his intention to starve as protest for this life but was instead forced to eat by his human owner. Even though this seems to be harsh as the baby is forced to suckle, the man is motivated by sincere concern for the creature's welfare. Hearing the foal's cries, the owner "se condolía de mí y me traía con gran piedad a las tetas, y puestas en la boca me las apretaba, y aunque yo no quería me hacía mamar por fuerza" (244). The use of the verb *condoler* is telling as it describes a state of sharing in the pain or suffering of the baby creature. The act of responding to the cries of an animal also recalls the anecdote about Pythagoras' empathy for the cries of a dog being whipped. This brief interaction demonstrates an intimate interspecies relationship between the human owner and the foal. Compassion in this sense feels natural and effortless. It could be argued that the man is merely forcing the young donkey to feed because it is his property, but the feeling of pity and sympathy for its cries of hunger reveal a more emotional and compassionate reasoning for forcing the baby to feed. The idealized existence of young beasts of burden call attention to a time of exception

where even the overburdened donkey exists in a state of temperate community before it is converted into a means of material transport and brute labor. This initial existence is the natural state of the donkey unburden by human signification. The donkey left to live naturally without labor imposed by humans is in a state of bliss and happiness.

The descriptions of the foal inhabited by *Gallo-Pitágoras* continue to show a natural existence of community beyond the domesticated labor to which it is destined. Non-human animal infancy is portrayed in very positive way in this transformation. The stage before maturity according to *Gallo-Pitágoras* is a special time in which there is not much harm, "Con la niñez todos los animales pasan el mal sin sentir" (245). *Todos los animales* includes humans, this is the natural moment. The shared reality also shows how the foals grow into a state of exploitation much like their human counterparts. The picturesque description of young donkeys playing in a field focuses attention on the animal in an ideal state where they exist for themselves and not as a tool of production. The scene recalls Disney's *Fantasía* (1940) with it's happy froliking deer and woodland creatures playing in a verdant environment "Enviábame con mis hermanos al prado, y después que de mamar y pascer las yerbas tiernas estábamos hartos, armábamos batallas por aquellos campos deleitosos, corríamos con grandes relinchos y saltos" (245). The scene in the *Diálogo* describes the ideal existence for the animal among family and community. Moreover, the scene takes place in a *locus amoenus.* There is an abundance of food where they can eat their fill. Violence in the form of *batallas*, or battles, are just a game or diversion. They play games just as humans do also serves to further connect the image of the foals to human children. The levity of this moment and the happiness of the siblings promotes a sense of wonder and warmth. Within a natural state they could live with dignity as nature may have intended. The description is very similar to the frog´s exemplary life as a model for the

ideal existence: the infant donkeys could exist in a similar fashion. The difference is their utility and status as a domesticated animal. The momentary ideal is broken when the donkey becomes old enough to carry weight and be exploited for its labor. Likewise, the shared exploitation of labor will be mirrored in the human muleteers.

Following the ideal infancy, the next part of the donkey's life critiques the cruel life of domesticated animal by exhibiting parallels with the picaresque tradition. The picaresque beginning of the donkey begins with the search for food, followed by violence as a consequence of simple necessity. When the Egyptian man sells the donkey to some muleteers to help transport honey and oil, the donkey's *picaresque* life commences. The donkey as *picaro* is repeatedly beaten in relation to food and suffers from constant hunger. In fact, most of its actions are specifically driven by a need for food. The violence committed comes from both humans and animals. The first instance of violence occurs because the other donkeys are whipped while he is not. As a result, the older donkeys punish the *pícaro* donkey by impeding him from eating and biting him.[15] This vengeful reaction is meant to teach the new member that he needs to conform to the group dynamics. He had caused pain to the rest of the group inadvertently but the real reason for the whippings was the muleteers desire to move faster. The opening act of violence is an initiation into this lifestyle by the muleteers and the other donkeys. Consequently, the neophyte donkey becomes aware of his place and what is expected of him. He is no longer a happy foal leaping and playing, that life is done, and he will now be expected to work for others benefit.

[15] This scene plays out similarly in Apuleius's *Golden Ass* with the newly transformed donkey Lucius is attacked by the animals including his own horse. The difference is that there is no background resentment for the aggression other than being a stranger to the other animals in the stable. He actually expected them to be friendly as he was their kin.

The hunger and violence are the key factors that will train the *pícaro* donkey much like other examples of picaresque literature. It is because of hunger that he leaves the stables to eat what he finds but is later beaten unconscious by the owner of the plants. Soon after the muleteers search for the missing donkey and then beat him for leaving. The series of whippings recalls famous scenes in *Lazarillo de Tormes* and the violence he suffers at the hands of the blind man. Although the *Diálogo* establishes that the life of a donkey is full of adversity and is a punishment for past lives, the traumatic experience is jarring to read. It is hard not to feel pity and sympathy for the mistreatment of the noble donkey, who merely wants to eat. This is made all the more tragic after his idyllic infancy in the fields. Explicitly representing the violence against the innocent animal is a clear indicator of how unjust the treatment truly is, and by extension the muleteers.

The normalization of violence and cruelty in the acceptance of the painful existence of donkeys and their keepers is challenged by the representation of a natural existence outside of objectivization. Much in the same way that the ideals of human and animals are paralleled in the natural existence of the frog and the shoemaker, the similar suffering of the donkey and the muleteers shows the unnatural state of exploitation. As a result, there is a clear call for empathy for the donkey in relation to the parallel suffering of the muleteers. This mirroring of suffering between the animal and the people that work directly with them creates a space to foment interspecies empathy and compassion.

Recalling the epigraph to this chapter, the effect of punishing the sinful rich to suffer life as a donkey can be read as a clear attempt to foster empathy. This empathy for the non-human animal also expands to the muleteers that similarly suffer and are underappreciated. *Gallo-*

Pitágoras calls for empathy while speaking about the plight of the muleteers in connection to the donkeys that work alongside them rain or shine:

> "La vida de aquellos recueros desventurados era a mi parecer la más mísera y al más trabajada de los hombres, porque nunca hacían sino caminar por sierras y valles y desiertos, por llanos y por pedriscos, ellos a pie, nosotros cargados, con tempestades, lluvias, y fustas sin alguna piedad de sí ni de nosotros, con muy gran fatiga y ningún descanso." (250-251)

The discourse of sympathy for the *recueros* or muleteers is one of pity that melds the donkey and human into one being, much like *Gallo-Pitágoras*. Remembering the fact that the life of a donkey is known to be difficult and wrought with adversities it is unsurprising that muleteer would be treated equally as terribly and live *mísera y más trabajada de los hombres*. The fragment points out the state of *desventura* in the life of the muleteer and the constant work and movement over inhospitable landscapes *sierras, valles, desiertos, llanos,* and *pedriscos* on foot. The link between the animal and his owner is made clearer by description of the muleteer on foot and the donkey loaded up sharing the same fate. They share the punishing work and are battered by nature. The work is backbreaking and there is no respite given to themselves or their animal counterparts. They seem to have no choice but to work endlessly. The unnatural nature of the backbreaking work is most salient in the fact that the muleteers are not able to live productive lives as head of a households "Nunca gozan de sus mujeres y hacienda ni sosiego de un momento, más contino trabajo y afán, como verdaderos esclavos, alquilados por un dinero, y mandado por su señor" (250-251). Because of their work they are denied time to maintain a family, *gozar de sus mujeres y hacienda ni sosiego de un momento*. Thus, the close condition of the donkey and the muleteer elicit a sympathetic reaction precisely because they are both understood to be miserable and underappreciated for their work. Unable to live a natural productive existence.

Labor defines both the muleteer and the donkey while also trapping them in an unjust system of work. The donkey as well as the muleteer are both victims of the same system. Unlike the natural ideal of the shoemaker and frog that live in a community and control their labor, both donkey and muleteer are alienated from the control of their labor. They work enslaved by money and the command of an abusive boss, *como verdaderos esclavos, alquilados por el dinero, y mandado por su señor*. Clearly, the description of the constant work and harsh conditions likened to slavery exhibits how much the donkey and muleteer are stripped of dignity by their low status and poverty. Again, it is the money and the command of an unjust lord that creates these conditions of exploitation. It is worth remembering that the reason for this transformation of *Gallo-Pitágoras* is to reverse the role and teach the dangers of allowing excessive greed and ambition take hold. He had lived a life in which he as a tyrant enslaved, murdered, and devalued life but now is one of the vulnerable. He is gone essentially from slaver to enslaved.

Micilo is taught that there are two types of poverty, one that is natural and focuses on the ideal life of labor tied to a humble community, the other is unnatural and forces people to become mere resources for the accumulation of others wealth. The essential difference between the two is a product of values. The ideal presented by *Gallo-Pitágoras* centers on likeness among people and animals as part of a community worthy of dignity. The behavior to be avoided values the accumulation of money, wealth, and status while it separates and strips dignity in order to commodify. Returning to the presentation of the donkey and the muleteer, they are both enslaved to an existence that only benefits others. The donkey and muleteer help demonstrate the worst effects of treating people and animals as mere objects, alienated from their natural existence.

The representations of animals in the *Diálogo* ultimately help exemplify a shift in values in pursuit of an ideal existence. *Gallo-Pitágoras* is a hybrid entity that exists between human and

animal, therefore he teaches Micilo about what a good and virtuous life entails from a point of view that is all encompassing. Pythagoreanism's perspective of anti-materialism and radical compassion becomes a way to highlight the needs for changes in what should be valued. The act of bringing the human and non-human animal closer by sharing a similar ideal existence creates space to see animals and people who are stripped of their humanity as worthy of dignity, compassion, and empathy. The shoemaker and the frog are not outside of the system but focus primarily on their own place in a community or ecosystem. The shoemaker controls his labor and production provides a service that can sustain him. The frog lives within a natural habitat in which it survives within its place in the ecosystem. Neither the animal or the human is truly fortunate or unfortunate. They exist in a state that does not encourage them to take more than they need. The connection made between the animal and human makes it clear that understanding the animal allows for a better understanding of a more natural state that devalues ambition and greed. So, the comparison of human and animal ideal helps respect the animal as well as the human,

In the same line of thought, a presence of the debate about the use of animals as mere tools and signifiers of superstitious traditions challenges the callous treatment of non-human animals. According to the *Diálogo,* Animal bodies are autonomous and are not linked to future events or omens. The critique of superstitious beliefs does not advocate equal treatment of animals by humans, but it does make clear that they exist apart and should not be callously used for unreasoned practices. The harsh critique of superstitious beliefs in divination is powered by the idea that animals are not to be signified as mere hints at the future. Therefore, the animal needs to be recognized as a separate being. As opposed to the other comparison in the *Diálogo*, the dissimilar point of view discourages the destruction of animal bodies.

Lastly, the linking of the suffering between the *pícaro* donkey and the muleteers encourages compassion and sympathy through mirrored exploitation and suffering. Thinking about Erica Fudge's "reading animals" approach, the donkey and muleteers relationship allows for a deeper look at what is natural and what is constructed in order to challenge unjust treatment. The donkey's Idyllic youth demonstrates an existence in which the animal is allowed to live in a natural state much like idealized frog. Yet, the donkey as mentioned in the epigraph is recognized as an animal that suffers and lives a harsh life. The contrast of the happy infancy and the backbreaking adulthood produces a sense of injustice for the animal.

Similarly, the muleteers suffer exploitation and near slavery much in the same way as the donkeys that work alongside them. The contrast between these muleteers constructed system of exploitation and the shoemaker's community ideal prompts a radical compassion and need to address injustices. Bridging the gap between animals and humans ultimately foments a sense of oneness, respect, compassion, and empathy for similar sentient beings. They are different but similar. Taking this factor into account, the recognizing the suffering and mistreatment of animals and those most associated with them gives the radical opportunity to rethink system labor dynamics.

Gallo-Pitágoras was punished for a perversely selfish life that did not recognize the dignity of others. The transformation into a donkey is an attempt to create sympathy, compassion, and empathy by now experiencing the life of an animal that is not respected or treated with dignity. The transmigration reveals the normalization of violence and cruelty toward specific animals and people, exemplified by the mirroring of the donkey and muleteers. In the end, compassion for the donkey and muleteer becomes a revolutionary act that challenges abusive practices and systems by presenting a more natural alternative. In the following chapter

the critique of the unjust systems that dehumanize is widened. The final aspect is the culmination of the incrementally developing problem that began with individual dehumanizing gaze to understanding the unnatural system of exploitation of animals and humans. The problem now expands to larger implications of Spanish imperial project that dehumanizes and exploits in an unnaturally constructed way to the benefit of the ambition and greedy.

Chapter Four: Global implications a Pythagorean case against imperialism

From the fall of Troy and the birth of Rome to Alexander the Great's conquests, to the extractive economy of sixteenth-century Spain, the *Dialogo de las transformaciones de Pitágoras* is expansive in its imperial vision and political critique. Vincent Barletta's *Death in Babylon* helps to conceptualize the specter of antiquity on the imperial project by looking to multiple understandings of Alexander the Great on the mentalities of early modern Iberian expansion. Barletta is concerned with "Alexander as a symbolic tool by which late medieval and early modern authors, scribes, and readers from the three principal kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula reckoned with the empire" (30). Thinking in this same way, writings about Pythagoras also take on useful way to contemplate many and varied issues associated with the philosopher about morality but also challenge the historical account and controversial beliefs. Like Alexander the Great "called upon to embody both human excellence and the absolute nadir of human depravity" (Barletta 78), Pythagoras is interpreted in many contradictory ways as both a charlatan, mystic, and moral paragon. He is paradoxically an example to follow and ridicule. Both are remade into in the Renaissance to serve as examples in new early modern contexts. For Alexander it is a look into the possibilities of martial expansive triumph and crushing tyrannical failure. Pythagoras is by virtue of his renown is a symbol of moral truths and unveiling of secret knowledge and simultaneously an eccentric philosopher that tricked his followers.

Already by 1530, Pythagorean concerns about greed, cruelty, and justice are harnessed to expose the hypocrisy of Spanish colonial expansion and the abuse of the indigenous peoples. These concerns were brought to light and debated primarily because of access to Marsilio Ficino's translations of Plato and Neo-Platonist authors. As Lía Schwartz and Susan Byrne show, these newly available translations proved to be very influential "the ideas and imagery of those

texts would play a prominent role in Spanish thought and letters…At Alcalá, as well as at the university of Salamanca and other Spanish universities and colleges, Ficino's Neo-Platonism was a prevalent intellectual stimulus from the end of the 15th century forward" (325). It is precisely the neo-Platonic thought and philosophy that were themselves infused with a spirit of Pythagoreanism that provided Spanish authors, poets, and intellectuals a theoretical lens. From this lens they engage with ideas ranging from poetry, love, harmony, philosophy, politics, and music as medicine. In the *Diálogo de transformaciones, Gallo-Pitágoras* transcends spatial, temporal, and physical boundaries much like the translations of Pythagorean writings that were now available. The vehicle of this movement is the Pythagorean idea of transmigration or metempsychosis. The character knows the world of the present –including the New World– and that of the past; he was present at the fall of Troy as Euphorbus and claims to correct Homer's secondhand account. These experiences across many forms of life and spanning centuries and continents makes *Gallo-Pitágoras* the perfect conduit to approach and critique the structure and society of an ever-expanding global empire by tapping into timeless knowledge of past events, peoples, and places. In the early modern period transmigrations is understood as the movement of spirit, peoples, and structures. The *Diálogo* demonstrates that the spirits of the past live on in new bodies, be them roosters or nations.

Not a decade after Spain's annexation of New Spain (present day Mexico), Micilo's dream of taking another's wealth becomes a metaphor for the deadly cost of imperial expansion. The book expands the scope as Micilo argues for the power of wealth and the slenderest hope of obtaining it as a force that drives people to terrifying lengths. He understands that gold has a power to drive reckless actions that put people's lives at great risk. Micilo continues to argue his

point by giving an example of the extraordinary lengths to which people will go to attain wealth. Micilo asks,

> "Díme agora cuántos son los que menospreciado su vida y pospuesta la seguridad de vivir, se disponen a salir de sus tierras donde son nascidos y criados…se ponen en el mar tempestades ciertas a mal comer y beber, a peligro de morir cada hora en manos de sus enemigos para pasar a las Indias para adquirir las inciertas riquezas del oro, por gozar de la felicidad de lo poseer" (201-204)

It is clear that Micilo recognizes the hope and effort of others to put themselves at great risk through the dangerous experience of traveling to *las Indias,* for the uncertain riches they may or may not acquire. Possession of material riches is the goal, pursued despite the dangers of the voyage, lack of food, weather, and other unknown *enemigos*. Micilo also sees the low percentage of those that actually obtain the gold they seek as only one in two hundred "uno solo a doscientos" (204). The hope of riches that drives these people to put themselves and others at great risk is represented like a game of chance with the smallest of odds to win at the cost of your life and as will be seen many others. Ultimately, the first line exemplifies the effects of seeking fortune no matter the cost for their own life, *los que menospreciado su vida y su seguridad de vivir*. Thus, life itself is not as important as the act of possessing wealth that belonged to someone else, in this case we will see in particular with the indigenous peoples.

Todorov, in his explorations of the Other, recognized the role that dehumanization played in the conquest of the Americas and financial impetus that fueled the destructive colonial enterprise. The warning is not just directed at the Spanish empire but imperialism and colonization in general and systems that value wealth and power over people. The issues are still relevant even today and has played out over and over from culture to culture. Ultimately, the transmigration of greed and ambition must be met in its inevitable new forms. As was seen in the last two chapters, the *Diálogo de las transformaciones de Pitágoras* is a book that teaches about

the gradual corruption of greed and ambition and how the recognition of likeness or shared spirit combats these vices. The insidious dangers of these traits have developed from an incipient dehumanizing gaze of Micilo at the party, his dream, and the culmination of a destructive rule of the tyrant king Dionysius. A desire for wealth and status fostered a perspective that ceased to see the dignity of others. As a result, they are reduced to objects or obstacles, either to be exploited or destroyed. Later, this vicious process is challenged by observing the human and animal interactions. In the *Diálogo*, a link between shared souls encourages a compassion for animals by presenting them as a parallel to humans in the pursuit of an ideal natural existence and a near identical unnatural suffering of a donkey and their human handlers.

The first two chapters presented a developing problem and then a response to challenge it. The *Diálogo* warns that failing to recognize the dignity of others has deadly consequences. Conversely, the answer to this problem is to respect life by acknowledging a connection to generate empathy by reversing the dehumanizing gaze. Highlighting a closeness between animals and humans as example of an ideal life and solidarity with another exploited living being. Extending dignity toward animals comes to produce a radical Pythagorean compassion that extends towards all of humanity.

In this final chapter about the *Diálogo*, the same critique previously applied to individuals like Micilo is applied to the larger entity or body, the imperial state and colonial expansion. Fueled by blind ambition and a rampant desire for wealth, emerging imperial and colonial system of oppression dehumanizes inhabitants of the Americas leading to the oppression of the *encomienda* and the violence of possession. By looking back to antiquity for precedent, the consequences of expansive greed and ambition are highlighted in the emerging structures of the Spanish empire. By widening the scope to criticize larger systems of oppression and the ethics of

imperial expansion, this chapter will revisit *Gallo-Pitágoras*' transformation into Dionysius II of Syracuse as a cautionary tale. At the very moment that Bartolomé de las Casas was beginning his *Historia de las Indias* (1527), with its profound critique of Spain's imperial expansion, the *Diálogo* wrestles with the implications of colonial aspirations, economic exploitation, and treatment of indigenous peoples.

There is a human cost and disregard for others in the pursuit of wealth that is inherent in the discourse of Micilo and the act of imperial possession. This disregard for life and seizure of wealth is embodied as allegory of empire in the violence and exploitation of native peoples. Micilo, as seen in a previous chapter, grows to see only his wants and needs wishing death on others and dreaming of appropriating and erasing a whole family to gain wealth and status. While trying to explain what he knows about wealth and the drive to go to the Americas, Micilo reflects on the ethics and justification for this act of seizure of resources and wealth. Micilo explains the precarious Christian justification for this seizure of gold "pluguiese a Dios fuese lícita su posesión, porque no sé yo con que color pueden ellos tomar a aquella gente el oro que poseen" (204-205). The sardonic tone of this first-person statement reveals an incredulous Micilo that can't see the justice in these actions or the blessing of God. Legality and treatment of the indigenous was a controversial topic in the middle of 15th century Spain. The disputation between Las Casas and Sepulveda in the controversy of Valladolid (1550) debated –among other things– the legality of a "just war" and possession of the New World. Micilo may not have recognized his own desire to harm for his personal benefit, but he voices the same issues with the conquest that many were also reckoning.

Interestingly, Luis Vaz de Camões also included a similar critical voice in the epic poem *Os Luisades* (1572) in an old man from Restelo. The man as voice of the common man calls out

to the ships while they leave on their long voyage to voice concerns about cost of life "A que novos desatres determinas/ de levar estes Reinos e esta gente?/ Que perigos, que mortes lhe destinas/ debaixo dalgum nome prominente?/ que promessas de reinos e minas/ de ouro, que lhe farás tão facilmente?" (Camões 112). The old man predicts the destruction and violence that will be visited on foreign peoples and kingdoms. Both voice of the old man and Micilo raise questions about the real cost of imperial expansion for the conquered and the conquerors. There is something wrong about going across the world to make war and take from people by force what is theirs. Micilo sees that the driving reason is gold, wealth, and power.

Evidently, Micilo doubts how the violent acquisition of land, gold, and slaves can be just or even Christian. He admits to not knowing everything about kingdom's land rights, but he does understand the hypocrisy of the means of conquest that contradicts Christian doctrines. He remarks with irony and a dark humorous tone about the resistance of the native populations to the invader's faith as justification for war and violence "Bien sé yo por vedar ellos que se les predique el evangelio de Dios, les podemos hazer guerras y todo lo demás" (205). The use of *bien sé yo* presents as a cynical quip about the justifications for organized violent seizure. Also, the euphemistic *y todo lo demás* is a dark joke about the willingness of some to overlook the horrifying treatment of indigenous peoples. The idea that it is the supposed fault of the indigenous for the violence is laughable.

The idea that indigenous are the ones that impede or prohibit the process of evangelization which gives Christians the right to make war on them is disingenuous. The topic of capacity for Christianization of Indians was hotly debated in the first half of the 16th century. In one case, the Dominican Domingo Betanzos' statement (1532) that denied the Indians capable of being Christians "had much disturbed" and "greatly alarmed the royal judges of the

Audiencia" (Hanke 13). He was later forced to write a retraction to his statements. Similarly, the royal historian Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés and later Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda "concluded that the Indians were so backward and bestial that they should be converted by force and made to serve the Spaniards as natural slaves" (Hanke 43). These opinions sought to characterize the indigenous as inferior to rationalize subjugation by depriving recognition of their humanity. Micilo realizes and conveys his disbelief through irony and humor that it is the Indians that are the ones to blame for their predicament. In truth, in order to justify the unjust war inflicted on the indigenous, the many Spanish wanted to deny them the gospel because if they were Christian, it would not be as easy to exploit and wage war on them.

This point was also argued in the famous sermon by Antonio Montesinos in 1511 on the island of Hispaniola about the depriving of the Indians of the gospel and cruel treatment. Depriving the Indians of humanity justified the exploitation, or conquest, while circumventing the need to make them equals in the eyes of God, namely Christians. Bartolomé de las Casas also spoke to this oppression and exploitation from first hand experiences during the conquest in his *Brevísima relación de la destrución de las Indias* (1552) diagnosing the vice of greed and ambition as root causes for the atrocities "La causa porque han muerto y destruido tantas y tales y tan infinito número de ánimas los cristianos, ha sido solamente por tener por su fin último el oro y henchirse de riquezas en muy breves días, y subir a estados muy altos y sin proporción de sus personas, conviene a saber, por la insaciable codicia y ambición que han tenido, que ha sido mayor que en el mundo ser pudo" (78-79). All this bloodshed for the hope of obtaining riches are put in terms of balance or *sin proporción*. Though Las Casas is not Pythagorean the use of language of proportion and imbalance and souls recalls Pythagorean language. In other words, the actions of the Spanish are out of proportion and products of bad ideals and fits in with the

critique of the *Diálogo*. Yet again, the pursuit of gold and power are shown to be inherently violent and destructive, compelling individuals to brave great dangers personally and subject others to violence and subjugation in its pursuit.

The initial behaviors of Micilo seen in the dinner and the dream now take on intercontinental proportions. It can be recalled that he wished death on the person he was to replace and dreamed about the erasure of the family of his host to receive the estate. The people going to the Indies have a similar purpose, to kill, erase and acquire their land and material wealth for themselves. This is a problem that is not only embedded in the populace but is established systems to support it on a massive scale by greed and dreams of what money can make for oneself.

Micilo is the everyday man that aspires to take part in the same crushing system for the hope that he is the oppressor rather than the oppressed. The power of money is further argued by Micilo as he concludes that money facilitates everything and being rich signifies an accepted goodness "todo lo puede dinero, las peñas quebranta, los ríos pasan en seco, y no hay lugar tan alto que un asno cargado de oro no lo suba" (205). Through hyperbole, Micilo recognizes the undeniable power of money to make things happen evoking the saying "to move mountains." However, it should be no surprise that the great things money can do in the statement are all described as destructive in nature, i.e., break mountains and drying up rivers. This image serves to reinforce the correlation between ambitions fueled by wealth and exploitation of living systems. Today, the statement brings to mind images of fracking and dams that alter the course of rivers while generating energy. Providing wealth to some while simultaneously destroying the habitat and living space of others. The metaphor of the donkey loaded up with gold being able reach the highest points illustrate that with the right amount of money there is no limit to where

one's ambition can take them. The image of the donkey was explored in the earlier chapter. It is ironic that *Gallo-Pitágoras*'s transformations into a donkey leads to the opposite conclusion, as an overburdened animal drowns under the weight of supplies at the mercy of others' endeavors. The donkey thus becomes a pair of opposing metaphors. On one hand, the donkey is driven and with the right supplies can reach any goal. On the other hand, the donkey also comes to represent the nameless workers that are sacrificed in the name of other's ambitions.

Although Micilo questioned the process of traveling to the Indies and taking from the indigenous peoples he is still mistakenly under the spell of wealth and ambition. Micilo concludes that being rich is an ingredient that makes everything better, friendships, respect, family, etc. however in the end he does not mention the dubious means at how it is earned. It seems he determines that the ends justify the means but simply by omission of the fact. This is strange because it contradicts the criticism he just stated of colonial project and the drive of those actions as problematic. This ability of material wealth is powerful and dangerous precisely because it can deceive and mask realities. Further, Micilo states that being a rich man is generally understood to be worthy of respect while the poor man is met with distain and abhorred for his condition. This is consistent with the actions of Micilo at the dinner and in his dream. Poverty indicates a person without *bienaventurança* that is constantly asking for something.

Micilo contemplates the difference between rich and poor using ideas of exchange "¡Oh qué bienaventurança es el tener que dar, qué miseria es el contino rescebir!" (205). This passage highlights some of the mechanics and flow of goods that Micilo understands. To be rich carries a need to give or spend. What Micilo describes is the means to utilize riches, consumption, and cash flow. For the poor, it is a terrible condition that leads to asking for favor or alms rather than doing and obviously not spending or exerting influence. In essence, Micilo sees the rich as full of

possibilities and the poor lacking in opportunity. To drive the point home, Micilo finishes the argument with the position that “el oro mandaba todas las cosas criadas” (206). Money thus is the key driving force that commands the world. Although money and the desire for it causes some harm, Micilo claims that having gold is a sign of good fortune or even divine favor. Micilo has a selective blindness to the problems that he mentions in his own argument. This blindness is exactly what *Gallo-Pitágoras* will touch on to convince Micilo of the problems with his authoritative perspective on wealth and power.

In order to convince Micilo, *Gallo-Pitágoras* sets about establishing his authority and expertise that also begin to break down notions about accepted ideologies of empire. The notion of authority and how it is derived in eyewitness accounts plays an important role as *Gallo-Pitágoras* derives his authority from experience of lifetimes; “Y hablo esto por saberlo, como lo sé muy bien, porque yo soy muy insperimentado en todas las vidas de los hombres: en un tiempo fue rico y en otro pobre” (206). He has learned much in regard to the subject of the best of all possible lives and how to live. He admonishes Micilo for just as foolish—“en la misma necedad”—as the ignorant folk (“el ignorante vulgo”) who idolize the rich (206). Micilo has according to *Gallo-Pitágoras* bought into the lie of appearances and has missed the reality behind that dream. *Gallo-Pitágoras* explains how the rich actually live much harder and unfortunate lives then one would think. In this instance, *Gallo-Pitágoras* counters Micilo’s thoughts on *bienaventurança* and informs him that he currently possesses this most fortunate life; “nunca yo vi estado de hombre más bienaventurado que el tuyo” (207). It is at this point that Micilo is now completely hooked and implores *Gallo-Pitágoras* to tell him about each of his lives, and what happened in each instance.

The stage is set now for the transformations to illuminate the hidden truth under the misleading fancy clothes, the superficial luxurious parties, and the lack of respect for others that plague the world. *Gallo-Pitágoras* has walked in the shoes of others and learned to from the experiences to value the lives of others. The placement of Micilo offers him a chance to live vicariously through the subsequent stories that include an array of people as well as animals.

Gallo-Pitágoras does not want to start at the beginning of his existence but uses the introduction of past lives as a means to start his argument against the trappings of wealth and false impressions. He avoids getting into the details of the process of the transformations, or what are really transmigrations, to avoid being too *prolixo*. This practice among narrators is quite common to not lose the reader's or listener's interest. However, it is the case that the narrator still digresses. One of the omitted digressions is the specifics of how the soul was joined with a human body by Apollo. According to *Gallo-Pitágoras* it is not necessary for Micilo to really know for the story he is going to tell; "No es necesidad que te diga agora como Apolo traxo mi alma…ni debes tú saber más de que al principio vine a ser Euforbio" (207). *Gallo-Pitágoras* wants to get to his point, much like Micilo did earlier when he wanted to speak of the dream over the dinner. GP does not want to dwell on the problematic mechanics and principals of transmigrations, but Micilo is intrigued at the thought of past lives. Micilo asks if *Gallo-Pitágoras* knows what he was in a past life. *Gallo-Pitágoras* tells Micilo he was an ant in the Americas; "Sabrás que tú fueste una hormiga de las Indias de las que cavan oro para comer" (208). Micilo laments that fact that he was surrounded by so much gold and did not bring any with to the next life. The irony is lost on Micilo that he had previously described the lengths with which people went through to obtain gold in the Indies. *Gallo-Pitágoras* connects Micilo to a past existence as an animal that lived among the gold, he currently desires but in that form the

gold is just another material to dig through to find food. In other words, gold was of no value to the ant. Gold is shifted from a symbol of power and good fortune to a material of little importance. Micilo amazed by the prospect of future possibilities, asks what he will be next. *Gallo-Pitágoras*' power does not extend to the future and quickly moves to begin his story.

The appearance of gold-digging ants in the *las Indias* functions as a link between two different spaces and times to highlight a subtle continuity. The story of the gold-digging ants is transported directly from the source material of Lucian satire of the first century A.D. The original story comes from the Histories of Herodotus in book III and describes the presence of large hairy ants that dug up gold to build their mounds in India in the far east of the Persian Empire. The *Diálogo de las tranformaciones de Pitágoras* takes this story and transports the riches of an exotic land on the frontiers of empire to a new empire, not of the Persians or Greeks but the Spanish. The gold-digging ants are now located not in India but in *las Indias*. The transfer from the far east to the New World works on two levels. First, that there was a confusion of the New World with India. Second, is a connection of a past story connected to the allure for easy economic opportunity from one point of a transcontinental empire to another. The gold is literally just on the ground waiting to be picked up as the ants have dug it up for them. The juxtaposition of the same story transported to a new context makes it clear that this system and perspective is much like *Gallo-Pitágoras* traveling through time and inhabiting new bodies. Those bodies in this case are political bodies of emerging imperial perspectives. Lastly, the connection of Micilo to the gold-digging ants serves to drive the point home that his desires are a continuation of something that has already occurred and continues to happen.

Returning to *Gallo-Pitágoras*, he begins the narration of his transformations as a Trojan soldier named Euphorbus that had proceeded his life as Pythagoras. The short account of

Euphorbus does not describe much of his life, only that he defended Troy and killed Menelaus. The real focus is placed on the veracity of Homer's story about the Trojan War. Micilo asks about *Gallo-Pitágoras*' story compared to the literary account he is familiar with; "por ver si Homero dixo verdad" (209). The importance is centered on the lived experience rather than Homer's secondhand account. *Gallo-Pitágoras* attacks the credibility of Homer for not witnessing the events firsthand; "¿Cómo lo podia él saber pues no lo vio?" (209). He adds knowledge of the past lives of others in similar fashion to Micilo. He explains that Homer was an animal in a past life–*camello de las Indias*–at the time of the Trojan War so he could not really know what had occurred. The importance of firsthand direct eyewitness accounts was point of contention among those trying to prove authenticity and truth. An example of this comes from the claims of Bernal Díaz del Castillo made about the inaccuracies in Spanish historian Francisco López de Gómara's *Historia general de las Indias* (1553) because he was not there to see the events himself. Díaz wrote his *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* (1568) to challenge the work of López de Gómara's authority on the events that occurred. In effect, *Gallo-Pitágoras* is challenging the accepted narratives in a similar fashion.

In order to knock down Homer's Iliad, *Gallo-Pitágoras* reveals that all of the characters were actually the opposite of how they are depicted in the story. Ulysses was not as smart, Helen was not as beautiful, etc. While this tactic is employed to distinguish the authority of *Gallo-Pitágoras* as definitive, he later remarks that fables are not trustworthy sources for the truth; "que en la verdad, fábula es y muy lejos de la verdad, como suele acaecer, que las cosas escritas en historias e contadas en lejos tierras sean muy mayores en la fama y más elegantes de lo que es verdad" (209). Ironically, this statement can be used against Homer also delegitimizes his own discourse, as the same could be argued about Pythagoras. However, *Gallo-Pitágoras* is not really

getting his authority from a pure historical Pythagoras but a moral spirit that has transcended mortal confines and witnessed the many lives. Similarly, *Gallo-Pitágoras* admits that some of the things associated with Pythagoras were in fact not genuine. What is important are the ideas that seek to better humanity's lives.

Returning to the issue of accuracy and truth, *Gallo-Pitágoras* seeks to challenge false notions and appearances. He contends that famous written works from distant places substitute the truth for aesthetic purposes. In this case, he is referring to the epic. This is how *Gallo-Pitágoras* compares himself to Homer. He is telling a story in a straightforward manner in which he observed while Homer is more interested in telling a beautiful story. The takeaway is that beauty and fame in stories are not a reliable indicator of truthfulness. It is also telling that *Gallo-Pitágoras* critiques Homer and the genre of epic poetry because it comes to represent the aesthetic narratives of empires. The artistic form of epic poetry celebrates and praises heroic feats and in history of a nation. Consequently, it is used to immortalize the greatness feats of people such as the founding of Rome in Virgil's *Aeneid* (29 B.C.), Portuguese naval expeditions of Vasco de Gama in Luís Vaz de Camões' *Os Lusíades* (1572 A.D.), and the Spanish conquest of Chile in Francisco de Ercilla's *La Aruacana* (1569 A.D.)[16]. The critique of these texts is a rejection of the glamourized story of empire as heroic and noble. The real story according to *Gallo-Pitágoras* goes beyond these narratives. It is at this point that *Gallo-Pitagoras* will delve into his life as the philosopher Pythagoras to break down the famous stories and provide the truth of his past transformation.

Gallo-Pitágoras applies the same arguments used on Homer's stories to the ones that pertain to his past life as Pythagoras. The philosopher is famous and has many interesting stories

[16] It should be noted that Camões and Ercilla were actually eyewitnesses to the events that they described but still use epic poetry influenced and in the tradition of Virgil, Homer, and Ariosto.

that are regarded as truth and worthy of remembering, however *Gallo-Pitágoras* is setting the record straight or that they "cumple que digamos la verdad" (210). The account of the life as Pythagoras is not a full of praise, rather it attempts to come clean in certain aspects. Even though the story of this transformation is not favorable it is consistent in tearing down lies agreed upon. The image of Pythagoras told by *Gallo-Pitágoras* is of a sophist[17] that deceived people with knowledge learned on travels to Egypt and made his followers believe him to be a god. *Gallo-Pitágoras* admits that in this life; "yo fui en suma un sofista y no necio, muy poco ejercitado en las buenas disciplinas" (210). He calls himself an able sophist and little practiced in his education. This seems to be unfavorable evidence against an importance of Pythagorean ideas in this work being that the figure of Pythagoras is derided as a liar. However, if we follow the same objective of tearing down false images this makes sense. The historical Pythagoras is not as important as the ideas that inspired and proceeded the philosopher and his followers. These ideas of about moral virtue, anti-materialism, and radical compassion have transmigrated, much like the *Gallo-Pitágoras* has through the ages.

What is learned in this section is that Pythagoras of popular renown was a fallible man of flesh and blood that was not a divine being. He may have lacked good practice of his education from the Egyptians, but he was able to create a lasting influence on others. *Gallo-Pitágoras* contains the soul of Pythagoras and much more. *Gallo-Pitágoras* is a transcendent consciousness that has learned over lifetimes the lessons of those experiences. The criticism of the life of Pythagoras serves to show that the spirit has more to offer than the facts of the historical man.

[17] Disparaging term used to denote a false wise man that deceives. The dictionary of Covarrubias (1611) defines the term as; "este nombre fue antiguamente honesto y bueno, y vale tanto como sabio, de la palabra griega, sophia, que vale sapientia, pero después algunos arrogantes habladores que parecen saber mucho, y eran charlatanes, y se aplicaban. Este nombre les dexaron con él, y fin ninguna honra, antes con vituperio, y los verdaderos sabios se llamaron Philosophos, amadores de sabiduria"

The critique is also not focused on an extensive view of Pythagoras or his teachings because the main issue that Micilo is most interested in is the dietary restrictions of abstaining from beans. This supposed vegetarianism was a point used to make fun of Pythagoras. To illustrate this point, there is an anecdote to ridicule Pythagoras stating that he ultimately died because he would not cross of field of beans to escape his enemies. *Gallo-Pitágoras* explains the truth of his life as the famous philosopher as person that new how to gain a following by proposing cryptic enigmas that required deep interpretation as a means to acquire followers and admiration. Despite spurious accounts, *Gallo-Pitágoras* still has much to offer Micilo through the story of his transformations/ transmigrations.

The story of the life of Pythagoras shows just how it is necessary to question the accepted narratives. Micilo knows a great deal about the superficial world that has imposed its system on him. He also knows the stories of Pythagoras and his abstaining of beans and rule of silence. *Gallo-Pitágoras* wants to go beyond these understandings to show the truth hidden. He achieves this by admitting wrong doings as Pythagoras, but he also exhibits very Pythagorean perspective about the dangers of the unbridled avarice and injustice. Pythagoreans challenged the way people perceived money and fame, practicing a life that placed a respect for life and impulse to look beyond the superficial. It is also important to remember that the primary means of telling this story is reliant on the Pythagorean idea of the transmigration of soul. It is through this process that *Gallo-Pitágoras* has gained the insight to teach Micilo in the first place. The book wants to uncover the hidden which is only possible by looking through the eyes and past experiences of others to gain understanding. This is precisely what *Gallo-Pitagoras* does when he tells his stories of past lives. By sharing these lives, he indirectly presents Pythagorean ideals that serve

to critique a corrupt system that oppresses and promotes compassionate alternatives of a purposeful life.

The transformation that *Gallo-Pitágoras* recalls about living as a tyrant king Dionisio of Sicilia and the consequences of this life for his subjects and himself functions as an allegory of empire. From the story, *Gallo-Pitágoras* uncovers the perilous path of empire building by focusing on the Greeks expansion into Sicily through the life of a tyrannical family as a cautionary tale. The endeavor of expansive empire is shown to be inherently destructive and worsens as time goes on. This example of *Gallo-Pitágoras* demonstrates the struggles with a callous system of a kingdom obtained by force as well as the corrupt court life that sustains it. The transformation into Dionisio is the highest position of power and wealth that is discussed in all of the transformations and takes aim at the difficulties of being responsible for so many facets of a kingdom from a top-down perspective. While discussing these factors, *Gallo-Pitágoras* mentions the struggle of a theoretical good king's inability to control colonial systems of labor, such as the *encomienda* and *capitanía*. Micilo comes to see by listening to the life of Dionisio, that the authority of a king is not as glamourous as he thought as well as the widespread effects of a corrupt ruler on a society. This story exemplifies the dangers of imperial ambitions and the cruel consequences of an immoral ruler that is raised in the genealogical tradition of past tyrants passed on to future generations.

The events of Dionisio, the king of Sicily's life, show the depravity of a greedy and ambitious ruler. This king is the historical Dionysius II (c.397 – 343 BCE) son of Dionysius I of Syracuse (c.432-365 BCE). Both rulers were synonymous with cruelty and despotism in the ancient world. *Gallo-Pitágoras* starts by telling Micilo that he was the eldest son of a tyrant king of which he shared his name and a penchant for malice. The recent rulers of the Greek colony of

Sicily had established a heritage of violence and the exercise of destructive behavior against their own people. The kingdom itself is stated to have been acquired by tyranny "el reinado se adquirió por tiranía" (212). This terrible tradition is most evident in the wish of an old woman for his long life because of fear of the alternative "había visto en su vida larga muchos señores tiranos en aquella ciudad, y que contino sucedía otro tirano peor, y que rogaba a los dioses que tú vivieses mucho, porque si acaso había de suceder otro tan malo y más peor, que a todos mandaría quemar juntamente con Siracusa" (216-217). The extremely pessimistic view of the old woman exposes the perception of an inevitability of tyranny that only gets worse from one ruler to the next. Sadly, in her opinion it would be better to suffer the tyrant she knows rather than the next in a decadent line of kings. The system is designed to allow for this type of behavior because each ruler is worse than the next. Focusing on the inhuman treatment as preferable to an unknown alternative speaks to the crushing oppression that is imposed through this government. The story continues to explain how this succession works.

Gallo-Pitágoras explains that the succession of rulers was not simply inherited but was achieved by the favor of the people. To gain this favor, Dionisio seized the fortune of his family and used it to pay the delinquent wages of the soldiers, release those imprisoned by his father for not paying excessive rent costs and tributes, released people from having to pay tributes, and suspended tributes for a period of 3 years. The actions taken by Dionisio show a clear view of just how the cruel senior Dionisio exploited his subjects economically and physically. People were squeezed by excessive taxation and the greedy confiscation of property and wealth for the sole benefit of the king's coffers. Soldiers were also paid just enough to keep them from turning against the crown. The actions of the young Dionisio seem to be righting the wrongs of his predecessor but began with an illegal appropriation of the family estate, ignoring the claims of

his brothers. *Gallo-Pitágoras* describes these reversals, as what gave him the people's misplaced favor. He later becomes king and follows the awful path of his ancestors into darkness. The terrible cycle continues.

To his shame, *Gallo-Pitágoras* reveals the dreadful extent of his inhumanly depraved rule and the people that come to suffer from this established system of oppression. Upon becoming king, he continues the tradition of his father and acts to eliminate threats to his rule. To begin, he brutally murders his brothers by cutting their throats and then burns other family members and important members of the city numbering one thousand souls. In addition to this terrifying massacre, he makes up fake news reports of wars to justify doubling tribute to squeeze more riches out of the people. *Gallo-Pitágoras* makes clear his intention "Mi intención era aumentar tesoros para defender mi mísera vida" (213). Dionisio seeks his own riches and enjoyment over the lives and dignity of his subjects. He even delights in the terrible acts he commits stating "Deleitábame mucho en cortar cabezas de los mayores y en robar haciendas de los menores; hacía traer ante mí aquellas riquezas, deleitábame en verlas" (213). Dionisio does not hide his lack of humanity and openly enjoys in the suffering of others not just as an unfavorable product of economic gain but an added bonus. Unlike the previous stories about the dangers of avarice and pride of the dinner party, this king is completely lost his humanity as part of a heartless system of imperial expropriation and dehumanizing societal structures. He does not see his subjects as people but rather objects of entertainment and commodity. However, his tyranny is not suffered complacently. The people rise up against him and push him into a fortress to defend himself.

Within the fortress, Dionisio not only continues his evil practices but takes them to new lows as he flees an uprising caused by his cruel behavior. He was forced to hide in a fortress with

a few loyal supporters and defend himself against the ire of the people. After some time, the city decided to send ambassadors under a peaceful banner to negotiate with Dionisio. In yet another sign of his depravity, the king had the peaceful ambassadors killed. The murder of men under a banner of peace got the king exiled from even the fortress. Dionisio then went to city of the *Lucrenses* that was subject to Syracuse. The new city generously opened their arms to the fleeing ruler to their detriment. Despite the respect given to Dionisio, he continued his custom of evil acts but now directed at his gracious hosts "Yo, como hombre habituado a las pasadas costumbres, comencé a robar entre ellos lucrenses las haciendas de los ricos, tomando las mujeres hermosas a sus maridos y sacando las encerradas doncellas que estaban consagradas a los templos, y robaba los templos de todos los aparejos de oro y plata que había de sacrificios" (214). The statement brings to mind other depraved despots such as Caligula or Nero. The detestable treatment of the *lucrenses* exceeds the cruelty of Dionisio's previous city. He is in fact, getting worse. Not only does he steal the wealth and livelihood of families but also assaults and rapes married women and temple priestesses and plunders the sacred places of worship. The escalation of his violent actions-- attack and destroy physically, spiritually, and emotionally. To top all this, he is a bad guest to hosts that took him in and offered him refuge. Dionisio is truly the worst of humanity, and it is because of a lack of respect for humanity fostered by a deep selfish avarice and lust for power.

As people begin to conspire against him in his new city, he becomes obsessed with his own mortality and ends his journey exiled and destitute in a foreign city. The *lucrenses* are fed up with the horrifying acts of Dionisio and openly show hatred toward him and justifiably conspire to kill him. As the king had treated others' lives as meaningless, he comes to fear his own demise. As a result, his paranoia and fear lead him to not sleep, eat, or even be shaved by

anyone. He even tries to shave by using a burning coal but burns himself. He spends six years living like this before being kicked out by the *lucrenses*. Dionisio attempts to return to Syracuse but only lasts a few days before he is removed from the city by an old ally turned enemy. He is subsequently exiled for the final time to Corinth where he lives out the remainder of his life at the mercy of others in misery; "Aquí vine a vivir en mucha miseria y tanta necesidad que no tenía una capa con que me defender del frío" (216). His only means of survival at this point is salaried payment to teach reading and writing to young men. At the end, Micilo humorously adds that even in this job he recalls hearing about the cruelty visited upon the young men. *Gallo-Pitágoras* responds with exasperation; "¡Oh, Micilo, todo me lo has de decir, que no callarás algo!" (217). From this story we see a ruler that never changes even when everything is taken away. His cruelty yet remains as part of his identity. The example of the life of Dionisio serves to make the argument of *Gallo-Pitágoras* that the rich and powerful have a responsibility to their people and the almost inevitable corruption as a product of the systems of power that they inherit and inhabit.

At the close of the story, *Gallo-Pitágoras* gives his arguments about difficulties of the lives of rulers and how the system works to make the job relentlessly challenging. The idea is to persuade Micilo that the life of a king is not desirable in comparison to his own life as a shoemaker. However, while making this point it becomes apparent that not only is this life not what it seems but also it is maintained by unjust systems of economic and labor exploitation. *Gallo-Pitágoras* explains that by his firsthand account, the work of governing is a *gran carga* and "no hay mayor dolor en la vida de los hombres que el regir y gobernar" (218). He argues that the work of a king, if he is to be a good one, is never done and is not given a moment to think of his own private wants and desires. In effect he belongs to the state. *Gallo-Pitágoras* makes the

point by referring vaguely the just rulers of antiquity, in particular King Solomon's wise words; "tanto cuanto más trabajaba por ser buen gobernador de su república, tanto y más trabajo y mal añadía para sí" (218). The work of a ruler is thus achieved at the detriment to the ruler themselves. For a just ruler the responsibilities are all encompassing and never ending. This constant pressure leads to a life that is not as luxurious as Micilo may have imagined when he wished to achieve power and wealth[18]. It is obvious that *Gallo-Pitágoras* lived the example of the opposite of this just ruler because he only thought of his own wellbeing and abused the authority of which he was entrusted, but he is explaining here the factors that lead to such ills and adversities for the just ruler.

Gallo-Pitágoras states his position about problems of a just ruler in the structure and system of his officials and their practices. He makes an analogy of the dangerous responsibility of directing a kingdom safely by likening a king to a navigator of a great ship, *piloto de gran navío*. The ship is a metaphor for the kingdom that can be capsized with the slightest of errors on the part of the king or his crew. *Gallo-Pitágoras* explains that carelessness on the part of this *piloto* will result in the loss of the hold's *mercadería* or goods. The question can be asked, what are these goods at stake? The use of an economic term is quite telling when observing how the system looks at people as merchandise or goods to be traded or sold for the benefit of the those that invested in the ship. The utilization of this analogy of the ship is meant to demonstrate the responsibilities of a ruler to guide and steer his people, however it also implicitly reinforces the dehumanizing of people as products to create wealth. This idea is further complicated as *Gallo-*

[18] The idea of Micilo learning of the pressures of ruling kingdoms can also be seen in the apocryphal anecdote associated with Dionysius II of Syracuse, "The Sword of Damocles". Micilo, much like Damocles is in a place where he imagines the life of a king to be luxury, pleasure, fine clothing, and sumptuous feasts. Dionysius hangs the sword perilously over the head of Damocles to illustrate how the king always feels the pressure of death looming over all the finery. After observing the story of the tyranny of the Dionysius' rule, it is plain to see that the fear of impending doom is a result of his own cruelty and well deserved. Dionysius does not mention that he has placed a metaphorical sword over the heads of his entire kingdom with his inhuman cruelty and failure to rule.

Pitágoras describes the many people and interests that a ruler must contend in the governing of his kingdom.

A larger problem consider is that a just king must remain vigilant in the presence of sycophants and flatterers fueled by avarice and ambition that work to gain influence and authority for selfish and nefarious purposes. Returning to the boat analogy mentioned earlier, the navigator cannot just sail the vessel alone. He needs people at various positions to act in certain capacities. Much like this boat, within the system of governing the king relies on others to administer authority inside of court as well as in the greater part of his kingdom to address different facets of life in the kingdom. *Gallo-Pitágoras* highlights the need to oversee those that work on the king's behalf to ensure that "los oficiales de su república sean justos, no robadores, no cohecheros, ni sosacadores de las haciendas de los míseros de los ciudadanos" (219). If these agents of the crown are immoral, they will cause much harm to the lives of the people and the state by misusing their power to enrich themselves at others' expense. Even more dangerous is the propagation of this misery by spreading corruption through the sale of other positions and posts of authority to villainous people for profit. To this effect, *Gallo-Pitágoras* states "usar del deleite y de la lujuria, del robar para adquirir tesoros vendiendo sinos, preturas y gobiernos para personas tiranas que le destruyen los vasallos y súbitos" (220). The problem here described is the complexities of an economic system that reinforces itself through transactions that uphold the exploitation of the populace. The story of Dionisio shows a perspective of a tyrannical leader as the one causing the problems but fails to show the systems that uphold these cruel tyrants. *Gallo-Pitágoras* is presenting that structure and how it functions by describing the behavior of those that work for the crown. In the end, it is clear that the king cannot just pass the responsibility or the blame on to the false and greedy officials because ultimately the king is responsible and must

choose wisely “que todo ha de caer sobre él y sobre su buena solicitud” (222). From this great responsibility the king must juggle a lot of issues and govern with the proverbial “Sword of Damocles” dangling over their head. However, despite all the diligence of a theoretically just ruler, the system continues to promote the exploitation of peoples within its territories. *Gallo-Pitágoras* implicitly criticizes how specific systems of colonial and imperial oppression are yet present in an expanding overseas empire by alluding to very specific systems, the *encomienda* and the *capitanía*.

The responsibility of the king to govern is paramount for the health of his kingdom and peoples, however expanding the size of a kingdom opens up new ethical problems that a ruler must contend with and govern effectively. The establishment of systems in the New World of forced labor and communal slavery in *encomiendas* and *capitanías* posed just such a problem in the nascent Spanish empire. *Gallo-Pitágoras* continues his position about the difficulties inherent to kingship and describes the discontent and unease of a monarch that must contend with systems that exploit its subjects unjustly. He illustrates the terrible conditions that befall the subjects under the unjust systems of forced labor by describing the extent of the misery created; “Pues allende desto, qué trabajos se ofrecen en las encomiendas de las capitanías y de los oficios del campo, de oír las quejas de los míseros labradores, que los soldados les destruyen sus mieses y viñas y les roban su ganado, que no basta mantenerlos de balde, más que les toman por fuerza las mujeres e hijas, y sin les poder defender” (222). The abuse of subjects under the king’s jurisdiction are presented in a manner that should rightly weigh heavily on the conscience of the king. *Gallo-Pitágoras* poses the question how would a good king feel about these incidents and how would they be able to find any peace; “el buen rey ¿qué sintirá?¿con que sosiego podrá dormir, con que sabor comer y qué felicidad piensas que pude tener?” (222). The truth is they

should feel unease and deep concern because they may not have the actual power to protect their subjects from the predatory nature of systems that reduce people to commodities or to use the term from the ship analogy, goods. The statement takes aim at the forced labor and abhorrent treatment of the indigenous population under the supposed protection of the crown.

The *encomienda* was a practice established during the Reconquista period as a means of giving rights to demand tribute from non-Christians in borderlands newly conquered from Moorish kingdoms. This system was brought and transformed to the New World to motivate the conquistadors to order the newly conquered lands, as Elliot writes; "Over large parts of Spanish America the encomienda became the chosen instrument for satisfying the demand of the conquerors for a share of the spoils, in the form of Indian tribute and services, and at the same time for discouraging them from laying waste the land and moving on in search of more plunder" (Elliot 39). Unlike the system on the Iberian Peninsula, they did not own rights to the land only a group of indigenous people that would perform labor services. The *encomendero* was obliged to provide instruction of the Christian faith, teach the Spanish language, and protect to the people entrusted to them (40).

So, the beginning of this practice of giving rights to the invaders for the tributes and forced labor of conquered peoples is established to create order backed by royal authority and law. Unfortunately, that problematic order was not enforced and proved to be even worse when abused by those entrusted with populations of peoples, as noted by Bartolomé de las Casas in his *Brevísima relación de la destruición de las indias* (1552), himself at one point an *encomendero*. The system treated the indigenous as slaves all but in name and forced them to work in brutal conditions. Although the Spanish monarchs played part in the establishing of this system to promote specific objectives within the imperial system, upon becoming aware of the terrible

atrocities committed against these new subjects they were forced to confront the real consequences of their actions and rule in these far-off places. This feeling is much like the unease mentioned by *Gallo-Pitágora* in his argument for the difficulty in the lives of kings. As the issues of abuses came to the attention of the crown it led to the creation of the New Laws in 1542 regarding the treatment of indigenous peoples by revising the encomienda system and creating new protections under the law for indigenous peoples. As Elliot explains "Deeply concerned about the maltreatment and brutal exploitation of their Indians by many *encomenderos*, and then by the horrifying decline in the size of the Indian population, the crown sought with varying degrees of success, to transform the heavy labor services of *encomienda* Indians into the payment of tribute" (40). However, despite these changes to legal policy, the actual treatment of the indigenous population was not really improved and in truth the crown always held its own interest and influence as most important. Returning to the text, the mentioning of the *encomienda* serves to ground the critique of rulers firmly in a Spanish context. *Gallo-Pitágoras* told the story of a Greek king tyrant king of Sicilia but connects those cruelties and systemic abuse of peoples to the context of Spanish expansion in the first half of the sixteenth century. The point of *Gallo-Pitagoras* is to show Micilo how his life is much more tranquil and better than that of a king, but in the process shows specifically the injustices committed in the name of systems of power that even a theoretical "just king" participates. The point is to uncover these injustices so that Miclio does not develop further into another cog of this machine that grinds up life to be reformed into capital and position.

In the end, it is a life of modest and humble life that is promoted over the life of kings or the rich and powerful. Even if a one attempts to live virtuously, the positions of power, wealth, and governance create worlds that are a constant battle to navigate. This chapter has looked at

the wider implications of imperial conquest and the consequences for all involved. The doubts and concerns of Micilo about the ethics of conquest and seizure of the resources and lands of the Indians. His question reckons with the justice of empire and the growing system of predatory expansion. Clearly, the central force is Money and its power to move mountains and rivers. However, this influence is also inherently violent and destructive. Prompting those that fall into its trap to devalue not only the lives of others but even their own safety. Micilo had begun to fall under the hypnotic force of money and status as virtue. Micilo and the reader have a very unique vantage point to contemplate the consequences of the unfettered acquisition of wealth and status. *Gallo-Pitágoras*' varied transformations establishes a continuity by describing the experiences and lived as an eyewitness and the past lives of others. Connections between the world of antiquity and the present concerns of Spanish imperialism are evident in gold digging ants of India that are now translocated to the Indies. *Gallo-Pitágoras* challenges the authority of epics that stand in as the narratives that support imperial myth making by knocking down Homer and the popular account of Pythagoras as sophist. A different narrative thus becomes visible. One through which hidden Pythagorean values enhance the critique by highlighting the transmigratory structure as way to reckon with the timeless systems of oppression. The example of Dionisio of Sicilia serves as an allegory for the worst of imperial rule and the systems that hold up the unjust. The final point leads back to the praise of a simple life of the shoemaker over the elephantine responsibilities of a ruler. Unfortunately, even for a good ruler the sheer size of a kingdom makes the just administration near impossible due to the systems in place. Part of these systems highlights the encomienda system and forced labor in the Americas as an example of the pain and exploitation that you are near powerless to stop. The view is a bit pessimistic but

recognizes the issues with the abuses of the *encomenderos* out of royal reach even as the crown attempted to enact new laws.

In the next section of this dissertation the development of these Pythagorean literary critiques and the spirit of Pythagoras will transmigrate yet again to inspire a different Spanish writer and his context a century later. The development of Pythagoras as a means to critique takes on a new time and its problems that concern Spaniard of converso heritage and his attempts to use literature to enact social changes. As the anonymous *Diálogo de las transformaciones de Pitágoras* looked to the past to understand the present, Antonio Enríquez Gómez will take from this tradition to look and continue the use of transmigrations and Pythagoras but to call out the problems he sees in his home and in exile. The torch is thus past.

Chapter 5: What is really Pythagorean about *El Siglo Pitagórico*?

"pues la opinión es falsa, recordemos
y el sueño pitagórico enmendemos;
salgamos del engaño."
–Antonio Enríquez Gómez (377)

In the year 1644 in Rouen, France, Antonio Enríquez Gómez wrote his most popular book, a satirical perspective on his time and a literary means to make it better. His choice to use Pythagorean as the adjective to describe his *siglo,* which can mean century or age, is a curious one. As the reader, it makes us want to know what makes the *siglo pitagórico,* because its presence in the title reveals undoubtably a key aspect of the story, setting, or premise. The image of Pythagoras today is primarily connected to mathematics, triangles, and the Pythagorean theorem, but in the time of Enríquez, he is understood as a classical moral authority and represented a philosophy, lifestyle, and heretical eschatological beliefs about the nature of the soul. Although Enriquez does not believe in Pythagorean philosophy per se—as he states, "Pues la opinión es falsa"—he finds "pitagórico" to be a valuable modifier, nonetheless. In Enríquez´s usage, Pythagorean often carries with it a sense of dynamism and movement; it indicates not only the transmigration of souls, but also a means to move away from or escape the falseness of a vain society: "el sueño pitagórico enmendemos; salgamos del engaño" (377) The Pythagorean dream may be false, but it is accompanied by a hope of transitioning (or transmigrating) away from deception. In other words, Pythagorean, as adjective, implies both a real aspiration and a false dream.

The Pythagorean modifier of the title exhibits the quiet revolutionary aspect of the book much like the community that followed the Samian philosopher. Pythagoras and his followers sought a way to understand the nature of our connections to the unseen forces of creation,

likewise, *El siglo pitagórico* seeks the same knowledge albeit through a purposeful confusion of Pythagorean and Christian elements in the form of shared moral virtues. Despite Enríquez's lack of belief in the transmigration of souls, he uses it in illuminating ways throughout the book. Scholars have argued that *El siglo pitagórico* uses Pythagorean doctrine as a narrative and structural device but is at its heart not a philosophic work. Nechama Hellinx-Kramer contends, "El siglo pitagórico no es una obra filosófica, sino una que emplea aspectos de la doctrina pitagórica para probar una tesis de mayor importancia. Así que el marco de pitagórico sirve de medio en que se desarrolla su actitud" (314). Likewise, Teresa de Santos, paraphrasing Carmen de Fez, maintains the lack of philosophical dimension and sees the Pythagorean element, "como mero artificio estructurante" (33). These scholars make cogent arguments about the use of Pythagorean philosophy in their studies, however a closer look at these elements in *El siglo pitagórico* can help reveal more than previously observed and unearth hidden applications of Pythagoras and his philosophy in the book that answer important questions at the core of its purpose. Pythagoras and Pythagorean philosophy seeks to reveal the hidden and to answer profound questions about human existence, our purpose on this earth, and what happens when we die. Through these aspects it is possible to see that *El siglo pitagórico* may not necessarily be a manifesto of a renewed cult of Pythagoras and his teachings, nevertheless, Enríquez indeed reminds us of the harmonic undertones of classical ideas that are right below the surface and useful to reveal truths of his time that are Christian and at the same time essentially compatible with Pythagorean beliefs and lifestyle.

The presence of Pythagoras and the doctrine of the transmigration of souls allows the reader to witness a range of individuals and perspectives while providing a satirical way to critique the age or century. Pythagoras himself appears as a character that guides the narrator, the

nameless pilgrim soul protagonist, and the reader on a spiritual quest through time and space with the goal of finding a virtuous existence composed of body and soul. Similarly, the transmigration of the souls provides a means to enter the head of various individuals afflicted and defined by vice by having the soul literally enter various bodies. This process provides the reader a way to literally get under the skin of hypocrisies and lies embedded in specific members of society. *El siglo pitagórico* has been read by Teresa de Santos, Glen F. Dille, and Rosa Navarro-Durán as pseudo-picaresque because the wandering soul protagonist does not really fit the motive of the classic *pícaro* that learns how to navigate a vicious world by learning how to trick just to survive and eat. Likewise, the wandering soul doesn't learn how to trick to survive and navigate, rather it is trying to figuratively swim against the current to find a virtuous body and attempts to make its host bodies more conscious of how they are not living the way they should. Unlike picaresque novels, the use of the transmigration of souls facilitates a way to transcend earthly time, to experience and see from the inside the perspectives and actions of individuals across a spectrum of class, gender, and economic standing in early modern Spanish society.

Looking more closely at the presence of Pythagoras and the transmigration of souls allows for a deeper understanding of the book. This look for the hidden mechanisms illustrates a very Pythagorean process as it was a key part of the *modus vivendi* of his followers to seek the mysteries of nature and the cosmos. Although Pythagoras and his philosophy were born of the classical world, they are unmistakably evident in Christian moral values. An example of this compatibility is present in the *Golden Verses* that are attributed to Pythagoras that echo many of the tenets of Christianity and the reinterpretation of Pythagoras as a pre-Christian saint among Renaissance scholars. The confusion that arises in the parallels between Pythagoreanism and

Christian doctrine leads us to the conclusion that Pythagoras and his philosophy have transmigrated into a new form and live anew. As the laudatory *décima* before the book by Francisco Luís Henríquez de Mora exclaims, "Queda Pitágoras vivo y el siglo desengañado" (69). Pythagoras lives on and the century disillusioned by its failure to deceive! This study focuses on Pythagoras and his philosophy, bringing to the forefront the Pythagorean shadow of *El siglo pitagórico*. Upon a closer reading, Pythagorean elements are present in the mechanics of transmigration in the structure of the book, the representation of Pythagoras himself, the acquisition of knowledge through memory, and the exaltation of Pythagorean virtues.

Moving beyond Pythagoras himself, it becomes necessary to address the use and meaning behind the presence of the doctrine so famously connected to the philosopher. The belief in the transmigration of souls is attributed to Pythagoras and his followers and is a central part of their philosophy, as Burkert explains, "That Pythagoras taught the doctrine of metempsychosis is generally regarded, and rightly, as the one most certain fact in the history of early Pythagoreanism" (120). Similarly, Porphyry, a prominent Neo-Pythagorean, references the teaching of the doctrine in that "He [Pythagoras] taught the soul is immortal, and that after death it transmigrates into other animate bodies. After certain specified periods, he said, the same event occurs again, for nothing is entirely new; all animated beings are kin, he taught, and should be considered as belonging to one great family" (Luchte 6). The transmigration of souls thus refers to the understanding that our souls are immortal, incorporeal, and intellectual beings that move and inhabit multiple bodies (animal or human). The movement composes part of a greater system in which all life is connected. Pythagoreans believed that one had to attune oneself to this network by means of a lifestyle of purification, recollection of memory, and re-connection to the divine source of creation, or the All in the form of the monad.

The transmigration of souls is a kind of awakening to one's place in the universe and recognition of a lost connection to the divine source of all existence. As James Luchte writes "the doctrine of transmigration contains both an account of the opening from the divine to the world and suggests a path of return of the soul to the divine" (105). In accordance with this understanding of the mechanics of transmigration, Antonio Enríquez Gómez proposes a story of a soul that enters this cycle and must find its way back to its divine origins by the union of spirit and flesh in celestial harmony. In order to accomplish this feat, the soul transmigrates into body after body in search of an individual who is conscious of their divine purpose and lives according to their virtuous potential. Similarly, the readers are also able to enter through the opening made possible through the book and find their way back to an understanding of the path to virtue that has been obfuscated by vice masquerading in disguise. As the soul searches for the path to moral goodness and closeness to the divine, so too does the reader. Ultimately, through the journey of the transmigrations and Pythagorean doctrine of purification, the corrupted elements of society and the age are explored and exposed to allow for the reader to come to an understanding of the falsities of the world through a clever lie. In other words, the false belief of the transmigrations of souls serves to beat vice at its own game, as the cloaked truths of Pythagorean thought, essentially foment Christian moral virtue revealed in a dream.

The most important aspects of transmigration to the Pythagoreans, as mentioned above, are the process of purification, the focus on memory, and realization of connection to the divine source of all. To delve into the first aspect, Pythagoreans sought to attune themselves to the divine and transcend this ephemeral life through a lifestyle of meaningful existence and contemplation of the natural world. In order to achieve this understanding, the followers of Pythagoras left the city to live in a community with themselves and nature in a desire to purify

themselves of the vices of a false world. The followers of Pythagoras therefore attempted to purify themselves through meditation and learning to bring themselves closer to the divine. To achieve this, they ate a specific diet, wore modest white clothing, and studied natural phenomena in the light of the sun. Daily routine thus took on symbolic meanings as every action taken held a significant purpose. With the belief that the soul would transmigrate after death to another vessel or body, it was one's duty to learn from the mistakes of the past and attain ultimate closeness to God by understanding humanity's place in a greater interconnected universe. Pythagoras is reported to have said all learning is merely remembering (Marciano 442), and that he was the conduit through which his followers could recall the limitless hidden knowledge they had forgotten from previous lifetimes and eventually take their rightful place in the cosmos.

Returning directly to Pythagoras himself in *El siglo pitagórico*, he appears as the spiritual authority that personally directs the wayward protagonist soul to reform its being through the process of transmigration of souls. The soul must live, die, and repeat, to purify itself before it can understand virtue, i.e., the path of harmony interpreted in this book as Christian moral goodness while still Pythagorean in nature. The first interaction between Pythagoras and the soul makes clear the philosopher's purpose in the story and the relationship they will have. The first words of Pythagoras are a command to the protagonist soul, "-¡Alto a nacer segunda vez!" (74) As mentioned earlier, Pythagoras is the catalyst that drives the soul on its quest and steers it in the beginning. The soul tries to be reborn of its mother but Pythagoras retorts, "¡No es ésta la posada, sal al punto!" (74) The reason for not allowing the soul to be reborn of the same mother shows a desire to push it to learn new lessons and experience new situations in the pursuit of a more virtuous vessel, described as "otro más puro" (74). Pythagoras then continues by explaining that now the protagonist is spirit "*forma*" and has a duty and purpose to cleanse itself

of sin and past evils. The soul is dumbfounded and frightened by the occurrence of losing its body only to be reprimanded for its myopic self-centeredness and lack of understanding of the nature of man's place in the heavens. Pythagoras proceeds to admonish the soul further. This is evident in the first incredulous question, if the soul thought that its mortal life would last forever. The next question functions on two levels, first chiding the soul for its naivety about its mortal existence in the universe and second, pointing out the soul's connection to a larger celestial sphere.

"Pues, dime, ¿pretendías
vivir eternamente con los días?
¿Imaginaste que tu vida fuera
la luminaria de la cuarta esfera,
que, devanando edades,
siglos se traga y bebe eternidades?
¡Busca otro cuerpo y mira cómo vives,
que el que dejaste en otro le recibes!" (75)

These verses present Pythagoras as a stern teacher who scolds the soul for its lack of thought about a connection to the divine while presenting the possibilities that attunement to the heavens offers. Pythagoras asks, did you imagine yourself the sun, "luminaria de la cuarta esfera" or the source of light of the fourth sphere of the heavens, able to eat and drink time without end and unravel its ultimate meaning? On one hand, it points out the soul as if it were the center of the universe while at the same time illuminating an interconnected cosmic system of which we are a part. Living a mortal life with an eye toward the eternal allows for a profound understanding of time metaphorically *devanando edades* or unraveling the ages as if they were a tapestry. The tone of the inquiry shows Pythagoras as tired of humanity´s selfishness.

The spirit of Pythagoras here is an ethereal being that exists in a timeless liminal space as he does not transmigrate like the protagonist soul. He functions like a psychopomp, or a guide that leads souls to their final resting place —such as Charon on the river Styx in Greek

mythology— however, unlike the traditional guides to the afterlife, Pythagoras enforces a personal search for communion with the divine. As the book does not show that Pythagoras is transmigrating into new bodies it can be assumed that he has discovered the secrets of connecting to the divine and now guides others to the path of divine realization as an elevated being. Much like the allegory of Plato's cave, he is having a difficult time describing what it is like to have seen the truth of creation, because the soul does not respect Pythagoras's call and resents the journey he is forced to embark on.

Returning to the last verses of the passage, the call is made to the soul to find a new body and observe life. Naturally the protagonist soul can't comprehend the depths of this compromise and asks, "Y cuántos cuerpos he de entrar" (75) to which Pythagoras ends the interactions with a cryptic response, "-Elige/ el que mejor a ti pareciere,/ y mira que, el que muere, muere y muere." (75) Pythagoras' last words before the start of the soul's arduous transmigrations place the burden of responsibility of this journey on the protagonist soul. It must take an active role in finding a way to connect body and soul. The anaphora of the word *muere* echoes the inevitability of multiple deaths and rebirths.

The image of Pythagoras in this first encounter shows a character that initiates a process of self-revelation for the protagonist but is not very specific as to how it is to attain this purge of sin and discovery of virtue. The enigmatic call to action can be understood through the lens of Pythagoreanism's of the use of *symbolae*[19] and enigmas to hide meaning from the uninitiated. The Pythagoreans were not permitted to write down the teachings of the master and passed information orally and to only those that proved themselves worthy in commitment. In *El siglo pitagórico,* the soul is a novice and has not yet proved itself worthy of the understanding that

[19] This term refers to a collection of phrases that must be interpreted to understand their true meaning. The true meanings of these phrases were a secret held by members of the Pythagorean cult.

come from time and close observation of divinity and remembrance of past lives. Some of the secrets are literally hidden in the questions presented earlier. Pythagoras as spiritual guide offers a means to unravel these hidden meanings in a path dependent on personal realization and discovery.

The second appearance of Pythagoras comes nearly at the end of the book after the protagonist soul has spoken to three even older souls that explain the nature of the world based on their own memories of previous lives. The soul is frustrated with so much disappointment in the lack of virtue experienced among the previous transmigrations, when Pythagoras implores it to not be distracted from its mission.

"y a Pitágoras veo, hecho gitano,
y díjome llorando:
—Hasta cuando, hasta cuando
has de estar distraída?
¡Métete en este cuerpo, por tu vida!" (373)

Pythagoras's emotional reaction to the soul's frustration and lack of desire to continue its transmigrations is consistent with his initial contempt of the incredulous protagonist. The commands used by Pythagoras denote a sense of speaking to an inferior, a reluctant, wisecracking student. He is obviously not used to a student who talks back. These commands are followed by a series of possible bodies to inhabit that are rejected by the soul as it recognizes how they are most likely to live and the death they will inevitably face. An example of this quick exchange is humorous as the curt answers of the soul further angers Pythagoras, "—Vístete deste sastre»/«—No pretendo perderme por desastre" (374). At the end of the kaleidoscopic offering of possible bodies, the exasperated moral philosopher makes one last attempt at directing the soul on its mission.

"Enojóse Pitágoras, mi dueño,
y díjome: —Recuerda de tu sueño

y busca la virtud. — ¿Adónde vive?
le respondí. —Recibe
la doctrina moral; curioso eres:
vive en ti mismo, búscala si quieres.” (375)

The final exchange of words between the guide and pilgrim redirects the soul inward and reminds it that this is a dream. In the pursuit of virtue, the soul has been looking outward and understandably so as it was pushed to find virtue through a process of transmigrating into bodies, however, the true path has always been of a personal nature. Further, the recollection of this journey as a dream sets the stage for the soul to find the true moral doctrine. Although Pythagoras is angry with the wayward soul, this statement seems to give one last *symbola* –or enigmatic phrase– to be deciphered in hopes of it realizing its potential, “recuerda de tu sueño” and “la doctrina moral” if you are curious to find it, it lives in you. In reminding the soul of the journey as a dream, Pythagoras gives it a renewed agency. The realization of the lucidity of the dream illuminates the protagonist that it has been in control of the journey the entire time and has known the qualities of moral goodness from the start, although it needed to learn this by transmigrating.

In Pythagorean fashion, the truth was hidden in plain sight but not recognized or understood until the protagonist soul had accumulated enough understanding to find the true path. This realization comes to fruition in the final transmigration as the soul seems to manifest the path to the rare virtuous man.

“Halléme del consejo tan señora
que, rumbo celeste divisé en el cielo
y así alenté mi divertido vuelo” (377)

Pythagoras as the spiritual guide has led the soul to its connection to the divine in concordance with the goal of the Pythagoreans, the union of body and soul in service to the divine. The soul alluding to the divine aurora of a new sun “nuevo sol de su divina aurora,”

strikes a contrast to the first encounter in which Pythagoras ridiculed the soul for its misplaced understanding of its place in the universe as "la iluminaria de la cuarta esfera." The fact that the soul connects its newly acquired knowledge to the sun's rising light is consistent with the reverence afforded the sun as worthy of worship by the Pythagoreans. The soul realizes that knowledge is a product of remembrance and reflection that Pythagoras has fomented in it since the beginning. Transmigration has functioned as an allegory for salvation. As the soul remembers all the transmigrations and refuses to relive the experiences, it has learned and come to understand the mechanisms of vice and doesn't want to perpetuate it. Although Pythagoras himself was not present the entire time, his direction, ultimate purpose, and philosophy are transmitted to the pilgrim soul. The protagonist now sees the celestial road "rumbo celeste divisé en el cielo/ y así alenté mi divertido vuelo" to heaven and is on its way to attunement with the spiritual heavenly spheres and the achievement of its sacred potential.

Focusing now on structure, *El siglo pitagórico* relies on the transmigration of souls as the narrative engine for the plot and a means to critique Spanish early modern society and present an alternative lifestyle in line with Christian ideals through an emphasis on the Pythagorean notions of purification, recollection, and reconnection to the divine. In the story, the narrator awakes from his slumber to a dream in which his soul has left his body and is charged by the spirit of Pythagoras himself to embark on a quest to find virtue and cleanse the sins that he has accumulated in prior lives. Each chapter is a subsequent turn in the cycle of the transmigration of souls and propels one reluctant soul into a series of bodies in hopes of finding an elusive virtuous existence. The soul must therefore inhabit new bodies until it can comprehend its place in creation and find a purer material and "purga lo pasado" (75) to ultimately unite with a being that strives for an existence in tune with the divine.

The first transmigration into an ambitious man begins the protagonist soul's arduous journey. This transmigration introduces the reader to the structure of transmigrations within the book and how they embody the inner struggle between soul and body to commune in virtue. In this first transmigration, the protagonist —a wayward soul— explains how he leaves his sleeping body and begins his journey. Through this journey we observe the mechanics of the transmigration of souls in the book and how they blend Christian and Pythagorean ideals.

"Yo que vi mi cuerpo desalmado
se quedaba perdido de contado,
siendo paje, mi espíritu, perdido,
amo nuevo buscó, y amo lucido,
pues al formarse un niño revoltoso,
en el cuerpo me entré de un ambicioso" (76)

Within this description the soul looks upon its spiritless and unconscious body from above. The soul describes itself as a *paje*, page or vasal, that has lost its *amo*, master. The relationship between the soul and body is imbalanced, giving the position of agency and authority to the body while the soul is meant to serve as a guide. An important trait to pay attention to in this initial transmigration is the characteristic *lucido*. The soul from the outset recognizes the need for the body that it will inhabit to be a conduit of light, that exemplifies grace and understanding. The importance of light as a source of creation and revelation is consistent in both Christian and Pythagorean teachings. As the soul enters the body, as it is recently born, it is already evident the struggle that the soul must overcome within its subordinate position in the power dynamic. Its mission will be to find a virtuous body that will *lucirse* or shine with divine light upon itself. Unfortunately for this soul, it will need to live more than one lifetime in order to find this union of earthly and divine, but that is by design and a necessary part of the cyclical process of the transmigration of souls. It has not learned from its experiences yet and will need to slowly cleanse itself by transmigrating and living multiple existences.

Toward the end of the life of the ambitious man, the second part of the transmigration of the soul is highlighted in the moment the soul leaves the body upon its death. Having finalized a dialogue arguing the nature of ambition, the soul admits defeat because it has failed to convince his material counterpart of the error of his ways,

"Parecióme que el dueño de mi alma
llevaría la palma
a cuantos la ambición sin luz conquista,
y que me condenaba a letra vista" (81).

It is at this point that the soul realizes that it can do nothing more to save this body or convince it of its divine calling. It is important to note that ambition is pictured as the conqueror of many without the light. The lack of light is important because it makes clear the lack of connection to divine knowledge. The failure is not just the perdition of the body but also the soul, being condemned because both must unite in cause to achieve celestial transcendence. The soul decides that its presence in this body is inconsequential and decides to leave as it exclaims to itself, "¡Jaque de aquí!—me dije—, porque el Draque/ puede estimar un jaque" (81). The double entendre of *jaque* serves as an interjection announcing the soul's imminent departure and a move in chess, the check. The second part is an explanation for the sudden exit of the soul that rhymes the name of the infamous English pirate Francis Drake, *El Draque* with the chess move, the check or *jaque*. The reason for the departure according to the saying is because Drake can appreciate a check or threat. The rhyme can be interpreted as a concession to the lost argument of soul to the ambition man. As Francis Drake appreciates a threat so too does the soul. After this concession of the argument the book reveals the fate of this ambition man, sickness and death.

"Y sin pedille a la ambición,
sin cargo de conciencia,
le vino un tabardillo de repente;
y cuando estaba el pulso intercadente,
sin que nadie me viese, una mañana

tan de prisa salí por la ventana,
que ni visto ni oído
fui de todo sentido,
porque me dio mi curso altivo y ciego
las que suelen llamar Villadiego." (81-82)

As the ambitious man is stricken by typhus (*tabardillo*), the soul decides to leave as the body slowly weakens. While the pulse of the ambitious man wanes, the soul quickly leaves the body without being seen or heard and escapes out the window. Immediately after the soul's exit the body is left without life and no longer animated. With this death the first transmigration is complete, but the soul's journey is just beginning. It will continue to transmigrate and encounter more flawed individuals whom it will also fail to influence. As mentioned above, the soul is a passenger that suffers the mortal existence of sinners and has little power to affect the fate of his host despite being a key element in the animation of the body. Thinking of the doctrine of transmigration of souls of the Pythagoreans, the body's agency is consistent with the representation in *El siglo pitagórico*. It is the responsibility of the body to seek out the divine in action and intent. People must search for hidden secrets and seek their purpose in accordance with God's plan and our place in creation. The soul here is a representation of the connection to the divine in search of a worthy conduit to achieve the goal of union with God.

This understanding is clearly mentioned later in the middle of the soul´s journey before the fifth transmigration into the body of don Gregorio Guadaña, "Determiné de buscar amo entre tantos ciudadanos ilustres como honraban sus edificios, procurando algún instrumento material bien organizado, donde pudiese tocar las espirituales cuerdas de mi naturaleza" (131). Although the choice to transmigrate into specific bodies was not consistent with the belief of the Pythagoreans, the process of attunement and need to remember one's past lives is consistent. In the book, the soul recognizes its part in the choosing of bodies to inhabit that can connect with

the spiritual nature hidden within to perceive and create harmony in the form of divine music. In this case the body is an instrument that must be tuned well so it can play the music of the spirit. The metaphor of union alludes to the necessary play between the immaterial music produced by a temporal instrument. Much like the protagonist soul, through understanding the transmigrations the reader must come to see the greater structure of heavenly harmony and hear the music that is produced by the correct notes in the actions of the characters.

Further exploring the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, it is necessary to focus on the purpose and product of the transmigrations to connect to the heavens. Achieving the union with the divine is only attainable through the process of recognizing and seeking purity in an orderly lifestyle and the accumulation of the wisdom of past transmigrations. In order to achieve purity, one must gain knowledge that is only available through remembrance of the past, or in other words memory. Pythagoras's knowledge was reported to have stemmed from his ability to remember his past lives, or previous transmigrations, which in turn allows him to perceive the true nature of man's purpose (Marciano 442). Thus, Pythagoras' soul can live a more celestially attuned life because it has retained its memories and has learned from the mistakes of the past.

The second transmigration in *El siglo pitagórico* is into a *malsín* or informer. This part exhibits the first inklings of the product of the process of transmigration, namely memory. The soul was charged to purify itself in accordance with the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, but in order to do this it must accumulate and learn from past lives. It is possible to see the entire book as a conduit to recover memory and share it with others to pass on knowledge. The second transmigration shows a clear memory of the previous experiences in the life of the ambitious man and the informer. The soul divorced of its first body finds itself without a master, looks for another life to begin and remembers its unfortunate birth into such a terrible individual.

"Cuando me vi sin amo y sin dinero,
quise mirar primero
en qué casa me entraba,
y vi que una comadre aceleraba
el paso a cierta historia,
por mi mal concebida en la memoria" (85).

Devoid of a body, the soul notices a woman about to give birth, and recognizes the opportunity to transmigrate. The memory of this moment of transmigration is remembered by the soul as it recounts the story for the reader. The soul has begun the process of purification as it uses its memory of the past life as it recalls "por mí mal concebida en la memoria." Another example of the accumulation of memory to purify is present later as the soul starts to compare the severity of the vices that it has experienced. The soul recognizes the evils of the informer as much worse than those of the ambitious man "¡Mejor me estaba yo con mi ambicioso!" (87). This moment of lamenting the greater evil that it must experience shows a learning from remembrance and use of memory as greater understanding.

Throughout the subsequent chapters the soul continues to transmigrate into multiple bodies and repeats the process, all the while taking in the experience and learning of the way vice seems to manifest itself in excessive emotions and desire for wealth, status, and or power. Toward the end of the book two wise nameless souls interact with the protagonist soul to provide extra guidance along the path to virtue from their formidable knowledge gained from memories of their past lives. The protagonist soul is exhausted from so many seemingly meaningless transmigrations and comes upon an ancient soul from whom he wishes to ask counsel, "Cansada de vanas transmigrations, determiné de tomar consejo con algún espíritu anciano que hubiese peregrinado o trasegado más cuerpos que yo" (363). This ancient spirit is shown to be wiser than the protagonist for the simple fact that it has transmigrated into many more bodies than he: "se había paseado por doce mil y quinientos cuerpos sin haber podido hallar uno que le agradase.

Conocióme la enfermedad" (363). This *espíritu anciano* is a more experienced traveler on the same pilgrimage and can provide guidance because it is purer and remembers more, although the vision of the ancient soul's fate is bleak because it was unable to find a virtuous man. The ancient spirit explains the plight of the soul's pilgrimage into a "bosque de fieras" where it is easy to become lost in cruel labyrinths where one loses one's reason and memory. Therefore, the ancient soul after more than twelve thousand years has unfortunately lost its ability to learn from its memories and wanders lost with a muddled purpose. The protagonist soul was a vivid example of the existence in which memory is eroded and purification and connection to the divine is lost.

Although the ancient spirit has become disillusioned with the state of the mortal world, it still has valuable insights to share with the protagonist soul about the problematic natures of body and soul. The body is shown to be a fragile and unworthy vessel for the perfect spirit, yet there is a glimmer of hope as the body was originally created "perfecta y limpia" by the creator. The ancient soul has learned over an eternity that the world has corrupted the body that was created clean and perfect. The mortal *materia* is beset by the vices of the world and has lost its purpose and essence in a sea of time. The metaphor of the musical instrument is used again to refer to the glorious potential of the mortal form to connect to the divine in action and understanding manifested as heavenly music

> "Considera, oh música de los cielos, oh armonía de las inteligencias, que vas a tocar un instrumento hecho de cuarto simples, cuyas cuerdas son formadas de vitales espíritus que quiebran al menor golpe de un accidente; sus clavijas son pensamientos tan varios como torcidos, sus trastes son impulsos que laten armonía de salud y acaban en parasismos de muerte" (364).

Unfortunately, the parts of the instrument, the *clavijas* and *trastes*, that would keep it in tune have been twisted and broken and are unable to create the harmonious sounds they were meant to

play, in similar fashion to how the body is unable to live the existence for which it was destined. Subsequently, it is subject to a death disconnected from the harmony to which it was a part.

One of the main reasons for the loss of this purpose and connection to a more perfect form is the loss of memory and greater knowledge, "adonde hallarás tantos enemigos que se agotará la memoria y se perderá el entendimiento" (365). The counter to this condition, as proclaimed by the old soul, is to be prudent, to take responsibility for personal actions, and to try to navigate through the maze of deception and falsities of the world; only then can one find one's true path: "¡Oh, mil veces aventurado el que gobernó sus acciones con prudencia y pasó por los laberintos del siglo con cordura y salió dellos con vitoria!" (366). Consistent with Pythagorean teachings about divinity, humanity is created as perfect but has lost its knowledge of this perfection to the labyrinth of time and must regain the memories of an eternity of understanding through actions, prudence, and careful consideration. Thinking about Pythagoras' presence in this book undoubtedly helps the reader to comprehend the problem of vice and find the light to escape the labyrinth.

Looking more profoundly at the representation of the Samian philosopher in *El siglo pitagórico* presents an opportunity to reconsider the ramifications of his place in the book. Pythagoras only appears twice in spirit form. His appearance marks the beginning and the end of the protagonist soul's journey. It is clear that Pythagoras is key in the learning process of the wandering soul narrator; however, he is absent for most of the book. His absence can be partially understood by the *Bios Pythagorikos,* or Pythagorean way of life, which emphasizes reverence for the natural world practiced through ritual, enigma, silence, dietary restrictions, anti-materialism, and a personal responsibility to understand its inner workings through meditation, observation, and study of natural phenomena. The final goal of this process is attunement to the

networks of life and the understanding of reality and their place in world around them. Pythagoreans' way of life placed much significance on living with purpose, which the ancient soul mentioned previously as one of the primary means of finding the virtuous path. Initiates were not permitted to see the master but only hear him. An emphasis is placed on hearing (*acusmata*) and searching for meaning through passwords (*symbola*) to reveal "full control over one's own acts, while aiming at uncompromising preservation of purity and attunement of the individual with the divine and the human worlds" (Marciano 134). Although the *Bios Pythagorikos* is not completely identical to the journey of the protagonist soul, there are some important parallels such as personal responsibility, learning through memory, and enigma. This individual responsibility is clear in the story as the protagonist soul is basically alone in its quest to find virtue and a union of the earthly and celestial. The soul is called to find its connection to the divine through virtue, but it is a difficult personal journey that must be lived and reached individually. This narrow path is illustrated in the purported invention of the letter Y by Pythagoras to illustrate the choice between virtue and vice (Joost-Gaugier 20). The bifurcated shape of the Greek letter represents the dividing paths that constitute our choice in life for good or for ill and one's personal responsibility to choose correctly.

Although Pythagoras' appearance and the tenets of his followers do not align completely— as the philosopher would not reveal himself to an uninitiated lay person nor is remembrance the sole path to realization of divine connection— the clearest inheritance of Pythagorean philosophy in *El siglo pitagórico* is in the exaltation of the virtues that the community held as ideals. In the final transmigration, the soul finally enters the body of a virtuous man, who not only fulfills Christian ideals but also Pythagorean ones. The life of this nameless body is exemplary, and he is referred to as "varón perfecto." The perfect man embodies

the divine through action and intent, choosing the path and living it while guiding others to the light. The soul lives a harmonious union proclaiming its longevity and freedom from the trappings of the century: “Vivió sin los engaños / del siglo noventa años” (385).

The virtuous man is not wealthy and does not seek the vanities of the world. He is a student of moral philosophy and is described as prudent, eloquent, and wise. He speaks little but what he says is good, never showing jealousy or envy of his neighbors. Finally, he is a lover of truth, docile, caring, and generous toward those less fortunate. In a nod to Pythagorean aphorisms of moral goodness he is called the “espejo de virtudes” (378). This connection to the image of the mirror is present in the select sentences of Sextus the Pythagorean as an axiom, “A wise intellect is the mirror of God” (Taylor 198). Likewise, there is an emphasis in these sentences of Sextus on rejecting wealth and envy in aphorism such as, “The wise man, and the despiser of wealth, resembles God” (192) and “Endeavour to be great in the estimation of the divinity, but among men avoid envy” (193). The axioms are completely compatible to Christian moral teachings and are perfectly exemplified in this final transmigration. In the case of moral virtue, what is valued by Christians is most definitely also very Pythagorean.

The virtuous man does not speak directly to the soul but speaks to a “discípulo inquieto” implying that the man has followers. This uneasy disciple receives the perspective of the virtuous man orally which is consistent with the oral tradition of the Pythagoreans. The discourse is broken up into *Documentos morales* that seem to be a transcript of what was shared, which are directed to the wise (*A los sabios*), judges (*jueces*), privy council or court favorites of the king (*privados*), and everyone in general (*A todos*). First, the virtuous man warns of the dangers of vanity and pride to the *sabio,* or wise man. Second, he calls for true justice for the poor and humane respect for all from the *jueces,* or judges. Next, he pleads for just rule according to

God's precepts, to seek peace, and similarly avoid avarice and greed to the *privados*. Finally, to everyone, including the reader, he proclaims the virtues of speaking truth, being generous, respecting elders, loving justice and peace. He warns against trading your soul out of greed and envy, "la salvación no trueques por el oro" (384). In the end, the narrator soul is reminded of the oneiric condition of the journey it has taken and that hopefully will serve to awaken truth and frighten vice in those who are reading the book. *El siglo pitagórico* is likened to a medicine for the soul and body that has dreamed up "el estado verdadero de hombre" (385). However, this true state of mankind is not really a dream, but the practice of God's will made manifest in Christian precepts that are empowered by the Pythagorean tenets that are hidden beneath the surface. In true baroque fashion the truth is obfuscated in the waking world but through the illusion of a dream the truth is revealed, in essence beating vice at its own game.

In this last transmigration into a virtuous man, we find the ideal qualities that should be followed to live a morally upstanding existence; both are Pythagorean and Christian. Who is this virtuous man? There is a sense of cryptic ambiguity in his representation that is present in other transmigrations. This is evident in the last line which refers to him as "[sic] jerolífico" and from a dream, "pero repare que mi postrero dueño/ [sic] jerolífico ha sido de mi sueño." (385) Being that the nature of the final body is *jeroglífico*, it implies a symbolic nature that requires interpretation and hidden knowledge to be deciphered. The enigmatic nature of this final transmigration also harkens back to the use of Pythagorean *symbolae*, and the deciphering of passwords. This decoding of Pythagorean mystery leads us to two possible conclusions about the virtuous man's identity. Interestingly, the virtuous man does not have a conversation with the soul like in other transmigrations but rather with a "discípulo" among many: "entre muchos que adquerido había." This line is intriguing in that this virtuous man has disciples and a following

"en su escuela divina." When we think of disciples, we think about people who follow a religious figure or doctrine. So, who can this virtuous man be? Two men who come to mind immediately were known to have disciples and doctrines that emphasized a morally good life based on lifestyle of intention and devotion to the divine: Jesus Christ and Pythagoras himself. Oddly though, this conjecture as to the identity of the virtuous man poses more questions than it answers. The fact that the virtuous man is a *jeroglífico* leads us to the conclusion that the virtuous man may be Jesus or Pythagoras, this "dueño jerolífico" is in fact both and everyone at the same time. Who is the virtuous man? He is us, or rather maybe us if we look within. A clear indication that this is the case comes when Pythagoras, annoyed, responds to the wandering soul's question, where does virtue live "¿Adónde vive?." He responds "—Recibe/ la doctrina moral; curioso eres:/ vive en ti mismo, búscala si quieres" (375). The call is to search within for the path to virtue and virtue itself. The point of the writing of this book is to present a way to achieve a virtuous life and escape vice. In addition, the path to virtue is internal and comes from a personal spiritual journey. Although the other transmigrations created a dialogue that presented opposing perspectives of ideal virtue and pseudo-practical vice, this final one is more of an oration by the virtuous man from which we are to learn the true path to a good life.

Parallels seem evident between the virtuous man and the figures of Jesus and Pythagoras since both are guides to moral virtue. The blurring of Pythagorean and Christian moral teachings pulls together two traditions and makes them one. The linking together of Christian and Pythagorean moral teachings helps to buttress and give a sense of recovery of memory. Pythagorean understandings reveal a continuity –albeit reinterpreted– from the ancient to the time of Enríquez. We should see that our decisions are crucial in this process. In addition, the soul had to search far and wide to encounter the virtuous man, meaning that they are few and far

between, although ultimately not impossible to find. The difficulty in leading this type of life is made clear in the scarcity of virtuous examples. The book uses humorous exchanges to show how certain qualities can spread vice and bad behavior but we as readers can also see that a perfect idealized existence is perhaps not completely possible. One cannot just commit malicious actions because others do them or absolve oneself because others do far worse things. Alternatively, it is not feasible to exist in a virtuous vacuum and not participate in matters of the world. A balance must be made; a golden mean must be struck.

So, to return to this chapter's original question, what is Pythagorean about *El siglo pitagórico*? The book utilizes Pythagoras and the transmigration of souls— imitating previous literary traditions mentioned in previous chapters—but changes the structure enough to allow for an innovative presentation of a wandering soul's pilgrimage to better understand his age through dialogues meant to explore Christian ideals that are essentially Pythagorean virtues and practices. The actual belief in the transmigration of souls after death is not as important as what is revealed through the dream of the protagonist soul, which is to see past the vanities of the world that cloak vice in virtue. The philosopher and his philosophy are shown to be imbedded in multiple layers throughout the book in order to reveal hidden meaning. First, the representation of Pythagoras as a character and his interactions with the protagonist soul illuminate doctrine consistent with Pythagorean elements such as the personal responsibility and purification of the *bios pythagorikos*, the importance of hearing (acusmata) and deciphering of enigmatic passwords (*symbolae*) in the process of acquiring divine knowledge. Second, the mechanics of the transmigration of souls demonstrate the need to attune to God´s divine will through thoughtful attention to recollection of lost knowledge through memory, and reflection on the importance of

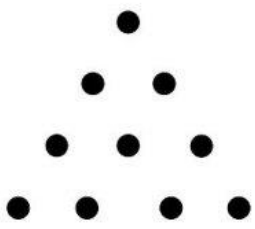
Pythagorean notions of light and music. Last, the exaltation of Pythagorean virtues is present throughout the book and reveals a path to moral goodness that is essentially Pythagorean.

Finally, we come to see that the Pythagorean aspect attributed to the age or century comes to symbolize humanity's eternal longing for knowledge and understanding of our purpose. It is evident that Antonio Enríquez Gómez uses elements of Pythagorean philosophy and Pythagoras himself to support and highlight the arguments and reasons for writing this book. Pythagoras continues to be relevant and useful in searching for the hidden answers we still ask ourselves. The world is full of vice and corruption but despite this the Pythagorean dream is one that seeks an alternative path to bring out the divine nature of humanity and awakens us to our place in a much larger heavenly system. To name the age or century as Pythagorean is to say that it is a time of profound listening to reveal hidden truths about our existence as part of a much larger cosmic whole. In the end, as mentioned earlier, "¡Queda Pitágoras vivo/ Y el siglo desengañado!"

Chapter 6: Unlocking the Secrets of the *Tetractys* in *El Siglo Pitagórico's* Temporal Academy

"I swear by him who the *tetractys* found, / Whence all our wisdom springs, and which contains/ Perennial Nature's fountain, cause, root" –*Iamblichus* (trans. Taylor 80)

To the Pythagoreans, knowledge could only be obtained through deep study of the natural world in connection with heaven's sacred mathematics. One of Pythagoras's means to transmit knowledge was the use of enigmas and symbols to reveal hidden truths that were only comprehensible to members of his cult. Thus, the enigma and symbols provided access to truth through mysteries; "which in greatest brevity of words contained the most abundant, and multifarious meanings" (Taylor 86). To the outsider, the teachings and secrets would be hidden in plain sight beneath symbolic language and context. Moreover, these key phrases and *symbolae* functioned as the paths to acquire true knowledge only accessible to those that devoted themselves wholly to the pursuit of truth; "the most divine Pythagoras himself has concealed the sparks of truth; depositing as in a treasury for those capable of being enkindled by them" (86). One of the concealed sparks of truth and one of the most important of the *symbolae* "is the 'tetractys' or 'four-group'" (Burkert 72). The *tetractys*, Walter Burkert explains, is "made up of numbers, 1, 2, 3, 4, which add up to 10" (72). Beyond a simple sum, it is a philosophical, metaphysical, and mathematical means of understanding the profound and meaningful interconnections that produce perfect harmony and true knowledge for the Pythagoreans. Visually the *tetractys* is "represented in a pebble figure, in the form of the 'perfect triangle'" (72).



The composition of the *tetractys* is possible, "If we construct a triangle beginning with one by adding successive integers, the first four numbers give us the figure that the Pythagoreans called *tetractys*, 'fourness,' since the number four is represented by all three sides of an equilateral triangle" (Kahn 31). This concept of the *tetractys* embodies the Pythagorean's entire worldview and infuses life with a sacred meaning that is all contained in the numbers that compose it. The *tetractys* is ultimately the Pythagorean's key to the secret wisdom of the world precisely because it succinctly represents how dissimilar numbers come together to form a cosmic unity.

Furthermore, the *tetractys* was used as a password to identify oneself in the community of Pythagoreans and a recognition of the potential to discover the hidden nature of the divine through number. Iamblichus's *Life of Pythagoras* presents the tetractys as part of an oath that was used to pledge oneself to community and served as a powerful enigma to be contemplated as the key to unlocking hidden knowledge of the cosmos contained within its sacred form. Sextus the Pythagorean says that this oath was a gift from the master –Pythagoras– to his followers; he taught them to pledge, "By him who gave our soul the *tetractys*, / The source and root of ever flowing nature" (Kahn 31). The true importance of this numerical configuration lies in what the numbers represent individually and in summation. Philolaus explains how the Pythagoreans saw universal meaning in numerical terms, "All things which are known have number; for nothing can be known or understood without number" (25). Thus, to truly comprehend the universe and all existence one must observe the ordering of the universe through sacred integers, ratios, and functions. Consequently, in the Pythagorean worldview, all things are thus number and can be understood through numerical terms. It is for this reason that the *tetractys* is such an important symbol, precisely because it represents their knowledge of the ordering of heaven and earth through observation and contemplation of number. Aristotle writes in the *Metaphysics* that the

Pythagoreans viewed the numbers and sum of 1+2+3+4=10 as manifestation of perfection. Each of the numbers in the sequence represents specific concepts. The first number is representative of the monad, or the numerical equivalent of a Creator in the form of a central hearth that is present in everything and breathes life into the other numbers. The addition of a second number creates the dyad or the sacred marriage of opposites, such as man/woman, life/death, heaven/earth, limit/unlimited and so forth. Next, the third number presents the triad or trinity, the world with beginning, middle and end. Lastly, the tetrad comes to represent the cosmos and is present in the four elements, season, directions, humors, and more. The sum of all these numbers give the number ten the perfect number as it contains and forms the whole of the sacred figure and corresponds to the planets whose movements produce celestial harmony. In accordance with Pythagorean cosmology, the *tetractys* represents in its form the whole of the universe such as the stars and planets in addition to their connections to earthly counterparts. Moreover, the importance of the *tetractys* is therefore a way to contemplate and understand the entire universe and its interactions of dissonant elements to produce a whole harmonious organization of space and meaning made manifest in observable numbers. It is in fact our password to access this very clear opening.

Pythagoreans understand number as more than just observable data but divine signs that must be interpreted to find humanity's place in the universe and find harmony through number. Since the world and all existence are based upon numbers and are manifestations of God's will, the study of these phenomena is like contemplating the true nature of God's perfection. Consequently, Kramer Hellinx writes, "Al observar esta perfección, es inevitable deducir que haya una fuerza suprema que lo gobierna. De ahí proviene la contemplación de Dios mediante la observación del movimiento de los planetas" (306-307). Through this understanding of the

universe as numbers and ratios, Pythagoreans observed how these numbers produced harmonious music in ratios present in the *tetractys* that explained the mechanics of this cosmology. The music of the spheres is the sounds and harmony created by the motion of the planets around the sun, called the central hearth. The musical concord was proof to them of the harmony present in heavens demonstrated through study of numbers, "The periodic motions of these bodies around the central Hearth somehow instantiate the ratios of musical concord, so that their revolutions produce the cosmic music of the spheres" (Kahn 26). Similarly, this cosmic harmony is also notably present in the *tetractys*, "for the initiate that knows the secret doctrine –all three musical ratios: 2:1, 3:2, 4:3, as successive pairs of lines beginning from any vertex" (32). In recognizing the power of these musical ratios, the Pythagoreans found a means to allegedly heal the sick and or mad through pleasing music to calm the soul. The perception of celestial harmony and its link to human bodies could be harnessed to heal the body as likened to a musical instrument in need of attunement. To this effect, Pythagoras is said to have tamed a wild lion and healed an intemperate man. Thus, the use and understanding of numerical truths, such as the *tetractys*, were understood as means to not only visualize the interconnected design of the divine and the mundane, but also function as a means to balance, fix and heal the ills of the world that are simply unbalanced equations.

Taking from Pythagorean satirical representations and legacy, Antonio Enríquez Gómez wrote *El siglo pitagórico* (1644) to effect much needed societal change by revealing and confronting vices and injustice through his literature and poetry. [20] The *tetractys* is the visual

[20] It is important to note that Enríquez Gómez does not take directly from ancient sources but rather a tradition of satirical representations, mainly Lucian of Samosata. The representation of Pythagoras in *The Dream or The Rooster* is in the form of a rooster that recounts his past lives or transmigrations in order to teach Micilo about virtue and how to live the best life. Despite the lack of belief in many Pythagorean tenets the work recognizes the philosopher as a pure mind and guide, a man who has seen beyond his mere existence. In addition, Pythagoras was very well recognized in the seventeenth century and influenced scholars throughout Europe.

aesthetic of Enríquez Gómez´ Pythagorean age and serves to provide a way to delve deeper into meaning to the work. Enríquez Gómez uses this symbol both as a structural motif and a signpost that his characters read along the path towards wisdom and an understanding of God´s will. Like the *simbolae* of the Pythagoreans that contain hidden meaning, the presence of the *tetractys* invites a closer examination how *El siglo pitagórico* constructs its meaning though the presence of groupings of four.

El siglo pitagórico contains a philosophy that Enríquez Gomez thinks will heal and harmonize the world. Just as the four chords of the lyre vibrate in a sympathetic frequency, so too does the tetractys infuse the work with an implicit harmony. This healing is a result of the harmony produced. The *tetractys* appears in the middle of the book in connection with the education of Gregorio and proposes a way to heal the world in the form of an intellectual academy. Within this academy the four participants use tetrads to explain their positions and lessons. In this way the *tetractys* works as a conduit to achieve a better world through education and healing. *El siglo pitagórico* reveals a path to true virtue and connection to God through a quest to search out the truth. The *tetractys* is a valuable tool that reveals greater meanings through contemplation of its forms and significance in key moments of revelation in the book to illuminate an implicit Pythagorean philosophical understanding about the nature of knowledge and existence with the goal of attuning the world to God´s will. In this process groupings of four define the direction of the novel. They are visual and structural signs of *El siglo pitagórico´s* Pythagorean philosophy and thus play a significant role in revelation of truths in the book and the reconciliation of body and soul with their ideal harmony. The *tetractys* is, as mentioned earlier, a key, a magic password, and oracle that unlocks the secrets of the universe for the Pythagoreans. This chapter will show how the *tetractys* is evident in the structural aspects of *El*

siglo pitagórico that are infused with images of fourness that come to harmonize various dissonant perspectives to create a more profound understanding of the inner workings of the universe in an effort to enact change for the better. Much like the construction of the *tetractys* produces an image of perfection, so too the construction of the book's narrative and arguments show humanity's place in this cosmic system and how it can reach its true potential.

To begin this journey, we will focus on the structure of the book and how it organizes its production of meaning. As mentioned above, the *tetractys* is an implicit element in *El siglo pitagórico* that gives meaning through the discussions of four characters in the novel in an academy or meeting of experts to discuss an intellectual topic. Each represents a position that ranges from the theological, philosophical, political, and martial.[21] In addition, groupings of four also permeate each individual discourse with more tetrads. Other Spanish writers also used the combinations of fours to produce deeper meaning. Some examples come from the scholar and theologian, Juan de Pineda, as well as the famous playwright, Calderón de la Barca. Pineda focuses on giving an account of the history and greater understandings of the *cuarternario*, or "four" grouping, by explaining how and from where it gets its meaning and providing examples of its multiple manifestations.[22] In the case of Calderón de la Barca, uses the groupings of four in

[21] In the Renaissance and the term academia. "era una asociación de literatos formada para el cultivo y adelantamiento de las ciencias" (Sanchez 11). Another aspect of the academia is the association of learned and wise members to consult each other and better understand a given topic. The academia that came to be practiced in Renaissance Europe was started in Italy. At the end of the sixteenth and beginnings of the seventeenth century Spain began to emulate their form and became very popular. The academias were seen as important ways of simulating and creating new ways of thinking, "las academias sirven como el vehículo eficacísimo para el cultivo y progreso de las artes, las letras, y las ciencias…las academias llenaron la necesidad del trato y comunicación entre las personas ilustradas" (12)

[22] The *cuarternario* is a discussion topic in the multivolume work, *Diálogos familiares de la agricultura cristiana* (1581) by Juan de Pineda; it recognizes the importance of the number four and the combination as it appears in fundamental parts of the universe. There is a recognition of the importance of a rounded conversation as a meeting of four individuals –like the academy in *El siglo pitagórico* – as in the Socratic method. Pineda through his academy of four highlights the idea of the name of God being an important manifestation of the number four. He mentions many names for God and deities as connected to the number four as well as the academy present in the *Asclepius*. Although Pineda does not want to ascribe divine power to number or give Pythagoras' understanding of the world

La vida es sueño (1635) to connect his works to the greater universe in a Pythagorean fashion, showing a world tied together in the form of mixed elemental forces, in which the fours combine to exemplify greater truths and universal affinity. Following this understanding and application, Enríquez Gómez presents the academy of four characters that employ the power of the number four as an important means to convey and reveal philosophical and moral truths. For Enríquez Gómez, greater understanding can be sought through a confluence of disparate concepts presented in groups of four, and in fours within those fours to create even more nuance.

The first point of analysis is the first encounter with the characters of the story who set the stage for how knowledge will be produced through various tetrads that represent larger concepts and philosophies. In addition, this introduction primes the reader to see the acquisition of knowledge as akin to an instrument and harmony reminiscent of the Pythagorean notions. The important characters in this section all have a specific function and reveal the path to knowledge through the intellectual interactions (academy of experts) of a group of travelers at an inn. Gregorio Guadaña is the main character in this part of the book and through him we learn how knowledge is passed as a balanced function of four. The other characters that interact with Guadaña present positions and arguments about various topics such as women, time, the nature of the soul, and the corruptibility of the body in order to arrive at a more complete understanding of the issue. There are also two women, doña Beatriz and Matorralba who seem to be the focal point of masculine attention. Also present are ministers of justice and other servants of the law who do not talk but are in attendance. The four characters that come to inform Gregorio´s

through numbers and their meaning, he ultimately follows and recognizes the important manifestations of the number as linked to balanced elements in the universe. What is important to remember here is that Pineda, like Enríquez Gómez, understands the importance of the greater implications and implicit power of the number four and its link to God.

understanding: *el fraile* (a friar), *el estadista* (statesmen) called don Crisóstomo, *el filósofo* (philosopher), and *el soldado* (soldier). In the context of the use of fours as an implicit *tetractys*, the topics of the prelude serve to open the door to the following academy and delve more profoundly into important questions about the essence of humanity and the nature of its relationships to the divine.

In *El siglo pitagórico*, Gregorio is but one of many transmigrations of a wayward soul protagonist who is on a quest to find a true example of virtue. This transmigration is the most extensive one and presents itself as a quasi-picaresque autobiographical story –as it has similar elements with other picaresque works such as journey of be educated and learning how to trick but devoid of hunger and physical abuse– of a young Gregorio traveling from Sevilla to Madrid to begin his studies to become a *letrado* and receive the title and position earned by a *hábito de Santiago*. It is important to note the purpose of Gregorio is one of learning and seeking of knowledge. He will listen and learn from the four travel companions that he comes across on the road. The sum of these ideas –resembles formation of the *tetractys*—in this academy gives Gregorio a means to acquire knowledge. The academy is an intellectual journey of the protagonist during the literal journey from Carmona. The participants in these debates are introduced in terms that connect them to a larger universal essence that alludes to their symbolic nature and the "fourness" of the *tetractys*: "Yo estaba notando los sujetos qué salían del coche, y vi que venían dando mano la Naturaleza, el Mundo, el Cielo, Marte, y Venus" (169). Although five entities are mentioned, the academies take place between the first four. Venus is clearly represented by doña Beatríz, a young *niña al uso*, and *la tía* Matorralba, a Celestina-like procuress; both seek to eventually trick Gregorio into an advantageous marriage for doña Beatríz. These two women come to reveal the intricate social workings of love, sex, and gender.

The beginning of a *plática* of the four main participants focuses all their attention on Gregorio, "Yo vi el Mundo, la Naturaleza, el Cielo y Marte contra mi" (171). The *tetractys* is thus formed from the configuration of Gregorio's four companions and their links to more exalted philosophical and metaphysical significances.

Furthermore, the *tetractys* informs the four contributors to the arguments as they come to represent broader themes and concepts which taken together produce a fuller meaning. *El Cielo* is connected to *el fraile*, the Jeronymite and theologian; *el Mundo* is represented by *el estadista* called don Crisóstomo; *la Naturaleza* is understood by the *filósofo*, a philosopher; and *el Marte* stands in for a worn-down veteran *Soldado*, or soldier. The tetrad's conversation produces greater meaning when one considers the individuals together. Similarly, summation of the arguments can be understood in terms of the Pythagorean *tetractys* as the four create a complete understanding of the topic at hand that would be impossible from one source. Gregorio affirms the importance of adding all the ideas together to reveal hidden meaning, "Empecé de abrir los ojos del entendimiento, noté la doctrina moral del filósofo, la intelectual del teólogo, y, sobre las dos, la del estado, a quién acuchillaba el soldado con la suya" (198). Gregorio awakens, metaphorically, to recognize the essence of the acquisition of knowledge, which can be understood in its implicit "fourness" constructed by moral, intellectual, state and martial philosophies. The *tetractys* is ultimately useful to describe how meaning is constructed through combination of unlike parts to better understand knowledge as harmony. The act of taking the four together, as when ordering the points of the *tetractys*, generates a perfect figure or meaning balanced by the sum of its parts.

Gregorio, echoing Pythagorean philosophy, points out how production and reception of true knowledge is like a musical instrument –a four chord instrument– that must be learned in

order to be played and heard: “Eché de ver entonces que la sabiduría era un instrumento acordado, cuyas cuerdas sutiles los músicos humanos tocan a tiento. Y de aquí me pareció nacía la desigualdad de voces en los maestros, porque cada uno tocaba como le sonaba mejor el entendimiento” (198). Each chord is distinct and will clash with the others if they are not in balance. The masters, much like the chords, can only play or express their knowledge in their tone but together can create harmony and a more complete understanding. As mentioned above, the *tetractys* is a symbol and number whose contemplation and construction produce equilateral wisdom. Similarly, Gregorio Guadaña has come to see in Pythagorean terms how true knowledge is created and manifested in this representation of “fourness” as necessary to understand complex interpretations of profound questions as harmony produced by a well-tuned instrument. It is fitting that Gregorio recognizes four points of the *tetractys* as a force that is harnessed to enlighten him at the beginning of this journey.

Examining/Analyzing in greater detail the introduction of the academy of our’s characters, it is possible to see just how this tuning of equally valued dissonant notes leads Gregorio to deduce how to hear and decipher the harmonious music of wisdom. The conversation begins while discussing notions about women. It is important to note that the four participants in some way covet doña Beatríz and are responding to the attention she bestows on don Gregorio. The *estadista* makes a claim that likens doña Beatríz to a province that must be punished if it should rebel from the kingdom to which she pertains. However, *la tia* Matorralba curtly responds to the *estadista* that there is no kingdom without an owner, giving the impression that the perceived rebellion is the overreach of a person who seeks to claim what belongs to another; in other words, he does not control doña Beatriz and her desires lie with another. The soldier also comments on how he has conquered many provinces, alluding to his amorous

exploits. Next, the philosopher adds that there are no monarchies that the heavens do not influence, revealing his emphasis on the forces which act upon heaven and earth. The larger scope demonstrates how the philosopher will present his perceptions as connections to a universal system and moral ideal. Last, the *fraile* points out that the devil has many sworn allies in those provinces, alluding to the fallibility of women in church doctrine and their supposed susceptibility to sin. The *fraile*'s position is that of a theologian who understands the world through religious doctrine and its implications and or practices on mortal life. In the end, no definitive answer is given, and new topics arise to be debated to the benefit of a careful listener. Gregorio, and by extension the reader, become privy to the understandings of all and in a better position to understand the various interpretations of the matter at hand. The four participants of the following academy, like chords of an instrument, have begun to produce sound as they are plucked and harmonize in crescendo.

The next interaction of the four points of the *tetractys* is again precipitated by conversations about doña Beatríz and brings up the nature of conservation and time. The *estadista*, don Crisóstomo, begins the conversation inspired by Beatriz's beauty. He mentions that human life consists of individuals' self-interest, and it is most felt in Beatriz´s lack of attention to her servile suitors, "pues nuestra vida consiste en la conservación del individuo; y más, cuando vmd. deja sus servidores pendientes de su fortuna" (186). The *estadista* presents his position in a language befitting his governmental perspective. The *soldado* enters the conversation and assumes a sexual encounter has occurred between Beatríz and Gregorio, therefore impugning the young girl's chastity and honor. The soldier sees everything as warfare and imagines the alleged encounter in martial terms as a siege. Matorralba refutes this, claiming that the soldier would find her as impregnable as el Castillo de Milán. Upon hearing this the

philosopher speaks up and adds that abstention (*privación*) is the most important aspect to the conservation of this world. In this instance the philosophical perspective that recognizes the sacred connection among all things defends the young girl, ironically in order to gain her favor. He continues the conversation, contending that young Beatríz is composed of heavenly material, "que vmd. es hecha de la materia prima, y que su compusición es celeste y angélica" (188). The philosopher commends her chastity and abstention from amorous behaviors in favor of a higher ideal. She is also described in alchemical terms to be made of *materia prima*, a pure body with connection to higher powers bestowed from creation. The *friale* responds with distain at the philosopher's perceived heretical position and the polemic of the nature of body and soul, "Angélica será el alma cuando esté en compañía de los ángeles, que, en cuanto está en el cuerpo de esta señora, aunque lo es, no lo es." (188)

The problem for the *fraile* is that the body is made of a sacred essence that connects it to the divine, while the theologian recognizes that the soul is the manifestation of that essence, and the body is inherently corruptible and only infused with the soul during life. The confusing point is the final utterance "aunque lo es, no lo es*"*. This refers to the body as having a special celestial connection to God via the soul that animates it, however, the body in and of itself is not inherently holy but must work to retrieve its lost purity. The theologian remarks further that Beatríz's body is not connected to the celestial but made up of corruptible material that must recognize its sinful composition and live according to scripture to overcome this fact. Only the soul is of higher form. He challenges the idea of materia prima directly, "Y en lo que toca a ser de la materia prima, no es sino de materia corruptible" (188). In response, the philosopher authorizes his claim with Aristotle's assertion that the heavens are made of materia prima or quintessence and finds some common ground with the *fraile*, "esta señora es todo cielo, luego es

compuesta de lo mismo. Que su alma es angélica nadie lo duda, siendo de naturaleza intelectiva y habiéndola criado Dios inteligencia separada de materia" (189). This final thought in the exchange between *friale* and philosopher makes clear how the academy will function and what is most important to each. To summarize, the interaction initiated by the observations of doña Beatriz prompts a discussion about women's bodies that reveals perspectives of control as political body, next as an objective of war, later as a heavenly body composed of divine essence, and finally as a corruptible vessel for a soul that must prove itself. Taken all together it shows a spectrum of positions that represent a perspective that directly influences the body in question. Ultimately, the conversation does not give a simple answer but leaves the listener to consider all the positions in the process of acquiring knowledge. It is worth mentioning that this exchange of the four is still not yet fully developed as the academy that follows, as the four do not all respond and develop their ideas completely and merely comment briefly, such in the case of the *soldado* and *estadista*.

The second instance of structural representation of the *tetractys* manifests in the form of an academy. The academy is an event in which four participants discuss topics with the goal of gaining greater insight on the truth. The participants in the academy are the aforementioned *filósofo*, *fraile, estadista*, and *soldado* of the previous introductory discussions. In that section the four revealed how they reason on intellectual, moral, political, and martial grounds, as well as how they connect to larger elements of *Naturaleza, Cielo, Mundo*, and *Marte*. The four discuss their perspectives and positions on difficult questions such as: What are the effects of time on humans? How does one understand the meaning of life and death? What is the nature of the world in contrast to the divine? They present their positions one by one on the effects of time and age which are quite appropriate to the wide-reaching meaning of the *tetractys* as a means of

conceptualizing the abstract nature of the universal harmony in numerical terms. This section embeds various micro tetrads within the arguments that serve to call attention to the importance of the four groupings in the formation of meaning. The academy begins with the philosopher/*filósofo* whose highly theoretical and detached philosophical outlook is complicated by the discourse of the *fraile* who challenges and adds new thoughts consistent with Christian theology. The final two members of this academy pull the discussion from the theoretical abstract realm to a concrete mechanism of statecraft and the consequences of war. This trajectory allows for a wide to narrow view of the complexities of human nature, purpose, and potential. Gregorio is yet again the recipient of this knowledge exercise and comes to learn how the four positions, though dissonant, taken together allow for a deeper understanding of the nature of humanity and the issues that inhibit it from its truest potential. To see just how this is achieved it is necessary to take a closer look at the details of the four in this academy. The harmony produced is the necessary medicine for the Pythagorean age.

The philosopher begins the academia in response to a question of age which quickly develops into a full debate about the nature of life, time, body, and soul. The philosopher asserts that human life is brief, and our lives are not made up of years, as we cannot truly possess time physically, "Los años se hicieron para los cursos celestes, que, acabados, vuelven; pero no para el hombre, que se va y no vuelve a tener parte del siglo" (190). Time thus exists in a greater connected cosmos that perpetually moves and flows. Unfortunately, the years pass but mankind is not around long enough to understand this process fully. The philosopher contends that what truly matters is how life is lived, not its length because the celestial cycle is never broken. Although the moral philosopher is not a Pythagorean, his interpretation is consistent with the Pythagorean perspective of an interconnected world that requires a concerted effort at attunement

to the eternal celestial by the purposeful life of ritual and remembrance of past experiences of transmigrations of the soul. Complicating this thought he adds that the older have suffered life's lessons and therefore have more experience and a better understanding of death. The philosopher recognizes the fatal human condition and its multifaceted connection to a greater system of existence. In other words, mortal time of is merely a preamble to death, which opens us to the true existence of infinite time. All people die, despite their vain attempts to trick time because, "pensando en engañar al tiempo, nos engañamos a nosotros mismos" (191). He cryptically says, "El principio de nacer es jerolífico de morir" (191) and challenges the academy to unravel the symbolic and paradoxical enigma of the relationship between life and death. Additionally, the philosopher is disappointed in the current age of ignorance in contrast to the perfect world or *la edad perfecta* that ancient philosophers came closer to understanding. This obviously alludes to the Pythagoreans' desire to understand their world and recognize the perfection of its mechanics, composition, and interconnectedness that has been lost to the ravages of time.

It is at this point in the *filósofo*'s discourse those other manifestations of the "fourness" of the *tetractys* are utilized to enrich the argument. Los *cuatro humores –sangre, flema, cólera* and *melancolía* – are used to illustrate a point about the human condition according to the *filósofo*, "llevan la carroza de nuestra vida sobre las alas del tiempo; pretender cejar atrás las ruedas deste triunfal edificio es querer retroceder el curso y velocidad de los planetas" (191). He describes the body as a triumphant construct that is carried on the wings of time and powered by the four humors. Any attempt to return or go back is as impossible as trying to stop the motion of the planets themselves. These humors, according to the medical philosophies of the age, made up the body and needed to work in balance with each other. An imbalance was believed to produce physical and psychological problems such as sadness or madness. A classic example of this is

present in Don Quijote, who is described as suffering from an imbalance of the humors that dried his brain out due to his insatiable desire to read chivalric novels that force him to lose sleep: "del poco dormir y del mucho leer, se le secó el celebro de manera que vino a perder el juicio" (Cervantes 29-30). In this passage it is evident that not only is the balance of four important in the search for knowledge but also the very mechanics of our bodies in connection with the movement of the planets. This is consistent with the Pythagorean view that connected every element with a heavenly counterpoint. The *tetractys* manifests itself as a part of this critical understanding of deciphering the mysteries of time and of existence by highlighting the balancing of the four humors. The philosopher is using the tetrad to make a point about the body in connection to divine elements. Considering the *tetractys* in this instance shows how harmony within the body is connected to harmony of knowledge and the cosmos.

Continuing on, the philosopher argues for a greater understanding of our place in space and time as merely a small part of a greater whole: "Tiempo hay para todo, pero no goza el hombre sino su parte, y podemos, siendo mundo pequeño, abrazar con la vida el mundo mayor, y así nos dieron la parte conforme la capacidad de nuestro sujeto" (192). This perspective shows humanity's need to recognize our place as one small part of a much larger whole; understanding what composes our world and place will ultimately open the greater system. The philosophy of the *tetractys* provides a glimpse at the path to this perspective of seeing the greater networks of life and our place within it.

Another representation of the number four comes as the philosopher asks the others a question about what remains or is saved from our bodies after death: "¿Qué aguardamos de fábrica amasada con agua y polvo y alentada con fuego y aire? Cuatro simples hicieron un simple; tan sujeto a los accidentes de la inorancia que cada hora sabe más desta ciencia" (193).

As each hour passes, more knowledge is learned by those who, like the philosopher, contemplate the creation and composition of life in our bodies. The four elements, much like the humors previously, represent other manifestations of the *tetractys* needing to be in balance and come together to create a living being that fits into a much greater system and functions in the same manner. Further, the question posed to the group is, what is retained from the body after death? This question is not answered but contemplated. Again, the four parts make one whole. The philosopher is implicitly advocating for greater understanding of *ciencia* through observation of nature, which manifests its perfection in four and by extension another *tetractys-like* structure.

As the philosopher winds down his argument, with an admonishment that people want to live forever but don´t want to recognize death's true purpose and ubiquity. A good death is consequently the goal and enduring the hardships of life becomes secondary: "justo es que guarde la risa para la muerte, y las lágrimas para la vida" (193). The philosopher does not claim to command the secrets of universe but suspects its meaning, "Yo no alcanzo el secreto, pero sospécholo" (193). Ultimately, the philosopher places his perspective on the importance of recognizing people's place on a larger plane of existence. He sees the importance of understanding that system by highlighting tetrads and accepting our harmonious connection to vast interconnected universe. The pursuit of knowledge and virtue is important even if we may not ever truly discover the whole secret, however, the point is to be open and pursue it. Death is an awakening to the true existence and reconnection to God´s warm embrace.

As the moral philosopher concludes, the *fraile* takes his turn to respond to the topic and positions presented. He decries the philosopher's preoccupation with death and his argument that years of life are not important: "Los años no se pueden despreciar, siendo escalas por donde el alma, por su merecimiento, subre al trono angélico" (193). The *fraile* contends that time has an

important part to play in the greater system of life, death, and eternity in service of finding the perfection of closeness to God. Life, and the years that compose it, are the mechanism that allows one to learn the necessary lessons to become virtuous. Learning to live and act in accordance with moral virtue is the only way to achieve connection to the divine. The idea of good works to pave the way to a better connection to the divine through a life of purpose is consistent with the *Bios pythagorikos*, Pythagorean lifestyle, that sought to learn valuable lessons that were hidden from those who did not work to understand the divine. Our actions must thus have a purpose that is in concordance with God´s will. The *fraile* critizes the philosopher for simply theorizing instead of acting and living a life according to these tenets: "Saber vivir es saber obrar…la contemplación de espíritu, sin obras, más viene a ser vicio de la potencia que virtud del acto" (195). Much like the Pythagoreans, action is necessary and not just a theoretical understanding. One must live a life of purpose that will reduce vice and nurture virtue.

He adds that the soul has a part to play in the body but does not take blame for its shortcomings as God has designed the world giving agency to the union of body and soul. The stars and planets do have an influence on the body but are superseded by *libre albedrío*, or free will. Free will, he claims, is another powerful element to be recognized in the mechanism of being as not completely at the mercy of heavenly influences: "el libre albedrío del espíritu es más firme que los mismos cielos y no lo fuerzan las impresiones celestes, por ser compuestos de mayor dignidad cuanto va del ángel a la esfera" (194). The spirit has choice and is not a puppet but is composed of the essence of the heavens and thus must make a concerted effort to attune itself. This is important because it shows the soul's connection to the divine but emphasizes the need for personal responsibility. Returning to the issue of time, the *fraile* claims that years as a unit of time are an integral part of cultivating virtue in the search for perfection of body and soul

(forma y materia) in the universal order of God: "Los años no acaban al hombre, antes le hacen más perfecto, subiendo el temperamento desde la humedad al calor, del calor a la sequedad, y con ella el anciano obra bien conociéndose a sí mismo" (194). Further, this quest for perfection can be understood, as mentioned above, in the changes of the four humors, alluding again to the tetrad mentioned by the philosopher. In this process, temperament will change from the sanguine humidity of infancy to the choleric warmth of youth and ending in the melancholic dryness of adulthood. The humors here remind us of the implicit importance of elements in fours that reveal the process of aging. The trajectory of the changing humors is shown to be due to years of life and perfecting oneself by living well and balanced within the natural cycle of life.

The *fraile* also brings up the image of *cuatro simples hicieron un simple* to reconsider what his colleague mentioned earlier. He remarks, "La verdad es que cuatro simples hicieron un simple, pero el Señor del mundo sopló en él espíritu de vida intelectual, sustancia incorpórea, llena de sabiduría angélica; y bien puede la fábrica amasada de tierra y agua ser ruina de sí propia, pero el dueño que la habita, aunque caigan las colunas del templo, no morirá como Sansón" (195). The *fraile* focuses on the body as animated and composed of the four humors that make one whole, nevertheless we are infused at the moment of birth with an incorporeal substance by God´s living intellect. The emphasis is the God-given intellect or spirit that animates. Despite the angelic nature of this union, the mortal vessel is corruptible, but the spirit originally tied to it will live on and not perish. As opposed to the philosopher who sees death everywhere, the *fraile* maintains that the body is important even after mortal death as it will be resurrected on the day of judgement for the life it lived. The body here is not just a useless vessel but an important part of our salvation and reconnection to the divine. The two parts are tied together much more intimately than in the philosopher's position. The equilibrium among the

four bodily humors as connected to the heavens is thus not just part of a union but a direct gift from God that must be kept in balance by a life of good works. Therefore, both the position of the philosopher and the *fraile* can be understood through the *tetractys* as highlighting the way to comprehend the path to union with God with slight differences in what is most important in that equation, intellectual understanding of where we fit in God's universe, and the practice of living with God's will in mind.

Although time is a tool that works in favor of those pursuing virtue, the *fraile* does recognize the limitations of the human ability to understand the greater knowledge of the universe and nature of eternity: "si los años no le dieran a conocer lo infinito de la inmortalidad, de modo que este plazo finito no quita el infinito" (194). Here the *fraile* poses a hypothetical: whether the years might not allow an awareness of the true infinite nature of immortality in the same way mortal life is not devoid of its infinite soul counterpart. Consequently, what can be understood is that mortal life might not allow us to familiarize ourselves with the infinite nature of immortality, but the finite nature of the body and mortal life will not exclude a place in the unknowable infinite embrace of God. This idea goes against what the philosopher had claimed in that it is not possible to truly understand the infinite nature of God and creation, however mortal we are, there is yet hope to attain everlasting life by virtuous practices. Last, to finish his part in this conversation, the *fraile* recognizes the necessity of combining and creating harmony through debate among the four, "De modo, señor mío, que su doctrina de vmd. Sin la mía será sembrar en tierra donde no cayó rocío del cielo y labrar un palacio sobre la región del aire" (195). The position of the philosopher is therefore, according to the *fraile*, not complete and cannot give a full understanding of the topic as does not give our earthly body and mortal existence enough attention. The quote above illustrates the necessity of combining the two perspectives because

the position of the philosopher alone will be like sowing a field without water and building a palace in the air with no real foundation. This need to add to each other's position also is also consistent with adding the points of the *tetractys*. With the academy's first two points, represented by the philosopher and the *fraile,* it is evident that they are looking up toward God and the spiritual connections with human existence within the universe. The next two will look at more temporal concerns and how they complicate the theological and philosophical perspectives.

The third part of the academy is voiced by the *estadista*'s knowledge of statecraft as don Crisóstomo continues the arguments about time and the nature of life posed in philosophical and theological terms. His political perspective adds to the others' ideas about the nature of time. All things have a beginning and end, but government plays a vital part in how that life is lived in the mortal world, "este fin y principio consiste en el gobierno y conservación de los años, que hacen, con sus muchas partes, el todo, siendo ellos y cuanto se ve, visible e invisible, gobernados por la suma sabiduría de aquella causa primera, luz de ser de todas las demás causas" (195). Here as before in the academy's discourses, knowledge is the product of adding, to create *el todo* from many, to then bask in the light of *la suma sabiduria*, or sum of all wisdom. The *estadista* explains that life is governed by a political state and conservation of years or time that consists of many facets to create a cohesive whole from the visible and unseen. It is not surprising that government is the principal means by which he understands the workings of the world. Another issue, according to the *estadista*, is the mortal failings that lead to a flawed governance. Although humanity's soul is pure, sin has twisted its mortal existence over time to such an extent that if it were not for government breathing life into its physical state, lives would be much shorter, "Pero la fábrica humana, torcida en parte por el pecado, no pudo ser hecha en mejor forma; ésta es de años y, si muchos no son nada, menos fueran si el gobierno no los alentara con el estado" (195).

It is clear from this perspective that political bodies and governance are a vital operation to the upkeep and maintenance of humanity. For the *estadista,* government takes on a Hobbesian approach where society is held in check by the political body.

In similar fashion to his predecessors in the academy, the notion of "fourness" is applied to a body and composition in connection with the body politic, "La república del hombre tiene para su conservación la materia, compuesta de cuatro calidades" (195). To the *estadista*, man is also like a political entity, *la república del hombre*, ruled over by four qualities—the humors—that keep the body functioning over its lifetime in the face of imbalances that lead to deterioration from overstimulation, fatigue and the misuse of medicines. Ultimately, to the *estadista*, a long life is a product of the achievement of balance or in other words a state of mediocrity in the sense of the golden mean made possible by good governance: "trepan por ella los años; si se acaban en medio la agitación, o el accidente mal gobernado de la medicina los arruinó, o la poca fuerza del húmedo los acabó, los años deben ser gobernados con una mediocridad del estado" (196). It is precisely the balance of the four that is critical to the good governance of the body. According to the *estadista,* the structures of the state are what keeps the balance for humanity, however, the "four" group is fundamental in this process. Yet again, the construction of the points of the *tetractys* implicitly forms a key part of the argumentation and shows the importance of the number grouping in demonstrating the path to harmony. The utilization of the tetrad of humors yet again further solidifies the numerical importance that when understood through manifestation of the sacred *tetractys* unites the position of the *estadista* with more than just observation about the importance of governance and politics but a balanced Pythagorean numerical perfection.

The *estadista* complicates the arguments of the previous participants in the academy by shifting the focus to more concrete earthly concerns that arise from political conflict and administration of a kingdom. It is important to note that he does not doubt the importance of the other's arguments and perspectives in conjunction: "la suma felicidad consiste en la moralidad de la vida y Gloria intellectual" (196). Nevertheless, there are some issues to consider. In response to the call by the philosopher to hide away from the world and contemplate the divine is cowardly in the *estadista*'s eyes. One cannot just avoid the world but must live in it and despite it. Life is compared to a war in which humanity is constantly fighting itself. Moreover, the growth of humanity as a whole puts our spiritual nature in danger, alluding to the growth of mortal vices that hinder and crush the divine: "Por ensanchar la monarquía del cuerpo se pone a riesgo la del alma, que es tan horrible estado del linaje del humano que atropella el divino" (196). Here the rule of the monarchy in corporeal form puts at risk the divine aspects much like the rule of an actual political state. The *estadista* envisions the body as a kingdom and recognizes that its functions trample the divine ideal in the pursuit of its goals, at times leading to deaths, violence, and injustices. Answering the argument of the *fraile*, he agrees that good works are necessary to achieve the divine, but they also exact a price, "No se gana el cielo sin buenas obras, pero ¿quién no habrá maltratado infinitas virtudes primero que lo consiga…?" (197). To support this position, he mentions the innocents who died in the great flood and asks, what fault did they have? The state, much like the human body, grows and seeks to preserve itself through the years. War is part of that life cycle of the state and loss of life is, as the *estadista* cynically sees it, inevitable. He takes a very utilitarian point of view as the need of the state outweighs the needs of the few. He finishes his argument saying that in order to live a long life and accumulate knowledge and good works in the form of governance of peoples, one unavoidably will confront

dangers and risks. The *estadista* is in effect the voice that grounds the other arguments in an earthly setting. The philosopher and the *fraile* are concerned with spiritual matters, but the *estadista* focuses on the struggle in terms of actual human organization and political systems. The main addition to the argument is the complication of the good or virtuous act as not existing in a vacuum but with consequences that are in his mind justified in the divine will of God.

Concluding the exchange of ideas, the academy comes to its final participant which completes the four points of the *tetractys* composed of the characters. The *soldado* or soldier gives the final perspective of the four members of the academy and attacks the positions of the others present. This martial perspective highlights the true nature and horror of death and aftermath of armed conflicts that the *estadista* deemed as necessary for a Christian kingdom. The *soldado* explains that war is where one truly understands death: "la verdadera ciencia es estudiar en el libro de la muerte" (197). He first addresses the position of the philosopher and his disdain for life, goading him to go off to war and experience for himself what death is objectively and feel what abstaining is like while starving in a siege: "fuéranse a la guerra, que allí hallarán la verdadera privación; si querían abandonar la materia, fuéranse a sufrir el cerco de un año"(197). He continues by remarking that the philosopher's call to leave the world behind to escape the temptations of the flesh is foolish as he has not experienced the harsh elements of environments such as the rugged Alps on military campaign. Turning to the *fraile,* he sees that life and years are like a ladder to reach heaven although, alluding to war, dodging shots from above, "paseando de tiro en tiro" (197). Free will and the justice of punishing the wicked to save the innocent is also seen as overly ideal. War is chaos as he retorts that all are injured and the distinction between good and evil is lost, "Juro a Dios que si santos se pusieran delante, los desnudáramos, cuanto y más los hombres" (197). The idealized arguments of the philosopher and theologian are

written down in books, but soldiers give their lives and bodies, “los filósofos y teólogos se escriben con tinta, pero los nuestros con sangre” (197). The soldier experiences the policies of the *estadista* and is scarred physically and mentally by the constant conflicts. He continues by adding that financial interests move justice and that he is most happy when he is paid, making his pragmatism clear. The administration is therefore corrupted and self-interested, and he must do what he can to survive. Lastly, the soldier points out the argument of the philosopher that, “Saber vivir es saber obrar” (197) to show the surest work of the law and its administration of the *licenciados* and *letrados*. They do as they please. His contempt for these officials of law and justice is palpable: “cómo gustaría yo de que vmd. diera un parecer sobre un tiro de artillería, para que caminase por derecho al enemigo” (198). The soldado sees the world through his actions taken on behalf of the state and clearly sees the double standards of those who use the law for their own benefit and twist justice to protect their interests at the expense of others.

As the academy reaches its conclusion it is becomes apparent that the four positions complicate each other while giving valuable context as to the ramifications of certain perspectives and the blind spots that may be overlooked if not for the presence of the other members of the academy. In the end, the four parts of the *tetractys* provide a way to learn from its structure in the academy as well as its multiple uses in their arguments. Each perspective adds a different focus with a critical eye toward creating harmony manifested in groups of four. It must be mentioned that there are other voices and people present in the conversation, such as la Matorralba, un *letrado, alguacil* Torote, *juez* don Juan Liarte, and *escribano* Arenillas, but the four carry the most weight and come to represent the “cuatro cuerdas hace un simple” axiom. Gregorio makes it clear that his greater *entendimiento* comes from the synthesis of the moral doctrine, intellectual, political statecraft, martial perspectives. In a final jab at the *letrado,*

Gregorio singles him out: “Sola la música de mi letrado me pareció que totalmente desacordaba todas, y aun las tenía sujetas, pues ninguna de entrar en su jurisdicción” (199). This act of exclusion illustrates that a major problem in the quest for harmony in virtue and knowledge are those with false or vain wisdom that pervert justice. True knowledge is sharing the positions of the four and contemplating the difficult truths that they illuminate. The moral philosopher’s position takes on this heavenly, celestial outlook and focuses on life in preparation for death. The following outlook is that of the theologian who looks to the importance of life and the connection of body to soul as more significant than what the philosopher affirms.

The second position reveals a closer look at the details of mortal existence as not just a hindrance to the spirit but a necessary aspect in God’s plan. Next the *estadista* or political statesman narrows the gaze to address a third aspect of human existence, governance, and administration of society. Each speaker adds greater complexity and gives a broader view; however, the opposite occurs as the gaze is narrowed to highlight a new group and realities that proceed from the infinite celestial to the finite mortal, connecting heaven and earth. The *estadista* is the speaker who draws attention away from the heavenly sphere and focuses on the realities of mortal lives and the maintenance of society and kingdoms. The final speaker is the soldier, who must kill or be killed in the name of mortal politics, government, and religion. This is the narrowest focus and reveals the physical and mental consequences of the Christian kingdom’s policies. Through the soldier we come to see the horrors of war and the pain inflicted on the just and wicked alike. Taken together, there is a need to recognize the larger picture of our existence as part of a vast heavenly heritage that we can reconnect to while understanding that our mortal lives play a valuable part in this great theater of life according to God’s will. In addition, fallible individuals govern the mortal world, and the virtue of the state comes at a cost to some due to

war and the consequences of policy. The life of everyday people is subject to the vicissitudes of life and the vain ambitions of economic leverage. So, what are we to learn from all this? The positions function to complicate and balance each other. The *tetractys* images illuminate a harmony and a path to living a Godly life that recognizes the importance of our immortal spirit and mortal body with intention and action. Nonetheless, terrestrial life is beset with unjust and corrupt systems that further complicate and commandeer God's will for their own selfish benefit. The solution is that despite all this one must still live a virtuous life and strive to live in harmony with God's true will of justice, peace, and temperance.

In conclusion, by considering the sacred *tetractys* of the Pythagoreans, *El siglo pitagórico* reveals a use of structure and practice that infuses the work with profound meaning. The *tetractys* was a vital symbol that represented a divine ordering of the universe that illuminated the inner workings of a numerically observable cosmos. As the Pythagoreans swore their oath to the leader, the equilateral triangle of the *tetractys* was the key to a vast understanding of existence and commitment to the ideals contained in its composition. *El siglo pitagórico* also utilizes this key in the structure of the academy and its desire to unlock greater understandings of the universe and to connect to a higher existence. The academy focused on earthly and celestial perspectives to illuminate a universe of intimate connections in which the mortal is intertwined with the divine. It is also clear that many manifestations of the groupings of four found in the discourses of the academy participants presented deep understandings through the contemplation or representation of tetrads. This perspective seeks to place numbers in a position of absolute importance in the seeking of knowledge. The *tetractys* as the font of all knowledge and source of wisdom allows for the academy to function as it was meant to and challenge the reader to consider the harmony of dissonant sounds as they elucidate deeper understanding. The big

questions are not directly answered but must be contemplated and worked out for oneself. Consistent with the Pythagorean point of view, the way to true virtue and knowledge is not given easily. In the end the *tetractys* is the key that unlocks the door, but we still must walk through ourselves.

Chapter 7: Tuning a World of Discord

El siglo pitagórico (1644) by Antonio Enríquez Gómez is a story preoccupied with movement. By means of this movement the reader comes to know how this *siglo*, as age or century, is composed of interconnected social, political, theological, and philosophical systems. Each of these systems is part of a web that connects to inform the world and how it works. However, all of these interactions come together to create the given point in time. In other words, they come together as one whole. Within this system of movement of ideas and bodies, the protagonist soul passes through time, space, and experiences. This perspective provides a unique view of all the working parts of those systems. The protagonist soul goes from the abject poverty of city life by transmigrations into the *dama* (actually a prostitute) and *ladrón* (thief) to the heights of society in the *valido* (court favorite), *soberbio* (nouveau riche) and *hidalgo* (lesser noble). Each body has an effect on those around it in the construction of society as a whole.

Following all the interactions is confusing and difficult to unravel for the protagonist soul. Likewise, readers find themselves surrounded by the clamor of a seemingly infinite number of textual voices. This kaleidoscopic motion is as disorienting to the protagonist soul as it is to the reader. However, this moment is also where, surrounded by an infinite number of bodies and voices, the book provides an opportunity to understand of how everything fits together. The realization comes as a revelation "y el curioso de luz entendimiento / rogó a Dios en la mente / que su sueño moral suavemente / mejorase de estado / y en un instante me sentí cercado / de cuerpos infinitos / si pueden serlo los que son finitos" (Enríquez 372). In this climatic moment, the protagonist soul gains the ability to see how the distinct parts of the story form a whole when it sees them all in an instant. They come together like the strings of a lyre strumming a harmonious chord. A chord produced by the vibration of each spirit that rings out to create

harmony out of discord. This tuning of a discordant world occurs in the final two chapters *of El siglo pitagórico* as the protagonist soul is reaching the last transmigration. The representation of the ideal manifests and the soul comes to its final destination. In the end, it finds the solution for the ills of the world is elegantly represented in the metaphor of tuning a musical instrument and the layering of harmony.

This movement toward the condensing of multiple elements into a whole is a means of achieving an ideal. As we have seen in chapter 6 of this dissertation, Pythagorean symbolism and the *tetractys* begin with four and end with one, through four steps in summation. The four steps, from four to one, produce not only unity, but also totality of knowledge or an all-encompassing totality. Unlike that chapter, which focuses on an academy of four mortal beings who represent the convergence of earthly perspectives—theological, philosophical, political, and marital—this chapter looks to the spiritual. In other words, the previous chapter looked upwards—from the mortal up toward the spiritual—while this chapter looks downwards—from the spiritual down towards the mortal.

The *tetractys* plays a crucial role in the interpretation of knowledge as disparate frequencies brought into harmony. This harmony can be understood through the prism of the *tetractys*. This chapter also focuses on the presence of the *tetractys* and tetradic groupings, however, with a distinct shift toward the perspective of soul and the tuning of discordant elements hidden in the structure, language, and imagery of the text. The first academy the *tetractys* focused attention on the production of knowledge, in this spiritual academy it leads readers to consider where this knowledge leads.

One can observe the use of fours in the last two chapters of *El siglo pitagórico*, both in the structural tetrad of spectral characters in the penultimate chapter, *varias transmigraciones,* and the final chapter's four-part resolution of *documentos morales*.

Pseudo Academy of Spirits in *Varias transmigraciones*	*Documentos morales del virtuoso*
Espíritu anciano *Voz, acompañada de la armonía* *Voz, alma de discurso* *Pitágoras*	*Para los sabios* *Para los jueces* *Para los validos* *Para todos*

The movement from one chapter to the other highlights the problems and then the answers to give a totality or way to harmonize body with soul in harmony. Through the prism of the *tetractys,* one sees the use of structure to inform meaning through number. The *tetractys* is an equilateral triangle bound by sides of four equidistant points that visually integrate the symbolism of the number three, the number four, and, through the addition of the points of tetractys (4+3+2+1) the number ten which represents wholeness. Although the numerical wholeness represented by the *tetractys* is present, there are earthly elements that distort this structure by excessive behaviors and vice. To fix these inconsistencies there is a trajectory that goes from the spiritual realm and descends to the earth to find the exemplary union of body and soul that has learned how to hear the discordant notes of vice in the world to foment a virtuous harmony in mankind.

Specifically, in the end, the four-part harmonization serves to directly address the parts of society that are in the most need of adjustment –such as the scholarly pursuits, judicial systems, administrative processes, and everyday people's responsibilities– to establish a more just world. It is as God intended that humanity could connect back to a celestial ideal in an earthly reality and live according to their true purpose that has been misunderstood and distorted over time. The movement through tetradic groupings makes it possible to see the discordant elements of vice

much like the protagonist soul hears in the *varias transformaciones* before the final chapter. Once the elements are laid bare, they are addressed and fixed in the final transmigration.

Focusing on the protagonist of *El siglo pitagórico*, a soul that escaped its body during a dream, it is clear that it receives knowledge orally. This knowledge is especially important to the protagonist soul because it has reluctantly transmigrated over and over in search of a true example of a virtuous life, *El virtuoso*. Consequently, after experiencing so much failure in its journey, other spirits come to open the door to the true example of virtue. These other spirits find the protagonist soul weary and alone but ready to listen to their knowledge. There are four spirits that come to inform the protagonist soul in a meaningful succession that gives a sense of finality in a pseudo academy, much like the episode with Gregorio Guadaña. The four characters that participate in this spiritual academy are the *espíritu anciano* (ancient spirit), *una voz acompañada de la armonia de un laúd* (lyrical disembodied voice), *otra voz alma de discurso* (spirit of reasoned argument), and *Pitágoras* (Dream/Soul of Pythagoras). The four spiritual characters taken together also produce a trajectory toward greater meaning leading to a revelation of harmony revealed in another grouping of four. This structural use of the four grouping as a *tetractys* serves to exemplify the ordering of this harmony as universal and total. Consequently, the ordering of the fours reveals inconsistencies like strings that are out of tune along with a means to harmonize the spiritual with the mortal. This harmonization can be expressed in Pythagorean terms of celestial movement that is summed up in the *tetractys* as a manifestation of a numerical representation of the universe. Once the structure is revealed and contemplated, the observer can gaze into the inner workings of the ideal existence. This is the ultimate goal of preparing the protagonist soul to see what it must.

The spiritual academy in the book takes place as the nameless protagonist soul has nearly reached the end of its dream journey. It is exhausted from the previous thirteen transmigrations it has experienced and has become disheartened by its failure to find *El virtuoso*. Similar to the academy mentioned in chapter 6, four voices give *consejo*, or counsel. In the first academy, during the transmigration into the body of Gregorio Guadaña, the participants were mortals: *el filósofo, el teólogo, el estadista,* and *el soldado*. In this second academy, the four participants – the *espíritu anciano,* the *voz acompañada*, the *alma de discurso,* and Pythagoras himself– are bodiless souls. In addition, there is a shift from prose dialogue to lyric poetry as the path to virtue is opened. These four bodiless souls speak and sing of their understandings and misgivings about the world. In essence the souls open the door for the protagonist soul to walk through.

To find this opening, the *espíritu anciano* begins with a similar perspective as the moral philosopher of the previous chapter in its disdain for the corruptible nature of the body as a poor vessel for the perfection of the spirit. There is a great deal of mirroring in this spiritual academy that reveals the interconnected nature of heaven and earth. The *espíritu anciano* is pessimistic and frustrated by *la fragilidad humana* and *soberbia del hombre*, recalling; "por todos he pasado, por todos he corrido y por todos me perdí" (369). The next two participants, *voz acompañada de laúd* and *alma de discurso*, will communicate in verse accompanied by heavenly music, leading finally to a dramatic, yet humorous resolution with Pythagoras himself. In the end, the protagonist soul is able to see the many problems present in the various bodies it has inhabited. After a journey that spanned many transmigrations, the soul finds the *Virtuoso*. The movement in the discourse of the *Virtuoso* will also present tetradic structure as well order the necessary changes in justice, knowledge, statecraft, and the general public. Thus, multiple manifestations

of the tetradic groups reinforce the importance of the structure and how the characters understand the world in relation to the heavens.

Because this academy is of a more spiritual nature, it takes place fittingly in between heaven and earth; "la media región del aire" (363). The four contributors to this exercise in knowledge production are all bodiless entities or souls that reveal their truths from different perspectives, experiences, and styles. The first to speak, the disillusioned *espíritu anciano* who "se había paseado por doce mil y quinientos cuerpos" (363) is the only one presented in prose. The second manifests as a *voz acompañada de armonia de un laúd*, or voice of lyrical poetry accompanied by music. The third is *la voz del alma de discurso* from a new direction but also accompanied by the music in verse. Finally, the last voice is Pythagoras himself come to redirect the protagonist soul in a final admonition in verse. In similar fashion to the first academy, there is an emphasis on the tetradic groups, and the meaning provided by the philosophy of the Pythagorean *tetractys* as a fount of knowledge.

It is important to note that the spiritual academy is not specifically called such, but rather is written as an ethereal experience of bodyless spirits that take turns in revealing their truth in the presence of the protagonist and by extension the reader. How then can it be an academy at all if they do not interact with each other? This classification is understandable as they add to new positions to the issue. The four souls are also connected to an ethereal plane where voices emanate from the universe as celestial music alluding to the harmonious music of the spheres. The music of their voices is a product of their movements in the text. Likewise, the souls are not mortal and are connected more perfectly than the terrestrial bodies of the first academy, thus the souls argue less amongst themselves. Lastly, they offer perspectives and interpretations similar to those observed in the last academy. Some of these similar interpretations are the vanity of the

world versus the perfection of the soul, the importance of free will, and the nature of time. What is most important in this realm of ethereal spirits is that they present a view from the top down. The use of the *tetractys* like tetradic groups allows the protagonist and reader to see discord remaining within a larger harmonious structure. It is through the words and arguments of the four spirit participants that a means to create harmony in the world becomes clearer.

Delving into the discourse of the spiritual academy, the *espíritu anciano* greets the protagonist soul as a friend and companion upon noticing its tired visage. Although the *espíritu anciano* is not introduced from a visual standpoint, it is easy enough to imagine it as the protagonist identifies its age and recognizes its being. *The espíritu anciano* begins his discourse by questioning the protagonist soul about his transmigrations to a cruel and unjust world. It is clear from the perspective of the *espíritu anciano*, the world of *materia* or body, is a cruel labyrinth to which the soul is; "preso como la simple ave en la cautelosa red del astuto cazador" (363). Consequently, the *espíritu anciano*, having lived and seen so much, reveals itself to also be deeply disillusioned about the nature of mortal existence and the inevitability of corruption: "considérame por ejemplo soberano de los sucesos del siglo: por todos he pasado, por todos he corrido, y por todos perdí" (363). Thus, the *espíritu anciano* sees itself as representative of an overarching feeling of loss, being an *ejemplo soberano de los sucessos del siglo*. Although not specifically stated, the protagonist soul most likely sympathizes with frustrations of the *espíritu anciano*, since it too has experienced loss and disappointment during its thirteen transmigrations.

The world is described by the *espíritu anciano* in terms of four, bringing us back the image of the *tetractys* and its use of tetradic groupings that reveal harmony. However, in this instance the tetrad illustrates discordant elements within a greater system; "¿Adónde vas, amigo vagando regiones y surcando campañas desasidas, buscando en ese bosque de fieras, en esa

montaña de leones, en esa selva de avestruces, y en ese teatro de homicidas vidas que no has de gozar, descanso que no has de tener y justicia que no has de hallar?" (363). The world is described with a summation of four parts: *bosque, montaña, selva,* and *teatro*. Each highlights the same four earthly elements and their dangers. This friction between the use of harmonious fours with earthly images and wild beasts metaphorically representing vices is clear in juxtaposition of the geographic and animal. To decode these images the work of Edward M. Wilson about "the four elements in the imagery of Calderón" proves invaluable. Wilson observes a pattern and categorizes the use of the four elements in multiple manifestations such as: element, inanimate, animate creatures, and attribute of element (10-11). The first metaphorical image is of a "Bosque de fieras" which can be understood as representing the element of earth in the woods and wild beasts exhibiting wild desire and aggression. Secondly, the "Montaña de leones" also highlights the earthly element as well as a lion, which can be read as representing pride. Thirdly, "Selva de avestruces" repeats the earthly element of the forest and the ostrich which is associated with avarice in this case. Finally, "Teatro de homicidas" recalls the trope of the world as a great theater, in this case a murderous spectacle. Therefore, the ancient soul portrays the world through woods, mountain, forest, and theater filled with desire, pride, greed, and death. This summation is one of discord and therefore produces pain and destruction which is understood more fully through the grouping of the four as an equation. Paradoxically, and metaphorically, these tetrads represent the earthly dangers as needing temperate attunement while alluding to a whole that reveals knowledge.

Earth Element	Animal/ Attribute	Interpretations
Bosque *Montaña* *Selva* *Teatro*	*Fieras* *Leones* *Avestruces* *Homicidas*	Desire Pride Avarice Death (as spectacle)

The *espíritu anciano* then revisits the body's vulnerability to corruption over time and emphasizes the movement from one grouping of four to another. The first grouping describes the pure *naturaleza* of the original body created by God and the second shows the body corrupted over time by *soberbia* and *tiranía*. Once more, it is clear that the tetradic groupings carry with them importance in the description of humanity's bodily composition as *dócil, blanda, sazonada* and *perfecta* as a totality left over from its divine originator; "Solía la materia de la especie humana salir de las manos de la Naturaleza dócil, blanda, sazonada y perfecta, pero de muchos siglos a esta parte se trocó de manera que su mayor blazón es armarse de soberbia y ceñirse de tiranía" (Enríquez 363). The argument in this passage is that at creation the body was pure, soft, well composed, and perfect. In contrast to the previous use of tetrad to show a world of vice, this image shows the body's divine origin. The body starts off with a clear connection to the divine but is slowly corrupted over time. It is evident that the tetradic groupings are the common denominator. They unite the body in a state of discord and harmony with its original state. Thus, the two opposites of vice and virtuous states mentioned are in fact linked and form one link of the tetractys.

The presentation of the corrupted form also deriving from a tetradic grouping helps reveal greater understanding of its movement toward a fall from grace. Consequently, the perfect, soft, well composed, purity is replaced with images of a blazon of selfish achievement, armed by pride, girding itself with tyranny. The tetrad of vice is less explicit but can be seen in connection to its corresponding action in the warlike verbs, *armarse/ceñirse,* presented along with the images of coat of arms, pride, sword (implied as what is sheathed), and tyranny. To begin, the *blazón* can be seen as an ostentatious showing of the sin of pride as a heraldic symbol of noble lineage. The connection between lineage and pride is telling as a means to show a

passing from generation to generation. The tradition shields and fortifies this vice and allows it to spread. The next two are also warlike in their presentation. The passage does not mention a sword by name but the act of the verb *ceñirse* recalls the action of girding a sword; in this instance that weapon is tyranny. It can be inferred that humanity has chosen force and the violence of the sword, creating a tyrannical constitution. The body and thus mortal existence over time has transformed from a tetrad of docile, soft, well composed, and harmonious to that of a shield composed of pride and a sword brandished in tyranny. Focusing on how the tetradic groups interact with each other demonstrates how the *tetractys* allows us to look at the fours in an all-encompassing nature.

Divine composition: *Naturaleza*	Effects of time: Actions and Consequences
Dócil *Blanda* *Sazonada* *Perfecta*	*Blazón de armas:* (to arm onself) *Armarse* *Soberbia* To sheath: *Ceñirse* (implied sword) *Tiranía*

In this instance, the two groups of four, the perfect *naturaleza* and the corrupted body, function as counterbalances in that they exhibit the trajectory of the corruption of mankind. Yet, like a function of four they balance out leaving a position that is neither negative nor positive but a neutral harmony. The *espíritu anciano* uses this to explain how mortal life has fallen but in using the tetrads reveals a being that is ideally placed between virtue and vice. It is the actions that swing humanity toward one extreme or the other, without ever truly eradicating the other. The two points on the continuum thus give each other meaning. These ideas will be brought to fruition in the final four grouping that will address the concerns presented here and give a path to harmony through adjustments to important issues presented in this spiritual academy.

Similarly, the *espíritu anciano* continues to deride the mortal world in contrast to the divine and perfect celestial form produced by the Creator. In another grouping of fours, the

world is exhibited before the protagonist soul as a place unbefitting the spirit as: *territorio de cultos, teatro de sacrificios nocivos, altar de adulaciones,* and *palacio de lisonjas*. The grouping recalls the first group of earthly elements and vices. Yet again, the *espíritu anciano*'s insistent pairing of four-part groupings draws attention to their importance and amplifies their significance.

Earthly locations: Associations with material world	Associations: Actions and Attitudes
Territorio *Teatro* *Altar* *Palacio*	*Cultos* *Sacrificios nocivos* *Adulaciones* *Lisonjas*

The first words of the pairs are *territorio, teatro, altar, and palacio* represent the falsities of worldly institutions, while the second words are the attitudes or actions of those places. The first territory of the *cultos* or *sabios* is ironic. The allusion to a country of *cultos* and their lack of understanding despite being instructed highlights the blindness of pride, secondly the *teatro* of hazardous sacrifices presents the world as a dangerous stage where people are sacrificed to vice or the interest of others, thirdly, the *altar* of adulations is a reference to a holy place of insincere adulation by sycophants. Lastly, *a palacio* of flattery connects the nobility with false or undeserving praise. The pairs highlight the vanity and disingenuousness of the world by juxtaposing the land, theater, holy site, and royal residence as places of deception and lies. This tetrad exposes the discordant nature of a morally bankrupt world that distorts heaven's will. This discordant perversion will be harmonized in the final transmigration into the virtuous man by directly addressing false wisdom, callous sacrifice of innocents by those in power, false piety and lies of vainglory.

The argument of the *espíritu anciano* continues to focus on the movement through bodies. Unfortunately, these bodies have been corrupted over time and serve as poor vessels for

the spirit despite their divine origin. However, the union of body and soul is necessary to achieve harmony and totality with God. Similarly, the philosopher, *el filósofo* mentioned in the previous chapter, focused on the body's limitations and need to embrace the spiritual; "…no podemos, siendo mundo pequeño, abrazar con la vida el mundo mayor, y así nos dieron la parte conforme la capacidad de nuestro sujeto" (192). The common thread is the limitations of mortal existence and the need for the union of body and spirit, *forma y materia*. The *espíritu anciano*, recognizes degradation of the divine origin of humanity to its current condition in architectural terms having exchanged a castle for a cottage; "¿Quién trocó el supremo alcázar de la creación por la humilde cabaña de la generación?" (364). As a result, the the *espíritu anciano* is saddened by the plight of the souls that must inhabit these corrupted bodies because achieving harmony is so difficult. Describing this rough passage of time, the *espíritu anciano* likens life to the act of setting sail on a *bajel podrido*. Mortal life is a rotting ship or; "cruel calabozo adónde vamos a pagar la culpa del primer hombre, horrible casa es de nuestra noble naturaleza" (364). However there hope in the struggle. The *espíritu anciano* offers up a call to action in the form of a question to the protagonist soul; "¿Quién nos hizo de señoras esclavas, pues vamos a lidiar con una infancia cansada, una juventud terrible, y una vejez caduca, sujetándonos los buenos y malos temperamentos de la materia, a las inclinaciones de los astros y la tiranía de los enemigos?" (366). The answer to how to fight the multiple adversities suffered by the soul is to learn to discern the *intolerable costumbre* learned in life. So, mortal life is rough on the soul, yet virtue of the union of temporal and spiritual is not impossible. The way to victory, or true union of body and soul, is through *cordura* that is acquired by governing one's actions with prudence and care. Thus, the *espíritu anciano*, in pursuit of this *cordura*, will use its discourse to help instruct the

protagonist soul on how to detect the implicit harmony in a corrupted system. It is here that four-groupings help to illuminate the inconsistencies of a divine creation subject to corruption.

The espíritu anciano uses more tetradic groups –like the representation of the world in symbols representative of elements – to explain the condition of suffering and brevity of mortal life. Similarly, the *espíritu anciano* presents a dyad of opposing forces in the body and spirit that must unify as part of a single system described in fours. From this description a wholeness is exemplified in tetrads. Continuing his discourse, the *espíritu anciano* identifies the body as an unworthy vessel, *horrible casa*, for the soul's noble natural state and presents striking metaphors to paint a picture of mortal life; "horrible casa es de nuestra noble naturaleza y tremendo valle adonde hemos de regar con lágrimas las flores de la vida, tan breve como la nube que pasa, tan ligera como la exhalación que gira, y tan pronto como el relámpago vuela" (364).

Elements	Images of brevity of life
Earth	*Valle de flores*
Water	*Lágrimas*
Wind	*Nube* and *Exhalación*
Fire	*Relámpago*

Life takes place in an immense valley that invokes earth, one of Empedocles' elements (i.e. earth, air, fire, and water). Though Empedocles is connected to Pythagoras, the elements themselves are not Pythagorean. Nevertheless, the four elements do function within a Pythagorean framework of the *tetractys* and sacred number formations. Returning to the quote, in this valley the flowers of life are watered with tears. Flowers are another symbol associated with the earth but also the brevity of beauty, youth, and life in general. The water element here is present in tears that are certainly shed due to the inevitable suffering that will be experienced, as was seen and experienced by the protagonist soul. Following this line of thought, the element of air is emphasized in two images, the cloud to illustrate the brevity of life and the exhaled breath

for its levity. This two-part image is also significant because it shows heavenly air and mortal breath together. The final element present is fire, manifested in the lightning bolt that comes suddenly flying, alluding to a quick, violent, and unpredictable end. To summarize, the four elements in conjunction reveals how all the parts work together to provide perspective that paints mortal life as still composed of a harmonious system of components even though it reveals a painful truth about mortal life and discord. Thus, the tetradic grouping again offers metaphors that reveal the whole of the human condition in mortal strife in contrast to the spirits' uniformity. The opposites form a dyad that occupies the second level of a *tetractys*. The two are connected to a greater harmonious universe in the totality of the *tetractys*.

Yet again, the *espíritu anciano* utilizes tetradic structures to describe the mortal world and the difficult fate of the spirits that must inhabit it while also alluding to the divine creation of the body's composition. The body is like a building of weak architecture because it is influenced by its earthly elemental components; "¡Ay del que va condenado a vivir en edificio compuesto de tierra y agua y levantado de fuego y aire! ¿Qué fin se puede aguardar de arquitectura tan frágil, adonde se encuentran cada instante los elementos?" (364). So, what is the end that can be awaited of such a mutable structure made up of the elements? The answer is a difficult one. Nevertheless, it is not the elements themselves that make the body frail but time and intemperance, as the body was once composed of the same elements but in perfect order. To Pythagoreans, intemperance is one of the key problems that keep humanity from achieving its higher purpose. The tetrad of elements, while not necessarily Pythagorean, are structured in a numerically meaningful way. It is not the elements that cause the weakness of humanity, but they are points that can be influenced by outside forces. The *espíritu anciano* dreads the cycle of animating new bodies, and rightly so based on its observations and experiences. Nevertheless,

despite the reservations about its fate of inhabiting bodies it yet again alludes to the universal structure of divine creation as a hope to return to a true union or wholeness that is part of God's harmonious design.

Another way of interpreting the tetradic structures is in musical harmony embedded in the sum of the parts. The *Armonia de las esferas* is the Pythagorean observation that the movement of celestial bodies, Sun, Moon, and other planets, produces music at specific intervals based on their distances. In its discourse, the *espíritu anciano* emphasizes the loss of this harmony in the same manner as an instrument of four simple elements is inevitably untuned by vice. The body, like this instrument, is not irredeemable but needs to retune itself to find its place in God's harmony. While the Pythagoreans wanted to live a life in harmony with the divine, so too did Christians who saw a similar path to harmony. All the manifestations of the *tetractys* that are present in the discourse of the *espíritu anciano*—the dangers of the world's vices, brevity of mortal existence, the perfection of the body's creation, and the corruption of body over time—showcase the versatility of the tetradic grouping. These tetrads permeated the argument and give a greater meaning to the notion that mortal bodies are easily corruptible and have diverged from their noble beginning to places unsuited to the divine spirit. Despite this problem the two forces of body and spirit are universally linked. The tetrads here, like a *tetractys*, while used to show the corruption of vice also reveal how the body is still composed of the initial elemental fours that place mortals in a position to recover harmony with the divine despite their fragile human condition.

It is important to note that the *espíritu anciano* does not see the *Naturaleza* or original form of creation as guilty of this corruption, but rather the actions and decisions taken later that are the issue. Parallel to the thoughts of the philosopher in the previous chapter, life is vain and

corruptible, and one must abandon the earthly or avoid vice to reach the spiritual. The *espíritu anciano* mentions the lack of achieving the divine potential of creation by not doing what they could or following what they should not; “Salimos de la mano poderosa para merecer, pero corto merecimiento alcanza quien no hace lo que puede y sigue lo que no debe” (364). Thus, it is the choices that can call back to this lost potential present in humanity’s origin. The only way to escape this cruel labyrinth of life is through virtuous choices. There must be actions one can do when faced with vice and paths one must not follow. The choosing of the correct path can be understood through the example of the Pythagorean Y. Humanity is worthy but must do what it can to follow the narrow path of the virtuous and avoid the temptations of vice represented by the wide path.

To summarize, the *espíritu anciano*’s position shows a disdain for the earthly in favor of the spirit or existence after death rather than life. Humanity is created in the image of God, however this is not a guarantee of godliness, rather a daunting challenge that proves, in the *espítitu anciano*’s perspective, to be near impossible. The *espíritu anciano* uses five tetradic groupings to indicate the importance of this numerical structure in its arguments. The result is a repetition of a universal oneness as exemplified in the intent and function of the sacred *tetractys*. The *espíritu anciano* constructs meaning by composing examples and arguments in structures that simultaneously unveil a harmony and discord in examples of the fall of man, mortal institutions, and corruptibility of the body that are described in a way that returns to the everpresent number four. As seen here and earlier, the *tetractys* is not just one set of fours but contains all within itself and thus has a multiplicity of examples. The next participant will continue this Pythagorean journey with other elements to unveil another viewpoint in this spiritual academy.

The second participant in the spiritual academy is the *voz acompañada de laud* and it takes a distinct form from that of the first speaker to give another perspective in the construction of knowledge. When the *espíritu anciano* finishes speaking, he and the protagonist soul hear a voice that uplifts them both, accompanied by the harmonious music of a lute; this sound is the *voz acompañada*. Unlike the first soul, the *voz* does not take a human form. This second spirit is merely a *voz acompañada* and is only heard in the form of lyrical poetry that gives encouragement to the pilgrimage of the protagonist soul. Consequently, the academy has shifted from the visual prose narrative to the auditory lyrical poetry of the second. Considering Pythagorean philosophy, this transition is consistent with the importance placed on music as a remedy and corrective for the soul; "certain melodies were used against passions of the soul… for the purpose of correcting the soul, he [Pythagoras] also used select verses of Homer and Hesiod" (Guthrie 85). Therefore, the poetry and music of the *voz acompañada,* is present to heal and purify the protagonist soul. Thus, the protagonist soul, by listening intently, begins to heal and find its place among the harmonious music and words. Through its music, the *voz acompañada* draws attention to the all-encompassing nature of God, and cyclical imagery of heaven and earth and their interconnectedness, in addition to the necessity of attunement to find the harmony between opposites. The discourse of the second participant of this spiritual academy focuses on birth and the opposing factors that hold certain influence over birth. According to the *voz acompañada*, human existence is connected to a celestial order that has sway but does not force the individual to sin or virtue but allows for a choice, or free will, and places importance on personal responsibility. This complicated unity of opposites in dyads (birth and death, heaven and earth) that are contained in a larger concept of wholeness can also be interpreted with the symbol of the *tetractys.*

The *voz acompañada* explains wholeness through cyclical imagery that represents the connections between the temporal mortal finite and the eternal celestial infinite as it pertains to the understanding of the tenuous yet invaluable marriage of body and soul. Accordingly, it begins with an antithetical verse from a place beyond life and death, "Nací para morir" (366), indicating that from the spirit's perspective it is born to die as part of its natural path as origin and destination. Further, the *voz acompañada* sees life as an interval that it must experience in order to understand the true purpose that it cannot attain in mere spiritual form. In other words, although the body is not suited to the soul, they give each other meaning. They must come together to ultimately reveal truths: "cantemos acordamos desengaños" (Enríquez 366). Through shared suffering and understanding of divine nature, the soul and body together achieve their true potential. The placement of the body and soul in this antithetical relationship serves to create a perspective which confuses the concepts of finite and infinite in order to contemplate a deeper understanding of the profound relationship between life and death. This use of antithesis is also utilized in the visions of the Spanish mystics such Santa Teresa de Ávila and San Juan de la Cruz to describe a profound desire for communion with the divine exemplified in the famous verse "Vivo sin vivir en mí / y de tal manera espero/ que muero porque no muero." (Rivers 175) The *voz acompañada* also longs to commune but from a different perspective than the mystics. The *voz acompañada* illustrates that the All integrates tetrad and monad, moving from 4 to 1. This All is called *La eterna deidad incomprehensible* or *Autor de los mundos* (368) and it seeks to show a unified cosmic system to comprehend the world and the heavens through connections that have possibility for both good and evil. This complex unity of opposites is consistent with representation of the dyad in the construction of the unity of the *tetractys*. The universe and existence encompass all experiences within it including paths to righteousness and perdition. The

important point made by this *voz acompañada* is that the unknowable author of the world (mortal, celestial and in between) intended it to be this way as "la eterna deidad incomprehensible / mide los movimientos por estado" (368) but does not force an absolute will that is preordained, "El Autor de los mundos lo previno, / súpolo como Dios, mas no le fuerza / a que siga el error de su camino" (368). Thus, all things that are encompassed though this composition must find their way to attune by one's own free will. The *voz acompañada* understands that the path to the heavenly is not passive but part of a process encompassed by a harmony that is hidden all around.

According to this *voz acompañada,* life is vain pleasure, while death hides among life's flowers. The metaphor of the flower as representing the brevity and fragility of life presents itself again here where in that garden of flowery existence, "cantemos acordados desengaños / a la soberbia joventud más fuerte" (366). The *voz acompañada* makes a point to show/sing of being fully awake to the disillusions of the growing strength of youth's foolish pride. However, the *voz acompañada* presents the importance of oral philosophy that is tempered over time to undo the lies of the world. It is at this instant that it presents an image used to illustrate the links that tie everything together, even life and death will be assimilated into the whole. This is the image of *La cuerda,* or simple chord of a musical instrument, corresponding to the idea of the four simple strings that harmonize as a microcosm of celestial perfection that alludes back the *tetractys* in its construction. The chord in this instance "que ha tirado de los años, / templada en la oral filosofía/ divierte penas y deshaga engaños" (366) can also be understood through the concept of the monochord and the *tetractys* as revealers of the true nature of time and space. The *voz acompañada* alludes to act of tuning over time to help connect the varying parts of the cosmos and challenges the protagonist soul to strive for an understanding of the interconnected system

through the acquisition of oral philosophies. The monochord is a divine representation of the universe's harmonious movements played by notes on a single chord. Pythagoras utilized the single string to demonstrate musical intervals by plucking the string held at different distances. The single string also represented a clear link stretching from earth to the heavens. Similarly, the notes rise and fall while corresponding to specific elements that connect the earthly and spiritual realms. Further, the presence of undertones can be heard when held and plucked at certain lengths of the chord. The harmonics to the Pythagoreans, represented a proof of the hidden connections of all the other notes that make up the one (Guthrie 24-25). The *voz acompañada* is echoing these concepts of music and oral philosophy of the Pythagoreans to further explain the invisible links between body and soul through auditory perception. It may not be possible to see the movement, but it can and must be heard.

Returning to the discourse of the *voz acompañada*, the presence of the chord tuned with oral philosophy is a diviner of truth that reveals all the factors such as nature, the stars, and planets and their effects on body and soul. As mentioned above, the discourse of the *voz acompañada* preoccupies itself with the act of birth and death. Likewise, it presents a vision of creation and the light that at dawn gives life and disperses the shadowy cold. Humanity is born connected to a world that flourishes from lifegiving water infused with divine providence; "cuando empezaba a enriquecerse Flora/ de aquella soberana Providencia/ que en los globos de zafir asiste y mora,/ nací llorando…" (367). The emphasis is placed on water droplets in the form of *globos de zafir* that are the repositories of Providence and life that enrich Flora in plant life and tears of a crying baby. Thus, the union of divine and mortal is both present in the water as part of larger interconnected system. The water is simultaneously a product of the pain of being born mortal and a nourishing force of nature. Similarly, part of this system is the negative

influences that hinder the desired unión of body and soul; “Los astros comuneros de pasiones, / sobre la vasta madre fabricaban/ soberbias por mi mal inclinaciones. / Las leyes de nacer argumentaban sobre la vida el término finito/ y todas sin discurso se engañaban;/ unas al astro y otras al delito, / muchas al hado, al caso y a la suerte/ penetrar presumían lo infinito” (367). This passage points out the negative impact that the stars and heavens may have on the passions that correspond to its sympathies for humanity at birth. The laws of birth presumed to penetrate the infinite nature of the system but are themselves mistaken by forces such as the stars, crimes, fate, circumstance, and luck. The focus on the wrong factors inhibits the greater understanding of the harmony of the interconnectedness of the heaven and earth by untuning oneself in the discordant influences of the stars and their corresponding earthly counterparts. In essence, humanity is susceptible to outside forces such as avarice that, much like the water droplets of Providence, also have a higher connection to the heavens only in this case it may lead a person out of tune with their optimal harmonious nature. Similar to the *espíritu anciano*’s focus on time as corrupting, the *voz acompañada* sees time as a factor of improvement through attunement. However, this deeper comprehension is not possible from a mortal perspective alone; “Sin duda alguna que se cansa en vano/ el polvo introducido en agua y fuego/ de inquerir el secreto soberano” (367), the correct path is to recognize the shortcomings of the body and despite this to strive to overcome them by seeking out the way to freedom through knowledge of both the heavenly and the earthly at the same time. There are many forces acting upon humanity, and one must actively seek to understand the way to tune to the correct key, so to speak.

The takeaway point for this section of the *voz acompañada* is the power of sin and vice upon a vulnerable body and the need to escape the cycle by looking to the universe as a book that has the answers if we can read the signs. The *voz acompañada* proclaims its free nature at birth

and that; “bien puede lo sensible/ librarse de la altiva pesadumbre, / si la razón moral le hace visible” (368). The answer to the perfect harmonious union is only feasible if one observes the visible concepts of moral reason. Therefore, the solution to the problem of sin’s dominion over the mortal world is a lack of observation and works, “el espíritu puro viene obrando” (369). The *voz acompañada* makes it clear that cruel death is inevitable, but to study the influences of the heavenly and earthly worlds as *cuaderno sagrado de la cumbre* and *libros de zafir, letras de plata*, reveal that justice will be possible with “el altísimo y puro entendimiento.” The cosmos is a book to be read to find God’s presence and harmonious existence. Therefore, one must understand all the parts and act in concordance with this knowledge to escape the wrong inclinations of vice.

The third participant of this academy follows the thoughts of the *voz acompañada* and adds to the discourse that the union of body with soul and the recognition of God as divine are the sources of truth. As the *voz acompañada* finishes its thoughts, another voice is heard from the harmonious music. This third member of the academy is called *alma de discurso,* and comes to give voice, again in lyrical poetry, to the heart of the argument or reasoning of the entire book. It is preoccupied with the proliferation of vice and the corruption of the mortal world. The chief issues according to the *alma de discurso* are the the spreading of vice due to discord or inequities it sees; “veo la enequidad en alto estado” and “el malo entre signos doce/ predomine sin ley sobre los justos/ y que los bienes deste siglo goce, secreto viene a ser que los injustos/ toman por caso, por fortuna y hado, / dioses haciendo sus lascivos gustos” (371). The unjust thus enjoy lascivious pleasures of this century or age by idolatrous worship of the forces of fate, fortune, and circumstance. Evil creates discord by a lack of understanding and misapplication of laws against the just and innocent. What is necessary is recognition of the well-organized body with

attention to the harmonious link between the spirit and material body "Si tu espíritu, lleno de opiniones/ repara en la materia organizada, / hallará las celestes impresiones" (370). Although the body and spirit are very different, they hold in common a spark of creation. The body as *materia organizada* still maintains the celestial impressions of its original creation. In other words, the body though susceptible to degradation can achieve more complete union with the soul because of the heavenly impressions bestowed on it from the creator. Consequently, the age or century of mortal existence calls the spirit to unity with the body while revealing the factors that have led to discord and injustice. The *Alma de discurso* is setting up for the conclusion of perfect union of body and soul in the final part of the book.

The *Alma de discurso* continues this focus on the harmonious union of body and soul as it discusses the miraculous union of angelic light and mortal construction; "Yo confieso que fue miraculosa/ la fábrica del hombre, eslabonada/ con la angélica forma luminosa" (371). The solution is a deeper understanding of the true purpose of this distinct union that contains the correct balance of God's essence in the light of creation, as the *alma de discurso* exclaims; "¡Oh, inmenso Dios, oh brazo omnipotente, / oh luz divina, esencia poderosa, / quién podrá penetrar la luz viviente!" (371). Sadly, the reality is that this harmonious communion with God is achieved only arduously, as the protagonist soul has come to experience in its various transmigrations. Further complicating this matter are those that have lost this connection entirely and become out of tune with God's harmony. Like musicians tuning to the wrong notes, they propagate vice like a cacophony of dissonant music masquerading as true harmony.

The third section of this academy ends with a question, "¿Hasta cuándo tendrá su imperio el mundo?" or for how long when will earth's dominion last. The answer can be understood in conjunction with the other points of the spiritual academy. The mortal world is corruptible and

temporal in contrast to the heavenly and through many examples it is evident that humanity is beset by immoral vices that cause strife and suffering. However, though it is susceptible to sin and corruption, it is *libre albedrío* or free will that permits the choice of a path by design. Is it possible for God's moral paradise to displace the reign of the unjust? Harmony is only possible with the resonance of different notes, and much like the celestial and earthly influences – theological, philosophical, political, and vulgar– they must be struck in the correct way. So, humanity needs to find that path through a careful study of God's creation and attunement to its essence in the light of knowledge while avoiding the excessive inclinations of our intemperate desires. God's *imperio* on earth is already there as part of a greater system that one must recognize. With the *idea poderosa* called upon, the final section of this spiritual academy comes to its point of revelation of the truth in the final participant. Each of the speakers in this academy have illuminated how there is a harmonious existence that is not achievable without the union of body and spirit which is further emphasized in recognizing the influences that create discord in the system and inhibit connection to God´s will.

The last part of this spiritual academy is a culmination of the other discourses and a final opening to the ideal. The protagonist soul is confronted at this moment with all previous transmigrations and is challenged to apply the lessons it has learned. The final participant of this academy is the spirit of Pythagoras. The story has now come full circle as Pythagoras was the first to speak to the soul and is now returned to at the critical moment. The protagonist soul is almost at the end of this meeting of kindred spirits and is close to being able to comprehend the true nature of harmony. This harmony is achieved by understanding the true path and way of God. Like the beginning of the second part of the spiritual academy, music plays a key role in the opening of this revelation. The first passage illuminates a making ready for the protagonist soul

by the presence of divine music portrayed as a *sumiller de cortina* or an ecclesiastical custodial official that prepares a chapel for the royal family; "La música divina, / sumiller de cortina / fue de mi pensamiento, / y el curioso de luz entendimiento/ rogó a Dios en la mente/ que su sueño moral suavemente/ mejorase de estado, / y en un instante me sentí cercado de cuerpos infinitos/ si pueden ser los que son finitos" (372). Thus, divine music pulls the curtain away to open the mind of the protagonist soul's *pensamiento*. As a result of the opening of the curtain, the light of *entendimiento* falls upon the curious who prays to God within its thoughts. This prayer is for a smooth amelioration of his moral dream. The improvement of this moral state is a product of seeing behind the curtain and gaining new understandings. This moment, like a crescendo, has led up to an overwhelming scene of infinite images of bodies that beg to be united to the soul. This instance uses a paradox to describe a scene that defies comprehension, in the infinite number of bodies, if it is even possible due to their finite nature. What follows is a series of voices *desiguales* of bodies representative of worldly professions that want to be animated by the protagonist soul. The bodies of the *asentista, abogado, contador, juez, alguacil, dama al uso, ipicuro,* and *escribano* have already been portrayed as corrupt and unjust in their practice in previous transmigrations in the book. The cacophonous voices exemplify the *alma de discurso*'s warning about earthly preoccupations that denied the divine. It is at this point that Pythagoras steps in and demands the protagonist soul to account for its supposed lack of attention: "¿Hasta cuándo, hasta cuándo/ has de andar destraída?" (373). Despite the scolding by Pythagoras, the protagonist soul has traveled a longer journey and learned a great deal. What follows is an encounter of a series of possible bodies for the soul to animate. The soul, however, refuses in witty responses that rhyme with the body proposed in entertaining ways. In the end, an exasperated Pythagoras asks the protagonist soul to remember the start of the dream and search

out virtue: “Recuerda de tu sueño y busca la virtud” (375). This is a call back to the very first encounter with the soul of Pythagoras at the beginning of the book and draws attention to the cyclical journey doubling back on itself. In the first encounter Pythagoras explained what was needed: “tu vida busca /tu valor reforma./ Libre de cuerpo estás, no del pecado: busca otro nuevo y purga lo pasado” (75). The protagonist has transmigrated into thirteen bodies and purged itself of the sins that doomed each body by hearing its flawed reasoning. The protagonist soul now has experienced many lifespans and heard the cases of experts in philosophy, theology, society, politics, and war that have illuminated the nature of the time, life, virtue, and the universe. After so many lived experiences and frustrations, the protagonist soul can now look within itself for knowledge. In other words, it is ready to find true virtue having witnessed the points of societal infection from a wide spectrum of individuals in the formation of a moral doctrine. Consequently, Pythagoras at this point redirects the protagonist soul inward to realize that it has acquired a fuller understanding of his moral doctrine within itself. The journey of uniting disparate experiences over a century is in fact the font of knowledge and harmony: “—Recibe/ la doctrina moral; curioso eres: vive en ti mismo, búscala si quieres” (375). This plea to look within internalizes everything that was learned by the soul through the process of connecting to the visceral perspectives of the transmigrations. Knowledge was only truly accessible through hearing multiple viewpoints and considering the knowledge production of the various participants of the academy coupled with actual firsthand experiences. This final section of the academy illuminates the individual aspect of this search. All the voices and memories, like the undertones of the monochord that are revealed in its harmonics, are now recognizable and clear to the ear of the protagonist soul. The protagonist soul is now conscious of the inherited memories of all the past lives and has connected with a wide spectrum of humanity and its faults.

It is now prepared to find what was always there, a hidden harmony. It is after this moment that the protagonist soul transmigrates into the virtuous man. The final tetradic grouping manifests in this final transmigration to address specific solutions to the problems presented throughout the spiritual academy as well as the entire book.

The final tetrad of the book comes in the last transmigration/chapter and is composed of direct solutions for the people most in need of virtue, remedying discord and finding harmony; the *sabios, jueces, privados,* and *todos.* The final tetradic grouping thus narrows its scope to very specific points that cause discord in society to provide the definitive means to harmonize with God's will. The last transmigration is into the body of the elusive *Virtuoso*. Upon entering this body, the protagonist soul exclaims: "en él sin duda pretendo salvarme" (377). This final body is the culmination of the entire journey and gives explicit solutions to the shortcomings of four key groups of people mentioned throughout the book. The *virtuoso* is himself a wise man, a philosopher, and teacher that listens to the divine signs of God in the world and lives a life in tune with this interconnected universe. The virtuous man is the conduit by which the remedies for a better world are disseminated to his followers. This medicine is constructed in a tetradic group of those in need of reform. The final focus on the *sabios*, *jueces*, *privados*, and *todos* is not surprising as they are shown through various transmigrations as people that have an exceptional impact and responsibility to society. This responsibility is evident in the wide effects of their corruption on the general public. The *sabio* is a teacher who has a responsibility to teach others correctly and avoid selfish pride or risk setting a bad example to those that see the wise man as an authority. The *juez* who is corrupted by money and greed will destroy the lives of innocents and pervert their office by perpetuating injustice. Similarly, the *privado* may make decisions that lead to death and devastation if he only worries about his own greed and ambition instead of

serving to bolster the monarch to rule as a good Christian. Lastly, *todos* is a general call to the everyday persons who need to also do their part to avoid vice in all its guises and walk the narrow path of virtue. Each needs to avoid discord and harmonize themselves by means of a fuller comprehension of the nature of the true path of God's will. The four groups addressed taken together construct a final tetrad that appeals to an improvement of wisdom and justice, among all levels of society. Similarly, the final tetrad establishes a wholeness to the mission of dispelling vice and creating harmony and virtue. As mentioned in the spiritual academy, this unity created by the sum of four parts to illuminate a greater understanding can be understood as a representation of the *tetractys*. Although previously the *tetractys* provided greater understanding of the problems within a system, in this final representation it offers the solutions within the universal system.

In previous moments throughout the book, the tetradic groupings have been utilized to make arguments from various positions, as well as to provide a way to better comprehend a situation or problem. For instance, in chapter 5 the temporal academy structures itself in a tetrad that gives Gregorio Guadaña a more complete view of what is important in life. Similarly, the way in which the four participants use tetrads in their descriptions and arguments show an importance of the symbolic meaning of the number four. The same structure and language patterns are present in the spiritual academy as well. In both instances, the creation of *entendimiento* is made in a function of four that produces wisdom in perception of divine light and cosmic music. This is evident in the switch from prose to poetry and the imagery of light permeating the discourse of the spirits. The whole book has led up to this point. Now, upon reaching a greater understanding the soul is ready to find and transmigrate into the body of the *virtuoso*.

In previous moments in the book, there has been a listener within the text, such as Gregorio Guadaña or the protagonist soul, to learn from the tetrad of outlooks. However, in this case, the recipient within the book has become a nameless disciple, a follower of the *virtuoso*, the last body that the protagonist soul enters. The disciple is the narratee and stands in for the reader outside of the book. The teachings of the last tetrad are thus directed out of the book and seek to achieve the purpose of reforming the real problems encountered in society. These final points reveal the specific issues, such as the greed of *privados*, corruption of *jueces*, pride of *sabios*, and the constant struggle of *todos* to avoid excess and follow the narrow path of virtue. This final tetradic group taken in summation is the medicine meant to heal the ills of the age of century and reveals a wholeness of understanding understood by a *tetractys*. The final section points to the most in need of attunement and harmony as they are principal in creating injustice and vice for everyone.

The final tetrad is presented in the *documentos morales* told to a fictional disciple of the long sought after *virtuouso*, an aged and respected philosopher. Looking at the four points of the *documentos morales*, bequeathed to those who would seek to follow the virtuous example in the last transmigration of the story, it is evident that the specific solutions proposed are for the betterment of all to; "reformar sus falsas opiniones." This section is written in verse and has a musicality that seeks to harmonize and undo the wrongs of the world; "En tanto que mi lira conocida/ te canta el desengaño de la vida" (379). The *virtuoso* uses cosmological terms to liken his listener to the sun: "galán de tantos paralelos" and commands, "oye, détente, espera/ el orgullo, el ardor y la carrera" (379). This is significant in that it connects the nameless disciple – and by extension the reader– to the heavens' source of light as part of a system of heavenly and earthly bodies. The *virtuoso* commands that the disciple/reader listens, holds, and awaits the

pride, passion, and its path. This is the moment in which all stop to recognize their place in the interconnected system. The follower must recognize that they are part of something bigger than they realize and living a life of discord must be remedied. In the final verses of the *virtuoso,* he commands the sun to stop and listen to his revelation of truth. This holding back of the sun is similar to the power commanded by Joshua in the Old Testament while waging war for the Israelites. Moreover, the musicality and solar imagery directing this section to the sun is very Pythagorean, as they saw Pythagoras as a Hyperborean Apollo. Pythagoras is not specifically named in this part of the story, but his presence is easily felt in imagery and ideas. It is at this point that the Pythagorean age finds it answers directed to four groups in need of change, *a los sabios, jueces, privados, y para todos*.

The first group addresses the *sabios* or those who perceive themselves as wise, and what they can do to reform themselves. The key problem of the *sabios* is excessive pride in their knowledge and a myopic view of existence. The *virtuoso* declares that the *sabio* is lost in the vanity of the world: "tu ingenio favorece/ la errante vanidad del mundo" (379). The problem is that the *sabio* is wise only in name but not in spirit and lacks good works. This reprimand could easily be directed at the *filósofo* in the first academy –and it was made by the *teólogo*– as well as the *espíritu anciano* of the spiritual academy. The problem of the wise man is that he is vain and overly proud, thinking that he has the only truth. The *sabio* focuses on selfish pride and arrogance in his knowledge that: "que sin recelo/ dice, tan arrogante como grave,/ que él solamente se sabe" (380). The *sabio* is not truly wise and is described as metaphorically climbing various towers of Babel to be blinded by his own vain opinions and selfish ambition. In contrast, the true *sabio* finds true virtue when they act with justice and live a life of purpose through good works. The main problem of the *sabio* is only looking through the perspective of abstract

philosophy and the arrogance that: “él solamente se sabe.” The true *sabio* listens and observes and is not enamored of his own image. True wisdom requires action and understanding of moral philosophy: “Si quieres adquerir sabiduria/ estima la moral filosofía, préciate que inoras el agravio:/ ganarás una parte del hombre sabio” (379-380). True wisdom is acquired by appreciating moral philosophy and living in accordance with these beliefs. In addition, one must recognize the affronts they have ignored through humility and accept limitations in that they may only gain a part of wisdom. The *virtuoso* also names the great philosophers such as Aristotle, Cicero, Plato, and Socrates as famous examples of great practitioners of wisdom and rhetoric. However, the *virtuoso* remarks at their human flaws because of vanity, lack of works, and lust. Thus, even the greatest of the philosophers fall short of true wisdom and those of less renown fall victim to treachery of vain false appearances: “La mayor deste siglo alevosia/ es presumir de la filosofía” (380). The root of the problem for the supposed *sabio* is a superficial self-centered perspective that is: “docto en nombre, bruto en sentido” (380).

Finishing the discourse on the *sabios,* the second group addressed are the *jueces* or those ministers who preside over the justice of society but are corrupted by money and greed. These corrupt *jueces* recall those of the episode with Gregorio Guadaña (158-159) in which judges selfishly better themselves and administer biased judgement while worrying little about true justice. According to the *virtuoso,* one must seek the clean light of God rather than the vain shine of gold and wealth: “sé limpio como el sol, que no es el oro de mayor dignidad que tu decoro” (381). There is an interplay with high and low, with the gold of the sun contrasted with the gold of material wealth. The sun yet again plays a prominent role as a symbol for the listener and source of wisdom and truth as more valuable than mere golden adornments of luxury. Justice is contingent upon a clean understanding of dignity. The problem is that justice has been corrupted

by greed: “el día que el oro te venciere, / es ese instante tu justicia muere” (381). As a *juez*, they are charged with administering justice fairly without the influence of outside forces, such as money and influence. The *virtuoso* signals the practice of depriving the poor of justice due to lack of money or status as an afront to true justice: “Cuando el pobre clamare con derecho/ y tú se le quitares por cohecho” (381). Justice must be available to everyone equally. This affront to justice will be judged by God the supreme judge. In an admonishment, the corrupt *juez* is told he would be better off never having been born: “te estuviera mejor no haber nacido” (381*). Jueces* must avoid worldly temptations or risk becoming agents of vice. The probity of judges has broader implications as the entire state is corroded because injustice sows discord and thus must not enjoy the light of day: “¡Oh, no goce la luz del claro día/ quien no administra en toda monarquía/ justicia verdadera!” (382). The lack of light serves two purposes for this discourse. First it is an allusion to being in jail unable to see the light of day physically. However, it is also a metaphorical light of true knowledge of which they are deprived. The lack of physical light contrasts with the use of light as an expression of wisdom. The solution to this problem according to the *virtuoso* is to recognize God’s will for universal justice and harmony absent the influence of status and capital. In other words, the poor should be afforded just treatment under God’s law as all men should regardless of wealth, family, or social status. In the end, justice should be blind, and the virtuous judge must uphold the law: “y caiga con justicia el que cayere” (382).

The third part of the tetradic group of the *documentos morales* of the *virtuoso* is directed at the *privados,* or court favourites of the monarch who misuse their influence to govern tyrannically and selfishly. The *privado* or *valido* is not an institutional position but he enjoys the trust of a monarch and helps to administer and govern in different aspects. One such *privado* was

the famous Conde-Duque de Olivares (1587-1645) under the reign of Felipe IV who exerted significant influence on foreign affairs and administration of reforms until his fall from grace. Much like the corrupt *juez*, the influence of a king's bad *privado* leads the entire country to disaster: "ruina fatal de toda monarquia." (383). The *virtuoso* draws attention to the dangers of a *privado* who places his private fortune and fame above the kingdom and its people. The *privados* must govern their "acciones con cuidado" and be just in their "gobierno" (383). In addition, war should not be sought without just cause or careful consideration. The *privado* must love peace and must administer God's divine and holy laws. The solution is thus: "Ama la paz, consérvala si puedes, / y si la guerra excedes / a su perfecta unión, por caso justo, / no la declares con pretexto injusto" (383). One must conserve the kingdom with peace and go to war only if truly necessary. The need for change is most apparent in those who maintain power because their decisions affect the lives of whole nations. The solution of the *virtuoso* is for the *privado to* avoid greed and avarice, be just, provide good Christian counsel to the king, and seek peace. It is clear that the *privado* is very important because his decisions can cause large scale suffering and injustice because of the responsibilities given by the king. If the *privado* is reformed, then many will be spared injustice as a result.

The final group of this tetrad is directed to *todos* and seeks to give final advice to the disciple and by extension the reader. The final section is the last pages of the entire book and reads like a list of good behaviors that were described throughout the book in the transmigrations of the protagonist soul. The final section says directly how one should act and what needs be avoided: "Habla siempre verdad, sé generoso, / no desfraudes al pobre, sé piadoso / ama la honra, adquiere buena fama, / no irrites al señor, teme su ira" (384). The traits that are necessary are to be generous, merciful, honest, obedient, God fearing, humble, peaceful, discreet, just,

respectful, and prudent. On the reverse side, one must not bear false witness, gossip, trade honor or justice for gold, consort with informers, fight true justice, share secrets, desire riches or status. All these actions lead to the corruption of the soul. The final words of this section state the need for a sacrifice for moral goodness by the soul that will benefit by its loyalty: "y con moral del alma sacrificio/ gratifica leal el beneficio" (385). The end result of living a virtuous life is to achieve *el estado verdadero del hombre*. The section ends with the death –by natural causes– of the *virtuoso*. The protagonist soul ends the book and describes the final transmigration as *el varón perfecto*. In this last instance, there is a final plea to remember the purpose of the book as a dream that sought to awaken greater understanding in the reader: "Sirve el letargo agora/ de verdadera aurora" (385). With this final section, the protagonist soul calls back to the primary intent to take the good in Pythagoras while leaving the untrue aside: "yo tomo de la opinion lo bueno: moral triaca y cordial veneno / del Siglo Pitagórico" (385). The philosophy of Pythagoras and the dream state has been a means to extract truth and heal society. It has served to uncover the deceptions of the world. This final verse serves to bring the reader back to the important connection to Pythagoras and how the protagonist is limiting himself to the best parts of Pythagorean philosophy. The distancing from Pythagoras seems at first glance to be lack of confidence in the philosophy, however, this primarily refers to the doctrine of transmigration as a truth. This leaves a lot of other aspects of Pythagoras as fair game and supportive of Christian values. In fact, it is not hard to see that all of the virtuous qualities are completely in line with Pythagorean ideas about virtue and harmony with the divine. It is evident that a Pythagorean perspective serves the purposes of connections of the ancient past with the present of *El siglo pitagórico*.

In conclusion, the focus on and representation of tetradic groupings in the spiritual pseudo-academy and the final *documentos* morales, serve as a means to understand the problem of discord and the solution of a divinely organized universe. On the surface, the book takes the structure of transmigrations as a vehicle to visit the many different individuals that present a conflict between the spiritual and the earthly with the goal of curing the ills of humanity. In addition, the tetradic groups and by extension the *tetractys* permeate the book and reveal to the reader a wholeness through sacred numerical influence. Through the prism of the *tetractys* of the Pythagoreans, the numerical structure highlights a search for harmony through observations.

The tetradic groupings manifest in the number of speakers, perspectives, and within the examples of the spiritual pseudo-academy to form *tetractys* like formations as seen in chapter 6 on the earthly academy of Gregorio Guadaña. However, this chapter completes the picture and utilizes the *tetractys* structure in the discourses of the four spirit speakers to simultaneously show the discord present in the world as well as provide for a solution using the same structure. The tetradic structures help understand the problems and shift toward the solutions.

Similarly, the *tetractys* structure helps diagnose the malady of vice to later offer the cure or as is mentioned on the final page of the book "moral triaca y cordial veneno del Siglo Pitagórico" (385). *Triaca* refers to a medicine or antidote which cures poisons with a dose of the same poison. As mentioned earlier, Enríquez Gómez doesn't believe in the transmigrations, but the fiction uncovers the lies that vice uses to hide in society. This is evident as the spirits of the pseudo-academy paradoxically demonstrate the imbalances by structuring their arguments and observations about vice in harmonious groupings of fours that employ the sacred number to potent effect. In other words, like cures like and the problems are linked to the solutions in form

and intent. There is a harmony hidden within the noise that the reader is challenged to find in the discourses.

The trajectory progresses from a narrative of the *espíritu anciano* to the lyrical style of the *voz acompañada de laúd*, *alma de discurso*, and Pythagoras himself. This transition gives the impression of musicality and slowly building a crescendo of understanding culminating in the appearance of the *virtuoso* discourse in the form of a second *tetractys*. The four spirits deliver a discussion that slowly shifts its scope from the failings of the mortal world, fall of man, corruption of the body and societal institutions to the need to reconcile the infinite spiritual with the mortal earthly through the union of body and soul. This culminates in a revelation as the seeds that were planted in the previous discourse bear fruit in the final transmigration and the words of the *virtuoso*.

It is with this final tetrad that a divine light comes to envelope the *documentos morales* and reveals the specific inequities and how they will be rectified through the actions, understanding, and implementation of justice and temperance. The loose ends and issues previously mentioned are tied up as the points of this *tetractys* address those that have the greatest influence on the propagation of vice: the intellectual *sabios*, judicial *jueces*, court favourites *privados*, and vulgar *todos*. As this chapter has argued, the presentation of multiple perspectives in the embedded forms of the *tetractys* and tetrads serve to illustrate imbalances of the earthly through a sacred formation of 1+2+3+4 that symbolizes perfect universal balance as they come together even as it reveals discord. Thus, it is clear that harmony is achieved through specific uses of numbers that represent an ordered universe. The *tetractys* reveals and cures the ills of world by applying tetradic groupings to point out the places most in need of tuning. The *tetractys* was a key symbol of recognition of membership and path to greater knowledge for the

Pythagoreans. *El siglo pitagórico* showcases a similar path to knowledge and harmony with God's will by structuring its lessons and composition in specific tetradic groups. Likewise, it permits the investigation of the use of the tetradic structures in *El siglo pitagórico* as significant to the motive of the novel, as a means to show society how to get back in balance with God's will. Enríquez Gómez masterfully navigates a Pythagorean age while not completely agreeing with all parts of the philosophy or with Pythagoras himself. What is clear is that he understands the power of the ideas and how they can be used to find harmony in a world desperately in need of tuning.

Conclusion: The next transmigration: Pythagoras in Mexico

While coming to the culmination of this centuries long journey it is apparent that the story does not simply end in seventeenth century Spain. Pythagoras will make yet another jump in Spanish literature, now across the centuries and the ocean, to critique a newly independent nation. He is still a vehicle to engage in a social and moral criticism with a desire to promote positive change in new places, times, and contexts. Protean Pythagoras traveled through the ages to be reinterpreted from antiquity to the early modern period. It is clear that he inspires radical perspectives and challenges people to think critically of what values are important in society and what a just world should look like. In Renaissance Europe, Pythagoras and his teachings took on new forms and served as a framework for artists, intellectuals, statesmen, and theologians to imagine an ideal world. A place of harmony and community, a union of divine and terrestrial.

As these reinterpretations reached early modern Iberia, they inspired a Spanish Pythagoras whose ideas fit their context and time. They were utilized in ways that both paradoxically supported and challenged their society and values. He inspired poets, writers, artists, architects, and intellectuals to create and reckon with this powerful figure. For instance, Pythagoras adorned the central chapel of the royal palace of Philip II and was built with Pythagorean harmony of proportion in mind. Similarly, the poet Fray Luis de Leon wrote about the music of the spheres while contemplating God's cosmic presence and mankind's place in it. Intellectuals such as Suárez de Figueroa and Juan de Pineda understood the importance of Pythagoras as a moral authority while condemning the heretical belief in the transmigrations of souls.

In this atmosphere, with Pythagoras in the mind of Spanish writers of the 16th and 17th centuries, a literary language emerged as means to confront problems of a moral nature and later

a call for social justice. Revisiting satirical representation of Pythagoras combined with elements of the emerging picaresque were a vehicle to engage with widespread issues throughout early modern Spanish society. The development of this literary use of Pythagoras takes on new forms as the context changes from the beginnings of imperial expansion of the early to mid-sixteenth to the seventeenth century's domestic issues and a changing social structure. This dissertation defines how a Protean Pythagoras reveals a literary trend of questioning existing power structures and moral hypocrisy. The style of Pythagorean representation commences with a retelling of literary forms of Lucian and Apuleius that addresses problems still present in early modern Spain; and ends with an innovative transformation of the satirical tradition. The latter utilized the structure of transmigrations and a fusion of Pythagorean elements with Christian morals such as temperance, compassion, and charity. For instance, it advocates for social justice of conversos against the inquisition and criticizing the unjust government of court favorites.

The *Diálogo de las tranformaciones de Pitágoras* harks back to satires of the classical past that warned about lack of empathy for others as a product of excessive greed. While not professing a new cult of Pythagoras, the ideas and values of his followers proved very useful to critique misplaced ideals on wealth and ambition as part of an incipient dehumanizing gaze. This perspective is a cause revealed to problematic as it cultivates a lack of respect for the lives of others in favor of money and status. Similarly, Pythagorean friendship and compassion underscore a parallel between the existence of all living things. Understanding the dignity of animals concurrently with that of humans recognizes a sacred link as seen in the example of the shared ideal of a frog and shoemaker. They are not equal but both valued members of a community beyond the systems that exploit all life, human and animal. Lastly, the *Diálogo* opens up the scope to reveal the larger consequences of the initial dehumanizing gaze to challenge the

right to possess and take in the name of empire. In this instance, representation of Pythagoras and Pythagorean ideals infuses the book with a radical critique of the imperial enterprise.

One hundred years later the critique takes on a new form developing from the Pythagorean structure of the *Diálogo de las tranformaciones de Pitágoras*. Antonio Enríquez Gómez, the exiled author and dramatist, wrote *El siglo pitagórico* in the French city of Rouen. This book tells the story of a soul that escapes its body one night and is sent on a transmigratory journey by the spirit of Pythagoras. Each chapter is a transmigration that addresses systemic problems such as the injustice of the informers that bare false witness against *converso* families to the inquisition for financial gain. The evolution of Pythagorean representation in Spanish literature now culminates in a hybrid text of poetry and prose. Pythagoras is no longer the guide that teaches by classical examples, now a nameless soul takes on this task and must navigate his century or age. The truth is not presented in simple lessons of moral goodness but a series of witty dialogues between the soul and a series of bodies, such as an ambitious man, court favorite, *arbitrista*, doctor, and *hidalgo*. Each transmigration uncovers specific problems in Spanish society that fall short of their ideal. The book reveals the moral sickness in society and considers the solution as in between perfect ideals of the soul and the daily realities of the body.

El siglo pitagórico like its predecessors is a text that wants to explore and solve social problems. The issues are solved by defining the age as Pythagorean, i.e., a group that sought out hidden truth and promoted a life of sacred purpose. The Pythagorean elements in the book reinforce Christian ideals as solutions to the ills of society. Moreover, the presence of Pythagoras highlights a need for personal responsibility and purification that was present in the Pythagorean lifestyle. Similarly, the act of hearing and deciphering of symbols and enigma played an important role in the acquiring of divine knowledge. The structure of transmigrations or the

movement of the soul calls attention to memory recollection as method of remembering wisdom lost to time.

The book also applies the sacred shape of the *tetractys* in two occasions infusing the text with a divine structure and key to unlocking deeper understanding. The *tetractys* was an equilateral triangle made up of points adding up to four on each side. It represented divine order and composition of the universe. It was also a concept Pythagoreans swore by to identify themselves as members of the community. The tetrad or sacred *tetractys* is first present in the book in an intellectual academy in the life of Gregorio Guandaña. The mortal characters in the conversation form the points of the symbol and reveal the harmony of differing opinions among the participants. Wisdom is thus a process of finding harmony. This focus on fours also works as a kind of moral medicine for the diseases of corporeal and spiritual vice.

The second demonstration of the *tetractys* is composed of spirits in an academy of their own. The goal is the ideal union of terrestrial and heavenly and the difficulty in achieving this state. The final tetrad is a discussion directed toward what the book thinks are the most salient problems in need of change, wise men, judges, members of court, everyone else. Ultimately, the presentation of multiple perspectives embedded in the grouping of four illustrate imbalances while alluding to a hidden symbol of universal balance. In the end, the discord of various people come together harmoniously like the stings of a musical instrument. Pythagoras and Pythagorean elements in Spanish literature used symbols to engage with the problems of their time.

Throughout of the scope of this project, the figure of Pythagoras developed during the 16th and 17th centuries and continued to be useful to fight injustice and advocate for a better life. He would transmigrate into yet another rooster, two centuries later and in the newly independent country of 19th century Mexico. Similar to the satirical literary representation of antiquity, the

Diálogo, and *El crotalón*, he once more becomes a way to confront corruption and tyranny in this new era of independence in the Americas.

El gallo pitagórico (1842) was written by the Mexican journalist, politician, and lawyer, Juan Bautista Morales (1788-1856). It is an extraordinary political and satirical text known for its "mordacidad y elocuencia" by fighting back like "un verdadero bastión opositor a las tiranías y corruptelas del régimen de Antonio López de Santa Anna" (Morales 4). The Pythagorean rooster is reborn now in 19th century Mexico. He praises the Mexican republic for great potential but calls out the faults that hold it back. The problems are with corrupt politicians, a pervasive selfishness and obsession with titles and appearances over the good of the nation. The Mexican rooster has also lived in other nations such as France, Britain, and the United States. As result he criticizes what he sees as their national spirits and faults. For instance, in France Pythagoras notices a fanaticism and obsession with Napoleon.

The rooster is particularly struck by the evils of slavery in the United States and the cruel treatment of enslaved Africans. The codification of unjust laws that normalize the appalling practice "… por una anomalía inconcebible y una contradicción monstruosa, en el país que debe reputarse por el emporio de la libertad e igualdad, es donde se halla más marcada la diferencia entre los negros y los blancos. Horroriza a cualquier hombre sensible, no solo el trato [de los negros]… sino el que haya leyes que lo autoricen. En ninguna parte es más infeliz la suerte de los negros que en los Estados Unidos del Norte. Tal es el carácter de los angloamericanos" (16). This behavior is a *monstruosa* hypocrisy of the founding principles of freedom and equality. The US context mirrors the contradiction revealed previously in dissertation. In the same way that the United States fails to live up to its principles, the Spanish empire also failed to enact its Christian

ideals. Much like the previous iterations of the character, 19th century version of Pythagoras returns to a gallic form to confront injustices that we continue to reckon with today.

So why Mexico? The *gallo pitagórico*, as he is called in the book, picks Mexico to live for its potential "Supuse que, con una poca de constancia, y amaestrados por la experiencia de vuestras mismas aberraciones, llegaría el día en que ocupaseis en el mundo civilizado, el distinguido lugar que merecéis por vuestras virtudes, y por los elementos de vuestro suelo, cuyo desarrollo promete una prosperidad sin límites" (18). This Mexican Pythagorean rooster recognizes the need to learn from the struggles and *aberraciones*. With the correct changes he sees that Mexico can become a truly harmonious, prosperous, and civilized community. The connection between Christianity and Pythagoras also returns in the context of this book. He confesses a preference for the Catholic church as holding the same truths that he knew from his search for perfection as a pagan philosopher, "aunque yo en mi principio fui gentil, me he inclinado siempre a la Iglesia Católica romana, porque es en la que encuentro el verdadero modo de cumplir con toda perfección aquellos principios que me enseñó la luz natural y que consigné en mis *Versos dorados*" (Morales 56). The idea of Christian truth and perfection is again linked to Pythagorean emphasis on wisdom imparted by the light of the sun and moral truth of the *Golden Verses*. Much like in the Renaissance, Protean Pythagoras is now reinterpreted to inspire new approaches and perspectives of achieving the ideal.

This renewed utility also inspired a very important Mexican philosopher to rethink ideas about race and unity of all mankind. José de Vasconcelos (1882-1959) Mexican writer, politician, and philosopher was a great admirer of Pythagoras and wrote a long essay titled, *Pitágoras: Una teoría de ritmo* (1921) about Pythagoreanism that focused on harmony and rhythm. As minister of education, he wanted to create a more just society through education and

a unified view of humanity. His essay *La raza cósmica* (1925), or the Cosmic Race, argued that the future would produce a more unified humanity in which everyone was part of a new universal mestizo race. Much like the Spanish writers of the 16th and 17th centuries, Vasconcelos saw the potential of Pythagoras to rethink what is valued and promoted in society.

Astonishingly, Pythagoras continues to motivate shifting perspectives on unity and community. In the realm of Spanish literature and philosophical thought, this ancient philosopher gives ample space to consider and challenge the world as it is known. At the end of this project, it is evident that protean Pythagoras inspires people and shifts form because his ideas remained relevant to the human condition throughout centuries. Pythagoras and his Pythagoreans stand for a timeless reevaluation of what is most important to us. The essential question remains: are we living up to our ideals?

Works Cited

Alves, Abel. *The Animals of Spain: An Introduction to Imperial Perceptions and Human Interaction with Other Animals, 1492-1826*, BRILL, 2011. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ucdavis/detail.action?docID=737662

Allen, M. J. B., 2014, "Pythagoras in the Early Renaissance," *A History of Pythagoreanism,* Edited by Carl Huffman, Cambridge University Press, 2014. Print.

Apuleius, *The Golden Ass*, P.G. Walsh Ed. Oxford University Press, 1999, Print.

Barkan, Leonard. *Nature's Work of Art: The Human Body As Image of the World.* Yale University Press, 1975. Print.

Barletta, Vincent. *Death in Babylon: Alexander the Great and Iberian Empire in the Muslim Orient.* University of Chicago Press, 2010. Print.

Boadas, Sònia. "Lucian of Samosata and celestial journeys in Spanish Golden Age literature.", *Dix-septième siècle*, vol. 286, no. 1, 2020, pp. 135-151. Print.

Burkert, Walter. *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1972. Print.

Bruno, Giordano. *The Cabala of Pegasus.* Ed. Sydney L. Sondergard and Madison U. Sowell. Yale University Press. New Haven. 2002. Print.

Cacho Blecua, Juan Manuel, and Lacarra María Jesús. *Calila E Dimna*. Castalia, 1984. Print.

Calderón de la Barca, Pedro, and Ciriaco Morón Arroyo. *La Vida Es Sueno.* Cátedra, 2001. Print.

Camões, Luis Vaz. *Obra completa.* Rio de Janeiro, Companhia Aguilar, 1963. Print.

Casas, Bartolomé de las. *Brevísima Relación de La Destrucción de Las Indias*. Edited by Andre Saint-Lu, Ediciones Catedra, 2005. Print.

Celenza, C. S., 1999, 'Pythagoras in the Renaissance: The Case of Marsilio Ficino', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 52: 667–711. Web.

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de, and Francisco Rico. *Don Quijote De La Mancha*. Ed. del IV centenario, Real Academia Española, 2004. Print.

Covarrubias Diccionario (1611) Tesoro Lexográfico www.rae.es Web.

Díez, Fernández J. I, and Carsten Wilke. *Antonio Enríquez Gómez: Un Poeta Entre Santos Y Judaizantes*. Reichenberger, Kessel, 2015. Print.

Diccionario de Autoridades, www.rae.es (1726) Web.

Dille, Glen F. *Antonio Enríquez Gómez*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1988. Print.

De Alba Koch, Beatriz. "The Spanish Colonial Empire in the Renaissance: Establishing the First Global Culture." *A Companion to the Spanish Renaissance.* Edited by Hilaire Kallendorf. Brill. 2019. pp. 89-120. Print.

De Armas, Frederick Alfred. *Quixotic Frescoes: Cervantes and Italian Renaissance Art*. University of Toronto Press, 2006. Print.

Enriquez Gómez Antonio, *El Siglo Pitagórico Y Vida de Don Gregorio Guadaña*. Edited by Teresa de Santos. Madrid, Cátedra, 1991. Print.

Fez, Carmen. *La Estructura Barroca De "el Siglo Pitagórico"*. Madrid: CUPSA, 1978. Print.

Francisco, Rico. *Lazarillo de Tormes*. Barcelona, Catedra, 2008. Print.

Fudge, Erica. "Introduction to Special Edition: Reading Animals." *Worldviews: environment, culture, religion* 4.2 (2000): 101–113. Web.

---------*Renaissance Beasts: Of Animals, Humans, and Other Wonderful Creatures*, edited by Erica Fudge, University of Illinois Press, 2004. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ucdavis/detail.action?docID=3413950.

Gorman, Peter. *Pythagoras, a Life*. Routledge & K. Paul, 1979. Print.

Guthrie, W. K. C. *A History of Greek Philosophy* (Volume 1), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1962. Print.

----------"Pythagoras and Pythagoreanism" *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Paul Edwards, Reprint ed., vol. 7, Macmillan Publishing, 1972. pp 37-39. Print.

Guthrie, Kenneth Sylvan, and David R Fideler. *The Pythagorean Sourcebook and Library: An Anthology of Ancient Writings Which Relate to Pythagoras and Pythagorean Philosophy*. Phanes Press, 1987. Print.

Hanke, Lewis. *All Mankind is One: A Study of the Disputation Between Bartolomé de Las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda in 1550 on the Intellectual and Religious Capacity of the American Indians.* Northern Illinois University Press, 1974. Print.

Höfele, Andreas, and Werner von Koppenfels. *Renaissance Go-Betweens: Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*. De Gruyter, Inc, 2005. Print.

Huffman, Carl A. *A History of Pythagoreanism*, Cambridge University Press, 2014. Print.

--------- "Pythagoreanism", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2019 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2019/entries/pythagoreanism/>. Web.

---------- "Pythagoras", The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Winter 2018 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2018/entries/pythagoras/>. Web.

Iamblichus, and Thomas Taylor. *Iamblichus' Life of Pythagoras, Or, Pythagoric Life: Accompanied by Fragments of the Ethical Writings of Certain Pythagoreans in the Doric*

Dialect and a Collection of Pythagoric Sentences from Stobaeus and Others. Rochester, Vt: Inner Traditions International, 1986. Print.

Joost-Gaugier, Christiane L. *Pythagoras and Renaissance Europe: Finding Heaven*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. Print.

----------*Measuring Heaven: Pythagoras and His Influence on Art in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Cornell University Press, 2006.

Kagan, Richard L. *Clio and the Crown: The Politics of History in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ucdavis/detail.action?docID=4398398.

Kahn, Charles H. *Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans: A Brief History*. Indianapolis: Hackett Pub, 2001. Print.

Kramer-Hellinx, Nechama. *Antonio Enríquez Gómez: Literatura Y Sociedad En El Siglo Pitagórico Y Vida De Don Gregorio Guadaña*. New York: P. Lang, 1992. Print.

Lehfeldt, Elizabeth A. "Chapter 5 Daily Life and the Family in Renaissance Spain". *A Companion to the Spanish Renaissance*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2018. Print.

León, Luis de. *Poesía*. Edited by Juan Alcina, Decimoquinta edición ed., Cátedra, 2016. Print.

Lloyd, Geoffrey, 'Pythgoras' *A History of Pythagoreanism*, Edited by Carl Huffman, Cambridge University Press, 2014. Print.

Lucas, John Scott, and J. S. Lucas. Astrology and Numerology in Medieval and Early Modern Catalonia: The Tractat de Prenostication de La Vida Natural Dels Hòmens. BRILL, 2003. Print.

Luchte, James. *Pythagoras and the Doctrine of Transmigration: Wandering Souls*. London: Continuum, 2009. Internet resource. Web.

Marcaida López, José Ramón. Arte y ciencia en el Barroco español: historia natural, coleccionismo y cultura visual. Spain, Fundación Focus-Abengoa, 2014. Print.

Martín, Adrienne L. "Quixotic Equines: Beyond Rocinante." *Bulletin of Spanish Visual Studies* 1.1, 2017. 53-63. Web.

Moffitt, John F. *The Islamic Design Module in Latin America: Porportionality and Techniques of Neo-Mudejar Architecture.* McFarlene and Company Publishers. North Carlolina, 2004, Print.

Morales, Juan Bautista. *El gallo pitagórico*. México D.F. Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1997. Print.

Nieremberg, Juan Eusebio. *Obras filosóficas del P. Ivan Evsebio Nieremberg, de la compañía de Iesvs, ethicas políticas, y physicas*. Domingos y Morrás. Madrid, 1651. https://books.google.com/booksid=vYhgLhDDWvQC&newbks=1&newbks_redir=0&dq=Nieremburg+Pitagoras&source=gbs_navlinks_s. Web.

Pedraza, Felipe B. Jiménez and Milagros Rodríguez Cáceres, *Enríquez Gómez: política, sociedad, literature.* Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2020. Print.

Pineda, Juan de. *Diálogos Familiares De La Agricultura Cristiana*. Edited by Meseguer Fernández Juan, Ediciones Atlas, 1963. Print.

Pimentel, Juan. "Baroque Natures: Juan E. Nieremberg, American Wonders, and Preterimperial Natural History" *Science in the Spanish and Portuguese Empires, 1500-1800,* edited by Daniela Bleichmar, et al., Stanford University Press, 2008. Proquest Ebook Central, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ucdavis/detail.action?docID=618842. Web.

Portuondo, María M. "The Study of Nature, Philosophy, and the Royal Library of San Lorenzo of the Escorial." *Renaissance Quarterly,* vol. 63, no. 4, University of Chicago Press,

Renaissance Society of America, 2010, pp. 1106–50, https://doi.org/10.1086/658508. Web.

Renger, Almut-Barbara, and Alessandro Stavru. *Pythagorean Knowledge from the Ancient to the Modern World: Askesis, Religion, Science*, 2016. Print.

Rivers, Elías L. *Poesía lírica del Siglo de Oro.* Madrid, Catedra. 1997. Print.

Rodríguez-Moranta, Imaculada, "La sátira erasminana en el Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón de Alfonso de Valdés." Lemir (Valencia), no. 16, ProQuest LLC, 2012, pp. 349–68. (Web)

Sánchez, José. *Academias Literarias Del Siglo De Oro Español.* Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1961. Print.

Suárez de Figueroa Christóval, and Jalón Mauricio. *Plaza Universal De Todas Ciencias Y Artes*. Junta De Castilla y León, Consejería De Cultura y Turismo, 2006. Print.

Taylor, Thomas. *Iamblichus' Life of Pythagoras, or, Pythagoric Life: Accompanied by Fragments of the Ethical Writings of Certain Pythagoreans in the Doric Dialect and a Collection of Pythagoric Sentences from Stobaeus and Others*. 1st U.S. ed. Rochester, Vt.: Inner Traditions International, 1986. Print.

Todorov, Tzvetan. *The Conquest of America*. Harper & Row. 1984. Print.

Vian Herrero, Ana. "El Diálogo De Las Transformaciones De Pitágoras, La Tradición Satírica Menipea Y Los Orígenes De La Picaresca: Confluencia De Estímulos Narrativos En La España Renacentista." Casa De Velázquez, 2018. Web.

– *Diálogo De Las Transformaciones De Pitágoras*. 1. ed., Quaderns Crema, 1994. Print.

Villalón, Cristóbal , and Gruss A. Rallo. *El Crótalon De Cristóforo Gnofoso*. Madrid: Cátedra, 1982. Print.

Vaíllo, Carlos, et al. *Estudios sobre la sátira española en el Siglo de Oro*. Editorial Castalia, 2006. Print.

Verástique, Bernardino. *Michoacán and Eden: Vasco de Quiroga and the Evangelization of Western Mexico,* University of Texas Press, 2000. Print.

Vasconcelos, José de. *Pitágoras: una teoría de ritmo.* Cultura Tomo XIII num 2, 1921. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=txu.059173023855727&view=1up&seq=11 Web.

Vasconcelos, José de, and Didier T Jaén. *The Cosmic Race*. Baltimore, Md. Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997. Print.

Wilson, Edward M, and Don William Cruickshank. *Spanish and English Literature of the 16th and 17th Centuries: Studies in Discretion, Illusion, and Mutability*. Cambridge University Press, 1980. Print.

Zappala, Michael O. *Lucian of Samosata in the Two Hesperias: An Essay in Literary and Cultural Translation*. Scripta Humanistica, 1990. Print.