



INFORMACIÓN

PVP	20 €
WEB	www.miriadahispanica.com
EDITORES	Servicios de Programas Universitarios S.L. Calle Ramón Gordillo 4. 46010 Valencia, España.
EDITORIAL	Calambur Editorial, S.L. /Calle Angel Guimerà 46 Puerta 3, 46008 Valencia. España. Tel.: 961673368. calambur@calambureditorial.com
ISSN	2171-5718
DEPÓSITO LEGAL	533-2010
LUGAR DE EDICIÓN	Valencia
PERIODICIDAD	Semestral
IMAGEN DE CUBIERTA	Western Hemisphere, Faden, William, 1749-1836 (Editor). NYPL Digital Collection
PRODUCCIÓN Y ADMINISTRACIÓN	Raquel Celma Villanueva. Servicio de programas universitarios
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PRESENTACIÓN DEL MONOGRÁFICO

En reconocimiento a una larga trayectoria

Se habla de los cambios fundamentales que el hispanismo y la filología en general ha experimentado en las últimas décadas. El debate está por cerrarse. Hay una corriente que se desplaza con rapidez hacia nuevos campos de estudio, de tipo más cultural, que los que realizaba la filología tradicional, incluso las épocas en las que la teoría literaria dominaba el escenario académico. Y debe ser a sí, los tiempos cambian y las corrientes y modas también. En ese sentido diría que David T. Gies, a quien está dedicado este número de la revista *Miríada Hispánica*, ha sido uno de los críticos y estudioso de esa transición. Si sus primeros trabajos e investigaciones se centraron en figuras claves de la literatura canónica española de los siglos XVIII y XIX, me refiero a sus aportaciones al estudio de Nicolás Fernández de Moratín y José Zorrilla, entre otros, muchos de sus trabajos de su segunda fase se desplazaron hacia lo social, la cultura popular, el cine y el teatro como espectáculo, y la cultura española en todas sus facetas, arquitectura, pintura, gastronomía, y más.

La presencia de David T. Gies en el hispanismo tanto en Estados Unidos como en España, es innegable. Enamorado del país y sus múltiples culturas, ha dedicado sus energías, que no tienen límites, y su amor y afición, a estudiar ese complejo mundo que es la historia de España en todas sus facetas. Para ello ha viajado sin descanso, como si la maleta estuviese siempre hecha y dispuesta al camino, ha dado conferencias, ha investigado en archivos, ha sacado a la luz lo desconocido, ha hecho amigos, se ha relacionado con estudiosos y escritores, y ha dejado una pléyade de discípulos y seguidores durante los cuarenta años de dedicados a la enseñanza, algunos de los cuales han colaborado en este número.

David T. Gies es autor de diecisiete libros entre autorías y ediciones críticas de la literatura española, entre los que cabe destacar entre otros, *El teatro en la España del siglo XIX* (1996), que con su versión en inglés fueron publicados por Cambridge University Press; *Theater and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Spain: Juan de Grimadi as Impresario and Government Agent* (1988), *The Cambridge History of the Theater in Spain* (2012), así como el más reciente *Eros y Amistad: Estudios sobre literatura española, Siglos XVIII y XIX* de 2016. Es también autor de 124 artículos sobre una gran diversidad de temas, y 143 reseñas de libros. Entre sus muchas aportaciones a la vida académica es importante destacar su trabajo como editor y dinamizador de la revista DIECIOCHO, a la que ha dedicado muchos años, desde 1993, y en la que aún sigue al frente a pesar de su jubilación hace dos años.

La vida académica es un complejo mundo con numerosas facetas. A los académicos nos preparan, no sólo para investigar y escribir con sentido, también a educar, organizar conferencias y festivales, promover revistas y estudios, decantarnos por posiciones frente al cambiante mundo de la cultura y, de alguna forma, ser hijos y padres. En todas esas facetas David Gies ha sido un maestro y me atrevería a decir un artista. Conocer a David Gies es una especie de pase o pasaporte que abre muchas puertas, y no por que él haya sido un animal político, sino por su simpatía y generosidad sin límites. Gran parte de su larga trayectoria profesional la desempeñó en la Universidad de Virginia, donde fue Chair del Department of Spanish, Italian and Portuguese durante muchos años. No creo que haya un solo comité de la Universidad en el que no hay participado con una energía positiva que es posiblemente su marca registrada. Como resultado fue honrado en 2000 con el más prestigioso premio de la universidad el Thomas Jefferson Award.

A nivel internacional cabe destacar entre una miríada de comités, membresías, y títulos, su elección como Miembro Correspondiente de la Academia Norteamericana de la Lengua, así como de la Real Academia Española de la Lengua. Entre el 2013 y 2016, presidió la Asociación Internacional de hispanistas, y como reconocimiento de su continua labor de promoción de la cultura española, recibió en el 2007 de manos del Rey de España Juan Carlos I, la Encomienda de Número de la Orden de Isabel la Católica (2007).

Los que hemos tenido la fortuna de conocerlo, sus colegas, amigos, colaboradores, estudiantes, nos hemos beneficiado de su amistad, sus enseñanzas y su ejemplo. David ha sabido ser generoso y enseñar con el ejemplo de una vida intelectual y académica dedicada a la investigación, la enseñanza y la difusión pedagógica y cultural con una energía sin límites. La presentación de este número de *Miríada Hispánica* dedicado a su trayectoria tan solo tímidamente hace justicia a sus múltiples méritos y aportaciones.

FERNANDO OPERÉ
University of Virginia



INTRODUCCIÓN

HISPANISTA A PROPÓSITO: ESTUDIOS EN HOMENAJE A DAVID THATCHER GIES

En el título del ensayo autobiográfico que escribió David T. Gies para el volumen *¿Por qué España? Memorias del hispanismo estadounidense* (2015), David se identifica como un hispanista «por casualidad» (191), *accidental* en la versión original de la pieza en inglés. Ya nos enfrentamos con varias cuestiones que debemos clarificar. Para comenzar, la clase de proyecto representado por el presente número se inicia con frecuencia con un esbozo biográfico del individuo a quién va dedicado. Ver, por ejemplo, la excelente entrega escrita por el mismo David Gies como introducción al homenaje que editó en reconocimiento de la carrera de su querido profesor, colega y amigo Javier Herrero (*Negotiating Past and Present: Studies in Spanish Literature for Javier Herrero*, 1996), en la que David nos ofrece un retrato íntimo de la vida y carrera del señor Herrero, en parte desde su propio punto de vista, dada la larga relación profesional y personal entre estas dos grandes figuras de nuestro campo. Algunos de los momentos descritos allí son tan importantes para David que vuelven a aparecer en su propia autobiografía, los detalles de la cual no requieren recapitulación aquí más allá de subrayar un par de sus elementos claves. Recomendando que todos busquen y lean la pieza, y de hecho el libro entero donde se encuentra, por el retrato variado y detallado que ofrece de la historia de nuestro oficio durante la segunda mitad del siglo XX y los primeros años

del XXI, vista desde la perspectiva de un mundo que ha cambiado mucho (y más ahora que nunca, mientras escribo estas palabras desde mi casa durante una cuarentena que nadie ni imaginaba hace un par de meses).

El primer detalle que sale de la autobiografía de David se ve entre sus tempranos pasos educativos hacia la carrera que le resultó tan exitosa y amena. Como lo describe él, cuando era estudiante de secundaria, un chico de quince años en Pittsburgh que nunca había estudiado ni una palabra de español, se presentó a un programa de verano en Perú. Lo hizo, después seguiría estudiando la lengua, y luego en la universidad tuvo que viajar de nuevo, esta vez a España, a Salamanca. Pasó de viaje mucho de ese año en España, descubriendo todo el país a través de la RENFE. Lo importante de esos viajes, además de proveerle a David sus primeras experiencias con todos los lugares de la península que acabaría siendo un verdadero segundo hogar para él, fue lo que hacía para pasar el tiempo en el tren. Cuenta en su ensayo que había descubierto la Librería Cervantes en Salamanca:

Cuando tenía en perspectiva un largo viaje en tren, iba a la Librería Cervantes a buscar libros, seleccionando no tanto por la reputación de su autor o la belleza literaria del texto (ya que nunca había oído hablar de la mayoría de ellos antes), sino por su número de páginas. Por ejemplo, un tren a Madrid requería una novela corta, pero un viaje durante la noche o el fin de semana a otros lugares exigía algo más largo y más importante. «Don José, me voy a Sevilla, un viaje de quince horas en tren. Necesito una novela larga.» Así descubrí *Fortunata y Jancinta...* en la edición de Hernando, que fue publicada en cuatro (¡cuatro!) volúmenes, con una cubierta de un verde luminoso que invitaba al lector a entrar en ese mundo tan completo, pero al mismo tiempo amplio y abierto. Descubrí también a Carmen Laforet, Camilo José Cela, Miguel de Unamuno y Azorín; a Federico García Lorca y Antonio Machado, a Mariano José de Larra y José María Gironella (¡Gironella!), el duque de Rivas, José de Espronceda, el Arcipreste de Hita y Lope de Vega. Confieso que no entendía mucho de lo que leía, pero los extraños mundos evocados entre las tapas blandas de estos textos baratos me absorbieron más y más y engendraron en mí el deseo de seguir aprendiendo. (194-195)

David Gies no sabía en ese entonces que llegaría un día a ser ¡DAVID GIES!, pero ya era, en ese entonces, la mismísima persona que ha sido durante las cinco décadas que han pasado hasta ahora. Intentaba leerlo todo, aprender todo lo que era posible aprender, hacerse experto sobre una cosa (y en su caso particular, mucho más de solo una cosa) pero no dejar al lado lo demás. Desarrolló el hábito de ponerse a la obra, de ser atento a sus alrededores, de trabajar con sus compañeros y colegas (y luego con sus estudiantes, que llegarían —o llegaríamos— más tarde a ser también compañeros y colegas). Intentaba, y sigue intentando, vivir en un mundo más amplio, y a la vez crear un mundo más amplio para todos.

Lo que nos lleva a lo de ser *accidental*. Quizá inició sus primeros pasos de manera casual, pero ninguna parte del resto de su historia se ha producido sin una cantidad deslumbrante de factores bien intencionados. ¿Qué necesitamos para comprender mejor el mundo del teatro de 1830 en España? ¿Un estudio sobre Juan de Grimaldi? ¿Quién es Juan de Grimaldi? Eso, exactamente. Y ahora comprendemos mucho mejor el mundo del teatro de 1830 en España porque David decidió hacer lo que hizo. Comprendemos mejor también el teatro español del siglo XIX en general, y también las vidas y obras de figuras claves como Nicolás Fernández de Moratín y Agustín Durán, y la poesía erótica de la Ilustración y muchas otras facetas de la cultura de España de los últimos 300 años.

Esta es la importancia de David para nuestra profesión: que la inspiración que sintió para estudiarlo todo nos la ha transmitido a todos los que hemos pasado tiempo con él: en su aula de clase, en conferencias alrededor del mundo, en programas organizados por él en los que han participado una cantidad deslumbrante de educadores y estudiantes, y en todos los demás lugares donde ha trabajado durante su carrera. Y ahora, esa inspiración nos lleva a nuevos descubrimientos que necesitamos compartir con los demás de la misma manera que David ha hecho con nosotros.

El presente número consiste en una colección de ensayos nuevos sobre un panorama amplio de tópicos relacionados con la España de este mismo período. Todos los colaboradores en este proyecto son académicos que eran estudiantes de David —él mismo pidió específicamente que fuera así la participación de los que iban a contribuir—. Hemos hecho una sola excepción a esta regla, la cual se explicará a continuación. Los ensayos se organizan de manera cronológica con referencia a la materia presentada en ellos.

Comenzamos en el siglo XVIII con el estudio de **Elizabeth Franklin Lewis** sobre imágenes de la mujer vieja desarrolladas en textos de diversos tipos creados por una serie de autores y artistas: tanto hombres (Nicolás y Leandro Fernández de Moratín, Félix Samaniego y Francisco de Goya) como mujeres del mismo período (Inés Joyes y Blake, María del Rosario Cepeda y María Gertrudis Hore, entre otras). Al reposicionar el enfoque de la mujer joven y bella de siempre, Lewis revela en los textos examinados una defensa consistente (por parte de mujeres mayores) de lo que realmente necesitan las jóvenes en su vida: por ejemplo, una educación útil que debe desplazar el narcisismo tradicional al que las mujeres solían volver en una sociedad dirigida por intereses masculinos. Pero los artistas no solo se dirigen a las mujeres jóvenes con sus consejos: en el poema «Amor caduco» la poeta María Gertrudis Hore describe el amor para las mujeres de edad más avanzada, y las realidades que hay que tomarse en cuenta. En este ensayo, como en otros incluídos, Lewis se enfoca en textos completamente desconocidos para la mayoría de nosotros, una labor que todos hemos aprendido de David y su larga carrera, la de revelar obras importantes que habían desaparecido en la oscuridad del tiempo.

Matthieu Raillard nos recuerda de la compleja realidad de la literatura erótica durante el siglo XVIII y, como ejemplo de sus tendencias, se centra en las *Fábulas futosóficas o la filosofía de Venus en fábulas*, atribuídas a Leandro Fernández de Morátin por varios críticos. Estos poemas no se publicaron hasta 1821 y apenas se han estudiado hasta el presente. Al analizar la estructura y el contenido de la obra, Raillard describe cómo su notablemente erudito autor logra utilizar técnicas narrativas ya encontradas en el *Quijote* o las *Cartas marruecas*, incorporando una temática diversa, y que acaba denunciando la hipocresía (en muchas de sus formas) de su época. Raillard afirma que las fábulas celebran, entre otras cosas, la positividad de la sexualidad humana, una posición difícil para el ambiente contemporáneo. Entramos en pleno siglo XIX con el estudio de **Irene Gómez Castellano** sobre el *Don Juan Tenorio* de Zorrilla, obra clave para la carrera de David Gies. En su trabajo Gómez Castellano describe cómo Zorrilla crea lo que podemos llamar un «discurso líquido» que funciona en diferentes niveles a lo largo de la obra. Este discurso subraya tanto las pasiones manifiestas en los personajes —el fuego del deseo y las fuerzas opuestas (líquidas) que pueden apaciguarlo— como la fluidez lingüística de la poesía que transmite esta tensión emotiva. Gómez Castellano utiliza como punto de partido los análisis del mismo David Gies de las imágenes de fuego en el *Tenorio*, y traza el contrapunto desarrollado por Zorrilla, principalmente en la figura de doña Inés y todo el sistema de imágenes basadas en el agua que deben informar nuestra comprensión del personaje.

José V. Saval nos pone ante los conflictos políticos y sociales del siglo XIX en España con su análisis de *La desheredada* de Galdós, en concreto la situación de los niños de las clases trabajadoras de la época. Su estudio se enfoca en una figura secundaria de la novela, Mariano Rufete (Pecado), el hermano del personaje titular, y revela las características deterministas de su vida comunes en el Naturalismo del período que lo llevan a un estado de degradación definitivo. Para Saval, Pecado representa muchos de los aspectos claves de la vida del proletariado —una falta de educación, brutales condiciones laborales, la disipación que resulta de su situación— que son para Galdós las fuentes de su desgracia, y que forman parte del mundo más amplio desarrollado por el novelista en su intento de describir el momento de su país. Mi propia contribución a este número especial de *Miríada Hispánica* me dio la oportunidad de volver a un tema de estudio al que me acerqué por primera vez en un seminario dirigido por David Gies en la Universidad de Virginia sobre lo que él llamaba «el mundo de don Juan». Todos los estudiantes del curso tuvieron que hacer un estudio de una obra creada como respuesta al *Tenorio*, y la que me tocó a mí fue *Juan el perdío* (1848) de Mariano Pina, la primera de lo que sería un sinfín de apropiaciones (parodias y sátiras, entre otras formas de utilizar la materia de un modelo) del texto de Zorrilla. El nuevo estudio examina la pieza *Imposible l'hais dejado* (1907) como parte de la evolución de estos comentarios basados en el *Tenorio*, y demuestra cómo la obra sirve de representación satírica de tendencias políticas y sociales de su día, a través de una inversión de los papeles de género.

Iana Konstantinova analiza *La loca de la casa*, una de las obras más personales de la larga y excepcionalmente variada carrera de Rosa Montero. Konstantinova afirma que el libro, que tiene claras características semi/seudo-autobiográficas, pero que al mismo tiempo funciona como novela y también estudio teórico, subraya la naturaleza de la narración que hacemos de nuestras propias vidas. Esta narración surge de la tensión entre la memoria y la imaginación, y el proceso que resulta cuando contamos nuestras historias se parece mucho a la acción de los novelistas cuando crean personajes ficticios. Según Konstantinova, el éxito de Montero al desarrollar esta perspectiva con referencia a la auto-narración se encuentra en su habilidad de crear contradicciones evidentes mientras narra eventos de su vida, que al final no sabemos si han sido reales o no.

Otra figura clave del siglo XXI ha sido Javier Cercas, y **Alvin F. Sherman** describe las maneras en que Cercas, en su novela *El impostor*, se acerca de su manera a cuestiones de la memoria. En este caso la perspectiva es diferente: aunque la memoria personal y la autobiografía entran en la conversación —en forma de Enrik Marco, el impostor del título, y también en forma del mismo Cercas, que sirve de narrador— el enfoque aquí es más bien la historia nacional y cómo mantenemos una narración fiable de ella. Sherman pone énfasis en los enigmas de la memoria histórica, e ilumina un libro que sirve como representación tanto de la obra del mismo Cercas como de la de muchos de sus contemporáneos durante un período difícil para España en la lucha por recuperar esa memoria.

Christine Blackshaw y **Saribel Morales-Rivera** contribuyen el último ensayo de esta colección, también sobre el tema de la memoria histórica. Aquí la observamos no en la literatura, sino en una serie de televisión, *El Ministerio del Tiempo*. El episodio en cuestión se titula «Cambio de tiempo», y tiene que ver con el complejo legado histórico del rey Felipe II. Las autoras describen la serie como un vehículo para examinar muchas de nuestras percepciones de diferentes períodos de la historia de España, en particular de la Edad Moderna. El episodio trata de los esfuerzos de Felipe II de hacerse «Rey del Tiempo», cambiando su destino al eliminar la derrota de la Armada en 1588 de la historia, y creando una nueva memoria histórica para el país (con la importante excepción de ciertos personajes que tienen que corregir los cambios resultantes). Blackshaw y Morales-Rivera proponen que el episodio participa en el proceso de la creación de nuevos mitos históricos, proceso que en el pasado ha sido la obra de historiadores y gobiernos.

(**Nota:** Hemos mencionado que todos los colaboradores en este proyecto, con una excepción, han sido estudiantes de David Gies. La excepción es la segunda autora de esta última pieza. **Saribel Morales-Rivera** forma parte de la próxima generación de hispanistas que debe mucho al trabajo de David Gies, habiendo sido estudiante de **Christine Blackshaw**, que estudió, claro está, con David en la Universidad de Virginia. Todos nuestros estudiantes han beneficiado de lo que hemos aprendido de David, y Saribel representa a ellos aquí.)

Este número concluye con una colección de reseñas de una selección de los libros que David Gies ha publicado durante su carrera, como autor y como editor. Comenzamos con una reseña nueva escrita por **Gabrielle Miller** de la edición imprescindible de *Don Juan Tenorio* que David hizo por primera vez en 1994, y que reeditó en 2016. Miller combina recuerdos de sus propias experiencias —al leer el *Tenorio* en la primera versión de la edición como estudiante subgraduada en una clase enseñada por Samuel Amago (cómo no, otro estudiante de David) en la Universidad de Notre Dame— con un acercamiento al valor del trabajo de David con la obra de Zorrilla. Miller reconoce la sección analítica de la introducción por el valor que tiene en muchos niveles: representa una interpretación revolucionaria de una obra identificada en ella como revolucionaria, pero también revela a David como el académico perspicaz, diligente, elocuente y generoso que ha sido durante décadas.

Las siguientes reseñas son contemporáneas a la publicación de los libros que valoran, y vienen de colegas de David que reconocieron las mismas cualidades en su trabajo citadas por Miller. Los autores de estas piezas incluyen figuras claves de nuestra profesión: Susan Kirkpatrick, John Dowling, Jesús Rubio Jiménez y Donald Shaw, entre otros.

Este número se dedica a David Gies, cuya carrera ha tenido un impacto que no resulta del todo posible de describir, tanto en el hispanismo académico como en las vidas de muchos individuos. Los autores que aquí representamos a todos los estudiantes de David, y que ahora nos contamos entre sus colegas y sus amigos, le estamos muy agradecidos por su influencia y su inspiración. Esperamos que esta colección de ensayos sirva como una representación parcial de lo que hemos aprendido de él: curiosidad, dedicación, entusiasmo, esmero, asombro.

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AMOR CADUCO: LOVE, AGING, AND WOMEN WRITERS IN THE SPANISH ENLIGHTENMENT

RESUMEN

Mientras que los debates sobre el tema de la mujer fueron comunes entre los intelectuales del siglo XVIII español—hombres y mujeres—la imagen que dominaba era la de la mujer joven y bonita. Este ensayo examina la imagen de la mujer vieja, comparando representaciones elaboradas por algunos de los hombres ilustrados más importantes (Nicolás y Leandro Fernández de Moratín, Félix Samaniego y Francisco de Goya) con algunos textos escritos por sus colegas contemporáneas Inés Joyes y Blake, María del Rosario Cepeda, María Rosa Gálvez, Margarita Hickey y Pellizoni y María Gertrudis Hore.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Ilustración—mujeres—Nicolás Fernández de Moratín—Leandro Fernández de Moratín—Félix Samaniego—Francisco de Goya—Inés Joyes y Blake—María del Rosario Cepeda—María Rosa Gálvez—Margarita Hickey y Pellizoni—María Gertrudis Hore—Junta de Damas

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ABSTRACT

While debates about the topic of women were common among intellectuals of the eighteenth century in Spain —men and women— the image that dominated was that of the young and beautiful woman. This essay examines the image of the aging woman, as compared to representations by some of the most important Enlightenment men (Nicolás and Leandro Fernández de Moratín, Félix Samaniego, and Francisco de Goya) to texts written by their female contemporaries Inés Joyes y Blake, María del Rosario Cepeda, María Rosa Gálvez, Margarita Hickey y Pellizoni, and María Gertrudis Hore

KEYWORDS: Enlightenment—women—Nicolás Fernández de Moratín—Leandro Fernández de Moratín—Félix Samaniego—Francisco de Goya—Inés Joyes y Blake—María del Rosario Cepeda—María Rosa Gálvez—Margarita Hickey y Pellizoni—María Gertrudis Hore—Junta de Damas

I. INTRODUCTION

The 1762 comedy *La petimetra* by neoclassical dramatist Nicolás Fernández de Moratín, is the story of a narcissistic fashion-obsessed woman, Jerónima. Toward the end of the play's first act, the central character scandalously allows two suitors in her dressing room. As she observes herself in a mirror, she asks the male on-lookers their opinion of her hairstyle, to which one of them responds affirmingly: “Estás, Jerónima bella, transformada en una Venus”. Jerónima represented one of two female character types commonly depicted in eighteenth-century Spanish art and literature: the fashionable French-influenced *petimetra* and the sexy working class Castilian *maja*. Both *petimetra* and *maja* types were known for their appearance and their free-spirited behavior, from which they derived both pleasure and power. Both types also exhibited *marcialidad*, a term that referred to women's dress and behavior. In the words of Janis Tomlinson, *marcialidad* was a “new visibility of women...accompanied by a new mode of behavior”, which Tomlinson finds reflected in many of Goya's tapestry cartoons, portraits and engravings (“Mothers, *Majas*, and *Marcialidad*” 219). Throughout the eighteenth century, women's abilities and right place in a changing society had been passionately discussed, beginning with Benito Feijoo's essay “Defensa de las mujeres” published in the first volume of this *Teatro crítico universal* (1726) and continuing through numerous debates carried out by men and women on the printed page, in assembly halls, and on stage.² The open and free behavior associated with these *petimetras* and *majas*

² The bibliography on women in eighteenth-century Spain is extensive. See especially Kitts *The Debate on the Nature, Role, and Influence of Women in Eighteenth-Century Spain*; Bolufer *Mujeres e ilustración*; Jaffe and Lewis *Eve's Enlightenment: Women's Experience in Spain and Spanish America 1727-1839*, and “Iberian Feminism in the Age of Enlightenment” in the collection *Iberian Feminisms* (2018).

certainly sparked male desire, but it also invited male criticism by intellectuals like Nicolás Fernández de Moratín: the former for her obsession with luxury goods and foreign (mostly French) influenced fashion, and the latter, although a nationalistic foil to the frenchified *petimetra*, scrutinized for her overt sexuality and “brash nature” (Zanardi 109-110).³ In the case of *majas*, Zanardi finds that their representations in eighteenth-century Spanish art and literature point to “anxieties about femininity and to the significant debates about the nature and role of women in eighteenth-century Spain” (112).



Figure 1: Colección de trajes de España, Juan de la Cruz Cano y Holmedilla, 1777.
Biblioteca Nacional de España

Some eighteenth-century Spanish texts presented an alternative image of idealized femininity that stood in contrast to the scandalous *majas* and *petimetras*. The heroine of Leandro Fernández de Moratín’s (son of the aforementioned Nicolás) 1806 box-office hit *El sí de las niñas* represented what the men of the Spanish Enlightenment thought they wanted in a mate. Early in the comedy, the aging 59-year-old don Diego sings the praises of his 16-year-old love interest Paquita: “Es muy linda, muy graciosa, muy humilde... Y sobre todo, ¡aquel candor, aquella inocencia! Vamos, es de lo que no se encuentra por ahí... Y talento.. Sí señor,

³ See also Rebecca Haidt, *Women, work, and clothing in eighteenth-century Spain* for an analysis of these two types, the *maja* and the *petimetra*, especially as presented in on the popular stage in the *sainetes* and *tonadillas* of the period.

mucho talento" (168). Beauty, grace, humbleness, candor, innocence, and talent were the ideal qualities that *los ilustrados* said they wanted from their women, even when the abundance of more scandalous and enticing images of young women indicated otherwise. Of course don Diego finds out at the end of this play that his idealized notions were illusions, founded on "castillos en el aire" (283). But whether erotic or innocent, scandalous or respectable, it seemed that the women whom eighteenth-century men wanted were beautiful, and young. But what of older women? How were older eighteenth-century women portrayed and what did women themselves have to say about aging? In the following pages I will examine the question of women, love, and aging in the Spanish eighteenth century, first as represented by men from Leandro Fernández de Moratín to Félix Samaniego and Francisco Goya, and then in texts by women themselves: Inés Joyes' essay "Apología de las mujeres" (1798), a speech delivered by a member of Spain's first women's civic organization the *Junta de Damas*, María del Rosario Cepeda, the comedy "Familia a la moda" (1805) by María Rosa Gálvez, "Romance a una fea" (1789) by Margarita Hickey, and the poem "Amor caduco" (1796) by María Gertrudis Hore. Older women, as presented in male-created works, were ridiculed as undesirable, and their influence on younger women depicted as dangerous to society. However, female artists present women as more than the passive objects of male desire whose worth fades with time: they also show both younger and older women as thinking and feeling subjects who claimed their own value throughout the stages of their lives.

2. AGING IN THE ENLIGHTENMENT

During the Enlightenment in Spain, as in other European countries, we find changing attitudes about aging for men and women. David Troyansky identifies a shift in eighteenth-century French literature from the ridiculed images of aging found in the character type of the *viellard amoureux* toward alternative depictions of wise and virtuous family men —*vieillard amoureux et raisonnnable* (51-54)—. Writer Claire Josèphe Hippolyte Legris Clairon (1723-1803) offered in her *Mémoires de Mlle. Clairon* the perspective of an old woman negotiating the cultural and physiological effects of aging in eighteenth-century France:

The sagging of my body does not yet influence my spirit and head; I have all the sensitivity, all the activity of my first age. My taste for reading has happily grown; it is useful to me to surround myself daily with the great characters of all times and all places; I learn with them to compare, to reflect to bear the void and the pains of life, to prove to myself that it is necessary that everything passes and becomes as nothing. (Quoted in Troyansky 63)

For women, the aging process was fraught with "the eighteenth-century fixation with a youthful physical ideal" such that "many old women, even those of the intellectual elite, experienced their old age as a time of personal loss" (Ottaway 14). While both old men and old women could be objects of social ridicule when they failed to "act their age," rarely were

old women afforded the opportunity for social redemption as were men. In fact, before the eighteenth century, few older women appeared as major characters in Spanish literature or art, with the very notable exception of the iconic *Celestina* of Fernando de Roja's 1499 *tragicomedia*, whose complex character dominated the Spanish imagination well into the eighteenth century and beyond.⁴ John Dowling credits neoclassical playwright Leandro Fernández de Moratín with writing older women characters into the eighteenth-century stage throughout his career, beginning with *El viejo y la niña* (1790) and continuing through his last and most successful comedy, *El sí de las niñas* (1806). Moratín's numerous older female characters —found in both minor and major roles— “made a radical change in the Spanish theatre by creating an attractive comic role for the older actress”, a change that continued to influence the Spanish stage into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Dowling 55). Still, despite their increased presence and importance on the Spanish stage, even Moratín's older female characters were not presented as kindly as their aging male counterparts. In *El sí de las niñas* don Diego dreams of marrying a young “mujer aprovechada, hacendosa, que sepa cuidar de la casa, economizar, estar en todo” (169). He contrasts this idealized young wife of his dreams to the annoyance having to live with aging housekeepers, whom he describes as “regalonas, entrometidas, habladoras, llenas de histérico, viejas, feas como demonios” (170). Paquita's annoying mother, Irene —to whom Diego refers as “muy vanidosa y muy remilgada, y hablando siempre de su parentela y de sus difuntos” (169)⁵—, serves as the comical counterpoint to don Diego's reasonable and measured behavior. Philip Deacon points to one exchange where Irene speaks of her three marriages and 22 children “*hasta ahora*”: “Las palabras ‘hasta ahora’ desatan una reacción cómica bastante fuerte por insinuar que ella no descarta la posibilidad de volver a casarse” (152). In the happy ending of the play, Moratín “resiste la tentación de casar a doña Irene con don Diego, un final propio de la comedia tradicional que Moratín rechazaría como inverosímil” (Deacon 157).⁶ While Irene's character remains overly coquettish and laughable to the end, describing her daughter's young suiter as “un mozo muy galán... Morenillo, pero tiene un mirar de ojos muy hechicero” (283), Don Diego redeems himself from his folly, his “cabeza de ilusiones” (283). This of course he blames on the older women of the play (Paquita's aunts and her mother Irene) whose influence almost caused a life of unhappiness for the young Paquita and for him. Diego facilitates the more

⁴ *La Celestina* has been an iconic representation of old women both in and outside of Spain. In her study on aging in men and women, *The Coming of Age* (1970), feminist and existentialist philosopher Simone de Beauvoir speaks of the *Celestina* character: “in her are summed up all the vices that had been attributed to old women since classical times, and in spite of her shrewdness she ends up by being severely punished” (148).

⁵ See Note 9 in the Dowling/Andioc edition. These words from the 1805-1806 editions were cut from the 1825 edition.

⁶ Sally-Ann Kitts (2009) indicates contradictions in Diego's supposedly reasoned behavior, contradictions that point to complex power relationships according to gender and age.

suitable marriage between young Paquita and Diego's nephew Carlos and declaring himself as Paquita's "nuevo padre" (284).

Harsh ridicule of women who fail to recognize their fading youth and beauty abounds in Spanish literature and art of the eighteenth century. In Félix Samaniego's *fábula* "La Hermosa y el espejo" (1784), a woman is infuriated to find that with the passing of the years, her faithful "friend" the mirror no longer praises her beauty with words of "*gracioso*" or "*bonito*" but rather tells her the plain, hard truth of her aging. The poet scolds the female subject of the poem:

Escúchame, Anarda:
«Si buscas amigos
que te representen
tus gracias y hechizos,
mas que no te adviertan
defectos y aun vicios,
de aquellos que nadie
conoce en sí mismo,
dime, ¿de qué modo
podrás corregirlos?» (35-44)

This fable is at once a rebuke of aging female narcissism and a call for moral self-examination and self-improvement. Irene Gómez Castellano, Michael Schlig and Álvaro Molina have discussed male-created literary and visual images of eighteenth-century Spanish women and women's beauty, and in particular the use of the mirror as metaphor. Gómez Castellano, in her analysis of the use of the mirror in rococo poems by Meléndez Valdés and Cadalso, finds in the highly embellished and eroticized descriptions of young female beauty reflected in the dressing room mirror a "metáfora del producto artístico y la mujer como alegórica del artista rococó" (93).⁷ For Schlig, mirrors underscore "inaccuracy, fallibility, and deceit, but in the same contexts they often also exposed unresolved issues related to relations between the sexes" (Schlig, "(D)espejos" 378). Schlig goes on to cite Laura Mulvey's important 1975 essay that established the concept of the male gaze as fundamental not only to film studies, but for any analysis of images —visual or literary— of women's bodies. Álvaro Molina, in his study of the visual representations of gender in eighteenth-century Spain, also examines the presence of mirrors and of male on-lookers in the depictions of the aging female body "En las imágenes que giran en torno al espacio del tocador, la verdad del espejo se opone fre-

⁷ Irene Gómez Castellano contrasts these rococó images to satirical depictions of mirrors and women by Francisco Goya, which are more in the vein of seventeenth-century poet Francisco de Quevedo and his baroque sensibility of *desengaño* found in the reflection of the mirror.

cuentemente a la de los aduladores que acompañan a la dama en su arreglo personal, sobre todo con el paso de los años” (396).

The exterior male gaze of patriarchy fetishizes the female form while at the same time it censures a woman's own narcissistic gaze into the mirror. Freud himself voices the same ambivalence that Enlightenment men held towards (young) female beauty:

Women, especially if they grow up with good looks, develop a certain self-contentment which compensates them for the social restrictions that are imposed upon them in their choice of object. Strictly speaking, it is only themselves that such women love with an intensity comparable to that of man's love for them [...] Such women have the greatest fascination for men, not only for aesthetic reasons, since as a rule they are the most beautiful, but also [...] it seems very evident that another person's narcissism has a great attraction for those who have renounced part of their own narcissism and are in search of object-love. (“On Narcissism” 87-88)

Spanish historian Mónica Bolufer points out that eighteenth-century Spanish women derived personal pleasure and social power from their appearance, and they enjoyed for themselves “el secreto placer de la contemplación narcicista, gustar y gustarse, seducir y verse en el espejo de la mirada de otros, provocando el deseo masculino y la envidia de su sexo” (208). Yet eighteenth-century Spanish women were frequently warned that their youth and their beauty would be short-lived, as Samaniego's fable declares, and a number of satirical visual images of the period suggest.



Figure 2: Francisco de Goya *Majas en el balcón* (Metropolitan Museum of Art);

Figure 3: *Maja y Celestina en el balcón* (Bartolomé March Collection);

Figure 4: *Las viejas* (Palais de Beaux Arts, Lille)

The paintings *Majas on a Balcony*, *Maja and Celestina on a Balcony*, and *Time and the Old Ladies* (figures 2, 3, and 4) by Francisco de Goya, all created between 1808-1812 and believed to be intended as a series,⁸ highlight through the presence of mirrors and external observers some themes related to the patriarchal gaze of young and old female bodies. Tara Zanardi discusses the composition of the first two paintings in which the balcony railings separate the young *majas* from the viewer, placing them on display, while the shadowy *majos* and old *Celestina*-like women in the backgrounds suggest danger, prostitution, but also “an increased expression of female agency” (139). They also, through their use of aging female bodies that are sometimes juxtaposed with young female bodies, point to the fleeting nature of female beauty and ridicule the delusional female self. Goya had explored these themes earlier, from the subtle irony of his various portraits of the Queen María Luisa, to the young *majas* and decrepit old women of the *Caprichos* (1799)—for example in No. 3 *Ruega por ella* and 55 *Hasta la muerte* (Figures 5 and 6).



Figure 5: Francisco de Goya *Ruega por ella* (Museo del Prado);
Figure 6: Francisco de Goya, *Hasta la muerte* (Museo del Prado)

⁸ See the discussion of these paintings in the catalog of the Fundación Goya en Aragón. <http://fundaciongoya-aragon.es>.

Of the engraving “Hasta la muerte,” Gómez Castellano states that unlike aging female subjects in the baroque poetry of Quevedo, “Goya no permite a la protagonista del Capricho 55 el lujo de una anagnórisis trágica.” Not only is the subject of “Hasta la muerte” old, she is ignorant of the very fact that she is old (81). Younger male and female observers in the scene serve to reveal the truth of the old woman’s delusion: she is an object of ridicule, a mere caricature of a beautiful young woman. Her self-indulging narcissistic gaze contrasts with the harsh scrutiny of the mirror, questioning her interior sense of self—does she see what the others see in the mirror, a delusion, or something else? Mulvey critiques the typical patriarchal depiction of woman, who is “tied to her place as bearer of meaning, not maker of meaning” (834). In this conception of femininity, not only is woman silenced, incapable of being the maker of her own meaning, as she ages she is rendered irrelevant. Speaking of Freud’s declaration of “psychical rigidity and unchangeability” in women after thirty (Freud, “Femininity” 134-135), Toril Moi exclaims that for him, older women are “the living dead, the Nosferatus of the soul. No wonder Freud finds them frightening” (842).

Of course, women, even eighteenth-century Spanish women, have not been silent or silenced, especially not after age thirty. Many Spanish Enlightenment women writers achieved literary success through publication in their 30s and beyond —playwright María Rosa Gálvez and poet Margarita Hickey were in their 30s, essayist Josefa Amar y Borbón in her 40s, María Gertrudis Hore in her 50s, while Inés Joyes y Blake was in her 60s—. These women had quite a lot to say about women’s right place in society, their own agency, their relationship to other women, and even about their own desire.

3. EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SPANISH WOMEN WRITERS AND AGING

Some older women writers emphasized their roles as motherly advocates for younger women. In 1798 Inés Joyes y Blake, a 67-year-old widow, published an “Apología de las mujeres” addressed to her daughters and published in an epilogue to her translation of Samuel Johnson’s novel *Rasselas*. Joyes begins her *Apología* by criticizing the contradictions and injustices women suffer in a patriarchal society: “somos queridas, aborrecidas, alabadas, vituperadas, celebradas, respetadas, despreciadas, y censuradas” (177). She complains that young girls are taught that they are valuable only for their looks, not their brains: “Llega a un pueblo una forestera y oye que la primera que se pregunta es si es bonita, si es petimetra, pero nunca si es entendida, si es juiciosa” (184). Joyes sees an important role for herself as mother and mentor to her own daughters, but also to all women:

Yo quisiera desde lo alto de un monte donde fuera posible que me oyeseis todas darles un consejo. Oid mujeres, les diría, no os apoqueis: vuestras almas son iguales a las del sexo que os quiere tiranizar: usad de las luces que el Criador os dio: a vosotras, si quereis, se podrá deber la reforma de las costumbres, que sin vosotras nunca llegará: respetáos a vosotras mismas y os respetarán:

amaos unas a otras: conoced que vuestro verdadero mérito no consiste en una cara bonita, ni en gracias exteriores siempre poco durables, y que los hombres luego que ven que os desvanecéis con sus alabanzas os tienen ya por suyas: manifestadles que sois amantes de vuestro sexo. (203-204)

Instead of criticizing women's delusional self-centered narcissism, Inés Joyes encourages women's self-worth. She tells them not to belittle themselves ("no os apoqueis"), but to see themselves as equal to men ("vuestras almas son iguales"), and that their value is more than a "cara bonita." Men, says Joyes, are not to be trusted. She uses words like "tiranizar" and warns of their false praise meant to trap them ("con sus alabanzas os tienen ya por suyas"). She also uses the language of love to encourage female agency: that women should love each other ("amaos unas a otras") and that they be lovers, not of men, but of their own sex ("amantes de vuestro sexo"). Instead of the introspection of the mirror, the 67-year-old Joyes concludes her open letter to her daughters with an image of herself figuratively shouting from the mountaintop to all Spanish women, which she did with the publication of this *Apología*.

Motherly advocacy for younger women and girls was the focus of the activities and publications of the aristocratic women of the *Junta de Damas de Mérito y Honor*, a sister organization of the all-male Economic Society of Madrid founded in 1787 and Spain's first women's civic organization.⁹ Among their philanthropic and charitable work with the poor women and children of Madrid, was their support of the *Escuelas patrióticas*, where working-class girls learned trades in the textile industry. A 1797 painting of Francisca María Dávila Carrillo de Albornoz, the Countess of Truillas, who was president of the organization from 1790 to 1801, pays tribute not only to their leader, but also to the work of the *Junta*. The painting by prominent portrait artist Agustín Esteve, shows the 63-year-old Truillas congratulating a young pupil, who is showing the countess her prize-winning embroidery (Martín Valdepeñas Yagüe). The countess gestures to what might appear to be a mirror, but is rather the shield of the Royal Economic Society blazoned with its motto *Socorre enseñando*, thus rejecting narcissism and its focus on female beauty and reflecting instead to the girl a higher ideal in the importance of education. Another member of the *Junta de Damas*, María Cepeda, in a speech delivered to the Royal Economic Society of Madrid in 1797, the same year that the portrait was completed, explained the personal and social impact that education in the *Escuelas patrióticas* had on the future of young girls like the one in the Esteve painting:

Aquellas jóvenes con la educación que han recibido se estiman más a sí mismas, no se acomodan a colocarse en matrimonio sin muchos miramientos, y cálculos de conveniencia doméstica, de

⁹ For more on the founding and the activities of the *Junta de Damas*, see Bolufer (1998) and Capel (2006).



Figure 7: *Augustín Esteve y Marqués, Francisca María Dávila Carrillo de Albornoz, Condesa de Truillas, Presidenta de la Junta de Damas de Honor y Mérito. 1797. (Junta de Damas). Photo by Ana María Fernández Piquer*

que prescindirían en el estado de inútiles, y abandonadas; sus maridos se ven obligados a tratarlas con mayor estimación; sus hijos participarán por necesidad de la educación que ellas recibieron; y en suma aquellas mismas mujeres, que estaban en el riesgo de incurrir en la mendicidad, o en el desorden, nos vemos precisados a considerarlas como uno de los apoyos mayores de la felicidad pública. (14)

With education, believed the ladies of the *Junta de Damas* like Truillas and Cepeda, young girls could learn to value themselves: “se estiman más a sí mismas.” Instead of being condemned to a poor marriage, of being “inútiles,” or “abandonadas,” these girls will not only improve themselves, but will also pass on the education they receive to their children.

Without education, working class girls were at risk of “mendicidad” or worse, “desorden,” of economic and moral ruin for themselves and for Spain. With education, these girls not only improve their own lives, but they also are the basis of “felicidad pública.”

An older woman’s advocacy for young women is also the premise of the comedy *Familia a la moda* by María Rosa Gálvez de Cabrera, an unpublished play that was represented on the official Madrid stage, first in the Caños theater in 1805, and later in the Príncipe in 1807 (Bordiga Grinstein 104). Helena Establier has studied what she calls a “dramaturgia feminista” in the plays of María Rosa Gálvez that promoted public happiness through the individual happiness of women:

Parece evidente que María Rosa Gálvez traza en sus comedias unos personajes femeninos que, sin complejidad psicológica ninguna, consiguen poner su inteligencia y su buen sentido al servicio de la felicidad propia y, por ende, de la general. Es el hecho de que las mujeres se conviertan en exponentes de la razón, y no sólo en modelos de virtud y sumisión, el que se perfila como novedad dentro del modelo de la comedia ilustrada, ceñida por lo general al concepto masculino de autoridad y poco proclive a ir más allá de la «escuela de esposas» (Kish) para mostrar personajes femeninos inteligentes y sensatos. (191)

David Gies, comparing *Familia a la moda* to plays by later nineteenth-century male authors from Zorilla to Gil y Zárate, finds that “Gálvez anticipates many important themes of late nineteenth-century Spain: the superficiality of the middle class, economic anxiety and obsession with money, the issue of gambling, and the role of women in a society structured and controlled mostly by men” (152).

In this play, a grouchy rich widow Guiomar arrives in Madrid from the countryside to straighten out her gambling brother and neglectful *petimetra* sister-in-law, to save her nephew from idleness and vice, and finally to save her young niece Inés from the fate of either a bad marriage or a life in the convent. Inés’s mother, Madama de Pimpleas, is flattered by the fiancé she has picked for her daughter, the Marqués de Altopunto, who acts as her (the mother’s) *cortejo*.¹⁰ While Madama de Pimpleas describes herself as a *petimetra fina* (Act 1, scene XI), Guiomar, the old country aunt, is described by various characters as “vieja,” “anciana,” “mal vestida,” and “fea como un vestigio.” Guiomar herself complains of her aging body, especially of some rather comic digestive issues and flatulence problems

¹⁰ The highly criticized practice of the *cortejo*, in which a married woman took on a male suitor who was not her husband to accompany her socially, was the subject of Carmen Martín Gaité’s study *Usos amorosos del dieciocho en España* (1972).

caused by the unusual eating habits at her brother's home. But when her sister-in-law is unwilling to allow the young Inés to marry for love, Guiomar threatens to re-marry herself, thus jeopardizing the inheritance they were hoping for their son and themselves. While Madama de Pimpleas is incredulous at Guiomar's threat "¡Casarse en su edad!" (Act II, scene XI), her riches certainly attract one man, the womanizing singing instructor, Trapachino, who once called Guiomar "una vieja asquerosa" (Act II, Scene I), but later wonders if her grumpiness might conceal a "una pasión cariñosa" for him (Act II, scene XIII). In the end, Guiomar corrects the misbehavior of her brother, sister-in-law, and nephew. She also paves the way for a happy marriage and future for her niece by promising her inheritance to Inés. Guiomar is also the one who pronounces the play's closing words, and its moral: "que a nadie acomoda / imitar en sus sandeces / todas las ridiculeces / de una familia a la moda" (Act III, scene XII). Yet despite being ideologically in line with the typical Enlightenment "comedia de costumbres contemporáneas" (Andioc 62), which promoted rational action and social order, this play was initially prohibited by the censors. Establier speculates that this might have been because Gálvez's comedy presented a new, more dissident, image of femininity that made woman "salv guarda, ya no moral sino racional, del orden social" (192). Guiomar, as her name suggests, serves as a wise guide, a "guía" who leads this fashionable family from folly and wastefulness to responsibility and usefulness. She also serves as guide and guardian of the young Inés, filling the maternal role that Madama de Pimpleas does not.

To be called ugly and old does not seem to worry or deter the character Guiomar, and yet these monikers were frequently used by eighteenth-century men and women to belittle and to silence. Margarita Hickey addresses this problem in a poem titled "Romance a una fea que, envidiosa de los aplausos de hermosa que lograba otra dama de alguna más edad que ella, por disminuírseles e injuriarla, la llamaba vieja", published in her collection *Poesías varias sagradas, morales y profanas o amorosas: con dos poemas épicos* (1789).¹¹ María Salgado finds that the main themes of her poems unmask the "traps of love" and finds that together "they can be used as a guide to woman's behavior and to man-woman relationships" (81). In this particular poem, the female poetic voice begins by scolding a young woman harshly for her treatment of an older, yet more beautiful woman. She calls the young *fea*, who is named Anarda (the same as the narcissistic woman of Samaniego's fable), "engañada" and "necia" for her cruel insult to the aging but still beautiful rival Belisa. The poetic voice harshly questions Anarda: "¿Sabes que entre los males / con que las furias leteas / pueden afligir al mundo / no le hay mayor que el ser fea?" (21-24). The poem seems to be on Belisa's side, defending her beauty, despite her

¹¹ This collection also included Hickey's translation of Racine's tragedy *Andromaque* and a poem dedicated to Captain Pedro Cevallos, Viceroy of the Río de la Plata 1777-1778. A second volume that was never published promised more translated drama and a second epic poem. See Sullivan (1997) and Salgado (2009).

age: “La anciana que ha sido hermosa / aunque ya no lo parezca [...] siempre algunos bellos restos / logra de aquellas riquezas” while an ugly girl like Anarda has no hope: “la que después y antes / ha sido, es, y será fea / siempre a los ojos de todos / será, ha sido y es molesta.” (25-36). For 104 of the 184 verses of this *romance*, the female poetic voice seems to defend *la vieja* at the expense of the *fea*. However, in line 105, she suggests a different focus for Anarda:

Ya que a los timbres de hermosa
no puedes llegar, y es fuerza
conformarte con tu suerte,
aspira a los de discreta;
que además de ser más nobles,
más dignas de honra y de excelsas
alabanzas, puedes sola
erigírtelos tú mesma. (105-112)

While a woman cannot change her undesirable social status as *fea*, to be *discreta* —modest, prudent, moderate— is an accolade Anarda can obtain for herself. Heaven may have denied her beauty, but it has given Anarda other gifts: “otros dones / te ha dotado en recompensa” (127-128). Suddenly the poem criticizes the woman whose beauty makes her overly proud and arrogant, desirous of applause that “las más veces / son causa de su miseria” (131-132). The poem praises the ugly woman for her intelligence as “entendida,” “sagaz” and “discreta,” while beautiful women are now described as the “necias” and doomed to disgrace. In the end, neither the *fea* nor the *vieja* triumphs, rather, each woman is urged to accept providence and their imperfect destinies. Nonetheless, behind Hickey’s reproach to young Anarda for her treatment of the aging Belisa is a validation of women, no matter the circumstances of their lives—young or old, beautiful or ugly. Instead of seeing each other enviously, as competitors for the attentions of men, Hickey’s poetry encourages women to look within for their individual value, and to accept each other.

The aging female poetic subject’s sense of self and feeling of love and even desire is the focus of the poem “Amor caduco,” by María Gertrudis Hore, who was 54 at the time of its publication in the *Diario de Madrid* in April of 1796. Also known by her penname *Hija del Sol*, Hore (1742-1801) is the author of fourteen published poems, most of which appeared in journals in Madrid after she became a nun in the late 1780s through the 1790s.¹² “Amor caduco”

¹² Frédérique Morand has published extensively about Hore, her life and her work. See especially her two books in the bibliography of this study. Morand reproduces the poem “Amor caduco” in *Una poetisa en busca de libertad* (2007), pp. 211-214.

provides what on the surface seems to be a lighthearted but cautionary tale to old women who still dream of love. In the poem, the love-stricken old Cefisa stumbles and injures herself while daydreaming of a former lover, but she comes back to reality from her delusion after glimpsing her reflection in a stream: “con rostro arrugado / cabello nevado / de amor padecer?” (67-69) the poet inquires. Images of the poetic subject’s advanced age exist for the viewer/reader long before this climactic moment. From the poem’s first images—her cane, her neck hunched over with age, and her trembling vision—to its description of the fateful fall from her “anciana débil planta” (57) resulting in her grave injury as she feels her face literally bathed in blood, we observe with pity, and perhaps we even laugh at her moment of self-recognition as an ironic twist on the myth of Narcissus in which her own reflection in the stream does not captivate, but rather repulses. Still, the destiny of both Narcissus and Hore’s poetic Cefisa is death, graphically depicted in Cefisa’s bloody head injury, but also looming as she walks away slowly into the sunset towards home. Death first appears lines before Cefisa’s fall, in the memory of her dead lover. The use of the word “caduco” in title of the poem evokes not merely old age, but also decrepitude and obsolescence. Cefisa’s youth, her former beauty, and her love life have passed, and outwardly they are barely discernable, the carved words from a long-lost lover “casi borrados” (14) in the bark of an old tree. Yet, for Cefisa the memories that these barely visible words evoke are inerasable, and they bring back a pain so strong that she believes she would die from love, not from old age —“muriera de amor, / sí, de amor moriría” (48-49)— the hypothetical imperfect subjunctive and conditional tenses connect past to present, while they evoke an inner experience that cannot be observed. The climactic moment of self-recognition as she views her bloody reflection in the stream shows that she is not like the decrepit old ladies of Goya’s pieces who persist in their delusional self-image, yet neither is her realization mere acceptance of lost youth and beauty. Cefisa recognizes that she, as her lover had done before her, is dying.

In the poem’s sensible conclusion, Cefisa seems to reject her former youthful passions: “entregando al olvido / de su pasada juventud pasiones” (81-82). She leaves the idyllic outdoor scene of her youth—the green meadow, the flowery field, the tall oak, and of course the stream running through it—and she returns to her cabin, a domestic setting, more fitting of an old grandmother, and to her loving “familia placentera” (87). It seems that Cefisa has learned her lesson, that she will not persist in her delusion “hasta la muerte” as Goya warns. In the end, Cefisa is thankful, but not that she has learned something important about aging and love. Rather, she gives thanks to Heaven that no one saw her swoon and fall, “que no hubo en el suelo quien viera su acción” (92-93). The poet interjects her own advice to old women at the end of the poem, turning this poem into a female-authored fable that, similar to Hickey’s poem to her ugly Anarda, stands in contrast to Samaniego’s prior admonitions to aging beauties. Hore’s advice is not that old women forget the past and deny their feelings, but rather, curiously, that if they do harbor lingering emotions of love, they should stop

walking for a while: “suspendan luego el paso” (103) and avoid public humiliation. Hore both acknowledges the power of the male gaze in the possibility of public ridicule and humiliation, while she also affirms the importance of women’s inner emotional life.

Simone de Beauvoir elaborates on the disconnect between the way an aging woman feels, and the way she is seen by society. Speaking of studies of older women’s sexuality, de Beauvoir asserts that “women go on feeling desire long after they have stopped being attractive to men” (*The Coming of Age* 348). In her earlier feminist study *The Second Sex*, de Beauvoir describes the aging woman in contemporary society as frustrated and negative “she shuts herself up with the secret she carries in her heart that is the mysterious key to her unhappy lot” (642). De Beauvoir is unique among twentieth-century feminists in her interest in aging, and still her words reflect how negatively society viewed an old woman’s love. While many through the centuries seemed to agree with Freud that a woman past thirty was of little interest or, worse, even dangerous for society, we have seen how some eighteenth-century Spanish women were just coming into their own as they aged. Women like Ines Joyes and the members of the *Junta de Damas* used their experience to influence and advocate for younger women. They encouraged women to love themselves, and to show men that they can be in Inés Joyes y Blake’s words, “lovers of their own sex” (204). In female-authored literary pieces like “Familia a la moda,” “Romance a una fea,” and “Amor caduco,” not only does an older woman avoid becoming a caricaturesque object of ridicule, but she also moves from object —bearer of other’s meaning— to subject, her own maker of meaning.¹³

¹³ In addition to citing David Gies’s article on Gálvez in this essay, I must note his scholarly influence in this, and in all that I research and write. My sincere and deepest gratitude to him for his support and guidance in all stages of this (now older) woman’s academic and professional formation.

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CODIFYING THE INEFFABLE: NATURE, HYPOCRISY, AND THE RHETORIC OF THE *FÁBULAS FUTROSÓFICAS*

RESUMEN

Este artículo examina las *Fábulas futrosóficas o la filosofía de Venus en fábulas* (1821), publicadas anónimamente, pero a menudo atribuidas a Leandro Fernández de Moratín. La crítica literaria se ha enfocado principalmente en la autoría de esta obra, ignorando la sátira y la crítica social que contienen estas fábulas. Mantengo que las *Fábulas* de Moratín representan un texto erudito, que se enfoca en muchos de los mismos problemas que otras obras ilustradas, con frecuencia incorporando elementos neoclásicos. Este ensayo examina dos vertientes retóricas: el uso de la «falacia naturalista», y su crítica de los abusos de poder.

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Fábulas futrosóficas*—Moratín—fábulas—España—ilustración—falacia naturalista—retórica

ABSTRACT

This article examines the *Fábulas futrosóficas o la filosofía de Venus en fábulas* (1821), published anonymously but often attributed to Leandro Fernández de Moratín. Research on this work has largely focused on its authorship, neglecting the rich satire and social commentary contained in these fables. I argue that Moratín's *Fábulas* are an erudite text that engages with many of the same issues as other Enlightenment works, often in a neoclassical fashion. This

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essay examines two rhetorical axes: Moratín's use of the appeal-to-nature argument, and his condemnation of abuses by those in positions of power.

KEYWORDS: *Fábulas futosóficas*—Moratín—fables—Spain—Enlightenment—appeal-to-nature—rhetoric

The surviving corpus of erotic literature produced during the long eighteenth century in Spain is a modest one, yet it has garnered a fair bit of attention from critics. Menéndez Pelayo famously excoriated this vein of literature as “obscena y soez, que manchó y afrentó aquel siglo,” which produced “obras las más ferozmente inmundas que ha abortado el demonio de la lujuria” (19). In spite of such an incendiary condemnation, there really is no Spanish analogue to the Marquis de Sade, nor will scholars find equivalents to John Cleland's notorious novel, *Fanny Hill* (1748), or even Choderlos de Laclos' scandalous *Les liaisons dangereuses* (1782). The reasons for this marked difference have been explored in numerous studies, from which there emerge a number of clear, systemic differences between Spain and its neighbors to the North. As Philip Deacon's research makes clear, the Catholic Church's cultural and political power in Spain resulted in an environment inhospitable to unorthodox texts, least of all those concerning human sexuality and pleasure. “La Iglesia Católica”, he writes, “persiguió de manera sistemática lo que calificaba como ‘obsceno’, tanto en el arte como en la literatura” (“El espacio” 220). As a result, the Consejo de Castilla and its army of censors acted as cultural and moral gatekeepers for centuries, ensuring that works deemed profane, obscene, irreverent, dangerous or otherwise iconoclastic never made it to the printed page. Guereña believes that this effective censorship, “y sobre todo la permanencia de la temida inquisición hasta principios del siglo XIX, explican en gran parte el ‘retraso’ hispánico en materia de publicaciones eróticas” (32).

This is not to say that there was no appetite for erotic literature on the part the Spanish public. In fact, the motley collection of works that survive, along with the information we can glean from the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* and the Inquisition's records reveal that there was great interest in such works, and erotic literature was routinely, if clandestinely, imported from France.² It is also worth noting that the risk that Spanish citizens faced by owning a book or illustrations deemed obscene was not trivial, and could result in one's having to appear before the Inquisition. For booksellers and editors, the stakes were even higher, as Zavala explains: “son frecuentes las visitas a librerías para el control de la importación de libros, y las sentencias y las denuncias contra editores e impresores” (25). With such inherent risk associated with writing, publishing or even owning a piece of erotic literature, it is easy to understand both the relative paucity of surviving texts and the need for anonymity.

² See Defourneaux, Marcelin. *Inquisición y censura de libros en la España del siglo XVIII*. Taurus, 1973.

Erotic Spanish novels are non-existent due to the threat of censorship (though, again, foreign erotic novels circulated in clandestine fashion), and erotic theater could similarly not be published, much less represented on stage. This legal reality drove Spanish erotic literature underground, and confined it principally to the realm of poetry. As Deacon argues, poetry existed more naturally in manuscript format, which made it easy to share and copy works, as well as memorize them (“El espacio” 224). The works that survive today all circulated in manuscript form, were most certainly read aloud at various *tertulias* and intimate gatherings, were sung or memorized; only much later were they published.

The philosophical and sociocultural conditions that made erotic literature both possible and relevant in the eighteenth century have been studied exhaustively by scholars,³ and so I shall limit myself to a brief summary. The epistemological concept of sensualism, as put forth by John Locke and David Hume, was of enormous importance in the development of a new way of looking at and understanding the world. Moreover, their works were an “afirmación de la experiencia del individuo y de su capacidad para forjar sus propias creencias y rechazar la preexistencia de normas de conducta fijas como las proclamadas por la religión” (Deacon, “Imágenes” 420). The influence of English empiricists and sensualists was clearly felt in Spain; Meléndez Valdés wrote in a letter to Jovellanos that he had memorized Locke’s *Essay on Human Understanding*.⁴ The works of Condillac, who further refined in a systematic fashion the ideas elaborated by Locke, underscored the central tenet that human knowledge is fundamentally based on observations made by the senses. This emphasis on the realm of the senses translated into the consecration of individual interpretation and a renewal of interest in the human body and sexuality. These developments were generally viewed as a threat by both Church and Crown, both of whom “desconfiaban de cuanto aludiera a la sensualidad” (Zavala 521). Yet there was no stopping these new philosophical currents; as a natural consequence of this line of inquiry, the concept of pleasure came to the fore, though certainly not without controversy. Its laboratory is not that of doctors or scientists, but of authors and poets. As Gies reminds us, the fusion of scientific developments and a renewed interest in individual senses and experiences leads to “la sutil transformación del lenguaje poético dieciochesco en algo a la vez más científico y más íntimo” (“Sensibilidad” 26). The erotic compositions of eighteenth-century Spanish authors function as an articulation of these emerging epistemologies, striving to understand the world through the new lenses of experimentalism, empiricism and sensualism, as well as to reframe the experience of the individual within this context.

³ See David Gies, *Sensibilidad y sensualismo en la época dieciochesca* and “Sobre el erotismo rococó en la poesía del siglo XVII”. *Eros y amistad*. Calambur, 2016.

⁴ See Volume 63 of the *Biblioteca de autores españoles*. Rivadeneyra, 1875.

Scholarship on erotic literature has sometimes gotten mired in a taxonomic tangent, attempting to define the difference between erotic and pornographic works. Di Pinto rightly identified this desire to create clear categories as akin to “cadere nella trappola del falso problema” (181), a false problem due in large part to the subjective, moral grounds of each reader or scholar, and to the crucial importance of sociocultural and historical context. Those works which so repulsed Menéndez Pelayo have since been viewed as a complex literature that explores a “diversidad de territorios” (Galván González 1). Gies has it right when he notes that “[e]rotismo, pornografía, obscenidad: sería difícil, si no imposible, definir científicamente tales términos,” and that all one can do is focus on those works that deal with sexual desire and sensuality in more direct fashion than is customary in published poetry (“El XVIII porno” 216). Similarly, it might perhaps be most helpful to simply view erotic poetry of this era within the legal reality of the time: those texts that were approved by censors, and those that were not, and were thus “obscene”. This distinction is at the heart of what Di Pinto identifies as the essential component of erotic literature, the bourgeois transgression of norms, and what Deacon sees as a “reto al statu quo” (“Imágenes” 419).

In the first group, we may find the majority of compositions by the canonical poets of the century: Meléndez Valdés, Cadalso, Iriarte, Samaniego, both Moratines, along with many others. This does not mean that these poets did not engage with erotic concepts in their published writings, it simply meant that they developed and used a new coded language to express themselves. The rhetoric of sensual, Rococo poetry and art resulted in “la elaboración de un lenguaje que capta —simboliza, si se quiere— la estética de la época y la ideología de una clase. Es un lenguaje pictórico y poético que contiene un subtexto intensamente erótico” (Gies “Más” 27). These are compositions that draw heavily from classical tradition, as Meléndez Valdés himself acknowledged: “En esta parte han sido mis guías el mismo Horacio, Ovidio, Tibulo, Propercio, y el delicado Anacreonte” (9).

The subtle, refined sensualism of works like Meléndez Valdés’s famous “La paloma de Filis” was able to be published due mainly to those poems’ reliance on allegory, metaphor and literary tradition, such as Anacreontic odes. The works in the second category—which some have termed pornographic or obscene— can be characterized more effectively as those that simply did not, or could not, pass censorship and be published. The most famous of these erotic poetic compositions are Nicolás Fernández de Moratín’s *El arte de las putas*, composed in the 1770s but unpublished until 1898,⁵ and Félix María de Samaniego’s *El jardín de Venus*, a compendium of erotic tales written around 1790, but unpublished until 1921. There also exists a significant corpus of loose, assorted erotic poetry by numerous authors; some of these

⁵ *El arte de las putas* was added to the *Index librorum prohibitorum* in 1790.

poems have been anthologized in Reyes Cano's *Poesía erótica de la ilustración española* (1989). It is important to remember that what survives today is in all likelihood the proverbial tip of the iceberg; Aguilar Piñal reminds us that erotic poetry was prevalent, and could probably be found in "casi todos los autores dieciochescos" (120).

The third major standalone work is the focus of this essay: the *Fábulas futrosóficas o la filosofía de Venus en fábulas*. Both its authorship and its publication date have been the subject of some debate, though the nature of its content has not: it was placed on the index of forbidden books by the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo in 1827 (Carbonero y Sol 279). Though the cover of the first edition states that it was published in London in 1821, and the second in Bordeaux in 1824, scholars believe that all editions originated in Bordeaux, where printers were accustomed to printing Spanish books to circumvent Peninsular censorship oversight (Guereña 38). Although the *Fábulas futrosóficas* were published anonymously, scholars have long attributed them to Leandro Fernández de Moratín. This claim is supported mainly by the fact that the younger Moratín was living in Bordeaux at the time of publication, and would live there until his death in 1827. Moreover, it is probable that the word *futrosóficas* is a Spanish portmanteau composed of the French *foutre* (meaning "to fuck" as a verb, "sperm" as a noun) and the Spanish *filosóficas*, making it another connection to the Francophile Moratín. Not all critics believe that he is the author; Philip Deacon calls this claim into question,⁶ but most others, like Víctor Infantes, David Gies and Mario Di Pinto view this attribution as quite plausible.⁷ Palacios Fernández sees little reason to doubt the attribution: "Gran aficionado al sexo fue el dramaturgo Leandro Fernández de Moratín, soltero admirado por las jóvenes [...] De su taller poético salieron abundantes poemas eróticos y pornográficos, en parte recogidos en el libro *Fábulas futrosóficas*" (56). The question of whether Moratín actually penned the *Fábulas* is not the focus of this essay, nor does it ultimately hold much significance. As any reader will quickly discover, these fables were clearly written by an author of great erudition, one who commanded an impressive knowledge of classical and neoclassical authors and tropes, and for this and the other aforementioned reasons, Moratín fits the bill better than most. Thus, for the purpose of this study, I will be referring to him as the author of the *Fábulas*.

While there has been a resurgence of studies on Spanish erotic literature in the last thirty years, the *Fábulas futrosóficas* have received an extremely limited amount of attention from scholars, and are usually noted only in passing, or as a literary curio. Whereas the *Jardín de Venus* has been the subject of multiple critical editions,⁸ the *Fábulas* have seen only one

⁶ See "Fábulas futrosóficas." *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Erotic Literature*. Vol. I, Routledge, 2006, pp. 448-450.

⁷ See Gies ("El XVIII porno"), Infantes ("El saber clandestino") and Di Pinto ("L'obsceno borghese").

⁸ The most recent critical edition is by Emilio Palacios Fernández (2004).

modern printing, published in 1984 by El Crotalón. Aside from an essay by Victor Infantes on the possible authorship of this work, a brief encyclopedia entry by Philip Deacon,⁹ and a page-and-a-half overview in José Ignacio Díez and Adrienne L. Martin's *Venus venerada: Tradiciones eróticas de la ilustración española* (2009), there is no serious study focused solely of the content of Moratín's erotic work. This study aims to fill that void. The fables in *Fábulas futrosóficas* are certainly risqué, though no more outrageous than those in *El jardín de Venus*, yet I maintain that they are an important text that is fully inscribed in the tradition of neo-classical literature. It is the quintessential embodiment of Horace's ideal of *utile dulci*, both in terms of its format (fables) as well as its content (social and literary satire). In other words, it is a neoclassical text in both form and function.

The difference, of course, is the subject matter. Di Pinto, in his oft-cited study of erotic literature, eloquently summarizes the essence of erotic discourse: "si tratta cioè di un cosciente esercizio di codificazione dell'ineffabile" (178). This is the task undertaken by Moratín in the *Fábulas futrosóficas*, to codify the ineffable, to find ways to express that which cannot be stated. He wrote in an erotic register both for pleasure (these are, after all, humorous and ludic compositions) but also out of necessity, since many of the ideas represent transgressions of social mores and of literary convention. While in our current age the notion of high versus low art has been relentlessly assailed and denigrated by postmodernism and other movements, it is important to remember that this was not the case in Moratín's era. Not only did he and his peers live in a culture in which there was a clear demarcation between "high" and "low" discourse,¹⁰ but he also actively chose to utilize the lower register when he penned the *Fábulas futrosóficas*. This conscious decision is at the heart of the codification of the ineffable, since it essentially imposed a set of restrictions on his work. It limited the reach of his *Fábulas*, since Moratín undoubtedly knew that they could not ever be published (at least not in Spain), and made their readership uncertain.

Yet at the same time, choosing to write in this erotic register afforded him a significant number of freedoms. The (relative) anonymity might embolden him, and his fables could explore topics deemed too risky, impolite, obscene or downright blasphemous, and could do so using language that would likewise have been censored. Because of this, his *Fábulas* had a chance to reach a reading public that might not otherwise have sought a more sober, serious volume. The informal manuscript format allowed poetry to be easily memorized, copied and even sung, as is noted above. Moreover, it is entirely possible that a number of these fables saw the light of day as counterfeit *pliegos sueltos*, or that the entire Bordeaux edition was pi-

⁹ See Works Cited.

¹⁰ Let us remember the long-standing debate on the topic of "buen gusto," which seems quaint and almost impossible in our modern, post-truth world.

rated by booksellers. Popular literature was a booming segment of the literary marketplace, often taking the form of loose-leaf *literatura de cordel*, as well as counterfeit editions or even clandestine works (those that had not received a printing license from the state).¹¹ Finally, let us not forget that Moratín lived and participated in a salon and tertulia culture, which ensured that this work (like other salacious compositions by his contemporaries) could be read and would circulate among many of the literary elites of his time.

For a clandestine work to survive to the modern day, there were two necessary conditions. First, there needed to be enough editions, printings, or copies of a work to ensure that it had a chance to survive the inevitable passage of time, not to mention war, fire and other events. Second, the work needed to fall into the right hands, into the hands of readers who would see the relevance and importance of the book, and were willing to risk facing the Inquisition for simply owning the volume. As Infantes sees it, “en este ambiente de difusión clandestina de manuscritos e impresiones piratas se mueven los desvelos literarios y biográficos de Leandro Fernández de Moratín” (151).

If Moratín is indeed codifying the ineffable in his *Fábulas futrosóficas*, a critical question arises: what precisely is he codifying? The aim of this essay, therefore, is to explore the subject and nature of this codification process. The *Fábulas futrosóficas* offer a wide-range of topics, locales and characters, so much so that Deacon believes they “form a curious grouping,” generally lacking the cohesion or focus of Samaniego’s *Jardín de Venus* (“Fábulas” 449-450). The forty fables that make up the *Fábulas* are framed by a prologue, a sonnet, a delirious ode titled “Oda a Priapo”,¹² and an unusual index that briefly sums up the moral of each fable. As we shall see, the index functions as part of a framing device announced in the prologue, and also as paratextual source of satire. Far from being a haphazard arrangement of uneven compositions, I argue that Moratín’s text follows a clever structure centered on the relationship between author and reader, and also between word and meaning. Through a framing device that we shall examine shortly, the author is able to link form and function. The compositions themselves repeatedly focus on two core concepts: the appeal-to-nature argument, and a denouncement of hypocrisy. Some fables might fall squarely in one camp, while others will incorporate elements of different concepts. In addition to examining these core themes, I hope to show how Moratín articulates these ideas as a cohesive whole.

The path to reading and understanding the *Fábulas futrosóficas* is cleverly laid out in the prologue, which immediately makes clear not only the purpose of the book, but the vast

¹¹ For more see J.F. Botrel, *Libros, prensa y lectura*. Fundación Germán Sánchez Ruipérez, 1993.

¹² The sonnet and “Oda a Priapo” were added in the 1824 edition.

erudition of its unnamed author. Its essential function is twofold: it engages in a dialogue with the reader, and also introduces the framing device around which the text is constructed. Although quite short (barely two pages in length), the prologue is a rhetorical powerhouse, packing in a wide range of devices. First is the “found manuscript” topos, which Moratín invokes in a fashion reminiscent of *Don Quijote*, establishing rhetorical distance and separation between author, editor, text and reader. It is worth noting that while the individual writing the prologue is purportedly not the actual author of the fables, the prologue is still titled “Prólogo del autor”, creating authorial dissonance from the outset. “Habiendo llegado a mis manos estas fábulas”, begins the prologue, and the editor then proceeds to tell the reader how the true author of these fables was “[f]orzado el poeta por uno de aquellos compromisos irresistibles, a escribir en este género” (1). Beyond piquing our interest as readers as to exactly *why* the poet had to write in this genre, Moratín implicitly underscores the existence and function of the various literary registers available to eighteenth-century authors. The editor then immediately invokes Horace’s *utile dulci* to stress the didactic nature and merit of the work; never intending for the *Fábulas* to be simply “entretenimiento frívolo”, he took care to ensure that “la moral o filosofía que se dedujese de la fábula, no fuese contraria ni a la Religión, ni al Estado, como se puede ver en el índice” (1).¹³ With this simple statement, Moratín reveals the framing device around the fables, announcing the index that contains a short moral for each tale and closes the volume. Perhaps more importantly, if we parse this statement a bit longer, we can see how it introduces a dual register within the work itself, perhaps even two possible readings and intended readers. Moratín never says that the fables themselves are in keeping with the respect owed to Church and Crown, only that the morals in the index clearly do not go against religion or the monarchy. This subtle yet important distinction becomes apparent when readers discover that the morals summarized in the index are sometimes at odds with the poems themselves, offering a slightly different reading or interpretation. It would be too facile an explanation to argue, as Deacon does, that this suggests that the morals in the index “might have been added by another hand, possibly the anonymous editor’s” (“Fábulas” 449). The “found manuscript” trope excels at inserting textual and authorial uncertainty, which is precisely its function. Much like *Don Quijote* (1605) and Cadalso’s *Cartas marruecas* (1772), or even Camilo José Cela’s *La familia de Pascual Duarte* (1946), there is no “other author,” only textual sleight of hand meant to confuse, entertain, or call into question the nature of reality or truth.

The explanation lies in the dual register mentioned earlier: the morals in the index feel different *precisely* because their role is to offer a satirical example of the sanitized, state-sanc-

¹³ The index in the 1821 edition immediately followed the prologue, but by the 1824 edition, it had been moved to the end, where it remains in the 1984 edition. I will be referring to this latter edition on the grounds that it is a more definitive, complete edition, and more likely to reflect Moratín’s original intent.

tioned rhetoric demanded by censors. As a result, Moratín offers readers of the index a concise, vaguely generic moral for each fable, and in so doing draws attention to the difference between the irreverent, comic text and this stripped-down, sanitized version. As we have noted, the moral sometimes does not appear to match the fable itself, but this is due to the fact that Moratín uses these to offer snarky, often erudite meta-commentary. For example, Fable XXXVI, “Los casados,” is an anticlerical satire of the sexual life of the clergy based on the popular refrain, “tanta gente de bonete, ¿dónde mete? Porque dejar de meter no puede ser”. The refrain calls attention to the dissonance between the clergy’s vow of chastity and the very natural sexual impulses that all humans feel. It is also a clear critical commentary on sexual activity and even abuses by priests that have been well-documented, and Moratín’s fable contrasts this unnatural order of things by structuring it as a carefree dialogue between two married men. The summary in the index is, at first glance, only loosely related to the fable: “Cuanto más célebre es una sociedad, tanto más espuestos están los matrimonios: asi como hay más robos cuanto mayor es el número de los ladrones, dice Montesquieu” (60; vol. II).¹⁴ A learned reader, however, will see that this summary is clearly paraphrasing chapter XXIII of Montesquieu’s *Esprit des lois*, which states: “C’est une règle tirée de la nature que, plus on diminue le nombre des mariages qui pourraient se faire, plus on corrompt ceux qui sont faits; moins il y a de gens mariés, moins il y a de fidélité dans les mariages; comme lorsqu’il y a plus de voleurs, il y a plus de vols”. (“It is a rule drawn from nature, that the more the number of marriages is diminished, the more corrupt are those who have entered into that state; the fewer married men, the less fidelity is there in marriage; as when there are more thieves, more thefts are committed”. 282). As we can see, this moral in fact builds upon the jocular, vulgar message of the fable itself, but does so in a vastly more erudite fashion, and is clearly aimed at another type of reader. Instead of bluntly restating the fact that abstention from sex is unnatural, Moratín decides to focus on the social component of this dilemma, emphasizing the harm that comes to a society when the natural order of things is not obeyed.

The final rhetorical component that Moratín weaves into his prologue is a sophisticated reflection on the relationship between signifier and signified, possibly inspired by the works of Socrates and William of Ockham, but also clearly anticipating Ferdinand de Saussure’s semiotics. The result is somewhat jarring, for Moratín chooses to dive into a complex linguistic and philosophical concept almost as an exasperated coda to his foreword. Given that the author fully knows that some readers will balk at this volume, the prologue is a classic example of rhetorical prevention, designed to anticipate and defuse readerly concerns.

¹⁴ The 1984 edition of the *Fábulas futosóficas* that I am citing splits the fables into two parts, without continuous pagination. In the interest of clarity, citations will indicate which *tomo* they are taken from, using either I or II before the page number.

Claiming that he is unable to understand why some readers get offended by *reading* a word that they *hear* daily, he writes: “Mas al fin, lector, si eres de los que dan más valor a los signos que al signado; si te asusta una palabra escrita, [...] puedes leer el índice sin un grande escrúpulo de conciencia” (2; vol. I). While the prologue is quite short and ends in such an abrupt fashion, the nature of words-qua-signs is in fact the topic of the very first fable, “El poeta, Venus, el carajo y el chocho”, which was clearly intended to be read immediately after the prologue. With such a blunt title, the fable is obviously meant to provoke, but it is also a serious rumination on the nature of words, especially those deemed vulgar. Structured as a dialogue, the fable depicts the poet lamenting how Venus is being slighted by society’s prudish hypocrisy. It is at this point that Moratín introduces another rhetorical device, the use of footnotes. Reminiscent of the works of Jorge Luis Borges, these footnotes serve a variety of functions: to simply inform or clarify (as in fable XXX), to offer meta-commentary on the quality of the writing (Fable XXXII) or simply to serve up sarcastic comments. In this instance, the footnote to fable I lets the reader know that while the dictionary contains such words as “Testículo, Puta, Priapismo, Empreñas, etc, parece que el Carajo y el Chocho tienen cierto derecho a quejarse de los señores académicos” (3; vol. I). The footnote serves not only as a source of humor, but also to call into question the supposed divide between high and low, between acceptable and vulgar.

Driving this point home is the poet’s rejoinder to Venus, telling her that the solution lies in “privar a estos hombres insensatos / de lo que hasta nombrar tienen a menos; / quieren joder, que jodan con los cuernos” (4; vol. I). Venus’s answer builds upon the concept of sign and concept briefly mentioned in the prologue, and she tells the poet that “La voz no es más que un signo, y será Buena / si se conforma bien con el objeto” (4; vol. I). The poem concludes as Venus renders her judgement, forbidding in perpetuity the use of those body parts that cannot be named by “los necios / que se desdénan de tomar en plumas / lo que en la boca toman y en los dedos” (5; vol. I). This poem is a revealing choice to open a collection as salaciously titled as *Fábulas futrosóficas*, since it is neither pornographic nor particularly erotic. In fact, aside from the colloquial terms *carajo* and *chocho*, it contains no obscenity, and this fable is very much in line with the published works of Iriarte and Samaniego. Readers are again left to ponder why Moratín would choose a literary genre that almost assuredly guaranteed a very limited readership. Would it not have been more effective (and *útil* in the neoclassical sense) to choose a less vulgar backdrop for what is essentially a fable on the nature of words, meaning and literary hypocrisy, and to see that fable published? I believe that the answer is twofold. First, it is precisely because the words are both socially unacceptable and also, ironically perhaps, used virtually by everyone. Venus’s rule, that transgressors will not be able to use the body part that they cannot name, simply adds a comic and satirical element to make memorable the moral of the poem, which is neatly summarized in the index: “No siendo las palabras otra cosa que signos representativos de las ideas, parece que la palabra

por sí debe ser indiferente, y mas cuando a fuerza de oirla en toda clase de personas, ya no se hace caso” (51; vol. II). Words are signs, used by all, and usage drives meaning; Moratín’s prologue and first fable are not a lewd call to descent into sybaritic decadence, but rather a friendly reminder that we are all citizens of the same linguistic society, and that hypocrisy can lead to false morality and very real censorship.

Having introduced his readers to the rhetorical framework of the *Fábulas futosóficas* (found manuscript trope, the use of the index and the footnotes) as well as having given them a bit of reading advice as they engage the fables that follow (words are merely signs), Moratín offers his reading public a variety of fables, some crude and comic, others far more sober and philosophical. As has been mentioned above, the first core concept that I would like to highlight in his *Fábulas* is one that makes an appearance in well over half of the fables in some fashion: the appeal to nature. The appeal to nature is generally understood to be a rhetorical argument asserting that because something is natural, it is necessarily good. While this premise certainly does not hold true all the time (when it becomes the “natural fallacy”), it is powerful enough to be in use to this day, as a quick glance at all the foods labeled “natural” on our supermarket shelves will confirm.

What is of particular interest to me here is how Moratín applies this philosophical argument, and to what end. As a first example, let us look at fable XI, “El gorrión”, which describes a sparrow mating with a virgin female, and asking her, incredulous, “¿Quién te ha enseñado, dí, esos movimientos / tan dulces y tan suaves?” (38; vol. I). Her reply takes the form of an analogy, and she answers by telling him that it is the same master who taught him to pick up sticks so agilely with his beak. A clear moral concludes the tale: “La naturaleza sabiamente / no sólo imprime leyes, sino modos de ser obedecida dulcemente” (39; vol. I). As occurs in many of the book’s fables, God and Christianity are not only absent, but they are replaced by Nature and its infallible laws. The moral also adds a key component that is repeated throughout the volume: that sex is pleasure, and that pleasure is natural and good. The rise of pleasure and the realm of the senses has been studied by many critics, but perhaps David Gies has stated it best: “la estética de gran parte de la poesía del siglo XVIII se basa en la epistemología sensualista,” and that that an eighteenth-century poet was “no sólo observador del ‘buen gusto’ de la época sino también participante en aquella buena vida” (“Sensibilidad” 26).

Moratín’s fables drive this point home time and again; fable VI, “Las liebres,” tells the tale of an argument over promiscuity between two hares. The first hare accuses the second of being a “grandísima puta, / sin vergüenza ni punto”, capable of fornicating with two hundred partners a day, indiscriminate of age, class, or status (23; vol. I). Not only does Moratín defend this hare’s promiscuity, but he also ends the fable with a brief speech on the social utility of prostitutes:

Aquel placer supremo,
alma de todo el mundo,
Toda su recompensa debe ser sólo el gusto:
Las putas lo hacen medio.” (25; vol. I)

It is because prostitutes follow the natural human tendency to pleasure, and are not like those who

... trastornan
los sabios institutos
De la naturaleza,
Movidos por impulsos
de viles intereses.” (25; vol. I)

Pleasure here is understood to be a common good, and those sex workers who make it possible are a functioning part of a healthy society, unlike those who use sex for their own schemes. Similarly, sexual pleasure is viewed as *natural* component of human existence, the “alma de todo el mundo” (25; vol. I), and therefore one that should be encouraged and celebrated. In the index that contains the clean, condensed version, Moratín refers to it as “Egoísmo bueno [...] que se conforma con las leyes o el interés común” (52; vol. II); in this instance, it appears, the promiscuous hare’s selfishness is in keeping with the common good.

The role and place of pleasure and sexuality within a functioning society is very much on Moratín’s mind, and with his two-part fable, titled respectively “Los burros en consejo” and “Segunda sesión de los burros”, he explores satirically the role of legislators on the private sphere, and the legislation of morality or sexuality. There is little confusion as to the author’s opinion of the legislators, who are depicted as donkeys. In a mocking parody of parliamentary proceedings, “Los burros en consejo” argue as to what kind of law they should pass. Quickly shooting down a sensible plan for ensuring quality pastureland (perhaps in a nod to Jovellanos and his *Informe sobre la ley agraria*), they instead decide to formulate legislation that delineates “Cómo y cuándo / se han de tomar las burras” (44; vol. I). An old, celibate donkey offers up a solution: “publiquemos un decreto, / (y con esto está todo remediado) / que ciertos rucios se ayunten a las rucias, los negros a las negras” (45; vol. I). All donkeys will be paired up according to breed, and any extra females shall meet a grisly fate: “Y a las demás coserselo a dos cabos” (45; vol. I). The decree, being against the law of nature itself, is of course a total catastrophe, and the first to break it are the very legislators:

Todos, sin dejar uno, se lo meten
a las primeras burras que encontrarán;

siendo ellos los primeros infractores
de la ley que iba todo a remediarlo. (46; vol. I)

This fable hinges on two core ideas: hypocrisy and a transgression against the laws of nature. It can be argued that the law was destined to fail, and that the legislators would be its hypocritical violators, because it was set against the central values of Moratín's work: nature, reason, and the common good. He underscores this fact by having the burros reject a sensible plan to improve pastureland, in favor of the pseudo-moralistic decree that is issued. In the second part of the fable, "Segunda sesión de los burros", the lawmakers find themselves having to defend their ruling amid public outcry. Their solution to the sexual frustration caused by their earlier legislation is masturbation: "Que se hagan la puñeta, como yo hago, / y se ahorrarán de mil impertinencias" (79; vol. II). This ruling is again met by a furious outcry from the female donkeys, who correctly point out that this law impacts not only the male donkeys, but the other sex as well, who will be deprived, *de facto*, of pleasure:

Pero nosotras pobres, ¿qué anuencia,
o qué bienes en torno reportamos,
para escluirmos del placer y Gloria
de aumentar la riqueza del estado?
Tenga pues libertad todo virote. (79; vol. II)

The female donkeys' petition is met by outrage, with the public prosecutor brazenly calling them "una cuadrilla de gran putas" (80; vol. II), and more revealingly, ordering that they all be arrested and locked up. This moral of the fable is one of the more clearly stated in this collection, and notes how easy it is for lazy magistrates to pass laws "sin reparar que choquen sus decretos / con la naturaleza y el estado" (80; vol. II). The juxtaposition of nature and society here is again center stage; good legislation should follow the laws of both society and nature, and as was illustrated, sexuality is clearly a natural part of life. Superficial decrees and prohibitions not only are ineffectual; they also run the risk of harming the progress of the country. This two-part fable highlights the challenges that lawmakers and governments faced as the public and private spheres interact in a world where the traditional roots of power, morality and order, church and crown, are eroding.

Moratín's use of the appeal-to-nature rhetoric is not limited to matters of sex or pleasure. He also uses it as a technique to question social norms and cultural beliefs, as we can observe in "El capador y el cerdo" and "El dios Priapo y los caballos". In the first fable, completely devoid of humor or sexuality, he paints the brutal tale of a young pig about to be castrated, who eloquently asks the *capador* why it has to be this way. His argument is structured entirely

around the appeal to nature, and he opens by asking: “¿La naturaleza cria / cosa inútil por ventura / con tanta sabiduría?” (6; vol. II), before listing the distinct uses for all of his body parts. The eyes are to see with, the legs to walk, and so what a great miracle it is that with his testicles he can “cual Júpiter tonante / de un sólo golpe criar / otro animal semejante?” (6; vol. II). His protests are no use, and the *capador* lets him know that “esta es la ley de tu señor.” While a modern reader might interpret this as a fable principally decrying animal cruelty, Moratín’s message comes into view in the last stanza: and again in the summarized morals of the index.

Cuando veo algún cantor
y a otros inhabilitados,
me acuerdo del capador,
y maldigo a los malvados
autores de ese rigor. (7; vol. II)

He then underlines it in the summarized morals of the index: “Execrable práctica que hay en algunos países de castrar a los niños” (58; vol. II). This fable might seem incongruous for the collection; there is after all no sex, pleasure, nor obscenity. It is a sober condemnation of the practice of castrating boys in order to preserve their singing voice, turning them into *castrati*. This fable illustrates the hodgepodge of topics and themes represented by the *Fábulas futrosóficas*; unlike Samaniego’s reliably sexual *El jardín de Venus*, Moratín’s text is more of an anthology of heterodox thoughts.

The second fable, “El dios Priapo y los caballos”, is similar in that it attempts to denounce a particular practice, in this case, the cultural belief that erectile dysfunction was caused by witchcraft or curses. The two horses in the fable call to the god Priapus to answer their question:

¿Quién la indigna será vil hechicera
que con sus malas artes
a situación tan triste y lastimera
reduce nuestras partes? (1a; vol. II)

The divinity’s response cuts right to the point, telling them that it is always easier to place blame on “motivos estraños, / cuando su origen es naturaleza” (1a; vol. II). In addition to essentially stating the moral halfway through the fable, the author also inserts a footnote stating that ascribing impotence to witchcraft was so common that it made its way into canon law (which is historically accurate). This spirit of this fable is very much rooted in the dispelling of common myths and the pseudoscience that characterized the eighteenth century, and echoes the tireless writings of Benito Jerónimo Feijoo and his *Teatro crítico*

universal. The manner in which Moratín uses the naturalistic argument is also in keeping with the spirit of the time, borne out of empiricism and skepticism and an emancipation from stodgy scholasticism and pseudoscientific folklore. Returning time and again to the appeal-to-nature argument, Moratín's fables drive home a number of clear lessons. The first is simply that sexuality is natural, pleasure is healthy, and neither should be abrogated or restricted by morality or legislation. Second, Moratín's fables cast the laws of nature as inherently superior to those made or invented by men, as can be seen in the ridiculous legislation passed by the donkey of "Los burros en consejo" or "Las liebres".

The second rhetorical axis around which the *Fábulas futosóficas* operate is often tangentially related to the appeal to nature, and focuses on the hypocrisy and abuses by those in positions of power. Some critics have simply categorized much of the *Fábulas futosóficas* as examples of the anticlericalism commonly found in erotic compositions.¹⁵ I believe that Moratín's satire is both more subtle and more inclusive. While there certainly are fables that focus on the less-than-saintly behavior of the clergy, they are part of a larger discourse, one aimed at the rampant hypocrisy of authority, be it ecclesiastical, governmental, or simply cultural. The *Fábulas futosóficas* repeatedly denounce abuses by those in a position of power, as well as the two-faced rhetoric that tends to accompany them. Similarly, Moratín takes aim at misguided cultural practices and beliefs and the concomitant hypocrisy that surround them, as seen in fables like the aforementioned "El capador y el cerdo".

Another of the aforementioned fables, "Los burros en consejo", takes aim not only at the ineffectual and misguided legislation of sexuality, but also at the hypocrisy of the lawmakers themselves, who were the first to break their own law: "Siendo ellos los primeros infractores / de la ley que iba todo a remediarlo" (46, vol. I). At the heart of Moratín's critique is the intersection of public and private spheres, and time and again the hypocrisy and abuses of power that he denounces arise from the difficult conjugation of these two realms. Government's role in the eighteenth century became circumscribed by the notion and ideal of enlightened absolutism, whereby rulers and lawmakers were expected to work toward the benefit of the people and the nation. The donkeys in Moratín's fable clearly serve as a satirical representation of those who would abuse their power, and rule only for themselves, or worse, not at all. In "La tigre y su hijo", Moratín describes a republic obsessed with honor and social class, replete with so many laws and norms that even reproduction is not acceptable. A mother tigress, obsessed with her family's honor, tells her son that "tú vas a ser mi dicha y mi consuegro, / vas a dar ornamento a tu prosapia, / serás el *non plus ultra* de tu estirpe" (35; vol. I). The

¹⁵ For more on anticlericalism, see Matthieu Raillard, "El jardín de Venus: Samaniego's Arcadia of the Senses." *Dieciocho*, vol. 28, no. 2, 2005, 7-22.

son offers a rational rebuttal, stating that true honor lies in procreation and propagation of a family line. And besides, he asks, “¿Mas que he de hacer con esta patarata, / que sin poder yo, madre, remediarlo, / y aun sin quererlo yo, se me levanta?” (35; vol. I). The mother’s reply is clearly meant to be read as a satirical condemnation of the extremes to which some go in the name of honor: “Mil chochos hay que le darán entrada / ... / y métemelo a mí si te da gana” (36; vol. I). The moral of the fable makes clear the object of the satire:

¡Cuántas madres indignas hay como esta,
que más tigres que tigres de la Hircania
violentan a sus hijos de mil modos
que el pudor, la razón y amor profanan! (36; vol. I)

The obsession with honor and her society’s hypocritical cultural norms leads the mother tigress to an incestuous transgression of nature’s laws, and according to the moral in the index, is representative of the “violencia que suelen hacer los padres a sus hijos en la elección de estado” (53; vol. II). The obsession with the power and prestige associated with one’s social standing —honor— are so important that ironically an incestuous sexual relation is not out of the question. This can be read as a commentary on the monarchy’s efforts to maintain lineage through royal intermarriage, a practice that had probably resulted in inbreeding, most notably in the case of Carlos II, *el hechizado*.

As was often the case in these erotic compositions, the clergy was another common object of satire and criticism. At the heart of most strains of anticlericalism was the belief that priests and monks were hypocrites who did not practice what they (literally) preached, but also that they abused their relatively privileged position in society. As such, Samaniego’s *El jardín de Venus* is populated by sexually frustrated men and women of the cloth, who lie, manipulate and cheat in order to seek sexual gratification. Moratín offers readers a similar take on the clergy in his fable “El perro gordo y el perro flaco”. The first dog serves a lion, who “renunció la corona / en más inmediato, el cual hizo ministro a su antiguo criado” (17; vol. I). The Lion is represented as a clear embodiment of the “hombre de bien” ideal: he devotes himself tirelessly to others, helping “miles de importunos” (18; vol. I), his time wisely divided among his many responsibilities, yet still finding time for play and love. The second dog serves a priest, who spends his days kneeling in prayer, or “murmullando palabras que decía / como los papagayos” (19; vol. I). He renounces sex and feeds his dog half a bone. The fable concludes with an apostrophe: “Decid, ¡hombres devotos! / ¿Cuál de los dos es santo?” (20; vol. I). With power comes responsibility, and while the Lion embraces helping others and goes so far as to renounce his throne in order to do so, the clergyman is locked in solipsistic activities that are of no benefit to society. Moreover, his repudiation of sex further marks him as outside the natural order of things, a man whose saintly appearance in fact masks a selfish existence.

“El abad, el mon[g]le Alberto, y la paya” is another fable mocking the hypocritical sanctity of the clergy. As in other fables, Moratín makes clear from the onset that the conditions in which the monks choose to live are against nature:

Y todo todo a los placeres muerto.
De este modo estas ánimas benditas,
aisladas del común de los mortales,
los gozos aguardaban eternos” (24; vol. II)

The fable tells the relatively predictable tale of a young monk who brings a young woman to the monastery and has sex with her. The abbot, intending to discipline the young man, instead sleeps with the young woman as well. The tale concludes with the abbot admonishing the young Alberto for his conduct, and instructing him to never bring her back to the monastery. But, he adds, if she does come back, he wants to be informed: “le mando que me avise, si es que viene” (28; vol. II). This fable thus makes use of both of the major rhetorical tacks: the author satirizes the unnatural practice of removing one’s self from society and denying all pleasures, but also lambasts the hypocrisy of the clergy (in this case personified by the lecherous abbot), which can be read as a natural consequence of such an isolated existence. The abbot’s name, revealed in the last verse, is “abad fray Sancho el Craso”, would also seem to play on the common trope of well-fed clergymen, further highlighting the hypocrisy of the church.

The aforementioned “El capador y el cerdo”, where a pig mounts a logical argument against his impending castration, “¿De que sirve un animal / sin facultad de hacer otro?” (7; vol. II), is another example of the harm that can be perpetrated by those in positions of power. The pointless mutilation is presented as an affront to nature’s creation, but also as a representation of unchecked authority. The capador’s defense, “Por más que a mí me lastime, / esta es la ley de tu señor”, indicates that he is but an instrument obeying a cruel master (6; vol. II). It is in the closing stanza that Moratín makes clear that this fable is a condemnation of the practice of castrating young singers to preserve their voices (the term “capón” was often used to refer to castrati). There is a clear undercurrent of anticlericalism in this fable as well; castrati were highly sought after by the church, not only because of their vocal range, but because women had been banned from church choirs in the sixteenth century, in accordance with Corinthians 1: 34: *mulieres en ecclesiis tacean* (let women be silent in the church).

In addition to his sustained satire of clerical hypocrisy, Moratín tackles the decidedly eighteenth-century topic of pseudoscience in “Los monos médicos”. The fable tells the tale of monkeys so ignorant that even their physiology (in this case, male genitalia) is a deep mystery to them. A pedantic doctor, mockingly referred to as “Simio Galeno”, pontificates on the topic of the male anatomy of a monkey, who reveals that she is in fact female: “a todos hizo

ver que era muy madre” (62; vol. I). This fable is one of the few in which the author concludes with a clear, explicit moral (another example is the “Capador y el cerdo”), as if he were worried that his readers would not understand its significance. In this instance, he writes: “¿Quién no advierte y lamenta en este caso, / en las útiles ciencias nuestro atraso?” (63; vol. I). The summarized moral in the index essentially restates the same point, “La ignorancia en las ciencias naturales suele traer consecuencias perjudiciales a la moral” (56; vol. II). As with his indictment of clerical power and hypocrisy, Moratín laments the inaction, or worse, the ignorance of those in positions of authority. He was a true enlightenment thinker, who placed progress, utility and social good as essential goals for a modern society. Readers of his plays *La comedia nueva* (1792) or *El sí de las niñas* (1806) will recall the characters of Pedro and Don Diego, both prototypical enlightenment “hombre de bien” figures, who teach, admonish and sacrifice for the common good. Not unlike Don Hermógenes in *La comedia nueva*, whose broken watch symbolizes Spain’s lack of progress, the primitive monkey society shows misplaced faith and trust in a pedantic blowhard, the abovementioned, ironically-named “Simio Galeno”. As in Moratín’s plays, or even Cadalso’s *Eruditos a la violeta* (1772), false erudition is presented as an exploitation and prostitution of power, one with very serious social consequences. Spain’s lack of progress relative to other European nations was a very real issue, and finds a humorous and snarky home in the *Fábulas futrosóficas*.

Nineteenth-century readers brave enough to read (or own) the *Fábulas futrosóficas* might have been disappointed if in fact they were expecting a tawdry, pornographic text. Instead, they would have discovered a work that attempted to marry eighteenth-century ideals with an irreverent, at times ribald narrative style. The result is a motley selection of fables that continue to push the same enlightened agenda found in Moratín, Cadalso, Feijoo and many others —debunking myths, chastising pseudoerudition, calling out hypocrisy and abuses of authority— albeit in a more jocular, vulgar register. Unfairly relegated to the realm of literary marginalia, the *Fábulas futrosóficas* should be read instead as a ludic exploration of style on the part of Moratín, one in which human sexuality is portrayed as a natural, even rational, component of life. In so doing, Moratín follows Spinoza’s notion that “for whatsoever is contrary to nature is also contrary to reason, and whatsoever is contrary to reason is absurd, and, ipso facto, to be rejected” (88). As a result, sex is stripped of its purported obscenity, and reframed as another sociopolitical arena in which humans engage with each other. Two hundred years after its publication, to continue to label the *Fábulas futrosóficas* as pornographic or devoid of merit is, ironically, to blindly follow the interpretation of eighteenth-century censors.

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EL DISCURSO LÍQUIDO EN *DON JUAN TENORIO*

RESUMEN

A partir de la teoría del afecto, este artículo argumenta que Zorrilla crea en su *Don Juan Tenorio* un «discurso líquido» que cohesiona el significado de la obra y que a su vez sirve para iluminar el poderoso efecto de sus momentos más canónicos. Los fluidos corporales en *Don Juan Tenorio* son reflejos de la fluidez lingüística en la obra, pero también son trazas líquidas en el texto de la sensualidad sublimada en el discurso que se transforman en manos de Zorrilla en un puente sensorial de comunicación con lo divino. Además, el artículo defiende con ejemplos de recepción literaria que en el texto se produce una «transubstanciación emocional» que facilita la transmisión de las emociones entre lectores de distintas épocas.

PALABRAS CLAVE: José Zorrilla—*Don Juan Tenorio*—amor romántico—imágenes de fuego—imágenes de agua—Leopoldo Alas (“Clarín”)—*La Regenta*—lectura—“discurso líquido”

ABSTRACT

Using theories of affection/emotion, the present study argues that Zorrilla creates in *Don Juan Tenorio* a “liquid discourse” that unifies the play’s meaning and at the same time illuminates the powerful impact of its most canonical moments. Bodily fluids in *Don Juan Tenorio* reflect the play’s linguistic fluidity but they are also traces of sublimated sensuality in Zorrilla’s discourse that become in his hands a sensorial link to the divine. Furthermore, this study underlines, with examples of literary reception, that in the play’s text we find an

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“emotional transubstantiation” that facilitates the transmission of emotions between readers of different historical periods.

KEYWORDS: José Zorrilla—*Don Juan Tenorio*—romantic love—fire imagery—water imagery—Leopoldo Alas (“Clarín”)—*La Regenta*—reading—“liquid discourse”

I. “...Y HOY ME QUEMA EL CORAZÓN”: EL DISCURSO DE FUEGO EN EL *TENORIO*

En su «Introducción» a la edición de Castalia de *Don Juan Tenorio*, David Gies, autor de varios de los textos más influyentes sobre el teatro español en el siglo XIX, dedica una sección titulada «Zorrilla, pirómano» a estudiar la presencia y la evolución de las imágenes de fuego en la obra canónica de Zorrilla. Gies argumenta que «Zorrilla transforma el fuego infernal de Tirso [...] en un fuego purificador que apaga el fuego condenatorio de sus antecedentes literarios» (30). El recientemente emérito Profesor de la Universidad de Virginia prueba la profunda imbricación de estos motivos en el significado más amplio de la obra, en su «ideología del deseo». A partir de esta comparación basada en los motivos del fuego surge la tesis central del estudio de Gies sobre el *Tenorio*, que percibe la obra como una bisagra cultural y estética, la última obra romántica y la primera obra que expresa una nueva sensibilidad burguesa. Según Gies,

El trazar el uso de una importante familia de imágenes puede revelarnos algo nuevo sobre la narrativa de una obra que, guste o no, permanece como un «producto cultural colectivo» en el mundo moderno español. Como se sabe, una imagen es la representación plástica de una idea, y es en el romanticismo donde aquella plasticidad cobra su fuerza más volcánica. (30-31)

Recordemos que la obra comienza con don Juan, pluma en la mano, escribiendo una misteriosa carta en medio de la bulliciosa escena de carnaval que ha hecho a varios investigadores entender la obra desde la perspectiva de la inversión carnavalesca.² En esa carta ya se encuentra latente la chispa que se encenderá justo a mitad del drama, cuando esta llegue a su destinataria, doña Inés, que la recibe de su criada Brígida y la lee en voz alta, quedando presa en una red de mentiras concebidas para seducirla como parte de una apuesta. La mecha prende con un papelito que es tan inflamable que doña Inés exclama al rozarlo: «¡Ay! Se me abrasa la mano / con que el papel he cogido» (1602-1603). La carta ha sido el foco de artículos enteros³ y su seducción por medio del puro uso de la palabra ha sido

² Ver el capítulo de *Literature and Liminality* que Gustavo Pérez Firmat dedica a este tema.

³ Ver, por ejemplo, Wilfredo de Ràfols “Writing to Seduce and Seducing to Write about It: Graphocentrism in *Don Juan Tenorio*”.

descrita como una violación fónica⁴ y como una variante del «enamoramiento de oídas» de la tradición del amor cortés.⁵ Zorrilla tiñe esta tradición tan sublimada y etérea de fuego y líquido, erotizándola, pero sin eliminar la distancia impuesta por el modelo «de oídas». Como afirma Gies, «La carta, extensión física de la mano de don Juan, contiene toda la calentura y fuego del amante seductor» (32). En diálogo con Gies, Fernández Cifuentes argumenta que «la originalidad de Zorrilla [...] consiste en presentar el acto de seducción engañosa en el momento mismo en que deja de serlo: la carta con que comienza el drama participa en una tradición que también cancela» (44), enamorando simultáneamente a doña Inés y al propio don Juan, que deviene el «seductor seducido» por la magia de sus propias palabras.

Notemos que la mecha se prende a través del fuego expresado a través de las palabras únicamente, pues en ningún momento ha habido contacto visual, ni mucho menos físico, entre los protagonistas, prometidos por sus familias desde la infancia, pero alejados, ya que Inés ha sido encerrada en un convento desde niña para proteger su honor. En una paradoja aún no notada por los críticos, el *Tenorio* es una obra donde apenas existe contacto físico entre los amantes (y su amor nunca se consuma). *Don Juan Tenorio* está diseñada de tal modo que, distanciando físicamente a los protagonistas, tiene el efecto paradójico de tocar todos los sentidos de sus lectores a través del lenguaje, haciendo que el contacto amoroso se transporte sublimado a través de la hapticidad de las palabras. Dice don Juan al escuchar a Brígida hablar de doña Inés (ofreciéndonos así un guion de recepción emocional del discurso):

Tan incentiva pintura
los sentidos me enajena,
y el alma ardiente me llena
de su insensata pasión.
Empezó por una apuesta,
siguió por un devaneo,
engendró luego un deseo
y hoy me quema el corazón.
[...]

⁴ Ver, por ejemplo, Gustavo Pérez Firmat, *Literature and Liminality: Festive Readings in the Hispanic Tradition*.

⁵ Domingo Ynduráin define así el enamoramiento de oídas:

El amor de oídas, en esta tradición, funciona como una exquisitez sentimental: la excelencia de la dama —y la sensibilidad del caballero— es tal que puede producir amor por sólo la fama; es un caso extremo y paradójico muy del gusto de la refinada poesía cortesana y, por otra parte, no deja de remitir al hado o a las estrellas como causa última e ineludible de una atracción amorosa que ejerce su poder incluso a distancia, sin que se haya contemplado nunca el objeto del deseo. (s.p.)

Ver también Fernández Cifuentes 38-59.

De amor con ella en mi pecho
brotó una chispa ligera,
que han convertido en hoguera
tiempo y afición tenaz;
y esta llama que en mí mismo
se alimenta inextinguible,
cada día más terrible
va creciendo y más voraz. (1668-1675)

Efectivamente, y tal como demuestra Gies, una de las metáforas más complejas en *Don Juan Tenorio* es el fuego y sus variantes. El fuego enlaza las dos esferas (mística y amorosa) del drama al aludir simultáneamente al fuego místico del amor divino, pero también al fuego de la pasión entre los amantes, y a la purificación del pecado por medio de las llamas del infierno y la posibilidad de obtener la redención divina por medio del amor terreno. El fuego también alude a los poderes diabólicos del Tenorio y asimila su figura a la de Satanás, pero también la distancia de su precedente literario, ya que don Juan no acaba quemándose en las llamas del infierno como el burlador de Tirso.

Es mi propósito en este ensayo demostrar, a partir del análisis de las imágenes de fuego de David Gies, que existe todo un discurso líquido que sirve como contrapartida al fuego que permea la obra y que aún no ha sido, que yo sepa, estudiado todavía por la crítica. Si es verdad que «un texto romántico encierra su propio comentario (y) dramatiza su propio problema» (Fernández Cifuentes 58), argumentaré que Zorrilla crea una red de significados cambiantes que asimilan a doña Inés al mar, al río y al rocío, y estas cadenas de significado liminal, excesivo, fluyen y crean lo que denominaré un «discurso líquido» que cohesiona el significado de la obra y a su vez sirve para iluminar sus momentos más canónicos, como por ejemplo la escena del sofá, en la que voy a centrar mi análisis, especialmente en la imagen de las lágrimas cuajadas en los ojos de Inés como reacción a las palabras de don Juan. Los fluidos corporales en este drama son reflejos de la fluidez lingüística en la obra que proviene del *logocentrismo* del *Tenorio* pero también son «recuerdos», trazas líquidas en el texto de la sensualidad sublimada en el discurso.⁶ Antes de proceder al análisis del discurso líquido en el *Tenorio*, voy a incluir una sección dedicada a presentar la teoría del afecto y la transmisión de las emociones en relación con el *Tenorio*, que servirá para extender el significado del análisis de las imágenes líquidas al de la cultura española, tal y como hizo Gies al convertir la obra en emblema de un cambio de mentalidad, última obra romántica y primera obra burguesa. La pasión de un texto como el *Tenorio* puede verse en su dimensión afectiva y

6 Ver Ràfols, Pérez Firmat, y Fernández Cifuentes.

hasta químico-neurológica⁷ al centrarnos en estudiar la transmisión líquida del afecto que culmina en la escena del sofá, que podría entenderse a través de la noción de «sensescape» (paisaje sensorial) que David Howes desarrolla en *Empire of the Senses*, en cuya introducción afirma que «any period of great cultural change will be a time of sensory confusion, for social revolutions are always sensory revolutions» (11). Si, como afirmó Gonzalo Torrente Ballester, «el *Tenorio* es la más discutida, quizá, de las obras teatrales modernas, la más alabada y denostada, pero la única popular» (citado por Fernánández Cifuentes, 23), su análisis puede ayudarnos a entender el lenguaje emocional de la literatura y su impacto en la sociedad que lo recibe.

2. TRANSUBSTANCIACIÓN EMOCIONAL Y RECEPCIÓN AFECTIVA

Don Juan Tenorio ha sido objeto de tantos análisis, reescrituras y adaptaciones que es difícil aportar nada nuevo más allá de lo ya dicho por tantos investigadores sobre el tema, pero el impacto del texto permanece en cada lectura y se activa en cada representación, resucitando una magia que va más allá de lo que las palabras pueden expresar, especialmente cuando nos dejamos hipnotizar por los versos de don Juan y notamos un sentido de unión con el mundo al sentir con nuestro cuerpo cómo se resbalan por el texto y por el lagrimal de Inés y quizá por los nuestros,

... esas dos líquidas perlas
que se desprenden tranquilas
de tus radiantes pupilas
convidándome a beberlas,
evaporarse a no verlas,
de sí mismas al calor.... (2204-2209)

Vemos aquí desde el comienzo el llamado «placer de llorar» que estudia Anne Vincent-Buffault en *The History of Tears* en la tradición francesa: «The subjective experience of tears presented pleasure as a blend of the body and the mind, both sensation and internal movement, it was the discovery of the self, the happiness of feeling one's existence» (39). Notarse lágrimas descendiendo por el rostro es sin duda un modo de sentir que uno existe, una autoafirmación del placer de sentir(se) en medio del dolor. La dulzura de sentir el sabor salado de las lágrimas era una delicia ya desde el siglo XVIII, y ha llegado a considerarse, especialmente a la luz de las *Confesiones* de Rousseau, un tipo de «masturbación emocional» (Vincent-Buffault 39). En *Engaging the Emotions in Spanish Culture and History*, Luisa Elena Delgado, Pura Fernández y Jo Labanyi afirman que «All periods have a repertoire of emotional codes that shape not only the expression of emotions but the emotions themselves. [...] The fact that emotions cannot

⁷ Y, además, endocrinológica, como hizo Gregorio Marañón (1924).

be separated from their expression means that they are performative: they fulfill a function, they communicate a message, they ask for a response (3).⁸ Y como señala Teresa Brennan en su pionero estudio *The Transmission of Affect*, que inició la eclosión del *affect theory* en el campo académico anglosajón, «the term *transmission of affect*» puede usarse para dar forma a un proceso que «is social in origin but biological and physical in effect. The origin of transmitted affects is social in that these affects do not only arise within a particular person but also come from without. They come via an interaction with other people and the environment. But they have a physiological impact» (16). Es decir, que cuando interactuamos con un ambiente poblado por personas reales o nos sumergimos en un texto de alto impacto emocional como el *Tenorio*, la reacción emocional de unos se transmite a otros, y estas reacciones también se producen a un nivel puramente físico: se originan en el texto y se «contaminan» y refuerzan con las emociones fisiológicas compartidas por el público. Aprendemos a sentir, como colectivo, leyendo ciertos textos, y que el *Tenorio* de Zorrilla sea sin duda la obra más leída, más representada y más parodiada del canon hispánico puede contemplarse estrictamente desde este punto de vista.⁹ Las emociones se contagian, se crean, se recrean, se transmiten. De texto a persona, de persona a persona, de texto a texto y de persona a texto.

Para demostrar este «contagio emocional» voy a usar como lectora modelo a Ana Ozores contemplando desde Vetusta hacia 1877 (*La regenta*, II) esta misma escena y voy a enmarcar las lágrimas de Inés, de Ana y de los espectadores a lo largo del tiempo como un tipo de guión emocional de comunicación con lo divino que denomino «transubstanciación emocional», dada la mezcla de discurso religioso y fantástico que se produce en el texto. Argumento por medio del análisis de las imágenes líquidas contrapuestas al fuego en el drama de Zorrilla que este nos ofrece un puente para *sentir* en el cuerpo mismo no sólo el amor entre los protagonistas o un sentido de cohesión social sino también el amor permanentemente elusivo de lo divino en un momento de crisis religiosa profunda, reforzando así la lectura de David Gies que interpreta a *Don Juan Tenorio* a partir de un análisis sensorial/afectivo como el último drama romántico que presenta sin embargo el primer héroe burgués, como ya se ha discutido más arriba. Zorrilla, mediante el emblema de la lágrima de Inés que se evapora al calor de su propia

⁸ El propósito de su volumen es «to contribute to the history and critical interpretation of the emotions in relation to modern Spain, considering their evolution and their social and cultural significance, ...to constitute the history of the emotions as a consciously articulated field in the study of Spanish culture and history» (1). Mi ensayo puede enmarcarse en este propósito, ya que considera las emociones como una categoría de análisis histórico. Usando la noción de Raymond Williams de «estructura sentimental» (2), muchos de los artículos de *Engaging the Emotions* entienden también los sentimientos como modos clave de enfrentarse a un período histórico ya que las emociones son más profundas que las ideas mismas (2).

⁹ Ver David Gies, «Introducción» a *Don Juan Tenorio*, Jeffrey Bersett, *El Burlado de Sevilla: Nineteenth-Century Theatrical Appropriations of Don Juan Tenorio* y Ricardo Navas Ruiz, «Estudio preliminar» a *Don Juan Tenorio*, entre otros.

excitación, nos ofrece un nuevo guion para hablar con Dios; un consuelo para su público burgués que reconoce una presencia y una ausencia simultáneas en el discurso, y borra de este modo los límites entre sujeto/objeto a lo largo del tiempo, terrenal/celeste, cuerpo/mente, incluso la dicotomía pecado/salvación. Además, Zorrilla logra reavivar el erotismo inherente al lenguaje de la religión católica (maravillosamente señalado por Noël Valis en *Sacred Realism*) para seducir a sus lectores futuros y ayudarles a sentirse parte del mundo.¹⁰ De hecho, una de las tradiciones típicamente españolas de analizar el texto de Zorrilla es a través de la perspectiva teológica; Ibáñez, Casaldueiro y Valbuena Prat son ejemplos típicos (Fernández Cifuentes 31). Zorrilla nos hace *sentir* somáticamente que existe el amor, que hay esperanza y que Dios, al menos como personaje, existe y nos da la mano. Zorrilla crea una corporeización sensorial de lo más abstracto, una *encarnación* verbal/sensorial de lo más invisible, para que su público pueda volver a sentir a Dios a través de las ventanas de los sentidos, cuyo cruce y apelación tiene su emblema en el aspecto líquido del discurso.

Me interesa resaltar que en mi lectura del *Tenorio* de Zorrilla busco no tanto trazar un mapa fenomenológico de las emociones manifestadas en el lenguaje líquido (podría haber usado *Water and Dreams* de Gaston Bachelard para lograr este objetivo pero también a Julia Kristeva y su noción de lo abyecto) sino plantear una hipótesis centrada en explorar cómo se produce una *transubstanciación emocional* entre los protagonistas de la obra, don Juan y doña Inés (especialmente en la escena del sofá) y entre ellos como personajes y nosotros, los lectores o espectadores, que *comulgamos* con las emociones generadas por el texto de forma tan intensa que deviene somática, es decir, que se manifiesta en nuestro cuerpo. Como crítica, sólo mi propio cuerpo está a mi alcance, pero uso otros cuerpos literarios para explicar este tipo de recepción. Es decir, que la reacción corporal (lágrima que se evapora al calor de su propia emoción) experimentada por un personaje como Doña Inés al escuchar a Don Juan hablarle de rodillas en su quinta se trasladará también a la propia piel de los espectadores y lectores de la obra. Si la emoción implica movimiento desde su etimología, «un cruce o contaminación (*crossing*) entre cuerpos, sujetos y lugares» (Jensen y Wallace 1252), la lágrima que cuaja en el lagrimal de doña Inés es la somatización de una emoción que se transmite, casi sin la intervención consciente de la razón, en la piel misma de los espectadores-lectores.

¹⁰ En «Better Living through Dread» de Paul Megna, se demuestra que ya en los textos devocionales ingleses de la edad media se muestran guiones de sentimiento que ilustran cómo se puede hablar con Dios, y así se establecen parámetros de sensaciones apropiadas y controladas que crean comunidades de sentido. La amplia literatura devocional española puede considerarse desde esta óptica, especialmente textos como el Kempis o los más rotundos *Ejercicios* de Ignacio de Loyola. Las lágrimas de Inés al escuchar a don Juan en la escena del sofá como un índice de cómo relacionarse con Dios, como un guión emocional creado conscientemente por Zorrilla para calmar a su angustiado público burgués, atormentado por las dudas de fe y la incompatibilidad del mercantilismo capitalista con los principios cristianos.

3. LAS LÁGRIMAS DE LA REGENTA CONTEMPLANDO EL *TENORIO*: UN EJEMPLO DE RECEPCIÓN EMOCIONAL DE LA ESCENA DEL SOFÁ

Pocos textos hay de mayor plasticidad ni más fluidos verbalmente que el de Zorrilla; la vibración que genera nos hace todavía palpar de emoción, igual que sentía Ana Ozores al contemplar la obra de Zorrilla en escena en el teatro de Vetusta y sentir que (y nótese desde el comienzo el lenguaje líquido escogido por Clarín)

esos versos que ha querido hacer ridículos y vulgares, *manchándolos con su baba*, la necesidad prosaica, pasándolos mil y mil veces por *sus labios viscosos como vientre de sapo*, sonaron en los oídos de Ana aquella noche como frase sublime de un amor inocente y puro que se entrega con la fe en el objeto amado, natural en todo gran amor. Ana, entonces, no pudo evitarlo, *lloró, lloró*, sintiendo por aquella Inés una compasión infinita. No era ya una escena erótica lo que veía allí; era algo religioso; el alma saltaba a las ideas más altas ... no sabía a qué; ello era que se sentía desfallecer de tanta emoción. (s.p., énfasis mío)

Las «lágrimas de la Regenta» al contemplar el cuarto acto de la primera parte del *Don Juan Tenorio* de Zorrilla son un índice de recepción emocional de este texto, que se opone a otro modo más prosaico de recibirlo representado en los vetustenses y su baba contaminadora de versos, y el desdén de don Álvaro Mesía, para quien «el *Don Juan Tenorio* ya sólo servía para hacer parodias» (Fernández Cifuentes 26). Este choque es un índice de las tensiones recogidas en la novela, que se escribe sobre el texto de Zorrilla como un modo de mostrar lo distinta que es la mente idealista de Ana de la de sus prosaicos contemporáneos. Clarín separa implícitamente estos dos tipos de recepción con dos tipos de sustancia líquida: por un lado, está la baba viscosa como vientre de sapo (que anticipa el final de la novela con el beso de sapo de Celedonio) de la muchedumbre que ridiculiza la obra de Zorrilla, incapaz de penetrar sus misterios, pero que mancha su lenguaje al pasarlo por sus labios y sus lenguas. Por otro lado, está la recepción más aural representada en Ana Ozores, que ve más allá de lo erótico y que cuaja somáticamente en sus lágrimas de piedad, de Dolorosa, de compasión infinita. Clarín añade otra capa interpretativa: la de don Álvaro Mesía que observa desde fuera a Anita, sentado junto a ella en el palco y que

observó que el seno se le movía con más rapidez y se levantaba más al respirar. Se equivocó el hombre de mundo; creyó que la emoción acusada por aquel respirar violento la causaba su gallarda y próxima presencia, creyó en un influjo *puramente fisiológico* y por poco se pierde. Buscó a tientas el pie de Ana... en el mismo instante en que ella, de una en otra, había llegado a pensar en Dios, en el amor ideal, puro, universal. (s.p., énfasis en el original)

Ana Ozores está respondiendo con lágrimas a la misma escena que me ocupa aquí y que Clarín cita directamente en su texto, y la utilizo para probar con su recepción literaria un

patrón de lo que estoy etiquetando como una transubstanciación emocional que va entre personajes literarios pero que, creo, puede hacerse extensible a los receptores de este mismo texto. La clave de este poder puede empezar a calar en nosotros al percibir un ejemplo de comunicación afectiva; la producida mediante el discurso líquido en la obra.

4. LA TRANSUBSTANCIACIÓN EMOCIONAL EN LA ESCENA DEL SOFÁ: LA LÁGRIMA DE INÉS COMO GUION DE RECEPCIÓN AFECTIVA

Recordemos la escena del sofá en la que cuaja el discurso líquido diseminado, junto al discurso pirotécnico, en el texto: don Juan, junto a doña Inés por fin en la tranquilidad nocturna de su quinta a las afueras de Sevilla, va acercándose a su amada para evitar que huya, haciéndole entender que lo natural es amarse y animando a estudiosos tradicionales como Ticknor en 1855 a decir que «esta es una obra completamente inmoral» (cit. por Fernández Cifuentes 27). La fluidez del discurso de don Juan mimetiza la fluidez del río Guadalquivir junto al que se sitúa la quinta y enlaza las imágenes naturales escogidas de forma estratégica. En este sentido, es iluminador recordar las palabras de Bachelard en *Water and Dreams*: «Liquidity is the very desire of language. Language needs to flow» (187), que se va repitiendo en variantes a lo largo de su estudio, como cuando afirma que «The stream will teach you to speak», o que «Water is the mistress of liquid language, of smooth flowing language» (195). Si *Don Juan Tenorio* es una obra principalmente grafológica, como ya sabemos que ha dicho Ráfols, donde la carta (el lenguaje, la palabra) es el elemento de seducción fundamental (Pérez Firmat 15), y es especialmente poético que Zorrilla conecte su discurso con el del agua y que en la misma escena del sofá converjan lo interno y lo externo a través de motivos líquidos.¹¹

¹¹ Desde el siglo XVIII es un tópico el derramar lágrimas abundantes y el intercambio de fluidos lacrimosos en la novela sentimental (ver, por ejemplo, Buffault, *The History of Tears*). Pero el uso de este motivo en Zorrilla es mucho más complejo de lo que parece a primera vista, igual que sucede con la poesía de Bécquer o Coronado. Existen hasta la fecha pocos análisis de las lágrimas en el romanticismo (mi artículo de próxima aparición «Tears in Translation» sobre Carolina Coronado es uno de ellos), quizá porque su prevalencia hace trazar una fenomenología del motivo de las lágrimas una tarea imposible por lo abundante. En su estudio «Una lágrima, pero una lágrima sola: Sobre el llanto romántico», Russell Sebold traza una muestra de la presencia de las lágrimas en lo que él clasifica como el segundo romanticismo. En su artículo, sin embargo, no aparece citado el clásico de Zorrilla, aunque sí algunas de sus leyendas. La tesis de Sebold es que, en el segundo romanticismo (en contraste al predominio de la comedia lacrimosa setecentista) aparecen muchos ejemplos del uso del motivo de «una lágrima sola» que cuaja el dolor inmenso de los protagonistas románticos, su contención y desbordamiento condensados en una sola lágrima. Las lágrimas de Inés pueden verse en este terreno dominado por Macías y otros héroes románticos, pero su carácter es mucho más complejo. Una de las más efectivas por el intercambio de fluidos que en ella se produce es la que Sebold destaca en *Sab* de Avellaneda, donde

una lágrima gruesa y ardiente se desprendió de los ojos de Sab, cayendo sobre la mano de Teresa, que aún retenía en las suyas; y otra lágrima cayó también al mismo tiempo y resbaló por la fuente del mulato; esta lágrima era de Teresa, que, inclinada hacia él, le fijaba una mirada de simpatía y compasión. (Sebold, «Una lágrima» s.p.)

Don Juan empieza recordando el fuego de la escena anterior en el convento como contraste a la humedad que va a envolver la escena de seducción:

DON JUAN: ¡El fuego! ¡Ah! No os dé cuidado
por don Gonzalo, que ya
dormir tranquilo le hará
el mensaje que le he enviado.
DOÑA INÉS: ¿Le habéis dicho...?
DON JUAN: Que os hallabais
bajo mi amparo segura,
y el aura del campo pura,
libre por fin respirabais.
¡Cálmate pues, vida mía!
Reposa aquí, y un momento
olvida de tu convento
la triste cárcel sombría.
¡Ah! No es cierto, ángel de amor,
que en esta apartada orilla
más pura la luna brilla
y se respira mejor? (2158-2173)

Es este uno de los momentos más parodiados en la historia del teatro escrito en español, y por eso mismo debemos entender estéticamente la fuerza de su magnetismo emocional. En la anterior escena de la seducción remota por medio de la carta abrasadora predominaban las imágenes de fuego que culminan en el desmayo y ahogo de doña Inés. Ahora toca respirar, relajarse, y las imágenes de agua y fluidez aparecen en las referencias y también en la métrica empleada, con los octosílabos de rima abrazada rizando la superficie del lenguaje y haciéndola

También Sebold cita una imagen de una rima atribuida a Bécquer: «¿No sentiste una lágrima mía / deslizarse en tu boca?» Es difícil encontrar referencias a la vez más eróticas y más sublimadas del deseo sexual postergado eternamente. Quiero añadir una muestra más, la segunda estrofa de la Rima LIII de Bécquer:

Volverán las tupidas madreselvas
de tu jardín las tapias a escalar,
y otra vez a la tarde, aun más hermosas,
sus flores se abrirán;
pero aquellas, cuajadas de rocío,
cuyas gotas mirábamos temblar
y caer, como lágrimas del día...
ésas... ¡no volverán! (s.p.)

líquida y fluida. El aroma y el sonido apelan a los sentidos de Inés y los espectadores, creando un maravilloso y total *sensescape* (según el ya citado concepto de Howes) que pone a nuestros sentidos en una situación de realidad aumentada y sumiéndonos a nosotros también en un mullido y placentero sofá. Pronto sentimos que somos mecidos por la brisa nocturna de los conocidos versos, víctimas nosotros también de la hipnosis que ejercita la voz de don Juan, llena de imágenes fluidas que culminan en la imagen de la «barca del pescador» que atraviesa cantando las aguas del Guadalquivir que riegan las orillas de la quinta de don Juan:

Esta aura que vaga llena
de los sencillos olores
de las campesinas flores
que brota esa orilla amena;
esa agua limpia y serena
que atraviesa sin temor
la barca del pescador
que espera cantando el día,
¿no es cierto, paloma mía,
que están respirando amor?

Esa armonía que el viento
recoge entre esos millares
de floridos olivares,
que agita con manso aliento;
ese dulcísimo acento
con que trina el ruiseñor
de sus copas morador,
llamando al cercano día,
¿no es verdad, gacela mía,
que están respirando amor? (2174-2193)

Se insiste, ya lo hemos visto, en la respiración y en la armonía y el sonido, combinando el olor de las flores con el sonido del agua atravesada dulcemente por la barca, o del viento entre los olivos, o el canto del ruiseñor. El texto se vuelve aural y háptico por momentos, y está lleno de ecos y vibraciones que llenan el lenguaje de agua «limpia y serena» y nos conectan con la naturaleza a través de todos nuestros sentidos —por ejemplo el aura/el olor a flores, la armonía del viento agitando las ramas de los floridos olivares que les rodean, el canto del ruiseñor que anuncia la mañana— que nos mecén hasta llegar al centro mismo de nuestro cuerpo, a nuestra respiración, controlada por el ritmo progresivo de los versos, que ha ido desde la agitación fogosa del convento, el incendio y la huida hasta un gracioso detenerse que no obstante recoge la fluidez natural del agua de un arroyo en la métrica rizada y en las

imágenes de mecerse y de vibración suave. Pero don Juan entreteje en su discurso palabras que animan subliminalmente a Inés a acercarse más a él, a respirar su propio olor, y ponen énfasis del oído en la boca y la nariz. La referencia al «manso aliento» del viento nos indica que se está acercando cada vez más a su víctima (precisamente la llama «gacela mía», para dotar aún a la escena un aire de donjuanesca cacería que corre en paralelo al lenguaje místico y a las gacelas del *Cantar de los Cantares*). El silencio de doña Inés a las preguntas retóricas nos dejan sin respiración e indican su progresiva aceptación de la cercanía del cuerpo de su amado, el paso del plano de la voz-oído al plano de la mirada. Además, su silencio facilita que nosotros como espectadores ocupemos su posición de pasivo apasionamiento emocional, y nos prepara, con ella, para recibir simbólicamente la esperada *comunión* con la presencia del cuerpo del amado, antecedente del cuerpo divino. Notemos que la descripción se centra en la boca, en el aliento, igual que antes se centraba en la voz y el lenguaje a través de la carta. Comienza Zorrilla a sembrar las semillas del proceso de sublimación de la pasión erótica en pasión mística en el discurso.

Y estas palabras que están
filtrando insensiblemente
tu corazón, ya pendiente
de los labios de don Juan,
y cuyas ideas van
inflamando en su interior
un fuego germinador
no encendido todavía,
¿no es verdad, estrella mía,
que están respirando amor? (2194-2203)

La escena culmina, apropiadamente, uniendo dos subtextos dominantes en el discurso desde el centro del drama, desde la seducción por la carta: fuego y líquido, masculino y femenino. La expresión «filtrar» merece nuestra atención, ya que Doña Inés, cuando es seducida por la carta de don Juan en la escena tercera del Acto III, analiza su reacción preguntándose

¡Ay! ¿Qué *filtro* envenenado
me dan en este papel,
que el corazón desgarrado
me estoy sintiendo con él? (1732-35, énfasis mío)

Su uso de *filtro* alude aquí a la «Bebida o composición con la que se pretende conciliar el amor de una persona» (*DRAE*). Sin embargo, cuando don Juan describe sus propias palabras como «estas palabras que están / filtrando insensiblemente / tu corazón» (2194-2196) está

aludiendo a la acepción de filtro como «Materia porosa, como el fieltro, el papel, la esponja, el carbón, la piedra, etc., o masa de arena o piedras menudas, a través de la cual se hace pasar un líquido para clarificarlo de los materiales que lleva en suspensión» (*DRAE*). Se trata de una productiva confusión que hace una transición entre el papel de la carta, que está metafóricamente envenenado con un filtro de amor, y el filtro de las palabras que penetran simbólicamente la piel y llegan hasta el corazón de Inés (y el nuestro). Es una manera hermosa de mojar el discurso y figurar el lenguaje como si fuera una piel a través de cuyos poros penetra el lenguaje líquido del hipnótico don Juan.

Con palabras como «inflamar», «fuego germinador» y «estrella mía» se anticipa la imagen central para probar mi tesis sobre el lenguaje líquido en la obra, después de habernos preparado a nosotros y a Inés con una amplificación que aumenta nuestra sensibilidad a las imágenes líquidas que ha ido sembrando en su texto y que cuajan aquí, en la imagen del resultado/efecto del discurso convertido ya —literalmente— en líquido corporal:

Y esas dos líquidas perlas
que se desprenden tranquilas
de tus radiantes pupilas
convidándome a beberlas,
evaporarse a no verlas,
de sí mismas al calor.... (2204-2209)

Con la imagen de la «evaporación» y el calor y la mineralización del líquido en perla se solidifica el líquido y se recoge en el lenguaje todo el discurso de fuego, aunándolos en este momento climático que no acaba en beso sino —como sería químicamente apropiado al fusionar lágrimas y calor en evaporación— anunciando la volatilización en perfume y alas de las almas de los amantes justo en el final de la obra.¹²

La lágrima de Inés que se solidifica como perla un segundo en el lagrimal, zona liminal por excelencia, justo antes de evaporarse al calor de la mejilla ruborizada, enlaza con la tradición de las lágrimas románticas, pero también la modifica y sirve para dar cohesión a los motivos asociados con Inés —mujer arquetípicamente líquida, ángel, evaporación de sí misma, fantasma— con los motivos asociados a don Juan —hombre, fuego, energía, materia—. La lágrima de

¹² Uno de los significados ya en desuso de *vapores* estaba conectado precisamente con la histeria femenina, causada según los médicos de la época por una falta de relaciones sexuales: «Accesos histéricos o hipocondríacos, atribuidos por los antiguos a ciertos vapores que suponían nacidos de la matriz o de los hipocondrios y que subían hasta la cabeza» (*DRAE*), de modo que el vapor era al mismo tiempo como una nube inefable y un recordatorio sublimado que unía de forma semilíquida la matriz con la cabeza.

Inés somatiza toda la pasión inefable y voluptuosa que recorre el cuerpo de la novicia. Resisto la tentación de citar su famosa respuesta y me limito a los versos en los que, tras reconocer que el poder de don Juan para hechizarla con su «vista fascinadora» y su «palabra seductora» procede «tal vez» de Satanás (2240-43), se rinde a don Juan, utilizando en el clímax de su discurso, precisamente, otro motivo líquido enlazado al fuego asociado con el protagonista:

No, don Juan, en poder mío
resistirte no está ya;
yo voy a ti como va
sorbido al mar ese río. (2248-2252)

El motivo de la lágrima se ha ido metamorfoseando y ha pasado por varios estados en el espectro de lo sólido a lo líquido hasta que ha desembocado en la imagen del río que va «sorbido», palabra que podemos beber, al mar.¹³ Tracemos su presencia en el texto. Ya habíamos visto perlas en otros lugares en la obra. Recordemos que cuando Brígida describe a don Juan los encantos de la novicia la descripción traza una red de motivos asociados con doña Inés que culminan aquí. Brígida describe a doña Inés como «pobre garza enjaulada / dentro la jaula nacida» (1250-1251) y explica que Inés no es consciente de su propio encanto ya que «nunca

¹³ Que toda esta escena ocurra en una estancia desde la cual puede verse el río Guadalquivir es un refuerzo del significado liminal de la palabra «orilla». Los amantes están al borde del río y al borde de la consumación de su amor, pero la llegada del padre de doña Inés «hace agua» las pretensiones del seductor seducido, que huye, también simbólicamente, en barca y ya no vuelve a ver a Inés viva, volviéndose cierto que Inés vaya a ser sorbida por el mar, «que es el morir» manriqueño. Pero ser sorbido es mucho más que morir, especialmente dadas las expresiones de arrobó y deseo desbordado de la protagonista femenina, más próxima a la «pequeña muerte» del orgasmo que de la muerte postergada que le espera:

...no podré resistir
mucho tiempo sin morir
tan nunca sentido afán.
[...]
...oyéndoos me parece
que mi cerebro enloquece
y se arde mi corazón.
[...]
Tal vez poséis, don Juan,
un misterioso amuleto
que a vos me atrae en secreto
como irresistible imán
[...]
¿Y qué he de hacer, ¡ay de mí!,
sino caer en vuestros brazos,
si el corazón en pedazos,
me vais robando de aquí? (2224-2248)

[vio] sus plumas / del sol a los resplandores» (1254-1255). Cuando don Juan le pregunta si está hermosa, Brígida contesta «como un ángel» (1282), siguiendo el tema de pájaro, jaula, y contrastando con las imágenes satánicas y de fuego que Zorrilla pone en boca del protagonista. Lo que me interesa es la aparición del motivo de la flor y el rocío asociados a Inés:

¡Oh! Hermosa flor, cuyo cáliz
al rocío aún no se ha abierto,
a trasplantarle va al huerto
de sus amores Don Juan. (1318-1321)

Unas escenas más tarde, ya en el Acto tercero («Profanación»), cuando la abadesa habla a doña Inés en su celda para comunicarle la decisión paterna de que se meta monja y no se case con su prometido, las imágenes tornan a los mismos motivos: «Mansa paloma» (1462) y «lirio gentil» (1470). Notamos otra vez que el claustro representa la muerte de la flor que es Inés y se caracteriza como algo sin líquido, seco en su deshojarse por los «besos del aura»:

Lirio gentil [...]
aquí a los besos del aura
vuestro cáliz abiréis,
y aquí vendrán vuestras hojas
tranquilamente a caer. (1470-1477)

Y la reacción de Inés a la noticia reafirma el discurso de sequedad contra el huerto fértil asociado con don Juan: dice Inés que encontró en el discurso de la abadesa «a lo menos aridez» (1526). La carta de don Juan comienza apelando a doña Inés llamándola

Inés, alma de mi alma,
perpetuo imán de mi vida,
perla sin concha escondida
entre las algas del mar.... (1692-1695)

Utiliza la imagen del mar y la perla de un modo muy original, al enfatizar la vulnerabilidad de algo tan valioso pero desprotegido. Esta «perla sin concha escondida / entre las algas del mar» también puede entenderse como una reafirmación de este discurso líquido asociado a Inés y su erotización subliminal. Una perla es literalmente una lágrima calcificada. Don Juan se sitúa, en contraste, en una situación también vulnerable y liminal, pero asociada con el fuego, como ha señalado Gies: «... en medio del cráter / desamparado batallo / suspendido en él me hallo / entre mi tumba y mi Inés» (1684-1687). Regresemos una vez recordado este hilo de imágenes a la imagen central:

Y esas dos líquidas perlas
que se desprenden tranquilas
de tus radiantes pupilas
convidándome a beberlas,
evaporarse a no verlas,
de sí mismas al calor.... (2204-2209)

Los espectadores confían en la descripción de don Juan pues no pueden ver desde el patio de butacas las lágrimas («esas dos líquidas perlas») que brotan redondas y tranquilas de las pupilas de Inés, incitando uno de los gestos más eróticos de toda la historia del teatro: don Juan desea, es incitado a *beber* las lágrimas, a intercambiar fluidos con uno de los órganos más eróticos (así han percibido los ojos Freud, Barthes, Buñuel y Baudrillard, entre tantos otros). Para Rousseau, sin embargo, «aural sensitivity was superior to vision when it was a question of emotion» (Vincent-Buffault 34).

Parece, a primera vista, que lo fónico culmina en lo húmedo, pero no culmina, ya que nos quedamos suspendidos en un hiato igual que la lágrima que se condensa y luego se evapora sin ser besada. El beso nunca se produce, la lágrima nunca se bebe, ni el intercambio de fluidos ocurre tampoco, aunque las emociones, desde el punto de vista de la teoría del afecto, sí que se comunican entre sí. En su introducción, «Facing Emotions», las editoras del volumen de *PMLA* dedicado a las emociones en la literatura, Katherine Ann Jensen y Miriam L. Wallace, explican el origen de la palabra «emoción», que proviene de latín *emovere*, que significa literalmente mover de un lado a otro, desplazar. En efecto, «la literatura puede transmitir una emoción sin nombrarla [...] la literatura puede, a través de las palabras, desatar sensaciones que paradójicamente escapan el análisis verbal» (Jensen y Wallace 1263, traducción mía). Las lágrimas de Inés permanecen cuajadas de emoción unos breves segundos y su momentánea solidez las asimila a perlas, pero al calor de la excitación erótica de las mejillas de Inés las dos lágrimas, hechas de agua, se evaporan «de sí mismas al calor», una metáfora autoerótica que enfatiza la unión y la falta de unión simultáneas en el discurso, erótico y postergante al mismo tiempo. Podría ser más explícita en mi interpretación sexual del discurso, pero no querría eliminar la sublimación inherente a la postergación eterna emblemizada en Inés (y luego, como hemos visto ya, en Ana Ozores), que muere virgen (no así la Regenta). Concluye la escena, ahora sí, pasando a un plano predominantemente visual. Las imágenes de luz y espejo, el color encendido, la elección de la cualidad de la hermosura por vez primera tejen y hacen llegar al clímax toda la red de significados anteriores, en un discurso autoerótico que es al mismo tiempo luz y espejo, es decir, su propia fuente y su propio reflejo. Sólo el discurso hace que los protagonistas se toquen, el beso se posterga indefinidamente, y permanecemos, como doña Inés, en un limbo, esperando eternamente algo que no va a ocurrir.

...y ese encendido color
 que en tu semblante no había,
 ¿no es verdad, hermosa mía,
 que están respirando amor?
 ¡Oh! Sí, bellísima Inés,
 espejo y luz de mis ojos;
 escucharme sin enojos,
 como lo haces, amor es;
 mira aquí a tus plantas, pues,
 todo el altivo rigor
 de este corazón traidor
 que rendirse no creía,
 adorando, vida mía,
 la esclavitud de tu amor. (2210-2223)

Quizá una de las razones por las cuales este texto de Zorrilla, y en particular las escenas de la carta y el sofá, respectivamente, son tan poderosas y parodiadas es porque materializan al mismo tiempo el amor y su imposibilidad a través de un énfasis primero en la voz y luego, por medio de la imagen de la lágrima, en los ojos, en la mirada. Así, la lágrima de Inés que se evapora es el emblema de la reacción que comenzó con la carta de don Juan.

Del mismo modo que lo que pasa entre Brígida e Inés es sólo un papelito (Pérez Firmat 15), lo que pasa entre Inés y don Juan está cuajado en una materia liminal por excelencia: una lágrima, que nace del interior del cuerpo y lo deja buscando otro cuerpo con el que nunca llega a encontrarse. La lágrima evaporada de Inés contiene en ella tanto el líquido como el fuego que permean todo el discurso de la obra y son a su vez un ejemplo del eterno contacto elusivo ilustrado en sus versos, que comienzan eróticos y se tornan místicos, empiezan rebeldes y se domestican y divinizan a un tiempo, evaporando la transgresión que contienen. Recordemos que para Gregorio Marañón en los años 20 del siglo pasado don Juan representaba, desde un punto de vista endocrinológico, el modelo opuesto a la masculinidad precisamente por diseminar su palabra y su seducción de forma biológicamente improductiva. Para él, «don Juan es un histérico, [...] un hipererótico polígamo» (citado por Fernández Cifuentes 29). Esta unión del fuego de don Juan y las lágrimas de Inés se resuelve en vapor, una imagen similar a la niebla o los rayos de luna, igual que la rebeldía del héroe y su satanismo en la primera parte que se esfuman volátiles entre perfumes en la acotación para la cursi escena final que cierra el drama con su «Misericordia de Dios y apoteosis del amor»:

Cae don Juan a los pies de doña Inés, y mueren ambos. De sus bocas salen sus almas representadas en dos brillantes llamas, que se pierden en el espacio al son de la música. Cae el telón.” (225)

Es tentador decir que en la segunda parte del *Tenorio* el deseo se hace agua, pero no sería técnicamente correcto ya que el líquido de la primera parte se condensa y se convierte en vapor que asciende en esa forma a los cielos. Lo ridículo de esta escena lo es un poco menos si tenemos toda esta lógica biológica en cuenta en nuestra lectura. Nada en la obra es un error; nada está dejado al azar.

Se ha demostrado hasta aquí que existe un discurso líquido complementario al fuego en la primera parte del *Tenorio* de Zorrilla. Este discurso líquido, que se manifiesta por medio de imágenes asociadas a Inés como el rocío o la perla, o por medio de la presencia del río Guadalquivir sobre la que fluye el hechizo de las palabras de don Juan en la escena del sofá, nos ofrece un índice de cómo recibir el texto como espectadores o como lectores. El mensaje subliminal va más allá de promover las lágrimas y la piedad como vehículo del amor divino. Además de hacernos sentir la unión entre los protagonistas, la imagen de las lágrimas que se evaporan al calor de su propia emoción constituyen un nuevo patrón de comportamiento estético y emocional, y además, son un nuevo guion de comunicación con lo divino y una herramienta de cohesión social a través del «contagio emocional» que recoge un momento de cambio social a través de los sentidos. La percepción del *Tenorio* como la obra católica por excelencia no se basa tanto en su aparentemente torpe resolución teológica sino en el modo que tiene el discurso de incitar una reacción física que se transfigura en puente para alcanzar lo sagrado, lo fantasmático, lo divino y lo invisible que predominan en la segunda parte del texto, ‘cancelando’ la primera. El subtítulo «Drama religioso-fantástico en dos partes» capta bien tanto la mezcla de la tradición del teatro de magia (Gies 23-30) y del discurso místico que aún Zorrilla como su intención de llevarnos a un universo de cosas que no se ven, que pertenecen al mundo de «lo religioso» y «lo fantástico». Zorrilla consolará a los espectadores de su *Tenorio* haciéndoles «sentir», casi «tocar», algo que habían dejado de sentir cerca: el amor del P/padre abandonado, es decir, de Dios. Esto no elimina la lectura erótica del texto, especialmente al modo psicoanalítico, que funciona por transferencia. Sigmund Freud, en *La interpretación de los sueños*, ofrece una posible lectura de este desplazamiento sublimador que contiene dentro de sí indudables trazas eróticas, llamando la atención no sólo sobre la intercambiabilidad de los fluidos corporales en los sueños sino también sobre la posibilidad de representar los genitales femeninos como un ojo, y los masculinos con una mano. Dice Freud que

Los genitales pueden también ser representados en los sueños por otras partes del cuerpo: el miembro masculino puede ser figurado por la mano o el pie, el orificio genital femenino por la boca, la oreja, o incluso el ojo. Las secreciones del cuerpo humano —lágrimas, orina, semen, etc.— pueden ser entendidos como intercambiables en los sueños. [...] Lo esencial en esta cuestión es que se sustituye una secreción *importante*, como el semen, por otra «indiferente». (343, traducción mía)

Igual que los místicos utilizan el lenguaje erótico y amoroso para hacer sentir a los que no han tenido la suerte de experimentar la sensación todopoderosa de éxtasis o unión con lo divino algo que transporte, metafóricamente, la sensación de placer de dicha unión, Zorrilla empleará el discurso erótico sublimado en discurso religioso para hacernos «sentir» la presencia de Dios pero también su carácter permanentemente elusivo. Las lágrimas cuajadas en el lagrimal evaporándose al calor de sí mismas son el emblema de este tipo de reacción afectiva; son una demostración de amor y entrega que nunca llega al clímax. Recordemos una vez más que la relación sexual entre don Juan y doña Inés nunca se consuma, y de ello son símbolo las llamitas que salen de sus bocas hasta las alturas en un beso evaporado y celestial. Las lágrimas de doña Inés proceden de una larga tradición católica y mística que las venera de forma casi fetichista como una de las señales (materialización táctil y corporal de lo invisible retiniano) de la reacción física que «prueba» mediante el cuajarse líquido de la emoción la supuesta existencia del Amado que genera esta reacción física.¹⁴

Las emociones se transmiten, se contagian y se diseminan. En recientes estudios sobre el cine como *The Skin of the Film* de Laura Marks (2000), se pone de manifiesto cómo se puede generar desde la pantalla sensaciones que primero afectan al cuerpo (por ejemplo, el erizarse de la piel, las lágrimas) y luego son percibidas por la mente (se me han puesto los pelos de punta así que debo estar asustada). En otro texto clásico del corpus marcado por el «giro afectivo» de los estudios culturales, Massumi afirma que «la respuesta al nivel de la piel es el barómetro de la intensidad de un sentimiento o emoción» (citado por Labanyi, 225). En un texto de tanto alcance cultural como el *Tenorio*, resulta todavía más revelador explorar estas dimensiones, ya que la emoción se contagia a nivel individual pero también colectivo, y las emociones crean patrones de recepción emocional y somática, neuroquímica, que subliminalmente nos hechizan, nos sumergen y empapan nuestra lectura no sólo de un texto sino de quiénes somos, o incluso de por qué existimos, de qué significa amar, ser mujer, ser hom-

¹⁴ La Dolorosa, una de las imágenes más veneradas del imaginario católico, suele representarse en forma preferentemente escultórica, privilegiando el tacto, la materialización física de lo divino. Las lágrimas que surcan sus mejillas son casi perlas, pues se fabrican de cristal transparente y reflejan la luz. Este momento infinitesimal captado por los escultores barrocos, las lágrimas cuajadas como perlas resbalando por las mejillas de la Virgen es a la vez un momento generador de reacciones físicas. El hecho de que las procesiones sean el lugar donde estas esculturas son veneradas, a su vez acompañadas de señales físicas (Valis 58), predominantemente sacrificiales, por parte del público que las venera, nos enseña algo útil que Zorrilla conocía bien: el poder de cuajar la emoción efímera por medio del arte y de mostrar al mismo tiempo su carácter elusivo. Esto puede extenderse a tantas otras imágenes del imaginario católico que dependen de la presencia de líquidos corporales para funcionar como objetos estéticos y religiosos: la sangre de la frente coronada de espinas de Cristo, las llagas de Cristo, la sangre del costado de Cristo, los clavos de Cristo rodeados de fluido corporal, el sudor de Cristo que tiene la capacidad 'milagrosa' de reproducir su rostro en el tejido con que la Verónica le seca la frente, las lágrimas de su Madre, las lágrimas de los místicos, las lágrimas de los fieles que son percibidas como un don similar al de la gracia que purifica (*catarsis*) su fe mediante un exceso de emoción, etc.

bre, o ser españoles. ¿Por qué regresamos al *Tenorio*? Como hemos visto, en la archiconocida pero no suficientemente comprendida escena del sofá se produce algo que es muy similar a la hipnosis: el hechizo o seducción de doña Inés por don Juan, por su «vista seductora» y su «palabra fascinadora», pero también el hechizo o la hipnosis de nosotros, como espectadores, que aprendemos de la pasiva pero apasionada Inés un patrón de recepción emocional nuevo en el que cuaja toda una metafísica consoladora perceptible por los sentidos y a menudo imperceptible por la razón, si es que queremos mantener esta falsa dicotomía por cuestiones pedagógicas.

En la tradición católica, el dogma de la transustanciación alude a la conversión del pan y el vino en el sacramento de la eucaristía en el cuerpo y la sangre de Cristo, respectivamente. A través de un análisis de las lágrimas de Inés en el contexto del discurso líquido en la obra de Zorrilla hemos podido ver de modo más consciente cómo se produce una transustanciación emocional: a través del amor fascinado de la novicia por don Juan empezamos a sentir la emoción nunca completamente acabada de *sentir* la presencia de Dios y no poderlo tocar. Es ilustrativo aquí traer el famoso *Noli me tangere* con el que el Jesús resucitado responde al impulso de tocarle a María Magdalena: *No me toques*. Al igual que en estos lienzos, el líquido sirve como vehículo de comunicación y sublimación simultáneas, como un tipo de «cathartic representation» que se conecta, como explica Pura Fernández en su excelente artículo «Emotional Readings for New Interpretative Communities in the 19th century», con una hiperestimulación sensorial promovida por la literatura (62). Entre Ana Ozores y doña Inés (y nosotros los lectores de hoy) se establece una comunidad emocional marcada por una lectura que se realiza a través del cuerpo.¹⁵ Doña Inés se transforma, más que en una seducida pasiva, en un modelo de nueva lectora que se deja hipnotizar por ese puro texto sin huella biológica permanente que es don Juan y reacciona a su efecto con su cuerpo en un nuevo modo de guión de lectura y apropiación del conocimiento. El discurso líquido en *Don Juan Tenorio* forma, a través del ejemplo de la reacción de la protagonista, un nuevo modo de «leer» a través del cuerpo y con el cuerpo y de crear comunidades emocionales/hápticas/afectivas a lo largo de la historia.

¹⁵ Al igual que sucedía con los lectores del bestseller gótico de Agustín Pérez Zaragoza *Galería fúnebre* (1831) analizados por Fernández, en *Don Juan Tenorio* de Zorrilla «The model of reader-listener... can be defined as a cultural subject who is the actor-spectator of a narrative exercise that seeks to stretch his—or rather her—sensory experience to the maximum (64).

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PECADO, REPRESENTACION DEL PROLETARIADO EN *LA DESHEREDADA* DE GALDÓS, ENTRE EL DETERMINISMO Y LA SUPERACIÓN

RESUMEN

Mariano Rufete, hermano de *La desheredada*, ejemplifica la situación de la infancia de la época entre las clases más desfavorecidas de la sociedad. Sometido a una jornada laboral brutal para su edad, se verá involucrado en el crimen y la violencia, evitando la vía de la superación que para Galdós era la educación. El análisis de este personaje secundario permite profundizar los elementos deterministas, propios del Naturalismo, y las posibilidades que se le presentan. Sin embargo, optará por la disipación y el juego, y su rechazo hacia la sociedad lo que le llevará al regicidio y a su ajusticiamiento. A su vez, Galdós discute diferentes aspectos de la política y la sociedad de la época y el papel de la clase trabajadora.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Galdós—Naturalismo—siglo XIX—educación escolar—determinismo

ABSTRACT

Mariano Rufete, *La desheredada*'s brother, exemplifies the situation of lower classes childhood at the time. Summited to a brutal working dayshift for his age, will be involved in crime and violence, avoiding the path of improvement that for Galdós was education. The analysis of this secondary character allows us to analyze the deterministic elements,

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connected to Naturalism, and the possibilities that are presented to him. However, he will opt for dissipation and gambling, and his rejection of society will lead him to regicide and his execution. At the same time, Galdós discusses the political aspects of the time and the role of the working class.

KEYWORDS: Galdós—Naturalism—nineteenth-century Spain—education—determinism

La desheredada de Galdós ha recuperado últimamente el interés de la crítica que tuvo en otras épocas. A los estudios dedicados a su importancia dentro de la producción galdosiana, su vinculación con la novela naturalista o no, su conexión con los acontecimientos históricos que narra, la representación de sus personajes dentro del tejido social español de la época, se han añadido estudios más extensos sobre el manuscrito que arrojan más luz sobre todos y cada uno de estos temas. No obstante, el tema de la particular situación del naciente proletariado urbano, que anteriormente sólo había sido tratado desde el espacio crítico por Carlos Blanco Aguinaga y otros estudiosos de la escuela crítica marxista, ha empezado a adquirir mayor relevancia, especialmente en los estudios publicados por Geoffrey Ribbans y Sara Sierra. Hasta una época muy reciente se había prestado escasa atención, con la excepción de Ribbans, Schnepf y Sierra, a uno de los personajes más particulares dentro de esta novela: Mariano Rufete, alias Pecado, hermano de Isidora, la desheredada, al menos en sus implicaciones político-sociales. Anteriormente, Michael Schnepf estudió con cierto detenimiento el carácter en «On the Creation and Execution of Pecado». Un análisis en profundidad del personaje nos permite analizar los problemas y peligros que amenazaban a su grupo social. Galdós nos retrata al proletariado urbano, su abandono, simbolizado por el hermano de Isidora, al mismo tiempo que aporta soluciones posibles a sus problemas. Para Galdós la superación de su injusta situación social radicaba en la educación, la moral del trabajo como posibilidad de superación y un esfuerzo por parte de la clase política por integrarles. Al mismo tiempo en su rechazo de la violencia anarquista representa los problemas que la susodicha clase social puede crear y que en definitiva, para el autor canario, no llevan a la emancipación y la superación de la brutal situación a la que esta clase social está sometida. Por ello, Pecado tiene repetidas oportunidades para enmendarse pero las echa a perder una tras otra. Evidentemente, esto no significa que Galdós viera al proletariado de finales del siglo XIX como una amenaza social o un grupo de anarquistas violentos. La visión que propone Galdós es la de advertencia de los peligros que supone el analfabetismo, la carencia educativa, la disipación que puede llevar a este grupo social y a la sociedad entera al caos y la violencia. Otro de los aspectos puestos de relieve dentro del «pasteleo» político de la sociedad española de la Restauración es la necesidad de un líder clarividente y capaz de llegar a las masas como había hecho el asesinado general Juan Prim, también presidente del gobierno de España en el momento de su muerte. Con respecto a la situación política resultan muy ilustrativos los

comentarios de David Gies al respecto desde su panorámico estudio sobre el teatro del siglo XIX: «The combination of businessmen, nouveau aristocrats and industrialists who seized power never quite figured out what to do with the power they had achieved, nor what to do with the growing discontent among the lower classes, primarily the proletariat» (296).

El personaje de Mariano Rufete, Pecado, tiene una relevancia secundaria en la novela, pero el análisis de su peripecia vital muestra la situación, en parte, de las clases trabajadoras urbanas y pone de relieve la opresión a la que estaban sometidas. En la novela, Pecado tiene un protagonismo intermitente puesto que desaparece durante largos períodos de la narración. Solamente aparece en cuatro de los dieciséis capítulos de la primera parte y en seis de los dieciocho de la segunda. Su descripción procede del comentario del narrador o las referencias indirectas de otros personajes, por lo que el lector no puede acceder a sus pensamientos y sensaciones, y de ese modo, el personaje será juzgado por sus acciones (y reacciones). Su representación fragmentaria será una de las claves de la importancia del personaje en el transcurrir de la novela, siempre como figura contrapuntística a la caracterización y representación de su hermana y personaje principal (Ribbans 797).

En *La desheredada* nos encontramos con una de las primeras descripciones de clase en la literatura española mediante la ilustración del terrible mundo laboral al que se ve sometido el muchacho, su entorno —con una finalidad naturalista o no—, el modo en que Mariano se ve a sí mismo y a los demás. Acerca de las posibilidades que aporta la representación de la clase trabajadora, Peter Hitchcock sostiene lo siguiente:

First, it allows us to think through the axiological function of the Other in aesthetic production (for instance, how has the experience of the Other, as working-class, been internalized, textualized, in the author utterance?); second, it emphasizes the struggle in self-other relations, not just between the author and the author's class, but also between that class, as it is coexperienced, and that which constrains its self-identity, perhaps surreptitiously. The first point is about the ontic nature of class culture; the second is about its moral purview, performativity as responsibility. (28)

Por lo tanto, tal representación, aunque de un carácter secundario en la novela de Galdós, nos permite adentrarnos en toda una serie de incógnitas acerca de cómo este proletariado era percibido en cuanto a posibilidades de superación y su situación en aquel momento histórico. Con respecto a las vicisitudes del personaje se puede asegurar que sus errores personales le conducirán a posturas políticas y personales totalmente equivocadas que le acabarán llevando a su ejecución. Evidentemente, en esta representación del personaje no se debe cometer el error de pensar que su grupo social pueda caer en el mismo tipo de errores. La extensión del problema no aporta nada especial. Como expone Sierra: «this bourgeois social model forced workers into an implacable choice between the roles of social pariah or obedient citizen that

had, ironically, willfully abandoned their innate freedoms by submitting to this social model» (42), y de esta manera Pecado optará por la primera de las dos opciones.

Ya la crítica de la época realzó en el momento de la publicación de la novela, 1881, la importancia y el realismo de este personaje y los de su clase social. Tomás Tuero desde las páginas de *La Iberia* señala: «donde todo es verdad y sangre y vida, es en Marianín, en Juan Bou, en *la Sanguijuelera*» (1). Desde un interesante artículo, Marsha Collins señala la importancia del pueblo dentro de la sociedad de la España del momento en la representación de Galdós y se refiere a

The enthusiasm and vitality of these representatives of the pueblo [Encarnación, la Sanguijuelera, Juan Bou, Augusto Miquis, etc...], their faith in love, compassion, and hard work, and their unwavering loyalty to family and friends, forge the bonds for a new, ideal community in which equality and justice will rule. ("Levelling" 393)

Sin embargo, se olvida del personaje, Pecado, a través del cual Galdós nos advierte de los peligros provocados por la injusticia social y un modo de producción opresivo. No es que Pecado se vea abocado inevitablemente a su triste fin como pretende la tesis determinista; Galdós nos presenta a ese Otro que es el proletariado y advierte de los problemas que esta clase social debe superar para encontrar su lugar en la sociedad. El fracaso de Mariano se debe a que toma siempre el camino errado, a pesar de la terrible determinación del medio. Tal como dice Ribbans:

The most important factor is the implied acknowledgement of how decisive and dangerous are the formative years during which an adolescent becomes an adult, a period in which a stable environment and good examples are imperative. To this extent Mariano's development is a sort of negative *Bildungroman*. (784)

Existe cierta unanimidad entre la crítica para considerar al hermano de Isidora como el representante del proletariado industrial. Tanto Carmen Bravo Villasante (481-86) como Jo M. Labanyi (70) consideran que la locura del padre de los Rufete será la causa hereditaria determinante del futuro fracaso de ambos. Por su parte, Enrique Miralles (16) y Eamonn Rodgers (71-75) sostienen la idea de que las oportunidades que se les presentan a los dos protagonistas rechazan la tesis determinista. Francisco García Sarriá propone una tercera vía en su estudio del personaje de Isidora mediante el pensamiento cristiano tradicional. Según su análisis: «La fatalidad es explicación del romántico, el naturalista la sustituye por el determinismo fisiológico y ambiental, el cristiano, aunque admita la importancia de la fisiología y el ambiente, mantiene siempre un elemento irreductible, el de la responsabilidad individual» (17-18).

Fundamentar el fracaso de los dos hermanos Rufete en la tesis determinista significaría dejar de lado todas las oportunidades que estos tendrán para enmendarse y superarse, a pesar de la terrible presión social. No obstante su papel relativamente secundario, Pecado resulta ser el personaje-tipo de las masas proletarias, al mismo tiempo que el alter-ego de la protagonista, su contrapunto. Su devenir vital y su progresivo hundimiento se debate entre el determinismo del medio en que se encuentra y las posibilidades que la sociedad, a pesar de todo, le ofrece para enmendarse y llevar una vida honrada. Además, cabe añadir, como demuestran los estudios del manuscrito de *La desheredada*, que los aspectos más naturalistas fueron suprimidos por Galdós en el momento de su publicación, como han demostrado Martha G. Krow-Lucal y, posteriormente, Michael Schnepf desde su artículo «Naturalistic Content» (1984). Por lo tanto, mediante la representación de ese proletariado huérfano y abandonado, carente de liderazgo, representado por la figura del hermano de Isidora, es posible explorar la visión y la concepción que tenía Galdós con respecto al proletariado urbano en el último tercio del siglo XIX. Su nombre, Pecado, de suma crueldad para un niño, la terrible influencia del medio, las crueles condiciones de trabajo a las que se ve sometido siendo apenas un niño de trece años, y su relación con los personajes de los bajos fondos, parecen determinar su triste final: el regicidio frustrado y su posterior ajusticiamiento. El hecho, comentado por Ignacio-Javier López, de que el mencionado personaje fuera suprimido de la traducción inglesa al decantarse «por una posible lectura de la novela en función de los héroes románticos» (58), parece confirmárnoslo. Acerca de la tesis determinista, Schnepf, desde «On the creation and execution of Pecado» sostiene que «Encarnación's name-calling, thus, subtly, yet forcefully, connects Mariano to betrayal, murder, and, eventually to execution» (65). La crueldad de llamar a un niño Pecado indica cierta determinación. «Responde al nombre de Pecado, como si en su naturaleza estuviese estampada la marca de la abyección» (Bravo Villasante 481). No se debe desestimar la importancia de los nombres de los personajes en Galdós. Eamonn Rodgers sugiere lo siguiente refiriéndose a la novela *Doña Perfecta*:

Though Galdós may have wished initially to cast them (the characters) in symbolic or representative roles (the names Perfecta, Rey, Inocencio Tinieblas suggest this), he endowed them with a complex cluster of psychological, social and economic motives which make their behaviour appear more authentic. (54)

En esta novela, Isidora quizás es «la desheredada» porque solamente ella cree en esa herencia que resultará ser falsa; Pecado no cree en ésta, ni tan siquiera le importa. No obstante, si Isidora está desheredada, más lo estará su hermano, ya que realmente pertenece a las clases desfavorecidas y, además, ha carecido en su infancia de la suerte de su hermana. Sin embargo, ambos hermanos se encaminarán hacia un mismo fin en un proceso de decadencia paulatino. De ahí la sentencia del médico Miquis:

Su hermano y ella han corrido a la perdición: él ha llegado, ella llegará. Distintos medios ha empleado cada uno: él ha ido con trote de bestia, ella con vuelo de pájaro; pero de todos modos y por todas partes se puede ir a la perdición, lo mismo por el suelo polvoroso que por el firmamento azul. (*La desheredada* 463)

Al mismo tiempo, cuando Encarnación, su tía, la Sanguijuelera, de menor entidad social que el médico, pero de mayor capacidad para vivir en la realidad que los desafortunados hermanos, se dirige a Mariano y le dice: «Tu hermana, de tanto mirar arriba, se ha perdido. Tú llevas otro camino, pero llegarás al mismo fin» (417). A su vez el propio narrador lo reafirma al expresar su opinión:

Diríase que la Naturaleza quiso hacer en aquella pareja sin ventura dos ejemplares contrapuestos de moral desvarío; pues si ella vivía de una aspiración insensata a las cosas altas, poniendo, como dice San Agustín, su nido en las estrellas, él se inclinaba por instinto a las cosas groseras y bajas. (279)

Galdós critica a través de los dos personajes, los extremos opuestos dentro de una sociedad política y socialmente corrupta. Isidora representa los intereses de una decadente nobleza que rechaza los valores del pueblo mediante un exclusivismo del que no es merecedora. En el lado opuesto nos encontramos con Mariano, que pretende la destrucción de las clases superiores mediante la violencia, después de rechazar la educación, dedicarse a la disipación y al juego, pasando por la enfermedad, sufriendo ataques epilépticos. Esta oposición es representada por el narrador a través de una técnica contrapuntística: cielo/suelo, nido de estrellas/cosas groseras y bajas, y aristocracia/pueblo, aportando un concepto de alter-ego entre ambos personajes. Rodgers considera que

Perhaps the most striking example of this contrapuntal technique occurs in the scene where Isidora discovers to her horror that the brother spends the entire day in total darkness, working a treadmill in a rope-factory. Superficially, the scene has features in common with the Naturalist “set-piece” descriptions of industrial conditions in the late nineteenth century. (75)

La aparición de Pecado en la novela es mediante la descripción de un episodio de una terrible brutalidad. El muchacho está sometido a un «trabajo . . . para mulos, no para criaturas» (*La desheredada* 52), resultando una escena fuertemente naturalista, una denuncia de las injusticias laborales. Pecado simboliza la explotación de la mano de obra infantil según Enrique Miralles (16). Carmen Bravo Villasante se refiere a esta escena como de clara denuncia social: «Galdós ha hecho suyos los tópicos de la bestia humana» (479). Isidora y su tía se dirigen al taller donde trabaja Pecado, al que se llega después de atravesar un «antro» de escasa altura y menor claridad donde habitan personas en las peores condiciones

humanas, calificando al lugar de «colmena» por el hacinamiento y amontonamiento de personas en un espacio pequeño:

Por la izquierda recibía la luz de un patio estrecho, elevadísimo, formado de corredores superpuestos, de los cuales descendía un rumor de colmena, indicando la existencia de pequeñas viviendas numeradas, o sea, de casa celular para pobres. (47)

Lentamente, el narrador nos va adentrando en ese «gran túnel» (47-48), en una «cisterna horizontal» (48), en «la caverna [que] parecía interminable» (49), donde de Pecado no se distingue más que el brillo de dos pequeñas luces que son sus ojos en la oscuridad, igual que si de un animal se tratase. «¿Ves aquellas dos centellitas que brillan junto a la rueda?... Son los ojos de Pecado» (50). Las condiciones de trabajo eran insalubres para un niño que «[e]ra un muchacho hermoso y robusto, como de trece años» (51). Según Bravo Villasante, «Galdós nos lleva a otro círculo del infierno, al lugar infrahumano y degradante donde trabaja Pecado» (482). La descripción que ofrece la novela del lugar, evidentemente, es la de un lugar infernal:

El fondo se perdía en la indeterminada cavidad fría de un callejón tenebroso ... en el suelo y en todos los bultos, [había] una pelusa áspera, filamentos mil que después de flotar por el aire como espectros de insectos o almas de mariposas muertas iban a posarse aquí y allá, sobre la ropa, el cabello y la nariz de las personas. (48)

Como expone Sierra, «The factory was an immediate source of pain, and even death, and it was the expected position of the working class within the social body» (41), y evidentemente ese es el medio en el que Pecado está creciendo. Hace el trabajo de un animal en la oscuridad, en un ambiente que Galdós nos retrata repleto de extraños y diminutos monstruos que nos dan una idea de sequedad y de muerte. Los pequeños hilos de cáñamo que flotan en el ambiente son «espectros de insectos» y «almas de mariposas muertas» (48). Se introducen en el cuerpo del hombre-máquina que empuja la rueda en un esfuerzo brutal. Se está convirtiendo en un animal mediante la insensibilidad del medio que le explota siendo simplemente un niño. No siente el dolor, simbolizado aquí por la brutal torsión de la cuerda, por «el roce del eje sobre los cojinetes mal engrasados y el estremecimiento de las transmisiones» (49). Todo son objetos en tensión, la cuerda, la rueda y «el hombre que salía de la oscuridad, andando hacia atrás muy lentamente y con un paso tan igual y uniforme como el de una máquina» (48). El obrero se convierte en parte de ese engranaje, de esa maquinaria, se asemeja a esa cuerda «quejándose de la torsión violenta», que no es más que un estruendoso crujido similar al «zumbar de las alas de un colosal moscardón» (48). El hombre/muchacho es presentado como parte de la máquina con su consecuente embrutecimiento. Tal como señala Sierra, que ha prestado especial atención a este episodio:

The blurring between human and machine is manifest by the cáñamo attached to the worker's body as well as the mechanized movements in synch with the monstrous dominating machinery. This worker emblemized the subordination of the wage-earner to the powerful and ceaseless efforts of the lifeless machine. (42)

Este capítulo resulta toda una condena de un sistema social que debería rectificarse, mediante la descripción de una mecanización del ser humano que resulta profundamente destructiva además de impedir cualquier tipo de movilidad social. Pecado representa la infancia abandonada en medio de la más terrible brutalidad, cuando sus obligaciones deberían ser jugar, crecer y, sobre todo, educarse. No obstante, esto no es posible en las condiciones en que se encuentra la sociedad española del momento. Aún así Galdós realza el valor del trabajo, la importancia de éste para que la sociedad pueda prosperar y el hombre superarse dentro de ésta: «No había ido con gusto al trabajo por ser domingo. Nunca iba con gusto, porque él daba a la rueda y su tía cobraba. Pero, al fin, con gusto o sin él, allá fue tranquilo, pensando en que por la tarde se divertiría en el Canal o en la Arganzuela» (III). Se percibe aquí el valor moral del trabajo y de la alta consideración que siente el autor por éste, a pesar de las terribles condiciones laborales. El rechazo conducirá al personaje al crimen y la disipación, la vagancia y el juego. Es ante todo una posibilidad de superación. Al fin y al cabo después del trabajo siempre existe una recompensa, bien puede ser el juego infantil, adecuado a la edad del muchacho, o la comida. Cuando las dos mujeres van a buscarle al trabajo, posteriormente le llevan a comer y después del «festín», se irá a jugar un rato.

No obstante, el proceso de animalización e insensibilización (propio de la máquina a la que nos hemos referido antes) ya se ha iniciado. Cuando su hermana le besa, después de no verle durante años, Mariano, por la brutalidad a la que se ve sometido y la ausencia de una educación adecuada, exclama: «Chicáaa..., no me beses más, que no soy santo» (51), sin diferenciar entre su hermana y cualquier otra mujer, al utilizar una clara alusión de tipo sexual. Sin embargo, no es una referencia al motivo del incesto que no está justificado por el texto, sino a la vulgaridad y la rudeza de Mariano, a su insensibilidad animal que no sabe diferenciar entre hembra y hermana. Ya anteriormente su tía parece haberle predestinado a un terrible fin al llamarle Holofernes. El personaje bíblico fue un general asirio, famoso por su crueldad y que perdió la vida a manos de Judit. Atraído sexualmente por ella y completamente embriagado, Holofernes fue asesinado por la heroína bíblica mientras dormía como dice en el libro de Judit: «Tomó [Judit] lo que la sierva le había preparado, y comió en presencia de Holofernes, el cual se alegró sobremedida con ella, y bebió tanto vino cuanto jamás lo había bebido desde el día que nació» (*Sagrada Biblia*, Jdt. 12.19-20).

Con respecto a este componente de la novela, Krow-Lucal, en su estudio sobre Encarnación Guillén, asegura que «In this novel the Bible is equal to absolute truth» (27), lo que acaba

cumpliéndose en el caso de Pecado. La desmesura, simbolizada por la comida, será uno de los problemas del personaje y que en última instancia le llevará al patíbulo: «Pecado devoraba con el apetito insaciable de una bestia atada al pesebre, después de un día de atroz trabajo» (*La desheredada* 51), «No se hacía de rogar Pecado, antes engullía sin cumplimento» (199), «empezó a engullir con tanta prisa, que no pudo su hermana evitarlo» (204). Pecado en su representación del proletariado urbano camina hacia su propia perdición en su deseo de pedir más y más. De ahí el caso de este personaje que no come, sino que devora, engulle, traga en un afán de comer de manera desmedida, más propia de un animal que de una persona. Este elemento, como analizaré más adelante, es equiparable al anarquismo violento que en su afán de destrucción del Estado camina hacia su propia destrucción.

Otra visión clara del proletariado oprimido y al mismo tiempo cruel e insaciable, la encontramos en el capítulo «Hombres», que ha sido señalado por Gilman (119) y por otros como la predicción de la Guerra Civil. Peter Bly se refiere a «the description of the manoeuvres of *el menudo ejército* of boys who are really playing a dangerous game of civil war» (8), y Bravo Villasante también hace alusión a que «[l]a pedrea de la panda de golfillos en el barranco de embajadores es un preámbulo del crimen de adultos y de la guerra civil» (483). La escena de la chiquillada es un retrato de las clases más desfavorecidas de la sociedad española: «Había caras lívidas y rostros siniestros entre la muchedumbre de semblantes alegres. El raquitismo heredado marcaba con su sello amarillo multitud de cabezas, inscribiendo la predestinación al crimen» (93). Pero al mismo tiempo el narrador no deja de advertir de los peligros del desinterés de la clase política hacia lo que se puede estar fraguando entre las clases más desprotegidas de la sociedad:

Era una página de la historia contemporánea, puesta en aleluyas en un olvidado rincón de la capital. Fueran los niños hombres y las calles provincias, y la aleluya hubiera sido una página seria, demasiado seria. Y era digno de verse cómo se coordinaba poco a poco el menudo ejército. (93-94)

No obstante, ese ejército carece de líder, de dirección. El Majito lleva el ros que había remendado Pecado, símbolo del general Juan Prim, asesinado poco antes y considerado por muchos como la solución a la convulsa escena política española. Collins ha señalado desde su trabajo «Sliding into the Vortex» la importancia del hecho: «Each child is willing to compete violently with neighborhood companions to take on the role of General Prim» (19), pero no analiza las implicaciones políticas del caso. Prim era, como ha señalado Hinterhauser, la figura política (junto a Mendizábal) que Galdós más veneraba (266), o como apunta el propio Galdós desde *España trágica*: «Prim era la clave de la libertad y del porvenir de España, y que si aquel hombre faltase volveríamos tarde o temprano al reino de las camarillas» (927). El motivo de la disputa es el ros, que según el diccionario de la Real Academia es una «especie de chacó pequeño, de fieltro y más alto por delante que por detrás» (1938) y cuyo nombre

etimológicamente proviene del general Ros de Olano que introdujo en el ejército español esta prenda militar. El ros resulta fácilmente asociable al héroe de la batalla de Castillejos, el desaparecido Prim, por lo que Galdós indirectamente se lamenta de la situación política y con respecto a las clases populares de la ausencia de un líder fuerte, honesto y progresista que les dirija y sea un modelo a seguir.

La carencia de un mando provocará el enfrentamiento y el asesinato protagonizado por Pecado, no por un instinto criminal sino por verse envuelto en una riña que le es, hasta cierto punto, ajena. «Pecado arrojó el arma que había sido juguete. El instinto le mandaba huir, y huyó» (105). La brutalidad del medio empuja a las clases proletarias al crimen y en este caso a Pecado a perder la inocencia de la infancia, un juguete se había convertido en un arma mortífera. Ahora sólo le resta huir y volver de nuevo a la «caverna», el «túnel», la «cisterna vertical» que es la alcantarilla donde es terriblemente vulnerable y regresa a su estado de animalización, al «estado casi salvaje» (108). Al igual que en la rueda donde trabaja de él sólo se vislumbran «dos luceros en la oscuridad» (110). Finalmente, atrapado y hambriento, el niño tendrá que entregarse; «¡Tenía un hambre atroz y una sed! ...; sobre todo, una sed de padre y muy señor mío. A estas insufribles molestias se unió el frío» (110), como si Mariano Rufete sólo atendiera a sus instintos animales: comer y luchar, incluso matar, para defender su autoridad entre la manada. «Su maldad era todavía una forma especial de valor pueril, de esa arrogancia tonta en querer ser el primero. El estado casi salvaje en que aquella arrogancia crecía trájole a aquel extremo» (108). Es obvia la brutal presión del medio en que Pecado y sus compañeros de juego deben sobrevivir e imponerse unos a otros. Sin embargo, Galdós apunta una posible solución y ésta es la educación.

En 1877 con la victoria electoral en Francia de los republicanos moderados, grupo político por el que sin duda Galdós sentía simpatías, se iniciaba un período de libertades esenciales que se plasman, entre otras cosas, en una enseñanza primaria gratuita, laica y obligatoria en el país vecino. La educación, que siempre fue para Galdós la solución para los problemas de España, es el principal problema del personaje, y aquello que le llevará a su posterior condena es su desinterés por educarse. Como bien expresa su tía, «¿Y quién le sujeta a la escuela? Bueno es el niño. . . . [m]e hacía novillos el tunante... [s]e me escapaba a las pedreas» (41). Cuando su hermana le amenaza con ponerle interno en un colegio, contesta que se escapará: «—No te escaparás. ¿Piensas que vas a lidiar con bobos? Hay un maestro muy rígido. —De la bofetada que le pego —dijo Mariano, pudiendo ya articular algunas palabras—, va volando al tejado» (204). Desprecia cualquier tipo de educación porque ya está definitivamente envuelto en su terrible escalada de violencia y depravación moral. Prefiere el robo y el dispendio irracional a la educación y el trabajo. Miralles apunta que «[p]or encima de la presión (del medio), queda salvaguardada la libertad de los dos hermanos gracias a las opciones que la vida les ofrece (léanse las oportunidades de trabajo y de reforma que le surgen a Pecado)»

(16). En Mariano, según el texto de Galdós, de entre sus instintos predominan «el de la vagancia, y el gusto de correr por las calles y caminos con cierto afán de buscar aventuras» (210) y esto le conduce al fracaso: «Mientras duraron en casa de Isidora las abundancias y el regalo, Mariano hizo la vida de señorito holgazán, rebelde al estudio, duro al trabajo, blando a la disipación y al juego» (279).

Más adelante, su fracaso, su rechazo a las posibilidades de vivir como una persona honrada, su inclinación por el juego y las malas compañías irán minándole y provocarán su vertiginoso descenso moral, además de su enfermedad, posiblemente conectada a su herencia genética, aunque también a su díscolo modo de vida. Frente a su fracaso personal reacciona mediante el resentimiento y el odio. Su reacción consiste en juzgar a los demás mediante los parámetros con que se juzga a sí mismo. Si un hombre va en una carroza le considera un ladrón: «El papá debe de haber robado mucho. Está gordo como un lechón... De consiguiente, que lo abran en canal» (423). Su pensamiento sólo puede recurrir a la violencia: «Descuidar, que alguno habrá que vos arregle. Yo lo que digo es que, muerto el perro, se acabó la rabia» (423). De este modo, escuda sus propios errores personales y su fracaso social en el resentimiento:

La nación en masa, ¿qué nación?, la sociedad entera estaba confabulada contra él. ¿Qué tenía que hacer pues? Crecerse, crecerse hasta llegar a ser por la fuerza sola de su voluntad, tan considerable que pudiera él solo castigar a la sociedad, o al menos vengarse de ella. (449)

Bly considera, muy acertadamente, que el resentimiento contra la sociedad le empujará hacia su perdición (21), pero cabe añadir que el motivo del resentimiento servirá a Galdós para criticar otro de los problemas sociales y políticos del momento: la violencia anarquista, a la que me he referido anteriormente, y que evidentemente Galdós desaprobaba en favor de cualquier otro tipo de solución más juiciosa. Para ello recurre a novelar la realidad histórica, como muestra Brian J. Dendle:

Galdós's fictitious account of Mariano's attempted regicide is loosely based on an attempt on the life of Alfonso XII some two and a half years before the composition of *La desheredada*... Galdós borrowed numerous features from the Oliva case for his account of Mariano's botched regicide. (53)

El anarquismo violento es otro de los problemas que pueden afectar al *pueblo* español que en su abandono y opresión puede tender hacia los extremismos. Juan Gómez Casas asegura que el período entre los años 1874 y 1881 «es uno de los más oscuros [del anarcosindicalismo]» (62), por hallarse éste en la clandestinidad y bajo abierta persecución. Al mismo tiempo aporta pruebas sobre el congreso clandestino de Madrid donde «[e]l congreso constreñido por las circunstancias: "Reconoce como un deber la represalia mientras se trate a los trabajadores como a las fieras y se les nieguen sus derechos"» (62); lo cual concuerda con los postulados

del fundador del movimiento, Mikhail Bakunin, que insta a «the revolt against the tyranny of men, individual as well as social, represented and legalized by the State» (238).

Evidentemente estos planteamientos resultan muy diferentes a las ideas de Galdós y sus ideas políticas puesto que consideraba la necesidad de una figura política justa y respetada como había sido Prim para solucionar los problemas de la sociedad de su tiempo. Ante estos antecedentes, Galdós representó ese resentimiento social como prueba de las actividades anarquistas de aquel momento. Mediante las acciones de Pecado descalifica la acción violenta que no conduce a la emancipación social del proletariado y que le llevará a nivel individual al ajusticiamiento. Sin embargo, Pecado se ha condenado a sí mismo en una larga carrera de atrocidades que empiezan con el asesinato, un tanto involuntario, de Zarapicos y culmina con el intento de regicidio. Ha tenido oportunidades para enmendarse y las ha desaprovechado todas. Cuando finalmente se ve a sí mismo en el último vagón de la sociedad, considera que ésta es la culpable y quiere vengarse. De ese modo es posible hablar de cierta influencia del medio como declara Rodgers: «*La Desheredada*, then, displays Galdós's eclectic attitude towards Naturalism: he rejects biological determinism, but accepts that individual behaviour may be influenced by circumstances» (71). Miralles, por su parte, expone que «Galdós da cumplidas muestras de depositar en sus criaturas la responsabilidad de sus propios actos, la verdad es que pone muy de relieve las circunstancias desfavorables que les rodean, al convertirlos en víctimas» (16), idea en gran medida compartida por García Sarriá. Schnepf parece decantarse por la opción determinista cuando asegura: «virtually every detail pertaining to Galdós's portrayal of Mariano Rufete points in the direction of failure, dissapointment, and death» («Creation and Execution» 64). No obstante, tanto Pecado como Isidora han tenido posibilidades para encarrilar sus vidas, lo que excluye, hasta cierto punto, la idea del determinismo. No obstante, resulta un tanto excesiva la tesis de Bravo Villasante:

Isidora y Pecado tienen la tara del padre loco, y esa es la razón por la que terminan degradados, rebajados. Toda la novela es un proceso de degradación. Los tarados por herencia se degradan por el medio ambiente, por la falta de educación. (482)

No obstante, hay que recalcar el hecho de que Pecado va a la escuela, primero auspiciado por su tía y posteriormente por su hermana, pero se niega a recibir una educación y opta por el camino de la violencia y la barbarie. Si no se hubiera ausentado del colegio e ido a las pedreas, su tía no le hubiera puesto a trabajar en una «cisterna horizontal», lo que queda ratificado en la novela cuando la Sanguijuelera, después del primer fracaso escolar del chico en la escuelas de los «Herejes», lo pone en los «Católicos» (41). Galdós ve a este proletariado, mediante la aproximación al personaje de Mariano, como un diamante en bruto a pesar de que a primera vista no es más que una piedra informe. Su posibilidad de superación radica en la educación; no en vano el libro está dedicado a los maestros de escuela. El escritor cana-

rio condena ciertos aspectos de este proletariado, el hecho de exigir demasiado y no poner las bases para una auto-superación social y personal, expresado en su carácter secundario, Pecado, que engulle la comida sin saborearla como si de un animal de pesebre se tratase y en su desinterés total por educarse, que le conducirá a la holgazanería, el alcoholismo, el juego, el asesinato y toda clase de enfermedad social. Tal como concluye Ribbans mediante la representación del personaje secundario de manera un tanto tangencial:

Through [the fragmentary representation of the character] emerges the intensity of his alienation from society and the impossible delusions of grandeur bordering on insanity fostered by his rancour and precipitated by epilepsy. The resulting frustration, fed by a re-assertive egoism, leads him into a senseless and gratuitous act of violence that signals not only his own despair and the ruin of those around him but reflects the precarious nature of the country. (797-98)

Al mismo tiempo, Galdós parece mostrar cierta fe en ese proletariado que vive en condiciones infrahumanas. No obstante, necesita un líder honesto y capaz que le dirija para no desangrarse en terribles luchas intestinas, como queda claro en el capítulo sexto de la primera parte. El hecho de colocar el ros del recientemente asesinado general Prim en medio de la discordia entre los chiquillos del barrio parece sintetizar una cierta idea de la necesidad de España de un liderazgo eficiente, posibilidad que parece haberse perdido tras el asesinato del general y presidente del Consejo de Ministros. La sucesión de gobiernos inoperantes y algaradas más o menos revolucionarias no eran en ninguna de las maneras una solución a los problemas del país. Como lo describe Gies: «We see the effects of [political and social problems] brought by the whims of politics and the instability of such governments, problems which also form much of the social fabric woven by Galdós into his novels» (238), lo que se percibe en la figura de Mariano y sus circunstancias. Por lo tanto, Galdós mira con cierta desconfianza a las clases proletarias, pero en ningún momento rehuye la esperanza y por eso castiga la holgazanería y la envidia homicida de Pecado con un fin casi didáctico. La educación, el trabajo y el amor propio resultan ser las opciones para escapar de la degradación social a la que la sociedad parecía condenar a las clases más desheredadas, tal como señala el título de la novela. Su representación de clase no excluye posibilidades de superación; es la tendencia al extremismo aquello que Galdós condena. Como muy bien dice Carlos Blanco Aguinaga: «Limitado inevitablemente a su tiempo y a su clase, Galdós fue, sin embargo, capaz de superarlos ideológica y políticamente» (204). Por ello debemos admitir que supo entender los problemas y agravios que estaba sufriendo la clase obrera, aportando posibles soluciones. De esta forma se puede considerar a Galdós un avanzado en la representación de clase en la literatura española, en la exploración de ese Otro inserto dentro de su misma Sociedad, rehuyendo tesis deterministas y realizando la educación como vía hacia la superación.

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POLITICS, AND THE POLITICS OF GENDER (NOT IN THAT ORDER):
EDUARDO GÓMEZ GEREDA AND ANTONIO SOLER'S
IMPOSIBLE L'HAIS DEJADO

RESUMEN

Este ensayo analiza la obra *Imposible l'hais dejado*, pieza teatral satírica-paródica escrita por Eduardo Gómez Gereda y Antonio Soler en 1907. Es un ejemplo notable de la sucesión de obras que utilizaron materia del *Don Juan Tenorio* de José Zorrilla, y se presenta tanto a los lectores como a su público con objetivos críticos bien claros. Ya que figura en ella la inversión de los papeles tradicionales de género, funciona como comentario de la dinámica sociocultural que existía entre los sexos. Como paralelo a esto, los dramaturgos también incorporan en su creación a figuras y movimientos políticos del día, así aportando otro nivel a la sátira que resulta ser el logro más memorable de la obra.

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Imposible l'hais dejado*—*Don Juan Tenorio*—José Zorrilla—Eduardo Gómez Gereda—Antonio Soler—parodia—sátira—roles de género

ABSTRACT

This essay analyzes Eduardo Gómez Gereda and Antonio Soler's *Imposible l'hais dejado*, a one-act satire/parody from 1907. It is a notable example of the proliferation of works that appropriated material from José Zorrilla's *Don Juan Tenorio*, and it unfolds to both reader and audience with clear critical objectives. Because it features an inversion of the original

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play's traditional gender roles, it serves as a commentary on the socio-cultural dynamics at play in the relationship between the sexes. Parallel to this, the playwrights also tie their creation to contemporary political figures and movements, adding another level of depth to the satire that proves to be the play's most lasting achievement.

KEYWORDS: *Imposible l'hais dejado*—*Don Juan Tenorio*—José Zorrilla—Eduardo Gómez Gereda—Antonio Soler—parody—satire—gender roles

In the fourth act of Part One of Zorrilla's *Don Juan Tenorio*, we find the following brief exchange:

D. JUAN ¿Le arriesgáis, pues en revancha
de doña Ana de Pantoja?
D. LUIS Sí; y lo que tardo me enoja
en lavar tan fea mancha.
Don Juan, yo la amaba, sí;
mas con lo que habéis osado
imposible la hais dejado
para vos y para mí. (*Don Juan Tenorio*, 2372-2379)

With these words we learn that don Juan has succeeded in his plan to seduce doña Ana de Pantoja, and that he has, in the process, “ruined” her, at least in the eyes of don Luis. Numerous components of the Spanish concept of honor insert themselves in this moment, but it occurs with hardly any emphasis—the audience understands without the need for any explanation what don Luis means, and Zorrilla spends no time further exploring doña Ana's fate. He does not even give her a statue in the pantheon in the play's second part. While don Luis does seek to exact revenge against don Juan, by this point it has become more a matter of his own (masculine) pride, and doña Ana has been discarded.²

Eduardo Gómez Gereda and Antonio Soler have taken a slightly altered version of this one line from the *Tenorio* as the title of their second appropriation of Zorrilla (the first having been 1904's *M'hacéis de reir Don Gonzalo*)³, and given this decision and the fact that they have

² For a thorough examination of the topic of honor with regard to don Juan and various key manifestations of the figure, see Mandrell *Don Juan and the Point of Honor*.

³ This play is included in the manuscript that I am currently preparing on appropriations of *Don Juan Tenorio* from the early 20th century (from 1900 through the start of the Spanish Civil War). For an introduction to the mechanisms of parody and satire in these plays, and a study of appropriations of Zorrilla during the period between the premiere of the *Tenorio* and the turn of the century, see Bersett *El Burlado de Sevilla*.

chosen to join the growing group of playwrights who explore the option of gender recoding in appropriations of *Don Juan Tenorio*, one might presume that questions of gender-related honor might perhaps be examined as well. This proves, almost, to be the case, but not in the way that we would think given the source material, and we will be surprised as well at how the authors choose to utilize the title verse at the end of the play.

Imposible l'hais dejado, with music by José Fonrat, premiered at the Teatro de Novedades in Madrid on October 31, 1907,⁴ the same night as two other appropriations of *Don Juan Tenorio*: *Tenorio feminista* (Antonio Paso, with Servet, Valdivia, and Lleó, 1907)⁵ and *Román Osorio* (José María Dotres, 1907). The play has not attracted much critical attention, and the only significant mention of it can be found in the work of Carlos Serrano, who groups it with other thematic successors of Liern's *Doña Juana Tenorio*, "que... serviría de modelo al *Tenorio feminista* de Paso, Servet y Valdivia (en 1907) o al *Imposible l'hais dejado*... de Gereda y Soler, también en 1907" (26). The title page of the play's printed edition claims that it met with "extraordinario éxito," and states that, in terms of genre, it is a "Tontería cómico-lírica, hecha en un acto... de obsecación y á cuadros... como los pantalones de La Cierva" (5). We thus learn two key pieces of information regarding the play—its broad brand of humor, plus its reliance on the contemporary political scene for comedic material. We know immediately that, whatever its reliance on the *Tenorio*, the play will include some form of satiric commentary, given at the very least that the Ministro de Gobernación's plaid pants have been brought into the game from the start. The play develops this sort of satire on numerous occasions, but does not lose sight of its focus on questions of gender, which provide the work's primary material. Furthermore, like many other appropriations of *Don Juan Tenorio* at this point in time, the question of parodic intent remains somewhat secondary, as we shall see. In any case, *Imposible l'hais dejado* stands as a more completely and consistently developed satire of its contemporary world than does the authors' previous foray into the world of don Juan in *M'hacéis de reir, Don Gonzalo*.⁶

⁴ The play is incorrectly listed in the "Espectáculos" section of *ABC* during the first few days of its run as *Imposible la hais dejado*, leading one to postulate a typesetter more familiar with Zorrilla's original text than with the play in question, or who had a vested interest in more traditional orthography. Whatever the source of the error may have been, it was eventually corrected. We note also, as has David Gies, that Zorrilla's original "hais" itself is an alternative usage for "habéis," deployed by Zorrilla to maintain meter (*Don Juan Tenorio* 197n).

⁵ *Tenorio feminista* is an extreme example of the popularity of appropriations of *Don Juan Tenorio*, in that, according to the published version of the play, it opened on that late October night in six different cities in Spain—Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, Sevilla, Cádiz, and Cartagena (4).

⁶ One final preliminary note regarding *Imposible l'hais dejado* is that its authors include a brief dedicatory scene in the printed edition of the play, in which Sevillian journalist Rogelio Pérez Olivares receives a new work from Gómez Gereda and Soler. The short comic sequence, in verse, mimics the format of the letter from *Don Juan Tenorio*, but it contributes nothing else of note to the play as a whole.

The opening *cuadro* —“¡Á la cama, á la cama!” (a title that emphasizes the work’s focus on sexuality)—establishes the parameters of the authors’ satire by recoding the bet scene, during which many of the play’s principal mechanisms are introduced. The authors provide an initial depiction of this play’s female *calavera*, Juana Osorio, as well as her servant, Chata (the gender-recoded Ciutti), and the tavern keeper, el Mofletes. Juana finds herself irritated by the noise of a song entering from the street, and we are treated, as in many appropriations of the *Tenorio*, to a slightly revised version of the play’s opening lines:

Cuál gritan esos malditos,
mas puede que alguno *cobre*.
En cuanto escriba este sobre,
también yo voy á dar gritos. (9)

She presents herself as one who will join in the disruption of order when the time is correct, and this exposition of her character introduces qualities she will display during much of the work. Juana seems also intelligent and capable, and she provides as well a point of comparison against which the audience can evaluate her servant, with comical (yet significant) results, while the reverse comparison (servant to mistress) allows insight as well. For example, when Juana has finished the letter and hands it to Chata, she gives her specific instructions on where to deliver it:

Este pliego,
á la calle... la Cabeza,
diez, bajo, centro interior,
casi *pegao* á la escalera.
Te lo dirá la portera.
Es *pá* mi dueño y señor. (10)

Although Chata claims that she has understood “perfectamente,” she cannot retain this information as a cohesive whole, and she repeats it to herself in an aside while making her exit:

La cabeza del señor,
y el centro de la portera,
que han *pegao* á la escalera
los del diez, bajo, interior. (10)

This, and Chata’s other interventions during the scene, allow the audience to comprehend Juana as a woman who knows what she wants, a woman whose successes should come as no surprise given the abilities imbued in her by Gereda and Soler from the play’s outset.

These strengths receive further emphasis as el Mofletes places Juana into the greater context of her sex in the subsequent scene. He praises women and their gifts in the following terms:

...hoy *tóo* el mundo es feminista,
y lo que ustedes no logren,
no hay socio que lo consiga;
porque es cosa ya corriente
y de sabido se olvida,
que en alzándose las faldas
boca abajo la justicia.
Yo voy con estos bigotes
y esta cara y esta pinta
al gobernador... y magras,
ni me dirige la vista.
Se lo pide usted a Vadillo
y se lo dá *deseguida*.
Es decir, se me figura...
¡Caprichos de la política! (11)

As we have noted in analyses of other appropriations of the *Tenorio* in which the issue of gender comes to the fore, what we find here can in no way be defined as “feminism” as we understand the term today.⁷ El Mofletes essentially contends that women have learned to use their sexuality to gain advantage, and thus reveals the principal component of *Imposible l'hais dejado*. The play is full of strong women who assert themselves, while the men seem to have been reduced to roles of shrinking timidity—very much the reverse of matters as displayed in the *Tenorio* (at least up until the play’s final scenes, when we learn that doña Inés has taken agency in the fate of don Juan). The authors immediately undercut (in a small but humorous way) this dynamic of strength, however, by having Juana instruct el Mofletes on the preparations for her pending business with Luisa Legía, this play’s recoded don Luis, during which conversation she requests that he serve them *chatos de Montilla*—thus continuing the vermouth/lime tea/hot chocolate tradition of recoded *donjuanes* ordering either trendy or “weak” beverages. She may be a strong, independent woman, but Juana will still prefer a fruity wine.

The authors introduce the bet scene proper with a musical number presented by “la comparsa de tullidos «La Escrofulosa»” —the stage directions call for an ensemble of four men,

⁷ See, for example, Bersett, *El Burlado de Sevilla* 192-198.

led by a female character in charge (“La Escrofulosa”), in which “El Escrofuloso 1.º, es jorobado; el 2.º, manco; el 3.º, tuerto, y el 4.º, cojo, con la pierna llena de bultos” (13). These men then explain the falseness of their handicaps in turn:

- TODOS Los disfraces son sencillos
 como *ustés* habrán *notao*,
 pues saliendo en calzoncillos
 ya está uno *enmascarao*.
- ESC. 2.º (*Mostrando el brazo en cabestrillo.*)
 Yo no tengo *ná* en el remo.
- ESC. 3.º (*Mostrando un ojo pintarrajeado.*)
 Esto está *falsifícao*.
- ESC. 4.º (*Mostrando las piernas.*)
 Mis bultitos son patatas.
- ESC. 1.º (*Señalando al que tiene á la derecha.*)
 Y éste á mí me ha *jorobao*.
- TODOS Somos cinco vividores
 que vivimos muy felices
 pues á *tóo* el mundo engañamos
 y hasta al alcalde dejamos
 con tres palmos de narices. (13-14)

They refer to their mistress as a “pendón,” claiming that they are “*cansaos / rendíos y abrumaos / de andar por la calle*” with her (13). The authors’ agenda regarding gender roles is further complicated by these elements, as men become weakened (on numerous levels: in reality, in disguise, and due to their submission to a higher female power who exploits them), and another woman is depicted as controlling (and corrupt, here, as well). Their “performance” goes further, though, and reintroduces the political commentary suggested on the play’s title page, and also indicated by el Mofletes in his earlier description of the power of women. Part of the *comparsa*’s routine includes song and dance performed with two *couplets*, both of which describe the weakness and corruption of the government, in which “A nuestro Ayuntamiento / *l’han dejao sin narices*” (15). This is one example of liaison in these *couplets*—the other being a sly reference on the part of the authors to their other don Juan play, *M’hacéis de reir Don Gonzalo*, but having the government rather than don Gonzalo be the source of mocking laughter—and we find numerous other occasions of its use throughout the work as part of the lowered linguistic register of the play’s characters. Although it is just one of the linguistic techniques used to indicate the reduction of language in *Imposible l’hais dejado*, its frequent appearance also serves to prepare us for the appearance of the title line at the end of the play. Furthermore, the presence of the *couplets* here prepares us for a series of refer-

ences to contemporary popular culture that will begin to be developed in the subsequent scene, and continued as the play progresses.

We then meet the recoded don Gonzalo, here named “la de la Plaza de Comendadoras” (reference to an area of Madrid near the Parque del Oeste, as well as don Gonzalo’s title). She requests a mask from el Mofletes —when he gives her one he informs her that “Con eso nadie adivina / si es usted la Fornarina / ó el Obispo de Sión” (16), a jarring (but not surprising, given the nature of these appropriations) juxtaposition of an infamous cabaret performer and a key Madrid religious figure. The former, Consuelo Bello Cano (1884-1915), was notoriously popular during the first two decades of the century, and created scandal in a number of venues,⁸ while the latter occupied an office frequently besieged by conflict and scandal. The authors’ reference to these individuals, taken with later nods to the contemporary world, firmly grounds the play in its present, and continues the construction of satiric observation that pervades the work as a whole and underlines the development of its characters, specifically the female ones, with reference to their more open and “modern” sexuality.

The next person to arrive at the tavern is the new version of don Diego, here renamed (somewhat less cleverly than la de la Plaza de Comendadoras) doña Diega de Noche. We cannot help but note the ironic, though possibly confusing, suggestion of prostitution in the names of both mother figures, or at least some quality of life in the streets, given that they represent more traditional values. As if to confirm this, el Mofletes continues his role of offering the cultural counterpoint to the action of the play, describing Diega in the following terms:

*Pá mí que es esta cotilla
de la secreta... ¡Caray!
¿Si será el Millán Astray
con mantón y con toquilla?* (16)

As in many other appropriations, the don Diego surrogate becomes the voice of conservative values in the recoded world of the play, here implied through comparison to the writer and civil servant José Millán Astray (1850-1923), who at different times would serve as *comisario de policía* and jailer in Madrid.⁹ Diega expresses her anger using the same words

⁸ Pedro Montoliú reports that la Fornarina, a principios del siglo y en el Salón Japonés, protagoniza el primer desnudo integral, pues hasta ese momento las artistas de varietés solían quedarse en el escenario con medias negras y en camisa más o menos transparente. La Fornarina, en uno de los números de *El pachá Bum-Bum y su harén*, se presenta, sin embargo, sin ninguna ropa sobre una gran bandeja de plata llevada por cuatro portadores negros. (71)

⁹ He should not be confused in this reference with his more famous son, also named José Millán Astray (1879-

as don Diego (having descended “á tan ruin mansión”), but alters the latter’s reasoning in a significant fashion. While Zorrilla’s father figure asserts that “no hay humillación / a que un padre no se baje / por un hijo” (245-247), Juana’s mother has other concerns on her mind: “no hay humillación / á que una ya no se baje / por el qué dirán las gentes” (17). Her outrage, which at first might seem moral in nature, like that of her antecedent, remains conservative, but its underpinnings are entirely superficial and selfish. When she refers to the younger generation as “indecentes,” we know that it has more to do with her self-image than with any sense of dogmatic decency. We note, also, the continued importance of beverage as a cultural marking system—Diega orders a glass of Cazalla, a type of anise.

As Juana makes her entrance, we find in the stage directions further detail on those present. Juana has arrived with la Tía Política de Centellas, while Luisa Legía has come in accompanied by la Tía Carnal de Avellaneda, along with several other Tías, whom we might presume carry similar allegorical weight (17). With these characters on stage, the ensuing sequence concretizes our perception of the play as constructed thus far, with its parallel development of the cultural context in general and female sexuality in particular. Luisa confirms the second part of this when she clarifies the background of the bet:

Porque un día,
dije que en España entera
no había nadie que hiciera
las conquistas que yo hacía. (17)

Juana asserts her own opinion, stating that

pá mí que es presunción vana
el que t’hagas ilusiones,
pues pá robar corazones
no hay otra como la Juana. (17-18)

She then launches into her narrative, during the course of which we find most of the targets of satire as well as other elements featured throughout the play—for example, in her travels Juana has become a *coupletista* in Paris, she has held various jobs in Berlin (we underline here

1854), as it would have been too early in the latter’s military career for Paso to be utilizing him in this fashion. The younger Millán Astray would go on to found the Spanish Foreign Legion and be a staunch ally of Francisco Franco, and would be involved in the famous confrontation at the University of Salamanca that brought Miguel de Unamuno’s academic career to an end in October 1936 (see Thomas 353-354).

the concept of a woman working her way through Europe), and, like her Zorrillan antecedent, the victims of her actions run the socioeconomic gamut. Several segments in her speech recode the equivalent verses from the *Tenorio* to underline her sexual exploits:

Los franceses melosos,
las francesas calientes,
yo de curvas atrayentes,
si mis triunfos amorosos
hubieran visto estas gentes!...
[...]
Desde el Príncipe real
ó arrogante general,
hasta el *ninchi* barquillero,
mi amor recorrió ligero
toda la escala social.
Por donde quiera que fuí
las envidias excité,
de los *quindas* me reí,
y á muchos hombres dejé
memoria amarga de mí. (18-19)

Luisa's story, of her feats in France and Morocco, maintains a similar relationship with its source material, and concludes in much the same fashion:

Y cual vos, por donde fuí,
las pasiones sublevé
con el ruido que metí,
á los hombres *disloqué*
y del mundo me reí. (20)

Both women carry with them letters from jilted lovers, to be used to compare their relative success in the bet, and we find that, as should be expected by this point given our knowledge of other appropriations of *Don Juan Tenorio*, their number of victims and acts of disruptive behavior are both excessive and relatively equal in number to each other.

What sets this particular version of events apart from others is the musical epilogue created to underline the question of female sexuality. Juana begins by singing her own praises:

Tengo un encanto en mi cuerpo
 y una gracia y un andar,
 que hechizo al punto á la gente
 sin poderlo remediar.
 No voy por la calle
 que no me echen flores,
 mi cara de cielo
 las hembras me envidian;
 si entorno los ojos
 los hombres me siguen;
 si muy fijo miro
 se obscurece el sol;
 si elevo la vista
 se caen las estrellas,
 mi rostro de fuego
 derrite la nieve,
 no hay nadie en el mundo
 que tenga un palmito
 tan *retegracioso*
 como tengo yo. (21)

Thus, in concrete terms, and with little symbolic or rhetorical obfuscation, we witness an open expression of her sexual self-confidence. She knows that she is attractive, and does not hesitate to use this considerable power over others. Luisa elaborates this even further, and a small excerpt proves sufficient for us to note how both women share this sense of empowerment:

Yo también tengo en mis ojos
 un encanto singular
 que á las gentes enamora
 y hace á las feas rabiar. (22)

It is little wonder, then, that the women around them, those of the older generation in particular, look with such scorn on their words and actions. They break with accepted decorum, and bear little resemblance to their cultural and literary predecessors. It is true that they demonstrate the freedoms embraced by both don Juan and don Luis in the *Tenorio*, at least until the respective demises of Zorrilla's characters, and in doing so reject traditional dogma and authority. These points of contact, though, remain subverted due to the question of their gender. In this they also share little in common with other *doñajuanas*, who

represent other issues entirely—in *Doña Juana Tenorio*, for example, the female protagonists represent a criticism of middle-class acquisitiveness (Bersett, *El Burlado de Sevilla* 195), and their behavior highlights a strong doubt in the moral superiority of women (Gies, “Subversión” 99). Furthermore, as is the case in so many appropriations of the *Tenorio*, especially as time continues to pass, they have no struggle with issues of spirituality or salvation. What matters here is the breaking of taboo, as we witness true female *calaveras* —women who reject traditional values and gender roles, and freely ply their sexuality with no concern for earthly sanction or spiritual condemnation.

In a choice that allows for compression of the source material, the authors here opt to eliminate any reference to a counterpart for doña Ana (who was left “*imposible*” in Zorrilla), and instead have their characters focus the resolution of the wager on Juana’s betrothed: Candidito de Ulloa, a young man living in a monastery, the son of la de la Plaza de Comendadoras. Juana describes their task and the prey, declaring that “A un bello joven novicio / nos vamos a disputar” (22). At this point the authority figures make their (anticipated) objections, and that of Candidito’s mother reinforces the cultural subtext developed in the play thus far:

A mi hijo olvidad ligera
porque os juro ¡vive Dios!
que antes de ser para vos
sera *pá* la Cachavera. (23)

While recoding the corresponding verses from the *Tenorio*, the authors have inserted another reference to a *coupletista*, this one as infamous as the last—Montoliú cites la Cachavera in the same category of scandal as la Fornarina, and even includes a photograph of her in a typically revealing “costume” (71). There remains no doubt as to the class of femininity occupied by Juana and Luisa, with regular and overt allusions to what were, in essence, strippers—these are women who maximize their sexuality to their advantage, and seem to have no remorse about doing so. By embracing this lifestyle, they cut all ties with their forbears, and thus with proper society. Diega, in her rejection of her daughter’s behavior, states the position clearly:

Sigue, pues, loca y ufana
en tu loco frenesí,
mas nunca vuelvas á mí,
yo no te conozco, Juana. (23)

The authors offer us a repetition of the removal of the mask worn by the authority figure as can be found in the antecedent scene in Zorrilla, with similar repercussions of shock from

all present except Juana, who finds no issue with such boldness.¹⁰ Once Diega has abandoned the scene, the rivals declare their intent to make for the monastery to continue their adventures.

We then witness another intrusion of the political world into the play's events, this time reinforcing the qualities of femininity underlined in the previous sequence. As in the *Tenorio*, the rivals have arranged to have each other taken captive, and *Imposible l'hais dejado* chooses again to take advantage of the possibilities of satiric commentary, relating this plot development to the moral and legislative efforts of Antonio Maura and Juan de la Cierva. Luisa explains to Juana (just taken into custody, and claiming, again, that “¡M'hacéis de reír!”):

Amiga, no lo extrañeis,
más mirando á lo apostado
á Maura os he delatado
para que no trasnocheis. (24)

Juana, for her part, responds in kind once Luisa has been taken:

¡Anda ahora y vuelve por uvas!
Por lo visto se conoce
que la Cierva se ha enfadao
porque esto no se ha cerraao
como él ordena, á las doce. (24)

This allusion to key political figures proves not to be an example of merely casual name dropping (as can be the case in some appropriations of the *Tenorio*, or in satire in general) —rather, in citing these names the authors inject a specific resonance that supports an interpretation of the play as forwarding a particular agenda. That is, Gómez Gereda and Soler call into question the role of government and society in the evolution of traditional gender roles. Writing a full century later, Charles Esdaile and Javier Tusell describe the political scene of Madrid circa 1907 in a way that serves to clarify these interjections:

El antifeminismo no fue un producto específico de la era de Maura, pero fue él quien tomó las primeras medidas para velar por la protección de la imagen tradicional de la mujer. Así, bajo la dirección del puritano ministro de la Gobernación del gobierno de Maura, Juan de la Cierva, las diferentes normas municipales promulgadas durante el medio siglo anterior para controlar

10 Regarding the equivalent scene in Zorrilla, see Gies (*Don Juan Tenorio* 124n).

la prostitución fueron complementadas en 1908 por un nuevo código nacional, encaminado a confinar el problema a burdeles autorizados, poniendo así freno a su crecimiento y notoriedad. Mientras tanto, se sufragaban campañas a gran escala contra la pornografía y se intentaba extirpar cualquier forma de conducta impropia por parte de la población femenina. (214)

They go further, examining the question of regulation in reference to nightlife and places of entertainment: “El carácter reaccionario del reformismo de Maura no queda patente sólo en el caso de las mujeres. Los intentos de restringir el horario de apertura de tabernas y cabarets se proponían al tiempo generar una mano de obra más sana y combatir la delincuencia” (214). We should stress here as well that this information would have been common knowledge to the play’s audience—they would need no clarification to understand the dialogue’s subtext, highlighted even further by their familiarity with the source material drawn from Zorrilla. Time and again, this proves to be one of the key mechanisms of appropriation with satiric intent—when one knows the model text well (as any of these audiences would have known the *Tenorio*), any changes to that model will draw attention to the recoded text, giving authors an opportunity to insert clearly delineated commentary in their particular fashion. In this example, the characters’ words and what we know about contemporary attempts to control the activities of the public (women in particular) demonstrate without question that Gómez Gereda and Soler wish to underline the complexities of both the perception and reality of gender issues. Women here do not conform to any traditional paradigm. We have, rather, a clear inversion of gender roles, and not one meant to produce solely comedic effect. Nor does the play establish the inversion only to subvert it later, thus nullifying any sense of “progress” developed in the characters, as we shall see.

The authors emphasize this inversion with another layer of gender-related twists in the play’s second *cuadro*, entitled “El filtro envenenado.” The act opens in a cloister at the monastery indicated during the previous sequence, and the audience witnesses a musical number in which dancing monks respond to a voice they hear coming from outside offering advice on how to experience a more fulfilling love life. The Padre Prior steps in to caution them:

Cerrad vuestros oídos
á impúdicas canciones,
que son la causa á veces
de torpes tentaciones. (25)

Candidito de Ulloa and the musical monks respond to the Padre Prior that he can relax, that they are only praying:

Pidamos al Altísimo
de todo corazón
que nos defienda siempre
del mundo pecador. (26)

Their situation, as men isolated from the world around them, is further emphasized by the response that comes (again, from outside the walls of the monastery) from a choir of women:

«Á las oraciones
cierran los conventos;
¡pobrecitos frailes!
que se quedan dentro.» (26)

Gómez Gereda and Soler thus establish another physical space that delineates differences in gender. In the monastery we now have our first significant interventions in the play from male figures, kept from the world around them, in contrast to the tavern, filled with women who have debated questions of liberal freedoms (as well as el Mofletes, whose function seems somewhat sexless, more that of an indirect narrator and cultural observer). The monastery provides the opportunity for an escape from the perils of that liberalism, from the dangers represented by women. The Padre Prior reminds Candidito of this, asserting that

Dichoso mil veces vos
que vais derecho al Edén
ignorando la ponzoña
de la pérvida mujer. (26)

The question of eternal salvation does, then, enter into consideration —though not for the protagonist. It is her “beloved” who will struggle with this issue, in much the same way that doña Inés does in the *Tenorio*, but Candidito will not bring the conflict (and the resulting opportunity to choose her ultimate fate) to Juana in the same way that his antecedent does to don Juan, as will be demonstrated by this play’s climax.

Candidito, displaying a timidity not usually seen in male characters, especially in don Juan plays, begs the Padre Prior to remain with him, as he harbors some inexplicable fear and does not wish to be alone. His superior assures him that he will not be left on his own for long, as the kitchen helper will be sent to keep him company. Once Candidito is in fact alone, he bemoans his current condition:

No sé qué tengo, ¡ay de mí!
que estoy triste á todas horas;

este silencio me espanta;
este misterio me agobia. (27)

His language and the imagery it carries remind us of doña Inés at the corresponding moment in her trajectory in the *Tenorio*, isolated from the world and unknowingly primed for the arrival of a seducing figure. The kitchen help then arrives, in the form of Brígido, lamenting the lonely boredom of the convent—he claims to need some “jolgorio” (27). Candidito expresses his need for news of the outside world by demanding to know if Brígido has brought with him a copy of that day’s *España Nueva*. This request serves two parallel functions: on an internal level of narrative and character development, Candidito needs information regarding the world beyond the monastery walls, while on another (extratextual) level it symbolizes the play’s ongoing agenda to keep the audience informed of the present, of the reality of Spain as it exists outside the theater in which the play is performed.

As Brígido hands the newspaper to Candidito, a letter from Juana falls out onto the floor, and the play then proceeds to offer its recoding of the antecedent moment from the *Tenorio*. The letter opens in typical fashion, “Cándido del alma mía” (28), but like the rest of the play it is peppered with colloquialisms, as well as further examples of the liaison we have already noted on numerous occasions: “«*M’alegraré que al recibo / de esta t’halles todo bien...*»” (28). The bulk of the letter is presented in the usual format, in both its recognizable model (it appears in pieces during the dialogue between Candidito and Brígido, as in Zorrilla’s original text, as well as other appropriations) and its moments of modernization. For example,

«Chacho mío de mi vida.
Imán soñado y querido;
brillante siempre escondido...
en el Monte de Piedad.
Gorrión que nunca saliste
de las faldas de tu madre,
porque decía tu padre
que eso era una atrocidad.
Azúcar cande, sorbete,
tus ojos verdes tristonés
y tus imberbes facciones
me tienen *electrizá*.
Quiéreme siempre, ángel mío,
y no olvides ni un momento
que á las diez de tu aposento
tu Juana te robará...» (28)

In addition to the colloquial and the modern, in particular that she claims to be electrified by him, we find other significant points of characterization and narrative here. Candidito seems to have been protected by his parents like a young woman would have been in a more traditional upbringing, and this remains in keeping with the inversion of gender roles in the play. Also, we note the humorous bit of theatrical self-awareness at the end of the stanza, in which Juana urges Candidito to remember something of which only the audience will be aware, again out of familiarity with the source material. The young man's response to all this is one of piety and fear:

¡Oh, qué filtro envenenado
me dais en este papel!
Yo, en tentación de pecado.
¡Dios mío, libradme de él!
El corazón se me raja
y de una cosa el rumor
oigo que sube y que baja. (29)

While Candidito believes that the sound must be some horrible illusion, Brígido calmly explains, as only a resident of the jaded modern world could do, that it is merely the elevator, bringing Juana up to meet him. In response to her arrival, Candidito must emulate doña Inés, wondering if he is dreaming, and then proceeds to faint. As Juana orders Brígido to help her to carry the unconscious form away, the worldly kitchen servant wonders why he cannot seem to meet someone like her who would do similar things to him. He expresses the other side of the masculine spectrum as that represented by Candidito—while the innocent young man fears this aggressive form of femininity, the older Brígido fantasizes about it, and the authors seem to have juxtaposed these characters to provide more complete insight into the male perspective on the sort of sexuality developed throughout the play, just as Zorrilla did with their respective models.

The stage directions for the play's final *cuadro* ("Para casa de los padres") call for a set that contains "Á la izquierda el clásico sofá, pero de paja, y un lavabo á la derecha" (30). We know that what follows will involve some version of the sofa scene, and Candidito comes out of his stupor in fear of the sort of moral peril that such a scene might entail for him—he worries about temptation and sin, and what his mother will think. We remember her earlier words regarding the *qué dirán* and note her influence on him. When Brígido informs him that he is in Juana's house and that she will return shortly, Candidito throws up his arms and shouts "¡En tus manos me encomiendo!" (30), reflecting both his religious training and his distance from traditional masculine bravura.

The sofa scene begins with Juana's entrance —she tries to assuage his fears, and offers the first of many references to Zorrilla, laced with modern language and trappings:

¿No es verdad, ángel de amor,
que aquí en esta *chaise longue*
ansías que se prolongue
mi estancia a tu alrededor? (31)

What follows consists of a complex recoding of material from *Don Juan Tenorio*, in which Gómez Gereda and Soler utilize numerous modern details and political references, as well as a healthy dose of fairly erotic language. As in other appropriations, Juana responds not necessarily to the internal imagery and symbolism of the verses she recites, but more often to external stimuli (sounds and objects indicated by the stage directions, such as the wash basin mentioned above) that guide her seduction. She begins in the following fashion, reminiscent of the words of don Juan, but resonating with a more present reality:

Esta aura que vaga llena
de espliego y de *pacholí*,
¿no es cierto, alma mía, di,

She continues for two sets of *décimas* that use a rhyme structure slightly altered from that of the original verses, several lines of which serve as representative of the scene as a whole:

Esas dos líquidas perlas
que se desprenden tranquilas
de tus señoras pupilas,
me da reparo beberlas.
Límpiate, para absorberlas,
y que yo, con ansia loca,
pueda secar con mi boca
esa humedad de tu cutis,
y hacer en seguida *mutis*
como el señor Sánchez Toca. (31-32)

While the language here does not prove as explicit as that in, say, *Don Juan Notorio* (1874),¹¹ it contains a more graphic physical quality than that found in the vast majority of appropriations of the *Tenorio*, and it underlines the nature of Juana's feminine sexuality as developed throughout the play. Furthermore, it comes alongside yet another reference to the contemporary political scene, this time with an allusion to Joaquín Sánchez Toca (1852-

¹¹ For analyses of this play and its use of pornographic content, see Gies "Subversión," and Bersett "Polvos sin fin."

1942), a conservative ally to Antonio Maura, who ended his (short) second term as mayor of Madrid on October 28, 1907, just three days before the premiere of *Imposible l'hais dejado*. This sort of up-to-the-minute content lends an immediacy to the play that can be lacking in even the most topical of other appropriations.

Candidito concludes the sofa scene with further familiar material, revised according to the play's agenda with close adherence to the source material and the language of physical sexuality, with a continued, though somewhat less pronounced here, lowering of linguistic register:

A vuestro amor me hice el sordo
porque estaba hecho un jumento;
pero si seguís, presiento
que se va á armar algo gordo...
Tal vez poseéis ufana
un misterioso amuleto,
que á vos me atrae en secreto.
¡Dadme el amuleto, Juana!
¿Pues qué he de hacer si desierta
mi alma pura en vuestros brazos,
y el corazón en pedazos
veréis pronto en una espuerta?
¡Juana, Juana, te lo imploro
por quien te sacó de pila,
ó dame una taza e tila
ó ámame, porque t'adoro! (32)

Aside from the return to lime tea as one of the beverages of choice for characters in early twentieth-century appropriations of the *Tenorio*, we note also the continued relationship between Candidito and doña Inés, both of whom succumb to the attractions of their respective seducers. They revert to the same explanations for their weakness against these advances, blaming external, supernatural sources of power possessed by these individuals —as has happened with doña Inés, Candidito's background, training and piety cannot withstand the influence of Juana's charm and influence.

The play then speeds to an abrupt conclusion with the arrival of Candidito's mother and Luisa Legía, both of whom, outraged at Juana's activities, seek to right the situation in the same fashion as don Gonzalo and don Luis at the conclusion of Part I of *Don Juan Tenorio*. Candidito, although he has just confessed to having given in to Juana's seductive ways, defends his innocence, backed by Juana's acceptance of all guilt for the situation. She has no desire for

further confrontation— having apparently fallen in love with her prey, Juana now wishes to resolve all conflicts. As Candidito witnesses the interactions between the three women, he begins to dance about and shout with joy:

¡Yo estoy loco de contento!

[...]

No os debéis incomodar.

¡¡Esto es mejor que el convento!!

Mamá, me caso con Juana.

Llévame á la Vicaría. (33)

We note that he turns to traditional modes of resolution: marriage sanctioned both by parental approval and official recognition of the relationship by the proper authorities. Luisa, for her part, leaves aside her desire for vengeance, claiming that Juana has found for herself sufficient punishment in the form of matrimony —“Si tal hacéis, os perdono / porque ya tenéis castigo” (33). These disparate views on the institution of marriage represent an apt conclusion to the issues of gender recoding developed in the play, given that a traditionally female perspective is now placed within the arc of a male character, while a “modern” female looks askance at the happy ending offered by the proposed union.

Juana closes the play with the standard plea to the audience, finally arriving at the verse that provides the play with its title:

Y como aquí la parodia

ha tocado ya á su fin,

callad si no os satisfizo

y al pobre autor no decid:

Imposible l'hais dejado...

para poderla aplaudir. (33)

Thus we learn that, in a strictly literal sense, the direct object in the play's title refers not to a woman, but rather to the play itself. One level of the humor of this wordplay stems from its being used to describe only a potential reaction to the play. Yet we comprehend that it must also refer to Juana and her behavior as a woman in the modern world. By most contemporary standards, the authors have created in this character a female ethos that the audience would find “imposible” in practically every way. As we have noted, her sexuality is forceful and concrete —she makes no effort to shroud anything that she does under cover of any type of propriety (at least until the play's climax)—and she is proud of not having to live according to the norms of a patriarchal society.

The play's satire, while focusing primarily in microcosm on the new freedoms available to (and perhaps practiced by) women, reaches a broader target and encompasses the whole of contemporary Spanish culture. The frequent references to present-day political figures serve to remind us that the Spain of the early twentieth century found itself undergoing a struggle between conservative and progressive value systems, one that Spaniards recognized themselves even in the moment, and the authors wish to impress upon their audience the validity of some new ideas. As part of the greater society around them, women and men, the play seems to assert, need not conform to traditionally defined, restrictive guidelines of behavior. While *Imposible l'hais dejado* does not necessarily claim that men should now occupy the roles traditionally reserved for women (Candidito functions more to provide contrast to Juana's forward nature, and also some rather clever comedy), it does allow for an increased flexibility with regard to the established norms of masculinity. He serves one further purpose as well, in more general terms, symbolizing the dangers of overprotection—when one sees nothing of the world, one has no ability to cope with its realities. We cannot help but believe that the females in this imagined world would be more likely to find success there, and in the real world as well if given the appropriate opportunities.

(Note: The printed edition of the play includes some 14 “Couplets para repetir” at the conclusion of the drama proper. These stanzas continue the satire developed throughout the play, and contain numerous other allusions to contemporary figures and events, in particular with reference to Antonio Maura, Juan de la Cierva and Joaquín Sánchez Toca. Two stanzas stand as representative of the poetry as a whole:

—Muy pronto tendré un chico.
—Mirondón, mirondón, mirondón.
—Y éstos, según me dicen,
les va á pasar igual.
La culpa es de La Cierva...
—Que impide trasnochar.
[...]
—Yo tengo mucho frío.
—Mirondón, mirondón, mirondón.
—Y aún me queda este año,
bastante que pasar.
Hasta que salga Maura...
—El fresco no se va. (34-35)

The humor here continues to be at the expense of these figures, and the poetry contains a hint of resignation to the reality that they represent.)

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LIES, IMAGINATION, MEMORY, AND SELF-NARRATION IN ROSA MONTERO'S *LA LOCA DE LA CASA*

RESUMEN

La novela pseudo-autobiográfica de Rosa Montero, *La loca de la casa*, presenta la imaginación como una mujer loca que interviene entre la memoria y la narración para formar una narrativa autobiográfica. En el primer capítulo, Montero dice que «para ser, tenemos que narrarnos, y en ese cuento de nosotros mismos hay muchísimo cuento: nos mentimos, nos imaginamos, nos engañamos» (10). La novela sigue, presentándonos una serie de narraciones contradictorias supuestamente tomadas de la vida de la autora. Al final, no sabemos cuál de las versiones es la verdadera. También llegamos a la conclusión que saber la verdadera historia no importa. Lo único que importa es la presencia de una historia interesante que contar sobre el pasado. La vida se convierte en nuestro cuento y nosotros nos convertimos en los autores al recordar, pensar, añadir detalles, cambiar los detalles y acabar con una narrativa que nos guste. Al final, no se trata de una secuencia de eventos del pasado, sino de la manera de que la memoria y la imaginación se juntan para crear una narración. El proceso de recordar el pasado no es muy diferente del proceso que toman los escritores para crear un personaje ficticio, porque todos usamos nuestras imaginaciones para ficcionalizar nuestras vidas.

PALABRAS CLAVE: metaficción—auto-reflexión—Rosa Montero—literatura española—novela española—memoria—imaginación

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ABSTRACT

Rosa Montero's pseudo-autobiographical novel *La loca de la casa* focuses on imagination as the madwoman who intervenes between memory and narration in order to form an autobiographical narrative. In the first chapter, Montero states that "para ser, tenemos que narrarnos, y en ese cuento de nosotros mismos hay muchísimo cuento: nos mentimos, nos imaginamos, nos engañamos" (10). She goes on to present several contradictory narratives of events from her own life. In the end, we do not know which one is the true one. We also come to the conclusion that it does not matter. All that matters is the presence of an interesting story to tell about one's past. Life becomes our story and we become the author as we reminisce, remember, add details, change details, and end up with a narrative that satisfies us. In the end, it is not about the sequence of past events, but rather the way in which memory and imagination work together in order to create a narrative. One's life recollection is no different than an author's creation of a fictional character, because we all use imagination to fictionalize our lives.

KEYWORDS: metafiction—self-reflection—Rosa Montero—Spanish Literature—Spanish novel—memory—imagination

Rosa Montero's *La loca de la casa* (2003) is a hybrid novel/autobiography/treatise on writing, which borrows Santa Teresa's metaphor and personifies the imagination as a lunatic who intervenes between memory and narration in order to form an autobiographical narrative. Amidst self-reflection and story telling, Montero presents several contradictory narratives of events from her own life. In the end, we do not know which one is true, or if they are all imagined and therefore fictional. We also come to the conclusion that it does not matter. All that does matter is the presence of an interesting story to tell about one's past. Life becomes our story and we become the author as we reminisce, remember, add details, change details, and end up with a narrative that satisfies us. In this article I will focus on the role of imagination in the formation of memories and in the attempt to make our lives take on a consistent narrative. In the end, it is not about the sequence of past events, but rather about the way in which memory and imagination work together in order to create a narrative. One's life recollection is no different than an author's creation of a fictional character, because we all use imagination to fictionalize our lives.

On the most basic level, *La loca de la casa* is a work of metafiction, as it self-consciously reflects on the process of literary creation. Patricia Waugh defines metafiction as follows:

Metafiction is a term given to fictional writing which self-consciously and systematically draws attention to its status as an artifact in order to pose questions about the relationship between fiction and reality. In providing a critique of their own methods of construction, such writings

not only examine the fundamental structures of narrative fiction, they also explore the possible fictionality of the world outside the literary fictional text. (2)

While Montero does explore the relationship between reality and fiction, she does not suggest that the world outside the fictional text is also fictional. What she does propose is that we fictionalize that world as we attempt to recount our experience of reality. Waugh goes on to assert that we as observers change reality through observation:

it is impossible to describe an objective world because the observer always changes the observed. ... The metafictionist is highly conscious of a basic dilemma: if he or she sets out to 'represent' the world, he or she realizes fairly soon that the world, as such cannot be 'represented.' In literary fiction it is, in fact, possible only to 'represent' the *discourses* of that world. (3)

While Waugh focuses on discourse, Montero focuses on memory. Before one even gets to language, events are fictionalized in the mind and life becomes a story that we tell ourselves rather than an experience that we have lived. We become the narrators of our lives, whether or not we put that narration in writing:

Para ser, tenemos que narrarnos, y en ese cuento de nosotros mismos hay muchísimo cuento: nos mentimos, nos imaginamos, nos engañamos. Lo que hoy relatamos de nuestra infancia no tiene nada que ver con lo que relataremos dentro de veinte años. Y lo que uno recuerda de la historia común familiar suele ser completamente distinto de lo que recuerdan los hermanos. (10)

While all members of a family participate in the same reality, each person processes that reality differently, and, with the help of his or her own imagination and memory, creates a narrative that differs from that of others who have participated in the same events. Montero does not question the existence of a reality, of a lived common experience, only our ability to faithfully represent this experience, even to ourselves.

The first element to contribute to the fictionalization of reality is memory. Memory, however, is not an actual recording of real events and is, in turn, also affected by the imagination. For Montero, memories do not come from lived experience, but rather from the imagination's perception of that experience.

De manera que nos inventamos nuestros recuerdos, que es igual que decir que nos inventamos a nosotros mismos, porque nuestra identidad reside en la memoria, en el relato de nuestra biografía. Por consiguiente, podríamos deducir que los humanos somos, por encima de todo, novelistas, autores de una única novela cuya escritura nos lleva toda la existencia en la que nos reservamos el papel protagonista. (10-11)

The key factor in this process of fictionalization of life is the imagination, the lunatic of the house. Santa Teresa's metaphor is key in understanding Montero's thesis in that madness implies unpredictability, inconformity, and uncontrollability. The imagination takes events that we experience and transforms them into something new. This is not a conscious or controlled process, as the imagination often times works independently and cannot be guided into submission.

While Rosa Montero's claims are metafictional rather than psychological, there do exist psychological studies to suggest that Montero is on the right track when it comes to the idea that the imagination plays a central role in memory creation. In fact, a 2000 study by Maryanne Garry and Devon L.L. Polashek gives credit to literature for observing what science later comes to confirm: "Consistency, said Oscar Wilde, is the last resort of the unimaginative. A poet, playwright, and all-round observer of human behavior, perhaps Wilde knew what psychologists are just beginning to understand: that imagining the past differently from what it was can change the way one remembers it" (6). A 2003 clinical study by Guiliana Mazzoni and Amina Memon, coincidentally published the same year as Montero's novel, concludes:

people can develop both a belief in and a memory of an event that definitely did not happen to them by simply imagining its occurrence. Imagination alone, without any additional suggestive procedure, increased participants' convictions that an event had occurred in their childhood, and also produced false memories of the event. (188)

Another 2003 study, by James M. Lampinen et al., confirms that the imagination does in fact play a role in false memory creation:

By repeatedly imagining events that did not happen it is sometimes possible to experience false memories with sufficient experiential content to be quite convincing. While this is true, it is also true that the phenomenology of false memories can differ in subtle ways from the phenomenology of true memories. This is true in reality-monitoring paradigms in which participants imagine events and come to believe that they perceived them. We have also shown it to be true in internal source-monitoring paradigms in which participants come to believe they performed actions that they only imagined performing. (891)

Like Oscar Wilde before her, Montero's theory seems to have found proof in the world of science. Science, however, is interested in separating real from imagined memories, while Montero suggests that they are equally valid and necessary, especially when it comes to the writing process, which, of course, is metafiction's greatest concern.

While Montero suggests that all life consists of self-narration, guided by the madness of the imagination, she goes on to claim that novelists go step further when it comes to the process

of creating fiction. Authors accept and embrace the imagination, “esa loca a ratos fascinante y a ratos furiosa que habita en el altillo” (28). Rather than narrating their own stories, fiction writers narrate other stories as well: “ser novelista es convivir felizmente con la loca de arriba. Es no tener miedo de visitar todos los mundos posibles y algunos imposibles” (28). Thus, while all of us narrate the fictional stories of our own lives, writers narrate and fictionalize other stories as well, ones that never took place in the realm of reality, although they may have been sparked by some element thereof. As David Richter points out, *La loca de la casa* is structured on a “theory-praxis” method (31), where Montero presents a theory about writing and then illustrates it through an example. Richter concludes that “Montero takes self-conscious writing to a new level as she demonstrates not only her ideas regarding the art of writing, but subsequently, as she puts into action the very theories and metafictional practices she hypothesizes” (35). To illustrate the theory of living multiple lives, Montero talks about walking by an old mental asylum in Madrid. While the real Rosa Montero continues her walk through the streets of Spain’s capital, a projection of herself, fueled only by the image of the hospital and driven purely by the imagination, enters into the asylum, interns herself, and experiences the life of a patient:

Esa pequeña proyección de mí misma se quedó allí, en el Centro de Salud Mental, a mis espaldas, mientras yo seguía con mi utilitario por la calle camino del almuerzo, pensando en cualquier futilidad, tranquila e impasible tras ese espasmo de visión angustiada que resbaló sobre mi cuerpo como una gota de agua. Pero, eso sí, ahora ya sé cómo es internarse en un centro psiquiátrico; *ahora lo he vivido*, y si algún día tengo que describirlo en un libro, sabré hacerlo, porque una parte de mí estuvo allí y quizá aún lo esté. Ser novelista consiste exactamente en esto. No creo que pueda ser capaz de explicarlo mejor. (30)

Not all stories triggered by the imagination are destined to be written down, but they are all recorded in the mind of the author, ready to come to the page when the writing process takes over. For writers, then, the imagination is more than a fictionalizing agent of their own lives; it is a force of creation of numerous lives, of myriad experiences, which serve as the basis for novelistic production.

At times, the imagination creates numerous versions of the same story, with different outcomes and varying circumstances. Sometimes, previously fictionalized events based on reality can be revisited and re-fictionalized to form new stories. *La loca de la casa* is part autobiography, part fiction, part treatise, or as David Richter asserts, “a cacophony of literary genres” (30). José Ismael Gutiérrez talks about the various genres coming together to form a “linaje mestizo de su escritura” (117). As Montero blends autobiography and fiction, she tells three different stories about a supposedly “real” experience that took place. The stories share some commonalities, such as an actor whose initial is M., Rosa’s age at the time of

the event, the historical time period (toward the end of Franco's regime), Rosa's friend Pilar, who introduces her to M., and several other people. David Richter sees the M. stories as exemplary of the "multiplicity of selves that Montero's text repeatedly discusses" (35). The three versions are equally spaced out at the beginning, middle, and end of the book, serving as a backbone to the anecdotal elements of the novel.

In the first version (32-45), Rosa is twenty-three years old, and a friend of hers by the name of Pilar introduces her to M., a famous European actor who is filming in Madrid. They dine, they dance, and, at the end of the night, Rosa drives M. to his apartment at around 4am. They make love, he falls asleep, and Rosa panics and leaves, only to find her car surrounded by police officers and her father, who has been called to reclaim the illegally parked vehicle. A few days later, she receives a letter from M., which she disregards. Shortly afterwards, she begins to regret her decision. M. leaves Madrid before they can see each other again, and Rosa spends the next six months thinking about him, while he refuses to take her calls. Years later, they meet again, and, when a smile reveals that he too remembers the encounter, Rosa wonders what the actor's memories of the events were. The chapter ends with the story, leaving the reader to reflect on the significance of the anecdote to the metafictional reflection on writing. Since the chapter has opened by talking about passion and the way in which it produces "imaginaciones monstruosas" (32), one assumes that the monstrosity here is Rosa's fear after the night of passion, which makes her run away, causing her great regrets over the next six months. The story appears to be nothing more than an honest account of an event that profoundly marked the author's life.

The second version of the story (128-45) makes no reference to the first and is presented as an independent anecdote. Only the reader who has read the first version can make the connection and realize that this is a different account of the same evening. A famous actor named M. dines with Pilar and Rosa. At around 4am, Rosa drives him to his apartment. They kiss, he offers her a drink, and then suddenly faints. M. is unresponsive, so Rosa goes out to look for help, but gets lost in the labyrinthine tower. Unable to remember the apartment number, she fails to convince the doorman that she is a guest. Worried about M., Rosa makes phone calls, one of which leads to a leak to the press, where reports of the actor's imminent demise begin to run. He never forgives her for the incident. She spends years hating herself, until she runs into him much later and is repulsed by his behavior. The closing reflection is "Si tú supieras la cantidad de vidas distintas que puede haber en una sola vida" (145). Clearly it is not possible for both versions of the story to be true. Montero tells each one as if it were biographical truth, but when compared side by side, they are two distinct stories that cannot be reconciled. The reader now starts to wonder which, if either, is true.

The third version appears toward the end of the novel (238-59). Again, the story seems to be a

new anecdote, although the characters and time frame are the same. In this story, however, the beginning suggests that it is a product of the imagination:

Y es que las historias amorosas pueden llegar a ser francamente estrambóticas, verdaderos paroxismos de la imaginación, melodramas rosas de pasiones confusas. A lo largo de mi vida me he inventado unas cuantas relaciones semejantes, y ahora me voy a permitir relatar una de ellas, a modo de ejemplo de hasta dónde te puede llevar la fantasía (y la locura). (238)

This time, Montero sheds doubt on the story's veracity by stating she has invented several similar relationships, thus attributing the story as much to the imagination as to experience. In this version, Rosa dines with Pilar and M., takes M. home, they make love, but it is a clumsy and unsatisfying experience. She starts to question herself after he is asleep (much like the first version), and decides to escape. The police are once again by her car, but her father is missing from this version. This time, she has forgotten her purse and identification in the tower. She attempts to prove that she slept in the tower, but the doorman does not recognize her, and M. is not listed by his real name. Unable to produce her identification, Rosa is detained and spends a few days in jail. She goes home to discover that M. has returned the purse to her house and met her sister, Martina, with whom he begins an affair. Years later, when Rosa and M. meet again, she thinks that he may be remembering her sister, but he assures her that he does and will always remember her. The participation of Rosa's fraternal twin in this third story creates a link to several other anecdotes that Montero narrates in the novel, such as her sister's brief disappearance during their childhood (104-109), and an experience that the two of them share walking through the streets of Boston at night (25-28). In fact, Martina is one of the most present yet problematic characters in *La loca de la casa*. Martina's character is a constant presence throughout the novel, and her existence is initially affirmed when Montero speaks of a brother who exists only in her dreams: "en el mundo de mis sueños tengo un hermano varón que se llama Pascual, aunque en esta vida real no tenga más hermana que Martina" (119). Martina appears to be such a major part of Rosa's life that we never once question her existence until the novel's conclusion when Montero writes: "[...] supongamos por un momento que he mentido y que no tengo ninguna hermana" (266). If Martina is, indeed, fictional, then the anecdotes in which she is featured are also fictional, at least in part. The line between fiction and biography is blurred, reminding us that this book is not about Montero's life, but rather about imagination and the creative process. Montero asserts that "el novelista no solo tiene que saber, sino también sentir que el narrador no puede confundirse con el autor" (266). With this statement, Montero distances herself as author from the fictional narrator of *La loca de la casa*, suggesting that even events recounted as experiences can be fictional and ought to be considered as such. According to Alexis Grohmann, "lo que hace Rosa Montero de manera deliberada en la obra es introducir toda una serie de elementos ficticios en el relato de su

biografía" (218). Montero neither confirms nor denies Martina's existence in real life. She is one of many fictional elements that enrich the biographical stories as they distance themselves from reality and enter the realm of fiction. Reality, as such, is only important as it serves to spark the imagination. Once *la loca* takes over, reality becomes unreachable and only fiction remains. In the end, the most central character of the novel is neither Rosa nor Martina, but instead the imagination itself, personified as *la loca* who resides in everyone's mind, especially that of a novelist.

Montero uses the verb "mentir" to suggest that her sister may not exist in the real world. Lying, however, is part of the creative process. Most traditional novels do not reflect on their status as lies, but it is common in self-reflective texts for the narrator to admit they are lying as they write. Those lies are not malicious, rather they are fueled by the imagination and serve as part of the creative process. Instead of recounting one reality, novelists create and recount multiple possible realities, loosely based on the original:

Lo que hace el novelista es desarrollar estas múltiples alteraciones, estas irisaciones de la realidad, de la misma manera que el músico compone diversas variaciones sobre la melodía original. El escritor toma un grumo auténtico de la existencia, un nombre, una cara, una pequeña anécdota, y comienza a modificarlo una y mil veces, reemplazando los ingredientes o dándoles otra forma, como si hubiera aplicado un caleidoscopio sobre su vida y estuviera haciendo rotar indefinidamente los mismos fragmentos para construir mil figuras distintas. (266)

It is through the imagination that novelists revisit these realities and recreate them. The M. narratives are a perfect illustration of a story that may have been sparked by a lived experience, but we, as readers, are not privy to the experience, only to the versions filtered through the author's imagination. Each version is equally true as a literary text. Each is a possible story. Cristina Carrasco sees these possible stories as Rosa Montero reinventing herself on several levels: "En un primer nivel tenemos a Rosa Montero como autora implícita, tratando de mantener hasta cierto punto su autoridad y su nombre. Sin embargo, Montero se reinventa a sí misma en una multiplicidad de personajes para mostrar que el ser humano es muchos y ninguno al mismo tiempo" (235). Carrasco goes a step further, suggesting that one of the characters of Montero's reinvention is Martina (236). If, in fact, Martina does not exist, then it is highly possible that she is an imagined representation of Montero, hence the confusion when Montero is uncertain which sister M. remembers in the third version of the story. In the end, the possible stories are countless. What some would call lies, novelists would call endless creativity.

La loca de la casa does tell a story, not about Montero's life, but rather about the creative process in which we all participate. Montero's life stories are purposefully contradictory and

serve as examples of what the imagination can do with a spark from reality. The novel's central character is the imagination —not just Montero's, but everyone's. Psychology confirms that the imagination plays an important role in the memories that we keep and the stories that we tell ourselves. The stories and reflections in Montero's novel serve to demonstrate that we are all the narrators of our own lives, and that we all possess a lunatic who is able to show us new possibilities. Reality is but the beginning for a much richer narrative once we let the imagination take over.

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IMPLAUSIBLE DENIABILITY: HISTORY, FICTION AND THE ENIGMA OF TRUTH IN CERCAS'S *EL IMPOSTOR*

RESUMEN

El impostor (2014) de Javier Cercas es una de varias novelas del autor que exploran las profundidades de la memoria, la historia y la recuperación de la verdad. Incluidos entre ellos son *Los soldados de Salamina* (2001) y *Anatomía de un instante* (2009). La obra sigue al narrador Cercas mientras investiga a Enrik Marco, un fraude que durante décadas se pintó a sí mismo como un rebelde republicano y sobreviviente del campo de concentración de Mauthausen en Alemania. La misión de investigar a Marco le lleva a Cercas a un mundo de registros oficiales, rumores y entrevistas con historiadores, cineastas y otros que provocan un cambio de perspectiva inesperado en su investigación. En lugar de escribir una exposición dura, cargada de hechos, Cercas se retira a un modo reflexivo en el que contempla su vida como escritor de ficción y cómo lo que hace es paralelo a las acciones de Marco. El resultado es verse a sí mismo como otro impostor. La razón tras la ansiedad de Cercas surge cuando se da cuenta de que la memoria y la historia son distorsiones similares de la verdad y evidencias de la ficción en la vida. Aunque la motivación para un recuerdo en particular puede provenir de buenas intenciones, la base todavía es defectuosa, flexible y está sujeta a la perspectiva de quienes cuentan la historia. En este artículo examino la naturaleza enigmática de la memoria histórica y la línea fina que separa la verdad de la ficción tal como se ve a través de un lugar dislocado, asíncrono y fragmentado en el tiempo y el espacio.

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PALABRAS CLAVE: Javier Cercas—memoria—historia—ficción—verdad—Enrik Marco—Guerra Civil Española—recuperación de la historia—memoria histórica

ABSTRACT

Javier Cercas's *El impostor* (2014) is one of several novels by the author that explore the depths of memory, history and the recuperation of truth, including *Los soldados de Salamina* (2001) and *Anatomía de un instante* (2009). The work follows the narrator Cercas as he investigates Enrik Marco, a fraud who for decades painted himself as a Republican rebel and survivor of Germany's Mauthausen Concentration Camp. Cercas's fact-finding mission takes him into a world of official records, rumors and interviews with historians, filmmakers and others that bring about an unexpected change of direction in his investigation. Instead of writing a hardboiled, fact-laden exposé, Cercas retreats into a reflective mode where he contemplates his life as a fictional writer and how what he does parallels Marco's actions. The result is seeing himself as yet another impostor. The reason for Cercas's anxiety surfaces as he realizes that memory and history are similar distortions of the truth and evidences of fiction in life. Though the motivation for a particular memory may come from good intentions, the foundation is still faulty, pliable and subject to the perspective of those telling the story. In this essay I explore the enigmatic nature of historical memory and the fine line that separates truth from fiction as viewed through a dislocated, asynchronous and fragmented location in time and space.

KEYWORDS: Javier Cercas—memory—history—fiction—Enrik Marco—Spanish Civil War—recuperation of history—historical memory

Is any given bombing in Italy the work of leftist extremists, or extreme-right provocation, or a centrist mise-en-scène to discredit all extreme terrorists and to shore up its own failing power, or again, is it a police-inspired scenario and a form of blackmail to public security? All of this is simultaneously true, and the search for proof, indeed the objectivity of the facts does not put an end to this vertigo of interpretation. (Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation* 16)

Javier Cercas's *El impostor* (2014) follows the footsteps of an author-turned-detective to unmask the history, and truth, behind the life of Enric Marco (b. 1921), a self-proclaimed hero of the Spanish Civil War and alleged prisoner in Nazi Germany's Mauthausen Concentration Camp. The narrator, whose voice is that of a fictionalized Cercas, obsesses over the revelation that Marco is an impostor, a fixation that takes him on a journey that leads to

documents, interviews, biographies and anecdotal evidences that increasingly expose and confirm decades of deceit, rumor and innuendo. Throughout the novel the author weaves these strands of biographical information into a pseudo-biography of Enric Marco and his lifetime of deception. However, in an ironic twist, the outcome of Cercas's efforts to reveal Marco's imposture moves well beyond the limits of his personal and contrived history. While in the act of uncovering Marco's life, Cercas comes face to face with his own insecurities regarding his life as a fiction writer. His doubts appear to center around the verity of the information gleaned from his investigation and the accuracy of memory as a means of exposing history and truth. The reader becomes aware that what appears at first glance to be a *detective-styled* novel becomes a self-reflective autobiography where Cercas reexamines his life as a fiction writer and questions the legitimacy of so-called truths. This exposé reveals two aspects of writing that move beyond Cercas's obsession with Marco and his imposture. First, he questions the reliability of the *memoria histórica*² when attempting to recover historical truth. Second, he explores the ambiguous frontier that separates truth from fantasy, the real from the imaginary. Both elements combine to question whether it is possible to adequately recuperate history and at the same time disclose truth.

The novel's opening chapter, "La piel de la cebolla," foreshadows Cercas's uncertainty regarding the unattainable absolute that history pretends to embody. Much like the transparent and porous nature of the onion skin, the author suggests that his work will involve the relative nature of perception and the difficulty involved in laying bare the multiple and varied views of history. Indeed, like the onion his work must be seen as the sum of all its parts, many of which remain obscured from view and ignored. It is only when the layers are peeled back one by one that aspects of the onion (and his work) are revealed in much the same way that history constitutes a process of discovery and revelation. However, even those revealed parts are merely fragments of a broader narrative. From this paradigm grow Cercas's questions as to whether history is, at its core, simply another layer within a broader literary tradition or whether history, supported by evidence, is the revelation of truth in its whole and complete form. The metaphor of the onion presents an additional invective on the viability of history outside the literary tradition. The product of history constitutes only the outer, dried and peeling skin. Beneath this layer are manifestations of the *other*, alternative narratives that never reach the surface. Thus, what we see is the invention and product of a process that removes the outer layers only to reveal other dimensions of the onion, which in this case might be history and truth.

² Law 57/2007 (passed on 31 October 2007), known as the *Ley de Memoria Histórica*, recognizes and expands the rights of those impacted by the persecution and violence they suffered during the Spanish Civil War and in its aftermath by the Franco dictatorship. The law officially recognizes victims from both sides of the conflict and provides measures for those affected, including the descendants of victims, to legal recourse. The law also condemns the Franco regime.

While struggling with the nuances of writing, originality and truth, Cercas vacillates between defining his work a *historicized novel* or a *novelized history*. On the one hand, he perceives writing as an attempt to recuperate Spain's *memoria histórica* and demonstrates how truth and reality may assume objective and plausible forms. This recuperation and compilation of the *real* into a cathartic narrative allows a nation to heal from the trauma of the past. On the other hand, Cercas recognizes, as described by Hayden White, history's vulnerability to subjective interpretation and exaggeration. To highlight this complexity and variety of narrative perspectives, Cercas partitions his narrative into an array of reliable narrators whose subjective (and objective) voices give legitimacy, breadth and depth to his research into Enric Marco. Each voice offers a perspective, a judgment or a testimony that discloses aspects regarding Marco's life, but rarely does it approximate a definitive historical absolute. By means of these voices Cercas strains to disentangle the objectivity of evidence from the subjectivity of interpretation. The more Cercas documents his history and strives to produce a genuine historical exposé on Enric Marco's life, the more he jeopardizes his authorial objectivity and tinges with *fictionality* the factualness of his investigation. It is his objectivity that suffers as he dives deeper and deeper into his subject. With every new discovery Cercas faces additional insecurities as a writer, especially as he confronts an increased number of criticisms from his peers. These frequent criticisms fuel doubt regarding his competency as either novelist or historian, both of which he naively embraces. To this end the novel's title, *El impostor*, produces a dialogic interface that both reflects and refracts its meaning onto the charlatan Marco, as well as the self-deprecating writer Cercas.

As Cercas pours over the wide array of testimonial documents that come into his possession, he comes to a strange and disconcerting realization. With every step forward into Marco's strained and factually dubious history, Cercas must take a step back to examine his own place as a fiction writer who also lives a life of deception. This fact surfaces early in the novel when his friend, Mario Vargas Llosa (who strangely enough is also a fiction writer), exclaims, "¡Marco es un personaje suyo!" (22). Cercas muses,

El fogoso comentario de Vargas Llosa me halagó, pero, por algún motivo que entonces no entendí, también me incomodó; para ocultar mi embarazosa satisfacción seguí hablando, opiné que Marco no sólo era fascinante por sí mismo, sino por lo que revelaba de los demás.

—Es como si todosuviésemos algo de Marco —me oí decir, embaldado—. Como si todos fuésemos un poco impostores. (22)

Then, after a long pause, his friend and colleague Ignacio Martínez de Pisón administers the fatal blow to Cercas's ego, declaring, "Sí: sobre todo tú" (22). Cercas notes, "Todos se rieron. Yo también, pero menos: era la primera vez en mi vida que me llamaban impostor; aunque no era la primera vez que me relacionaban con Marco" (22). As a result of this crucial

conversation, Cercas begins to fall into a postmodern nightmare where he is plagued with doubt not just concerning Marco but also regarding his own history as a writer. Alberto Moreiras observes, “We all falsify our history; we all falsify our lives; we all falsify our work, even if we do not necessarily always cross the material line into document falsification, and even if we are not always necessarily investigated by an impenitent historian whose mission is to reveal our bogusness” (77). He then surmises that

Cercas is interested in neither finding guilt nor cleansing it. What he seeks is an equally miraculous, rare, impossible thing: to produce a book about the truth residue of a monumental set of lies; to find what still might stand up when all the lies are eliminated. Such is the technical exercise in his nonfiction novel or *real fiction*: how does one go about writing a book where there are no lies? And what remains? (77, emphasis in original text)

This is not the first time that Cercas has delved into and put at odds the narrative of simulation, simulacra and dissonance with regard to history and truth. Indeed, *El impostor* is one more in a succession of novels, including *Los soldados de Salamina* (2001), *Anatomía de un instante* (2009) and *Las leyes de la frontera* (2012), where the author investigates the depths of human behavior and the inconsistency of perception and memory; that is, whether what we see, believe or construe may or may not correspond to what is real. He recognizes the mundanity of history taken from a purely pragmatic point of view when, speaking of *Anatomía de un instante*, he states that

El caso es que, no sé cómo, un día llegué a la conclusión de que la culpa de mi tristeza la tenía mi libro recién publicado: no porque me hubiera dejado exhausto física y mentalmente (o no sólo); también (o sobre todo) porque era un libro raro, una extraña novela sin ficción, un relato rigurosamente real, desprovisto del más mínimo alivio de invención o fantasía. Pensaba que eso era lo que me había matado. A todas horas me repetía, como una consigna: «La realidad mata, la ficción salva». (16)

It is particularly significant that Cercas chooses to highlight *Anatomía de un instante* at this juncture of his narrative. As Cercas dives more deeply into his consideration of Marco and the historical reconstruction that he is pursuing, he notes that any observable event may be flawed and jaundiced by preconceived notions making it difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish the real from the unreal; truth from fiction. A perusal of this previous historical novel dialogues intimately with *El impostor*. In the opening pages of *Anatomía de un instante*, the narrator observes that the public’s reception of an event is “el fruto de una neurosis colectiva. O, de una paranoia colectiva. O, más precisamente, de una novela colectiva. En la sociedad del espectáculo fue, en todo caso, un espectáculo más. Pero eso no significa que fuera una ficción” (*Anatomía* 15). Then, Cercas reflects, “No hay novelista que no haya

experimentado alguna vez la sensación presuntuosa de que la realidad le está reclamando una novela, de que no es él quien busca una novela, sino una novela quien le está buscando a él" (*Anatomía* 16). His notion that the recuperation of historical memory is a form of paranoia anticipates his equally paranoid and unstable relationship with both Enric Marco and his novel. Via the two novels, as well as a third, intermediary work, *Las leyes de la frontera* (2012), Cercas reaffirms his belief that writers are impostors who are incapable of resolving the uncertainty surrounding their access to reality.

This exasperation with the instability of reality and the strictures placed on history manifest themselves conclusively in *El impostor* as it vacillates between the two narrative planes of fiction and history, both conjoined at the investigative level to create a hyper-blended fictional nonfiction.

In *El impostor*, Cercas continues his exploration of the permeable, overlapping and fluctuating circles that comprehend the supposedly pragmatic nature of Marco's history, the idealized content of his own fiction and their erratic coexistence within the sphere of simulation. Jean Baudrillard has noted that "The impossibility of rediscovering an absolute level of the real is of the same order as the impossibility of staging illusion. Illusion is no longer possible, because the real is no longer possible" (19). From this position he then hypothesizes, "...if it is practically impossible to isolate the process of simulation, through the force of inertia of the real that surrounds us, the opposite is also true (and this reversibility itself is part of the apparatus of simulation and the impotence of power): namely, it is *now impossible to isolate the process of the real*, or to prove the real" (Baudrillard 21). Herein rests Cercas's enigma as he attempts to reconstruct Marco's life: the proof of the real that he accumulates proffers little more than a simulation of the historical real and not the real itself. In other words, a fiction. Throughout his work, Cercas posits his disillusionment with history; that is, history kills the mind while fiction saves and enlivens it. Thus, the recovery of the *memoria histórica*, from this vantage point, is reduced to little more than a shadowy reflection of truth.

One might surmise that Cercas's approach to writing *El impostor* draws indirectly a Lacanian perspective on reality and its presumptive relationship to truth. Writing from a psychoanalytic posture, Slavoj Žižek notes that the observer, or in our case Cercas the author-turned-historian, is frequently exposed to dual realities and substances that our subjective mind reflects and refracts into multiple perspectives and iterations (*Looking Awry* 11). Later he explains, "If we look at a thing straight on, matter-of-factly, we see it 'as it really is,' while the gaze puzzled by our desires and anxieties ('looking awry') give us a distorted, blurred image" (*Looking Awry* 11). Žižek then turns this logic upside down stating that when we turn our attention to the object of our observation and consider it as the thing that it is, perhaps "matter-of-factly, disinterestedly, objectively, we see nothing but a formless spot:

the object assumes clear and distinctive features only if we look at it 'at an angle,' i.e., with an 'interested' view, supported, permeated, and 'distorted' by *desire*" (*Looking Awry* II, emphasis in the original). He then concludes, "For reality to exist, something must be left unspoken" (*Looking Awry* 45).

Similarly, in *Tropics of Discourse*, Hayden White explores the challenges of reproducing history and uncovering what might be perceived as *the real*. He notes that a good historian "reminds his readers of the purely provisional nature of his characterizations of events, agents, and agencies found in the always incomplete historical record" (82). He continues,

...there has been a reluctance to consider historical narratives as what they most manifestly are: verbal fictions, the contents of which are as much *invented as found* and the forms of which have more in common with their counterparts in literature than they have with those in the sciences. (82, emphasis in original text)

Given White's characterization of history, the classification of a text as either "historical" or "fictional," "genuine" or "contrived" rests primarily on how the author chooses to construct his narrative and the mindset with which he approaches his task. So, at this crucial intersection of writing *El impostor*, Cercas finds himself wrestling with doubts regarding his aptitude as a writer to cross or, perhaps more significantly, to straddle the tenuous boundary between history and fiction in order to recuperate the events that frame Marco's duplicitous life. Cercas notes that "... mi vida era una farsa y yo un farsante, que había elegido la literatura para llevar una existencia libre, feliz y auténtica y llevaba una existencia falsa, esclava e infeliz, que yo era un tipo que iba de novelista y daba el pego y engañaba al personal, pero en realidad no era más que un impostor" (17). His perceived fraudulence as a novelist also taints his perception of himself as a historian and biographer. The question arises as to how to rationalize the use of one narrative vantage point (i.e., fiction) with that of another (i.e., historical). White recognizes the scope of such a challenge when he writes,

How a given historical situation is to be configured depends on the historian's subtlety in matching up a specific plot structure with the set of historical events that he wishes to endow with meaning of a particular kind. This is essentially a literary, that is to say fiction-writing, operation. (85, emphasis in original text).

Thus, Cercas must come to grips with his task as writer to produce a historical text that straddles the thin line separating a historical narrative from its fictional counterpart. As we have already noted, his feelings of being deceptive and an impostor overshadow this task and become his greatest creative hurdle. White makes it clear that the line of separation is porous once the writer recognizes that *fiction* fills the narrative gap where *history* is silent. It appears that Cercas

acknowledges this deficiency in his writing and struggles with feelings of inadequacy, hypocrisy and imposture as a writer and one who earns a living as a purveyor of fiction, distortion and half-truths. Therefore, how is it possible to reconstruct history, and its implicit truths, from fragmented, biased evidences? Is the recuperation of the *memoria histórica* feasible (and viable) when contextualized from incomplete, imprecise and subjectified evidences of the real?

In an intelligent and engaging article on the impact of memory on Spain's historical narrative, Sara J. Brenneis argues that the efforts to recuperate and explicate the events that occurred during the Spanish Civil War, and its correlation to the events of the Holocaust, have been met by Cercas and others with contempt and scrutiny. She holds that "Cercas turns a blind eye to the non-Jewish victims of Nazi aggression..., aligning [himself] more than he may have intended with the false survivor at the core of his narrative" (367). Brenneis suggests that despite the author's "misplaced glorification of Enric Marco and [his] narrow focus on the historical memory movement as a moribund collective memory of the Spanish Civil War and Franco dictatorship", the efforts of the *Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica* and the Law of Historical Memory (2007) have nonetheless led to a more concerted and positive engagement with the "legacy of the Spaniards deported to Nazi camps during World War II" (367). Despite her engaging arguments and conclusions, I believe that Brenneis has missed a vital aspect of Cercas's work and the possibility of a reading that discloses a deeper, more socio-politico-historically nuanced treatise on the meaning of history and truth. Cercas confronts the history of an enigmatic character whose life, though concrete and real, reflects more broadly a generic view of Spain and its Civil and post-Civil War history. For example, while in the process of identifying biographical *facts* surrounding the birth and childhood of Marco, Cercas quotes from the subject's autobiography where he writes, "«Me llamo Enric Marco y nací el 14 de abril de 1921, justo diez años antes de la proclamación de la Segunda República española»" (26). After reflecting on this singular statement, Cercas observes that

[a Marco] le permitía a su vez presentarse, de manera implícita o explícita, como el hombre providencial que había conocido de primera mano los grandes acontecimientos del siglo y se había cruzado con sus principales protagonistas, como el compendio o el símbolo o la personificación misma de la historia de su país: al fin y al cabo, su biografía individual era un reflejo exacto de la biografía colectiva de España. (27)

This comment is one of the first among several that suggest that Cercas sees Marco as more than a mere person of interest: he is a representation of Spain's most recent history and the difficulties faced in attempting to disentangle truth from error. Indeed, Brenneis' presumption that Cercas sympathizes with Marco seems to ignore the arbitrariness unveiled through historical discourse and its dialogue with fiction writing. If the reader views *El impostor* in

the context of *Los soldados de Salamina*, the nonfiction fiction genre emerges as a meditation on the complexities, uncertainties, fictions and disguises enmeshed in the recuperation of memory and history. From this vantage point, what Cercas addresses is the fragile frame in which history is viewed and how either the negation or the affirmation of the subject is represented. Indeed, the questions that must be asked are: What exactly constitutes truth in history? Is history an agglomeration of uncontested facts or is it a loose array of fictions and conjectures? And, is the historian to be trusted? To what extent does history insert and assert itself into and onto the writer? Is history an attempt to restore *the* truth or *a* truth? To what extent is history motivated by politics rather than social inquiry? A reading of *El impostor* obliges the reader to confront the legitimacy of the *memoria histórica* and the role of truth in this process. Žižek notes that

it is crucial to distinguish...between the fantasmatic spectral narrative and the Real itself: one should never forget that the foreclosed traumatic narrative of the crime/transgression comes, as it were after the (f)act; that it is in itself a lure, a 'primordial lie' destined to deceive the subject by providing the fantasmatic of his or her being. (*The Fragile Absolute* 63)

In order to illustrate the implausible, and at times phantasmatic, nature of writing in regard to the reconstruction of history, let us turn to the opening paragraphs to *El impostor*. Cercas launches the first chapter of the novel with a tried-and-true Borgesian trope in which the written text appears as a preexistent entity that exerts its *consciousness* or *will* onto that of the writer. Cercas muses,

Yo no quería escribir este libro. No sabía exactamente por qué no quería escribirlo o sí lo sabía pero no quería reconocerlo o no me atrevía a reconocerlo; o no del todo. El caso es que a lo largo de más de siete años me resistí a escribir este libro. Durante ese tiempo escribí otros dos, aunque éste no se me olvidó; al revés: a mi modo, mientras escribía esos dos libros, también escribía éste. O quizás era este libro el que a su modo me escribía a mí. (15)

The author's conclusion that perhaps he has not written the text, but that the text has written him opens up and subjects the novel to a more penetrating gaze into the role of writing and the recuperation of history. As we have noted, the quasi-realism of Cercas's work, in conjunction with its apparent narrative autonomy, elevates the art of writing to a whole new level of aesthetic complexity. Indeed, this "virtual history" is not the 'truth' of the official public history, but the fantasy which fills in the void of the *act* that brought history about" (Žižek, *The Fragile Absolute* 64). It is not coincidental that Cercas's view of the text mimics that employed not only by Borges, but by other writers and their works. Most notable among them is Miguel de Cervantes and his errant knight don Quixote de la Mancha, who become narrative cohabitants with Cercas and Marco within the pages of *El impostor*. Like Cervantes's alter ego Cidi

Hamete Benengeli, Cercas inscribes himself into this *real novel* (Moreiras, “Memory Heroics” 76) as historian, detective, testator, character and omniscient narrator. The result is a form of “fake authenticity” (Moreiras, “Memory Heroics” 79) that alludes to the real without generating evidence of its truthfulness. Perhaps this is the quandary suggested by the insertion into the novel of Cervantes’ unrealistic *historical* figures. The juxtaposition of Cercas/Marco to Cervantes/don Quixote raises the question of how these co-actants in the recuperation of history define the line that separates reality and truth from fantasy and imposture. Cercas notes that “La verdad es que estoy harto de realidad. He llegado a la conclusión de que la realidad mata y la ficción salva. Ahora necesito un poco de ficción” (33). To this observation Santiago Fillol, who along with Lucas Vernal produced the film *Ich bin Enric Marco*, responds,

Enric es pura ficción. ¿No te das cuenta? Todo él es una ficción enorme, una ficción, además, incrustada en la realidad, encarnada en ella. Enric es igual que don Quijote: no se conformó con vivir una vida mediocre y quiso vivir una vida a lo grande; y, como no la tenía a su alcance, se la inventó. (33)

The novel’s enigmatic authorship and its virtualization of history are further complicated by Cercas’s *ex post facto* apology for having submitted his will to that of an apparently autonomous, pre-existing, pre-written story. In this post-(pre)textual confession, he states,

Los primeros párrafos de un libro son siempre los últimos que escribo. Este libro está acabado. Este párrafo es lo último, ya sé por qué no quería escribir este libro. No quería escribirlo porque tenía miedo. Eso es lo que yo sabía desde el principio pero no quería reconocer o no me atrevía a reconocer; o no del todo. Lo que sólo ahora sé es que mi miedo estaba justificado. (15)

Why fear? Perhaps it is the realization that Cercas is not in control of the narrative. His confession also lays bare the fact that despite all his previous misgivings regarding this project, he finally falls victim to its lure. The text, the history, and the intrigue reveal far more than Marco and his history. All three elements coalesce into a Janus-like history that denounces two distinct yet coequal deceits: one involving Marco and the other revealing Cercas’s as writer. Perhaps Borges’s concluding remark from his short story “Guayaquil” reflects best this anxiety: “Presiento que ya no escribiré más. *Mon siège est fait*” (119).³ Furthermore, his

³ The phrase *Mon siège est fait* is attributed to René-Aubert Vertot (1655-1735), a French clergyman and historian. According to history, Vertot was commissioned to produce a history of the Order of Malta. He sent a request to a knight for information regarding the siege of Rhodes. When he did not receive the requested information, he resumed and completed his task. Soon after completing the history, the documents he had requested arrived, to which he responded, “J’en suis fâché, mais mon siege est fait”. The implication of the statement became a proverb for work done without the necessary documentation.

history and that of his subject have become the locus of an even broader and more penetrating uncertainty regarding the place of the writer in relationship to his subject, memory and historical reality.

Cercas's alarm is not unwarranted when he concedes that his narrative voice has also become a fiction within a fiction that portends the possibility of revealing and representing truth in history. Not unlike the parallel that he perceives between the flesh-and-blood Enric Marco and his fictional counterpart don Quixote, words disempower the writer by giving to their creations an autonomous selfhood that transcends the power of their creator. The fear is further exacerbated by the uncertainty regarding who is writing whom? Is the voice of the text that of Cercas the man or of Cercas the creation? Or, are they individually or collectively a projection of the unconscious self that stands outside the bounds of reality? As Borges surmises in "Borges y yo," "Así mi vida es una fuga y todo lo pierdo y todo es del olvido, o del otro. No sé cuál de los dos escribe esta página" (70). Ultimately it seems, no matter which way the pendulum swings between objective documentation and subjective observation, there remains a deficit to the truth and subjection to the inaccuracies of memory and interpretation.

One of the (im)probabilities that Cercas alludes to in his explanatory preface is whether the character, or characters (including himself), are redeemable as historical constructs. In other words, in the context of the illusion perpetrated by Enric Marco, are his efforts as author/character/narrator sufficient to redeem, or reconcile, himself and his subject from their imposture. Moreiras defines this process in *El impostor* as the "denarrativizing narrative and a testimony in deconstruction" (78). He asks

How does one go about denarrativizing narrative? Is that not a contradiction *in terminis*, an impossible endeavor? And how does one pursue a deconstruction of *testimonio* without leaving us all in the uncanniest form of exposure, having been denied the last shelter, which is to trust that others may trust our personal truth...? If you take away from us the double possibility of myth and testimony – both of them negatively enframed by mythomania – then we are left with nothing; we no longer know what to grasp for. We would have to give up not just literature and philosophy but also politics, in the necessary acceptance of a horizonless nihilism. (78)

Thus, the text, with all its personal and documented historical nuances, may exist within an autonomous, idiosyncratic condition of the subjective real. However, this testimonial text exists only if our testation is true. Thus, the writer exists primarily as the mechanism by which events and individuals are processed, revealed and simulated into textual form; constituting a form of testimonial redemption. Ironically, the consequence of the author's redemptive posture results in a folding in or entrapment of his persona into the narrative cycle as yet another fiction within the historiographical apparatus. As I will note later in

this study, this entrapment comes about as the narrator, Cercas, creates an emotional and ethical-moral link with Marco. Perhaps this is another reason for Cercas's reticence to write Marco's history. There is a degree of psychological capital that Cercas will expend in order to produce and expose *their* commonly held moral and ethical history while seeking reconciliation with society. Whatever the motivation, the evidence that the narrator uncovers in the recuperation of history and in attempting to define who Marco really is, collapses *ad infinitum* into a cycle of discovery, negation and apology. This historical recovery both affects and afflicts Enric Marco and the narrator, subjecting both to the probative lens of derision and the pejorative optics of truth. Thus, Cercas's narrative posture ascribed to history suggests the possibility that writing brings to light the implausible, yet incontrovertible, nature of truth as presented in history or what has been described as "undeniable historical certainty."⁴ Indeed, it is precisely this notion of uncertainty in the face of truth with which Cercas wrestles incessantly throughout the text. Like the author, the reader can only grasp fragments of the real that are interlaced with inferences to reality mixed among fictional embellishments. In the end, Cercas must confront the potential impossibility of recuperating Marco's history at all, as well as his own literary biography. David K. Herzberger notes that "The paradigm of incompleteness in fictional discourse is found in the world (i.e., the narrative paradigm is mimetically adequate to life), hence the revealed meaning stems from the perceived coincidence between reality and narrative form" (7).

Unlike Cervantes, whose character is purely fictional, Cercas focuses his writing on a flesh-and-blood, historical personality. However, Cercas's recuperation and transmission of historical data has unexpectedly transformed Marco into a semi-fictional character and his history into a moral tale of a rise and fall from grace. Thus, like don Quixote, Marco and his story (as well as Cercas and his story) are, as noted, embedded within a tale of redemption and reconciliation. The result is a narration that intermingles and blurs the line that partitions authenticity from contrivance.⁵

⁴ In "Dr. Littledale's Theory of the Disappearance of the Papacy," Rev. Sydney F. Smith's observed that "No mere statement of a few writers, even if contemporary, and no mere academic inferences from the principles of ecclesiastical jurisprudence...are of any avail. He must furnish us with *undeniable historical certainty* in all the cases of invalidity on which he relies, or we are not obliged to listen to him" (18, emphasis added).

⁵ Herzberger reminds us that "...the link between language and reality is fragile to begin with, and since whatever really did happen in the past is now placed within a narrative system that can only confirm the absence of the real, then we are left to ponder history plagued by chaos and distress" (8). He then notes that "The primacy of narration supplants the primacy of the mind (conjoined with the world) in the constitution of meaning, which in turn compels history and fiction to collapse into amorphous and unpredictable relationships defined by varying perceptions of writers and readers" (8).

Perhaps these queries regarding history, fiction and the unascertainable truth in life can be fleshed out and understood in light of Rita Felski's insightful study regarding the art of reading. In her *Uses of Literature*, Felski describes reading as a subjective, emotive and personal approximation to a text, whether it be fiction or non-fiction. For her, reading enmeshes a dynamic relationship shared by *recognition*, *enchantment*, or wonderment, *knowledge*, and *shock* into a transcendent and individualized experience. The result is the reader's estrangement from the work; a phenomenology of perception coupled with engagement. Felski's premise also suggests a similar effect in the writer who engages in an unrestrained dialogue with his subject and work. At this boundary between fiction and history, the imaginary and the real, the writer must decide how much of his self he invests in the process of investigating, interpreting and identifying with the subject of his work.

In the process of recuperating Marco's history, Cercas falls victim to what Felski terms *self-intensification* (39). This emotional, psychological, and even physical state reeks of "densely packed minutiae of daily life: evocative smells and sounds, familiar objects and everyday things, ordinary routines, ways of talking or passing time, a reservoir of shared references" (39). Based on these free-associating behavioral markers, Felski continues:

Recognizing aspects of ourselves in the description of others, seeing our perceptions and behaviors echoed in a work of fiction, we become aware of our accumulated experiences as distinctive yet far from unique. The contemporary idiom of "having an identity" owes a great deal to such flashes of intersubjective recognition, of perceived commonality and shared history. (39)

Felski expands this literary characterization to include "*self-extension*," the coming to see "aspects of oneself in what seems distant or strange" (39). This strangeness or difference forms the binding link that blurs and, occasionally, erases the lines that distinguish fiction from history and visa-versa. The writer's "cross-hatching of likeness as well as difference" narrows the breach that ought to separate the author from his character (40). For the author the initial strangeness and foreignness, which engendered his intrigue and interest in recuperating the truth behind his public history, no longer exists. The narrator's objectivity has been compromised by the recognition that, like Marco, he is an impostor. With that realization Cercas feels compelled to rescue Marco through some form of reconciliation and redemption:

Lo único que quería era recuperar la voz, quitarse la mordaza, poder defenderse y contar la verdad o por lo menos su versión de la verdad, poderse la contar a los jóvenes y a los no tan jóvenes, a todos aquellos que habían desconfiado en él y lo habían ensalzado y querido. Y dejarle un nombre limpio a su familia y poder morir tranquilo. Eso era lo único que quería. (40)

The motive “dejarle un nombre limpio a su familia” is reminiscent of the conclusion to *Don Quijote* where redemption is achieved by the recuperation of the knight’s historical self, Alonso Quijano. Perhaps the linkage that Cercas establishes between Cervantes and Marco’s enigmatic history reveals an underlying motive for his change of heart regarding Marco and his deception. The author’s empathy toward Marco, codified in his confession of being an impostor, undermines his attempts at constructing a viable, truthful history, drawing it nearer to subjectivity, invention and fiction. Just as fiction is nurtured by illusion and deceit, so is history, as it strives to redeem itself from its own fragmented uncertainty.

Cercas reinforces the notion of *self-extension* and *self-intensification* as he attempts to assure Marco’s redemption, vindication and reconciliation when he notes, “Entender, por supuesto, no significa disculpar o...justificar; mejor dicho; significa lo contrario” (20), and later queries, “¿Entender es justificar?” (53). He breaches the ambivalent gap separating process from outcome stating that

El pensamiento y el arte...intentan explorar lo que somos, revelando nuestra infinita, ambigua y contradictoria variedad, cartografiando así nuestra naturaleza: Shakespeare o Dostoievski, pensaba yo, iluminan los laberintos morales hasta sus últimos recovecos, demuestran que el amor es capaz de conducir al asesinato o al suicidio y logran que sintamos compasión por psicópatas y desalmados; es su deber, pensaba yo, porque el deber del arte (o del pensamiento) consiste en mostrarnos la complejidad de la existencia, a fin de volvernos más complejos, en analizar cómo funciona el mal, para poder evitarlo, e incluso el bien, quizá para poder aprenderlo. (20).

Here, the narrator’s challenge is how to authenticate and verify his historical discourse. Later in the novel, Cercas strives to justify his nonfiction fiction by couching literary endeavors as being innately narcissistic in nature.

La literatura es una forma socialmente aceptada de narcisismo. Como el Narciso del mito, como el Marco real, el novelista está del todo insatisfecho de su vida; no sólo de la suya propia, sino también de la vida en general, y por eso la rehace a la medida de sus deseos, mediante las palabras, en una ficción novelesca: como al Narciso del mito y al Marco real, al novelista la realidad le mata y la ficción le salva, porque la ficción no es a menudo más que un modo de enmascarar la realidad, un modo de protegerse o incluso de curarse de ella. (204)

Clearly, Cercas sees his relationship to Marco as self-absorbed and selfish. They become coauthors of a text that embodies their need for exoneration and justification. Indeed, it is a case of implausible deniability where the fear of discovery overwhelms their capacity to recognize undeniable truths. As a result, instead of a “mastery over the text, you are at its mercy. You are sucked in, swept up, spirited away, you feel yourself enfolded in a blissful

embrace. You are mesmerized, hypnotized, possessed. You strain to reassert yourself, but finally you give in, you stop struggling, you yield without a murmur” (Felski 55). The author must convince the reader of Marco’s *innocence* in order to justify his professional existence. His argument rests on the plausibility that both are victims of the literary process rather than conspiring charlatans enmeshed in a game of deceit. Within the historical narrative, as conceived by Cercas, there is no absolute truth, only an interpretation of it. Thus, what the text proposes as its aim (i.e., to recover and reveal Marco’s life) becomes a game of smoke and mirrors in which the truths that are discovered and those that are revealed do not always correspond to reality. Again, they become simulations of “the third order, beyond true and false, beyond rational distinctions upon which the whole of social and power depend. Thus, *lacking the real*” (Baudrillard 21). With this in mind, it becomes apparent that Cercas is compelled, out of a need for self-preservation, to discover an elusive, unobservable *truth* that underlies Marco’s motives and deceptions. For Cercas, reality becomes like an onion skin through which the truth appears layer upon layer in small, disconnected, and veiled fragments. Consequently, the selfish and narcissistic intentions of the author and the subject resist the “sober and clinical eye” of objectivity and are “pulled irresistibly into [the] orbit” of their own lie (Felski 55).

A little over halfway through the novel, Cercas directly broaches the subjectivity of history, referencing once again the similarities between Marco and the fictional Don Quixote. At one point, he draws a comparison between the innocent nature of the Manchegan knight and Enric Marco, stating that “Marco convenció a todo el mundo de que el Marco ficticio era el Marco real, y de que era un héroe civil” (231). The oddity of this comment is that Cercas has engaged in a similar deceit as he has attempted to justify, reconcile and redeem Marco by means of implausible deniability. The twist comes when Cercas turns his discussion from Marco to the histories forced upon the Spanish people during the country’s recuperation of and (re)writing of post-Civil War Spanish history. Speaking of the transition from the Franco dictatorship to democracy he notes that “España fue un país tan narcisista como Marco” (234). He then probes further:

¿Pudo la democracia construirse sobre la verdad? ¿Podía el país entero reconocerse honestamente como lo que era, en todo el horror y la vergüenza y la cobardía y la mediocridad de su pasado, y a pesar de ello seguir adelante? ¿Podía reconocerse o conocerse a sí mismo, igual que Narciso, y a pesar de ello no mirar por exceso de realidad como Narciso? (234)

With these questions Cercas catalyzes the triad of self-deception, self-interest and subjectivity as the primary obstacles that thwart a writer’s capacity to generate a substantive, verifiable and objective historical narrative.

Similarly, the reader is seduced by the text's subjectivity to the extent that he too is victimized. Like the author, the reader peers deeply into the text and is mesmerized by its discursive tactics. The result is a reader who is swayed and lulled by the writer into a state of moral, emotional and ethical contentment. These discursive seductions further blur the line dividing historical verity from fictional nonfiction, enveloping the narrative structure in a cloud of dissonant subjectivity. Perhaps more shocking is Cercas's assertion that there is not a single person or entity that does not attempt to reinvent himself. The act of simulation is a conscious, deliberate act that carries with it the threat of either positive or negative consequences. He concludes by asserting that

Lo que sí sé es que, al menos durante aquellos años, las mentiras de Marco sobre su pasado no fueron la excepción sino la norma, y que en el fondo él se limitó a exagerar hasta el extremo una práctica por entonces común: cuando estalló su caso, Marco no pudo defenderse diciendo que lo que había hecho no era más que lo que todo el mundo hacía en los años en que él se reinventó, pero sin la menor duda lo pensaba. Y lo que también sé es que, aunque nadie se atrevió a llevar su impostura hasta donde Marco la llevó, quizá porque nadie tenía la energía, el talento y la ambición suficientes para hacerlo, también en este asunto nuestro hombre en parte, como mínimo —en parte— estuvo con la mayoría. (234)

As is suggested by Cercas's defense of Marco, history is fluid and, occasionally, obscured by its own fictions. Equally certain, as evidenced in the author's behavior, is the fact that the writer too is subject to inadequacies that strain the process of writing and the recuperation of the *memoria histórica*. Essentially, Marco becomes the author's "alibi, a way of circumventing the question of [his] own attachments, investments, and vulnerabilities" (Felski 10) as a writer.

As we see reflected repeatedly throughout *El impostor*, Cercas laments the fact that he had strayed away from the formula that he had applied to *Los soldados de Salamina*, where the fiction and the reality of Rafael Sanchez Maza's experience blended into a nonfictional fiction, a truth embellished by other truths. He recognizes that all forms of writing cannot exist in a pure, unelaborated form and that the writer is tasked with making necessary concessions in order to maintain the integrity and aesthetic appeal of his creation. Within the circular nature of Cercas's novel, he introduces this theme early in the text, where he concedes that

...era que mi vida era una farsa y yo un farsante, que había elegido la literatura para llevar una existencia libre, feliz y auténtica y llevaba una existencia falsa, esclava e infeliz, que yo era un tipo que iba de novelista y daba el pego y engañaba al personal, pero en realidad no era más que un impostor. (17)

The reader learns that it is this personal epiphany and irritation that he reinforces in the latter half of the novel, in part, as a justification for writing *El impostor*.

Returning to Herzberger's ideas regarding fiction and history, we note his contention that history "pursues the truth of the past through the objectifying sanctions of human knowledge" (3), while fiction "relates imaginary events through the oxymoronic paradigm inherent in all storytelling of 'it was and it was not'" (4).

The fragments of the real, whether perceptual or evidential, that constitute the creation of historical records rely on filling the gaps in the narrative with fictional forms. As we have already noted, Cercas illustrates this point on two levels. First, he attempts to reconstruct Enric Marco's life through documents, films and other historically *reliable* sources. These sources reveal gaps in his history that impede a full, unobstructed assessment of what is real and what is fiction. In this aspect of the narrative, the real and the imaginary coexist as narratological equals. In order to create the whole narrative story Cercas must resort to anecdotal and unsubstantiated constructs (e.g., interviews, oral histories, memories) to construct scenarios with their potential solution and outcomes. Second, Enric Marco embodies the process of historicizing reality as he (re)constructs, imagines, lives and correlates his personal narrative with that of *authentic* history. As *El impostor* winds towards its conclusion, truth and lies become indistinguishable as the historical Enric Marcos slowly morphs into a fictionalized other of himself, an inverse of what happens with his fictional-turned-realistic counterpart don Quixote. The Enric Marcos at the beginning of the work is not the same as the one who appears at its conclusion. Our gaze has shifted away from the subject himself onto a *tele-visé* other that has become refracted and distorted by fiction and doubt.

One of the misconceptions about *historical* texts is the notion that such works offer a panoptic or inclusive gaze of its subject. However, Cercas demonstrates that the real cannot be fully comprehended in its current fragmented state. Likewise, historical memory is riddled with unanswered questions, gaps and holes. Memory is frequently blotchy, paralyzed or particularized in such a way that only bits and pieces of *truth* filter onto the page. As a result, history reveals a multilayered, multicultural and multidimensional ambiguity; a mosaic of pieces that cannot be fully expressed or comprehended into a single, coherent narrative. This is Cercas's dilemma as he grapples with validating Marco, and his own existence as a writer, while recognizing his powerlessness as a writer to reproduce history in its most elemental form.

Throughout the novel, Spain's past and present interweave their elements into the narrative. The flawed nature of the *memoria histórica* raises its head repeatedly as Cercas suggests that its past is as fictional and simulated as its present. Thus, the reality of the official narrative becomes as suspicious as Enric Marco's imagined life. Every aspect of what we construe as history is reduced to the proverbial question mark of doubt. Cercas observes that

Las implicaciones del caso Marco... no son sólo políticas o históricas; también son morales. De

un tiempo a esta parte la psicología insiste en que apenas podemos vivir sin mentir, en que el hombre es un animal que miente: la vida en sociedad suele exigir esa dosis de mentira que llamamos educación (y que sólo los hipócritas confunden con la hipocresía); Marco exageró y pervirtió monstruosamente esa necesidad humana.... todos representamos un papel; todos somos quienes no somos; todos, de algún modo, somos Enric Marco. (43)

As we have seen, Cercas lures his reader into a forged, fictional nonfictional world in the hope that he will empathize with his illusion of the real, rather than excoriate it. The reader is led to embrace the newly fictionalized Marco under the guise that we must understand him rather than despise him for his feigned and disingenuous life since we all carry in our psyche aspects of Marco. Marco becomes the fiction of personal and national histories. The *memoria histórica* becomes as unstable, unverifiable, and fictional as was Marco and his feigned existence, relying on half-truths and public consensus rather than objective realities. Cercas thus muses:

¿Era posible averiguarlo? ¿Era posible contar la historia de Marco? ¿Era posible contarla sin mentir? ¿Era posible proponer la crónica de la mentira de Marco como una historia verdadera?...Vargas Llosa y Magris habían imaginado que nunca llegaríamos a saber la verdad profunda de Marco, pero ¿no era ésa la mejor razón para escribir sobre él? ¿No era ese no saber o esa dificultad de saber el mejor motivo para tratar de saber? Y aunque el libro sobre Marco fuera un libro imposible..., ¿no era ése un estímulo perfecto para escribirlo? (54)

Clearly, this *other* Marco is the one that Cercas is attempting to uncover and understand through his research and documentation. In addition to this *other* Marco is the *other* Cercas who stands face to face, creator with his creation. Because his credibility is at stake, this *other* narrator feels compelled and justified, whether by sympathy or by duty, to restore the truth behind Marco by disassembling and reordering his fictionalized, public self and replacing it with a new, emancipating narrative. From this vantage point, *El impostor* moves the narrative toward a reconciliation and redemption of history that inflicts itself on the writer and demands to be rescued from obscurity, misunderstanding and falsehood.

By way of *El impostor* Cercas challenges the mistaken assumption that history accurately mirrors truth and reality, that Spain's efforts at a recuperation of the *memoria histórica* were as riddled with fiction as was the previously accepted official history of the country. Via a dizzying array of documents, oral histories, documentary films and theoretical assumptions, he exposes the readers to the ambiguities and elusiveness of history. As a result, the truthfulness of history must be viewed within the frame of a nonfiction fiction that reaches only a nominal degree of clarity, reality and truthfulness. Meanwhile, the reader participates in the (re)constructed world perceived awry from a dislocated, asynchronous and fragmented place in time and space.

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CAMBIO DE TIEMPO/CAMBIO DE MEMORIA HISTÓRICA: *EL MINISTERIO DEL TIEMPO'S* SEASON TWO FINALE AND FELIPE II'S HISTORICAL LEGACY

RESUMEN

En este ensayo examinamos el episodio final de la segunda temporada del programa televisivo *El Ministerio del Tiempo*, titulado “Cambio de tiempo,” en el contexto del legado histórico de Felipe II. Empezamos con un resumen de la fama negativa que ha tenido el monarca dentro de España. Esa fama nació al principio de siglo diecinueve, y fue influida por historias extranjeras de su reinado. Hablamos también de los defensores de Felipe II, como el historiador estadounidense William Thomas Walsh. Después de esa reseña historiográfica, analizamos cómo el creador de la serie Javier Olivares presenta y problematiza los mitos históricos sobre Felipe II, creados por los liberales que lo exorciaban y los conservadores que han recordado su reinado con nostalgia.

PALABRAS CLAVE: *El Ministerio del Tiempo*—Felipe II—historiografía—los mitos históricos.

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Dr. Blackshaw and Ms. Morales Rivera have another co-authored article, “El Escorial as a Metaphor in Spanish Romantic Discourse,” forthcoming in *Hispanic Studies Review*.

ABSTRACT

In this essay we examine the Season Two finale of *El Ministerio del Tiempo*, “Cambio de tiempo,” within the context of Felipe II’s historical legacy in Spain. We begin with a brief account of the king’s negative reputation within Spain, born largely in the early nineteenth century, and influenced by foreign accounts of his reign. We discuss as well some of his defenders, such as North American historian William Thomas Walsh. Following that overview, we underline ways in which the series creator Javier Olivares presents, and problematizes, historical myths about Felipe II, both among the liberal historians who excoriated him and the conservative ones who looked back at his reign with nostalgia.

KEYWORDS: *El Ministerio del Tiempo*—Felipe II—historiography—historical myths

I. INTRODUCTION

Over three decades ago, J.N. Hillgarth posited that two of the most salient characteristics of Spanish intellectual history are “the quest by Spaniards for the meaning of the history of Spain” and “the way this quest and Spanish history itself have been influenced, oversimplified, and distorted by the power of certain myths” (23). More recently, in his 2008 study *Imagining Spain: Historical Myth and National Identity*, Henry Kamen contends that most myths Spaniards maintain about their past “lack evidence to support their veracity,” and often they “undermine observed historical fact” (*Imagining Spain* x-xi). Nonetheless, they “reflect reality for those who created them and continue to believe in them,” and they continue to inform Spanish political thought, strategy, and symbolism (*Imagining Spain* x).

The popular historical science fiction show *El Ministerio del Tiempo* provides ample evidence for Kamen’s thesis. First, he proclaims that the Early Modern period, even in post-Transition Spain, “continues to occupy a central role in myth-making because it supplies material for new conflictive attitudes in a country which has not yet achieved a stable national identity” (*Imagining Spain* 208). We see this not only in the prominent role that Alonso de Entrerriós and Diego Velázquez perform in the Ministry’s work, but in the time setting of several episodes, such as 1588 Lisbon (“Tiempo de Gloria”), 1491 Castile (“Una negociación a tiempo,”), 1520 Salamanca (“Tiempo de pícaros”), and 1604 Madrid (“Tiempo de hidalgos” and “Tiempo de esplendor”).³

³ Alonso de Entrerriós is a sixteenth-century soldier in the *tercios castellanos* who, after disputing a superior’s orders, is sentenced to death. The night before his death in 1569, Ernesto, Chief Operating Officer inside the Ministry, visits Alonso in prison and offers him his life and freedom in exchange for serving the crown in the Ministry. The ministry has also recruited Diego Velázquez, the sixteenth-century painter, to paint facial composites.

Concomitant of this focus on the Early Modern period is the conviction that Spain itself has been “a cohesive reality, eternal and unchanging” (Kamen, *Imagining Spain* 35). Implicit in this historical imaginary is a political agenda “designed to emphasize that all the peripheral communities of the peninsula were inseparably linked to Castile and could not be separated from it” (*Imagining Spain* 33). In their analysis of the first season of *El Ministerio del Tiempo*, José Carlos Rueda Laffond and Carlota Coronado Ruiz contend that the show presents a “trivialized version of Spain” that neutralizes “the specificity of territorial identities and peripheral cultures” (99). Indeed, neither Diego Velázquez nor Amelia Folch betray regional accents, even though they are from Seville and Barcelona, respectively.⁴ Moreover, the temporal setting of the group’s missions—whether it is eleventh-century Spain or the War of Independence—do not impede characters’ ability to understand one another, since they all speak what Rueda Laffond and Coronado Ruiz call a “neutral Spanish” (99).

Finally, in its portrayal of Isabel *la Católica* in “Una negociación a tiempo” (Season 1, Episode 4) and Felipe II in “Cambio de tiempo” (Season 2, Episode 13) the show propagates, but also problematizes, numerous historical myths about Spain’s monarchs. In the case of the former, Isabel *la Católica*, with the help of a rabbi, Abraham Levi, establishes the Ministry while declaring firmly that “la ambición de nadie, ni siquiera la de un rey, debe hacer uso de [un viaje al pasado]” (Sainz-Rosas y Olivares 8). In the fourth episode of season one, “Una negociación a tiempo,” the trio travels back to 1491 to undo the mistake of Levi’s execution, which Isabel’s husband Fernando has apparently orchestrated. The queen readily agrees to write a letter to Torquemada “de mi puño y letra” to spare Levi’s life, and she reminds Cardinal Cisneros that she, not Fernando, governs Castile (Fernández, Schaaff, Olivares, and Olivares 42). This brief visit, as well as the three-season series *Isabel*, which the Olivares brothers also created, reflects Isabel’s popular legacy as a just queen who kept the power of the clergy, the nobility, and even her husband, in check.⁵ She is also vehemently opposed to the Inquisition’s unjust punishment of innocents, particularly her allies, which supports another common myth about her: that although she instituted the Inquisition, she is not responsible for the abuses that occurred during and after her reign (Lafuente 5-23).

By contrast, in the opening scenes of the season two finale, “Cambio de tiempo,” Felipe II displays all of the tyrannical tendencies for which he has been famous, or infamous. Des-

⁴ Amelia Folch is a young university student living and studying in Barcelona in 1880, when Irene Larra, Head of Logistics inside the Ministry, recruits her.

⁵ See, for example, Diego Clemencín’s *Elogio de la Reina Católica Doña Isabel* (1821), or Modesto de la Fuente’s study (1850-1860).

perate to undo the defeat of the Spanish Armada, the king calls upon the Secretary of the Ministry, de las Cuevas, to help him travel to the past. When the secretary refuses to comply with his sovereign's wishes, Felipe II has the Inquisition torture him, eventually to death. After travelling to 2016 Spain, where he discovers that Spain has lost her empire and that the current king, Felipe VI, is a Bourbon with limited power, Felipe II decides not only to undo the Armada's defeat, but also to take over the Ministry and become the King of Time. When Salvador Martí, the Head of the Ministry, tries to stop him, Felipe II murders him in cold blood.

According to Kamen, the cases of Isabel *la Católica* and Felipe II in Spanish historical memory "epitomize the unequal treatment accorded to their monarchy by Spaniards" since the nineteenth century (*Imagining Spain* 51). On the one hand, the supporting documents for the Constitution of Cádiz suggest that the reign of Isabel and Fernando was the age of splendor for constitutional monarchy, which nineteenth-century liberals believed had existed since the time of the Visigoths. On the other hand, the Cádiz constitution "laid down clear limits to royal power, so that it would not revert to 'absolutism'" (Kamen, *Imagining Spain* 68), and in liberals' minds it was Felipe II and his father Carlos I who ushered in Spain's age of absolutism. As the deputy Álvaro Flórez Estrada proclaimed, "las Cortes de Cádiz no han hecho otra cosa que restablecer alguna parte de nuestra antigua Constitución, que en mejores días formaban el paladín de nuestra libertad y cuya mayor parte estaba destruida por (...) el fraude y la violencia durante los reinados de Fernando V, Carlos I y Felipe II" (qtd. in Álvarez Junco 219). Kamen asserts that throughout the nineteenth century and into the present, Spaniards have vacillated between these two monarchs—one the epitome of good, the other the epitome of evil—and eventually they have "ended up being unsure about all the monarchs had on offer" (*Imagining Spain* 51). In other words, both Isabel I's and Felipe II's historical legacy and mythicization betray the nation's ambivalence toward the monarchy itself. Indeed, this ambivalence has intensified in the past several years. In January 2014, as Juan Carlos I turned 76, only 49% of Spaniards still supported the institution; this figure climbed modestly to 56% after Felipe VI's coronation, according to a survey that the center-right newspaper *El Mundo* conducted on 8 June 2014 (Sigma Dos).

Around this time, the state-sponsored Radio y Televisión Española, or RTVE, began a series of historical television shows that underscore the importance of a strong, traditional monarchy as guardian of national stability (Soliño 164). The first season of *Isabel*, for example, establishes a contrast between the future queen's virtue and political savvy and the licentiousness and corruption of her older brother Enrique IV's court. Similarly, *Carlos, Rey Emperador*'s pilot episode presents the Spanish king as innocent, inexperienced, and earnest while showing scenes of his French counterpart, Francis I, frolicking with his mistress, markedly indifferent to his wife and matters of the state.

The purpose of this essay is to examine “Cambio de tiempo” within the context of Felipe II’s historical legacy and how this legacy evolved from the nineteenth century to the present day. What follows is a brief account of the king’s negative reputation within Spain, born largely in the early nineteenth century, and influenced by foreign accounts of his reign. We will also discuss some of his defenders. Following that overview, we discuss ways in which Olivares presents and problematizes historical myths about Felipe II, both among the liberal historians who excoriated him and the conservative ones who looked back at his reign with nostalgia.

2. OPPOSITE COLORS

In his biography of the king, Scottish historian Robert Watson remarked, “[n]o character was ever drawn by different historians in more opposite colors” than Felipe II (334). To his defenders, and most especially to many Spaniards over whom he ruled, Felipe II was *El Prudente*, “devoted to his people and his church [...] the saintly, stoical successor to Saint Louis, the living symbol of the Counter Reformation, trying to steer a moderate course between the extremes of Catholic ultramontaniam and cynical erastianism” (Rule and Tepaske ix). For his detractors, who included his subjects in Flanders and Italy and members of the English and French courts, Felipe II was “the symbol of tyranny, the upholder of religious bigotry, and the champion of Castilian supremacy” (Rule and Tepaske ix).

Among his most ardent defenders was the Catholic U.S. Historian William Thomas Walsh. In his discussion of the Armada, the tragedy that precipitates the king’s call to de las Cuevas in “Cambio de tiempo,” Walsh eschews the notion that Felipe II wanted to expand his kingdom, or that he was governed by anything other than his devout Catholicism (665). He describes the king as “being deeply hurt in his heart and soul by the loss of his fleet.... [and] extraordinarily afflicted over not having rendered so great a service to God” (666). In Walsh’s view, Felipe II was a martyr of sorts, for “[r]ather than leave this problem to his successors and spend his own life and pleasure, like a Louis the 15th or Pope Leo X, Philip II deliberately chose days and nights of anxiety and toil, the sort of slow crucifixion at his desk in the Escorial” (703). In another chapter discussing the Inquisition, Walsh implicitly compares the Spanish king’s struggle with the Protestants and Turks during the sixteenth century to both the Christians’ seven-hundred-year battle with the Moors in Spain and, more recently, the Napoleonic troops and the Nationalists’ struggles against the Second Spanish Republic. Walsh defends the king’s reliance on the Inquisition as follows:

...there could never be a religious war in Spain as long as the Inquisition lasted. Other countries would groan presently under the long tournament of the 30 years’ war. Catholics would feel the scourge of that child of liberal ideas— everybody, in fact, but the authors of liberalism... it would

take a French revolution and a Napoleon to break down the barriers raised by Ferdinand and Isabel, and to set the enemies of Christendom free to begin by gradual steps to prepare for 1931 and 1936. (702)

The reader may easily draw the connections between *el Prudente* and *el Caudillo*, Francisco Franco, both of whom allegedly waged religious wars in defense of Catholicism and Spain. Not surprisingly, Walsh's biography, as well as the German writer Ludwig Pfandl's biography, which was similarly hagiographic, were the only biographies of Felipe II that were published in Spain during the Franco era.

Although he had many Catholic and Spanish defenders, Felipe II also had many enemies. Among them were the Dutch, the English, and the French. Three centuries later, during Fernando VII's final *década ominosa* (1823-1833), writers such as Telesforo de Trueba y Cossío and the future duque de Rivas (then Ángel de Saavedra) used Felipe II in their literary works to criticize, without naming, their contemporary king. During the First Carlist War, liberal Spaniards, who largely controlled the theater in Madrid, likewise harkened back to Felipe II to warn audiences about the future that awaited them should Fernando VII's brother, Carlos María Isidro, be victorious in the war of succession (Ballesteros Dorado). The two best-known plays about Felipe II from this period were Jose María Díaz's *Felipe II* (1836) and José Muñoz Maldonado's *Antonio Pérez y Felipe II* (1837). Modesto de la Fuente, in the fourth volume of his extensive *Historia General de España*, describes Felipe II as "ávido de poder y enemigo de toda ligadura que sujetara o restringiera el principio de autoridad" (402). These early nineteenth-century liberal depictions of Felipe II's reign endured throughout the nineteenth century into the Second Republic. Indeed, Lafuente's liberal interpretation of Spain's history "remained the standard history of Spain" until it had to compete with Cánovas de Castillo's eighteen-volume *Historia general de España* (1890-1894) (Kamen, *Imagining Spain* 8). Writers during the Second Republic embraced the negative image of Felipe II, and liberal writers, such as Américo Castro, in his famous *España y su historia*, continued promote the myth of Felipe II as a despot throughout the twentieth century. Kamen also describes how he and another historian, Geoffrey Parker, who both published biographies of Felipe II in 1997 and 1978, respectively, have attracted ire among reviewers in Spain for not presenting the king in a more unfavorable light (*Imagining Spain* 61; 217).

Javier Olivares himself penned a novel about Spain's Second Habsburg king, titled *Felipe heredarás el mundo* (2015). In a blog for *20 Minutos*, the author describes how he used the genre of the historical novel to

contar esos espacios vacíos entre un hecho histórico y otro, indagando en qué pasó en la personalidad y en la vida de quienes los protagonizaron, de quienes son el motor (a veces la víctima) de los

misimos. Nunca idealizando ni convirtiendo a sus protagonistas en héroes intocables o malvados de una pieza. (“Felipe II: ¿De quién es un imperio?”)

Olivares goes on to describe how Felipe II, “una figura tan esencial para entender nuestra Historia,” was a complex figure, and that penning the novel raised more questions than it answered:

¿Qué pasó para que el joven que le negaba a su padre más dinero ante la miseria de Castilla se convirtiera en el viejo que persiguió hasta a la muerte a quienes no querían pagar los impuestos? ¿Qué vivió quien fuera lector ávido del *Amadís* para permitir fechorías tan poco caballerescas como las de Antonio Pérez? ¿Para tratar como un extraño que ponía en peligro su poder a su hermano Juan de Austria, que tan generosamente se jugó la vida por él? (“¿De quién es un imperio?”)

These are similar questions to the ones Amelia raises to the king during their confrontation in “Cambio de tiempo,” the season two finale, which Olivares believed was going to be the series finale, and his final chance to comment on Spaniards’ uncritical consumption of historical myth and memory.

3. “¿CÓMO SE ME RECORDARÁ EN EL FUTURO?”

The decisive defeat of the Armada was devastating to Felipe II and to Spaniards at the time, who saw their invasion of England as a crusade against Protestantism. While the setback did not signify the end of Spanish maritime supremacy, it did allow England to become a formidable rival. It also secured Elizabeth I’s throne, allowed Protestantism to become deeply entrenched in England, and it became a source of national pride there. As Watson describes it:

[t]here was nothing to be heard in England and the United Provinces but the voice of festivity and joy [...] All Europe trembled at the thoughts of its success. For although it can hardly be supposed that Philip was so romantic as to flatter himself with the hopes of attaining universal monarchy, yet it is not to be imagined that he aspired only at the conquest of England and Holland [...] Not can it be believed that anything less would have satisfied his ambition, than the subjection of every protestant state in Europe, and the utter extirpation of the reformed religion. (139-140)

While modern-day historians such as Kamen and Parker contend that the invasion of England was a matter of self-defense (Kamen, *Spain 1469-1700* 153; Parker 323), the myth persists, both in liberal Spain and elsewhere in Europe, that Felipe II invaded England out of a desire to expand his empire and to limit political and religious freedoms. The American Catholic historian Walsh, of course, insists that the king was defending religious liberty in England:

Spain has been lampooned in English history and literature as a place of despotism whence the King and the Inquisition had banished the very notion of liberty, which thereupon fled for refuge to Protestant Albion. No mind free from the prejudice of that tradition can fail to see that the reverse was true [...] It was not only the Catholic Church that suffered. In this country so lately emacipated from the Pope and the common conscience of Christendom, there was no longer free speech, freedom of conscience, or freedom of opinion in any matter that might be of concerns to persons rich or powerful enough to punish them. From 1586 on the country was full of professional informers, "moralizers," and "State deciphersers." (629; 632)

In Walsh's assessment, as well as that of the Francoist historical imaginary of Spain, Felipe II was the defender of the "true" faith and liberty, for according to him, Spaniards "were always ready to fight and die" for freedom (629). His commentary brings to mind young Carlos's description of his primary school education during the late-Franco era in the popular Spanish television series *Cuéntame cómo pasó*:

Para nuestro maestro la culpa de todos los males la tenía la perfidia...la perfidia de los anglosajones que para colmo son protestantes. A los 8 años sabíamos que los protestantes eran culpables de todo...claro que los ateos y los comunistas eran todavía peores. ("El retorno del fugitivo")

While don Severiano's focus in *Cuéntame cómo pasó* is on the Spanish-American War—when the United States left Cuba "huérfana de la madre patria [...] y provocaron una guerra para arrebatarnos nuestro glorioso pasado" ("El retorno del fugitivo")—the interpretation is similar to Walsh's about the Armada: Spain has been a victim of foreign, anti-Catholic invaders. Indeed, as Linda Bartlett states, "for don Severiano the cause of the disaster [of 1898] does not lie with the Spanish, but with the 'perfidia' of Americans who, like the British before them, snatched from Spain what was rightfully theirs" (223).

It is no coincidence, accordingly, that Olivares would choose the Armada's defeat, such a meaningful occasion in Spanish (and global) history, as the decisive moment when Felipe II determines to break the Ministry's longstanding rule that "la ambición de nadie, ni siquiera la de un rey, debería hacer uso de ello" (Sainz and Olivares 8). In the opening scenes, the king reacts to the news of the Armada, lamenting "[h]e fallado a mi reino. He fracasado..." (Sainz y Olivares 3). In a subsequent scene, when his secretary Mateo Vázquez de Lea says that God, not the Ministry, is in charge of human history, the king confesses his crisis of faith:

¿Dónde estaba Dios cuando mi flota se hundió? Organicé esta empresa para llevar la verdadera fe a Inglaterra. Mis ejércitos combaten a los seguidores de Lutero en los Países Bajos y al infiel en el Mediterráneo... ¿A quién tiene Dios que atender que haya hecho tanto por él? Que me perdone Dios si le ofendo...Pero es hora de cambiar la Historia. (9-10).

The king's devastation reflects the historical accounts of his reaction to the Armada's defeat (Kamen, *Philip of Spain* 276; Parker 323). It also serves to humanize the king, who is more concerned with the loss of lives and the "gloria del reino," which he believes to be more important than his own life (Sainz and Olivares 9).

After Felipe II receives news of the Armada tragedy, and he decides to call on de las Cuevas, the opening credits serve as an interlude between 1588 and 2016 Spain. In the scenes immediately following the credits, the audience observes various developments in the characters' personal lives. Alonso awakens to find that his girlfriend Elena has left him (and in a later scene he will blame their breakup on modernity and democracy). Irene's budding relationship with Rocío, by contrast, demonstrates the social advances that liberalism and democracy have provided for women like her: she is able to express her sexuality, and to utilize her talents as head of logistics for the Ministry. Amelia, who in her own era is pressured to marry and have children, is able to be her true self in 2016 Spain, and to have a leadership role in the Ministry.

Following Felipe II's confrontation with de las Cuevas, which concludes with the Inquisition's taking the latter away to be tortured, the patrol group learns of its latest mission: they have to travel to 1809 and find Agustín Argüelles, one of the principal authors of the Constitution of Cádiz. Significantly, as Irene reminds the group, Argüelles is responsible for Article 172 of the constitution, which delineates all of the limitations the Cortes wished to place on the king's authority.

No puede el Rey impedir bajo ningún pretexto la celebración de las Cortes en las épocas y casos señalados por la Constitución, ni suspenderlas ni disolverlas, ni en manera alguna embarazar sus sesiones y deliberaciones. Los que le aconsejasen o auxiliasen en cualquiera tentativa para estos actos, son declarados traidores, y serán perseguidos como tales. (51)

As we have discussed above, Argüelles and his fellow liberal Cádiz deputies were instrumental in constructing a history of Spain in which a constitutional monarchy was not revolutionary, as it had been across the Pyrenees. Rather, it was a natural political evolution from Medieval times to the Catholic Monarchs, which Carlos I and Felipe II had curtailed with the suppression of the Castilian *comuneros* and the Aragonese *fueros*, respectively. Argüelles's era, accordingly, is not just the seed of the modern era and foundation of Spain's democracy, as Salvador states (Sainz y Olivares 12). It is also the birthdate of liberal Spain's historical myths about Felipe II, myths that informed liberal Spanish political thought, strategy, and symbolism throughout the nineteenth century.

While Amelia, Alonso, and Julián travel back to 1809 to spare Argüelles's life—in a scene that is a clear allusion to Goya's *El 3 de mayo*, another mythicized moment in modern Spanish

history —Salvador is alerted to de las Cuevas's disappearance. Meanwhile, in 1588, the king and Vázquez explore de las Cuevas's Ministry, and, realizing that de las Cuevas and the Ministry have been keeping secrets from him, Felipe II determines to travel to 2016 —the latest dates in the Ministry's notebook. In his conversations with Salvador, Felipe II fails to understand contemporary Spain, where the Americans are the world leaders (not Spain), the current king is a Bourbon with very limited authority, there is no Inquisition, and ordinary people visit El Escorial and see the bedroom where he spent his final days. Felipe II is likewise not prepared for Salvador's remarks as a "ciudadano libre," who openly criticizes the king's obsession with power, glory and wealth and reminds him of his own mortality (Sainz Rosas and Olivares 25-26). Angered, Felipe II murders Salvador, declaring to Vázquez: "Voy a cambiar el pasado y con ello, este futuro tan mediocre. Todo será distinto. Todo" (Sainz-Rozas and Olivares 28). In the scenes that follow, Felipe II becomes the kind of Spain and of Time by combining his sixteenth-century instruments of authority —a dozen soldiers and the Inquisition— with modern-day weapons (the pistol), communication tools (the iPhone), and history books that recount his military failures. When Amelia, Julián, and Alonso return from their mission, they discover that the Ministry has changed. Everyone is wearing black uniforms, a white shirt, and a black tie, leading Julián to remark, "¿Acaso todo el mundo está de luto?" (Sainz-Rozas and Olivares 29). Salvador's office, which Ernesto now occupies, is more organized and austere, as is Ernesto himself, who reminds the group of the Ministry's motto, which is not, notably, "El tiempo es el que es" but rather "disciplina, discreción y sentido" (Sainz-Rozas and Olivares 31). The severity of the Ministry's environment reflects the common image of Felipe II as a "grave, solemn, almost funereal" king who preferred to wear black and had a melancholy disposition (Kamen, *Philip of Spain* 223).⁶ It also brings to mind the Franco dictatorship, as one journalist has contended (García). For example, as the group attempts to understand the alternative 2016, a biographical documentary about Felipe II is playing on the television in the background, and the narrator comments that the king "sobrevive a los tiempos por la gracia de Dios" (Sainz-Rozas and Olivares 35), bringing to mind Franco's nickname as "el caudillo de España por la gracia de Dios."

When the group meets with Ernesto, instead of Salvador, they begin to suspect that something is amiss. Ernesto's remarks about Argüelles further arouse their suspicions: "Ese tal... nos estaba dando muchos quebraderos de cabeza en el siglo XIX... Pretender que España tenga una constitución... Hay que ser majaderos" (Sainz-Rozas and Olivares 30). In this alternative 2016, the group's mission has changed from saving Argüelles to murdering him so

⁶ In reality, the king wore a variety of colors. However, he was faithful to the Spanish custom of wearing black for a year after there was a death in the family and, having lost many members of his family, including four wives and several sons, it must have seemed as though Felipe II was always wearing black.

that he does not pen the Constitution of Cádiz and thus limit the king's authority. Because the group was in 1809 when Felipe II took over the Ministry, they are the only characters who are aware that Felipe II's 2016 is an alternate reality.

As the hilarious weather report and the "Yo soy España" commercial demonstrate, the king has maintained the Spanish Empire: England, the Americas, African nations, the Netherlands, Germany, and even Asia are all *España*. The endurance and the expansion of *Las Españas*, however, has signified a loss of national and personal identity among the characters. Amelia, Alonso, and Julián return from their mission to find a number of unfamiliar faces in the Ministry, leading Julián to wonder if their mission has changed to one of hunting aliens (Sainz-Rozas and Olivares 29).⁷ The next day, Amelia reveals that a number of Spanish cultural products, such as *Don Quijote*, *Lazarillo de Tormes*, and Goya's paintings, no longer exist. Prominent national figures, such as Jovellanos, Picasso, and Buñuel, have never come into existence.

Initially, neither Julián nor Alonso seem concerned with these changes because of the developments in their personal lives: Maite is alive in this alternate reality, and Alonso and Elena are married and expecting their first child (her use of birth control, which Alonso failed to understand, had been a source of tension between them in previous episodes). The men's first evening in the alternate 2016, accordingly, appears to be a dream come true, as they both confess to Amelia the following morning (Sainz-Rosas y Olivares 43).

However, after a double date at Alonso and Elena's apartment, Julián and Alonso are less content. Although she is alive, Maite is nothing like her departed counterpart. For example she refuses to allow Julián to set the table, dismissing it as "cosa de mujeres," when the Maite that Julián knew would have insisted on sharing domestic duties (Sainz-Rosas and Olivares 48). Elena likewise speaks only of her baby, whom she plans to name Felipe or Isabel. Felipe II's *discurso semanal* mesmerizes both women, as they mindlessly repeat the "credo" that God sent the king to Spain to protect "la gloria del reino" (Sainz-Rosas and Olivares 52). That night, neither Alonso nor Julián appear comfortable with the changes Felipe II has made to Spain, and to their respective lovers. By the next morning, however, Alonso decides to accept the alternate 2016, because it means that he can realize his dream of having a child with Elena. Julián, however, urges Alonso to understand what the men have lost: "no son ellas. Esta sociedad de mierda las ha cambiado. Son sumisas. Tienen su mismo cuerpo, su misma cara, su misma voz... Pero no tienen su misma alma... ¿Por qué no quieres reconocerlo?" (Sainz-Rosas and Olivares 59). A call from Irene interrupts the men's conversation, and the subsequent scene, in front of door 816, drives home Julián's point, as we shall see.

⁷ This might also be an allusion to *Men in Black*.

In the alternate 2016, Irene is a mousy brunette who is married with children. In a scene reminiscent of the pilot episode, but with the roles reversed, Amelia seeks out Irene to share a cognac, and the two talk about Amelia's recent mission to 1809 with Julián and Alonso. Much like Amelia in the pilot episode, Irene is envious of Amelia's opportunities, unable to imagine a reality in which women have the same opportunities as men. She likewise remarks on the fact that they are drinking cognac together, and she confesses that she has very few friends, "y las que tengo solo hablan de los niños, recetas de cocina" (Sainz-Rosas and Olivares 46), echoing Amelia's comment from the pilot episode: "¡Es tan difícil encontrar una mujer con la que poder hablar de política, arte... de cosas importantes! ...[mis amigas hablan de] maridos, hijos y la moda de París (Olivares and Olivares 7). However, unlike Amelia, who is heterosexual, Irene is suppressing her homosexually in Felipe II's 2016, living in fear that the Inquisition is watching her, making sure that she does not surrender to her sexual urges. She is shocked to learn about the "otra Irene," who is independent, head of logistics, and "no es una servil secretaria" (Sainz-Rosas and Olivares 47). When Irene meets with Alonso and Julián in front of door 816, she informs them that Amelia has traveled to 1588 Spain, and that they need to escape before they are imprisoned or burned at an *auto de fe*. She also asks the men about the "otra Irene," and she begs them: "conseguid que la Irene que exista sea ella y no yo" (Sainz-Rosas and Olivares 60).

Until this moment, Julián and Alonso have been blissfully unreflective about the sociopolitical consequences of Felipe II's actions. This is largely because, unlike Amelia, the "cerebro del grupo," the men are woefully ignorant about Spanish history (Olivares and Olivares 25). Alonso is ignorant about the past because he was living in it: Ernesto recruits him in 1569, during Felipe II's reign, when, in Alonso's own words, "era el rey quien decidía todo y sus súbditos obedecíamos" (Sainz-Rosas and Olivares 12). Julián, who is from present-day Spain, is a reflection of the problem Olivares laments in an interview with *20 Minutos*: "[e]n España es tal el desconocimiento y la falta de cariño a la historia, y somos tan acríticos con ella, que hablar de la historia no es ver ya de dónde venimos sino ver lo que nos está pasando" (Yague). For example, all Julián knows about Agustín Argüelles is that there is a Metro station named after him. He is neither nostalgic for the Spanish Empire, nor is he critical of it; he is simply indifferent until the resurgence of the Spanish Empire, manifested in Felipe II's alternate 2016, affects him personally.

By contrast, as a university student from 1880 (when Irene recruits her), Amelia was born during what historiographers call the "siglo de historia," or the time when history was an obsession and "informa todas las manifestaciones del hombre romántico así como del romanticismo" (Moreno Alonso 60; 134). She often has to explain the historical importance of their missions to her partners and, presumably, to Spanish audiences. In "Cambio de tiempo" Amelia explains who Argüelles is, and she immediately recognizes him from the photo.

She is also the first to recognize what Spain has lost culturally, socially, and politically from Felipe II's takeover of the Ministry.

Although Amelia opposes Felipe II's takeover of the Ministry, she does not appear to embrace her century's myths about his being a tyrant. Rather, when the king confronts her, Amelia asks him what happened to the king who dreamed of being Amadís de Gaula, who endeavored to make Madrid as cultured a city as Brussels, and who criticized his father's excessive taxation of Castile (Sainz-Rosas y Olivares 56). Even when Felipe II threatens to have her executed, Amelia contends, “dentro de cada hombre, sea campesino o rey, hay un ser humano que siente y padece. Que tiene sentimientos” (Sainz-Rosas y Olivares 57). The king, however, contends that progress is overrated, and that “gobernar es hacer realidad lo posible” (Sainz-Rosas y Olivares 57).

As the king clings desperately to his authority, Alonso travels to 1533 to visit the seven-year-old prince Felipe in his sleep. Moments later, he sends a photo of the prince to the king informing him that unless he releases Amelia, and does exactly what she requests, the king will die as a young child, forgotten by history, unable to have great military conquests or to build the Escorial. Realizing that he has been defeated, the Felipe II frees Amelia, and he agrees to accept the Armada's defeat. He further confesses that he has committed many errors during his reign, but that, ultimately, “es imposible gobernar un reino donde nunca se pone el sol” (Sainz-Rosas y Olivares 66). As if responding to future critics from the nineteenth or twentieth century, the king wonders to Amelia about his historical legacy:

FELIPE ¿Cómo se me recordará en el futuro?

AMELIA Como un rey con sus defectos y sus virtudes. Como todo ser humano.

(*Felipe asiente*). (Sainz Rosas and Olivares 66)

Once he understands that becoming the King of Time will not make him immortal, Felipe II makes one last request to Amelia, which we see her fulfilling during the episode's final, gloomy scene. It is 1598 and Amelia, disguised as a nun, visits the dying king, injecting him with the necessary morphine to make his passing relatively painless. As he dies, the king takes comfort in a childhood memory of his mother tucking him into bed, and with the young prince promising his mother that he does not know if he will be a good king like his father. Even as he dies, Spain's second Habsburg king never ceases to worry about his duties as a monarch.

4. CONCLUSION

While Felipe II has been the object of fascination for both his enemies and his supporters, for the most part he remains a mystery. As John C. Rule and John J. Tepaske contend, like the Escorial—his monumental palace, pantheon, and administrative center—the king’s “stern character hides behind it a confusing maze of character patterns that have sought explanations from that day to this” (ix). Felipe II himself is somewhat responsible for this aspect of his legacy, for according to Parker, although he “committed more of his thoughts and decisions to paper than almost any other ruler, he deliberately left others in obscurity” (xvi). The king also “refused to let his life be written during his lifetime,” according to Kamen, and this allowed for creative accounts of the most dramatic, and tragic, events of his lengthy reign (*Philip of Spain* xi). To this day, Felipe II remains an object of interest and, at times, ridicule, both inside and outside of Spain. Some more recent examples include his appearance in the popular video game *Civilization VI*, in both *Elizabeth* and *Elizabeth: the Golden Age*, in the 2008 Spanish movie *La conjura de El Escorial*, or even in Olivares’s recent novel about the king, *Felipe heredarás el mundo*.

The science-fiction format of *El Ministerio del Tiempo*, which has Felipe II applying his “códigos de poder” to 2016 Spain, problematizes a tendency amongst some Spaniards to idealize the Spanish Empire, and the past in general, “cuando lo que debemos hacer es mejorar nuestro presente” (Yague). Alonso realizes this when, after cursing modernity and democracy, he finds that he prefers the Elena of post-2016 Spain to the one he meets in Felipe II’s alternate 2016. Similarly, Felipe II comes to the realization that maintaining the Spanish empire, even as King of Time, is a near-impossible feat.

Because Felipe II has agreed to remain in 1588, the audience may assume that he will not interfere with the penning of the Cádiz constitution in 1812, or with the specific mission involving Argüelles in 1809 Spain. In other words, the sixteenth-century king has accepted a future for Spain in which his descendants’ authority would be markedly more limited than his own. Consequently, Spain’s future as a democracy is also secure. By graciously accepting the emergent decline of the empire and the resultant birth of liberal democracy, Felipe II reclaims a part of his identity that had been lost to the empire and the monarchy.

The episode promotes a counter-myth to the Glorious Spanish Empire so heralded by Franco and conservative historians, that of the “centrality of the Spanish nation as an inviolable dramatic frontier and as a space of action that unites the characters, transcending the historical moment from which each of them comes” (Rueda and Laffond 91). In Olivares’s interpretation of Spain’s past, the decline of the Spanish empire allowed for liberalisms to flourish in Spain. This myth, notably, remains unchallenged by the end of the episode, bringing to mind Iana Konstantinova’s argument that even as *El Ministerio del Tiempo* endeavors to deconstruct certain myths about Spain, “the writers leave others untouched, while also creating new ones” (291).

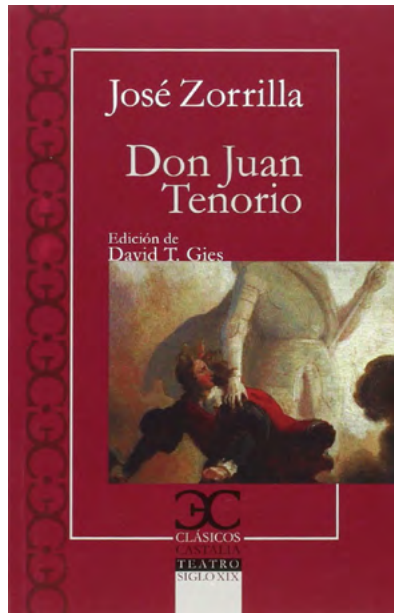
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RESEÑAS
DE LAS OBRAS DE
DAVID GIES



DON JUAN TENORIO

JOSÉ ZORRILLA

EDITION AND NOTES BY DAVID T. GIES

Madrid: Clásicos Castalia. 2016, 268 pp.

Rereading David Gies's critical edition of *Don Juan Tenorio* brings back many memories. I first read José Zorrilla's immortal play in an undergraduate survey course taught by Sam Amago at the University of Notre Dame. At the time, I did not appreciate that the book I had dutifully bought for class, edited by a David T. Gies, was written by an eminent scholar. Rather, with the infinite wisdom of a college junior, I had very little intention of reading the introduction—but did judge the footnotes rather helpful. Having

not yet considered graduate school, I could never have guessed that the man smiling out at me from the back cover would one day figure so prominently in my own formation as a teacher and scholar. Yet three short years later, I found myself at the University of Virginia scouring the previously-ignored introduction in frantic preparation for comprehensive exams, thankful even in my panicked state for the clarity with which it was written. With graduate school behind me, I still find the footnotes extremely useful,

because they consistently enhance meaning rather than distract from it, clarifying issues of meter and vocabulary or illuminating fascinating intertextualities. Nevertheless, it is Gies's critical introduction to what is one of Spain's most significant and influential plays that represents this edition's greatest contribution to the field.

The merits of Gies's introduction to *Don Juan Tenorio* (1844) explain in large part the success of the edition, which since its publication by *Clásicos Castalia* in 1994 was reprinted in 2002 and revised and reissued in 2016. The most recent edition features a modern typeset and style, newly expanded bibliography and revisions that are mostly annotative in nature, reflecting Gies's intimate knowledge of the dynamic field of nineteenth-century Spanish studies. The first section of the introduction provides an overview of the playwright and his works while the second part offers a brief but useful commentary on Zorrilla's legacy as poet. The final section offers a detailed examination of four seemingly disparate components of the play: its female characters; the work's magical elements; its fire imagery; and the eponymous protagonist himself. Each brilliantly argued analysis demonstrates in turn the underlying thesis girding the entirety of the introduction: that *Don Juan Tenorio* represents a radical break with Spain's subversive romantic tradition by heralding the domestic and religious ideologies of the ascendant Spanish bourgeois class.

In addition to providing valuable background information, both the biographical segment and the section on Zorrilla's poetry expertly anticipate the arguments put forth

in the analytical portion of the introduction. In the "esbozo biográfico," for example, Gies cites a childhood anecdote from Zorrilla's memoirs that anticipates his later analysis of the work's magical elements. These draw from Spain's popular *comedia de magia* tradition, as Gies asserts, forming "un nuevo híbrido teatral: la comedia de magia romántica" (34). In the second section on Zorrilla's poetic voice, meanwhile, Gies reminds readers that unlike many of Zorrilla's contemporaries who drew inspiration from the late neoclassical style, Zorrilla "se formó leyendo a Rivas y a Espronceda" (21). By underlining the vibrant Spanish Romantic tradition inherited by the poet-playwright, Gies lays the groundwork for his argument that, despite some commonalities, Zorrilla's don Juan Tenorio ultimately breaks with the prototypical model of the Spanish Romantic hero.

The edition's most important contribution is, however, its mesmerizing analytical section. Through detailed close readings, Gies demonstrates that *Don Juan Tenorio* signals an ideological shift toward the bourgeois values that will define Spanish culture in the second half of the nineteenth century. In doing so, he argues, Zorrilla "cambia el trayecto del romanticismo en España" (64). Gies reveals how Zorrilla's text adapts magical and pyrotechnic imagery from a variety of theatrical traditions to the particular demands of his time. Thus, at the end of the play "las llamas eróticas...se transforman en llamas divinas" (53): don Juan no longer burns with infernal passion but rather ascends with Inés to heaven as a flame, redeemed. Zorrilla's use of magic in the play,

meanwhile, “muestra el poder sobrenatural del poder divino” (34). In both cases, such imagery not only subverts audience expectations but also reinforces the primacy — and attainability— of Catholic deliverance. In an inversion of the romantic hero paradigm epitomized by el Duque de Rivas’s *Don Álvaro o la fuerza del sino* (1835), don Juan Tenorio finds salvation through his embrace of the twin institutions of family and faith, “los dos principios fundamentales de la ideología burguesa” (53). This comforting message of redemption, so different from the *diablo mundo* of the Spanish romantics, further transforms the bourgeois woman into spiritual angel. She becomes the abnegated *ángel del hogar* epitomized by doña Inés, who offers “un servicio espiritual” to her husband (26).

The 2016 edition of Zorrilla’s work attests to the enduring nature of Gies’s critical reading, which continues to represent the prevailing scholarly interpretation of the play. Rather than a failed romantic drama with a bombastic, irrational ending that reeks of *cursilería*, as some critics have argued, Gies demonstrates how Zorrilla’s play is both revolutionary in its break with Romantic paradigms and representative of its particular sociohistorical moment. In this sense, *Don Juan Tenorio* exemplifies Gies’s argument in *The Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Spain* (1994) that “[t]heatre is both a reflection and an agent of social/cultural shifts in the nineteenth century” (2). Throughout his introduction Gies also consistently grounds both playwright and drama in their literary and sociohistorical contexts. For example, he includes lists of Spanish romantic plays

and playwrights for the uninitiated reader, grounds his reading in sociocultural shifts taking place in Spain at midcentury and even explicitly ties the play to Spain’s two most iconic realist novels. As Gies insists in *The Theatre*, “I believe there is an author behind the text... to study dramatic literature in nineteenth-century Spain totally removed from its personal, ideological, economic and social context would be interesting, perhaps, but pointless” (2, his emphasis). While Gies’s privileging of the importance of historical and cultural context may seem unremarkable in today’s age of cultural studies, this insight largely accounts for the continued relevance and perdurability of his critical edition.

Moreover, Gies’s critical edition of *Don Juan Tenorio* has stimulated fruitful scholarship of works inspired by the play. Writing in 1994, Gies observes that, “se ha fijado muy poco en el *Tenorio* como fuente de otras obras decimonónicas. La obra de Zorrilla no fue tanto ‘fuente’ sino catarata que inspiró a docenas de autores dramáticos” (9). The 2016 edition, however, cites various critics who over the course of more than two decades have pursued this avenue of research, which remains a productive field (10). Gies’s insistence on the critical importance of *Don Juan Tenorio*’s multiple “imitaciones, continuaciones y parodias” (10) stems, I think, from two sources: his will in the 1990s to incorporate specialists in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Spanish literature into the nascent field of Spanish cultural studies; and his fervent belief in the value of non-canonical literature as an indicator of a society’s socio-cultural moment. This convic-

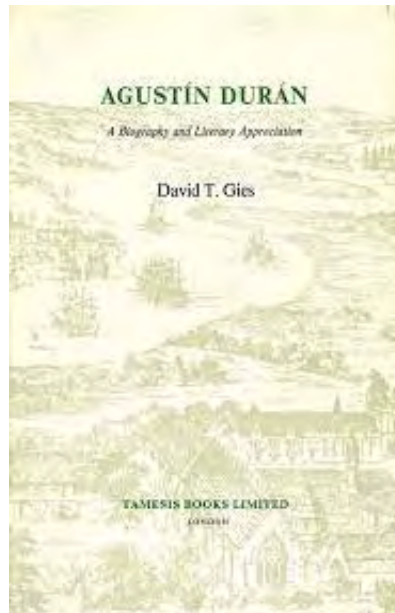
tion was palpable in every course I took with Gies, whether we read every theater review—every article, really—written by Larra, or a panoply of one-act plays that borrowed from or alluded to *Don Juan Tenorio*. Of these, the two I most vividly recall are *Doña Juana Tenorio* (1876), by Rafael María Liern, whose formidable heroine threatens to kill the man she loves if he does not marry her—nuptials ensue—and *Una apuesta en la velada de San Juan* (1865), by Natividad de Rojas, whose would-be don Juan has lost his touch due to his advancing age. After that particular course, which focused on the representation of women in nineteenth-century Spanish theater, my peers and I were left in no doubt that Zorrilla's masterpiece had indeed engendered—and continues to

inspire— a veritable “waterfall” of cultural production.

The scholarship advanced in Gies's critical edition of *Don Juan Tenorio* is evidently exemplary, as relevant today as it was a quarter century ago. It is a crucial resource for both students and scholars, a gateway for novice readers of the play that simultaneously pushes experts to pursue new avenues of research. As with so much of what David Gies has taught me, I continue to find his edition indispensable both for my scholarship and in the classroom. And it is always with great nostalgia that I recommend that my students read the introduction.

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¹ **Gabrielle Miller** is Assistant Professor at Baylor University, where she teaches courses on modern and contemporary Iberian literatures and cultures. Her research focuses on representations of gender in Spanish literature and culture in the 19th and 20th centuries. She has published articles in journals such as *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos*, *Hispanic Review*, and *Anales Galdosianos*. Her current book project analyzes negative representations of feminine aging in the Spanish realist novel and nineteenth-century illustrated press.



AGUSTÍN DURÁN

DAVID T. GIES

London: Tamesis, 1975, xiv + 197 pp.

[From *Modern Language Review*, vol. 72, no. 3, 1977, pp. 721-722.]

A quarter of a century ago Juretschke's *Vida, obra y pensamiento de Alberto Lista* set a new standard for scholarly biographies of the Spanish romantics. In documenting the life and outlook of Lista it revealed by implication how much remained to be uncovered about his contemporaries, friends and pupils. Since then detailed works have appeared on Espronceda, Mora, Alcalá Galiano and Ochoa. It is gradually becoming easier to piece together a comparative picture of the intellectual formation of the Spanish

romantics, their shifting political and social attitudes, their sources of income, employment and patronage, their personal ambitions, rivalries, hatreds and jealousies as well as their friendships, collaborations and mutual influence.

The latest contribution is Professor Gies's study of Durán. Patiently researched and fully documented, it provides for the first time a dependable biography, correcting sundry errors (including my own) and filling in gaps. While the biographical approach to

writers and their works is no longer fashionable *per se*, without such documentation as this we cannot hope to assess the writer's social origins and allegiances, the sources of his ideology or any of the external factors which may have affected his work. On this ground alone Professor Gies's book is welcome. Indeed one would wish to see equally well-researched biographies of, for example, Donoso Cortés, Hartzenbusch, García Gutiérrez and Bretón, to say nothing of Escosura, Pacheco or Roca de Togores. Until these materials are available the much needed task of rewriting Peers's *History of the Romantic Movement in Spain* cannot be properly attempted.

Secondly Professor Gies offers a useful account of critical cross-currents at the time and a balanced assessment of Durán himself as a critic. While stressing his fairness, detachment and "customary tolerance," Professor Gies defends Durán against the charge that he did not agree with later definitions of Spanish romanticism. This seems to me to miss the point that Durán attacked contemporary ideas about the movement which have since prevailed. Still, Durán's standpoint is discriminating compared with those of Lista and Donoso, on both of whom—though the former was his teach-

er—he exerted a notable influence. When a satisfactory account of the history of criticism in nineteenth-century Spain comes to be written, Professor Gies's work showing Durán as a major precursor of Menéndez Pelayo will be found to be a valuable contribution. Similarly we have here for the first time a systematic description of Durán's most enduring achievement: his collection and publication of material which laid the foundations for modern scholarship in the fields of Golden Age theatre, *cancionero* poetry and the *romancero*. The story of how these studies came into being deserves a book of its own; once more Professor Gies has helped to smooth the way.

Durán's original poetry perhaps hardly deserves nearly thirty pages of description. It was insignificant and at times anachronistic even in its own day; now it is hardly even a curiosity. But perhaps a full study of Durán would be incomplete without it.

Both for its documentation and for its critical reasoning, Professor Gies's book is a welcome addition to recent studies of Spanish romanticism.

D.L. SHAW
University of Edinburgh

Gies, David Thatcher

Nicolás
Fernández de
Moratín



NICOLÁS FERNÁNDEZ DE MORATÍN

DAVID THATCHER GIES

Boston: Twayne, 1979, 184 pp.

[From *Hispanic Review*, vol. 49, no. 3, 1981, pp. 359-361.]

For many a Spanish writer the Twayne series has provided the only book available in English. For some, the series has given us the only book in any language devoted exclusively to a single writer. Such is the case of David Gies's study of Nicolás Fernández de Moratín, whose merits as a writer were long unexplored by critics.

Mesonero Romanos said of Don Nicolás that his best "work" was his son Leandro (*Manual... de Madrid*, 3rd ed. [Madrid, 1844], p. 63). Gies disarms this attempt— similar

to others on the part of the Romantics—to disparage an eighteenth-century writer. He has incorporated into his study the results of his own investigations as well as those of other scholars who recently have been calling to our attention the works of this man of letters who loomed large in his own time and then was neglected.

At the beginning of this century, Menéndez y Pelayo included one poem by Don Nicolás in *Las cien mejores poesías (líricas) de la lengua castellana* ([Philadelphia, 1908], pp. 151-61).

It was, of course, the best known of all the famed *quintillas*, “Fiesta de toros en Madrid,” but the version he chose was the short one, which we now know was drastically revised by Leandro (Gies, pp. 89-95). It was the two versions of this poem that caused José María Cossío to describe our concept of Nicolás as “desdibujado y borroso” and the writer as “[uno] de los poetas cuyos textos desorientan y confunden más” (*Los toros: tratado técnico e histórico* [Madrid, 1943-1961], II, 263-64).

Gies in his book does much to improve our perception of Nicolás. Manuals of literature portray him as the cold, Neoclassical writer. Gies shows us the passionate poet. Lovers of Calderón see him as the enemy who supported a government ban on the performance of *autos sacramentales*, forgetting that vital renovation in the genre had long since ceased. Critics have described him as a slavish imitator of European models and have conveniently overlooked his most significant pronouncement, as he was quoted by Leandro, on the imitation of literary models. When a gentleman sought his advice on which poets of which nations he should include in his personal library, Nicolás told him: “Griegos y españoles, latinos y españoles, italianos y españoles, franceses y españoles, ingleses y españoles” (*Obras postumas* [Barcelona, 1821], p. xxxvi).

Gies has successfully evaluated Don Nicolás as a poet and as a man of letters. I am not satisfied that he has given the man his due as a dramatic writer. I could not claim for Nicolás an important place in dramatic literature; his own son Leandro observed that his comedy *La petimetra* lacked the

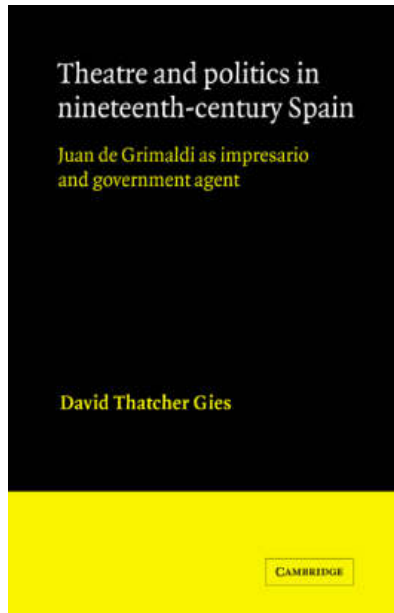
important ingredient of *vis cómica* (*BAE.*, II, 316). Still, I believe that José Caso González, whom Gies cites (Ch. iv, n. 10), pursued a more positive approach to *La petimetra* when he studied it as an example of Spanish rococo. When Nicolás wrote *Hormesinda*—a tragedy set deep in Spain’s past between the fall of Visigothic Spain and the beginning of the Reconquest—he performed a service for an incipient Spanish Romanticism similar to that rendered by Juan de la Cueva to the Golden Age two centuries earlier. Afterward, from Quintana to Zorrilla, we have a series of plays on Pelayo, Rodrigo, and their contemporaries.

Gies’s appraisal of *Guzmán el Bueno* is largely negative. Yet the play has merits; Leandro observed that “en su lectura hallan los inteligentes muchas qualidades dignas del mayor elogio” (in Nicolás’s *Obras postumas*, p. xliii). Isabel Millé Jiménez, in “Guzman el Bueno en la historia y en la literatura” (*Revue Hispanique*, 78 [1930], 410), praised the noble style and the grandeur of certain scenes. She also noted that Don Nicolás foreshadowed a Romantic trend by introducing elements of local color in this play, as he had also done in his poems. We may further emphasize his creative solution to a problem posed by his adherence to Neoclassical principles—in this case, unity of place—and the historical situation he was portraying: how might he portray both the besieged ramparts of Tarifa and the Moorish encampment outside the walls? He proposed a method for the scenic designer to execute: “*Vista de Tarifa algo alta, y a un lado acampamento del Moro*” (I cite from the first edition [Madrid, 1777], p. 13). In the dedication to the contemporary

descendant of his hero, Nicolás expatiated on his solution to the problem: "La unidad de lugar no está quebrantada, aunque se representa el suceso en el muro y acampamento, porque el auditorio se supone estar en el adarve de Tarifa, desde donde oye y ve quanto pasa en ambas partes bien contiguas; mayormente considerando el antiguo modo de sitiar las plazas tan diferente del moderno, pues se hablaban unos y otros. Pero es menester tropezar con quien sepa disponer el teatro, y entonces no le faltará verosimilitud ni visualidad" (pp. 7-8). If we visualize what he proposes, we find ourselves before a scene much like those described in great detail in Spanish Romantic dramas such as Martínez de la Rosa's *Aben Humeya* or the Duque de Rivas's *Don Alvaro*.

Despite these reservations, I find that Gies's book represents a significant step in rehabilitating for our times, and for the first time since Don Nicolás's own century, an important man of letters. Gies has organized what we have known about Nicolás, and he has enlarged our vision of the man and the poet. Knowledge increases our respect for the writer's achievement and sends us back to the texts. What we still sorely lack is a critical, or at least a careful, modern edition of the complete works to replace our dependence on the outmoded volume two of the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles.

JOHN DOWLING
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*THEATRE AND POLITICS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY SPAIN:
JUAN DE GRIMALDI AS IMPRESARIO AND GOVERNMENT AGENT*

DAVID THATCHER GIES

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, 257 pp.

[From *España Contemporánea*, vol. 3, no. 2, 1990, pp. 128-131.]

The story of Juan de Grimaldi is improbable, excessive: a precocious boy of humble, Corsican descent, he rose to officer rank in Napoleon's army, went to Spain with the invading French army in 1823, set himself up as an impresario of Madrid's theaters, in which—contrary to all precedent—he made himself a fortune. Having gained access to the exclusive circles of the Spanish court, he developed a taste for conspiracy and intrigue that he indulged throughout his life by intervening in the highest affairs of state,

both in Spain and in France, where he settled after 1836. It is difficult to believe that the chapters of Grimaldi's life have not been drawn from the novels of Balzac and Stendhal: as the story of the provincial outsider's ambition, of opportunities offered to greed and lust for advancement by socio-economic upheaval, of the corruption, intrigue, and uncertainty characterizing post-Napoleonic European governments, this biography does indeed capture the flavor, the essence, of a period. Juan de Grimaldi, self-made man,

part confidence-man, part genius, exemplifies possibilities inherent in European life in the early nineteenth century.

Grimaldi's influential presence in the Spanish cultural and political world of the 1820s and 1830s has long been recognized by Hispanists, but not until the publication of David T. Gies's carefully researched study of this intriguing figure have we been able to assess the full significance of his impact on Spanish history. The first four chapters describe Grimaldi's place in the reform of the Spanish theater between 1823 and 1836, and the fifth chapter traces his activities as a journalist in Spain, and as propagandist, diplomat and historian on behalf of his Spanish friends after he settled in France. Because it focuses on the interaction between Grimaldi and Spain, the book is constructed somewhat differently from a traditional biography. Having scoured the available documents that might cast some light on Grimaldi's activities, Gies shows us the multiple dimensions of his influence, which ranged from his training of all the leading Spanish actors of the first half of the nineteenth century to his triumphant challenge of a French historian's interpretation of the court of Isabel II.

The chapters on the theater contain indispensable information on the pre-Romantic Spanish stage. It is Gies's thesis that Grimaldi's efforts to reform the Spanish theater paved the way for the advent of Romantic drama in the mid-1830s. From the book's astonishing account of how Grimaldi, a young officer in the theater, managed to win a contract from Madrid's city council to run the city's two theaters for a season, we learn

about the sorry state of drama in Spain's capital: untrained and uneducated actors, a standard repertory of vapid French comedies, bowdlerized *comedias* and crude melodramas, run-down, ill-lighted playhouses, a tangle of restrictions based on feudal rules, Fernandine censorship, and court intrigue. Although Grimaldi was impresario of Madrid's theaters for only one year, the book shows us the multiple forms in which he exercised a reforming influence. For example, despite Grimaldi's lack of formal education, his wit, judgment and knowledge were sufficient to make him a presiding presence at the famous *Parnasillo*, the coffeehouse discussion group that shaped the literary tastes and attitudes of the young intellectuals who would dominate the theater during the Romantic decade. As stage manager of the *Príncipe* theater for many years, he trained Madrid's leading actors in the more subtle, natural expression of emotion, built a public responsive to pre-Romantic sensibility and eager for new plays, and encouraged young playwrights like Larra, whose *Macías*, produced and directed by Grimaldi, was one of the earliest manifestations of the Romantic spirit in the Spanish theater. Indeed, all the ground-breaking Romantic dramas prior to 1836 were staged by Grimaldi: *La conjuración de Venecia*, *Macías*, *Don Álvaro o la fuerza del sino*, and *El trovador*.

Gies argues that *La pata de cabra* (1829), the smash hit that made Grimaldi's fortune, was instrumental in making Romantic drama viable. This absurd hodge-podge of melodrama, spectacular "magic" effects and slap-stick comedy not only brought an expanded public to the Madrid theater, but

also gave theater staff the technical skills in dealing with the stage machinery, lighting, and sets that would be required by Romantic drama (184). Gies buttresses this convincing thesis with details about the production of *La pata de cabra* and its reception that in themselves provide new and invaluable information on the sociological and economic aspects of the Spanish theater in this period. This is precisely the kind of investigation that we need much more of if we are ever to have an accurate idea of the receivers or consumers of literary culture in Spain in the nineteenth century. How much tickets cost, who bought them, how they were distributed, what preoccupied the authorities, how the audience behaved in the theater, how much money constituted a good take for an evening's performance—all these questions receive concrete answers. The pages (64-69) documenting the unprecedented success of *La pata* are a tour de force of primary research: using newspaper accounts, letters and memoirs, box office figures and municipal records, Gies constructs a vivid picture of the scope of the play's appeal (220, 000 people saw it between 1829 and 1850, he calculates) and its financial implications.

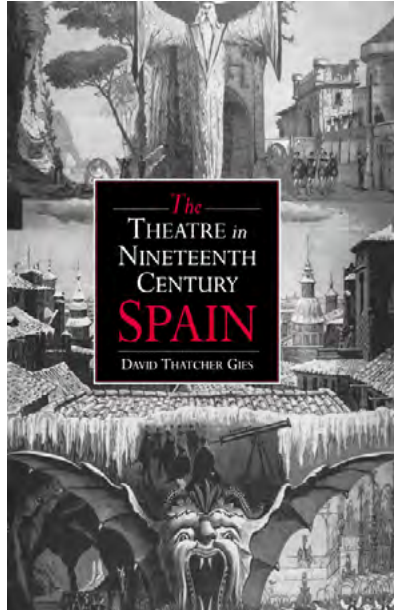
The last chapter, leaving the subject of the theater to trace Grimaldi's activities after leaving Spain in 1836, sheds light on a variety of other facets of Spanish history. Gies's discussion of Grimaldi's association with *La Revista Española*, for example, makes clearer that important journal's political line of support for the Moderates and the

Queen-Regent. Grimaldi's alliance with the moderate right can be seen in his long and cordial collaboration with General Narvaez as the General's agent, sometime consul and secret propagandist in France. In his use of the press to defend the General's interests, he revealed his astute awareness of the importance of manipulating the information media in modern politics and business.

One of the most fascinating episodes in this involves Grimaldi's mediation of a deal in which Narvaez's government secretly loaned money to Louis Napoleon, who at the end of 1849 badly needed funds to stabilize his new government. "I am the purest Napoleonist in France" (156), declared Grimaldi in a letter to Louis Napoleon. Referring thus to his origins as an obscure soldier in Bonaparte's army and his ultimate status as a wealthy capitalist providing financial support for the Bonapartist dynasty, Grimaldi slyly suggests the parallel between his own life story and the Napoleonic myth. It may be that Grimaldi embodied a type well-known to the France of the July monarchy, but to the Spaniards that he dazzled with his intelligence and enterprising spirit he represented a social species that was just beginning to appear in their country—the self-made man, the *bourgeois parvenu*. David Gies's excellent book unfolds for us in concrete detail the talents, attitudes and cultural politics of one of Spain's first examples of this type.

SUSAN KIRKPATRICK

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THE THEATRE IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY SPAIN

DAVID THATCHER GIES

Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994, 392 pp.

[From *Virginia Quarterly Review*, vol. 71, no. 1, 1995.

Published under the title "The Beauty and Business of Theatre."]

In future centuries, what will critics say about our era as reflected in such diverse theatrical works as *Our Town*, *West Side Story*, *Angels in America*, or *Forbidden Broadway*? Will they look for an explanation of the American psyche as well as assess the skills of playwrights and impresarios through a close reading of the 20th-century stage? We at this point can only guess what future pundits might stress in the current theatrical fare, but perhaps there will be at least one distant critic who will be able to synthe-

size the contrasting aspects of a commercial enterprise and literary genre. In 1995, we may point to one perceptive analyst who has accomplished this complicated and formidable task for another country and another age, Spain in the 19th century: David Thatcher Gies, Commonwealth Professor of Spanish and chairman of the Department of Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese at the University of Virginia.

Gies's *The Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Spain* is the most comprehensive study to

date of the Spanish 19th-century stage and offers the reader a rewarding glimpse into a significant art form of a major Western European country. Within the pages of this seminal text, Gies integrates the numerous and often contradictory social and artistic currents of a prolific century that produced more than 10,000 dramatic works in Spain. Ironically, it is also a period characterized by critics who relentlessly (and incorrectly) warned their readers of the decadence and decline of all playhouse fare.

In seven concise chapters, employing a non-deconstructive approach and a chronological presentation, Gies traces the fortunes of the Spanish stage during a turbulent time of Spain's past. He chronicles the ebb and flow of the theatre through the political history of the century (the Napoleonic invasion and occupation, the dictatorship of Fernando VII, the return of democracy, socialism) as well as the cultural landscape of the epoch (Romanticism, Realism, the rise of women writers, parody, and the neo-Romantic influences at the end of the period). Gies's reading of the 19th-century Spanish stage is amplified by his thoughtful analysis of not only hundreds of plays but also by a meticulous reading of other texts, including contemporary theatrical reviews, 19th- and 20th-century literary criticism, biographies of actors and stage directors, and other relevant historical documents.

Gies continues in *The Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Spain* the successful approach of his previous text, *Theatre and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Spain: Juan de Grimaldi as Impresario and Government Agent* (Cambridge, 1988). Reviewing that

text, Donald C. Buck wrote that Gies successfully intermingled the two key elements of any consideration of theatre history (and two traits that are often at odds)—the stage as a literary genre and as a commercial, performance medium. Buck reasoned that what Gies “masterfully weaves into his narrative is precisely this sense of duality that exists in *live* theatre.”

Keeping in mind both the aesthetic and capitalistic aspects of the theatre, Gies in *The Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Spain* intertwines the basic building blocks of the period's stage, including the dramatists and their scripts, public reaction to performances, the often tense relationship between the government and the theatre (including censorship), the economic problems faced by the theatres, and the social themes of the day as reflected in specific plays. Gies summarizes that “theatre was clearly viewed as much as a political and social activity as it was a literary one, a view which will be maintained throughout the nineteenth century.”

The Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Spain breaks much new ground. First and foremost, Gies shows that the plays of the period usually discussed in the classroom by teachers and students—the official “canon” of 19th-century theatre—do not accurately portray the major trends nor in many cases even the principal playwrights of the century's dramatic repertoire. In fact, one of the goals of the book as stressed by Gies is to reevaluate the traditional “masterworks” of the age's theatre, those well-thumbed scripts that “do not necessarily reflect what really happened in the theatre in nineteenth-century Spain nor do they reveal much about what changes

took place in the mind-set of the public going to see them.”

In this regard, a major innovation of *The Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Spain* is the recovery of forgotten playwrights, their works, and their role in the development of Spain's stage. Tomás Rodríguez Rubí (1817-1890), for example, was ignored by later critics, yet this major writer “was very much in the center of action during the transitional period from Romanticism to the *alta comedia*” (upper middle class drawing-room dramas of the second half of the century). Likewise, Narciso Serra (1830-1877) was one of the most respected dramatists of his period but is little discussed today. Yet his influence was great among 19th-century contemporaries. Gies characterizes Narciso Serra as a “humorous, womanizing, and brave soldier-writer whose facility with poetic meter provoked envy and awe among his friends and acquaintances.” Enrique Zumel (1822-1897) was the author of at least 122 plays, “but his work is emblematic of much of the theatre of nineteenth-century Spain: popular, topical, frequently interesting, well-received, and now completely out of fashion.” Gies correctly underscores the fact that no national theatre of any period can be understood solely through a few selected works by a small number of its most famous sons and daughters.

The 19th century in Spain is also the first century of the nation's cultural history in which women begin writing in large numbers. Gies highlights the import of the growing number of female playwrights in the Spanish stage (“a generation of women writers, unknown and unmentioned in most literary

histories”) and devotes an entire chapter to the subject. Beginning with Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda (“clearly the best-known woman dramatist of the Spanish nineteenth century”), Gies further mines the lost names and unremembered works of other significant women dramatists, such as Rosario de Acuña, Adelaida Muñiz y Más, and Enriqueta Lozano de Vilchez. Gies notes the rich dramatic subject matter and focus of the many women dramatists of the century, suggesting that “these women did not speak in a unified ‘feminine’ voice, but rather in a multiplicity of voices tuned to their personal and social situations.”

In addition to the reinstatement of unremembered dramatists and their contributions, *The Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Spain* reevaluates the stage of those playwrights who have enjoyed continued reading and comment by critics and teachers today, from Luciano Francisco Cornelia at the beginning of the century through Benito Pérez Galdós at the period's close. Gies should be especially commended for an objective analysis of José Echegaray, a playwright who earned the Nobel Prize (1904) and whose innovative but often overwrought plays were panned by later 20th-century critics. Gies's examination of the work of Echegaray reveals a writer who hypnotized Madrid's audiences for more than two decades through a combination of “the old tropes of Romanticism with the new morality of the *alta comedia* and of theatrical realism.” Gies notes Echegaray overwhelmed his public with an “unquestionable” dramatic power, and that the most successful playwright of the second half of the 19th century was an author

whose “genius was to capture the new social spirit (the same one captured in other parts of Europe by Ibsen, Strindberg, and, later, Pirandello) with a language which his audiences recognized.”

Another major contribution of the book is Gies’s extensive investigation into the roots of Spanish Romanticism, especially during the years between the Spanish War of Independence (1808-1814) and the death of Fernando VII (1833). Few of the enormous number of plays during this period receive a rereading or even a mention today. Topping the extensive list of these neglected works are the *comedias de magia* (plays with magic and fantasy). Gies affirms that these latter texts —extremely popular in their day— influenced the composition and enhanced the public reception of such well-known Romantic hits as Jose Zorrilla’s *Don Juan Tenorio* and the Duque de Rivas’ *Don Álvaro o la fuerza del sino*. Gies affirms that Spanish Romantic drama “did not emerge from a void, nor was it imported from France or England, but rather it grew out of the rich brew of disparate elements which made up the theatre in the first thirty years of the century.” He continues that “full comprehension of Spanish Romantic theatre is impossible without a solid knowledge of the type of plays which informed the new playwrights and which prepared the audiences to understand what they were seeing.”

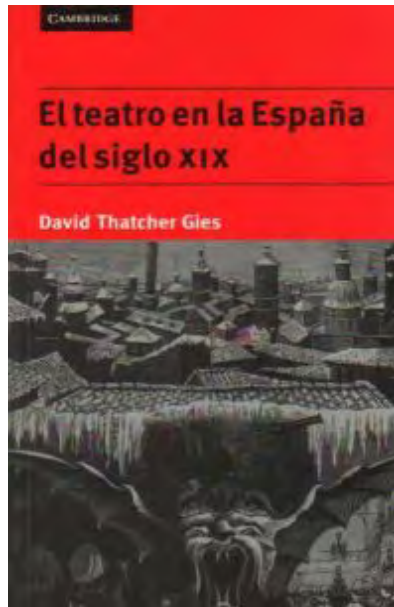
The Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Spain is written in a jargon-free, direct style, and is very accessible to the non-specialist. Indeed, Gies employs present-day cultural events to clarify and explain aspects of Spain’s 19th

century. For example, he notes that the corrupt community depicted in many of Adelardo López de Ayala’s plays “was a society swept up in money-making and go-go chic (similar to the 1980s in the United States, perhaps).” Gies also translates all quotations from Spanish to English, including hundreds of dramatic titles and parts of scenes cited in the book. At its conclusion is an extensive bibliography of both the key dramas and critics of 19th-century Spanish theatre. The book will undoubtedly become a seminal work in any undergraduate or graduate university course on Spanish drama (as Gies states, “I hope the present study will help to break that closed circle and open up new paths of study for students of nineteenth-century Spanish literature”).

Theatre has had a special place in the hearts of Spaniards since the great 16th and 17th-century Golden Age (*Siglo de Oro*), the period in which the prolific Lope de Vega wrote more than 500 plays and even Cervantes yearned for fame on the boards. *The Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Spain* demonstrates that the stage remains central to the Spaniard’s self-image through the endless debates about the quality and direction of the national theatre. David Gies’s perceptive study of Spain’s 19th-century theatre brings alive once again the magic of opening nights, unforgettable performances, prominent playwrights, and even the resounding cheers of bravo, which we may also render to this book.

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EL TEATRO EN LA ESPAÑA DEL SIGLO XIX

DAVID THATCHER GIES

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

[De *El Gnomo. Boletín de Estudios Bequerianos*, vol. 5, 1996, pp. 235-236.]

El libro que reseñamos tuvo una primera edición en inglés (*The Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Spain*, Cambridge University Press, 1994), pero dada la escasez de estudios de conjunto sobre el teatro español del pasado siglo, su traducción no sólo es oportuna sino hasta necesaria.

Si todo estudio de conjunto que abarca un amplio periodo cronológico supone siempre un importante reto para quien lo emprende, temas como el que se aborda en este ensayo —el teatro de todo un siglo cuando el arte es-

cénico ocupaba un lugar central en las formas de sociabilidad— exigen hasta cierta dosis de temeridad. Aún así, son necesarios estos estudios que permiten en primer lugar tener una visión sintética y actualizada de la bibliografía crítica que se ha ido produciendo al respecto y que proporcionan al menos una imagen aceptable de lo ocurrido. Pero incluso esto es especialmente difícil cuando se habla del teatro español de la centuria pasada, dado que escasean todavía las monografías sobre múltiples aspectos de la producción teatral de entonces.

D. T. Gies es muy consciente de la situación desde las páginas de su «Introducción» (pp. 1-7), y aún así ha escrito este ensayo con la esperanza de que su libro ayude a deshacer tópicos y abra nuevas sendas. Reordenar el *canon* existente en los manuales, recuperando autores y obras que tuvieron gran significación social en su día pero que después han sido ignoradas es por ello uno de los intereses medulares del autor y se concreta en la práctica en el capítulo quinto sobre escritoras teatrales (pp. 268-320), o en el espacio otorgado a dramas que pasan desapercibidos: el caso más llamativo es el de *Espanoles sobre todo*, de Eusebio Asquerino, pero no faltan otros. Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda (pp. 271-286), Rosario Acuña (pp. 287-302), Adelaida Muñoz Más (pp. 302-312) y Enriqueta Lozano de Vílchez (pp. 312-321) son las dramaturgas elegidas para ejemplificar la aportación femenina, tan descuidada habitualmente, al teatro español.

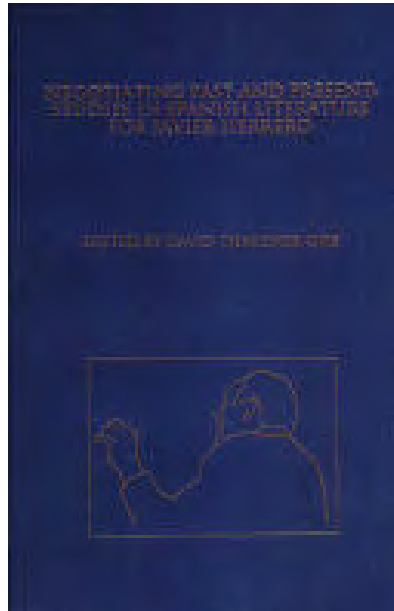
A veces la propuesta de reordenación del *canon* es aparente o poco original, como ocurre con el teatro político del primer tercio del siglo, que se presenta bajo el chocante marbete de «Teatro y dictadura: de Napoleón a Fernando VII» (pp. 57-135), y que ofrece en realidad un muestreo del teatro político mezclado con otros géneros sin unos criterios caracterizadores convincentes.

En otras ocasiones la novedad es mayor, como ocurre al estudiar el teatro de mediados de siglo con sagaces apuntes sobre lo que significaron la reordenación de los tea-

tros (pp. 245-267), o estrenos como el drama histórico de Rodríguez Rubí *Isabel la Católica* y *Traidor, inconfeso y mártir* de Zorrilla, en el camino de afirmación nacional tan característico de aquellos años.

Oportuno resulta seguir insistiendo en la importancia de la parodia como una de las manifestaciones teatrales básicas de entonces. Es tema necesitado de monografías sistemáticas como la que acaba de publicar Carlos Serrano sobre el *Tenorio: Carnaval en noviembre. Parodias teatrales españolas de don Juan Tenorio* (Alicante, Instituto de Cultura Juan Gil-Albert, 1996). Y otro tanto cabe decir de la comedia de magia, el melodrama o la revista teatral política por no hablar de todo aquello que afecta al mundo de la representación y al sistema de producción teatral en su conjunto. Sólo cuando contemos con estudios monográficos convincentes sobre estos aspectos se removerán definitivamente la multitud de tópicos con que se juzga aquel teatro. El mayor interés de este libro radica en mi opinión en los numerosos síntomas que detecta en el teatro del pasado siglo que cuestionan la consideración que actualmente tiene en los manuales. David T. Gies cumple así su propósito de contribuir a remover el *canon* vigente sobre aquel teatro como lo viene haciendo desde hace años en otros estudios sobre el teatro decimonónico aquí en parte sintetizados.

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Universidad de Zaragoza



*NEGOTIATING PAST AND PRESENT:
STUDIES IN SPANISH LITERATURE FOR JAVIER HERRERO*

Edited by DAVID T. GIES

Charlottesville: Rookwood Press, 1997, xxii + 272 pp.

[From *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, vol. 23, no. 2, 1999, pp. 365-367.]

Homages used to be reserved for a professor's retirement. Javier Herrero has not yet reached that stage in his career, but the present volume was conceived as an appropriate token of esteem and affection by colleagues, friends and pupils for a scholar who has already made a most notable contribution to world Hispanism (five books and fifty-seven articles published since 1962). David Gies opens the volume with a characteristically vibrant presentation of Herrero's life and work, with the following studies grouped

according to the development of Herrero's own research interests over the years (Spanish Romanticism, Góngora, Antonio Machado, Lorca, modern Spanish poetry, *Celestina*, Cervantes, Golden Age literature, and Discovery literature).

In his customary crisp and lucid style, Donald Shaw argues that Rafael Húbara y Salamanca's originality in *Ramiro, conde de Lucena* (1823), lies in the transfer of unbridled human passion from the drama to the novel as well as in the reflection of the age's

hesitant shift from the Enlightenment to a Romantic approach to the subject.

With extensive supporting documents, Gregorio C. Martín charts the demise of *El Español* (which published the best of Larra's articles) during the years 1836 and 1837, when the founding editor, Borrego, had to face court actions brought by Mendizábal for criticizing his "desamortización" policy. Precise documentary citations also enable Guillermo Carnero to prove that *La voz de la naturaleza sobre el origen de los gobiernos* (1813) was not written by Ignacio García Malo, but was a translation of an original French work by the Abbé Thorel.

Inman Fox zestfully reviews Unamuno's and Ganivet's differing views of Spain's national identity in *En torno al casticismo* and *Idearium español*, respectively.

Geoffrey Ribbans meticulously identifies and analyses the "Ciclo de Leonor" poems in *Campos de Castilla* (about 14 in total and written in less than a year [1912-13]), concluding that Machado, while still in command of his creative powers, was becoming "very conscious of losing his capacity to recall experiences except in isolated bursts" (86).

Juan Cano Ballesta chooses a somewhat esoteric topic for his contribution: travel in *El viaje a Bizancio* by the contemporary poet, Luis Antonio de Villena. Like so much modern travel poetry, the collection is less testimonial than the travel books in prose of the forties and fifties and more fantastic, representing a spiritual quest for a hedonistic utopia.

Andrew Anderson painstakingly reconstructs the various stages in the composi-

tion (Valencia, October-November, 1935) and publication of Lorca's *Sonetos del amor oscuro*, first published as a whole in 1983, with particular attention dedicated to the most frequently-published individual sonnet, "El poeta pide a su amor que le escriba". Alison P. Weber re-focuses the debate on the relationship of master and servants in the *Celestina*, by bringing attention to the contents of confessional books and discourses on servitude composed before and after 1499. Her conclusion is that there was "an ideological indecision regarding the nature of the economic bond" (131) (legal debt or charity), which was further complicated by the dangers of the servants' own sexuality, an obvious reality that Rojas foregrounds in his tragicomedy.

Jean Canavaggio maintains that the characters in *La tierra de Jauja*, a "paso" by Lope de Rueda, express their stage jokes through verbal inventiveness, while Bruce Wardropper fascinatingly traces the major role played by Calderón in a three-authored "refundición," *El mejor amigo el muerto* (1636), of a Lope play, *Don Juan de Castro*, even producing his own subsequent "refundición" of the "refundición".

With typically insightful comments, E.C. Riley explains how the dialogue form and the use of animal speakers in the *Coloquio de los perros* derive from Apuleius's *Golden Ass*, the Lucianic dialogues and *El crotalón*, as well as the picaresque novel.

In an uneasy combination of perceptive comments and clichés of literary theory, Edward Dudley closely analyses poems by Juan Rodríguez del Padrón, Lucrezia Borgia, Garcilaso de la Vega, and Lupericio de Argen-

sola. If Lucrezia Borgia is an exception when she directly addresses her beloved, so too is Garcilaso when he shows concern for the emotional needs of the individual woman he addresses. But in the Baroque poetry of Argensola, the centre of attention is not the emotion of love, but the otherworldly conceit of “desengaño.”

Barbara Mujica’s very valid thesis —that Borges found in Spanish Golden Age writers models for his own views on subjective reality— could have been presented in an abbreviated and reorganized form.

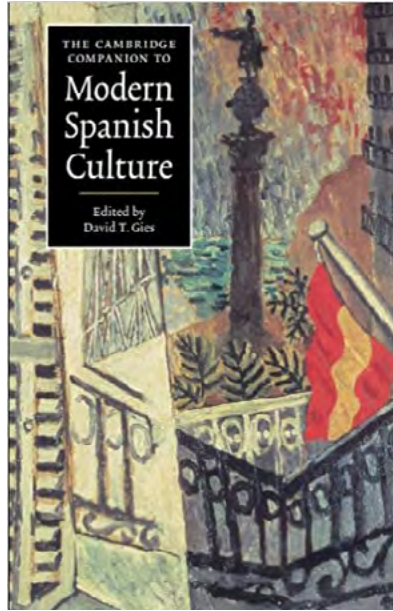
Diana de Armas Wilson expertly trawls the texts of the early “conquistadores” to show how sixteenth-century Spaniards, like the Greeks of Athens before them, appropriated the myth of amazons for their colonizing project. Taking Montalvo’s *Las Sergas de Esplandián* as the New World urtext on the subject, Wilson concludes that the amazon legend was invented by men to rationalize their need to invade lands and bodies.

It is entirely appropriate that Victor Ouimette should close the volume, for he is the only contributor no longer alive and his essay was the last piece he wrote before his premature death. Furthermore, its subject matter represented a new direction in his research as it does in Herrero’s. All the hallmarks of Ouimette’s scholarship —precise, accurate use of sources and careful crafting of his argument, for example— are to be found in his discussion of how awareness of the discovery of the New World in the Euro-

pean consciousness of the time “made concrete the abstract concerns of Humanism” (235). Intellectuals like Peter Martyr d’Anghiera and Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo tried to give coherence to the reality of this “otherness.” But it really was Pérez de Oliva, the centre of Ouimette’s attention, who took “a daring step by seeking to convey the grandeur of Columbus’s exploits in prose and in the vernacular” (239). And if he chose to employ a mode of writing more akin to the novel than to the romance of chivalry, it was because he believed that Columbus’s personality explained the exploits of the Discovery.

This volume, with an attractive format somewhat marred by a number of typographical errors, is, by and large, a fascinating miscellany of solidly erudite studies by well-known Hispanists. Besides being an indispensable reference tool for contemporary and future scholars, it constitutes a most worthy tribute to its illustrious dedicatee.

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THE CAMBRIDGE COMPANION TO MODERN SPANISH CULTURE

Edited by DAVID T. GIES

New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999, 327 pp.

[From *Hispania*, vol. 82, no. 4, 1999, pp. 764-765.]

Heightened visibility of Spain's vernacular cultures in the post-Franco era, their attainment for the most part of autonomous political status, and the emerging discipline of cultural studies have all played roles in the impetus for this detailed, yet readable and exceptionally useful volume. Beginning with a six-and-a-half page "Chronology of major events" (covering from 1825 to 1997), the compilation pays attention to a wide range of happenings in music, historiography, politics, literature, pedagogy, theatre,

philosophy, dance and ballet, architecture, cinematography, expositions, fairs and exhibitions, censorship, aesthetics and movements, festivals, periodicals, television, museums, art collectives and experimental theatre groups, major prizes, and significant anthologies. A prefatory glossary of five and a half pages contains terms ranging from *alta comedia* to the confusing *siglas* of some two dozen important political groups (e.g., C[onfederación] E[spañola] de D[erechos] A[utónomas], and H[erri] B[atasuna], polit-

ical wing of ETA), and historical terms such as “la Gloriosa” (revolution of 1868). Given that the volume spans two centuries, and incorporates not only Castilian, but Basque and Catalan cultures, plus the growing trend in the second half of the twentieth century to frequently narrow specialization by Hispanists, few readers, indeed, will find themselves able to dispense entirely with the glossary. In light of an already wide-ranging topic, editor Gies has wisely limited the focus: “‘Culture’ will be used here in a restricted sense, one referring to ‘the general body of the arts’ and to ‘the intellectual side of civilization’... but folkloric culture, mass culture, and popular culture— what the Spanish dictionary defines as ‘the traditional life of the people’— are properly the subjects of a different book” (4). Other types of textual apparatus include a ten-page index of proper names and thirteen black-and-white illustrations.

The volume contains twenty-three separate but complementary essays (each with its own bibliography) on Spanish history and on three major cultures of the Peninsula. Although numerous dates of high visibility in the period are covered (e.g., 1898 and 1927), three general historical or chronological markers are selected: 1868, 1936, and 1975. Each of these are seen as marking major political transitions, the change from one kind of political world-view to another: from monarchy to the short-lived first Republic (1868), the outbreak of a destructive civil war (1936), and with the death of Franco, the end of his dictatorship (1975). The essays, which privilege letters but do not focus exclusively on literature, are divided into

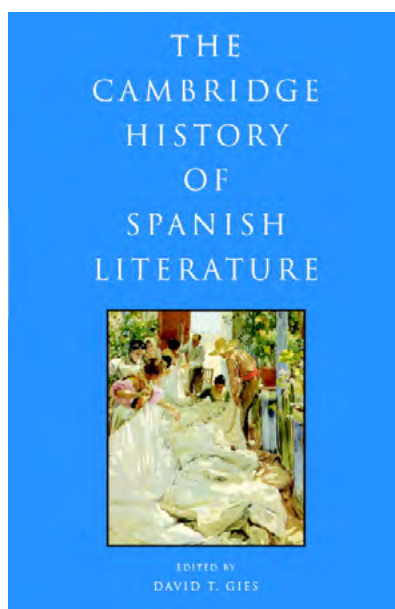
seven unequal sections, the first subtitled “Culture: center and periphery,” beginning with Stephanie Sieburth’s consideration of the meanings of “modern,” “Spanish,” and “culture.” Three examinations follow: E. Inman Fox discusses nationalism and national identity in relation to Castile and Castilian culture, Teresa M. Vilarós focuses on “Cultural mapping of Catalonia,” and Philip W. Silver attempts to explain the multiple paradoxes of the Basque provinces and culture. Immediately following, under the rubrics of “History, politics and culture,” are three chronologically successive panoramas that treat the periods 1875-1936 (José Álvarez Junco), 1936-75 (Carolyn P. Boyd), and 1875-1996 (Santos Juliá), all written by historians rather than Hispanists pressed into service to provide a historical overview. “Culture and prose” devotes three of its four sections to narrative: 1868-1936 (Roberta Johnson), 1936-75 (Randolph Pope), and 1975-96 (Jo Labanyi). The fourth examines the relationships of “Culture and the essay in modern Spain” (Thomas Mermall). Poetry is perhaps most thoroughly examined, with three essays that focus on this genre’s relationship to culture in the chronological segments already established: 1868-1936 (Richard A. Cardwell), 1936-75 (Andrew P. Debicki), and 1975-96 (Chris G. Perriam). Two essays delve into the “Culture and theater” equation, with Dru Dougherty examining the period 1868-1936, and Phyllis Zatlin commenting on the next six decades (1936-96). The longest and most diverse section, “Culture and the arts,” features essays on “Painting and sculpture in modern Spain” (José Martín Martínez), “Culture and cinema to 1975”

(Kathleen M. Vernon), and the same pairing from 1975-96 (Peter W. Evans), plus "A century of Spanish architecture" (Luis Fernández-Galiano), "Spanish music and cultural identity" (Roger D. Tinnell), and "To live is to dance" (Laura Kumin). The final section contains a single essay, "The media in modern Spanish culture," by Philip Deacon. Many of the names of the foregoing authors are well known to readers of *Hispania*, but other literary scholars' names may not be instantly recognizable, especially those whose affiliations are with institutions in Britain (Cardwell, Deacon, Evans, Labanyi). Specialists in other areas sought out by Gies include (in addition to the aforementioned historians) Fernández-Galiano from Madrid's School of Architecture; Kumin, who is a contemporary dancer, writer, dance educator and arts administrator, and Martín Martínez, who teaches contemporary art at the University of Valencia.

The Cambridge Companion to Modern Spanish Culture deserves more detailed commentary than is feasible within the confines of a review, however generous; it contains several splendid essays, and figures among those volumes that promise to become indispensable to their owners. It belongs in every university and public library, and in the librar-

ies of all modern language and literature departments. And those whose last contact with "live" Spanish culture dates from the Franco era would do well to read its sections treating the various aspects of culture from 1975 to the 1990s, for they provide invaluable background on these decades of fast-moving change and dizzying cultural diversification. Perhaps it is in this last aspect, however, that this volume's limitations are most evident: I find the omission of Galician culture and literature (with roots antedating those of Castilian) especially unfortunate, and more orientation on the other *autonomías* and their respective cultures (particularly those of Asturias, León, and Aragón, each with its own distinct literature and language or dialect) would have also been most valuable. This reviewer would also have liked to see some attention paid to the changing roles and cultural visibility of women. These caveats, however, are minor in comparison to the usefulness and achievements of an outstanding volume which (in addition to its library and reference usage) might easily become an excellent text for courses in modern Spanish civilization.

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THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF SPANISH LITERATURE

Edited by DAVID T. GIES

Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004, 863 págs.

[De *Revista de Literatura*, vol. LXVIII, no. 136, pp. 626-631.]

The Cambridge History of Spanish Literature (CHSL) comienza con dos capítulos metodológicos del todo imprescindibles a estas alturas de la historiografía literaria. El primero de ellos, titulado «El efecto Funes», escrito por el editor, David T. Gies, profesor «Commonwealth» de la Universidad de Virginia, aborda la tarea de justificar la empresa en su orientación teórica, que podríamos calificar como avisada, ecléctica y pragmática. Avisada porque hay pocos reproches de método a los que Gies no se haya ade-

lantado. Seguramente por ello se permite el arabesco de abrir y cerrar con un brindis de sabor postmoderno, que invoca al personaje borgiano cuya incapacidad para olvidar el menor detalle le llevó a la locura: este empeño de escribir historia literaria es una locura, sí, pero es necesaria. El efecto retórico va a funcionar. Se manejan dos posiciones teóricas fundamentales: la de *Rethinking Literary History*, libro editado por Linda Hutcheon y Mario Valdés en 2002, y la del más antiguo estudio de David Perkins, *Is Literary History*

Possible? (1992). A esta última pregunta Gies responde «Sí, es posible», lo mismo que Perkins, que pasa a ser el *guru* subyacente en el diseño metodológico de la *CHSL*, cuyos cimientos están en la ecléctica idea de que «la función de la historia literaria es crear ficciones útiles acerca del pasado» (6). Este recordar la literatura del pasado implica tres operaciones: selección —¡oh, Funes!—, interpretación y evaluación. Naturalmente, hay un básico y peliagudo factor de selección, de tipo nacional, que Gies y Perkins resuelven al unísono: toman el nacionalismo, en este caso lo español, como una *useful fiction* y siguen adelante. Y es que cuando uno edita toda una Historia de la Literatura Española no puede permitirse ser un teórico radical y «repensar» tan asiduamente como Hutcheon; mucho menos rechazar, como hace ella, el «national model of literary history, a model that has always been premised on ethnic and often linguistic singularity, not to say purity». Con toda sensatez, Gies se declara desprovisto de todo sectarismo violento y toma la salida que le ofrece Perkins: el español como lengua y la entidad política denominada España son las dos fuerzas que articulan la *CHSL* sin por ello excluir otras voces y lenguas, desde el latín hasta el vasco; en realidad, todo aquello que pueda o quiera acogerse al ancho concepto—útil ficción—de «Literatura Española». El pragmatismo, por último, nos lleva a pensar en los estudiantes, que esperan una guía en su formación, y en las editoriales, sin cuyo comercio no existen ni las Historias de la Literatura, ni los editores ni los lectores. En el segundo capítulo metodológico, W. Ríos-Font aborda «La historia de la literatura

y la formación del canon»; fácilmente podría haberse añadido «en el siglo XIX». Porque una consecuencia de la postura de fondo de esta *CHSL* es la importancia metodológica que adquiere el siglo XIX como momento de creación del concepto de Literatura Española, un elemento más en el establecimiento de instituciones sociales y políticas que pretendían dar un sentido unificado al país. Nuestra protohistoria literaria del XVIII ya se apoyaba en la idea de España como nación. En el XIX Amador de los Ríos consagró una idea conservadora de España y la identificó con la lengua castellana y la religión católica —y con lo masculino, añade Ríos. Ahora bien, ¿qué pasó en el siglo XX con esta idea de España? ¿En qué sentido Menéndez Pelayo y Menéndez Pidal operan sobre el arqueológico Amador? ¿Cómo se ha modificado ese concepto de nación en Historias monoautorales como la de Valbuena Prat, Alborg u otras? Si Amador se abocó al pasado, si la historia literaria hispanoamericana, nacida en una sociedad liberal, miró al futuro, ¿cómo afectaron la crisis del 98, la II República, la Guerra Civil, el franquismo, la Transición o la incorporación a la Unión Europea, a la historia literaria española del siglo XX? Pasamos, pues, casi sin transición, desde los arcaicos conceptos de Amador a los augurios que Ríos dedica al siglo XXI: la historia literaria deberá ser un discurso multidisciplinar, permeable, no necesariamente coherente, que equilibre dos elementos fundamentales: la información sobre hechos literarios y la «production of useful, revealing, and liberating fictions about the past» (35). Perkins, de nuevo. La historiografía decimonónica creía firmemente en la

idea nacional española y el siglo XX, en general, mantuvo la fe. A finales del XX hemos pasado a llamarla «ficción» o «narración» y la hemos investido de una amplia capacidad de asimilación; pero la seguimos usando porque la necesitamos, a la espera de otra idea unificadora que pueda cumplir con pareja eficacia.

La segmentación general del volumen transparenta estos planteamientos eclécticos y pragmáticos en torno a la idea nacional. Para la época medieval, la información se distribuye, como es de rigor, en poesía, prosa y teatro, pero lo más llamativo, quizá —y sin que ello suponga interferencia respecto a los capítulos más dedicados a dar información— son dos capítulos de signo metodológico, a cargo de J. Dagenais y M.^a R. Menocal, muy oportunos, cuyo fin es subrayar el elemento de «ficción» inherente a una literatura «española» que se escribió cuando España no existía. El multiculturalismo, la inestabilidad geoestratégica y la indefinición propia del inicio de una tradición literaria, hacen de la Edad Media un campo sumamente atractivo para la teoría literaria actual que, con razón, insiste en que el binomio fundante Lengua-Nación solo puede operar aquí a base de permanentes anacronismos retroactivos. En la península que luego se llamará España, la unidad política más importante era Al-Andalus y la lengua más común el árabe. Estaban el hebreo, el latín y las variedades romances, todavía indiferenciadas y sin conciencia de sí mismas. Si olvidamos el «prejuicio» nacional, dejará de interesar cuál sea el primer texto castellano o catalán; y pasarán a interesar otras preguntas como por qué y dónde se copió

un determinado texto. En realidad, esa literatura, que fue a la vez local e internacional, pone en cuestión la misma noción de traducción o adaptación. Pero también se da una cierta paradoja: el énfasis historiográfico en la ficción no tiene ahora como fin imaginar una historia útil sino que, más bien, sirve para poner en evidencia que la idea nacional castellanocéntrica que el siglo XIX cimentó justamente en la Edad Media, fue una ficción. Y que, por tanto, los principios se reconstruyen desde los finales. Bien. Al lector de la *CHSL* eso no debería extrañarle. Más bien debería preguntarse si tal ficción sigue siendo útil. Menocal, por su parte, quiere abordar los comienzos «within its own time and on its own terms», sin dejar que la España posterior a 1492 se retroproyecte (65). Pero intuyo que tal cosa no es posible; y que, en el fondo, lo único que cabe es sustituir una ficción periclitada por otra más acorde con la sensibilidad contemporánea. Porque, apurando el argumento, si destacamos, como hace Menocal, que en Al-Andalus no vivían «los moros» invasores sino españoles musulmanes, en su gran mayoría descendientes de antiguos pobladores de Iberia islamizados, ¿no estamos volviendo al principio? ¿Por qué *españoles* musulmanes? Reivindicar la españolidad de la cultura y la literatura no cristianas, las árabes y hebreas, de Al-Andalus, ¿no implica seguir retroproyectando un concepto de España—una España pluricultural, ahora—, que nos estorbaba un poco? Esa operación apropiatoria es congruente en la *Historia general de las literaturas hispánicas* (1949) de G. Díaz-Plaja, que Menocal cita y reivindica, pero es más problemática en la *CHSL*. La

España medieval de Menocal recuerda demasiado al mundo globalizado y multicultural del siglo actual. Aunque, desde luego, es muy cierto que las jarchas suponen un caso egregio de distorsión cuando se quiere ver el comienzo de la literatura española en ciertos versos, segregados de unos poemas cuyo plurilingüismo es esencial, pues refleja la intrínseca policulturalidad de la sociedad en que nacieron. Es verdad: «habrá que encontrar nuevas estructuras —sociales, políticas, intelectuales, económicas—» (57), pero las brillantes páginas de Dagenais y Menocal hacen ver que, por el momento, el concepto de nación, y la lengua a ella asociada, ocupan todavía el centro de la historiografía, también de la medieval. Sin olvidar que algunos especialistas insisten en que, en cierto modo, la invención retrospectiva ya funcionaba en textos como el *Poema de Fernán González* o la *Estoria de España* o que, a partir del siglo XI, la conciencia histórica de los reinos cristianos se fortalece. Ya al margen de lo metodológico, A.M. Beresford, J. Burke y Ch.D. Stern se ocupan, respectivamente, de la poesía, la prosa y el teatro medievales —a medias este último entre la *scriptura* y la *theatrica*—.

En los diez capítulos dedicados a los siglos XVI y XVII entran los nuevos conceptos más flexibles que se anunciaban en la introducción (5). Hablar de «Early Modern Spain: Renaissance and Baroque» busca enfatizar que, tras el periodo medieval, España entra en la Modernidad, como el resto de Europa, a través de dos fases diferenciables, antes de encaminarse hacia el burgués, científico y secular siglo XVIII. Se trata, sí, de una modernidad temprana, incipiente, en la que

no se rompe con los viejos moldes clásico-humanistas, pero es modernidad al fin y al cabo. La expresión «Siglo de Oro» se emplea, pero en general queda destronada por la de «Early Modern» con el objetivo de que las connotaciones de peculiaridad, excepcionalidad y aislamiento respecto a Europa, asociadas a «Siglo de Oro», pasen a segundo término. Parece increíble, pero a estas alturas algunos siguen considerando a España «The Tibet of the West». En realidad, J. Robbins hace una interpretación benévola de la indudable peculiaridad de la cultura barroca española en el contexto europeo, dirigida en buena medida a lectores anglosajones no hispanistas, demasiado familiarizados con la leyenda negra sobre España. Es de agradecer su esfuerzo por mostrar que la España áurea fue una cultura europea de primer orden pero, en último término, creo que se acoge a un burladero verbal cuando afirma que «es precisamente la *negociación* de este cambio de paradigma» en un proceso de secularización intelectual lo que generó una inmensa literatura que «truly justifies the term Golden Age» (148). ¿Negociación? No queda claro cómo terminó la *negociación*. Pero para eso está el lenguaje metafórico. ¿Hubo acuerdo? Se entiende que, para Robbins, sí hubo algún tipo de acuerdo: el esfuerzo de España por integrar el pensamiento europeo en los moldes metafísicos y epistemológicos del pensamiento clásico, que Robbins quiere detallar, fue la peculiar contribución española a la modernidad. Sobre este bastidor fundamental, se estudian dos figuras principales de la prosa y el teatro: Cervantes, a cargo de A. Close, y Calderón, a cargo de E. Rodríguez-Cuadros; además de Lope de

Vega, que a todo llegó, a cargo de V. Dixon. No faltan capítulos sobre el teatro nacional, la poesía renacentista y barroca, y las varias formas de prosa: narrativa, religiosa, didáctica, histórica, autobiográfica.

Se da por supuesto —no de forma expresa— que el XVIII recoge el resultado de la *negociación*: «los logros en la España del siglo XVIII son innegables aunque limitados» concluye Ph. Deacon (303) después de repasar la presencia del nuevo espíritu crítico en las ciencias desde los *novatores*, la generación de Feijoo y Mayans, hasta el momento —el reinado de Carlos III— en que los escritores, el sector más dinámico y modernizador, amplían el campo de sus intereses sirviéndose de las nuevas instituciones y publicaciones. Mientras, la universidad, el clero, la nobleza y una Inquisición cada vez menos activa componen la fuerza antagonista. J. Álvarez Barrientos se ocupa de sendos panoramas de la prosa, la lírica y el teatro, en que no se destacan figuras individuales.

«La forja de una Nación» es el epítome a que responde el siglo XIX, idea que, como sabemos, articula toda la *CHSL*. Haciendo poco énfasis en lo teórico-histórico, D. Flitter se ocupa de dar fe del predominio en España de la versión schlegeliana de Romanticismo y, por tanto, del peligro de disminuir la influencia de Böhl de Faber. Solo Larra y Galdós reciben capítulos individuales. El de G. C. Martín presenta a Larra como un ilustrado que choca con su entorno, ni dramaturgo ni novelista sino un agudo observador de su tiempo sin concesiones al costumbrismo descriptor. Puede completarse con el breve panorama de M. Iarocchi sobre la novela histórica, el folletín, el periodismo y el cos-

tumbrismo. H. Turner escribe sobre Galdós en una línea razonablemente descriptiva, dando lugar central a *Fortunata y Jacinta* como espejo del complejo novelar galdosiano, que desborda lo literario y alcanza lo sociológico e histórico, dando paso a la imagen de una España en transformación conflictiva. No deja de señalarse, con acierto, el factor decisivo en la novela realista de Galdós (408-09): su instinto narrador, capaz de sacar una historia hasta de un plato de judías. El otro plato fuerte del siglo, la novela regionalista-realista y la naturalista no determinista, queda a cargo de S. Miller, quien aporta una clave de continuidad: esta estética realista es la estética contra la que se construye el siglo XX. David Gies se encarga del teatro con reconocida competencia y la lírica se divide en dos partes, a cargo de S. Kirkpatrick y M.^a Á. Naval.

Queda el último y más complicado tramo, que la *CHSL* resuelve en cuatro sectores: el primero «The Modern, *Modernismo*, and the Turn of the Century» cubre desde finales del XIX hasta los años de 1920 y atiende puntos ausentes en anteriores Historias: un capítulo sobre las mujeres escritoras, de L. Charnon-Deutsch, y una atención a la literatura en castellano —cuatro capítulos— rigurosamente enrasada con la catalana, que merece otros cuatro capítulos, todos de J.R. Resina, sobre la *Renaixença*, el Modernismo en Cataluña, el *Noucentisme* y la Vanguardia catalana. Queda claro que el editor cree en la capacidad integradora de esa ficción útil que ha llamado Literatura Española. N. Santiáñez habla de los maestros del Modernismo español desde un doble planteamiento deudor de Wittgenstein y Braudel, mientras

R. Cardwell expone con corrección la unidad fundamental de la poesía española a comienzos del XX, que no es sino «the Spanish version of European Symbolism and Modernism» (512). La distinción hispana entre modernismo y la posterior vanguardia queda atenuada aquí. N. Orringer, por su parte, resume lo relativo a la estética, los estudios históricos y las ideas, centrándose en Ortega, d'Ors y Menéndez Pidal.

El siguiente sector desplaza los factores estéticos en la organización de la materia, ya hasta el final de la *CHSL*, y los sustituye por los históricos. La Guerra Civil centra el primer bloque: «Twentieth-Century Spain and the Civil War». Se recupera el teatro desde comienzos del siglo, tanto el comercial como el renovador, en dos capítulos a cargo de D. Dougherty. N. Dennis reivindica las dimensiones vanguardistas de la prosa de preguerra, presidida por Gómez de la Serna y Ortega, y el testimonio que aporta la prosa escrita durante la guerra, mientras E. Bou, tras marcar algunas características y un proceso general de modernización similar al del resto de Europa, ejecuta una aproximación a una docena larga de poetas, por orden de nacimiento, desde León Felipe hasta Rídruejo; sin hablar «del 27» ni «del 36». García Lorca, incluyendo su lírica y su teatro, es el único autor de siglo XX que recibe atención monográfica, de parte de A. Anderson, síntoma evidente de su indiscutida canonicidad mundial. «Dentro y fuera de la España de Franco», la penúltima sección, dedica un único capítulo al exilio, a cargo de J. M. Naharro, que busca responder a la complejidad de esta literatura desde una variedad de conceptos como «retroexilio», «infraexi-

lio», «supraexilio» o «intraexilio». El panorama general de la literatura de la España de Franco, por M. Ugarte, distingue cuatro etapas en la censura, destaca el predominio de la memoria y la evocación sobre la historia, y marca el final acudiendo como hitos a *La verdad sobre el caso Savolta* y figuras como Vázquez Montalbán o Almodóvar. Al ocuparse de la prosa, J. Perez señala tres sectores, los 40, los 50 y la nueva novela, e insiste en la férrea autarquía y el control impuestos por el poder a los ciudadanos, sin destacar que la realidad se encargó de suavizar tan extremoso panorama. G. Carnero analiza las variedades de la poesía de posguerra y M. Halsey las del teatro, en especial Buero y Sastre. Hay también una breve ampliación a la cultura y la censura de cine, por lo que tiene en común con la literatura.

Esta apertura al lenguaje del cine asciende de categoría en la última sección, «Post-Franco Spanish Literature and Film». S. Martín-Márquez, en el capítulo que cierra el volumen, habla con desenvoltura de las diferentes aproximaciones de cine y literatura, desde Javier Marías hasta Julio Medem. Mainer escribe con su habitual fluidez sobre literatura y sociedad, removiendo hitos y mojones —no 1975 más bien 1968, no 1982 más bien 1986— y combinando novela, cine, teatro y grupos editoriales.

Tres capítulos finales bien podrían ejemplificar la sana tensión entre información y narración, que se encuentran en la *CHSL*. B. Epps —La prosa entre 1975-2002— representa la mayor proximidad a la narración desestructurada y a la porosidad respecto a las nuevas tendencias: la *movida*, la sensibilidad *gay & lesbian*, la novela detectivesca, el *desen-*

canto o las lenguas minoritarias van encadenándose y cubriendo el panorama de forma original —quizá demasiado original para una Historia de la literatura—, con implícita renuncia a una interpretación más o menos general, parte por la intrínseca dificultad del panorama (723), parte por el gusto postmoderno de afirmar que no se puede afirmar casi nada. La brillante, rotunda y espumosa frase final dibuja una literatura atormentada por su pasado de guerra, su presente consumista y un futuro del que todo se puede esperar. Lo cual resulta tan sofisticado y escasamente pedagógico como el resto del capítulo. S.G. Feldman traza un panorama acerca del teatro después de Franco caracterizado por su equilibrio y su conocimiento directo de la realidad teatral española: síntesis de los autores y grupos más importantes, comerciales y experimentales; análisis de factores escénicos decisivos —la descentralización, las salas alternativas y estatales—; se apunta al teatro independiente como elemento clave en la vanguardia y se marcan las tendencias más influyentes. J. Cano Ballesta, en la otra punta que Epps, informa más que opina y nos acompaña desde los *novísimos* a la poesía del silencio, el confesionalismo, la poesía de la experiencia y la neovanguardia, hasta recalar en el triunfo del individualismo y el hedonismo como rasgo definitorio de la poesía en los últimos quince años. Cano delimita secciones y grupos, con sus «jefes»; quizá demasiado clásico, pero útil. El editor merece un reconocimiento especial por algo que puede notarse poco: la labor de coordinación de casi 50 colaboradores, todos expertos en su campo, para dar coherencia y evitar tanto solapamientos reiterativos

como ausencias, que no hay. Los colaboradores, en su mayoría pertenecientes a la *academe* norteamericana, dejan su impronta de buena prosa, concisión y argumentación. La tipografía es sobria y bella; no hay erratas. Las traducciones al inglés de los títulos españoles son imaginativas y atinadas. La cronología, desde 2000 a.C. hasta 2001, con sus abreviaturas para indicar el diverso tipo de artes, habla del amor al detalle y la precisión propios de la tradición anglosajona. Lo mismo que el Índice y la recopilación completa de la Bibliografía citada. ¿A qué lectores se dirige la *CHSL*? Estudiantes anglosajones de nivel postgraduado, yo diría. La *CHSL* es la primera que se publica en inglés desde hace treinta años y sale publicada en una casa sumamente experta, de base universitaria e implantación mundial. Ojalá se convierta en un instrumento de influencia a favor de lo español en esa cultura y esa lengua, que son las que cuentan en el mundo. No es una vuelta a los tiempos de Ticknor, aunque tampoco viene mal saber cómo nos ven desde fuera. En suma: la *Cambridge History of Spanish Literature* aporta una apuesta pascaliana por la nación como ficción útil y una puesta al día global de la historiografía. Los hechos, el canon, se mantienen sin grandes novedades, escoltados por oportunos *caveats* acerca de la dimensión de construcción que entrañan. Todo ello marcado por la profesionalidad, el buen sentido y el deseo de abrir los estudios literarios a nuevos conceptos, lenguajes y posiciones teóricas, sin descartar nociones tradicionales que se han probado útiles.

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