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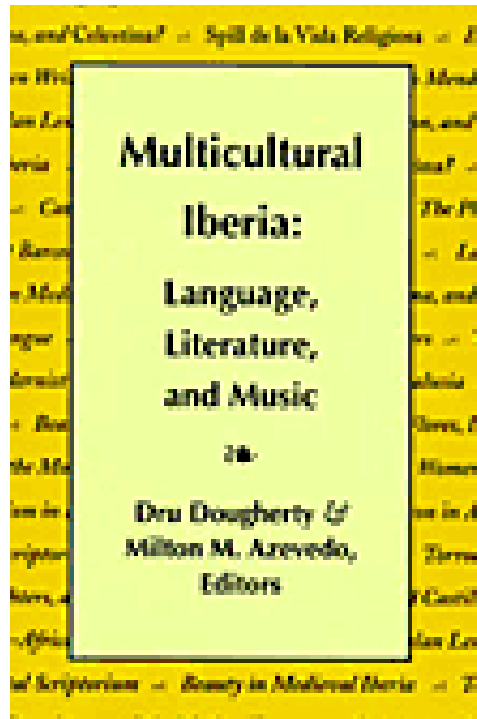
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Publication Date

1999

Peer reviewed



Multicultural Iberia: Language, Literature, and Music

Edited by Dru Dougherty and Milton M. Azevedo

Description:

Since medieval times, Catalonia has been a source of cultural expression that has ranged far beyond its present-day geographic borders. The uncommon diversity of its languages, literature in both Catalan and Spanish, and popular culture is studied in this volume by scholars from the United States and Spain who met in Berkeley in 1997 to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Gaspar de Portola Catalonia Studies Program. The dialogue between Catalonia and the other regions of the Iberian Peninsula is both analyzed and continued in this collection of essays by outstanding specialists in linguistics, literature, musicology, digitized media, and cultural studies.

RESEARCH SERIES / NUMBER 103

**MULTICULTURAL IBERIA:
LANGUAGE, LITERATURE,
AND MUSIC**

**Dru Dougherty and
Milton M. Azevedo,
Editors**

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT BERKELEY

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Multicultural Iberia : language, literature, and music / Dru Dougherty and Milton M. Azevedo, editors.

p. cm. — (Research series ; no. 103)

Includes bibliographical references

ISBNB 0-87725-003-0

1. Catalan philology. 2. Catalonia (Spain)—Civilization. I. Dougherty, Dru. II. Azevedo, Milton Mariano, 1942–. III. Series: Research series (University of California, Berkeley. International and Area Studies) ; no. 103.

PC3802.M85 1999

449'.9—dc21

99-22188

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Publication of this volume has been made possible by the cooperation of a number of institutions and individuals. Funding was provided by the Generalitat de Catalunya through the program's endowment and UC Berkeley's International and Area Studies, which also contributed editorial support. Special thanks go to Dean Richard Buxbaum of IAS for his support of the project and to Gloria Oré, Administrative Assistant of the Gaspar de Portolà Catalanian Studies Program, who served as a peerless mediator between authors, computer terminals, editors, and fax machines. We also thank Bojana Ristich, whose editorial acumen helped bring the volume to completion. We are pleased to thank finally the authors who contributed their essays to a project whose spirit is best expressed by their love and enthusiasm for things Catalan and by the rigor of their research.

INTRODUCTION

Dru Dougherty
Milton M. Azevedo

This volume includes sixteen papers presented at the symposium on Comparative Literature, Linguistics and Culture: An Iberian Dialogue, held by the Gaspar de Portolà Catalan Studies Program on the Berkeley campus of the University of California in April 1997. The symposium was seen as a fitting way to observe the tenth anniversary of the program, which has functioned as a research unit within the Center for Western European Studies of UC Berkeley's International and Area Studies since 1987. What better way to celebrate that event than by bringing together scholars from Spain and the United States to study—and continue—the dialogue between Catalonia and the other autonomous communities and languages on the Iberian Peninsula? The symposium commemorated a fruitful decade of cooperative activities between the University of California and the Generalitat de Catalunya, while it drew attention once more to the richness and vitality of Catalonia's literature, language, and culture.¹

Evidence of Catalonia's prominence in Europe, both today and in the past, is offered in the papers published here, whose topics range from a sixteenth-century woman printer to a recent best-selling novel by Eduardo Mendoza, from Luso-Africanisms in turn-of-the-century Barcelona to bilingualism in contemporary Catalonia, from gay writers to the place of computers in the study of Iberia's medieval manuscripts. No single theme recurs in these essays, but there is a constant concern for the dialogic impulse within Catalan culture. Thus, for example, while aspects of the Catalan lexicon continue to spread deep into Andalusia, that region's most famous composer, Manuel de Falla, was received in Barcelona with a uniquely European sensitivity in the 1920s. It is difficult to separate agent and receptor in such negotiations.

In today's multicultural Spain, Catalonia is a crucible of cultural exchange, which has always constituted one of its defining traits. The uncommon variety of its literature, languages, and cultural expression is reflected in these pages: the juxtaposition of disparate elements seems to defy any notion of unity; the old and the new easily coexist side by side; Catalonia as center cannot be separated from Catalonia as periphery. The subject under discussion may be a devotional, allegorical novel published in Barcelona in 1515, but the point of reference is always today's Catalonia, whose diversity and restlessness find a rare resonance in California, where these papers were first presented.

Among the essays themselves, the first four engage topics dealing with medieval Iberia. Charles B. Faulhaber, in "The Digital Scriptorium: A New Way to Study Medieval Iberian Manuscripts," discusses the impact of electronic texts and other digitalized media on literary and linguistic analysis based on medieval manuscripts. Faulhaber analyzes in some detail *ADMYTE* (*Archivo Digital de Manuscritos y Textos Españoles*), his own Old Catalan course on the World Wide Web, and, in more detail, the ongoing joint University of California at Berkeley–Columbia University Digital Scriptorium, aimed at providing both a database of digitalized manuscripts and a means for retrieving, reworking, and adding information "to the sum of existing knowledge."

"Masculine Beauty vs. Feminine Beauty in Medieval Iberia," by Francisco Marcos-Marín, studies a specific instance in which Iberian literature—in Castilian and Catalan—diverges from the Latin canon common to France and Italy. At issue is the depiction of beauty in men and women, a convention known as the *puella bella* when the latter sex is described, especially in medieval poetry. Marcos-Marín catalogues a number of traits that seem to characterize beautiful women only in Iberia: a sprightly forehead, dark eyes, thin lips, dark red gums, a long neck, and plump buttocks. The source of these features is located in medieval Arabic medical treatises, "the most serious link between the classical canon and the Arabic template for sexual preferences."

Antonio Cortijo Ocaña ("An Inane Hypothesis: Torroella, Flores, Lucena, and *Celestina*?") traces the background of the genre of sentimental fiction to an "anonymous Catalan" work, *Fronchino e Brisona*, and points out that the author of the Castilian sentimental

romance *Triste deleytación* was a Castilian-writing Catalan. Cortijo focuses on the influence of bilingual author Pere Torroella, whose misogynistic *Maldezir de mugeres*, apparently “interpreted as an attack against the literary and social status quo,” sparked not only adverse reaction, but also a parody, *Repetición de amores*, parts of which bear a resemblance to “the anonymous first act of *Celestina*.” By comparing some twenty manuscripts, Cortijo raises several related hypotheses leading to the possibility that Luis de Lucena or a member of his group at Salamanca might be “the anonymous author(s) of the first act of the *Celestina*,” later used by Rojas as the basis of his *Comedia* and *Tragicomedia*. Though admittedly tentative, this hypothesis underscores the abundance of cultural contacts between Catalans and Castilians in the Middle Ages, supporting Cortijo’s view that fifteenth-century specialists should take into account the mutual influences between Catalonia and other regions of the Iberian Peninsula.

August Bover i Font writes about the anonymous *Spill de la vida religiosa*, a rare example of sixteenth-century devotional literature whose links with the pastoral genre and wide appeal to nonreligious readers made it singularly popular. Published originally in Catalan in 1515, the treatise was widely translated and enjoyed more than eighty editions, including twelve in Castilian, ten in Italian, nine in German, and twenty-six in Dutch. Bover reviews the scholarship dealing with the Castilian and Portuguese translations and provides a list of the editions in these languages that includes the location of all known copies.

Women and literature are the focus of the next four papers. Kathleen McNerney’s “Recovering Their Voices: Early Peninsular Women Writers” spans six centuries of peninsular literature, citing a number of women authors, mostly in Catalonia, but also in Galicia and Euskadi, who cultivated a variety of prose and verse genres and whose work has only recently begun to come to light.

The status of women printers in sixteenth-century Valencia is the subject of María del Mar Fernández-Vega’s essay, “A Voice of Her Own: Jerónima de Gales, a Sixteenth-Century Woman Printer.” By carefully examining colophons and Valentian municipal records, Fernández-Vega reconstructs a business relationship in which Jerónima de Gales, widow to two printers, managed a thriving business that brought forth some of the most beautifully printed books

in Spain, including an edition of the *Cronica del Rey En Jaume*, considered by some a model of sixteenth-century Spanish typography. The case of Jerónima de Gales throws light on the need to study the role of women in determining who and what got printed in early-modern Spain.

Emilie L. Bergmann also writes about women, and hers is the first of four essays dealing with contemporary authors. In "Mothers, Daughters, and the Mother Tongue: Martín Gaité's *El cuarto de atrás* and Roig's *El temps de les cireres*," Bergmann studies two women novelists who, during Spain's transition from dictatorship to democracy after Franco, strove to retrieve a "hidden female history" in which close ties between mothers and daughters figured prominently. Collaboration between mothers and daughters is not portrayed as idyllic. Martín Gaité's novel registers the conflict between the need to suppress what is feminine, in order for a woman writer's voice to be heard, and the contrary need to ground that voice in the experience of mothering and being mothered. Roig was mindful of another conflict, that which obtains between Castilian, the language of power and domination, and Catalan, the "mother tongue" associated with love and affection. For Roig's characters, the mother's language, the maternal body, and their Catalan homeland become troubled spaces through which daughters attempt to find their sexual and national identity.

In "Mental Houses in Catalan and Castilian Women Writers of the 1990s," Adela Robles Sáez analyzes four recent novels (by Maria de la Pau Janer, Maria Mercè Roca, Almudena Grandes, and Carmen Martín Gaité) in which personality crises resulting from family conflicts are linked to the protagonist's relationship to her present and past living spaces. Robles's view of imaginary houses as metaphorical representations of the body makes it possible to use the information about a protagonist's imagined house (representing, say, childhood) to understand her emotional relationship to former and present homes. The link between the houses and direct experience, however, is indirect, and since a childhood house can only be revisited through memory, descriptions are incomplete and subject to change.

The topic of masculine beauty is central to Juan M. Godoy's essay on two contemporary Spanish poets, Luis Antonio de Villena and Biel Mesquida, whose works openly express gay desire and a

passion for the beauty of the male body. In “Villena, Mesquida: Materializing the Platonic Body,” Godoy argues that while both poets resurrect a gay literary practice from the 1920s and 1930s (Lorca, Cernuda, Prados, etc.) that was interrupted by the Franco dictatorship, they differ in their approach to Platonic transcendence. For Villena, the beauty of Apollonian adolescents defines a border beyond which beauty might become changeless and immortal. By contrast, Mesquida rejects the body/soul dualism in favor of pure hedonism.

The use of theatrical discourse to describe the early years of Franco’s dictatorship in Barcelona is Marta E. Altisent’s topic in “Theater and Life in Eduardo Mendoza’s *Una comedia ligera*.” By examining the interweaving of five plots and by exploring the historical and rhetorical nuances associated with popular theatrical genres—parodied and spliced into the narrative—Altisent sets Mendoza’s brilliant novel within a literary tradition of caricature that stretches back to Valle-Inclán while it jabs lightly at contemporary Catalonia’s consumer and mass-oriented popular culture. Peeling back the layers of metatheatrical intertextuality, the analysis reveals a core of nostalgia and elegiac feeling beneath the caricature, “a bittersweet and tender *esperpento*, aimed at the traditional targets of Franco’s dictatorship and softened by the nostalgic indulgence generated by the passage of half a century.”

Four linguistic offerings in the volume cover an ample spectrum ranging from the microanalysis of individual words to a broad overview of language as a sociocultural reservoir. Three philological studies have a lexical focus. In “*Quilombo* ‘Bordello’: A Luso-Africanism in the Spanish and Catalan of Modernist Barcelona,” Philip D. Rasico tracks the use of the African loanword *quilombo* in the travel diaries of Barcelonan historian Joaquim Miret i Sans as a vocabulary item likely acquired through contacts with travellers from Buenos Aires which he adopted “as a code word” in describing his activities and in keeping track of his travel expenses. Donna M. Rogers (“The Evolution of Word-Internal Clusters in Ibero-Romance: Some Evidence from Catalan”) tentatively investigates the applicability to Catalan data of K. J. Wireback’s findings for Castilian and Portuguese in an effort to seek a unified explanation for the reflexes of the clusters /kt/, /ks/, /k’l/, /g’l/, and /gn/. In “Aspects of the Spread and Boundaries of Catalan Lexicon in Andalusia,” Juan A.

Sempere discusses over sixty entries representative of two lexical areas of Catalan influence—namely, words related to the sea, mostly fish names and seafaring terms introduced through Catalan’s role in navigation in the Mediterranean during the Middle Ages, and terms from the mainland, related primarily to agriculture, animals, and plants, a legacy of the settlement of Murcia by Catalan speakers in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The paper with the broadest language focus is Sebastià Serrano’s “Fiction, Language, and Culture in Catalonia and Spain at the End of the Century,” which takes a global view of writing initially as a medium for storing information and later, with the invention of printing, as a tool for transforming and disseminating information. Even though political vicissitudes prevented Catalonia from using those media in its own language at critical historical moments, it has reacquired the ability to do so through the reestablishment of linguistic normalcy. Literature, once endowed with the functions of creating cultural myths and images and storing them as information, has gained—significantly, by the contact with other languages—a dimension of playfulness in which, paradoxically, scientific and technological information merges with literary information to foster the culture’s development.

Closing the volume are two studies that pose the relationship between musical expression and cultural identity. Carol A. Hess, in “Manuel de Falla and the Barcelona Press: *Universalismo*, *Modernismo*, and the Path to Neoclassicism,” charts the diverse fortunes of Falla’s music in Madrid and Barcelona in the 1920s. Whereas the premiere of *The Three-Cornered Hat* was greeted in the national capital with hostility, the ballet opened in Barcelona to resounding success, a reflection of the Catalans’ endorsement of musical modernism. Other significant pieces—*El Retablo de Maese Pedro* and the Harpsichord Concerto of 1926—were received later with equal enthusiasm when premiered in Barcelona, leading Hess to argue that Catalonia’s musical press encouraged a shift in Falla’s music from *españolista* to *universalista* modalities. A review of Barcelona’s major newspapers supports the claim that the Andalusian composer’s embrace of musical neoclassicism, in the company of Stravinsky, Poulenc, Honegger, and others, was both heralded and promoted by Catalan critics as a new direction in Spanish music.

In the final paper, “Community Ensemble Music as a Means of Cultural Expression in the Catalan-Speaking Autonomies of Spain,” Richard Scott Cohen examines the rich musical tradition of Catalonia, the Balearic Islands, and the Comunitat Valenciana, focusing on those forms that promote community participation: the sardana, choral societies, and community concert bands. All three activities involve vast numbers of primarily nonprofessional members of the community in giving musical expression to regional and cultural identities. A sense of place and a celebration of community are tightly woven into musical ensembles and participatory activities whose variety is explored and whose history is sketched.

If a general conclusion can be drawn from the themes, methodologies, and theoretical approaches represented in this volume, it is that the field of Catalan studies is not only thriving, but also far more varied than one might expect at first glance. Such wealth is largely due to the fact that the Catalan-speaking lands have always been a crossroads for a variety of people whose languages and cultures have enriched the civilization of that small but actively visited corner of Europe. The unmistakable evidence of contacts between the Catalan-speaking lands and other Iberian regions from the Middle Ages to the present suffices to put to rest the notion—bucolic for some, expedient for others—of a territory culturally isolated from the rest of the peninsula. Indeed, the active coexistence of several languages—Aragonese, Catalan, French, Latin, and Spanish, in different proportions and with communicative functions and cultural roles that have varied from time to time—underscores the reality of a region willing and able to engage in fruitful intellectual exchange with its neighbors. The persistent myth of lost monolingualism, in particular, is exposed by the fact that throughout the centuries—again, in proportions varying according to social factors—some of the best writers alternated between Catalan and Spanish, as needed, to communicate not only with members of their immediate speech community, but also with the rest of the peninsula and the world at large. Few regions, in fact, can boast of a literature that systematically produces works of high quality in two languages, often by the same author.

As former directors of the Gaspar de Portolà Catalan Studies Program, we are proud that its tenth anniversary was celebrated with a symposium that was able to demonstrate, through the work

of participating scholars, that the dynamism of Catalan studies as a research field is due, in no small measure, to the vitality and variety of Catalonia's cultural expression.

NOTES

1. A symposium on Contemporary Catalonia in Spain and Europe was held at Berkeley in February 1989 under the auspices of the Gaspar de Portolà Catalonian Studies Program; its proceedings were published in an earlier volume in this series: *Contemporary Catalonia in Spain and Europe*, ed. Milton M. Azevedo (Berkeley: International and Area Studies, 1991); Research Series No. 81. Two years later the program organized and hosted the 1993 Colloquium of the North American Catalan Society and, in 1995, contributed significantly to a special issue of *Catalan Review* devoted to Catalan socio linguistics (vol. 9, no. 2, 1995).

THE DIGITAL SCRIPTORIUM: A NEW WAY TO STUDY MEDIÉVAL IBERIAN MANUSCRIPTS

Charles B. Faulhaber

One of the essential characteristics of the postmodern condition is the contingent textuality both enabled and made inevitable by the inherent indeterminacy of hypertextual objects. For this reason, electronic textuality has become the object of considerable interest among literary theorists—but that is not the subject of this paper. Rather I would prefer to discuss some of the ways that electronic texts and other digitized media have begun to alter, radically, the way linguists and literary scholars work by providing a wealth of new data and tools with which to analyze them.

This is not the place to discuss the history of the efforts to provide machine-readable texts for literary and linguistic analysis (see Faulhaber 1991: 125–28), but a number of very successful models, in both technical and organizational terms, exist. Of these perhaps the one that has gained the greatest scholarly currency is the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG), established by Theodore F. Brunner at the University of California, Irvine, in 1971. Including all of Greek literature from its beginnings to ca. 600 A.D., it is hard to imagine contemporary Hellenists attempting to do serious work without it. Less useful, because less comprehensive, are such efforts as the *Trésor de la Langue Française* (TLF), based at Nancy and available in the United States through the ARTFL Project, or the *Corpus Christianorum* produced by CETEDOC, which focuses on the texts of the Latin and Greek fathers of the Church. Some projects were originally based on lexicographical work, such as the *Dictionary of the Old Spanish Language* (DOSL) under the direction of Lloyd Kasten and John Nitti of the Medieval Spanish Seminary of the University of Wisconsin, Madison. In the course of preparing lexical materials for *DOSL*, the

Seminary has produced a large corpus of medieval Spanish texts in machine-readable form (see below).

The creation of these texts has been an evolutionary process. It has recapitulated in many respects the shift from manuscript to print in the fifteenth century. Just as the first printers thought that they had discovered a new and better way of making manuscripts, the first scholars who began to use the computer in textual studies thought that they had found a newer and better way of making printed books. Thus the goal of the Madison project, started in 1972, has always been to prepare a printed dictionary of Old Spanish. Initially the texts were seen as a byproduct that, in addition to their primary purpose as a source of word forms, could also be used to create printed transcriptions or editions or computer-generated microfiche editions. The computer was used to process large amounts of data, but those data were presented in more or less traditional forms. It was only in 1992 that a suitable medium, the CD-ROM disk, allowed the Madison texts to be released electronically.

ADMYTE

The Madison texts, and the experience of creating them, lie at the origins of the *Archivo Digital de Manuscritos y Textos Españoles (ADMYTE)*, an international collaboration designed to take advantage of the various 1992 observances. It was originally intended to make available:

1. A database of primary source materials in Old Spanish, the *Bibliografía Española de Textos Antiguos (BETA)* (1993), based on the printed *Bibliography of Old Spanish Texts (BOOST)* (1984).¹
2. *UNITE*, a program developed by Francisco Marcos-Marín to automate some of the basic collation and comparison procedures for textual criticism.
3. *TACT (Textual Analysis Computing Tools)*, developed by Ian Lancashire of the University of Toronto and now available from the Modern Language Association (Lancashire et al. 1996). The version released with *ADMYTE* was designed especially to work

with texts transcribed according to the Madison encoding standards.

4. Forty-five early printed editions (ca. 1480–1530), in Spanish, from the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid with digitized facsimiles as well as machine-readable transcriptions, some originally prepared for *DOSL* in Madison, others transcribed ad hoc in Spain. These editions contain sixty-one separate texts, including all of the dictionaries published before 1500, that range from a few lines to several thousand pages and cover a broad spectrum of genres and topics: “the library of a contemporary of Columbus.”

The texts and digitized images are presented in a Windows-based system designed specifically for *ADMYTE*, which in turn combines a suite of tools for printing, exporting files, searching (Boolean, proximity) for individual word forms, as well as lemmatized forms (e.g., all forms of a verb). To my knowledge this was the first project, anywhere, to present both digitized facsimiles and machine-readable transcriptions of a large corpus of material. The interface allows the user to see just the transcription, just the digitized facsimile, or both together. When both facsimile and transcription are available, they scroll together in facing windows. Even today *ADMYTE* sets a technical standard that few other products can match.

Nevertheless, our original attempt to create a total scholarly environment was frustrated by time factors and, to a certain extent, the limitations of the technology. We wanted to design a system that would allow the user to start from *BETA* to locate a particular text and then use a hypertext link to jump to the machine-readable transcription, accompanied by digitized facsimiles and tools to manipulate and analyze the text. Instead of this integrated environment, however, *ADMYTE* offers a suite of independent tools and data and text bases.

OLD CATALAN ON THE WEB

The World Wide Web has brought us measurably closer to an integrated scholarly environment, as we were able to demonstrate in 1995, when I taught an introductory graduate course on Old Cata-

lan literature and the history of the Catalan language in its evolution from Latin and its relationship to cognate Romance languages (Castilian, Occitan, French). This course (URL: <http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/~catalan/>) consolidated in one place syllabus, class readings, digitized images and transcriptions of medieval Catalan manuscripts, and ancillary materials. The advantages of the network over CD-ROM distribution are twofold: the materials can be used simultaneously by numerous users anywhere in the world; and they can be updated at will, with the updates instantaneously accessible.

The course was designed as a pilot project to help assess the feasibility of sharing instructional resources across the University of California system in order to make less taught foreign languages more widely available. It was taught using interactive television (videoconferencing) facilities at UC Berkeley, UC Santa Barbara, and UC Irvine. The most interesting part of the project, however, is probably the collection of digitized images of The Bancroft Library's Catalan manuscripts: the *Biblia dels pobres*, a fourteenth-century Catalan version of the Bible attributed wrongly to the apocryphal Sant Pere Pascual (BANC MS UCB 155); Boeci, *Libre de consolació* (the Catalan translation of Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae*; BANC MS UCB 160); and three separate collections of about 1,000 documents from medieval Catalonia, most in Latin. The digitization was carried out by UC Berkeley's Library Photographic Services under the auspices of a grant from the Gaspar de Portolà Catalan Studies Program, while the library itself contributed some 150–200 hours of staff time to prepare the web site and machine-readable versions of the basic readings.

In addition to campus collaborations, the web site made possible collaborations with scholars in Catalonia as well. Thus Lola Badia (Universitat de Girona) gave permission to digitize selections from her out-of-print anthology, *Literatura catalana medieval: Selecció de textos*, while Joan Torruella (Seminari de Filologia i Informàtica, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona) allowed us to publish his "Resum de criteris d'edició per al projecte dels cançoners" and "Simbologia binària dels manuscrits: Del pergamí al suport digital," two articles of importance for helping to establish the standards used for encoding medieval Catalan texts. They in turn were very helpful to us in compiling the "Norms Used to Transcribe the Catalan Manuscripts at Berkeley."

Considering the technical (this was the first time that a multipoint distance education course had been given from the Berkeley campus) and organizational challenges (collaborations with three different UC campuses and several different units on each campus), the course was remarkably successful. Perhaps the most remarkable thing about it was how little the distance learning aspect affected the presentation of the course as a combination of lecture, discussion, and close reading. Nevertheless, some aspects were less than satisfactory. While the World Wide Web and the HyperText Markup Language (HTML) are ubiquitous, which means that materials prepared with them are accessible everywhere, they are still not adequate for technical publication. Thus we were forced to use the digitized image of a typescript of the phonetic repertory of Old Catalan rather than a machine-readable version, since the symbols necessary to represent certain sounds were not available in the HTML character sets. Moreover, we needed to use another software product (DynaText, from Electronic Book Technologies) in order to view the complete set of digitized images from the two codices and the document collections as well as the fragmentary transcriptions of the *Libre de consolació* prepared by the students. Unfortunately, Dynatext requires an X Windows client, which is *not* ubiquitous in the microcomputer world. In fact, it was not until almost the end of the semester that the students at UC Santa Barbara and UC Irvine were able to locate computer laboratories where they could use DynaText.

We learned a great deal from the process of organizing and developing this course, but two lessons stand out: (1) It is impossible for any institution to provide 150–200 hours of staff support to Web-based classes for all faculty members. Instead, the institution should concentrate on putting user-friendly tools in the hands of faculty so that they can prepare their own course Web pages. (2) While some integration was achieved by the standards imposed by the Web itself and by HTML, we are still a long way from an integrated scholarly environment that will provide, in one place, the analytical tools that will not only provide access to information sources, but also allow us to manipulate them.

DIGITAL SCRIPTORIUM

The Digital Scriptorium, a joint project of The Bancroft Library at Berkeley and the Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Columbia University funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, builds on these experiences. Its goal is not merely to facilitate access to medieval manuscripts; rather, the Digital Scriptorium proposes the creation of a networked environment that includes not only digital images of medieval manuscripts, but also a standards-based set of data and analytical tools that will allow scholars and students to find the information they need and to rework it in order to add to the sum of existing knowledge.

While the project uses medieval manuscript collections as its data object, it is in fact directed at the larger problem of ensuring that the developing digital library forms part of a seamless web—the metaphor is chosen advisedly—of digital objects and programs to manipulate those objects. Here the experience of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* is relevant. It is a magnificent scholarly resource, but in fact it was very difficult to use until specialized tools were developed to access it. Our specific intent is to provide a model for the integration of network-based digital collections and analytical tools for access to and analysis of manuscript materials in any language or script. In principle this model will be applicable to manuscripts in Chinese or Sanskrit, Hebrew or Arabic.

We have just finished Phase I (1996–98) of a three-phase project. In this first phase we have prepared digitized facsimiles of at least one page of every medieval codex and medieval document at Berkeley and Columbia (up to fifteen or twenty for more significant manuscripts)—some 8,500 images all together. These full-color facsimiles have been digitized at the highest possible resolution currently available (7000 × 7000 dpi) for archival purposes, while reproduction and dissemination take place at lower resolutions dependent upon network bandwidth and display technology. Basic descriptive elements have been encoded in an Access database organized in accordance with standards set by our international advisory board of manuscript scholars and cataloguers. These standards in turn are being written in SGML (Standard Generalized Markup Language), using materials developed by the Text Encoding Initia-

tive (TEI). SGML divorces the logical representation of the data from its physical presentation, thereby insulating the data, insofar as possible, from inevitable changes in computer hardware and software. These norms are being developed in coordination with the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library's Mellon-sponsored project, "Electronic Access to Medieval Manuscripts," and with similar European efforts. The elements necessary for an exhaustive description of medieval manuscripts have been determined with the aid of our advisory board, in a process similar to that which led to the creation of the Encoded Archival Description (EAD) as a national standard for the description of archival collections. A second set of norms, for the transcription of medieval manuscripts, has been developed by Michael Sperberg-McQueen, U.S. editor of the Text Encoding Initiative, with the goal of providing electronic transcriptions that can be viewed simultaneously with the corresponding digital image of the manuscript page, like *ADMYTE*.

The final element of Phase I was a survey of the funds currently being spent on access to medieval manuscripts (travel, microfilm, facsimiles, etc.) and the development of a business plan to capture some of those funds in order to generate income for the expansion of the database. Projects like this one should lower the total cost of scholarship, most significantly by saving scholars time and travel expenses and institutions the expense of developing local systems and standards. We have developed a model to estimate the amount of the costs that will be avoided, taking into account a variety of factors, and we are joining with ongoing projects (e.g., the Research Library Group's WebDoc) to find out whether some of the costs so avoided can be captured through user fees, whether individual or institutional, in order to provide a revenue stream that will allow the expansion of the project without the necessity of large amounts of outside funding.

In Phase II (1999–2000) we are focusing on the participation of other institutions, particularly the large European libraries, in the expansion of the database, with the goal of creating what will be a visual union catalog of medieval manuscripts, an unparalleled tool for the study of the Middle Ages.

This is a large-scale and very expensive effort. It seems worth the trouble, however, because virtually all of our knowledge of the Middle Ages rests on the evidence of manuscript sources. While

documents are generally dated and located, the same is not true for manuscripts of cultural interest (literary, legal, scientific, religious, philosophical, etc.). Insofar as they are not dated or localized, they provide little evidence for knowledge of a specific text in a specific place and time. Richard Rouse (1994) has stated that “manuscripts properly dated and localized [are] the evidence through which to trace the passage of ideas across the face of the land, or from one generation to another through time.” Thus a long-felt need of medieval scholars is a repertory of dated and datable manuscripts that can be used to establish a taxonomy by which undated and unlocalized manuscripts can be tied to specific geographical and chronological coordinates. Establishing the significant characteristics of that taxonomy is the province of paleographers, codicologists, and specialists in diplomatics.

Paleographers have been trying to put together collections of materials for dating and studying manuscripts since the late seventeenth century, when Dom Jean Mabillon created the discipline of paleography in order to determine the authenticity of medieval ecclesiastical documents. The classical method of paleographical training is to study a series of photographic or printed facsimiles, accompanied by transcriptions, in order to learn the characteristics of the various scripts as well as how to read them. Facsimiles are used because few university libraries have large collections of original manuscripts.

Nevertheless, collections of printed facsimiles currently available are not satisfactory for several reasons: the quality of the facsimiles themselves (virtually always in black and white) and their limitation to a specific period, geographical region, or specific types of script. With the notable exceptions of E. A. Lowe’s *Codices latini antiquiores* and A. Bruckner and R. Marichal’s *Chartæ latinæ antiquiores*, which are essentially complete for manuscript materials before the ninth century, there are few comprehensive printed collections of dated and datable facsimiles; generally these are not available outside of major research libraries. The *Catalogue de manuscrits datés*, an ongoing international project established in 1953 and sponsored by the Comité International de Paléographie to reproduce photographically the dated and datable manuscripts held by individual libraries, is organized geographically, on the basis of the current location of materials in a given library, which means that

a search for a particular feature must be conducted through the extant set of volumes (twenty-five up to 1985), most of which are available only in major research libraries and even there are of difficult access because they do not share a common title or series designation. In practice this means that undated and unlocalized manuscripts remain undated and unlocalized because of the difficulty of comparing them with dated examples.

Nevertheless, heretofore the only possible method for dating manuscripts has been with the aid of such facsimiles, although even as long as ten years ago farsighted scholars could glimpse the shape of the future. Thus James John stated that one would be able to “assemble in one place for leisurely and simultaneous comparison materials that were previously, because scattered far and wide, available only for serial consideration at disadvantageous intervals of time. . . . Although paleography has only begun to exploit the graphic and manipulative capabilities of the computer, there seems a good chance that the eventual impact of computer technology may rival that of photography” (1987: 336). But even John did not foresee the possibilities of the computer combined with sophisticated imaging and database technology and the capabilities of the Internet.

In this second phase we shall analyze dated and localized manuscripts to isolate the paleographical and codicological elements, or primitives, that a user needs in order to date and localize a manuscript. It will be necessary to specify in some detail the sets of data elements and distinctive manuscript features that will serve as the basis for the taxonomy of dated manuscripts. Then a systems analysis will be required to establish the kinds of computerized tools necessary to locate and measure such elements in undated manuscripts, such as image processing and analysis, color matching, or morphological analysis to establish a repertory of codicological and paleographical features: quiring, page and column formats, scribal ductus, letter forms, ligatures, punctuation, abbreviation types, ornamental elements, illumination types, etc.

A great deal of relevant work has already been done, both inside and outside the field of medieval studies. See, for example, F. Masulli et al. (1995) and Olaf Pluta’s *Abbreviationes*, an electronic dictionary of manuscript abbreviations. Similar programs exist for other disciplines—e.g., *MorphoSys*, a morphological analysis program designed by Thomas Duncan (Professor of Integrative Biology and Director of

the Museum Informatics Project at Berkeley) for capturing and analyzing complex shapes from the plant world (e.g., leaves, seeds, flowers). The Museum Informatics Project has implemented a number of such image databases at Berkeley. The Archivo General de Indias (Seville) has demonstrated the immense value of image-processing software to allow user manipulation of the digitized images, since it allows the user to focus on precisely those aspects of a given image that are of most interest by increasing magnification or contrast, eliminating bleedthrough and foxing, suppressing later alterations to the manuscript, etc.

The third phase (2001–2) will bring the design and implementation of a databased suite of analytical tools, first as stand-alone prototypes, finally as network applications. The recent adaptation of JavaScript (Sun, IBM, Netscape, Microsoft) as the preferred interface for network applications, or applets, suggests the possibility of writing the analytical tools specifically for the network. The advantages for the distribution, upgrading, and version control of the software are obvious; however, this is a dynamic and volatile arena, and it is not clear what is going to emerge as the leading standard. It is prudent not to commit ourselves at this point.

The collections of medieval manuscripts in Latin script at Berkeley and Columbia are small enough to form a pilot project yet heterogeneous enough to provide samples of most of the kinds of problems researchers are likely to run into. This will allow us to create the nucleus of a prototype database of network-accessible digitized images coupled with a database of dating and localizing elements and a suite of network-based tools (applets) to facilitate its use. This “workbench” will serve as a paleographical microcosm that will allow scholars in the classics and medieval studies to explore the implications of such a virtual world for research and instruction. One of the great virtues of digital technology is the facility with which properly encoded materials can be manipulated or repurposed for a variety of different levels and fields, from introductory classroom use to advanced scholarship, from art history to classics to religion. The ultimate goal is to persuade other institutions to join with us in the creation of a distributed database of digitized facsimiles of medieval manuscripts accessed and studied by means of a suite of analytical tools of various sorts and funded by ongoing fees.

There is another aspect to the project: the significant role that networked access to digitized facsimiles can play in the preservation of, as well as access to, rare materials. Medieval manuscript materials are at risk simply through continued exposure to the hands of scholars and students, a risk that can be substantially reduced through digitization and networked access. Moreover, such access means that these materials can be made available to scholars anywhere in the world, not just at Berkeley and Columbia. This is, potentially, the most significant value of such projects: the democratization of scholarship, the ability to conduct high-level research and sophisticated graduate and undergraduate instruction at institutions far removed from major research libraries.

This eventual goal, to return to the topic at hand, can only benefit Hispanic studies by allowing them to participate in a larger and more comprehensive project and thereby provide a wealth of new information for comparative purposes.

NOTES

1. *ADMYTE 0* (Marcos-Marín et al., eds. 1993), the second disk to be released, contained not only *BETA*, but also the *Bibliografía de Textos Catalans Antics (BITECA)*, a database of primary source materials in medieval Catalan compiled by Vicenç Beltran and Gemma Avenoza, and the *Bibliografía de Textos Antigos Portugueses (BITAP)*, a similar database for medieval Portuguese and Galician-Portuguese compiled by Arthur L-F. Askins, Harvey Sharrer, Martha Shaffer, and Aida F. Diaz. *PhiloBiblon*, released on the web in 1998 and on CD-ROM disk in 1999, contains updated versions of the same three bibliographies.

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MASCULINE BEAUTY VS. FEMININE BEAUTY IN MEDIEVAL IBERIA

Francisco A. Marcos-Marín

In the past, the discussion on the characteristics of medieval Iberian Romance literature has tended to become a quarrel between the partisans of a European Middle Ages Spain and those who, when possible, have denied any allegedly European feature or template in favor of some other origin, be it Semitic, pre-Roman, "Mediterranean," substratistic, adstratistic, or any combination of these. There are still many prejudices in this regard. Our better knowledge of the plurality of influences in European medieval culture ought to make us more careful and less prone to one-sided solutions. It is impossible to understand the rich variety of medieval European culture without accepting the common background of a multifaceted Christianity on the Romance side, as opposed to the diversity of Islam, which was not as monolithic as some scholars want us to see it. Fundamentalism, free thinking, and the fight for freedom are not peculiar to our times; they already existed in the medieval world, where their influence was exerted over a broad field.

While the general attitude has been to give tremendous importance to the *canon* as a compulsive and compulsory element in literary composition, modern analysts tend to look for deviations from the canon. They do this because of the choices among divergent canonical possibilities. In the case of medieval Iberia, it must not be forgotten that cultural weight was laid heavily on the Arabic side in craftsmanship, philosophy, and the sciences, so why not in literature? The linguistic difference does not constitute an obstacle because I am not trying to convert you to an Arabic thesis. My limited goal is to show how some elements, which modify the Latin canon followed in Romance literatures in France or Italy, can be totally explained by the crossing of canons on the West European peninsula.

As an example, I will be using portraits of men and women in literary works written between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries, mostly, but not exclusively, in Castilian and Catalan. I will concentrate on beauty, without forgetting that ugliness is the other side of the coin.

It is only fair to start with the pattern synthesized by Edmond Faral, which follows a top-down scheme. There is nothing artificial in this pattern, as our own experience shows. Most of us tend to follow that direction when regarding or describing a living creature. The features noticed would be:

1. The hair
2. The forehead
3. The eyebrows and the space between them
4. The eyes
5. The cheeks and their color
6. The nose
7. The mouth
8. The teeth
9. The chin
10. The throat
11. The neck and its nape
12. The shoulders
13. The arms
14. The hands
15. The breasts
16. The waist
17. The belly
18. The legs
19. The feet

This is the normal order when a man pays attention to a woman. If we do so when we look at Mary or Jane or Lisa, there is no reason why our male ancestors would not have looked at our great grandmothers likewise. But scholars tend to look at their desks and not out the window. The differences, therefore, are not in the features, but in their ordering and in the details.

Another noteworthy consideration is that clothes made the man then as they do now. Sometimes we do not have the physical or body description, and we must content ourselves with only a general ref-

erence to the beauty of a lady or a gentleman but a detailed exposition of their drapery.

In the *Poem of My Cid*, an epic poem written in eastern Castile about 1150, there are only two short references to concrete aspects of the beauty of the Cid's wife and daughters. Referring to the three of them (and other ladies present), v. 1612 says: "Their beautiful eyes gaze about them." V. 2333 concerns only his daughters, and the quality underlined is of special interest, as we shall see below: "You are married to my daughters, as white as the sun." The comparison with the sun is not reserved to white skin; it can be used with other objects. The Cid himself is presented in his clothes and armor, but also with a concrete and unique reference to his legs, especially important in the masculine portrait.

- 3084 The man born in a favored hour did not delay;
 3085 he put his legs in breeches of fine cloth
 and over them shoes richly worked;
 he dressed in a fine shirt, of cloth shining white like the sun,
 with all the fastenings of silver and gold,
 and carefully fitted at the cuff, as he had ordered.
- 3090 Over it he wore a fine long tunic of brocade,
 worked with gold which shone in many places,
 and over this a scarlet cape with edging of gold
 which My Cid was accustomed to wear.
 He wore a cap of fine linen over his hair—
- 3095 it was embroidered with gold and skillfully made—
 lest they should pull at the hair of My Cid the good Battler.
 His flowing beard was tied up with a ribbon,
 for he wished to be sure against any harm.
 Over it all he put on a cloak which was great of value.

(Poem of My Cid)

Does it mean that we lack physical portraits of men in the early Middle Ages? Not at all. The *kharadjat* of Al-Andalus, those short poems in Andalusí Romance or Andalusí Arabic found at the end of the Classical Arabic or Hebrew *muwashshahat*, present features of beauty. As they are put in maidens' mouths, they often, but not

exclusively, say how handsome their lovers are. In spite of the textual difficulties, it is possible to read examples like the following:

Arabic 2: Tell me: how long shall I endure this separation. O eyes of the maiden in love, were it not for you!

Arabic 4: Golden haired man, enough of my hurting desire, my tormenter! In spite of the watchman you are tonight my prince!

Arabic 5: Have mercy, have mercy, o handsome. Tell me: why do you want to kill me, by God!

Arabic 7a and b: Away you witch! A fair haired man who is burning with desire, how many handsome men are there afraid!

Arabic 11: If you love me as a handsome man, kiss me and by the bangle take me, you cherry mouth!

Arabic 13: I do not want any longer a small beloved, unless it is the small dark haired one.

Arabic 14: O mother, what a lover! Beneath his golden hair, that white neck and his small red mouth!

Arabic 17: I shall not sleep, o mother, until the first light of day: so handsome is Abu-l-Qasim, face of dawn.

Arabic 19 is a variant: O merciful mother, until the first light of day: so handsome is Abu-l-Hadjdjadj, face of dawn.

Arabic 20: If you knew, my lord, whom you do drink the kisses from! From a small red mouth, aromatic like mint!

Arabic 36: Mouth as a necklace, sweet as honey, come, kiss me, my beloved, come to me, come closer loving me, I am dying!

Only two Hebrew kharadjat reflect explicitly physical features of woman and man respectively:

Hebrew 11: Keep my necklace as a pledge to my disposition, o mother. My lord wants to see a white neck, he does not want jewels.

Hebrew 20: O dark haired, joy of my eyes. Who can endure your absence, my beloved one?

Hair, face, eyes, mouth, throat, and neck are explicitly underlined in these poems. Note that both fair and dark hair are acceptable in men and that the mouth is round, thin, and red, while face and neck are shining white.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century a scholar wrote the *Razon de amor*, 264 lines, including a *descriptio puellae*. This is apparently a conventional description, although there are some peculiarities that show certain differences between the Hispanic canon and the canonical description of the *puella bella*, the beautiful maiden.

- 56 But I saw a maiden coming;
 since I was born, I did not see such a beauty:
 she was white and blushing,
 with short hair on her ears,
- 60 white and sprightly forehead,
 a face as fresh as an apple;
 straight and well built nose,
 you did not see its like;
 black and sparkling eyes,
- 65 well proportioned mouth with white teeth;
 red lips, not very thin,
 truly well balanced;
 her waist very thin,
 well shaped and proportioned;
- 70 her cloak and her dress
 were made of brocade, not of anything else;
 she wears a hat on her head,
 to protect herself from the high noon;
 she has gloves on her hands,
- 75 they were not given by a low man, you know.

The description follows the top-down pattern and apparently fits inside the canon. However, a more detailed look shows some peculiarities: short hair, sprightly forehead, dark eyes. Those features clearly depart from French and Provençal models, where the eyes are clear and there is no mention of a "sprightly forehead." They remain to be explained, but before doing so, we will consider another portrait, which is much more explicit and theoretically dependent

on a French source because the text is a translation of the *Life of Saint Mary Egipciaca*, a thirteenth-century text. I will not give the whole text because most of it is more or less the same as what we already know. However, round and white ears, pink blushing face, small breasts firm as apples, black eyes, crystal white body, neck, and breast, figure neither thick nor thin, neither tall nor short, well proportioned—all that has to be explained partially or totally from other sources.

In the *Book of Alexander*, composed in Castile about 1205, the most noteworthy feminine description is that of the Queen of the Amazons. The peculiarities of the character require that this portrait involve masculine together with feminine traits. We will deal with the masculine side later. The feminine features do not follow the canonical order: the body shape comes first, followed by the description of the exaggeratedly thin waist: a three-palms belt could go around it twice. The rest follows the usual top-down description. Again the “white and sprightly forehead,” as we saw in the *Razon de amor*, expresses something found only in peninsular texts.

The *Book of Alexander* shows, at the same time, that natural beauty can be enhanced not only with rich clothes, but also with full makeup. This is thoroughly described in the Trial of Paris episode, which presents the goddess Venus in her boudoir, using different artificial aids.

Catalan literature of the fourteenth century offers a comprehensive portrait in the *Clam d'amor*, in which the lady's perfections are enumerated (top-bottom) as follows: hair more brilliant than fine gold; curved eyebrows; white forehead; cheeks like crystal and ruby blended; well-formed nose; fresh mouth; teeth whiter than ivory; well-chiseled chin; throat white as iced snow; beautiful breasts, firm, white, and round; straight arms; white and soft hands, with brilliant and white nails and long fingers; straight sides down to the hips; a body that combines thin and round features. Another poem of the same *cançoner*, also preserved in the manuscript of Carpentras, is the *conte d'amor*, where we find the same features, in a somewhat longer description: long, fair, soft hair; wide forehead; black, curved, and high eyebrows; clear eyes; soft and sweet mouth; white teeth; white and round neck; long arms, neither thin nor thick; white hands with long fingers and convenient nails; firm and white breasts. The rest is left to the imagination of the reader.

BEAUTY AND SEX

Beauty linked to sexual references is rather explicit in the *kharadjat*, but it is even less disguised in poets such as the Andalusí Aban Quzman, who lived in Córdoba during the first two-thirds of the twelfth century. He is not ashamed of mentioning hidden parts of the body also, as his *zadjal* no. 90 shows:

11 43 As soon as I saw that leg,
 44 And those two pretty, exquisite eyes,
 45 My penis raised a tent in my pants
 46 And made the likes of a pavilion out of my clothes.

The fourteenth-century Castilian *Book of Good Love* contains some stanzas dealing with women and men as sexual objects. In the pseudo-Ovid paraphrase to which stanza 455 belongs, this view is apparently taken from a feminine perspective:

455 When a woman sees a timid sluggard, she quickly mutters:
 “Shoo! I’ll take the dart in my own hand!” Don’t be laggardly
 with a woman and don’t wrap yourself all up in your cloak;
 show your dashing ways by wearing the scantiest clothing
 possible. (Trans. Willis.)

The complementary consideration of women is undeniable in the instructions of the author to Master Ferret, as he becomes his new messenger:

1623 I said to him: “Ferret, my friend, find me a new sheath.” “By
 my faith,” he said, “I’ll go look, even though the earth sinks,
 and I’ll bring her to you without any fuss, for sometimes a
 no-account dog gnaws on a good leather strap.”

MASCULINE BEAUTY AND UGLINESS

We have devoted most of the preceding pages to feminine beauty or to masculine features in the voice of women. Moreover, we showed how the epic hero is not described physically in his corporeal shape but in the glory of his best attire. We must wait almost fifty years for a description of masculine features in the *Book of Alex-*

ander, where we see a description of the Macedonian king. This is particularly interesting because the tradition says that Alexander was a very good warrior, but not a handsome man:

- 149 He is not very tall, only well proportioned,
his limbs are well shaped, with strong joints,
very long arms, very hard grip;
I never saw a gentleman with such legs.
- 150 One of his eyes is green, red is the other;
he looks like an old bear when he frowns;
as his neck he has a wide board;
his hide is rough as nettles.
- 151 He has such hair as a lion has;
his voice is like thunder, a sonorous heart.

It seems evident that for a man to be handsome his legs must be handsome. We recall the description of the Cid, which focused for a moment on his legs. More than one century later, in the *Book of Good Love*, by Juan Ruiz, Archpriest of Hita (near Madrid) we find sundry descriptions, portraits of men and women, and probably some useful clues. The portrait of the Archpriest introduces new elements, which separate it from the Latin canon:

- 1485 "Lady," said the old woman, "I see him frequently; he has a
body of quite a good size, with long limbs, and muscular; his
head is not small; he is hairy, thick-necked; his throat is not
very long; he is black haired and big-eared;
- 1486 His eyebrows stand apart, black as coal; his walk erect, much
like a peacock's; his step tranquil and well-measured; his
nose is long, this spoils his looks;
- 1487 his gums red; and his voice like a trumpet; his mouth not
small; his lips average, rather thick than thin, red as coral; his
shoulders good and big; his wrists the same;
- 1488 he has small eyes; he is a trifle dark-skinned; his chest pro-
truding; his arms well-muscled; his legs well-turned; his foot
a little thing: lady, I saw no more of him: for the sake of his
love, I embrace you.
- 1489 He is swift of foot, strong, good and young; he is familiar
with musical instruments and all the arts of minstrelsy; he is

a merry suitor, I swear for my shoes! Such a man as I speak
of is not to be found in every field" (Trans. Willis.)

As in many other respects concerning the *Book of Good Love*, this portrait can only be properly understood as a parody of the portrait of Alexander we have just read. A larger fragment would give even a better idea of the extent of the comparison. In the portrait of the Archpriest in his book there are positive and negative elements, quite clearly differentiated: the nose, or the first part of stanza 1488 (eyes, dark skin). There is an emphasis on the limbs and the legs, and a new feature, his red gums, which join the dark and hairy eyebrows and the mouth and lips, every feature having its peculiarities.

For a man, being hairy is no drawback, but it is very different with women, as the next stanza expresses. Let us not forget that a man could not easily see the face of a woman because on the street women covered themselves with veils:

448 Take great care that your lady is not hairy or bearded; may
Hell rid us of such a half-devil as that! If her hand is small,
her voice delicate and high, you should, if you possibly can,
try to change her from her prudent ways.

FROM THE MOST GENERAL TO THE PARTICULAR

The general portrait of a lovely woman occupies twenty lines in the *Book of Good Love*:

431 Look for a woman who is pretty and witty and full of spirit,
who is not very tall, not yet dwarfish; if possible, try not to
fall in love with a low-born woman, for that kind knows
nothing of love: she is like a straw scarecrow.

432 Look for a woman with a good figure and with a small head;
hair that is blonde but not from henna; whose eyebrows are
spaced apart, long and arched in a peak; who is nice and
plump in the buttocks: this is the figure of a lady;

433 whose eyes are large, prominent colorful, shining; and with
long lashes that show good and clearly; with small, delicate

ears; mark well if she has a long throat; that is the kind men want;

434 with a finely chiseled nose; and nice small teeth that are even and good and white, a trifle separated; with red gums, good sharp teeth; her lips red and nicely fine-drawn;

435 her mouth nice and small, just so, in a pleasing way; her face white, hairless, bright and smooth. Try to get hold of some woman who can see her without her blouse on, who will tell you about the form of her body: arrange this. (Trans. Willis.)

We again have the red gums, and another new feature, the teeth “a trifle separated.” An abstract of qualities is given in another stanza:

581 very graceful of figure, loving in her demeanor, altogether a lady, very vivacious, pleasant, and pretty, courtly and polite, sweet spoken, witty, gracious and smiling: the beloved of every living being;

And, a few stanzas later, an excellent portrait of Lady Sloe, which depicts a person in movement in pre-cinema fashion:

653 O God! How beautiful Lady Sloe is, coming across the town square! What a figure! What grace! What a long slender throat, like a heron’s! What hair! What a darling mouth! What color! What a graceful walk! She wounds with love’s arrows when she raises her eyes.

Six new elements appear here. Moreover, they are in a different ordering. The new elements are:

- A: A good figure
- B: Small head
- C: Long lashes
- D: Small, delicate ears
- E: Red gums
- F: The form of her body.

If, following Dámaso Alonso, we now compare the general description given by Juan Ruiz with the canon as summarized by Faral, the order and the new elements would be as follows: A, B, 1, 3, 16, 4, C, D, 10, 6, 8, E, 8, 7, 7, 5, F.

Both the ordering and the new elements have to be explained. The good figure and the shape of the body, together with the plump buttocks and the narrow waist, configure an image that has nothing or very little in common with the *puella bella*. Instead, they are clearly related to the metaphor of the reed on a sand dune, a topos in Arabic poetry with hundreds of examples. Dámaso Alonso related this topos to the heron's neck, which reinforces the image. Long necks are clearly preferred in Arabic poetry, as is evident in the *mu^callaqa* by the laureate pre-Islamic poet ^cImru-l-Qays, where the neck of the beloved is compared to the neck of an antelope. The teeth a trifle separated constitute a variant of the canonical description of white and well-proportioned teeth, a variant which clearly differs from the *puella bella* canon. A transcription error, as some scholars have suggested, is very unlikely and can be rejected if we find a better explanation, as we will.

The Prophet Muhammad had his two front teeth a trifle separated, so that light came out of them when he spoke. Pre-Islamic and post-Islamic poets such as ^cImru-l-Qays, ^cUmar b. Abi Rabi^ca, and many others praise this feature in well-known poems, including *muwashshahat*. Dámaso Alonso quotes two erotic books (following references provided by García Gómez), the *Tuhfat al-^carus* (Present for the bride), by the Tunisian author al-Tidjani (about 1301 A.D.), and a book attributed to another Tunisian author of the twelfth century, al-Tifasi, the *Kitab Rudju^c al-Š aikh* (*Book of the return of the old man*). In both a small separation (*tafriq yasir*) of the front teeth is greatly appreciated. We shall return to this point below.

Thin lips are also part of the Arab poetic tradition, as opposed to the *tumentia labra* of the Western canon, as Maria Rosa Lida de Malkiel pointed out. *Zamya* and *humusa* are terms used in Arabic for different shapes of thin lips, according again to Al-Tidjani, whose Chapter 20 gives a complete account of those details. Kharadjat 14 and 20 can be added to the list of known examples. That feature in the description of the Archpriest has to be interpreted, together with the long nose, as a deviation.

The reference to the gums is peculiar to our texts, and the explanation comes also from an Arabic source. Red gums were so appreciated by the Arabic canon that women even cut theirs to later dye them with antimony. Dark red was the preferred shade, as expressed by the Arabic words *lamà* and *huwwa*.

There are other common features which reinforce the theory that choices in a canon are not totally exclusive. One of them is the preference for white bodies, very different from the *nigra sum sed formosa*.^C Imru-l-Qays's mu^Callaqa compares the feminine body with an ostrich egg, precisely because both are so white.

Let us finish this section by comparing the black eyes to the clear eyes of the *puella bella* canon. The Islamic origin is even more evident in this feature than in those previously studied. The Qu'ran pays attention to beauty, in both men and women. The well-known sura 12, the history of Joseph, presents the prototype of masculine beauty, so much so that the ladies at the pharaoh's court cut their own fingers while absorbed in the contemplation of such a handsome man, and their blood joined the juice of the oranges they were peeling.

If Joseph's beauty is presented in an abstract way, a more concrete detail, useful for our purposes, is given in the description of paradise. It is well known that the Islamic paradise offers to Islamic warriors a choice of eternally new virgins, the *houris*. These maidens are characterized by big black eyes. (The word *ahwar* [fem. *haura*, pl. *h r*] means precisely "with black pupils and bright white of the eye.") The preference of this feature in Iberian literature is no doubt an example of the Arabic influence on the canon, which on this point clearly departs from the *puella bella* pattern.

ONE BASIC CANON?

Following Dámaso Alonso, Raymond E. Barbera in 1968 pointed out that in the same century of Juan Ruiz, though later, in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales* Chaucer says about the Wife of Bath: "Gat-toothed was she, soothly for to seye." That erotic creature describes herself with these words:

Gat-toothed I was, and that becam me weel;
I hadd the prente of Seint Venus seel,
As help me God, I was a lusty oon,
and faire, and riche, and yong, and wel bigoon.

It was Walter Clyde Curry who pointed to that feature in a paper published in 1922, unknown to Dámaso Alonso. It is worth noting that this character coincides with the amazons and the *serranas* of the *Book of Good Love* in having been endowed by Mars with a stocky, ungraceful form of medium height and harsh and strident voice, but also with more interesting details, such as large hips and long, spike-like teeth, set far apart with gaps between them. The selection made by Chaucer reflects the destiny of this literary character, an example of a *bonne vivante*, a fitting companion for such tavern revelers as the Pardoner and her fourth husband.

The explanation of the coincidences can only be found through the physiognomists, who build a more complex characterization of human beings following deviations from the classical canon. Large hips, according to M. Angellus Blondus (1544: xv), are evidence of a courageous spirit, while large bones are a sign of virility—a code reinforced by Rudolphus Goelenius in 1661.

Medical treatises must be explored if we want to know how the knowledge of the canon was kept and where and when literary references were lost. They are also the most serious link between the classical canon and the Arabic template for sexual preferences. Not constrained by religion in that respect, Arab doctors paid great attention to sexual matters and wrote guides to sexual hygiene, transmitted to the Christians in translations. The role of Catalan physicians in the translations, to either Latin or Catalan, attracts our attention to those texts. The popularization of medical treatises after the invention of printing opened the way to that learning, but many of the basic issues had to be known to medieval men and (maybe mostly) women. This explains the vogue of the “Trotula texts,” stemming from the writings of a woman physician of that name. Many references are found in Solomon (1990) and his bibliographical notes.

The features described by Arab treatises are closer to those present in the *Book of Good Love* than to the ones defined in Catalan literature. The basic canon, however, is the classical template, slightly modified to follow the sexual preferences of the Arabs. We use the *Mirror of Coitus* to exemplify them:

8.12. A noble and beautiful woman has four black features: her hair, her eyebrows, her eyelashes, and her pupils. She has four red features: her complexion, her tongue, her gums, and her lips.

She has four white features: her face, her teeth, her legs and the white of her eyes. She possesses four small features: her nostrils and ears, her mouth, her nipples, and her feet. She has four thin features: her eyelashes, her nose, her lips, and her ribs. She has four large features: her forehead, her eyes, her breasts, and her buttocks. She has four round features: her head, her neck, her arms, and her legs. Finally, she has four features that smell good: her mouth, her nose, her armpits, and her vagina.

The masculine features are fewer and more concrete:

8.1. A good member, a large and hard penis, and an abundance of sperm. Moreover, he should be neither too big nor too small.

Nevertheless, more attention is paid to other characteristics:

8.3. A man who wishes to be loved by a woman should be strong, daring, eloquent, truthful, and honorable, and should display wisdom and moderation in eating and drinking; he should be cheerful and should not have any physical defects; he should be graceful, dress well, love company, and be willing to do all that she desires; he should be rich, and his clothing, mouth, and perspiration should smell good.

The contrast between the description of masculine and feminine beauty in the Middle Ages seems to lie in the fact that descriptions are much more detailed and more physical in the case of women, and more concrete, less detailed, and less corporeal in the case of men.

Canonical preferences are subject to change, not only because new features can be taken from other sources and incorporated in a previous canon, but also because new preferences can displace old choices. In spite of all changes, there is a strong base that derives from the classical canon. Arabs and Germans adapted it to their respective preferences and anatomical possibilities and reintroduced it as two relatively differentiated canons. The derived canons, however, contained precise common elements which keep them together and separated from other templates, such as the Chinese or Japanese. That process explains the similarities and differences in the description of masculine and feminine beauty in European literature. The gates were open for new developments. During the winter of 1996,

Harvey L. Sharrer presented in Buenos Aires a global change in the feminine canon after studying the evolution of the rhetorical portrait of Helen of Troy. According to Sharrer's abstract, Guido delle Colonne, in his *Historia destructionis Troiae*, gives us a description of Helen's beauty that is not in his main source, the *Roman de Troie*, by Benoit de Sainte-Maure. The portrait, as Guido conceives it, is taken from that of Iseut in Brunetto Latini's *Tresor*. In Spain, together with translations of the *Historia* in Catalan, Aragonese, and Castilian, it originated a different type of feminine portrait: Laguesis in *Curial i Güelfa*, Melibea in *La Celestina*, and Iseo la Brunda in *Tristán de Leónis*. But these changes take us to the fifteenth century.

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AN INANE HYPOTHESIS: TORROELLA, FLORES, LUCENA, AND *CELESTINA*?

Antonio Cortijo Ocaña

This symposium has gathered to consider the relationship between the literatures of the Iberian Peninsula. Within this general topic, I wish to focus on the late Middle Ages—the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—a period during which the contact between Catalan and Castilian literatures was particularly intense. This close and productive interchange resulted in what I shall call an efficient literary dialogue. As the case is especially true for courtly literature with love themes, I wish to explore here the implications of at least one representative example of this relationship: the presence of Torroella's *Maldezir de mugeres* in Castilian literature, particularly in the genre of sentimental fiction.¹

It is useful to remember that in the origins of this genre (generally defined as Castilian) there are several Catalan “anomalies.” In this sense, although critics agree in asserting that the first sentimental fiction is the *Siervo libre de Amor* by Juan Rodríguez del Padrón (ca. 1440), there is an earlier anonymous Catalan *prosimetrum*, the *Fronchino e Brisona* (ca. 1400), which bears many of the characteristics of sentimental romances. Among its main features, this work includes an internalized and psychological love process and the utilization of love letters (written in both verse and prose).² The third Castilian sentimental romance, the *Triste deleytación*, only recently edited after being rediscovered by Martín de Riquer, was written in Castilian circa 1458 by an anonymous Catalan writer. Although we know only his initials, F. A. d. C., and it is plausible to suspect that he belonged to the court of the Prince of Viana (M. de Riquer), it seems legitimate to question how his Catalan origin influenced the work (apart from the obvious Catalan stylistic and semantic borrowings left in the Castilian *prosimetrum*) (Gerli, ed.).

From the bilingual nature of the anonymous text of *Triste deleytación*, I shall further advance that Aragonese noblemen, in either Catalonia or Italy, were much responsible for the renaissance of the sentimental romance after the great successes of *Cárcel de Amor* (first edited in 1492 and immediately translated into Catalan one year later) and that of the greatest sentimental fiction of all times, *La Celestina*, published in 1499. In effect, *Penitencia de amor*, *Veneris tribunal*, and *Tratado notabl de amor* were all written by Catalan authors (Pedro Manuel Jiménez de Urrea, Ludovico Scrivà, and the Comendador Escibá, respectively, according to recent studies). And while these works were all filtered through a Catalan *minerva*, scholars have scarcely mentioned, and much less explained, this relationship between Castilian sentimental literature and the Catalan origin of the above-mentioned writers.³

TORROELLA AND THE CASTILIAN SENTIMENTAL FICTION

In this article I shall explore the influence of another important bilingual writer, Pere Torroella, in the sentimental fiction—from Catalonia to Castile, from the bilingual situation of the court of Navarra to the adoption of Castilian as the politically prestigious language in Valencia and Catalonia since 1474. Bach y Rita, in his magnum opus on Torroella, sets this writer's literary production between his Castilian-Catalan education at the court of Navarra and his later stay in Saragossa and Barcelona until almost the end of the century. Of about seventy compositions included by Bach y Rita, I shall focus on the *Maldezir de mugeres* (ca. 1450, ante quem 1469), whose seventeen stanzas—almost since their composition—were among the most copied, contested, attacked, and defended verses in the second half of the fifteenth century.⁴ It is difficult to ascertain a clear reason for the incredible scandal provoked by such stanzas, which—even in the mid-sixteenth century—were still quite polemical (see Del Val, ed., pp. xlvii–lii). In my view, the time frame in which these stanzas were composed could help us understand the fame they obtained immediately (after the first reactions to Alfonso Martínez de Toledo's *Corbacho* [ca. 1438] by Diego de Valera and Alvaro de Luna).⁵ Thus the *Maldezir* seems to have been interpreted

as an attack against the literary and social status quo. The *Maldezir* and Torroella, its misogynistic author, occasioned a furious reaction in songbooks, similar to the one caused by *Corbacho*. It is curious that among the first texts to mention Torroella, we find the *Triste deleytación*, where we read:

Las damas y las doncellas
 Son por esta 'stimadas
 Esta las falsas querellas
 Que tuvo mosén Torrellas
 Las fizo ser rebocadas.

(cited in Bach y Rita, p. 16).

From around 1469 (at least considering this year as the *antem* quem date for the work) we record two of the most furious answers to Torroella's composition: those of Suero de Ribera and Gómez Manrique. Within the genre of the sentimental fiction, the first antagonistic response to Torroella's work is documented at the end of the 1470s in Juan de Flores's *Grisel y Mirabella*. The utilization in literary fiction of contemporary *personae* (a literary procedure used by, among others, Bernat Metge and Juan de Lucena in *Lo Somni* and the *Diálogo de vita beata* respectively) is reflected in Flores's introduction of Torroella as a character in his book. We must remember that other sentimental *prosimetra* had employed this procedure, such as the *Siervo* (including Macías as a character in the tomb of Ardanlier and Liessa) and the *Triste deleytación* (which incorporates among its many Catalan characters the countess of Luna). As is well known, the debate on the culpability/innocence of Grisel and Mirabella is undertaken by their respective advocates, Torrellas and Briseida. These champions engage, in turn, in accusations against the opposite sex (Roffé). Although we could explain the appearance of Torroella in Flores's work as resulting from Torroella's fame, other explanations also seem plausible. For instance, in another Catalan work, Metge's *Lo Somni*, the presence of Tirésias-Orfeo in book III must have represented a valid precedent for the incorporation of another Trojan character, Braçayda, in *Grisel*. Torrellas, in turn, is a product of Flores's literary mastery, and the fictional character thus pays tribute to the contemporary discussion of Torroella's infamous stanzas. But if the latter hypothesis is conceivable, I am tempted to en-

tain the possibility of a personal contact between Torroella and Flores, although difficult to prove (Cortijo 1997b: ch. 4).⁶ But let us set this argument aside temporarily.

FROM TORROELLA TO CELESTINA

The second sentimental fiction in which Torroella appears as a character is the elusive Luis de Lucena's *Repetición de amores* (Salamanca, 1497)—a work much less studied by critics than *Grisel*. This composition is built upon the formal model of the university genre termed *repetitio* (Ornstein, ed.).⁷ After a preliminary episode which draws from Piccolomini's *Historia de duobus amantibus*, the main work is comprised of a parodic commentary on each of the stanzas of the *Maldezir* and concludes with an *elaboratio* of the *fortitudo-sapientia* topic—that is, arms vs. letters.

Is there any connection between these two appearances of Torroella in Castilian literature? It is important to note that the two works that feature Torroella (*Grisel* and *Repetición*) have been included among the sentimental romances by critics. It is not a trivial question, although scholars have not posed it so far. Was there any dependent relationship between these two Castilian works? Were Lucena and Flores acquainted? This difficult problem is further complicated by the fact that Juan de Flores and Luis de Lucena have been two of the least known Castilian literary figures of the second half of the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, we can still gather some clues from contemporary and very recent articles which may shed some light on the problem. Gwara has demonstrated that Flores composed his works in the period 1475–85. Moreover, Flores is related to the court of the Duke of Alba, the Catholic Monarchs, and possibly to Juan del Encina.⁸ As for Luis (Ramírez) de Lucena, it is likely that he was the son of Juan de Lucena (in turn the son of the “Macabeo,” the Marquis of Santillana's physician), who was the author of the *Diálogo de vita beata*, the *Epístola exhortatoria a las letras*, and an epistolary exchange with Gómez Manrique, among the works definitely attributed to him. Juan de Lucena appears in the documents with the title of “*protonotario apostólico*” and was the ambassador of Juan II to Rome, where he was a *familiaris* of Eneas Silvio Piccolomini (Pius II).⁹

Let us now bring together these unconnected references. Since the biographical data can only point toward a connection between Flores and Torroellas, although difficult to prove, let us analyze literary and ecdotal information in order to further explore this relationship.

In the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid there is a set of manuscripts, previously bound but today bearing separate signatures, with call-numbers 22018-21. In 1979, Whinnom stated that these fictitious manuscripts were extraordinarily important to the study of sentimental fiction.¹⁰ Their content is as follows (Faulhaber et al. 1992):

Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, MSS 22018-21

- 1) *Grimalte y Gradissa*, by Juan de Flores; MS 22018, CNUM 2144.
- 2) *Triunfo de Amor*, by Juan de Flores; MS 22019, CNUM 2145 (Fernández Jiménez 1986).
- 3) *La coronación de la señora Gracisla*, anonymous?; MS 22020, CNUM 2146.¹¹
- 4) *Carta consolatoria que enbió el prothonotario de Lucena a Gómeç Manrique quando murió su hija doña Kathalina, muger de Diego García de Toledo*; MS 22021, fols. 1r-2v, CNUM 2147.
- 5) *Respuesta de Gómeç Manrique al prothonotario de Lucena*; MS 22021, fols. 3r-8r, CNUM 2148.¹²
- 6) *Carta enviada por Hiseo la Brunda a Tristán de Leonís quexándose del porqué la dexó presa a su causa y se casó con Hiseo de las Blancas Manos*, anonymous?; MS 22021, fols. 8v-10r, CNUM 2149.
- 7) *Respuesta de Tristán desculpándose de la inocente culpa que le encargan*, anonymous?; MS 22021, fols. 10v-12v, CNUM 2150.¹³
- 8) *Arnalte y Lucenda*, by Diego de San Pedro; MS 22021, fols. 13r-63r, CNUM 2151.

It is quite clear that epistolary criteria were utilized in the compilation of these various works. Thus the texts of those four manuscripts belong to the category of factual letters (of a consolatory nature, within the broader literary genre of *epistulae ad familiares*) and fictitious letters (i.e., the Tristán series). Moreover, since Juan de Flo-

res and Juan de Lucena are the most represented authors in the collection, we can hypothesize that at least some of the anonymous compositions can be attributed to them.

Grisel y Mirabella has been preserved in another manuscript—namely, 5-3-20 of the Biblioteca Colombina in Seville. It contains the following works (Faulhaber et al. 1992):

Biblioteca Colombina de Sevilla, MS 5-3-20

- 1) *Cuatro oraciones a la República*, by Stephano Porcari, anonymous translator?; fols. 1r-16r CNUM 2315, 7119, 7120, 7121 (Parrilla 1986).¹⁴
- 2) *Fragmento del Tratado de amores*, anonymous?; fols. 17r-22r, CNUM 2316 (Parrilla 1985).¹⁵
- 3) *Epístola exortatoria a las letras*, by Juan de Lucena a Fernando Alvarez Zapata; fols. 22v-26r, CNUM 2317.
- 4) *Triunfo de Amor*, by Juan de Flores; fols. 27r-68r, CNUM 2318 (Fernández Jiménez).
- 5) *Fragmento de la Historia de Torrellas y Brianda*, fragment of *Grisel y Mirabella*, by Juan de Flores; fols. 69r-86r, CNUM 2319.
- 6) *Carta de buena nota*, Gómez Manrique addressee, anonymous?; fols. 86v-87r, CNUM 2320.
- 7) *Respuesta de Gómez Manrique [a la Carta de buena nota]*; fols. 87r-89r, CNUM 2321.
- 8) *Cartas de Grimalte y Fiometa*, fragment of *Grimalte y Gradissa*, by Juan de Flores; fols. 90r-101v, 2322.

Again this is an unusual manuscript, compiled according to epistolary criteria. As with the manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nacional, Juan de Flores and Juan de Lucena are the authors of most of the works, and the compositions include a factual epistolary exchange, in this case between Gómez Manrique and an unknown addressee. Moreover, we can entertain the possibility that these two authors, Flores and Lucena, are the composers of some of the anonymous works, such as the *Tratado de amores*. It is also telling that *Grisel y Mirabella* is not entitled as such in the manuscript version, but rather *Historia de Torrellas y Brianda*, a more precise title from a the-

matic point of view. This fact speaks to the way in which the receptors of Flores's work read his composition—that is, mainly as a debate between two advocates, rather than as a love story between two noble lovers. The inclusion of a hand-copied version of *Arnalte y Lucenda* (entry 15033 of the *Abecedarium B*, by Hernando Colón) in the Colombina MS 5-3-20 (a version not currently present in the Colombina MS) serves as further proof of the close relationship between the Biblioteca Nacional manuscripts and the Colombina 5-3-20.¹⁶

The considerable impact of Torroella's stanzas on the Manrique and Lucena circles is evident. Gómez Manrique, as mentioned above, replied to Torroella's *Maldezir* with a work which defended feminine virtue (Bach y Rita, p. 62). Bearing in mind the close relationship between Gómez Manrique and Juan de Lucena, established by their epistolary exchange in MS 22021, we may easily understand the undertaking of the same motif (Torroella's *Maldezir*) in the *Repetición de amores*, written by another member of the Lucena family. This motif appears to be a popular literary topic among the Lucenas. However, in contrast to Manrique's position in the reply to Torroella, Luis de Lucena follows the misogynistic vein of the Catalan poet. Nonetheless, we should be careful in ascribing an antifeminist position to the *Repetición's* author since this work is but a parodic text.

Luis de Lucena was a student in Salamanca during the last decade of the fifteenth century, as mentioned in the *Repetición*. It is very likely that he belonged to the same circle of the famous "*hijo de Torrellas*," Juan del Encina, who, in turn, may have been acquainted with Juan de Flores in the court of the Alvarez de Toledo some years before. They may all have shared the same literary taste, and we may conjecture that Encina and Luis de Lucena knew each other personally.

The beginning of the *Repetición* may be absolutely astounding for any reader of late medieval Castilian literature. In the initial episode of this work we are told of a love story which curiously resembles the anonymous first act of *Celestina*. From a review of the dates of the publication of the *Repetición* and the *Celestina* (1497 and 1499 respectively), it is obvious that both works were composed around the same time (end of the fifteenth century), in the same city, by students of the University of Salamanca. Scholars have neither

connected these telling events nor analyzed the resemblance between the two works. Moreover, the initial episode of the *Repetición* also includes an *ad pedem litterae* translation of the beginning of the *Historia de duobus amantibus* (1444). No one has suggested the possibility that Juan de Lucena—Juan II's ambassador to Rome and to the family of Eneas Silvio Piccolomini—might very well have been responsible for introducing the *Historia* in the Iberian Peninsula since he is one of the most plausible candidates. It would not be surprising then that his successor, Luis de Lucena, given that he was acquainted with Piccolomini's text, might have decided to incorporate a burlesque paraphrase of the *Historia* within his university parody, the *Repetición*.

Turning now to the *Celestina*, I submit that the close resemblance between it and the *Repetición*—both composed around the same time, in the same city, and in the same university context—is not trivial at all. Although I might be tempted to claim that the author of the anonymous first act of the *Celestina* was Luis de Lucena—a mocking, sarcastic, and witty student of Salamanca—I will not do so, for I lack indisputable evidence. Nonetheless, I ask that the reader allow me at least to entertain that possibility. There are two main thematic axes in Lucena's work: the main character's sickening infatuation and his request for love with the help of a go-between, and criticisms against the feminine gender. These two axes are also essential in the first act of *Celestina*. To some extent Calisto and Melibea could be counterparts to Piccolomini's and Luis de Lucena's main characters, and the process of sickening love that the main male character experiences in the first act (*Celestina*) is similar to that of the *Historia de duobus amantibus* and the *Repetición* (Parrilla 1985: 476). And it is very telling that almost from the beginning of the first act, Sempronio takes the stage to mock Calisto's love feelings and proceeds to criticize the feminine gender in a fashion that resembles Torroella's *Maldezir*. Most important, we should keep in mind that this misogynistic episode is not present in Piccolomini's work, while it appears in the *Repetición*, where an important part of the text is devoted to the commentary and paraphrasing of the *Maldezir* stanzas. It is also obvious that the contextual world of the *Celestina* is considerably broader than that of Piccolomini's and Luis de Lucena's compositions, as it includes Celestina's brothel and the servants'

world, both of which are completely absent from the *Historia* and the *Repetición*.

Returning to MS 5-3-20 of the Colombina, we discover a work entitled *Tratado de amores*, recently edited by Parrilla. Although the *Tratado* is fragmentary, it incorporates a *celestinesque* episode that narrates a love request (including the go-between character) based on Piccolomini's *Historia de duobus amantibus*.¹⁷ The fact that the *Tratado de amores* is copied in a manuscript together with works by Flores and Lucena seems very suspicious. Flores and Lucena, the name of Torrellas in another composition (*Grisel*) written by Flores, and a fragmentary work (*Tratado*) similar to the *Repetición*? Again, according to the formulation of this inane hypothesis, it would seem plausible that in Salamanca around 149? there was an emergence of what we could call a pre-*Celestina* genre.

However, the facts that could tie together the different works and authors mentioned above are even more entangled. In recent years, Faulhaber et al. discovered the now famous MS II-1520 at the Biblioteca de Palacio in Madrid, whose content is as follows:

Biblioteca de Palacio de Madrid, MS II-1520

- 1) *Diálogo de vita beata*, by Juan de Lucena; fols. 1r-92v, CNUM 4304.
- 2) *Glosa al romance 'Rey que no hace justicia,'* anonymous?; fol. 93r, CNUM 5590.
- 3) *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea*, acto I, Cota?, Juan de Mena?, Luis de Lucena?, anonymous?; fols. 93v-100v, CNUM 5591.
- 4) *Sermón en alabanza de los Reyes Católicos por la conquista de Granada*, anonymous?; fols. 101r-106r, CNUM 5592.¹⁸

Scholars have not questioned why Lucena's work and the first act of the *Celestina* are copied together in the same manuscript. But according to facts previously explained, it is likely that their co-appearance in MS II-1520 is not coincidental. Otherwise, how could we explain the presence of this third manuscript (the first being MS 22018-21 at the Biblioteca Nacional, and the second being MS 5-3-20 at the Colombina) containing both sentimental works and Lucena's compositions? At this point, it is helpful to recall a study by Serrano y Sanz which linked Fernando de Rojas to a "Juan de Lucena," a

printer in the Puebla de Montalbán. Although the article by Serrano y Sanz concluded that this Juan de Lucena, a printer, was not our Juan de Lucena, translator of Fazio's dialogue, this scholar proved that both Lucenas were blood relatives.¹⁹ Now our suspicions (again, just suspicions) are even greater: both Lucenas, Piccolomini, Puebla de Montalbán, Salamanca, students in Salamanca around 1490–95, the first act of the *Celestina*, and Fernando de Rojas?

BACK TO THE IBERIAN DIALOGUE

An apparently innocuous topic such as the literary fortune of Torroella's infamous stanzas would not seem to offer such fertile ground. Yet we have seen how this bilingual Catalan author and his *Maldezir* were incorporated into Castilian sentimental fiction in Flores's *Grisel* and Lucena's *Repetición*. The "inane hypothesis" in this article's title refers to the notion that Torroella's inclusion in the Castilian sentimental romance was more than merely coincidental. Was there contact between Torroella, Gómez Manrique, Lucena (the father), and Flores? Can we suppose any contact between Flores and Encina, the "hijo de Torroella"? Is there a coherent explanation for the many references to the Lucena family in MSS 22018-21 in the Biblioteca Nacional, MS 5-3-20 in the Colombina, and MS II-1520 in Palacio? Did the Lucena family simply favor Torroella's works, or was there, underlying this literary taste, some personal relationship between members of the family and the Catalan writer? Was Luis de Lucena responsible for introducing the mocking, subversive, and pining students at Salamanca ca. 1490–95 into Piccolomini's work? If we approach the analysis of the *Repetición* and *Celestina* from a *converso* point of view, could we sketch an interpretation which would put together Juan de Lucena—the printer in the Puebla de Montalbán who escaped from Spain to Italy for religious reasons—with the commonly suggested pessimistic vision in the *Celestina* and Rojas's *converso* origin? If we assume the latter hypothesis, what was the relationship between Rojas and Luis de Lucena? Was Luis de Lucena, or any or a group of his friends at the University of Salamanca, the anonymous author(s) of the first act of the *Celestina* which Rojas,

without mentioning the author of the act, later amplified to create the *Comedia* and the *Tragicomedia*?

Leaving aside this daring hypothesis, let us return to the considerations of late medieval and early Renaissance love literature of the Iberian Peninsula which inspired my presentation. The recent book by Serés on the lovers' transformations is representative of my aim here. In analyzing the way medieval and Renaissance theories on love were utilized in literary works, Serés adopts a broad perspective and studies texts written in all the languages of the Iberian Peninsula. Torroella's presence in Castilian sentimental romances is just one example of a pan-Iberian dialogue which embodied works, theories, and authors that reached beyond the region of their respective languages to a wider Iberian audience. As the title of this symposium suggests, there was an Iberian dialogue which current scholars should focus on in their analysis and interpretation of fifteenth-century literature.

NOTES

1. To simply assert that love themes were a preferred topic in Catalan and Castilian courtly literatures as part of a wider pan-European preoccupation would be an embarrassing commonplace. The question then becomes one not of their presence, but rather one of the nature of their expression: what is borrowed and adapted, what is local development, and what is passed along to the other literatures of the peninsula and the rest of Europe? Much in solving this question can be attributed to the literary court of Joan I and Violant de Bar, which fostered numerous literary reunions where love themes were discussed and love works were translated. (See Cortijo 1999, where I analyze the importance of Violant de Bar's literary taste in the introduction of some French love compositions to the Iberian Peninsula [*Chastel d'amour*, Capellanus's *De amore*, Machaut's *Livre du voir-dit*, etc.], as well as the role of the literary reunions organized by the queen [*flirts*, as Pagès calls them] in the establishment of a literary fashion that motivated the creation of several Catalan love works and their dissemination in Castile [e.g., the motif of Valter and Griseldis, utilized by Metge and later included in the *Castigos que un sabio daba a sus hijas*, and the Catalan and Castilian traditions of the *Consells*].) See also Cortijo (1997a), I. de Riquer (1989, 1994), Vendrell (1989), Vieillard, Miron, Baudot, and Sanpere (1878, 1879). For references to the Violant's courtly tradition of the *flirt* (literary reunions), see also Pagès (1936). For the *Chastel* and Capellanus's *De amore*, see Pagès

(1928, 1930 respectively). For Machaut's works in Catalonia, see Rubió i Lluch and Cortijo (1997a). Other genres that need to be explored further in order to determine the influence of Catalan literature on Castilian works and their cross-literature relationship are chevalric compositions, the *novel.letes sentimentals i allegòriques*, and brief romances (partly chevalric, partly pious, and mostly translations of prosified French *romans* from the fourteenth century). For a comparison of love motifs within a chevalric Castilian and a Catalan setting, see París e Viana. A version of this work, in either Catalan or Castilian, was known in Catalonia from around 1432 (Cátedra, ed.) and its importance in fifteenth-century Castilian love literature has yet to be fully studied (Cortijo 1997b: ch. 1).

2. For further references to *Fronchino*, see Annachiarico and Cortijo (1997b: ch. 1). Much has yet to be done regarding the relationship of Catalan and Castilian literatures in the creation and development of *novel.letes sentimentals i allegòriques* and sentimental fictions.
3. For more references to these sentimental romances, see Foulché-Delbosc, Rohland, and Fernández Jiménez (who proposes that Escribá authored the *Tratado*). See also Cortijo (1997b: ch. 5).
4. Bach y Rita (pp. 60–72) devotes a chapter to the literary fame of Torroella and reminds us of the literary responses to his *Maldezir* by Antón de Montoro, Gómez Manrique, Suero de Ribera, and Juan del Encina, among others.
5. The first literary responses to Martínez de Toledo's *Corbacho* were the *Defensa de las virtuosas mujeres*, by Diego de Valera (1445), Alvaro de Luna's *Libro de las claras e virtuosas mugeres* (1446), and later Martín Alonso de Córdoba's *Jardín de nobles doncellas* (1468).
6. One of the manuscripts that contains a version of *Grisel* (Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, MS 22021) also includes two letters written between Tristán and Isolda. This could account for the relevance of ancient characters in the sentimental romance (Gómez Redondo, Sharrer), as they could be close to Flores.
7. "En efecto, se trata de una repetición, es decir, de un ejercicio dialéctico que Luis realiza—quizá sólo imaginariamente—(o sin quizá, ya que comienza por hacer presidente de la sesión 'al dios cupido') para graduarse en amores, en servicio de la linda Dama su amiga estudiando en el preclarísimo stuido de la Ciudad de Salamanca" (Alcalá, p. 113, n. 34).
8. For the most recent and reliable state of the question on Flores's identity, see Gwara (where bibliographical references on *Grisel* and Flores's identity dating back to his doctoral dissertation can be found). Still, some facts remain uncertain, such as Flores's personal acquaintance with Encina (at the court of the Duke of Alba?), with Gómez Manrique (the "*corregidor de Toledo*") and with Torroella (Cortijo 1997b: ch. 4).
9. If Flores's identity has been difficult to determine, Luis de Lucena's is even more complicated. Cossío is still undecided as to whether Luis de Lucena is or is not Juan de Lucena's son; Ornstein is doubtful. Alcalá indicates that

“no por eso sabríamos si era [Luis] hijo del Juan de Lucena autor de *De vita beata* o del Juan Ramírez de Lucena ‘sapiéntísimo Doctor,’ y Reverendo protonotario Apostólico, Embajador y del Consejo de los Reyes nuestros Señores” (p. 113), although he finally identifies both Juan de Lucenas as the same person (p. 119). Gregorio, following Páez’s letters, indicates that Luis de Lucena died in Rome. See note 12 below for more details.

10. Whinnom’s book was a tour-de-force in Spanish sentimental romance studies, as the work incorporated the first edition of the *Coronación de la señora Gracisla* (an as yet unknown work) and introduced the possibility of analyzing together the compositions bound in those four manuscripts.
11. Whinnom considered this text as anonymous and suggested a later date of composition; Gwara rectified Whinnom’s opinion and submitted that Flores was the author of the *Coronación*.
12. Carrión edits both letters and prefaces his work with an interesting study (pp. 565–74) which sheds light on the identity of Juan de Lucena (in his opinion, the author of the *Diálogo de vita beata* and Luis de Lucena’s father are one and the same) and the setting for the epistolary exchange between Lucena and Manrique.
13. The two letters have been edited by Gómez Redondo and studied by Sharer. It is also important to point out that both compositions are anonymous in the manuscript. Could we attribute them to either Juan de Flores or Juan de Lucena? It is also curious that Flores has been related by Waley to the Tristán motif (*Tristán de Leonís*) in Spanish literature, which does not contradict his possible authorship of the two letters contained in MS 22021.
14. *Oración que trata del amor que entre los ciudadanos debe haber y cómo se ha de conservar* (fols. 1r–4r); *Oración del amor que debemos haber a la república* (fols. 4r–5r); *Oración que muestra qué cosa es república y cómo hubo comienzo* (fols. 5r–12r); *Si es mejor a la república hacer las guerras con sus naturales o con extranjeros* (fols. 12r–16r). For a hypothesis on Fernando de la Torre’s authorship, see Parrilla (1986) and Cortijo (1997b: ch. 4).
15. As in the case of either the Tristán letters of MS 22021 or Porcari’s *Oraciones*, the *Tratado de amores* stands anonymous, although there are reasons to believe that Luis de Lucena could have been its author.
16. As Arthur Askins indicated to me, there are twelve entries in Hernando Colón’s *Abecedarium B* which refer to the number 15033 (currently MS 5-3-20). All of the entries (listed by either the title of the work or *incipit* of the compositions) match the current content of the manuscript except for the following: “Este verano pasado mas por la agena necesidad” (Colón, col. 584). This *incipit* bears in its entry the numbers 4055 and 15033. The first number (4055, see *Regestrum*) refers to a copy of the *Arnalte y Lucenda* (Burgos, 1522) which was possessed by Colón, who purchased it on 19 November 1524 in Medina del Campo at the price of 11 *maravedíes*. The second number (15033) refers to the actual MS 5-3-20, which was purchased in Valladolid on 21 August 1536 at the price of 6 *maravedíes* and brought to the Sevillian cathedral after 1554. Curiously, *Arnalte* is not currently

included in the Colombina MS 5-3-20. Could it be possible that Colón's hand-copied version of *Arnalte* is the current version copied and bound in MS 22021 at the Biblioteca Nacional? Isn't the coincidence of titles and contents of manuscripts 22018-21 and MS 5-3-20 also curious? Note that in both manuscripts (22021 and 5-3-20; Faulhaber et al. 1992) the watermark is a *mano con estrella*. A detailed study of the *Arnalte* at the Biblioteca Nacional would be necessary to ascertain whether it came from the Colombina MS; it could not be done for this article.

17. The similarities between the *Historia de duobus amantibus*, the fragmentary *Tratado*, the *Repetición*, and *Celestina* (Act I) are remarkable. In an article currently in preparation, I explore the references to *vecchia*, *vieja*, and *madre* in the three texts, as well as the development of the love process in the three Castilian texts. I suggest that they could be studied together and that they belong to a genre that I call pre-*celestinesque*. We should also remember Whinnom's reference (p. 244) to a *Practica de arte amandi* (perhaps by Picolomini), which includes the names Calixtus, Meliboea, and Caelestina.
18. There is already an abundant bibliography on MS II-1520, initiated in 1991 by Faulhaber. Especially important are Conde's studies on the name Peralta, which according to this scholar "nos ha servido para mostrar la vinculación temprana de las diversas partes del código" (p. 40); in particular, Conde identifies a Sebastián de Peralta who was born at the end of the fifteenth century, "pasó su juventud en Salamanca donde estudió el derecho y adquirió conocimientos literarios que completaron su instrucción [. . .]; fue Oidor en la Chancillería de Valladolid y, lo que más me interesa, aficionado a coleccionar libros" (pp. 40-41). Could this Peralta be the same person from whom Colón bought MS 5-3-20 in Valladolid in 1536? Is there any relationship between Peralta and *La Celestina*, as Conde suggests (p. 41)?
19. Serrano's conclusions were also included in Alcalá, where Alcalá himself attributes to the converso problem the difficulty of clarifying the identity of several members of the Lucena family. He asserts that "no sólo por el afán de rellenar el vacío que nos produce el desconocimiento de las reales andanzas de Juan de Lucena en la madurez de su vida, sino por una serie de elocuentes coincidencias nos atrevemos a presentar como 'hipótesis de trabajo' la de que no sólo son una y la misma persona el Juan de Lucena autor del *Libro de vita beata* y el protonotario padre del Luis de Lucena autor de la *Repetición de amores*, sino que ambos también coinciden con el llamado Juan de Lucena 'el impresor'" (cited in Alcalá, p. 119).

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THE *SPILL DE LA VIDA RELIGIOSA* (BARCELONA, 1515) AND ITS LUSO-HISPANIC TRANSMISSION

August Bover i Font

The first edition of the anonymous *Spill de la vida religiosa* was published by Joan Rosenbach in Barcelona in 1515.¹ It is a small volume that brings together the influence of the Lullian novel—it is practically the only “literary” sequel to Ramon Lull—and the influence of the spiritual current known as *Devotio Moderna*. A movement born in the Netherlands, the *Devotio Moderna* spread throughout Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and in Catalonia had its center in the Montserrat of Abbot Cisneros. The *Spill* belongs to a kind of allegorical novel that, more than a century and a half later, produced its masterpiece with John Bunyan’s *The Pilgrim’s Progress*. According to the most recent analyses (Andrés; Ua Súilleabháin 1989: 42–50, and 1990: 26–36), it appears that we should assign this book to Franciscan spirituality, but it was also attributed to Fra Miquel Comalada (Riquer, pp. 485–92) and therefore to Hieronymite spirituality. Be that as it may, this little treatise was not simply another book in the history of devotional literature but a real innovation (López Estrada, p. 52), addressed to all kinds of readers, not only to the religious; as Marcel Bataillon pointed out, it links—for the first time—this kind of literature with the pastoral novel.²

There was a second edition of this book in Catalan, published in Valencia by Jordi Costilla in 1529, and soon it was translated into Castilian (twelve editions) and had extraordinary success with translations into Portuguese (one edition), French (at present we do not know of any copies), Italian (ten editions), German (probably twelve editions), Dutch (probably twenty-six editions), Latin (probably seven editions), English (six editions), Polish (six editions), Danish (five editions) and Gaelic (one edition). Beginning with the Castilian third edition, most of the translations incorporated the protagonist’s

name—Desitjós—into the title: *Desseoso, Desideroso, Desiderius, Desiderosus, Desejoso* (Bover 1998: 94).

THE CASTILIAN TRANSLATIONS

The first Castilian edition (Seville, 1533) was published only four years after the second, and last, Catalan one. If the present state of studies supports the hypothesis of a Franciscan author, there is no doubt that the Castilian translation is linked to the Hieronymite order. At that time, there was in Seville an important Hieronymite monastery. And the Castilian editions made known the name of Fra Miquel Comalada from the Sant Jeroni de la Vall d'Hebron monastery—then near Barcelona—as the book's author. Ramon Miquel i Planas relates that he bought a copy of the Castilian translation of the *Spill*, printed in Lisbon in 1541, from the Madrilenian bookseller Pedro Vindel, Jr. As the bookseller's catalogue noted, on the colophon next to the printed text identifying the author as "vn deuoto religioso," he found a manuscript note, contemporary with the edition, that said: "llamauase Fr. Miguel Comelada del convento de Valle de Hebron" (Miquel i Planas 1915–20: cols. 471–73). Miquel i Planas considered that while the author's anonymity was respected in print, his name persisted in the order's memory and that this manuscript note must have been written by a Hieronymite friar who thus established that tradition in his own copy (col. 473).

Llorenç Alcina (pp. 377–78) and Domènec Ricart (pp. 124–25) refer to the prologue in the form of a letter addressed to Fra Rodrigo de Zafra, general of the Hieronymite order, and especially to the "Guía para el lector," which appears beginning with the 1542 Toledo edition and which states that the author was Catalan:

Hizo el dicho libro vn religioso sabio y muy deuoto de la orden del bienauenturado doctor de la Yglesia sant Hieronymo, el qual era de nacion catalan, y despues fue corregido de las incurias y faltas que el zelo christiano suplió, sin menoscabo del primer author, y añadido lo sobredicho otro religioso de la dicha orden, natural del reyno de Toledo y professo del monasterio de Santa Cathalina, de Talauera de la Reyna, cuya correction va solamente en esta impression. Los nombres de ambos religiosos se callan

porque dessean y quieren que de sus trauajos sea dada solamente gloria a Dios.³

Alcina and Ricart agree concerning the comment of Fra José de Sigüenza in his *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo* (1600) regarding the monks of the Vall d'Hebron monastery:

También pudiera poner en este catálogo el santo fray Miguel Comelada, autor de aquel librito que se estimó un tiempo tanto en España,⁴ llamado el desseoso, que no descubre poco el buen gusto de su autor en cosas morales y santas (p. 241).

Although the recent Franciscan hypothesis seems much more solid, it is not surprising that the Hieronymites claimed this book as their own. They—probably Fra Miquel Comalada—translated it into Castilian, they published it throughout the kingdoms of Castile and Portugal, and they added new parts. While Catalan editions are composed of only two parts, Castilian editions—as proof and consequence, at the same time, of their success—are expanded: the first three editions are composed of three parts, the fourth edition has five parts, and the sixth adds a sixth part. As López Estrada says:

El que los jerónimos indicasen que el “deuot religios obseruant” de la edición catalana original fuese un “simple y pequeño frayle” de la Orden de San Jerónimo, suponiendo que se pudiese entender que el primero era franciscano, sería un episodio del afán de espiritualidad de esta Orden, cuya peculiaridad histórica puso de relieve Américo Castro (p. 51).

But it is in Franciscan devotional texts in Castilian that we find traces of the translation of the *Spill*—for example, in a letter of spiritual orientation concerning the three stages of the *via mystica* addressed to a nun by the beatified Pere Nicolau Factor (València, 1520–83), painter, musician, mathematician, grammarian, and writer in Latin and Castilian. He explains that he saw “un pastor llamado Cudicioso, y según la pasión le tenía cercado, él, sin duda, era enamorado de Dios; el camino que traía es llamado Menosprecio de sí mismo y los pasos que daban eran Aborrecimiento de si mismo” (*Místicos franciscanos españoles*, p. 833),⁵ allegories that seem copied from the *Spill*. A shepherd appears who “venía tañendo un suave rabelete” (*ibid.*), whose strings and pegs are also allegories, like those

of the psalter that Desitjós describes at the end of his book. Like Desitjós, he also followed an “aspre camí” in the middle of the desert: “llevaba este buen pastor por aquel desierto (porque era muy barrancoso, áspero y peligroso el camino)” (*ibid.*, p. 834). And we must not forget Fra Juan de los Ángeles (1536?– Madrid, 1609)—Pere Nicolau Factor’s friend from the time when Factor served as confessor at the Descalzas Reales in Madrid—who gives the name of “fray Deseoso” to the disciple of his *Diálogos de la conquista del espiritual y secreto Reyno de Dios* (Madrid, 1595).

The success of the *Spill*’s Castilian version soon extended beyond the Iberian Peninsula. Castilians took it into the new territories that they were colonizing, and we know that at least one copy of the eleventh edition (Salamanca, 1580) arrived in the Philippines, since it figures in the inventory of books carried to Manila in 1583 by a man named Trebiña or Trebiño (Leonart, p. 98). In addition, it seems that some Castilian editions were the base for translation into other languages; this is very probably the case of the English version. Although it is unlikely to have been the only source, it is evident that the Castilian version was fundamental to the existence of a Gaelic translation.⁶ The author of this version, Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire (or Maoilchonaire)—who Latinized his name as Florentius Conrius and who in English is known as Florence Conry—probably was born in Cluain na hOidhche (Cloonahce) circa 1560. After deciding to enter the Franciscan order, he went to Castile and studied at the Minorite monastery of Salamanca, where his presence is documented in 1593. He went back to Ireland in 1601 with the forces commanded by Juan del Aguila, which disembarked at Cionn tSáile (Kinsale). But he had to flee again because the Irish cause was defeated in this battle in January 1602, and he could never again return to his homeland. All his life he opposed the English occupation of Ireland, and for that reason the British authorities condemned him to perpetual exile. In a general chapter celebrated in Toledo in the year 1606, Ó Maolchonaire was elected to the position of Franciscan Provincial of Ireland. That same year, Philip II agreed to his request that a college for Irish Franciscans be created in Louvain. Ó Maolchonaire himself inaugurated the college of Saint Anthony of Padua in May 1607, and it was there that his Gaelic version of the *Spill* was printed in 1616. Ó Maolchonaire died in the Franciscan monastery of Madrid on 18 Novem-

ber 1629, and in 1654 his mortal remains were transferred to the Franciscan College of Louvain that he had founded.⁷

The Irish Franciscans of this college printed books in Gaelic and sent them clandestinely to Ireland, where the British authorities had prohibited the edition of books in the language of the country. It is likely that Ó Maolchonaire became acquainted with a Castilian edition of the *Spill* during his studies at Salamanca. His intention was clearly not an exact and complete translation of that edition. He was more interested in providing his oppressed compatriots with a book to comfort them in their struggle. That is why he took so many liberties, leaving many parts untranslated and adding passages—sometimes rather long—of his own (Ua Súilleabháin 1990).

THE SPILL IN PORTUGAL

Beginning with the Castilian translation, the *Spill* was linked very early to Portugal. Two of the twelve editions in Castilian were printed in Lisbon: the fifth (1541) and the twelfth (1588). The manuscript inscription that considers Fra Miquel Comalada as the author was found by Ramon Miquel i Planas in a copy of the 1541 edition. Through a written report by the Valencian novice Nicolau Grecida in April 1544, we know that in the Jesuits' noviciate of Coïmbra—organized by the Majorcan father Jeroni Nadal in 1555—that is, during the lifetime of Saint Ignatius—among others, “los libros que se leyeron hasta aora a la mesa fueron el libro llamado *Desseoso*” (Leturia, p. 297).⁸ The Jesuits, moreover, took the *Spill* along with them on their missionary expeditions. The third Portuguese expedition, for instance, which sailed from Goa in the spring of 1554, took, among other books, “hum Deseoso gramde” (López-Gay, p. 326). As López-Gay says:

Precisamente como fruto de las reconsideraciones del Visitador, vemos que en algunas Casas de la Compañía se leía en público “muchas veces el libro llamado *Desseoso*”, que coincide con otro de los títulos que habían traído poco antes los misioneros al Japón. La que pasó al Extremo Oriente era la nueva edición “impresa en la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Lisboa en casa de Luis Rodrigues librero del Rey”, año 1541 . . . ; porque esta

edición contenía una “cuarta y quinta parte” nueva, los misioneros la llamaban “gramde” (pp. 329–30).

Probably because of the wide distribution of Castilian editions of the *Spill* in Portugal and some of its colonies, the Portuguese translation was very late. It was not published until the eighteenth century, when those editions were beginning to be hard to find. According to Marcel Bataillon, it was published under the auspices of the Society of Jesus. The author of this translation was Damião de Froes Perim (born in Lisbon on 24 March 1692), who professed as a Hieronymite friar, taking the name of Fra João de S. Pedro on 23 October 1709 in the monastery of Belem. He was prior of several monasteries and on 20 April 1739 was elected as a general of his congregation (Silva, pp. 5–6).

APPENDIX⁹

CASTILIAN EDITIONS

1. *Tractado llamado Espejo de Religiosos. Nuevamente impresso y traduzido de lengua catalana en nuestro lenguaje castellano.* Printed by Juan Cromberger. Seville, 21 August 1533 (Ribelles, p. 48; Vindel, p. 26; Palau, p. 121; Ricart, p. 124; López Estrada, pp. 20–21; Domínguez). There is one copy in the Biblioteca Nacional of Lisbon (Res. 2721).
2. *Tractado llamado Espejo de Religiosos. Nuevamente impresso y traduzido de lengua catalana en nuestro lenguaje castellano.* Printed by Pedro Hardouyn. In 8°. Saragossa, 1 July 1535 (Ribelles, p. 48; Palau, p. 121; Ricart, p. 125; López Estrada, p. 21).¹⁰ There is one copy in the Biblioteca de Catalunya (1-II-92).
3. *Tratado llamado Deseoso y por otro nombre Espejo de Religiosos. Agora de nuevo visto y examinado y añadido la quarta y quinta parte que hasta agora no ha sido impressa.* Published at the expense of Juan Medina, “mercader de libros, vezino de Madrid.” In 8°. Toledo, 8 June 1536 (Aguiló, p. 237; Miquel i Planas 1911–14: col. 287; Palau, p. 543; Ricart, pp. 125–26; Pérez, p. 71; López Estrada, pp. 21–22; *Catálogo colectivo*). This is the first edition that incorporates the protagonist’s name into the title and that contains the fourth and fifth parts. There is one copy in the Public Library of Évora (Século XVI, 1225–6), but it lacks the frontispiece.

4. *Tractado llamado Espejo de Religiosos. Nuevamente impresso.* Printed by Dominico de Robertis. In 8°. Seville, 20 June 1536 (Ribelles, p. 48; Palau, pp. 121–22; Domínguez; López Estrada, p. 22; *National Union Catalog*, p. 48). The number of pages that Palau attributes to it—and also the title—suggest that this edition probably had as a base the editions of Seville (1533) or Saragossa (1535)—that is, the editions with only three parts. There is a copy in the library of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (a-h8, i10).
5. *Tratado llamado el Deseoso y por otro nombre Espejo de religiosos. Agora de nuevo visto y examinado y añadido la quarta y quinta parte que hasta agora no ha sido impressa.* Printed by Luis Rodríguez, “librero del Rey nuestro señor.” In 4°. Lisbon, 4 August 1541 (Miquel i Planas 1915–20: col. 472; Anselmo, number 1024; Ribelles, p. 48; Vindel; Palau, p. 122; López Estrada, p. 22; *Catálogo colectivo*). A copy of this edition—with the manuscript inscription that identifies Fra Miquel Comalada as the author—belonged to Ramon Miquel i Planas. The Portuguese Jesuits also took some copies of this edition to Japan. There is one copy in the Biblioteca de Catalunya (7-IV-20).
6. *Tratado llamado el Deseoso y por otro nombre Espejo de religiosos. Agora de nuevo corregido y añadida la sexta parte que hasta agora no ha sido impressa.* Printed by Juan de Ayala. In 4°. Toledo, 14 December 1542 (Torres, p. 698; Thomas, p. 28; Ribelles, p. 48; Palau, p. 122; Ricart, p. 127; Pérez, p. 79; López Estrada, pp. 22–23; *Catálogo colectivo*; *British Library General Catalogue*, p. 39; *National Union Catalog*, p. 48). This edition incorporates the sixth part and the “Guía para el lector.” The expansion of the pastoral episode also begins in this edition. There are copies in the University Library of Saragossa, the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek of Munich (Asc. 1.126), the British Library (C.63.h.17), and in the Hispanic Society of America, New York.
7. *Tratado llamado el Deseoso y por otro nombre Espejo de religiosos.* Printed by Juan de Junta. In 4°. Burgos, 13 December 1548 (Antonio, p. 333; Brunet, col. 627; Torres, p. 698; Graesse, p. 369; Ribelles, p. 49; Palau, p. 122; Ricart, p. 127; López Estrada, p. 23; *Catálogo colectivo*). There are copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (D-5548) and in the Biblioteca Nacional in Lisbon (Res. 234).
8. *Tratado llamado el Deseoso y por otro nombre Espejo de religiosos. Agora de nuevo corregido y añadida la sexta parte que hasta agora no ha sido impressa.* Printed by Juan de Junta. In 4°. Burgos, 1554 (Thomas, p. 28; Ribelles, p. 49; Palau, p. 122; Ricart, p. 127; López Estrada, p. 23; *Catálogo colectivo*; *British Library General Catalogue*, p. 39).¹¹ There are copies in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, the Popular Library of Cordova, in the University Library of Salamanca, and the British Library (C.125.d.13).
9. *Tratado llamado el Deseoso y por otro nombre espejo de religiosos y de devotas personas.* Printed by Juan de Brocar—deceased—and at the expense of Juan Tomás Valenciano. In 8°. Alcalá de Henares, 1554 (Bustamante, p. 256; Palau, p. 122; Ricart, p. 127; López Estrada, p. 23; *Catálogo colectivo*; Martín, pp. 639–40). This is the only edition with this augmented title. Of the copies in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, R-3733 lacks the first two leaves and the last one, and R-8310 lacks the frontispiece and the last leaf; there are also

copies in the University Library of Santiago de Compostela, the Biblioteca Nacional in Lisbon (R. 9762 P and Res. 2737 P), the Public Library of Évora (Século XVI, Res. 3094, núm. 1137), and the Municipal Library of Oporto (RES-XVI-a-76).

10. *Tratado llamado el Deseoso y por otro nombre Espejo de Religiosos*. Printed by Pedro Lasso, at the expense of Simón de Portón. In 8°. Salamanca, 1574 (Antonio, p. 333; Aguiló, p. 237; Miquel i Planas 1915–20: col. 472; Ribelles, p. 49; Palau, p. 122; Ricart, p. 127; López Estrada, p. 24; *Catálogo colectivo*). There is a copy in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid.
11. *Tratado llamado el Deseoso y por otro nombre Espejo de Religiosos. Agora nuevamente corregido y añadida la sexta parte, que hasta agora no ha sido impresa*. Printed by Alonso de Terranova y Neyla. In 8°. Salamanca, 1580 (Antonio, p. 333; Torres, p. 698; Aguiló, p. 237; Gallardo, col. 726; Miquel i Planas 1915–20: col. 472; Graesse, p. 369; Ribelles, p. 49; Palau, p. 122; Ricart, p. 127; López Estrada, p. 24; *Catálogo colectivo*). A copy of this edition was inventoried in Manila in 1583. There are copies in the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico—the copy inventoried in Manila—in the Biblioteca de Catalunya (6-I-20), the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, the Biblioteca del Escorial (M^o 30-II-88), and the Biblioteca Nacional in Lisbon (Res. 3246).
12. *Tratado llamado el Deseoso y por otro nombre Espejo de religiosos. Agora nuevamente corregido y añadida la sexta parte, que hasta agora no ha sido impresa*. Printed by Antonio Álvarez, “impreso con licencia de la Sancta y General Inquisición, y Ordinario.” In 8°. Lisbon, 1588 (Ribelles, p. 49; Palau, p. 122; Ricart, p. 127; López Estrada, p. 24; *Catálogo colectivo*). There are copies in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, the Biblioteca del Escorial (20.VI.33), and the Biblioteca Nacional in Lisbon (Res. 1514).

THE PORTUGUESE EDITION

- O Desejoso ou espelho de monges e pessoas religiosas*. Printed by the Regia Officina Sylviana e da Academia Real. In 8°. Lisbon, 1748 (Palau, p. 122; López Estrada, p. 26; Bover 1981: 137). Translated from the Spanish by Damião de Froes Perim—that is, Fra João de S. Pedro.¹²

NOTES

1. There is a modern edition of it in *Novel·les amoroses i morals* (Pacheco and Bover i Font, eds., pp 187–306). I am preparing an edition for *Els Nostres Clàssics*.
2. “Dans une étude des origines de l’idéal pastoral en Espagne, il faudrait tenir compte du *Tratado llamado el Deseoso, y por otro nombre Espejo de re-*

ligiosos, roman a lo divino, traduit du catalan en castillan par un Hiéronymite. *L'Espill de la vida religiosa* avait paru en 1515. La traduction espagnole, imprimée à Tolède en 1536, avait été augmentée d'une quatrième et d'une cinquième partie (Lisbonne, 1541), puis d'une sixième partie (Burgos, 1548). Au début du livre, on voit le héros, qui est un ermite, converser avec un berger, et le questionner sur la vie pastorale et ses attributs. Le *Desseoso* en six parties sera réimprimé à Lisbonne en 1588 sous les auspices de la Compagnie de Jésus" (Bataillon, p. 694, n. 1).

3. You can read the complete text of the "Guía para el lector" in López Estrada, p. 81.
4. *Sic*. Of course, the text should say "España"; curious and interesting lapse.
5. This edition extracts de text from Gregori Mayans, *Cartas morales, militares, civiles y literarias*, vol. 2 (Valencia, 1773), p. 11.
6. Seán Ua Súilleabháin (1990: 26–36) showed that Ó Maolchonaire also consulted a copy of the original Catalan for his Gaelic version.
7. See Ó Maolchonaire, introduction by Thomas F. O'Rahilly, pp. vii–xvii.
8. As we shall see, the Jesuits were very fond of the *Spill*. Jordi Rubió, in "Confluències de cultures a Barcelona en temps de l'emperador Carles V" (Rubí, p. 99), wondered if Saint Ignatius could have become acquainted with it when he moved to Barcelona, in 1524, and thereby with the *Devotio Moderna* in Montserrat; about this last aspect, see Leturia, pp. 73–88.
9. I give all the available information about formats and locations.
10. There was a copy in the Episcopal Library of Barcelona, left to the library by a man named Francisco Hebelino; this copy came from the Society of Jesus College of Barcelona (Miquel i Planas 1911–14: cols. 286–87; *Discursos*, p. 96).
11. In 1916, the Madrilenian bookseller García Rico y Cía. sold a copy of this edition "sin portada ni preliminares" for 50 PTA (García, p. 314).
12. "Escrito en hespanhol por Fr. Miguel de Comelhada, e traduzido em portuguez" (Silva, p. 6).

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RECOVERING THEIR VOICES: EARLY PENINSULAR WOMEN WRITERS

Kathleen McNerney

Catalan literature by women is as old as medieval troubadour poetry: the first female poet whose identity we can document is the Reina de Mallorca from the first half of the fourteenth century. Her one extant poem, known by its first line, “Ez yeu am tal qu’es bo e bel” (I love one who is good and lovely), is contained in the Miscellaneous Medieval Poetical Manuscript 8 of the Biblioteca de Catalunya and included after the first *giornata* in the Catalan translation of Boccaccio’s *Decameron* of 1429. The love song laments the absence of the beloved husband gone to France: “Que tant me tarda l’abassar / E.l raysonar / E tota res.” The writer has been identified as either Constança d’Aragó (1313–46), sister of King Pere el Cerimoniós, or Violant de Vilaragut, both of whom were wives of King Jaume III of Majorca (d. 1349).¹

The fact that we can narrow down the possibilities of authorship for this poem is attributable to the queen’s rank, class, and wealth; in fact she also belongs to a tradition of women’s poetry that can broadly be described as “laments,” which crossed national, cultural, and linguistic barriers for several centuries. The compositions of the Galician-Portuguese troubadours, particularly the *cantigas de amigo*, are often written in a woman’s voice, and while most medievalists consider this a rhetorical ploy used by male troubadours and based on a long European and Arabic tradition of love songs, I do not think we can assume that all anonymous poems were written by men. In any case, a tradition of writing poetry from a female point of view was well established in several Romance languages from the thirteenth century on, and a great number of anonymous poems collected and published in the various medieval anthologies seem clearly to have been written by women. There are several cycles of

lyric that can be called “laments;” the poem cited above belongs to the category of *cançons d’amiga*. More easily attributable to women are complaints other than those about the absence of the lover, especially the *malmonjades* and *malcasades*, which lament those two possibilities in life, the only two open to most women. In the Castilian *cancioneros* and *romanceros*, so dominated by poets who are either male or anonymous, there are a number of ballads and songs bitterly denouncing such practices as favoritism of boys and such abuses as incest and imprisonment of unsubmitive girls. One of the earliest identifiable women writers with a clear poetic voice of her own is fifteenth-century Florencia Pinar, whose image of a caged bird will reappear in women’s writing and art in many times and places, even as recently as Maya Angelou’s autobiographical novel, *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*.

In Catalan, other women also belonged to the troubadour or post-troubadour tradition. The same Manuscript 8 in which the Queen of Mallorca’s poem is preserved also includes “Axí cant és en muntanya deserta” (Song on a lone mountain), an anonymous rhetorical poem belonging to the late fourteenth century which was presented at one of Toulouse’s annual poetry competitions. The poet compares a series of extreme natural settings—a desert mountain, the four winds—to her desperate love. In the early fifteenth century we find these plaintiff little anonymous verses:

No puc dormir soleta, no.
¿Què em faré, llassa,
si no mi’s passa?
Tant mi turmenta l’amor!

Ai, amic, mon dolç amic!
Somiat vos he esta nit.
¿Què em faré, llassa?

Somiat vos he esta nit
que us tenia en mon llit.
¿Què em faré, llassa?

Ai, amat, mon dolç amat!
Anit vos he somiat.
¿Què em faré, llassa?

Anit vos he somiat
 que us tenia en mon braç.
 ¿Què em faré, llassa? (Castellet and Molas, p. 181).

Manuscript 1744 in the Biblioteca de Catalunya contains the anonymous poem from the late fifteenth century “Ab lo cor trist enviollat d’esmay” (With a sad heart wrapped in grief), written in the voice of a woman who has lost her beloved to death and therefore declares an end to “fin’amor” for her. Tecla Borja (1435–59), niece of Pope Calixtus III and sister of Pope Alexander VI, was a singer, poet, and scholar praised by poets of Valencia and Italy. Her only surviving poem is a response to a piece addressed to her by her great Valencian compatriot, Ausias March.

The *malmonjades*, a cycle dating back to the Latin Middle Ages, is well represented in both Catalan and Castilian. A variety of tones can be seen, from the simplest, “Agora que soy niña / quiero alegría, / que no se sirve Dios / de mi monjía” (Flores and Flores, eds., p. 8), in Castilian, to the angry words in Catalan of the “Monja per força”:

Lassa, mays m’agra valgut
 Que fos maridada,
 O cortés amic agut
 Que can suy monjada;
 Monjada suy a mon dan,
 Pecat gran
 Han fayt, segon mon albir,
 Mas cels qui mesa m’i han,
 En mal an
 Los meta Déu e.ls ayr,
 Car si yo.u hagués saubut,
 Mas fuy un poch fada,
 Qui.m donás tot Montagut
 No hic fora entrada (Massó i Torrents, pp. 405–6).

Some of the Catalan poems, many of which are to be found in the “Cançoneret de Ripoll” (Ms. 129), are more complex, speaking of grief, fear, hope, and passion in the souls of women. These poems were widespread throughout Europe, both before and after Charlemagne’s attempts to suppress them in 789, a prohibition which clearly echoed the earliest ecclesiastical councils’ condemnation of the *cantica puellarum*. In Castile, the anthologists of ballads and songs

included many examples of malcasadas, some of which traveled to the New World. Some take the form of warnings against marriage, as in the two-liner “¿Para qué quiero casarme/si el marido ha de mandarme?” to the bitter curse repeated in “De ser malcasada”: “Cativo se vea/quien me cativó” (Flores and Flores, eds., pp. 16 and 14). Not all the romancero poems are laments, however, and one is occasionally surprised by the freshness of such a humorous and erotic piece as that of María de Marchena:

Lo que más gusto le daba
de la hortaliza del huerto
era, según imagino,
un colorado pimiento,
porque otro como aquél
tuvo su marido Diego,
y el tiempo se lo robó
que todo lo roba el tiempo (González Palencia, vol. 1,
p. 59).

In Galician poetry, neither the malmonjada nor the malcasada tradition is represented in the *cancioneiros*, and as in their Castilian counterparts, for the most part, those poems that carry names are by men. The first known female to write in Galician was Isabel Castro y Andrade, the Countess of Altamira (1520?–1582?). Granddaughter of Don Fernando de Andrade, only two of her poems survive: a Castilian sonnet, “Competencia entre la rosa y el sol,” and a Galician sonnet, “Araucana nação,” dedicated to Alonso de Ercilla, which appears in *La Araucana* (1597).

Much early writing was done in convents, and not all was lamentation. The first female prose writer in Catalan was Isabel de Villena (1430–90), Abbess of the Trinity Convent of Valencia and illegitimate daughter of Enric de Villena. Her only known work is a *Vita Christi* (1487), written for the nuns in her convent and printed by her successor at the request of Queen Isabel. While she follows in outline the tradition of other religious writers, her *Vita* foregrounds women: the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, Saint Anne, and other women who appear in the Gospels. Villena emphasizes such tasks as washing, sewing, child care, and such courtly activities as dancing, music, and fashion. She also takes part in the endless medieval

debate on the good or evil nature of women, challenging misogynistic arguments and holding up Mary as the symbol of female virtue.

Early prose writers in Castile include a lay woman previous to the prolific writings by nuns exemplified by Santa Teresa. Leonor López de Córdoba's sometimes chatty autobiographical *Testamento* is done in the style of the chronicles, relating horrendous events such as pogroms, plagues, imprisonments, and deaths of family members. Teresa de Cartagena (1420/25–1460?) is an erudite nun from a distinguished converso family whose *Admiración operum Dey* is "what we might now call a feminist text" (Surtz, p. 99), as well as "a writer's reflections on the creative process" (Deyermond, p. 25), while at the same time lamenting unjust criticism and a kind of double standard used against her. María de San José's (Salazar) work is a curious link between Santa Teresa and Sor Juana; protégée of the Divine Doctor, her defense of women is a precursor to that of the Mexican nun. And whether María de Agreda's trip to New Mexico in the 1620s was in the flesh, by miraculous "bilocation" (as the Franciscans would have it), or not at all, she left behind the tremendous body of work known under the Augustinian title, *Mística Ciudad de Dios* (1670).

After the brilliance of the fifteenth century in Catalan literature, represented by the two great Valencians, the poet Ausias March and the novelist Joanot Martorell, a long period ensued in which little was written in Catalan. Traditionally known as the *Decadència*, the negative depiction is now undergoing revision by specialists, but the fact remains that it is not a rich period in Catalan literature, a situation paralleled in Galician literature and known there as well as the *Decadencia* or *séculos oscuros*. No women can be found publishing in Galician during this long period, which lasted until the nineteenth century, and the examples of Catalans are mainly religious treatises or poetry and letters. While Isabel de Villena was writing for her nuns, a contemporary Valencian, Isabel Suaris, wrote letters to poet Bernat Fenollar. The sixteenth century also saw one of each: Estefanía de Requesens (1501/08–1549) wrote letters to her mother from the court at Madrid, describing her life in the capital, her duties as administrator of properties and the home, and of course, her children. The letters offer the perspective of a woman on many historical events as well as a chronicle of daily life of the period. At the same time but writing from the Royal Monastery of Santa Maria at Vallbona de les Monges in Lleida, Jerònima de Boixadors (?–1562) wrote

poems in praise of the Virgin and devotions for her convent. There was also apparently some continuation of the tradition of male poets using a female persona: Pere Serafí (1505?–1567) lists a lamentation, “Si em lleví de bon matí” (I got up very early), in which the poetic voice finds itself *tota soleta* and ends each verse with the couplet “Val Déu que estic dolenta! /L’amor és que em turmenta” (Serafí, p. 77).

Two religious writers appear in Catalan in the seventeenth century: Maria de Llúria i de Margola (1630/32–1701), also from Vallbona de les Monges in Lleida, wrote a book of reflections and prayers, her thoughts on a variety of subjects, and her passion for God, following orthodox Catholic teachings of the time. A more philosophical writer of the period is the Majorcan Margalida Baneta Mas Pujol, also known as Sor Anna Maria del Santíssim Sagrament (1649–1700). In addition to her own poetry, she commented and glossed certain works of the Majorcan writer par excellence, Ramon Llull. In a kind of sociological mysticism, Sor Anna strives for a balance between the contemplative and the active religious life in an effort to make of “la terra un paradís . . . un cel” (p. 129).

It is perhaps this long silence in Catalan and Galician that best exemplifies the varying levels of marginalization at work in literature; while we cannot say that the Golden Age in Castilian literature is golden or prolific for women, there are many poets, in and out of the convent, writing in Castilian. Two whose work sounds reminiscent of the unhappy nuns—even though as a literary topoi, the *malmonjades* belonged to the past—are Marcia Belisarda and an unnamed nun from Alcalá. Belisarda, known in the convent as Sor María de Santa Isabel (?–1647), wrote many love poems as well as religious ones. Her “Romance melancólico” expresses extramural longings, and her “Décimas escritas muy de priessa, en respuesta de otras en que ponderaban la mudanza de las mujeres” (Flores and Flores, eds., p. 18), in reply to a male poet complaining about women’s fickleness, predates the famous lines in which Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz so eloquently makes the same point. We know little about the nun from Alcalá except to say that while her religious contemporaries were writing treatises and mystical poetry, she left in her late seventeenth-century “Décimas” a bitter complaint against her parents, who gave her a life “entre hierros y postigos” when she would have preferred “un agrado de un marido / que una grada de

convento" (Flores and Flores, eds., p. 28), echoing the sentiments of the Catalan "Monja per força" of an earlier time.

The towering figure of this long period is undoubtedly María de Zayas, whose attitude about the convent and marriage would have been more in tune with Sor Juana's, for somewhat different reasons. Particularly in the *Desengaños amorosos*, Zayas warns her female readers time and again against the perils of married life, which include tremendous acts of violence against women, described in great detail by the female storytellers that make up the frame of her narrations. The Golden Age in Castile also includes the two women playwright/poets Ana Caro and Leonor de la Cueva. Catalan literature by seventeenth-century women has no parallel to these narrations and dramas, as far as I know.

In the eighteenth century, we find two more Catalan religious writers and a soneteer. Margarita Esplugues (1738-?), a Franciscan Tertiary Virgin from Majorca, wrote poetry and theological papers. Maria Angela Giralt (active 1730s) was a widow who wrote devotional work to be sung in the missions. To close this difficult period for those who would write in Catalan, we find reference to Narcisca Torres, about whom we know nothing except that she wrote two sonnets.

Perhaps widowhood was the best possibility for women, if it could be arranged. The period of the Enlightenment in Castile includes Margarita Hickey, who married a much older man and never remarried after his death. Like some of her male counterparts, she wrote a treatise with a high-sounding title, *Descripción geográfica e histórica de todo el orbe conocido hasta ahora*, but it was rejected by the Real Academia de la Historia. She translated from French and wrote her own poetry, echoing Sor Juana at times in her advocacy of education for women and her painful criticism of the double standard. Josefa Amar y Borbón's essays on behalf of women and her literary contributions are well known, for at least they were published during her lifetime. As representatives of the Enlightenment, Hickey and Amar y Borbón have a Galician counterpart in María Francisca de la Isla y Losada (1734-1808). This stepsister of Padre Isla, in addition to writing his biography and editing his works, wrote Galician poetry. Called the "Musa compostelana" and the "Perla gallega," she ordered her work burned at her death, as Rosalía de Castro would do a century later. Finally, to end this pre-nineteenth-century saga, I

note that on 13 February 1780, Doña María de Hore retired to the convent of Santa María in Cádiz, with the permission of her husband don Estéban Fleming. Known as the "Hija del sol" for her beauty, this native of Cádiz was thirty-eight when she professed, and she wrote prolifically for the rest of her life. She, too, burned some of her work, but much was rescued by her confessor. Her poetry includes love poems, letters to friends and relatives, fables, sonnets, and several images of birds harking back to Florencia Pinar's "A unas perdices que le enviaron vivas."²

Parallel to the Romantic movements in other West European literatures, the political and cultural activity of the middle classes in the Catalan, Galician, and Basque countries led to a blossoming in the nineteenth century. This renaissance, known as the *Renaixença* in Catalonia and the *Rexurdimento* in Galicia, had the added impact of a resurgence of the autochthonous languages, and in the case of women writers, an incipient modern feminism. Ancient medieval poetry contests were reestablished, and literary periodicals and anthologies flourished. It is also the era of the rise and formation of literary criticism, the study of the history of literature, the time of canon-formation, and the makings of classifications on which literary selections were based and judged, on which programs of study were established, mostly by mainstream male scholars.

In Catalonia, the publication in 1833 of Carles Aribau's ode "A la patria" in Catalan was the wellspring of modern literature in that language and the harbinger of the canonical poets Jacint Verdaguer and Joan Maragall. Encouraged by the new movement and full of patriotic feelings, a number of women began to write in Catalan during the second half of the century. Typically, they had begun to write in Castilian but changed to their own language in later years. Recurrent themes are religious and nationalistic feelings, maternal and family sentiments, and in some cases social and political criticism. There is also a discovery of "rootedness" in women's literature, in which a number of writers seek, find, and praise their literary foremothers. Josefa Massanés (1811–87), an early leader of a group of women intellectuals in Barcelona, was praised by Carolina Coronado and biographized by Dolors Monserdà (1845–1919), who was in turn lauded by Carme Karr and later by Maria-Aurèlia Capmany.

Massanés exemplifies the various thematic tendencies in the following examples. Patriotism is foregrounded in "La roja barretina

catalana," where the popular Catalan peasant's cap is a symbol for the virtues of her people, and in "Catalunya," a long poem which opens her first book. Two aspects of Massanés's feminism can be seen in "Les dones catalanes," in which she praises women as transmitters of Catalan language and culture, and "Resolución," in which the bitterly ironic tone denounces the lack of education for women. Dolors Monserdà, the most prolific of the group, wrote plays, novels, stories, and essays, in addition to the poetry so typical of the period. She was the first woman president of the "Jocs florals" and was very active in contributing to, and sometimes directing, some of the many journals addressed to a female public. Particularly concerned with the plight of urban working women, she published a novel, *La fabricant*, in 1904, perhaps inspired by Emilia Pardo Bazán's *La tribuna* of 1882.

Majorcan women contributed to these endeavours as well. Both Victòria Peña (1823/27–98) and Manuela de los Herreros (1845–1911) defended Majorcan linguistic usages, and Herreros wrote in favor of a modern, popular speech, saying in one of her poems: "Parl perquè m'entengan" (p. 209), satirizing those who argued for an archaic regularization of the language. The Valencian poet Magdalena García Bravo (1862–91) is somewhat typical of this group too: she contributed prolifically to the journals of her day, but her only work published in book form was done posthumously, by her parents.

Women writers favored publishing in serials for their accessibility, for both the writer and the reader. But ironically, what made them accessible then has the opposite effect now: the works of the well-known, successful male writers who published serially, like Benito Pérez Galdós, were immediately republished in book form and can now easily be found, but this only happened for women if some ambitious, conscientious, or nostalgic family member undertook the task and expenses. These difficulties are compounded by a lack of confidence in their writings, which led many of these women, if they did not go so far as to destroy their own work, to feel that it was not worth publishing. This movement of renewal was not entirely literary; several of these writers contributed other activities to the cultural and political life of their time, as did some of their Castilian counterparts such as Concepción Arenal. Herreros, for example, espoused such causes as protection of workers and children, as well as

the abolition of trafficking in women. Monserdà supported similar causes and also, like so many others, advocated better education for women.

A similar pattern, on a lesser scale, can be seen in Galicia. Av-elina Valladares (1825–1902) is mentioned in encyclopedias as a humble person who underrated her own work, most of which remains unpublished. Filomena Dato Muruáis (?–1926) wrote for journals and won prizes; like her Catalan counterparts, her first work is in Castilian and she later switched to Galician. Clara Corral (1837–85), perhaps inspired by Rosalía de Castro, wrote praises of the Galician landscape and people. And Castro herself, so well studied for her poetry in Castilian, could use more work on her Galician poetry and essays, as well as on her novels.

Eighteen sixty-nine saw the births of two Catalans and a Galician whose work would begin in the early twentieth century and continue for decades. Francisca Herrera Garrido's Coruña is central to her writing, which includes poetry, novels, and essays for the local papers. She wrote a prologue for the 1925 edition of Castro's *Cantares gallegos* and a poem dedicated to her. Herrera's best work in Galician is the lyrical novel *Néveda*. Linguistically and sociologically, it is of great interest that a woman of Herrera's class wrote in Galician for a Castilian-speaking audience: only the upper classes of her day could read, and they spoke Castilian.

The poetic tradition of the previous century continues in the work of Maria Antònia Salvà, transformed into the Majorcan counterpart of "Modernisme" and "Noucentisme." Her poetry is deeply rooted in her Mediterranean environment and influenced by its customs, including the oral tradition of the *glosadors*, or popular country poets. She was well known as a translator of poetry from English, Italian, Castilian, and French. However, the writings of women of this period are mainly narratives, with a few incursions into theater, and the towering figure of the time is Caterina Albert (Víctor Català). Born in L'Escala, a small coastal town in the province of Girona, Albert alternated between the city life of Barcelona, keeping abreast of innovations in the literary and theatrical scene and the rural environment of her birthplace. After a traditional, basic education, she set up her own disciplined program of reading and study at home, hiring tutors for art classes. Like many other women writers of the time, Albert began by writing poetry, contributing to *Renaixença*

journals, and winning a prize in the Jocs Florals of Olot in 1898. Her masculine pseudonym, along with the themes of violence and brutality in her work, not to mention the prejudices of the time, contributed to an assessment of Albert as a “masculine” writer. She was prolific in all genres, but her best-known work is the novel *Solitud* (1905), whose female protagonist struggles for survival in an isolated rural environment. This work is representative of Albert’s production in its use of *costumisme*, with elements of realism, naturalism, romanticism, and a rich regional vocabulary. In 1923, Albert became the first woman to be elected to the Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona. A number of other Catalan writers were working during this prewar era in theater and prose; among them were Palmira Ventós (Felip Palma), Carme Karr, and Carme Montoriol, who devoted herself to cultural activities on behalf of the republic and stopped writing, like so many others, as a result of the war.

The earliest known woman writer in Euskera is nineteenth-century Bizenta Mogel Elgezabal (1782–1845). Born in Azkoitia (Gipuzkoa), she published a book of fables based on Aesop’s tales under the title *Ipui Onac* (1804; Good stories).³ While the flowering of regional political and linguistic awareness did not result in any other Basque women writers in the nineteenth century, several women were born near the end of the century whose contributions to Basque culture would appear on the literary scene of the early twentieth century. Until this renaissance, publications in Basque consisted mainly of religious and ascetic tracts. Those who formed groups to set up annual competitions, prizes, literary reviews, and floral games to encourage the literary use of Basque drew on a rich and ancient oral tradition. The first female voices in Basque, then, are linked to this blossoming of autochthonous outpourings. These women wrote poems, plays, and stories with rural local settings, and much of their work was directed to children. Robustiana Mújica and Julene Azpeitia, both born in 1888, wrote for children, and the title of one of Azpeitia’s works, “Amandriaren altzoan” (On godmother’s lap), attests to the importance of the role of women as storytellers and transmitters of culture. Rosario Artola and Rosa Bustinza both have poems in the landmark 1954 anthology, *Mila euskal olerki eder* (One thousand beautiful Basque poems). Katalina Eleizegi wrote historical plays, and Eustaquia Lizundia published stories written in epistolary form. While all these cultural activities from the periph-

ery of the Spanish state were truncated by the war and its aftermath, these writers are the literary foremothers of a splendid post-Franco renaissance in all regions of the peninsula.

NOTES

1. For further information on medieval women Catalan writers, see Lola Badia's several entries in McNerney and Enríquez, eds. For my translation into English of "Ez yeu am tal qu'es bo e bel," see *Catalan Review* 5,2 (1991): 163–67.
2. Hore's "Noticia biográfica," along with several of her poems, appears in volume 67 of the *Biblioteca de autores españoles* (pp. 553–59). The introduction also traces a history of her papers and documents.
3. An excellent source on literature written by women in Euskera is the doctoral dissertation of Linda White. White also discusses earlier women writers who formed part of the oral tradition. Many thanks to Maite Núñez-Betelu for her help on Basque questions.

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A VOICE OF HER OWN: JERÓNIMA DE GALES, A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY WOMAN PRINTER

María del Mar Fernández-Vega

In 1557 an edition of *Cronica del Rey En Jaume* was printed in Valencia, on the presses of the widow of Joan Mey.¹ Pedro Salvá y Mallén praises the piece as a particularly outstanding example of sixteenth-century Spanish printing (Salvá, vol. 2, no. 2984):

Los ejemplares en papel ordinario son de tamaño folio regular español; pero el mío, que sin duda se hizo para regalar a Carlos V, a quien va dirigida la Chronica por los jurados de Valencia, es en fol. marq. No he visto otro tirado sobre papel grande y es tan hermoso que sin vacilar puede presentarse como el modelo más perfecto y magnífico de la tipografía española del siglo XVI.

Salvá further discusses Mey as a “distinguido tipógrafo” and the “progenitor de los no menos célebres Felipe, Pedro Patricio y Aurelio, a quienes se deben las mejores obras que se publicaron en Valencia hasta cerca del 1630.” Interestingly, Salvá assumes in his discussion that while the press would have been the property of Mey’s widow, it would have been run by their eldest son Felipe, though no known works can be attributed to him alone until 1589.

Salvá’s views of the control of printing presses of sixteenth-century Iberia and their organizational structure are typical of both literary criticism and bibliographic studies in the nineteenth century and to a great extent even in the twentieth. While any standard list of printers active in a given city throughout the sixteenth century (and increasingly in the seventeenth) will contain numerous examples of presses clearly managed by the wives or widows of printers, attention to them and their role in the presses even if nominally under their control is noticeably absent in critical studies.²

It is generally recognized in history that female participation in society was relegated to the private realm, but it is not clear why the achievements of this small number of women have been overlooked or simply ignored. Their special circumstances—in particular widowhood—allowed them to transgress the private space of the home. Thus women who frequently exercised their profession with great skill and were duly recognized during their lifetime, are habitually forgotten in otherwise valuable academic studies.

The purpose of the present study is to explore the situation of women as printers, their role in guilds, and the specific difficulties they had to confront. I will focus on the exceptional case of Jerónima de Gales, whose name appears in Valencian colophons beginning in 1556 and who supervised, directly and indirectly, the production of the press inherited from her first husband until her death, sometime after 1587.

So far as we know, few women held the responsibility of managing typesetting workshops.³ In order to direct a printing press a person had to have a knowledge of printing techniques, a small number of employees, considerable business skills, and sufficient grounding in culture and commerce to determine what to print. Until well into the sixteenth century—1551 to be exact—no names of women appeared in any colophons. The widows of Carles Amorós and Hubert Gotart in Barcelona and Jerónima de Gales in Valencia are the only three women who directed printing presses for any significant length of time.⁴ Although there was a notable increase in women's visibility in the seventeenth century, nothing suggests that their conditions of work or opportunities to practice their trade improved.⁵

Because the "natural" space of women has long been considered the home, women became paid workers only in cases of economic necessity. A woman worked only if her family was poor and she had no viable alternative in accumulating a dowry in order to contract marriage.⁶ The name of a wife or daughter who worked in her husband's or father's printing press never appeared in any document until her male counterpart was dead and she had been named heiress; her role within the family unit precluded any mention or contract in the family business. The few documents that confirm that women indeed worked are primarily concerned with otherwise exceptional or unusual situations.⁷ By virtue of her widowhood, a woman's situation could change, and consequently some were able to place them-

selves at the head of businesses where they exercised managerial responsibilities otherwise usually denied them. Among printers' widows, there were very few who used their own names in the colophons; frequently they identified themselves as "viuda de. . ." In this, they continued to present themselves as bound to the men who effectively created their identity in society.⁸ From what is known about these women, none contracted with female apprentices, and, unlike their sons, their daughters never followed in their footsteps. Women, exceptions in the world of printers, worked within the guidelines of the masculine domain. Their publications sought out a large readership which would immediately grant economic benefits.

Centuries before printing came to Spain, artisans had already organized themselves into guilds.⁹ As opposed to other lines of work, nothing compelled printers to join these organizations, but studying other artisan guilds can provide a set of guidelines regarding the status of women in the professional world.¹⁰ The documents which have been preserved imply an "ideal" state of these associations from the point of view of master artisans. Nothing is known of officials, apprentices, or the women who exceptionally became part of this world. According to Natalie Zemon Davis, particular characteristics were common to women in guilds.¹¹ Among these were a lack of personal identity in relation to their tasks and a necessary adaptation to the work of their husbands. Furthermore, women's lack of specialization made them more suited to temporary jobs; their work in the guilds was always subsidiary, and they were absent from the statutes of these organizations. Only the widow of a master artisan already part of a guild would have been able to continue a business as its manager, and this did not always occur even in those circumstances. The case related by Pierre Bonassie (p. 138) illustrates the lamentable situation in which many of these widows lived: in 1486 a wool weaver's widow had just buried her husband when other members of the guild broke into the workshop to take away the tools lest the widow continue her labors. The judicial authority of the town showed "benevolence" by forcing the squatters to return all the tools and allowing the widow to work for three months—time enough to look for alternative economic means.

If a widow sought to preserve her rights to a printing workshop when entering into a second marriage, her new husband was required to hold the same profession as the former. Widows who

joined guilds had to comply with the same regulations and obligations as men in those associations, but they did not enjoy the same benefits or rights; for example, they were not permitted to teach their profession.

Within the world of printing, it was common for families to devote themselves to this profession for several generations. For women, the family connection was practically irreplaceable. Few of them became formal apprentices in a printer's workshop. A determining factor may have been the press itself. Davis suggests that certain disincentives existed which rendered it particularly difficult for women to participate in this profession: operating a printing press required considerable physical strength. Moreover, only a small percentage of women read well enough to be entrusted with the job of placing the type.¹² Additionally, the press was a powerful medium of communication, one that spread ideas, a realm generally closed to women's contributions. Despite the many obstacles created by women's lack of education and the limitations imposed by their society, a few found ways to surmount the social order and managed print shops that brought forth great works.

Jerónima de Gales stands out in this panorama for both her numerous years of work within the world of Valencian printing and the high quality of the many publications which bore her name. She outlived two marriages to two printers, Joan Mey, who died in 1555, and Pedro Huete, to whom she was married between 1559 and 1580. She had two children by her first husband, Pedro Patricio and Felipe Mey, and both became printers.¹³

We may begin by considering the role of Jerónima de Gales's first husband, Joan Mey, a native of Flanders who had established himself in Valencia in early 1535. Beginning in 1544, Joan Mey produced numerous stamped works of great typographical novelty.¹⁴ Soon, however, his need for a larger market and better economic prospects made it necessary for him to relocate to Murcia. Worried by the absence of a printer of this quality, the Municipal Council of Valencia took a personal interest in the matter:

. . . lo honorable en Joan Mey stampador sta huy en la ciutat de murcia e aquell diu que no vendria ni tornaria a la dita ciutat a causa de no poder viure en aquella per star la ciutat molt cara e en aquella nos stampen sino molt poques obras.¹⁵

The *Jurado*, the mayor of the city, granted him an annual stipend of 15 libras to assist with rental payments for his house. The city agreed to make these payments for three years, beginning on 1 January 1550, if Mey and his family continued living in Valencia. The reference to his family allows us to assume that by 1549 Mey was already married to Jerónima de Gales.

The following year, Mey's subsidy would be increased to 20 libras per year. Later the payment was raised to 30 libras per year for the next ten years, on the condition that he maintain a working printing press. Nevertheless, he moved to Alcalá de Henares and maintained presses in both cities for more than a year. Thus a "*pragmática real*" appeared in Alcalá de Henares, bearing 5 October 1552 as the date of publication "en casa de Joan Mey Flando." According to Catalina García, at least seven books issued from Mey's press in Alcalá de Henares in 1553, while seven other works appeared under his name in Valencia.¹⁶

One might ask who was running the print shop in Valencia while the new business in Alcalá was getting under way. It is reasonable to assume that the newly formed business would not have been entrusted to anyone other than Mey himself. Moreover, the distance between Alcalá de Henares and Valencia is significant, and the trip, especially in the sixteenth century, was long and arduous. Three years later, upon the death of Joan Mey, Jerónima demonstrated that she was indeed capable of continuing on with the printing business. Hence, one must ask if the books published in Valencia in 1553 were in large part attributable to the work of Jerónima de Gales even though they appeared under her husband's name.

In 1554 the press in Alcalá closed, and Mey continued working in Valencia. According to Serrano i Morales, Joan Mey died at either the end of 1555 or the beginning of the following year. That February Valencia's Municipal Council paid Jerónima the same amount, 15 libras, it had paid her husband every six months. This renovation of the stipend, not an issue of late payments, reaffirms what was previously stated: it was not the intention of the Municipal Council to give alms to a poor widow, but rather to maintain a press which brought prestige to the city. It appeared to be common knowledge that Jerónima was able to run the print shop at the highest level even without her husband. In 1556 alone, the first year that Jerónima managed the business, the press brought forth five books, all of

which found a secure market among the humanist and university readership of Valencia.¹⁷ In 1557 the *Cronica del Rey En Jaume* came forth, the work which, in the words of Salvá, could be considered “el modelo más perfecto y magnífico de la tipografía española del siglo XVI.” With the coat of arms of the Diputación Valenciana, and thus clearly commissioned by it, Mey’s widow published Ramón Muntaner’s *Crónica del Rey don Jaume* in 1558.¹⁸ It may be concluded that Jerónima de Gales’s publications were works of great significance. She did not deal with mediocre productions in an effort to ensure her financial survival; rather, her books were of the highest professional caliber.

By 19 June 1559 Jerónima was already married to Pedro de Huete. The Municipal Council of Valencia, faced with the fear that the newlyweds would move to Alcalá, offered them a notable increase in the subsidy originally obtained by Joan Mey. It increased the payment from 30 to 50 libras and in exchange required the printers to stay in Valencia for the rest of their lives:

. . . la dita hieronima gales y de mey es casada ab en pedro de guete y perque ses magnificencias an entes que lo dit en pedro de guete sen volia anar de la present ciutat ab tots los aparells de imprimir y en cara que la dita hieronima gales muller de aquell se fos obligada per lo dit temps de deu anys e pero perque la muller tostemps hauria de seguir a son marit per ço considerat que los dits en pedro de guete y hieronima gales muller de aquell son persones molt abils y tenen molts gentils aparells peral dit seu offici y exercici.¹⁹

Throughout the document, the names of Pedro de Huete and Jerónima de Gales are cited with equal frequency, and it is clear that Jerónima was not relegated to a secondary status in their professional relationship. This is made explicit by the appearance in the document of the signature and oath of both spouses. It can be deduced that Pedro de Huete was present when the agreement was drawn up, and although Jerónima was not, she is constantly taken into account:

. . . en vicent honorat vidal ciutada de la cita ciutat lo qual com fos present fonch interrogat per lo honorable Rebedor si era consent de fer la dita fermança e principal obligacio juntament ab los

mits conjuyes et sens et insolidum *no haja ffermat encara la dita hi-eronima gales era content de ffer la dita fermança.*²⁰

Despite remarrying, Jerónima continued to use the printing insignia of her first husband and to claim that the work was printed in the “casa de Ioan Mey” or “Ex officina Ioannis Mey.” For that reason, Philippe Berger’s suggestion that Pedro de Huete took control of printing operations even before their marriage is paradoxical.²¹ Berger bases his claim on the fact that Huete’s name appeared alone in the *Libro de Tacha Real* in 1552, which states that he paid “cuatro sueldos” in tax:

la ausencia de J. de Mey (o de su viuda) en este registro de la Tacha Real permite suponer, por un lado, que fue redactado después de 1555, año de la muerte de J. de Mey (S.M., p. 298), y por otro, que fue P. de Huete quien se encargó de la dirección técnica del taller de J. Mey, tras la muerte de éste, tal como sugería Serrano Morales.²²

Various circumstances suggest that the contrary was true. First, Serrano i Morales never states this was the situation. The *Corts* that ordered this *Tabla Real* met in 1552, and Joan Mey did not die until three or four years later. Jerónima and Pedro de Huete married six or seven years after the date of the *Corts*. According to the *Tabla Real*, Pedro de Huete and “sis fils” were to pay only four sueldos, whereas in the register that corresponds to the *Corts* of 1542, Joan Mey paid ten sueldos and fifteen sueldos in 1547. It is not reasonable to conclude that the same printing shop, with similar production, would pay much less tax five years later. Furthermore, it is unlikely that the mention of “sis fils” was a reference to the children of Joan Mey. Although the absence of the Mey family from the register is yet to be explained, that circumstance does not suffice to suggest that Pedro de Huete managed the business alone for a span of time before his marriage.

In 1568, more than ten years after his marriage to Jerónima, the name of Pedro de Huete first appeared in the colophons. During those same years, eighty-three volumes can be attributed to Mey’s print shop, none of which bear Huete’s name. Beginning in 1568, the colophons cited Pedro de Huete as the printer but upon renewing the stipend in 1573, the *Jurado* of the city did not limit itself to

naming Huete as the head of family. Instead, as many references are made to Jerónima de Gales as to Huete throughout the document, and the plural is maintained in references to the business: “pedro huete e hieronima de gales conyuges *stampadors* durant la vida de *aquells*.”²³

Following the death of Huete, Jerónima reappeared in the colophons as “viuda de Pedro de Huete” (August 1581). At that point, Jerónima began a collaborative effort with her son Pedro Patricio, who would become her successor after her death in 1587. It is interesting to note the provision of 8 February 1582, whose initial version referred only to Jerónima de Gales and was later amended to include the name of her son:

Los Jurats pagau a la honor hieronyma gales y de guete viuda (*interlineado el nombre que sigue del hijo de ésta*) y pedro patricio y de mey los quals tenen (*enmendado, y decia antes: la qual te*) la stampa de la present ciutat.²⁴

A final commentary addresses the only known sonnet written by Jerónima and published in the foreword of the 1562 Castillian translation of Paulo Jovio’s *El libro de las historias*, a work that appeared some three years after she married Pedro de Huete, the man believed by some to have managed the printing press on his own from the very beginning:

Puesto que aquel mugeril flaco bullicio
no deve entremeterse en arduas cosas,
pues luego dizen lenguas maliciosas,
que es sacar a las puertas de su quicio;

Si el voto mío vale por *mi officio*,
y haver sido una entre las mas curiosas,
que de *ver e imprimir* las mas famosas
historias ya *tengo uso y exercicio*:

Iovio latino deste tiempo ha sido
el mas rico escritor, y mas ilustre
que ha visto ni vera el suelo toscano:

Y hale dado Español y de más lustre
el docto Villafranca, agradescido
serás a él y a mí, lector humano

The sonnet's quatrains are especially relevant to the question of Jerónima's status as a woman printer in sixteenth-century Valencia. First acknowledging the widely held notion that women should not "entrometerse en arduas cosas" like printing books, she immediately underscored the "malicious" nature of that prejudice ("dizen lenguas maliciosas, / que es sacar a las puertas de su quicio"). Confronted with the need to authorize her discourse, she found an unusual rationale in the fact that she exercised a trade with great success. The sonnet demonstrates the self-assurance of a woman who introduced herself into the male-dominated world where she proclaimed who was or was not to be considered a good poet. Conscious of her talent and her worth, Jerónima's "yo" is not hidden but rather displayed proudly. Indeed, the final tercet of the poem announces that three years after her marriage to Pedro de Huete, she, not her husband, exercised control over her printing:

Y hale dado Español y de mas lustre
el docto Villafranca, *agradescido*
seras a él, y a mí, lector humano.

By now it should be evident that, married to Pedro de Huete or not, it was Jerónima who managed the printing press in Valencia. Perhaps the real mystery is Pedro de Huete's role in the business, given Jerónima's confidence in her position and the respect she was shown by her contemporaries. Further studies will continue to elucidate this and other cases of women's active role in the printing trade during the sixteenth century in Spain.

NOTES

1. Mariano Aguiló y Fuster, *Catálogo de obras en lengua catalana impresas desde 1474 hasta 1860* (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1927) [= Aguiló], n. 2817; Margarita Bosch Cantallops, *Contribución al estudio de la imprenta valenciana en el siglo XVI* (Madrid: Ed. de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1989 [= Bosch], n. 391; Antonio Palau i Dulcet, *Manual del librero hispanoamericano*, 2d ed., 28 vols. (Barcelona: Libreria Palau, 1977) [= Palau], vol. 7, n. 122783; Salvá y Mallén, *Catálogo de la biblioteca Salvá escrito por D. Pedro Salvá Mallén, enriquecido con la descripción de otras muchas obras* (Valen-

cia: Imprenta de Ferrer de Orga, 1872) [= Salvá], vol. 2, n. 2984. See also José Enrique Serrano i Morales, *Reseña histórica en forma de diccionario de las imprentas que han existido en Valencia desde la introducción del arte tipográfico en España hasta el año 1868, con noticias bio-bibliográficas de los principales impresores* (Valencia: F. Domenech, 1899).

2. In recent years the study of medieval women has paved the way for research on women in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. *Arabes, judías y cristianas: Mujeres en la Europa medieval*, ed. Celia del Moral (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1993), contains, along with articles, three bibliographical sections: "Bibliografía sobre mujeres cristianas," by Pilar Bravo Lledo; "Bibliografía para el estudio de las mujeres en el mundo árabe medieval, con especial referencia a Al-Andalus," by Nadia Lachiri and Celia del Moral; and "Bibliografía sobre la mujer judía," by José R. Ayaso, María José Cano, and Moisés Orfali.
3. The situation of women printers in the rest of Europe was similar to that in Spain. See Susan Lenky, "Printers' Wives in the Age of Humanism," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 1975, pp. 331–37; Sylvie Postel-Lecocq, "Femmes et presses à Paris au XVIème siècle: Quelques exemples," in *Le Livre dans l'Europe de la Renaissance* (Paris: Promodis, 1988), pp. 253–63; Mary Prior, "Women and the Urban Economy: Oxford 1500–1800," in *Women in English Society 1500–1800* (London and New York: Routledge, 1985), pp. 93–117; Beatrice Beech, "Charlotte Guillard: A Sixteenth Century Business Woman," *Renaissance Quarterly* 36 (1983): 345–67; Clive Griffin, "Brígida Maldonado, 'Ynprimidora' sevillana, viuda de Juan Cromberger," *Archivo Hispalense* 233 (1993): 83–117.
4. Clara L. Penney, *List of Books Printed 1601–1700* (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1938), includes an appendix, "A Check List of Hispanic Printing Sites and Printers 1468?–1700," from which I have gathered the following names. I should mention that if a woman like Jerónima de Gales, the widow of two men, signed her work with different names (her own, the first husband's, or the second's), the connection has not been made, and she appears as different women in the business. I have preferred to respect Penney's redaction of the list instead of making my own changes. In Barcelona: Viuda de Carles Amorós (1551–1554), viuda de Hubert Gotart (1590–1591); in Valencia: Viuda de Juan Mey Flandro, Viuda Ioannis Mey Flandro (1556–1558), Viuda de Pedro Huete (1582–1584).
5. The following seventeenth-century names belong exclusively to Catalan-speaking areas. Barcelona: Viuda Elizabet Tomara (1627), Viuda Mathevada (1644–1650), Viuda de Pere Lacavalleria (1646), Viuda de Llorens (1647), Elena Déu, Viuda de Llorens Déu (1648–1650), Viuda de Pere Joan Dexeu (1649), Catharina Mathevad (1651–1662); Gerona: Imprenta de María Bró i Nicolau, Viuda, administrada por Fermín Nicolau, calle de las Ballesterías (1699?); Lérida: Viuda de Anglada & Andrés Lorenzo (1628–1629), Margarita Anglada (1629), Casteñ & La Viuda de Anglada (1632); Valencia: Viuda de Juan Crisóstomo Garriz (1631–1640), Viuda de Joŕsee Gasch (1647–1650), Viuda de Silvestre Esparza (1660–1663), Viuda de Bernardo Nogués

(1662–1663), Viuda de Francisco Ciprés (1675), Isabel Juan Vilagrasa, Viuda de Francisco Mestre, junto al Molino de Rovella (1675–1712), Viuda de Benito Macé (1677–1691).

6. Jesús Lalinde Abadia, *La dote y sus privilegios en el derecho catalán* (Barcelona: Ed. Anabis, 1962); Milagros Rivera, "Normativa y litigios en torno a la dote durante la época de Jaime II," *Actas de las Terceras Jornadas de Investigación Interdisciplinaria: Las mujeres en las ciudades medievales* (Madrid: UAM, 1984).
7. Domínguez Ortiz, "La mujer en el tránsito de la Edad Media a la Moderna," *Estudios de historia económica y social de España* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1987), describes a case that was written down because it was related to a famous instance of adultery in Seville: the couple managed a silk workshop in which each member had specific tasks: while the husband was on the main floor managing the work of officials and apprentices, the wife was on the first floor, "donde distribuía la materia prima y también, al parecer, ejercía otras actividades ajenas a la industria" (p. 155).
8. Olwen Hufton begins his essay, "Women, Work, and Family," *A History of Women: Renaissance and Enlightenment Paradoxes* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), pp. 15–45, by discussing the definition of a woman that Richard Steele gave in 1710: "A woman is a daughter, a sister, a wife, and a mother, a mere appendage of the human race (*The Tatler* . . . n. 172)."
9. Pierre Bonassie, *La organización del trabajo en Barcelona a fines del siglo XV* (Barcelona: CSIC, 1975); A. López Ayala, "La contribución de las mujeres al trabajo gremial," and J. Doncel i Cabot, "La dona dins el sistema gremial," *I col.loqui d'història de la dona* (Barcelona, 1986).
10. Angela Muñoz Fernández and Cristina Segura Graiño, eds., *El trabajo de las mujeres en la Edad Media hispana* (Madrid: Al-Mudayna, Instituto de la Mujer, Ministerio de Cultura, 1988); M. C. Carle, *La sociedad hispano-medieval. Grupos periféricos: Las mujeres y los pobres* (Barcelona: Gedisa, 1988).
11. Natalie Zemon Davis, "Women in the Crafts in Sixteenth-Century Lyon," *Feminist Studies* (Spring 1982): 47–80.
12. Education for women was relegated to learning skills useful around the house, and few were introduced to reading, writing, and arithmetic. Just as an anecdote, but interesting to know, is the advice that Huarte de San Juan gives in his *Examen de ingenios* (cap. XVIII, art. III): "Los padres que quisieren gozar de hijos sabios y que tengan habilidad para las letras han de procurar que nazcan varones, porque las hembras, por razón de la frialdad o humedad de su sexo, no pueden alcanzar ingenio profundo; solo vemos que hablan con alguna apariencia de habilidad en materias livianas y fáciles, con términos comunes y muy estudiados, pero metidas en letras no pueden aprender más que un poco de latín, y esto por ser obra de la memoria. De la cual rudeza no tienen ellas la culpa, sino que la frialdad y humedad que las hizo hembras, estas mismas cualidades hemos probado que contradicen al ingenio y habilidad."

13. Felipe Mey was a recognized humanist professor of prosody and Greek at the University of Valencia and author of several works.
14. Jaime Moll, "Las cursivas de Juan Mey," *El libro antiguo español* 1 (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1988), pp. 295–304.
15. Serrano i Morales, p. 290.
16. Juan Catalina García, *Ensayo de una tipografía complutense* (Madrid: M. Tello, 1889). The bibliographic references to the Valencian books printed under Mey's name in 1553 are the following: Aristóteles, . . . in *Porphyrj institutiones, et in universum Aristotelis organum versio* (Bosch, n. 332; Palau, vol. 13, n. 223079); Baltasar Bou, *De sphaera mundi* (Bosch, n. 333; Palau, vol. 2, n. 33794); Andrés Sempere compile Cassander, *Tabulas breves . . . in praeceptiones Rhetoricae* (Bosch, n. 334; Palau, vol. 20, n. 307388); San Juan Clímaco, *Libro llamado escala espiritual*, translated into castillian by Bernardino (Bosch, n. 335; Francisco Vindel, *Manual gráfico descriptivo del bibliófilo hispanoamericano*, 12 vols. (Madrid, 1930–34), p. 630); Galeno, *De urinis liber spurius* (Bosch, n. 337); Galesius, *Epitome troporumac schematum* (Bosch, n. 338); Terentius, *Comoediae sex* (Bosch, n. 342).
17. *Doctrina confesional*, by Thomas Real Prevere (Bosch, n. 386; Palau, vol. 25, n. 251828); *Breviarium secundum ritum sanctae ac deuotae cathedralis Ecclesiae Segobricensis* (Bosch, n. 377; Serrano i Morales, p. 298); the first edition of *Apposita M.T. Ciceronis*, gathered by Pedro Juan Nuñez (Bosch, n. 379; Gallardo, vol. 3, n. 3232; Palau, vol. 3, n. 54357); *Selecta tum Beati Patris Illefosii, tum etiam aliorum Sanctorum pronunciata, de perpetua viginitate Sacrosancte Matris Dei Mariae*, by Fray Miguel Alfonso de Carranza (Bosch, n. 382; Palau, vol. 3, n. 44972).
18. Aguiló, n. 2819; Bosch, n. 394; Palau, vol. 10, n. 184823.
19. Serrano i Morales, p. 301.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 302.
21. In a document that Philippe Berger reproduces and that corresponds to "Libreros e impresores censados en el registro de la Tacha Real correspondiente a las Cortes de 1552," a reference is made to "Pedro de huete stampador ab sis fils." Berger admits not having found documents relating to Huete and remits all his considerations and comments to Serrano i Morales. See Philippe Berger, *Libro y lectura en la Valencia del Renacimiento* (Valencia: Ed. Alfonso el Magnànim, 1987).
22. Berger, vol. 2, p. 547, note 11.
23. Serrano i Morales, p. 303.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 305.

**MOTHERS, DAUGHTERS, AND THE MOTHER
TONGUE: MARTÍN GAITE'S *EL CUARTO DE ÁTRAS*
AND ROIG'S *EL TEMPS DE LES CIRERES***

Emilie L. Bergmann

In these two novels of the *transición*, Carmen Martín Gaité and Montserrat Roig consider the influence of the political and social constraints of the Franco dictatorship on their respective generations. *El temps de les cireres* was published in 1977 as part of a trilogy that traces the differences and similarities among generations of women in a Catalan family in their historical context. *El cuarto de atrás*, published in 1978, is a memoir conceived as a tapestry of cultural discourses that shaped the generation that came of age in the years following the civil war. Roig, born in 1946, belonged to the generation of daughters to whom Martín Gaité refers in her 1987 dedication to *Usos amorosos de la postguerra*: “Para todas las mujeres españolas, entre cincuenta y sesenta años, que no entienden a sus hijos. Y para sus hijos, que no las entienden a ellas.” (It is worth noting that she refers generically to children, and not specifically to daughters.) The protagonist of Roig’s novel, Natàlia Miralpeix, is eight years older than the author, placing her fictional birth during the Civil War and locating her on the boundary between the two generations in Martín Gaité’s dedication. When the same character reappears in *L’hora violeta*, she categorizes women’s roles in terms of mythology: the faithful wife Penelope and the freewheeling, unmarried Calypso, seeing herself as a combination of both. This ambivalence and her years of exile give her a dual perspective on personal relationships and historical events, but in *El temps de les cireres* it does not bring her closer to an understanding of her mother’s generation. In *El cuarto de atrás*, Martín Gaité’s protagonist engages in dialogue not only with a floating masculine signifier, but also implicitly with that postwar generation in need of a cultural interpreter.

The third-generation Mundeta in Roig's *Ramona, adéu* tries to recollect and imagine her mother's and grandmother's lives— how they are like hers and how they came to have such different attitudes and values. As Anjouli Janzon points out in her dissertation on women novelists' rewriting of history, this is a historical project, inscribing women's dreams and desires in their cultural, political, and socioeconomic context and reevaluating their roles in a historical process they witness indirectly and in fragments. Elizabeth Ordóñez posits connections between the projects of Spanish women writers of the 1980s and French feminist theories of women's writing, in particular Kristeva's proposal of "new modes of expression," subversive alternatives to patriarchal language, and Cixous's and Irigaray's "Utopian" vision of the rewriting of "phallogocentric history." "Of supreme importance to the writing of this new history is an attempt to recuperate close ties between mother and daughter, or more broadly, with woman's matrilineal heritage" (Ordoñez 1987: 47). Elizabeth Rogers observes that the women in *Ramona, adéu* "possess a hidden female history which can be recovered, re-membered, and revealed only through language" (p. 105). Although her analysis focuses on cyclical repetition in the lives of successive generations of women in *Ramona, adéu*, Rogers's analysis of narrative techniques of fragmentation, gaps, silences, and misinformation applies to the lack of communication among the generations of men and women in *El temps de les cireres*.

For the generations of women in Roig's trilogy, their options within the bourgeois Catalan family are disappointing. Catherine Davies observes that the "deferral of narrative closure does suggest possibility for change," and she sees these women's search as "open-ended" although she finds that "the overall mood is bleak" (p. 27). In *El temps de les cireres*, the protagonist, Natàlia, participates in a student demonstration and in the sexual revolution, both of which are historical processes that fail to deliver on their promise of political and personal transformation and fulfillment. Martín Gaité's fictional dialogue retrieves her generation's fantasies about relationships with men, while Roig's narrative brings together the sexual disillusionment of three generations of women. Catherine Bellver observes that what is found most often in Roig's trilogy, *Ramona, adéu*, *El temps de les cireres*, and *L'hora violeta*, "is not the theme of love itself but those subordinate themes implying its loss

or failure: unrequited love, insufficient love, unhappiness in marriage compounded by the meaninglessness of daily existence, a desire for freedom from the oppression of love, and a longing for love" (p. 111).

The title of *El temps de les cireres* is taken from a French poem with strong political connotations, "Le Temps des cerises," written by French Communist poet Jean-Baptiste Clément in 1866 and recorded by Yves Montand in a musical setting in the 1950s. The protagonist recalls how her friend Emilio, a political activist, explained his continuing struggle against political oppression and hope for political, economic, and social plenitude while recognizing that this would not abolish the inevitable disappointments of love (*El temps de les cireres* abbreviated as TC):

Creus que això s'acabarà algun dia?, repetí. L'Emilio no contestà. A cau d'orella, li xiulà una cançó. Què xiules?, li preguntà ella. Una cançó que escriví un poeta de la Commune francesa. J.B. Clément, es deia. Veus, aquest poeta volia que arribés el temps de les cireres:

Quand vous en serez au temps des cerises
Si vous n'aimez pas les chagrins d'amour
Evitez les belles
Moi qui ne crains pas les peines cruelles
Je ne vivrai point sans souffrir un jour
Quand vous en serez au temps des cerises
Vous aurez aussi des chagrins d'amour. . . . (TC, p. 120)

. . . El poeta no ignorava, continuà l'Emilio, que al temps de les cireres també hi hauria penes d'amor, però el desitjava. Jo també vull que arribi, el nostre temps de les cireres. (TC, p. 122).

The Miralpeix, Claret, and Ventura families in Roig's trilogy are centered in Barcelona with a crumbling family estate in Gualba and occasional cultural excursions, not to Madrid, but to Perpignan. The language of Roig's novels is Catalan, with English phrases learned by the protagonist of *El temps de les cireres* during her years in England, and Castilian spoken by police and by working-class Andalusians. During a student meeting in the mid-1960s Castilian-speaking students bring the question of class to the foreground. The artistic world of Catalan poetry and painting and the experience of the Sec-

ond Republic and the Civil War are central to Roig's older characters. Martín Gaité's geographical range is Castilian: the protagonist, Carmen, like the author, grew up in Salamanca, visited her grandmother in Madrid, and studied "abroad" in Portugal. Despite her Galician roots, Martín Gaité's fascination is with Castilian language usage and ideological history.

The key to memory for both novels is a significant death. For Martín Gaité, the Proustian *madeleine* is the televised funeral of Franco in 1975, a moment of closure. Roig's novel was written in the months following Franco's death, but it responds to a long history of oppression from a cultural perspective that privileges political resistance. Natàlia experiences the execution of the anarchist Salvador Puig Antich in 1974 as a moment that dramatizes the political oppression of the dictatorship, making it seem endless. In an interview with Geraldine Cleary Nichols, Roig calls the novel a "premonición":

Cuando la escribí estábamos en un momento de gran euforia . . . y nos creíamos realmente que íbamos a construir una sociedad perfecta. . . . La escribí en 1976 con la idea de que el "tiempo de las cerezas" no era más que un sueño que todos llevamos dentro pero que nunca es realidad " (cited in Nichols, pp. 165–66).

In *Usos amorosos* and *El cuarto de atrás* Martín Gaité's memory of growing up under Franco exposes the contradictions in the political shaping of femininity and the mechanisms that supported the double sexual standard and the promotion of domesticity without consumerism in a time of economic scarcity and cultural isolation. She writes from the political center while Roig depicts the attempts at political and sexual liberation in Barcelona against a background of linguistic and cultural marginalization. *El temps de les cireres* provides a telling series of snapshots of middle-class life in Barcelona in the early 1970s. The protagonist, Natàlia, a self-sufficient, sexually liberated thirty-six-year-old photographer, returns to Barcelona in 1974 after a twelve-year exile that began with the execution of Gri-mau in 1962. Now she returns on the eve of another political execution, that of Puig Antich. She left, she says, because she was afraid. She had scandalized her family with her arrest in a student demonstration and her clandestine abortion. In England, she learned another language, the language of the photographic image that not

only will provide her with a living, but also authorizes her subjectivity, and literally frames her view of the Barcelona to which she has returned. In addition to the shocking evidence of continuing political oppression, the various narrators in *El temps de les cireres* reveal a dizzying array of skeletons from the family closet: abortion, homosexuality, sadomasochism, transvestism, sodomy, madness, betrayal, and—the worst secret of all—the political powerlessness of the Catalan bourgeoisie, for whom the most significant form of resistance to Franco-era repression was to make money: “en Joan Miralpeix l’únic que volia era dormir. Per això va fer diners, car fer diners era una manera de dormir (TC, p. 168).

The comparison I wish to make between these two novels concerns the relationship between mothers and daughters, a question I have addressed in an article on maternal subtexts in Martín Gaité’s fiction and essays. While Martín Gaité’s interlocutors are generally male, I find that the Jamesian “figure in the carpet” in her work is a dialogue between mothers and daughters that is hidden in plain sight in some of her essays. In *El cuarto de atrás* her protagonist’s writing career is nurtured by her mother’s encouragement, including her support for Carmen’s plans to study outside the country, against her grandmother’s objections. At the end of the novel, Carmen’s daughter comes into the room and discovers the finished manuscript, confirming that the long dialogue was productive, enigmatic as its nature and the identity of the visitor/interlocutor might have been. Implicitly, she depicts her daughter as her ideal reader. This underlying maternal and filial support is encoded in a number of other works by Martín Gaité, despite the explicit nature of dialogue with male friends and colleagues in her novels and essays. In *Desde la ventana*, she sets off her memories of her mother in an epilogue called “Apéndice arbitrario.” The first four essays are on women writers, but the title and the focus of the collection must be understood in light of this afterword, in which the author recounts a dream in which she communicated with her mother in a secret sign language, and she explains that her mother was the woman dreaming of a world beyond the window (Bergmann 1998).

Martín Gaité dedicated her essays in *El cuento de nunca acabar* to Gustavo Fabra, whose conversations with her about narrative theory gave rise to this project. But the aesthetic epiphany, the moment in which she examines not only the nature of representation and

dialogue, but also her feelings and motivations as a creative artist, is an idyllic summer day she spent with her then eight-year-old daughter. It appears in the section titled “Ruptura de relaciones,” which refers to the author’s decision to finish the book, although this section is followed by another hundred pages. This passage is printed in italics and thus typographically marked as distinct from the rest of the text. It is a reflection on art and representation, in which her young daughter imagines a drawing in which everything could be depicted, even insects and pebbles hidden among the grass. The moment reminds Martín Gaité of herself as a child, and she hears her mother’s voice calling her. She becomes acutely aware of the simultaneity that memory provides in a moment of plenitude and the desire to depict simultaneous sensations and experiences in the sequential medium of writing.

It is important to note, however, that Martín Gaité does not idealize motherhood in the essays of *El cuento de nunca acabar*. The point of her anecdote is the importance of shared play, in which mothers may or may not be willing to participate. Based on her maternal experience, Martín Gaité proposes that “placer compartido” (shared pleasure) is the basic element of “cualquier juego que quepa analizar” (any game worth analyzing), including that of narration (p. 111). The subsequent essays draw upon Martín Gaité’s childhood and her maternal experience in discussing the process of initiation into the mutual pleasure of narration by listening to the storytelling of adults, including both mothers and nurses or nannies, and watching the response of other listeners. Her sister’s memory of being unable to write a narrative when she was away from home and could not tell her story to Carmen is a significant example supporting Martín Gaité’s theory of narrative as essentially dialogic.

Martín Gaité’s graphic marginalization of key passages involving memories of her mother and daughter enacts a conflict between the need to separate and suppress what is feminine in order for a woman writer’s voice to be heard and the need to acknowledge in some way the grounding of her voice in the maternal, in her experience of mothering and being mothered. Her mother’s encouragement of the young Carmen’s education and “Carmen’s” grown daughter serving as ideal reader of the finished text of her novel in *El cuarto de atrás* are not, however, foregrounded as in recent writing by U.S. women writers, particularly African-American, Asian-

American, Native American, and Chicana/Latina women writers, for whom the "mother tongue" is not the one in which they learn to write. I am thinking, for example, of Alice Walker's essay "In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens," the mother in Maxine Hong Kingston's *The Woman Warrior*, Sandra Cisneros's *The House on Mango Street*, and Helena María Viramontes's story, "The Moths." These women acknowledge their mothers' and grandmothers' nurturing and storytelling as sources of strength and self-knowledge that enabled them to write against the dominant discourse and to write about the intensity and conflict in that mother-daughter bond.

Roig's choice of literary language is inseparable from her representation of gender relationships within the family. In an interview with Geraldine Cleary Nichols, Roig explained her decision to write in Catalan. For her, Castilian represented power and domination, while Catalan was the language of love and affection (Nichols, p. 147). Thus, in *El temps de les cireres*, the protagonist's father, Joan Miralpeix, is depicted as abandoning his mother tongue only in the most extreme circumstances: he was forced to write his letters to his wife Judit in Castilian while in a concentration camp after the Civil War. In another interview with Nichols, Ana Maria Moix presents a telling critique of other writers' choice of Catalan as a literary language. She dismisses contemporary prose fiction in Catalan for failing to distance itself from the claustrophobic world of the Catalan petite bourgeoisie. The distance necessary for literary creation is achieved only by embracing a language not connected with everyday experience, and she claims that there is no such tradition of fiction writing in Catalan. She points out that both she and Esther Tusquets grew up in Catalan-speaking households and notes that her brother Terenci writes in Catalan, but she implies that the only writer capable of transcending the limits of her maternal language was Mercè Rodoreda. "No se ha hecho una reelaboración de lenguaje para contar la realidad," she observes of Catalan literature. "Lo co-gen tal cual. . . . Se cuenta igual, pues, que se habla en casa" (cited in Nichols, p. 109). To achieve aesthetic distance, she implies that the writer, in order to find her voice, must separate from the domestic sphere and reject the suffocating maternal environment.

Esther Tusquets's critique, on the other hand, is based on "spontaneity" rather than aesthetic distance, claiming that "escribir en castellano, en la gente de mi generación, era lo espontánea, lo que se nos

daba ya hecho" (Nichols, p. 76). To write in Catalan, she claims, would be a great effort, and it would only be motivated by nationalism. Interestingly, Tusquets and Moix reject the "mother tongue" in the act of writing, and yet they depict mothers who reject their daughters and cause them great unhappiness as adults. There is a striking similarity between the mother-daughter relationships in Ana María Moix's *Julia*, published in 1970, and Esther Tusquets's *El mismo mar de todos los veranos*, published in 1978: both novels depict their middle-class protagonists as suffering from a desire for love, affection, and intimacy that they were unable to receive from their cold, beautiful, Nordic mothers. Tusquets observes an intergenerational but not a maternal or filial connection between Ana María Matute, eleven years older than Tusquets, and Ana María Moix, eleven years younger (Nichols, p. 87). Perhaps the fictional rejection of these daughters by their distant, "phallic" mothers is a displacement of the writers' own rejection of the traditional relational values of the feminine as well as of the mother tongue. Not incidentally, it also serves as the basis for a Freudian paradigm of lesbian desire in both novels. Ironically, both protagonists remain trapped by class, place, and time, just as Moix describes her contemporaries writing in Catalan.

Neither Martín Gaité nor Roig represents an idyllic "mother and child reunion," no matter what their relationship to the mother tongue or to their own mothers. Both like and unlike Martín Gaité's mother in *Desde la ventana*, the protagonist's mother in Montserrat Roig's *El temps de les cireres* also sits at a window, or rather in the galería of the family apartment, but she has been mute and paralyzed since Natàlia was twenty, and she is only able to use her emerald-green eyes to express the desire to communicate. Despite the fact that the novel was written in the mother tongue, in Catalan, the mother's tongue is dramatically silenced. Even before her paralysis, Judit was an inadequate mother: "no tenia gaire vocació de mare" (p. 29). She abandoned her two older children, Lluís and Natàlia, to devote herself to the youngest, Pere, to whom the narrator refers as "mongòlic." As a result of the lack of "good enough mothering," even before Judit's paralysis, Natàlia's psychological development is stunted: "havia conservat fins molt gran els trets del que en diuen 'innocència infantil'" (p. 29). Natàlia fled the muteness and paralysis of her invalid mother, responding cruelly to her father's insistence that she stay at home and care for her: "Jo no estic per enterrar le

meva vida ocupant-me d'un tros de carn que respira!" She will not be buried alive in her mother's body; instead, that will be the fate of her father, whose most urgent impulse is to sleep and to become obsessively merged with Judit even after her death.

Catherine Davies contrasts the "search for the . . . lost maternal bond" in the third novel in Roig's trilogy, *L'hora violeta*, with the literal and figurative "quest for the father" in *El temps de les cireres* (p. 61). The recurrent question in *El temps de les cireres* is the fate of Natàlia's father. His mental illness was kept secret from her for the past year, and her relatives cannot decide who should break the news. Joan Miralpeix's love for his wife Judit became an obsession after her death. His attachment to dolls and finally to women's clothing is presented as both deviant fetishism and the understandable response of a lonely old man. Davies finds that all the characters in *El temps de les cireres* are "the isolated victims of corrupt, repressive authoritarianism, be it political or sexual," but she sees Joan Miralpeix as "the most extreme case of alienation in a society of commodity fetishism" (p. 48). She observes that Joan's love for Judit is the only example of the true, uncompromising, totally selfless love . . . that the women in Roig's novels, particularly Natàlia, constantly pursue" (pp. 46–47). Davies concludes, however, that "Only true love makes life meaningful; but only the mentally unbalanced believe in it" (p. 49). Davies analyzes the "perversion" for which his son Lluís has had Joan confined in a mental hospital:

As he dresses in drag, Joan becomes Judit; his masculine self is constructed, paradoxically, through the assimilation of her female sexuality. . . . His fetishism allows him to identify both with the pre-oedipal mother and the father and thus avoid psychosis. . . . But, like the women in the novel, he colludes passively with the system and relinquishes his former ideals (Davies, p. 48).

Natàlia is unable to communicate with her mother and is bitterly disappointed in her father.

There are significant inversions and evasions of family relationships in *El temps de les cireres*. It is Natàlia's father, Joan Miralpeix, rather than Natàlia herself, whose boundaries with the maternal are pathologically blurred. Judit Miralpeix is an outsider, the daughter of a French Jew. Roig's critique of the sexual inhibition of Catalan society includes a comment on Judit's foreignness: "Si yo quería

enseñar a una mujer que vivía la sensualidad sin sentimiento de culpa ni pecado, tenía que ser a la fuerza judía y francesa. Sobre todo, francesa" (cited in Nichols, p. 179). She was an accomplished concert pianist before her marriage, and she has a haunting look that elevates her right out of her function in the family to the status of goddess or sphinx. After her friend Kati committed suicide, she began to collect knickknacks, which she and her family call "fetitxes," as if she has erected a domestic altar to a rival god: "La Judit s'enyorava de la Kati i va decidir que volia fetitxes, objectes de tota mena que ella venerava com a petits dèus" (p. 160). Judit is described not as beautiful but as strange and with the remarkable face of the other. Most important, she is able to bring together the sensual and the spiritual, body and intellect, as no other character does. During her courtship in the Republican Spain of the 1930s, Judit used her intelligent, intuitive sexuality to cure her future husband's supposed impotence. Catherine Davies sees Judit as a "phallic" figure whose fetishism is a form of disavowal of her own castration, and associates the mother's fetishism with her daughter Natàlia's choice of photography as a profession (p. 49). Judit's immobilizing illness and the silencing of her sexual and aesthetic power is emblematic of the silencing of the richness of Catalan culture after the war, and it is also a denial of intellect and creativity in a female body. Judit's paralysis is a powerful form of the castration Judit was able to "disavow" during the Republic and in her friendship with the sexually liberated Kati.

The space afforded to Martín Gaité's mother's and daughter's voices is simultaneously marginalized and privileged by the author's typographical gestures, while in Roig's narrative, Natàlia's goddess-like mother is mute and immobile. In the absence of a strong bond with either parent, oblique kinship relationships—aunts, uncles, in-laws—and intergenerational friendships form the fabric of Roig's novel. When Natàlia returns from England, she stays with her aunt, Patricia Miralpeix, with whom her parents have been living. The most stereotypically maternal figure in the novel is the Andalusian servant Encarnación, who is an unwilling listener to Aunt Patricia's obsessive retelling of painful memories. In this process of storytelling there is none of the mutual pleasure Martín Gaité describes in *El cuento de nunca acabar*, nor is there an expectation that this listener will become a narrator herself. As her name suggests, Encarnación symbolizes the

maternal body, and as an Andalusian immigrant, she is thus doubly marginalized. Natàlia is friendlier with her sister-in-law Silvia than with her brother Lluís, and her friend Blanca accompanies her when she has an abortion. These are stronger, more supportive ties than she has with her mother, and yet the reader knows hardly anything about Blanca and Silvia.

Natàlia's distance from other characters is underscored by the photographic perspective of description. There are several passages in *El temps de les cireres* that read like film scripts and end with a series of snapshots: a long flashback of the student demonstration in 1962, in which Natàlia was arrested; a tupperware party at Silvia's; and the Andalusian servant Encarnación's wedding. All three scenes are inscribed in Catalan social, economic, and political history in the last decade of the dictatorship. Natàlia is represented as a spectator of the scenes in her life, viewing them as if through a camera lens.

The student demonstration is narrated in a style mimicking journalistic detail: who, where, when, how, in order to establish the innocence of the students. This passage inscribes Natàlia's pregnant female body in the project of historical veracity: beatings, physical deprivation, and intimidation in prison are recounted in terms of both sensation and emotion. While interrogating Natàlia, the police claim that students were throwing rocks, but the narrator's meticulously detailed account of the actions of the students casts serious doubts upon that claim. The narrative follows the students as they move from one patio of the university to another and are trapped by the police, as some are injured, others arrested, and still others escape and later reappear on the Rambla.

Silvia's tupperware party encapsulates the vacuous lives of upper-middle-class Catalan women, obsessed with consumerism and haunted by the sadomasochistic sexuality of their religious-school upbringing. It becomes a lesbian orgy, another scene in which the female body is rendered grotesque. The scenes are drawn with wicked accuracy: while a group of women friends gossip, enterprising Merche tries to interest them in buying plastic food containers none of them needs so that she and the hostess can qualify for free tupperware. The women get drunk, take off their clothes, and reenact scenes in which the punitive, sadistic nuns at their *colegio* enforced codes of hygiene and dress and warned them about the dangers of sex with men. The narrative is conceptualized as a series

of snapshots of what is clearly intended to be read as a bacchanal. When her guests have left, Silvia, the hostess, scrubs her body harshly with a pumice stone, a kind of scourging that shows how indelibly Catholic guilt permeates the erotic imagination of this generation of women. This scene in Roig's novel is a dramatic variation on the personal and social costs of sexual repression. From the perspective of the well-to-do with too little to do, it casts a different light on the lessons about romantic love in the official girls' magazine *Y*, mentioned in *El cuarto de atrás* and the postwar cultural discourses of sexuality Martín Gaité analyzes in *Usos amorosos de la postguerra*.

The best example of Roig's distancing technique may be the indirect, ironic narration of Encarna's working-class wedding. While Aunt Patricia affirms a false bond of sisterhood that both exploits and denies Encarna's subordinate economic and cultural status, Natàlia experiences Encarna's wedding as an anthropologist observing an outlandish tribal ritual. Natàlia's nephew Márius views the festivities as "un document humà." Adding another layer of irony, Natàlia smiles at his response: "encara es mira la vida com si fos 'un document humà', pensà" (p. 190). The narrator, borrowing comments from a pale young woman rather than attributing the perceptions to Natàlia, emphasizes each absurd moment caught by the photographer and ridicules the fifty-two-year-old bride's heavy makeup and green nail polish à la Liza Minelli in *Cabaret*. The wedding guests are compared to animals: the restaurant owner Rosalia's eyes are like a ferret's, her husband follows her like a baby bird, and Encarna's husband has eyes like a lost dog. "La Rosalia, les faldilles aixecades, bellugava les cuixes plenes de sacsons i remenava el cul com una barca en alta mar i en plena tempesta. Fotografiaren l'escena de la Rosalia mentre remenava el cul" (p. 191). The guests, rather than Natàlia, serve as photographers, catching another dancer: "La nena tenia dues sines tan menudes com dues olives i remenava el cul com si tingués trenta anys" (p. 190). Rosalia shows off by balancing coffee cups on her shelf-like breasts.

Twelve years before, when Natàlia realized she was pregnant, Encarna comforted her in the midst of morning sickness as if she were a newborn child, but in the bacchanalian setting of the wedding celebration that nurturing body is rendered grotesque. But when Natàlia returns from England, it is Encarna who is first depicted as distancing herself, pretending not to notice what Patricia is making a

fuss about, surreptitiously sizing up Natàlia from behind the kitchen door without being seen, and authorizing her own judgment: “Què s’havia cregut, la nena, estar-se tant de temps a l’estranger, sola i mig perduda, en lloc de ser a casa per a tancar els ulls de la seva mamà, que Dèu la tingui a la Glòria!” (p. 20). Later, when she is facing Natàlia, Encarna examines each line on her face, seeing how she has aged, and claims her: “Jo l’he criada, aquesta fresca” (p. 21). In a passage reminiscent of a nineteenth-century novel, the narrator stands at a marked distance and ironizes the affectionate, fleshy greeting Encarna finally gives to Natàlia in her own sweet time: “Però ja tenim l’Encarna y la Natàlia abraçades, una abraçada curta y rodona. Els enormes pits de l’Encarna trontollaven com si fossin un carro trepitjant l’empedrat i el cor li anava de pressa” (p. 22).

After Encarna’s wedding, Natàlia befriends her seventeen-year-old nephew Màrius, accompanying him around the city to hear music and partake in his private ritual of circling Santa Maria del Mar. Màrius is devoted to an older woman poet, Roser Roura. Similarly, Natàlia has not entirely outgrown her artistic mentor Harmonia Carreras, opposed in every way to Encarna. Harmonia is androgynous, an independent, emphatically rational painter always elegantly attired in Latin American textiles. Natàlia imagines that Harmonia’s upbringing during the time of the Generalitat and her years in Mexico made it possible for her to “viure a Barcelona com volia i amb qui fos i tenia prou defenses com per a suportar les crítiques de déu i sa mare” (p. 35). Harmonia’s ability to defy not only Catalan social norms, but also her mother’s criticism impresses Natàlia, whose fear of Harmonia’s disapproval and her admiration of her as a role model give her the complexity of a maternal figure. Natàlia fears that Harmonia does not take her seriously, but Harmonia surprises her by giving her the name of a friend who will help her find a job as a photographer. Natàlia is as judgmental and distancing as any of these characters: she blames both Harmonia and her father for their passivity during the dictatorship.

As if through a viewfinder, Natàlia observes the people around her from an intellectual distance, using the technology she learned in the cool, northern climate of England, from a man who loves the cold. She also uses the sense of smell, traditionally associated with instinct, for the odors of poverty at Rosalia’s restaurant and the evocative fragrances of perfumes worn by her female relatives. The

texture of Martín Gaité's novel is more emphatically textual: she recalls popular romance novels of the 1940s, lyrics to popular music, cuplés and radio advertisements of the 1930s and 1940s, and in her novelistic imagination a love letter becomes a magic carpet. She shows some of the threads that run through women's culture of the post-Civil War period. She also uses the illustrations from women's magazines, images that women used as models for decorating their homes, arranging their hair, and instructing the *modista* in making their clothes. While Roig also uses popular music, it is British and American rock, unromantic and emphatically masculine: Jimi Hendrix; the Rolling Stones; Blood, Sweat and Tears. In contrast to Martín Gaité's tapestry with its long, interrelated threads and elusive design, Roig uses the metaphor of photography for her representation of the culture from which Natàlia distances herself upon her return from exile. This aesthetic distancing is called into question in the third novel in Roig's trilogy, *L'hora violeta* (1980).

The dialogic art of Martín Gaité privileges an interpersonal concept of narration, always keeping the reader in mind as "interlocutor." Elizabeth Ordóñez notes that in *Retahílas* "the role of mother begins to be redefined as new bonds and discourses develop between a mature woman and a young man." In *El cuarto de atrás*, "the androgynous nocturnal interlocutor acquires maternal qualities as he provokes and soothes the writer" (Ordóñez 1991: 196). The mother's language, the maternal body, and disruptions in the body politic are clearly woven together in Roig's trilogy, which includes excerpts from two women's diaries. While attempting to avoid essentialism and binary oppositions, Ana María Brenes García suggests an approach to subjectivity in *Ramona, adéu* through a reading of the maternal body and Catalan political and linguistic autonomy as "constituyendo el espacio desde el que se fragua la identidad del sujeto, tanto nacional como sexual" (p. 23). In *El temps de les cireres* the "cuerpo matrio" is a singularly troubled "space" from or through which the daughter Natàlia attempts to find her sexual and national identity: the sensual spirit that was once in harmony with the pianist-mother's body is silenced, and Natàlia must leave her native land, her "mother country" in search of a "new mode of expression." That "language" turns out to be visual rather than verbal, and it is a technology that distances rather than reestablishing the mother-daughter bond or connections among women. Neither Roig, who

considered herself a feminist, nor Martín Gaité, who does not, is able to resolve the dissonances of language, culture, and the maternal, or the apparent contradiction between maternal body and maternal voice. Each offers an approach to the inscription of female experience in the discourses of political history, and their distinct approaches are profoundly concerned with questions of literary language, historiography, and the mother tongue.

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MENTAL HOUSES IN CATALAN AND CASTILIAN WOMEN WRITERS OF THE 1990s

Adela Robles Sáez

Binifullat no existia, ho havia d'entendre.
Només era un nom.

El nom d'un lloc que el pensament s'es-
forçava per fer reviure.

– Maria de la Pau Janer, *Natura d'anguila*

Recent novels by Catalan and Castilian women writers give one the impression that the real estate market has emerged as a full-fledged literary topic. In particular, novels dealing with overcoming a personality crisis resulting from family conflicts are directly linked to the inhabitability of the different spaces that house the protagonist. Traumas appear to be rooted in the family country estate; the depressions they caused are suffered in impersonal rental apartments; and the outcome of crises is expressed in terms of the recovery or total loss of that original house. As examples of such themes, I will focus here on four books: *Natura d'anguila*, by Maria de la Pau Janer; *Cames de seda*, by Maria Mercè Roca; *Malena es un nombre de tango*, by Almudena Grandes; and *La Reina de las Nieves*, by Carmen Martín Gaité.¹

Natura d'anguila is a reflection on the effects of the sudden changes suffered by Majorca. Antoni Muntaner, lord of Binifullat, is the paragon of traditional Majorcan society. His heir, Arnau Muntaner, squanders the family fortune and ruins everyone's life, including that of his sister, Adelais Muntaner, with whom he has an intense love affair that he soon forgets. Adelais hides away in Son Mas until she commits suicide. Her sister, Marta Muntaner, unable to stand the jealousy she feels for Adelais, with whom she is in love, leaves the island. The story is written for—and sometimes by—Adelais Martí,

the illegitimate daughter of this incestuous love triangle, in order to help her come to terms with her family legacy.

Carnes de seda is the story of Adriana, a bored housewife who does not realize that she does not love her second husband. In her new apartment she feels like a fish in a fishbowl, and she is only happy in the house where she has sexual relations with her sporadic lover. She does not pull herself together until she comes back to the house where she spent her summers during her childhood.

Malena es un nombre de tango divides the world between "los Alcántara de Madrid," legal heirs of Pedro Fernández de Alcántara, and "los Alcántara de Amansilla," his illegitimate children. Each family is in turn divided into evil white sheep and good black sheep. Malena's love for her cousin Fernando would have reunited both sides of the family under the most coveted roof, La Finca del Indio, but Malena's evil twin sister, Reina, prevents such a reunion. Malena undergoes a series of personal crises that lead her successively to drugs, marriage, and divorce, but all that comes to an end the day she decides to sell the last family jewel, the largest emerald in the world, and buy a house to start a new life.

La Reina de las Nieves revolves around La Quinta Blanca, in Galicia, where young Leopoldo spent his happiest summers in the company of his beloved grandmother and away from his cold mother, Gertrudis. The tense family atmosphere casts him out of Paradise and leads him to sell La Quinta Blanca. After a long pilgrimage through hell, he returns to take possession of his parents' house in Madrid, where he discovers his father's relationship with Sila, an adventuress, a love affair vetoed by his grandmother. The only way to recover his sanity is by buying back La Quinta Blanca, now in Sila's hands. Invited by her, he returns to Galicia to discover that he is Sila's son and lives peacefully in the Quinta with her.

In all these novels, life starts in a mythical country house that has been in the family for generations. Binifullat, for example, is called Paradise, a microcosm, or simply "the world." Malena describes la Finca del Indio as being so wonderful as no other house in the world will ever be:

Y lo recuerdo todo con la memoria de una niña que era feliz porque un golpe de viento tibio, cargado de sol, le rozaba la cara al abrir la ventana, y aún puedo jugar con las sombras de colores

que nacían en la puerta vidriera del vestíbulo, lunares rojos, amarillos, verdes, y azules temblando sobre mis brazos desnudos, y puedo mirarme en el pequeño espejo de un perchero de metal pintado de verde y contemplar mi rostro, esta boca de india, entre las lagunas de plata que delataban la edad del azogue viejo (Grandes, p. 99).

And I remember everything with the memory of a little girl who was happy because a gust of warm air, full of sunshine, touched her face when she opened the window, and I can still play with the colorful shadows coming from the stained glass door of the vestibule—red, yellow, green, and blue dots trembling on my naked arms—and I can still see my reflection on the small mirror of a metal green-painted clothes rack, and watch my face—my Indian woman mouth—among the silvery pools that betrayed the age of old quicksilver.²

These houses have shaped their inhabitants' personality, or rather, as we will see, the personality of the characters constructs the memory of their houses. *La Finca del Indio*, *Binifullat*, *La Quinta Blanca*, and *la casa del poble*, are all large houses that defy objective description, so that adult imagination can distribute the events of childhood according to the needs of the moment.

Apartments in big cities appear the most natural habitat of an unbalanced mind. They are always small and sordid: "en un pis que era com una caps de sabates i on s'amuntegaven la filla i el marit, i els cinc néts, i ell mateix que s'esforçava per no fer gens de renou" (Janer, p. 35) (in an apartment small as a shoebox where his daughter and her husband were crowded together with their five children and him, who struggled not to make any noise). The state of the apartment always reflects the mental condition of the main character:

Yo, por de pronto, he despedido a Pilar hace varios días, y ya empieza a notarse que todo está más sucio, que hace más frío, que en esta casa sobra mucho espacio, y que por esas estancias cerradas, que antes dejaba tácitamente a sus cuidados, es por donde se cuela subrepticamente la angustia y se propaga a través de ignotas tuberías (Martín Gaité, pp. 220–21).

As a first step, I fired Pilar some days ago, and one can tell that everything is already dirtier, colder, that there is too much space

in this house, and that through those closed rooms, which I tacitly used to let her take care of, anguish crawls in surreptitiously and spreads through unknown pipes.

At the end, the obscure cause of the childhood trauma is revealed, and the characters either find a way of putting their lives together, in which case they return to the house, or they simply die. Arnau dies in a whorehouse after having been lord of Binifullat, Adelais is enclôstered in Son Mas, Adriana cannot stay very long in an apartment that does not belong to her, and Malena can never feel at home in the apartment she rents with her husband.

Clearly, characters are described by reference to their houses. The parallel between a person's life and the house he/she inhabits occurs constantly and at different levels in these novels:

[Binifullat] no havia sabut envellir amb dignitat. Com el seu senyor, mantenia restes de passades glòries, pero també era un regne de despulles (Janer, p. 101).

[Binifullat] had not been able to age with dignity. Just as his lord, it kept remains of glorious times gone by, but it was also a kingdom of scraps.

Les cases són com les persones, pensà: o les estimes o no les estimes i no hi ha res a fer (Roca 149).

Houses are like people, she thought: either you love them or not, and that's it.

We can talk about houses being ruined, as in *Natura d'anguila*, or about remodeled houses that have restored the protagonist's sanity, as in *La Reina de las Nieves*. Houses that seemed as enormous as the world, as in *Cames de seda*, become small and insignificant to the adult eye.

I shall argue here that houses as literary objects have no direct link with real houses. We shall choose certain features of our perception of houses because they provide a useful structure to embody personal feelings that would otherwise be too abstract for the reader to understand. The fact that both real houses and mental houses are closely related to space helps us draw some inferences that impart a sensation of reality to the literary mental house.

Our perceptual apparatus and its relationship to the world are partly responsible for our categorization system. The first and most basic relationship between perception and the world is spatial. Not surprisingly, space seems to be the source of the most basic metaphors that help human beings conceptualize that which is abstract. Salient perceptual features often become the source of mappings, and mappings take place by following a structure such as a metaphor, metonymy, image-schemata, or frame structure. Existence, for example, is understood in terms of the body where it takes place, and bodies are in turn conceptualized as containers. Thus, we speak of emotions as being inside us, placing rationality inside the brain and feelings in the heart. "Life" is also understood spatially as our span along a timeline. Our life is a location on a line that can in turn be conceptualized as a container. This is why "to live" is a synonym of both "not to be dead" and "inhabit." Existence being a body and life being a place, a house becomes almost a natural metonymical extension of these original mappings.

A comparison between this theory and our novels raises some doubts. For most of us nowadays, apartments are probably closer to our daily experience than large country estates. Besides, nothing in the internal structure of apartments predisposes them to be sordid, and they can provide protection and privacy just as well as any mansion. Changing houses neither co-occurs naturally with personality crises nor is regulated by them. Nonetheless, we can still understand the internal logic of these novels and accept that such less frequent experiences are more appropriate as a source of mapping than other, more common experiences. Houses in literature are imaginary, and their production of meaning does not result from commonality but from an aggregate of conventional ideas about people transferred onto the way we think of houses, which being so obviously spatial, provide a fertile source from which to draw material to shape thinking.

Metaphors, as defined by cognitive science, are basic ways of structuring our thoughts. The most basic definition of a metaphor is "the mapping of parts of the structure of our knowledge of a source domain B onto a target domain A" (Lakoff and Turner, p. 58).³ In other words, in order to define a concept A, of which we have no direct experience, we choose another concept, B, of which we do

have experience. B's structure is what gets mapped onto the structure of A in a one-to-one correspondence, according to certain rules: no mapping is exhaustive, the structure is only partially mapped, and the logic that rules our knowledge of the structure of B has to be preserved in A. There is a relatively small number of basic conceptual metaphors, which can be elaborated in different ways to obtain new or more creative mappings. According to Gilles Fauconnier, who introduces the term "mental spaces":

When we engage in any form of thought, typically mediated by language (for example, conversation, poetry, reading, story telling), domains are set up, structured and connected. The process is local: a multitude of such domains—mental spaces—are constructed for any stretch of thought, and language (grammar and lexicon) is a powerful means (but not the only one) of specifying and retrieving key aspects of this cognitive construction. Reference, inference, and, more generally, structure projection of various sorts operate by using the connections available to link the constructed mental spaces (Fauconnier, p. xxxvii).

Mark Turner (1996) brings these concepts closer to literature by using the term "parable," which works like a metaphor where both the source and the target domains are whole stories. We can only perceive reality from a single point of view, and we can choose a focus: that is our single story. However, we can imagine the same focus or other foci as seen through a different point of view—that is, different stories. The sum of all the single stories is a whole that we perceive as a unitary story. The way to imagine other points of view is by projecting our single viewpoint onto another point in space, and draw one-to-one correspondences between the elements of both single stories. We execute this operation by using a mental space created for that effect; it is a generic space because it is abstract enough to allow the input of multiple specific spaces coming from different viewpoints and having different foci, and still maintain coherence. As generic spaces do not have a rich vocabulary, they must borrow terms from specific spaces. In a generic space, projection takes place by creating correspondences between the elements of the source story and the elements of the target story.⁴ A "connector," usually identification through metaphor or metonymy, allows the correspondences to take place.

Adriana in *Cames de seda* begs the priest “que entengui la tarda que ha passat en aquella casa tan blanca, de nines, que no veurà més, i que entengui el ressentiment que té per l’hotel de Suïssa” (Roca, p. 112) (to understand the afternoon that she has spent in that very white house, like a toy house, that she will never see again, and to understand her resentment against the hotel in Switzerland). We can immediately interpret that Adriana is asking for forgiveness for her infidelity and for her resentment about the possibility of her husband’s having an affair with his ex-wife in Switzerland. Here we have a source story: a house that looks like a toy house, with low beams and a burgundy sofa. In the target story we have Adriana, who likes *la casa del poble*, her sporadic lovers, and her husband. The generic space is defined by the phrase “to feel alive,” and the connectors to draw the correspondences between the connectors are included in a frame where feeling alive is done by shirking off responsibilities (connection between the toy house and her childhood house), seeking a little adventure (this connects the striking burgundy sofa and her sporadic lovers), but all within a stable life (the solid beams that offer protection, and her respectable husband). Although this mapping could be extended by adding more elements, some features of the house (such as the way the doorbell rings or the number of rooms) are irrelevant to describe her personality. Such mappings are so conventional that they look natural. One of the properties of literature is to awaken the generic space, so that the readers turn their attention to the mapping and the meaning simultaneously, since we do not register the mapping, but only the meaning it produces.⁵

As Fauconnier notes “language does not carry meaning, it guides it” (p. xxii). This simple mechanism which we saw at work in the previous section, may be further elaborated and combined to create complex meanings. For example, if we map a generic space onto another, we create a much richer blended space. Spaces can always be blended further, as in the following passage from *La Reina de las Nieves*. Leonardo—and the reader—has all the information to solve the puzzle of his childhood, and Sila is about to reveal that she is his mother. This information may be the key to rectifying his life—or to his downfall. But instead of expressing Leonardo’s and

Sila's feelings directly, the narrator expands on the trouble that Sila took to rebuild the tower where Leonardo's room was located:

La luz, gradualmente tamizada, bajaba por el hueco de la escalera hasta convertirse en un halo impreciso que hacía dudar de la entidad real de aquel acceso a las alturas. . . . Las minuciosas explicaciones que Casilda Iriarte daba sobre aquel proyecto—aunque nunca intemperantes ni autoritarias—podían deslumbrar por su precisión lingüística, pero no formaban parte de un discurso técnico, sino poético. Comparaba el aumento de luz con la paulatina afirmación de una creencia vacilante, hablaba de la invención de espacios inexistentes, del camino de perfección que suponen ciertos ascensos (Martín Gaité, pp. 272–73).

The light, gradually sieved, filtered down the stairwell until it became a vague halo that made one doubt the real existence of that access to the heights. . . . The linguistic precision of Casilda Iriarte's explanations about that project could be dazzling, but they did not belong to any technical discourse, but to a poetical one. She compared the increase in light to the gradual affirmation of a vacillating belief, she talked about the invention of non-existent spaces, about how certain ascents are paths to perfection.

Here two generic spaces are created through metaphor. The first metaphor is "Divine Is Up," according to which heaven, spirituality, mind, etc., are up. If we use this metaphor to map a specific story, "going up a tower," to another specific story, "achieving perfection," the result is a space in which climbing a tower is moving toward perfection:

| Tower | Divine Is Up | Human State |
|-----------|----------------------|--------------|
| Top | Spiritual and Divine | Perfection |
| Stairwell | Ascent | Improvement |
| Bottom | Human and Material | Imperfection |

At the same time, there is another generic space that contains increasing light and beliefs through a metaphorical structure: "Seeing Is Understanding." Thanks to this metaphor the story of the stairwell, in which the light increases as we go up, is projected onto the story of a belief that is being proven true. A space is thus created where by moving toward the light, we prove our beliefs true:

| Tower | Seeing Is Understanding | Belief |
|-------|----------------------------|--------|
| Clear | Understandable | True |
| Dark | Ununderstandable | False |

The blended space states that ascending a tower that is better lit on top is like reaching a state of perfection by proving our beliefs true. This blended space may be combined with other single generic spaces, like “having a stable home is like overcoming a crisis,” or blended ones. Thanks to these blends, we can create identifications between different situations in the novel and thus link events by “correct” cause and effect logic.

Let us now examine an example showing two views of the same house: Binifullat as a country estate, and Binifullat as a horror castle. Both belong to the same story seen by the same person from two different points of view. The focus that remains stable is the story of a house where three siblings spent their childhood and adolescence. During that time they engaged in a love affair that led them from happiness to total despair.

In order to understand the importance of childhood and its homes in this novel we have to imagine life as a timeline. This conception maps onto the structure of a problem, which is also understood as being located on a line. The origin of a problem, still small and unnoticeable, is in its childhood; the crisis is in adulthood; and its resolution is in old age, when we become stable and wise. This mapping explains why most literary problems start at the character’s childhood and why the house where the character spent his or her childhood is so important. Since we can only move forward, the only possible return to the past is by using our memory. When Marta revisits her childhood to discover the cause of her problem, she can only return to a mentally constructed Binifullat. Temporal focus and point of view are created by borrowing the method for spatial projection—that is, by projecting space onto time. We conceive time as a line in which the present is the point where we are. Although we can only have a single temporal point of view and a single focus, we can imagine a whole story through time by projecting our point of view onto a space that we construct in the mind. Bachelard (p. 46) talks about this projection of the past in terms of the house we used

to occupy during that past and states that for each one of us there exists an oniric house located beyond the real past.⁶

Imaginary houses represent childhood by presenting themselves as buildings and as containers of life. In the first case, imaginary houses are connected to people by their verticality. As in the example of the tower, the higher part of the house corresponds to the head, both being the center of rationality, and the basement is the dwelling of primitive instincts. The verticality connection makes it possible to talk about a person's physical or mental condition by describing the state of the house where he/she lives. The main function of a house understood as a building is protection from the outside. According to Bachelard, the imaginary house has three or four floors from basement to attic, so that a scale is created of stages from primitiveness to rationality.

Houses understood as containers of life are conceived as extensions of the body, which is itself a container. Just like the body, the house protects material objects and spiritual attributes. Imaginary houses are mental containers because they contain a whole period of time and all the events that took place during that time. In order to be able to talk about the spiritual events contained in a house, we use image metaphors. Poetry, according to Bachelard (p. 64), does not reproduce the nostalgia for our youth, but for the expressions of that youth. It presents us with the images that we should have imagined when we were young. These images are a common currency among the members of the same culture: a grandmother reading a story, sleeping on a big brass bed, and so on. The less complicated a scenario, the more universal it is. In literature, none of these images is meaningless: by choosing a picture, the author usually represents a feature of identity that will prove relevant later. Malena, for example, confesses that "me encontré explorando rincones en los que nunca hasta entonces me había atrevido a aventurarme sola" (*Grandes*, p. 38) (I found myself exploring hidden places that I had never dared venture before). Here the space "becoming a person" is mapped by "exploring the house by herself" to create a blend: "Malena learned how to use her personal opinions to explore material and figurative new territories."

Rooms are important in the interior of an imaginary house especially the bedroom and the family room, because they create privacy, which is the basic function of the house as a container. However, it is

the *nook* that acquires the most importance in the interior of the house, since it is the scenario where the conventional images of privacy during childhood are fixed: when the memories of our childhood return to us in our present home, they take us to the “land of the fixed childhood” (Bachelard, p. 36).

Having all this information about the imagined house that represents childhood, we can attempt to reconstruct what was important about Binifullat for Marta Muntaner. Binifullat is a microcosm, a world, the world, the universe, and Paradise. It is an impressive building that matches the impressive events that happened in it:

Son Mas no tenia res a veure amb Binifullat. N’era l’antitesi. De l’esplendor del marès que s’alça totpoderós, a l’austeritat de la pedra rònega. De les arcades i els terrats, a les finestres d’ull de bou. Del trèspol de marbre i l’escalinata que gira, al sòl de rajola blanca i negra. No hi havia cortines de vellut a les finestres, ni domassos a la sala bona, ni porcellanes ni aranyes de vidre (Janer, p. 166).

Son Mas had nothing to do with Binifullat. It was rather its antithesis. From the magnificence of the rising all-powerful sandstone to the austerity of bare stone. From the arcades and terraces to the porthole windows. From marble ceilings and the winding staircase to the black and white tile floor. No velvet curtains over the windows, or damasks in the formal living room, no china, no chandeliers.

We never have a realistic description of the interior of Binifullat. Marta talks about its sheltering qualities and the privacy it provides, but we can never have an idea of the distribution of the rooms:

Pensà que tal vegada aquesta era la raó de no haver sabut establir-se enlloc. Mai no trobà una casa que li oferís l’aixopluc de les parets de Binifullat. . . . El silenci havia fet seu cadascun dels racons. Enyorà les veus que en un temps habitares aquelles parets, que les vestiren i les transformaren (Janer, p. 102).

She thought that maybe this was the reason why she had not been able to settle anywhere. She never found a house as sheltering as the walls of Binifullat. . . . Silence had claimed all the corners. She

missed the voices that had inhabited those walls, dressed them, and transformed them.

The image of privacy that dominates the novel is the laundry tank, *el safareig*. Here is where the two sisters grow up and spend never-ending summer afternoons together. Marta returns here after her illness to find Adelais, and this is the place where Adelais and Arnau first make love, and the pathetic tank of Son Mas is where Adelais commits suicide. This initial nook of privacy is the source of the story: “Fou un capvespre de primavera, a l’aigua del safareig, a Binifullat, quan començà a escriure’s la història” (Janer, p. 56) (It was a spring evening, in the water of the laundry tank, in Binifullat, that the story started to be written).

When Marta decides to put her life together, she expresses her idea in terms of buying back Binifullat:

Compraria Binifullat. No només per n’Adelais-nina, a qui havia de retornar la casa, no només per la germana, qui li ho havia demanat feia tan poques hores. Ni tan sols per ella mateixa. Ho havia de fer pel pare, i per tots els fantasmes reals que foren foragitats d’aquelles parets. El fantasma de la juventut perduda, les bubotes dels morts familiars, les aparicions dels vells somnis. . . . Compraria Binifullat. El regalaria a n’Adelais, la germana, i li explicaria que hi havia moltes vides, en aquell present.

She would buy Binifullat. Not only for Adelais, the daughter, to whom the house ought to return, not only for her sister, who had begged her some hours ago. Not only for herself. She had to do it for her father and for all the real ghosts that had been evicted from those walls. The ghost of the lost youth, the spirits of the family dead, the apparitions of the old dreams. . . . She would buy Binifullat. She would give it to Adelais, her sister, and would explain to her that there were lots of lives in that present.

Marta returns to Binifullat, to her childhood—according to our mapping, she is going back to the source of her problem—and discovers the real cause of her problem is not the three siblings’ forbidden love story, but their dwelling on past events and their resistance to go on living. The narrator, however, never writes these words explicitly. Instead, we are presented with a change of status in Binifullat, from Paradise to horror castle: “Reconeixia la cambra que fou seva, dis-

fressada de trampes i artificis. La tramoia a punt per embolicar-li la vida" (Janer, p. 208) (She recognized the room that had been hers, disguised with traps and tricks. A stage set up to mess up her life).

These are all meanings constructed on the basis of a generic space: things that have a source and an end are located along a line. According to this, our life is located on a line and so are our problems. It is our convention that in order to solve a problem, we must find its source. If we project the life structure onto the problem structure, the source of the problem is located at the time of childhood, and if we consider houses as extensions of bodies, the result will be that the childhood house is the source of future problems. Childhood makes such a good topic for literature not because most people experience their most traumatic crises during childhood; rather, it is because the way in which we conceptualize human problems makes childhood and its houses their suitable expression. Adults are able to revisit their childhood only through their memories; that is why we have no complete descriptions of childhood houses, and why they are subject to change according to the changes of perspective that the adult adopts toward his/her childhood.

We may conclude that there is no direct link between recurrent objects in literature, such as houses in this case, and the direct experience that we have of these objects in the world. Although some inferences can be drawn from the fact that both types of houses are very rooted in their spatial meaning, the mental houses that we use in literature are not complete houses, but a collection of concrete images, thanks to which we can understand the character and the personality problem raised by the author. In the four novels considered here, the construction of the meaning of a house takes place within the text and articulates the expression of a personal crisis which the image of a house can embody, largely because of the importance that our perception of space plays in the way we articulate thinking.

NOTES

1. Other books include: Carmen Martín Gaité, *Lo raro es vivir* (Barcelona: Anagrama, 1996); Maria-Mercè Marçal, *La passió segons Renée Vivien* (Barcelona: Columna Proa, 1994); and Maria Barbal, "La boira," in *Ulleres de sol* (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1993).
2. All English translations are mine.
3. Actually, the source domain of a metaphor must be something of which we have direct experience, and the logic of the source domain has to be preserved in the target domain. This logic is very often structured around image-schemata, which are basic perceptual routines to which all humans have access: container logic, part-whole structures, central-periphery structure, experience of verticality, etc. For more information on metaphors, see Lakoff and Johnson.
4. Generic spaces are very easy to detect in proverbs. Proverbs only have a source domain that gives voice to a very general abstract structure.
5. For ways of waking up the generic space see "many spaces" in Turner (1996).
6. Bachelard (1993) extensively researches the conventional images that represent different events and states of recalled childhood. While he admits that childhood houses are invented later in life, he sees a connection between the object in literature and the daily experience of the object.

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VILLENA AND MESQUIDA: MATERIALIZING THE PLATONIC BODY

Juan M. Godoy

Translated by Bruce Vermazen

In his book *Hart Crane and the Homosexual Text*, Thomas E. Yingling maintains that “gay writers have historically hidden, erased, universalized, or otherwise invalidated not only their homosexual desire but also the shape (or mis-shape) their lives have taken as a result of the social taboo against it.” He goes on to argue that until very recently, it was impossible for “the homosexual . . . to speak of itself [*sic*] coherently except in a vocabulary of remorse.”¹

In the case of Spain, gay discourse in literature began with some of the members of the Generation of '27—namely, García Lorca, Emilio Prados, Joan Gil-Albert, and especially Luis Cernuda, a tradition of writers who in some part of their work produced what Jacob Stockinger calls “homotext.”² From different poetic stances, these poets all created works expressing gay desire and a passion for the beauty of the male body. However, the tradition was barely begun when it was interrupted for nearly forty years, from the end of the Civil War until the death of the dictator Francisco Franco. During this period, the political, religious, and military forces of Spain not only sought to repress any movement toward political liberty, but also, in their zeal to strengthen their position of patriarchal and heterosexist power, mounted intense campaigns to enforce “traditional” morality, limiting every sexual inclination uniquely and exclusively to a private, reproductive context, always protected by national Catholicism.

With the disappearance of the dictatorship and during the consolidation of the democratic state after the failed military *coup d'état* of 1981, freedom of expression was restored. These were the years in

which textual representation of homosexuality began not only to make itself visible, but also to meet with some approval in Spanish intellectual life. Among the writers who then faced a literary “coming out of the closet,” always a difficult matter, two of the most important are Luis Antonio de Villena (b. 1951) and Biel Mesquida (b. 1949). About Villena, Francisco Brines said that “subsequent to the Sevillano poet [Cernuda], no one among us has made this sort of poem in such great quantity, and with such consistent results, as Luis Antonio de Villena.”³ About Biel Mesquida, Llordi Llovet said that “he preferred to speak in the name of a singular desire and to do so up to the limit of supposed ‘good taste’ and ‘national decorum’ rather than offer to readers, like someone giving back to them their own image, an endlessly repeated catechism with all the beautiful moral and sexual conduct that they expect.”⁴

Villena, born in Madrid, is well known in the Spanish literary world for the quantity of his publications (seven books of poetry, along with novels, essays, and short stories) and for his frequent appearances on television and in the Spanish press. In 1981 he was awarded the Premio de Crítica for his book of poetry *Huir del invierno* (Fleeing from winter), and in 1995, the Premio Azorín for his novel *El burdel de Lord Byron* (Lord Byron’s brothel).

Biel Mesquida, from Castellón, is less well known to the Spanish public. Although his novels have been translated into Spanish, his use of Catalan as a literary vehicle has kept him from being read and appreciated by that part of the Spanish public that speaks only Castilian. In spite of this limitation, critics in Barcelona, in due time, recognized his novels as innovative and avant-garde, and in 1975 he was awarded the Prudenci Bertrana prize for his novel *L’adolescent de sal* (The adolescent of salt). Like Villena, he is a media personality, frequently contributing to *Diario 16* and other periodicals. At the moment, he is the press spokesman for the Universidad de las Islas Baleares.

In this article, I will try to show how the two poets differ in the representation of desire in their work. Although my analysis focuses on their differences, both poets write in full self-acceptance of a gay poetic subjectivity and not as gay poets stigmatized by the cultural order.

The poetry of these two writers exhibits many similarities, since they work from similar political positions that result from the fact of

their being gay in Spanish society. Reading their work makes us immediately aware that both have chosen a path that is not an easy one in the literary world of the peninsula. Both are acutely conscious of the way in which the marginalization of gay people is at root a question of ideological myth-making. For that reason, as a result of their deep aversion to this contemporary ideology, neither Villena nor Mesquida has kept his homosexuality a secret. On the contrary, they belong to the group of poets whose starting point is acceptance and vindication of their sexual identity.⁵ Their poems are conceived as generators of disobedience and rebellion, inseparable from a desire to transgress in a transgressive aesthetic. For all these reasons, we can characterize their homotexts as a defiance of the oppression and repression of the heterosexist world in which it is their fate to live, as well as an attempt to escape to an alternative world, as in the title of Villena's novel *Fuera del mundo* (Out of the world).

Villena's representation of the male body forms the nucleus of his poetry, with two main functions assigned to it: first, it awakens desire, and second, it opens up to the poet a way to spiritual reality. In his book *Articulate Flesh*, Gregory Woods discusses the existence in Western art of "Three distinct ideals: the adolescent pliancy of Narcissus, Apollo's firm but graceful maturity, and the potency of Heracles, tacitly poised on the verge of deterioration."⁶ Villena never represents the Heracles type, although from time to time an older man will appear in the poems, not as an object of desire, but as one of the many characters who populate Villena's poetic world. In the poem "El desterrado" (The exile), such a character is placed before us with the intention of presenting the loneliness of a decadent, arriving at his flat after his habitual night's walk searching for a love no longer possible:

Y allí, tumbado en un sofá antes del sueño—escuchando
las violas
de Rameau en el aire—sentirá ese hombre solo brotar
lágrimas.
Ha visto aproximarse al fin (hoy también) el Angel
imposible que le salva.

And there, lying upon a sofa before sleep—listening to the
violas

of Rameau in the air—this man will feel, alone, the
welling of tears.
He saw coming near at the end (today too) the impossible
Angel that saves him.

Woods characterizes the Narcissus type by his age (between twelve and fifteen years) and a body that has just begun to show muscular development and is starting to suggest the later beauty of the young adult male. This type appears often in Villena's poetry. The age of the Narcissus type is always indicated indeterminately in the words *joven* (young) and *adolescente* (adolescent). But the type most frequently represented is that of Apollo. By means of the Apollonic body, Villena portrays beauty at its highest point, a beauty that combines health, strength, spirit, energy, and celerity. Villena's Apollos range in age from the end of puberty, around fifteen years, continue through the remainder of adolescence, and end at the point we would now consider the beginning of young adulthood, between eighteen and twenty-one.

Villena recurs not only to the classic Greco-Roman canon of beauty, but also to one closer to the Hispano-Arabic tradition. Brines, referring to the cultural allusions that the poet includes, points out Villena's affinities "with Arab poets like Ibn Quzman, the writer of the *zéjel*, or Abu Nuwas, or Ibn Haz de Córdoba, presences relevant in the highest degree for their continuity and for the influence, in his poetry, of world and form acquired by the poets of the *Antología Palatina*, and especially by the last and highest of them, Constantine Cavafy."⁷ Villena acknowledges this in his ostensible autobiography, *Ante el espejo* (Before the mirror). There, evoking his family summers in Alicante, he tells us that "[to] this very first levantine connection, and to the Moroccan honeymoon of my parents, I owe (because of the most secret power of the atavistic, with which other blood connections could even combine) my clear Mediterranean and southern vocation, my passion for the heat and for all the coastal cultures and paganisms."⁸ Whether the account is accurate or not, I want to point out Villena's clear inclination toward the beauty of the south. The personages in his poems, framed by a Hellenic or a Byzantine world, represent two types of beauty, one Greek and one Arab, whose sensuality is evoked by the beginnings of facial hair, a clean smile, black hair, enormous eyes of jet, thick eyelashes, golden skin, a narrow

waist, and stylized legs that move subtly. In the poem “Un madrigal nuevo” (A new madrigal), the narrator, strolling through the city, pauses before the beauty of a boy. Imagining himself speaking with him, the poet says:

Tu cabello tan dulcemente negro,
tu oscuro perfume de tu cuerpo selvático,
el calor de tus labios y tu cintura estrecha

Your hair so sweetly black,
your dark scent of your undomesticated body
the heat of your lips and your narrow waist.

In Villena, the pleasure of seeing the body of the boy is more than a simple aesthetic-erotic experience; it is a path to transcendence of the bodily. Discussing Platonism in Villena’s work, Olivio Jiménez maintains that it is the constant desire to reach an absolute beauty that brings Villena, “unsatisfied, to show the insufficiency of this reality of the here and now, which nevertheless he loves and praises, and to glimpse another reality—unique, deathless, and whole—of which the only disclosing signs are these bodies offered to contemplation and to desire.”⁹

The beauty of the boy in the everyday realm of appearances (the historic here and now) will perish. In stark contrast, the beauty that inhabits the realm of ideas does not participate in time or space. The transitory and changing manifestations of beauty in earthly bodies are not enough for Villena. For this reason, the presence of imperfection provokes Villena to express his discontent with perishing beauty in favor of Platonic beauty. Thus in the poem “Filósofo de Cirene enamorado del amor” (A philosopher of Cyrene in love with love), whose title already suggests an affinity with Plato, the poetic voice, after expressing his admiration for a boy’s beauty, asks whether there is another reality in which this beauty becomes immortal and consequently true.

¿Pero no hay más? ¿No notas acaso tú,
como si el cuerpo bello fuese la frontera de otro reino?
Es eterno, te dices. Y promete además
un mundo donde la perfección será costumbre.

But is there no more? Don't you notice perhaps,
 that it's as if the beautiful body were the boundary of
 another realm?
 It is eternal, you tell yourself. And, more, it promises
 a world where perfection will be the customary.

Like Villena, Mesquida lives in a cultural construct in which the individual is conditioned by two different pressures: the one whose ethic is directed at sublimation of the soul, and the other that relates to the immediate necessities of the body. Unlike Villena, however, Mesquida transcends the Platonic dichotomy between body and soul in order to join a tradition more inclined toward the world of the senses.¹⁰ We all know that Plato speaks often of spiritual love, but we should recall that it is not the only sort of which he speaks. We can be sure that, once the *Symposium's* oratorical celebration of spiritual love of boys was over, there followed a more corporeal celebration of physical love.¹¹ In his poetry, in order to explain the relationship between the homosexual and the world, Mesquida's starting point is carnal desire, eliminating the body-soul dualism and consequently every form of transcendence.¹² His poems are not constructed upon metaphysical or aprioristic criteria. On the contrary, he sets his sights upon that which he considers the real center of human existence: desire.

For Mesquida as for Villena, the body is the agent of desire, but unlike Villena, Mesquida finds in the body not a vehicle of spirituality, but the final object of this desire. So Mesquida's poetic task leads him not to idealization, but to unmediated corporeality. In the poem "Endevinalla" (Riddle), Mesquida addresses the reader thus: "My words are not a mirror of representation, but rather the writing of desire between men."

In Mesquida's poetry, the male body is surveyed, analyzed, almost dismembered, to be reassembled in a characteristically gay configuration. In the poem "Res més que un horabaixa" (Nothing more than an evening), the protagonist, during the complicit dusk, goes to one of the many parks that partly constitute the geography of gay desire. The beginning of the voyage toward the satisfaction of desire begins with a time (night) and a space (the park) which will lead to the (always chance) meeting. At night, in such a place, this

figure metamorphoses, and what during the day was work and anonymity is, during the night, revelation of his sexual identity.

The first approach between the protagonist and his prospective partner is realized by means of a look. However, this is not the traditional Petrarchan look into which the lovers channel their discovery of love, but a look that objectifies the body, directing itself straight at the center of pleasure:

No vaig sentir l'alosa mentre mirava el pes de
l'entrecuix tancat
dins els teus jeans quan travessaves els jardins públics

I didn't hear the lark while I was looking at the weight of
the closed area between the legs
inside your jeans as you crossed the public gardens.

Immersed in the world of homoerotic desire and removed from the surrounding physical world of the park, his situation symbolized in the poem by an inability to hear the lark, the protagonist fixes his gaze on the object of desire suggested through the tight dungarees. This erogenous zone, perhaps the most relevant in homosexual culture, is made visible in this poem, and desire directs his gaze toward the shape which, through the cloth, promises a whole world of enjoyment and passion.

We find another example of reassembling the body in a homosexual space in the poem "Motlles d'argila incandescent" (Molds of incandescent clay). Written from the memory of the speaker, it poeticizes a sort of prologue to desire between men. The poem begins by placing the reader in the space of what seems to be a room in a Barcelona apartment. In this space, the happiness of the lovers is suggested by their separation (by a window) from the outside, heterosexual world, so that they can show their desire in complete freedom. "Digueres aquests mots aferrat a la finestra entelada" (You said these words caught at the vapor-veiled window). The separating window suggests that gay men cannot express their sexual identity in public, that parks, restaurants, bars, or streets are places where only heterosexuals can show affection. Predictably, the critic would interpret this exclusion from the public world as a voluntary secrecy on the part of the gay man, a consequence of his shame. But the structure of that interpretation is just the same as the explanation of

women's exclusion from the world of work and confinement to domestic chores in terms of women's supposed inborn preference for the satisfactions of the housewife's existence. Both interpretations are fictions.

In the prologue to the sexual act, Mesquida, like Villena, presents the different erogenous zones of the body. Like Villena, Mesquida does not mask the body part in images but uses colloquial language for the chest, the groin, the waist of the lover. Nevertheless, as in the previous poem, when the penis is referred to, Mesquida, in a show of poetic sensibility, transforms this masculine erotic zone into literary material. In the previous poem, the penis was "the weight between the legs," and in this one it becomes the briefs that are "a hot and voluminous stain" ("L'eslip . . . és una taca calenta i voluminosa").

Against literary tradition, which views sexual relations idealized and sublimated into love, in this poem Mesquida defines what he understands as the representational canon for gay poetry. The poem, framed in the story of Barcelona today, celebrates love between two men with enthusiasm and without any sort of excuses. Thus in representing the sexual act, Mesquida does not hide the act behind images, but mixes figurative language with direct depiction to achieve expression saturated with erotic power. In the last stanza of the poem, we read:

Les mans recorren els moviments del desig mentre
t'acostes per recollir el motlle d'argila incandescent
amb tots el regruixos del meu cul i llepes
llargament el meu anus impres a la fertilitat de la
terra quan m'encules entre tendres ones i salives
alegres.

The hands run over and over the movements of desire
while
you draw closer to get the mold of incandescent clay
with all the inner spaces of my ass and lick
for a long time my anus imprinted with the fertility of the
earth when you go into my ass among tender waves and
salivas of joy.

By turning sodomy into poetry, Mesquida defies moral and poetic conventions. Heterosexual readers might read this representation of the sexual act as a political pamphlet in bad taste and not as poetry. The most liberal among them would perhaps read it simply as homoerotic poetry. However (and this is my own reading), that which may seem to be a sordid description of a sexual act between two men is, in Mesquida, a breath of fresh air for the gay man, a scandal for heterosexuals, and, most important to my mind, a demonstration that emotional fulfillment and personal realization are possible between two lovers of the same sex, and that it is society, not what is inherent in the individual, that stands in the way of the gay man's development of his identity.

Without doubt, Mesquida's poetry is unconventional, not only because (like Villena's) it takes gay life as a subject, but also because it surpasses the self-imposed limits of the orthodox branch of gay liberation, which began in the United States in the 1970s. The orthodox motto could be expressed in the formula, "We are equal and we want a (conventional) place in this society." The motto of the liberation demanded by Mesquida's poetry might instead be expressed by these words of Constantine Cavafy:

Mainstream society is suffocatingly conventional; as a gay man, I accept, indeed (sometimes) enthusiastically embrace the "outsider," "perverse," status accorded to my identity by such a contemptible society. My sexuality, and its expression in physical actions, is therefore a kind of revolt against that society, having social and political significance far beyond the sexual. In fucking men, I do not merely break a specific taboo; I question the authority, the reasonableness, the sanity of those formulating such taboos. My experience of my sexual identity, and its rejection by straight society, has led me to see the connections between conventions of personal sexual behavior and political oppression in general.¹²

Both Mesquida and Villena constantly dismember the male body and reassemble it in a gay pattern, not only in order to show how much gay culture has been denied, but also to demand the legitimization of gay desire. The voice with which they raise their protest is reflected in a poetry in which the characters (reflections or not of their creators) live intensely, in the purest hedonist tradition.

However, this hedonism, as I have tried to explain, does not point in Mesquida toward a transcendental horizon (the realm of ideas or true essences), but rather stops at corporeal sexuality (the realm of mere appearances). For this reason, we see Villena as a poet who belongs more to the accommodationist group of gay writers. Writers like Forster, Isherwood, and Leavitt have been less rebellious and more conciliatory. In their "homotexts," for example, rather than breaking with the traditions of the larger culture, they speak in a tone close to the expectations of the heterosexual world, trying to lead the reader to abandon his prejudices and adopt a tolerant attitude. Mesquida, on the other hand, belongs with the writers of rebellion, the Byronic creators who reject a society that forbids them to develop their true identity. Like Cernuda, Lorca in *El público*, Genet, Baldwin, and Mishima, Mesquida, in his homotexts, uses defiance and iconoclasm to express his reaction to society's exclusion and his desire for a different world.

Villena and Mesquida have created two quite distinct representations of the theme of gay desire, but both seek a space for an unassimilated gay paradigm within our controlled and institutionalized culture.

NOTES

1. Thomas E. Yingling, *Hart Crane and the Homosexual Text* (University of Chicago Press, 1990), p. 26.
2. Jacob Stockinger, "Homotextuality: A Proposal," in *The Gay Academic*, ed. Louie Crew (Palm Springs, Calif.: ETC Publications, 1978), pp. 135–51.
3. Francisco Brines, "Le heterodoxia generacional de Luis Antonio de Villena," *Insula* 394 (1979): 12.
4. Llordi Llovet, introduction to Biel Mesquida, *El bell país* (Barcelona: Laertes, 1985), p. 12.
5. Erich Fromm says, "The realization of the ego is attained . . . by the total personality of the man, by the active expression of his emotional and intellectual potentialities. These potentialities are to be found in everyone, but

they are actualized only to the degree that they reach expression" (*El miedo a la libertad*, tr. Gino Germani [Barcelona: Paidós, 1985], p. 247).

6. Gregory Woods, *Articulate Flesh: Male Homo-Eroticism and Modern Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 9.
7. Brines, p. 12.
8. Luis Antonio de Villena, *Ante el espejo* (Madrid: Mondador, 1988), p. 80.
9. Luis Antonio de Villena, *Poesía 1970–1984* (Madrid: Visor, 1988), p. 10. The quotation is from Olivio Jiménez's "Prólogo."
10. In order to attain knowledge of the truth, Villena follows the tradition of Epicurus, whose philosophy was based on a recognition of the body as the principal means of knowledge. Epicurus's writings are compiled in Spanish translation in *Cartas a Meneceo y máximas capitales*, ed. Rafael Ojeda and Alicia Olabuenaga (Madrid: Alhambra, 1987).
11. Renaissance humanism appropriated Plato's theory of love, transforming the original idea of Greek homosexual desire into a form more acceptable according to the standards of the epoch. First, this love was heterosexualized; then it was converted into a completely idealized love that not only did not subvert Christian morals, but indeed made earthly love into the kind of noncarnal love that God and humans are supposed to bear toward each other.
12. As quoted in Mark Lilly, *Gay Men's Literature in the Twentieth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 1993), p. 42.

THEATER AND LIFE IN EDUARDO MENDOZA'S *UNA COMEDIA LIGERA*

Marta E. Altisent

Translated by Martha Krow-Lucal

Eduardo Mendoza's novel, *Una comedia ligera*, published in 1996, is a documented and yet apocryphal recreation of the circumstances and situation of the postwar Catalan bourgeoisie, continuing his chronicle begun with *La verdad sobre el caso Savolta* (1975) and *La ciudad de los prodigios* (1986). The protagonist, playwright Carlos Prullàs, no longer enjoys the expansionist and speculative fantasies of Onofre Bouvila, which gave Barcelona its entree into European society with the international expositions of 1888 and 1929. Nor does he need, like the industrialist Savolta, to defend himself against the beggars and anarchists of the turbulent Barcelona of 1917–19. Unlike his predecessors, he is a hero "sin otro futuro que la nostalgia," the incarnation of a generation of Barcelona denizens who, amid scarcity, a flourishing black market, insecurity, and international isolation, floated through the benign vacation of a second Restoration. The narrator says:

Eran aquellos unos tiempos tranquilos, con pocas diversiones, en que los días y las horas transcurrían lentamente. . . . Por doquier reinaba el orden, la medida y la concordia, y se valoraban sobre todas las cosas, la discreción y la elegancia, y se observaban los buenos modales en todo momento y ocasión (*Comedia ligera*, p. 5; cited hereafter as *CL*).

Underlying such complacent civility is his assessment of a class that, by its concessions to the dictatorship, had surrendered control of its independence and individuality.

Mendoza's novel begins in the summer of 1948, when developments in the Nuremberg trial of Alfred Krupp (because of his financing of the Nazi war machine) are followed avidly in *La Vanguardia* and *El Noticiero*. To a degree the trial suggests a parallel with the situation facing fascist Spain, still on trial before an international tribunal but hoping to leave ostracism behind, be admitted to the United Nations, and enjoy the benefits of the Marshall Plan.¹

In addition to its historical interpretation, the novel's originality is rooted in the farcical masquerade that Mendoza extends to the sociocultural context of these years, including a witty survey of the myths and contradictions that identify the dictatorship as an extemporaneous, dehumanizing, and self-satisfied spectacle. Mendoza's exposé falls within the parameters and concerns of the everyday mythologies that nourished the collective imagination of the 1940s, with abundant references to generalized repression, the endemic poverty of the Spanish scene, and the marginalization of farce within "official literature" and relative to more prestigious genres, a marginalization that furnished a privileged (and irreverent) space at the birth of a consumer- and mass-oriented popular culture.² Theater here is text and context, an inclusive circle whose function and activity reflect those of the self-indulgent Barcelona microcosm.³ The title *Light Comedy* refers as much to the protagonist's farce, *¡Arrivederci, pollo!*, which is about to open, as it does to the author's eponymous novel, whose *peripetia* turns out to be just another trivial, escapist diversion, useful for fighting off summer lethargy and for curing the protagonist of an excess of passion and venality. Mendoza's multifaceted caricature leaps from intertextual parody to satire of a kind of value system that regulated the world of his childhood, a bittersweet and tender *esperpento* aimed at the traditional targets of Franco's dictatorship and softened by the nostalgic indulgence generated by the passage of half a century.

Before analyzing the theatrical nature and dramatic and meta-dramatic elements of *Una comedia liger*, using the categories suggested by Richard Hornby, one must set forth the novel's superimposition of five plots and subplots. (1) The framing story is that of the farce's rehearsal vicissitudes, which keep Prullàs in a deserted and oppressively hot Barcelona while his family is on vacation in the beach town of Masnou. The play's opening also signifies the end of his theatrical career, one filled with public fervor and

attacks by pitiless critics. (2) The central plotline concerns the tangle involving the playwright with the police, setting off a chain of absurd events that remain unresolved until the penultimate chapter. One afternoon Prullàs seduces the least talented actress in the company, Lili Villalba. Soon afterward he meets her “protector,” Ignacio Vallsigorri, at a high society party and spends a few hours with him on a spree in the Barrio Chino. Several days later, Vallsigorri turns up dead, and the police inspector, Verdugones, asks the protagonist to collaborate with him on the case. Prullàs reluctantly agrees, without telling Verdugones about his relations with Lili and the hours he spent with the victim. Believing that the inspector eyes him with suspicion, Prullàs searches vainly for influential people who will support his story. He falls into a trap set by Lili’s father, who threatens to expose his relations with both Lili and a friend of his wife, Marichuli Mercadal. Later he becomes the extortion victim of a gypsy who promises to return the billfold Vallsigorri lost the night they were out together. Although he manages to survive the mishap, he does not get the billfold back because Mariquita Pons, the company’s *prima donna*, already paid the gypsy to let her keep the wallet, which contained a compromising letter. The protagonist is then arrested as a principal suspect, spending one night in jail until he is told that the police have arrested the guilty party: a petty criminal whom the police suspected from the beginning. The harassment and humiliation that the police inspector forces upon Prullàs is a trick to elicit information about his Catalan acquaintances and allegiances. They are implicated in (3–4) a monarchist conspiracy to overthrow Franco and place Don Juan de Borbón on the Spanish throne, in addition to diverting a shipment of flour sent by Perón to ease the near famine conditions of late-1940s Spain. A set of intensifying parallels appears in the epilogue. The humiliation suffered by Prullàs at the hands of the arbitrary police correlates to Verdugones’s being fired, a victim of his own patriotic zeal. Before he could denounce the Catalan pastry cooks, higher authorities used their influence to have Verdugones transferred, beating him at his game. (5) Finally, there is the tangled plot of *¡Arrivederci, pollo!*, glimpsed in the eight rehearsals interpolated in the novel.⁴ Todoliu, a millionaire, is murdered by someone who takes over his identity and then visits his niece and nephew. This impostor winds up dead in their house, preventing them from carrying out their own plan to kill their (false)

uncle and inherit his wealth before he leaves for the Riviera. Inspector Enrique, also the niece's suitor, arrests the maid, who is suspected of having killed the impostor and of dismembering her previous employer, thus leaving the niece and nephew free and clear.

Una comedia ligera may be read as a generalized intertextual parody, a burlesque amalgam of dramatic modes with a disconcerting unevenness of tone. It evokes a high comedy with melodramatic moments reminiscent of Valle-Inclán's *bagatelas*, such as Prullàs's simultaneous courtship of his wife Martita, Marichuli Mercadal, Mariquita Pons, Lili Villalba, and Dra. Maribel. The intervention of the Jesuit Emilio Porras (who urges the protagonist to accept the false accusation as penance and as a warning from heaven to set aside his amorous dalliances) sketches out a moral farce that ends with the catharsis of Prullàs's imprisonment and his miraculous-seeming exoneration. Prullàs's return to the Arcadian matriarchy of Masnou and the reinforcement of his matrimonial ties after the anxieties of adultery reproduce the schematic of Golden Age pastoral comedy: order upset/harmony restored. There are elements of the so-called "grotesque tragedy" and the *sainete* in the death of the gypsy Antoñita, who ends up bleeding to death in the street after trying to protect Prullàs from her pimp's knife. Satirical as well are the nomenclatures, the irreverent view of the official bureaucracy, the rapidity of staged/street action, the clash between plebeian and aristocratic values, and the inversion of roles of the *señorito* and low-life characters (as when Prullàs loses his dignity, status, manhood, and continence before the blade of the Niño de la Doctrina; *CL*, pp. 331–36). And *¡Arrivederci, pollo!* is a frenzied exaggeration of police-play clichés, in a vein similar to Miguel Mihura and Jardiel Poncela's incongruous and whimsical depiction of the genre.

Spain once again becomes a grotesque deformation of European civilization in Mendoza's presentation of two historical crises, whose resolution allowed the dictatorship to consolidate its power and reinforce its simulacrum of national solidarity and calm in the face of internal and external enemies. The monarchist plot to overthrow Franco and place Don Juan on the throne, planned by exiles and supported by the Bourbon *ancien régime*, ends up here as an anticlimax. As Verdugones triumphantly states:

Lo de San Juan de Luz fue una astracanada. La vieja aristocracia provinciana: un atajo de meapilas sifilíticos. Y mientras ellos hacían ver que conspiraban y se dejaban desplumar en las mesas de bacarrá, a bordo del Azor, el Jefe de Estado y don Juan de Borbón dirimían sus diferencias de hombre a hombre (*CL*, p. 373).⁵

Mendoza also targets the new “Black Legend” and international ostracism that Franco sensed hanging over Spain’s future due to suspicions his politics continued to inspire in the wartime Allies following the defeat of German fascism. The providential intervention of Perón, a dictator no less despised than Franco by the democratic powers and one who had defied the UN economic boycott in order to supply Spain with much needed flour, gives way to an additional absurdist twist. The Catalan pastry cooks confirm their “anti-Spanish” spirit by profaning the recently reaffirmed Hispano-Argentine bonds of affection:

A principios de este año, como prueba de los lazos de hermandad que unen a nuestros dos países y del afecto que nos profesa su presidente, llegó de la Argentina un barco cargado de trigo, féculas y otras materias primas destinadas a paliar el serio problema de abastos que sufre nuestro país de resultas del injusto bloqueo impuesto por los enemigos de España. Eran, como le digo, productos de primerísima necesidad para el sustento de los trabajadores ¡El pan de la patria! Unos meses más tarde, la esposa del general Perón, esa dama sin par, honró nuestro suelo con su visita. Con tal motivo me desplazé a Madrid. ¿Cuál no sería mi asombro y mi vergüenza, ¡vergüenza de ser español!, al ver venir a mi encuentro al excelentísimo señor embajador de la Argentina en persona para comunicarme que, según sabía de buena tinta, unos comerciantes catalanes, en connivencia con altos funcionarios del Consorcio Harinero de Madrid, habían desviado varias toneladas de trigo y a espaldas de sus compatriotas las habían vendido aquí, en Barcelona, al gremio de pasteleros, para hacer monas de Pascua y cocas de San Juan. ¡El pan de la patria, Prullàs! ¡Vergüenza tuve de ser español! (*CL*, pp. 302–3).⁶

The metatheatrical dimension of the novel rests also on conscious and explicit literary and subliterate allusions. The police-

novel plot of the outer frame is modeled on the thrillers of Georges Simenon, Ross Macdonald, Raymond Chandler, and Dashiell Hammett, writers who subverted the quintessentially bourgeois formulae of the detective story with their social criticism.⁷ As in *La verdad sobre el caso Savolta*, *El misterio de la cripta embrujada*, and *El laberinto de las aceitunas*, Mendoza turns to a “técnica policial, rápida y suelta, en beneficio de la lectura del texto” (Monegal, p. 34), accelerating the slow, harmonious rhythm of the first part. While in *La verdad sobre el caso Savolta* the police-work details followed the serial-novel model of Baroja's *novela negra*, in *Una comedia ligera* the inspiration is clearly cinematographic, according to perceptions the Spaniards of the 1940s had of these thrillers.⁸ The elaborate intrigues of Sherlock Holmes and Agatha Christie and the “birrias de Sexton Blake” are rarities read by Prullàs and Vallsigorri; the rest imitate the virile poses of Humphrey Bogart and the posturing of Franchot Tone.

As a second-degree parody, *¡Arrivederci, pollo!* reduces the obsolete conventions of the detective comedy to absurdity by constructing its own pseudocomic and self-conscious version of the genre. Its silly clichés evoke elements of the mystery-comedy of the English golden age, especially those of the comic variant denominated “What fun!,” an irreverent and frivolous subgenre popularized in the interwar period that turned crime into a pastime for amateurs, with solutions reached by quasi-providential means.⁹ The bizarre titles of Prullàs's other plays (*Todos los muertos se llaman Paco*, *Un puñal de quita y pon*, *Merienda de negros*) also suggest the humor and sensibility of the period without actually reproducing it: the risqué playfulness of Edgar Neville and Ruiz Iriarte, the witty and irreverent dialogues of Mihura and Alvaro de la Iglesia's plays, the abstract games of Jardiel Poncela, and the slapstick quality of Berlanga's plots—reworkings, in their turn, of the sainete and the *astracana* of the 1930s.¹⁰

There are allusions, quotes, and self-referential commentaries that constitute a criticism of the Spanish theater and literature of the time, capable of projection into the past and future. Prullàs himself overstates the irrelevance of his “farsas inocentes y disparatadas, del todo ajenas a la realidad y en buena parte plagiadas de comedias inglesas y francesas,” but he is offended when one of his works is mistaken to be Alfonso Torrado's *¿El muerto de risa?* (*CL*, p. 132), a sample of gross *costumbrista* humor with even lower literary expect-

tations.¹¹ His admirers also emphasize the anachronous and absurdist quality of his plays: “obras sin pretensiones . . . de éstas que ahora ya no gustan” (CL, p. 133). They compare these to the incongruities of everyday events: “aquí vemos casos que podrían servir de argumentos de sus comedias ¡de auténticas farsas! Ah, si yo tuviera la facilidad para escribir” (CL, p. 206).

The antagonism between movies and theater is a leitmotif of the novel. Triumph of the silver screen over the theater, which was predicted by Galdós in the 1910s, is an accomplished fact in the 1940s.¹² Although many Spanish black-and-white movies with neorealist and historical themes were being produced, the public was voraciously consuming a flood of American technicolor films. As Vázquez Montalbán states, “EL AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE aún no estaba al alcance de los españoles. Pero los mitos sí” (p. 90). Against the pervasive influence of the screen, Prullàs stresses the differences between the two genres, holding up the magic, the aesthetically pleasing suggestiveness and the superiority of live theater acting against cinematographic realism. Nostalgically he evokes the prewar papier-maché theater with its fright-filled scenes: the Don Juan Tenorio plays acted by Ernesto Vilches and brought to their climax by Enrique Rambal (CL, p. 103). Mariquita Pons, on the other hand, scorns the impoverished verisimilitude of the farce with its well-worn “surprises,” jokes, and barbs: “el argumento es forzado, los personajes son inverosímiles y los chistes son más viejos que la sarna. . . . Por el amor de Dios, Carlos, ¿a quién se le ocurre a esas alturas sacar a escena un tartamudo?” (CL, pp. 18–19). Another force inhibiting widespread, popular enthusiasm for the movies, the Church, intervenes in the guise of Father Emilio Porras, S. J., urging Prullàs to write “edifying theater” like José María Pemán’s 1933 drama *El divino impaciente*, representative of a crowd-pleasing formula no less passé than that of Prullàs.

Unlike the stage director Gaudet, Prullàs does not believe in the spiritual superiority of drama, nor in its propaganda value and powers of catharsis over the postwar “público entontecido.” “Las guerras y las hecatombes son el lenguaje de la historia; el teatro, el de las personas” (CL, p. 50). When the director wants to produce the controversial plays of Sartre, then the toast of the Paris stage, he is convinced that “el público pide ideas profundas y emociones fuertes: una nueva percepción de la realidad.” Prullàs again is skeptical: “la

realidad cotidiana es trágica, un auténtico revulsivo de la conciencia. Y si esto no basta para sacudir a la gente de su marasmo, ¿lo van a hacer cuatro frases pretenciosas puestas en boca de unos actores mediocres?" (CL, p. 50). As he denies the existential identification of life with literature ("Yo no quiero parecerme a Sartre; es bajo, es bizco y su mujer da miedo," p. 262), he is also suggesting the scant therapeutic utility of theater to relieve the director's depression and professional boredom.

All these comments make up the elegy of a genre that represents theater itself, its evolution threatened by the movies, the imminent advent of television, and the abundance of tragedy in real life. At the end of the novel Prullàs's jests, puns, and follies

ya no producían ningún efecto en la nueva sensibilidad del público, porque todo estaba a punto de cambiar radicalmente en la sociedad, menos aquella paz duramente conquistada y arduamente defendida contra toda asechanza (CL, p. 383).

Its escapist task accomplished, this type of comedy gives way to a countercultural, experimental, and nationalist theater that, starting in the 1950s, would awaken audiences to the existence of their unfulfilled responsibilities—the theater of Antonio Buero Vallejo and Alfonso Sastre in Madrid, Salvador Espriu in Catalonia, and Fernando Arrabal outside Spain. But this would be the theater of the next generation, whose uneasy bourgeois conscience had replaced the deliberate forgetfulness of their parents.

The interpolated rehearsals of *¡Arrivederci, pollo!* also operate as a parody of the motives, roles, and detective-story mechanisms of the external criminal adventure; thus the protagonist's ineptness as a detective corresponds to the exhaustion of his artistic imagination. There is a kind of Pirandellian quality in the fact that the unresolved crime exacerbates the insecurity already experienced by the playwright and the actors, destabilizing their performances. The most extreme case is that of Lili Villalba, who ends by breaking her contract, in part because her role as the homicidal maid tarnishes her with a criminal reputation. Mariquita Pons, on the other hand, as principal actress of the company, manages to overcome the appearance of culpability and is gallantly cleared of suspicion by Gaudet and Prullàs. The criminal adventure and the comedy end in the same vacuum: a facile resolution parodying designation of a guilty party

as the most relevant aspect of the police-detective plot and selection of a criminal who ends up being the most undesirable and disposable element, leaving unsolved the identity of the true murderers. The only certainty for the reader is Gaudet's prediction: "contrary to what the movies say, many crimes go unpunished" (*CL*, p. 240).

Off stage, the characters surrounding Prullàs mirror his plagiarism by appropriating his authority and his authorship. The maid Sebastiana demonstrates a cinematographic instinct for investigation and coverup:

Hum, dijo Prullàs, has salido muy bien parada de la prueba, te felicito; pero ¿por qué dijiste [a la policía] que no habías visto a la señorita Lili Villalba? Porque esa chica es una lagarta, señorito; de ella solo se pueden esperar líos y compromisos. Yo de letras no sabré, pero hay cosas que a mí no se me escapan. Hace unos días vino esa pájara y hoy mismo, los alguaciles: más claro, el agua (*CL*, p. 182).

Dra. Maribel reveals her somewhat perverse imagination as she admires the actors who specialize in infamous characters (Basil Rathbone and Dan Duryea), and she discards the hypothesis that Vallsigorri was the victim of a crime of passion: "este tipo era un donjuán y a los donjuanes sólo les hacen caso las mujeres bobas. Estas no matan" (*CL*, p. 285). Verdugones, in the antagonist's role, refuses to allow the literaturization of the crime: "El criminal siempre vuelve a la escena del crimen, ¿no es así? . . . Curiosa expresión: el crimen como representación escénica, qué idea tan romántica! Bah, inútiles fantasías: estoy convencido de que la realidad será mucho más prosaica" (*CL*, p. 179). "España no es Hollywood, amigo Prullàs, ni Hollywood ni nada que se le parezca" (*CL*, p. 202). His anti-theater prejudices lead him to see the playwright and the criminal as accomplices in a coverup attempt to hide their abject nature:

Estamos ante un criminal inteligente, frio y avezado, quizás no en el delito, pero sí en el arte de la ocultación; alguien, en suma, más afín a los personajes de sus comedias que a los hombres de nuestros bajos fondos (*CL*, p. 175).

When faced with Vallsigorri's cadaver, an infinitely legible sign, all the plagiarized formulae are useless:

[Prullàs] hacía esfuerzos denodados por grabar en la memoria todos los detalles y extraer de ellos alguna conclusión, pero este esfuerzo hacía que todo le pareciera superfluo y sus observaciones, carentes de significación (CL, p. 201).

Vallsigorri's acquaintance with a whole library of police fiction did not help him foresee his own death. As he confides to Prullàs before he dies: "habré leído en total más de dos mil novelas policíacas y ni una sola vez he descubierto al asesino" (CL, p. 133). Verdugones too realizes that

en vez de agudizar su ingenio, las historietas se lo embotaron, ya que a la postre acabó muriendo como la más inepta de las víctimas. Al menos podría habernos dejado un mensaje cifrado escrito en sangre, un jeroglífico en el parquet u otro acertijo cuya resolución nos permitiera identificar a su asesino (CL, p. 201).

From his demiurgic position, the police inspector finally usurps the theatrical mechanisms of authority, production, and direction, forcing Prullàs to submit to a process that has nothing to do with the crime but everything to do with a preestablished guilty verdict that turns the dandy's death into a kind of warning. Understandably, Verdugones censures police fiction and prefers the higher moral temperature of *Crime and Punishment* (CL, p. 120). It may be added that as Prullàs undergoes a whole series of humiliations and is treated like an outcast, the cruel tensions that Antonin Artaud suggested to shake actors and audience out of their lethargy are carried to metadramatic lengths.

The regime's mistrust of the theatrical world is finally internalized by theater people themselves: "Los actores siempre han sido malvistos por la sociedad, porque son seres marginales y nocturnos, que viven de la usurpación y del engaño" (CL, p. 105). Even the harmless magician Corbeau eventually needs to protect himself against the prejudice that identifies the histrionics of actors with their moral ambivalence: "yo solo soy un farsante, un embaucador sin malicia, no trato de engañar a nadie. . . . Pero hay personas que a veces no distinguen." To which Prullàs replies sardonically: "¡Jugamos con fuego, amigo Corbeau!" (CL, p. 120).

Besides Prullàs's farce, there are other ceremonies and spectacles inserted in the novel that intensify the effect of alienation on an

opportunistic audience fond of jest and “humbug.” The use of magic and hypnotism by the “misterioso, el inquietante, el sorprendente, el diabólico doctor Corbeau” (CL, p. 11) provokes a fainting spell in the suggestible Marichuli Mercadal, a *mise-en-scène* that turns out to be the most popular spectacle of all. As Prullàs tells her: “cuando te caiste al suelo, se te vieron un poco los muslos lo que fue acogido muy favorablemente, luego tu y yo escenificamos un fotograma de *Lo que el viento se llevó*” (CL, p. 117). Mariquita Pons evokes a *juerga madrileña* on the banks of the Manzanares in which pranks, merriment, and violence create an exhausting “happening” in a costumbrista setting:

Allí bebieron chinchón, bailaron un pasodoble y el chotis a los acordes de un organillo y presenciaron de lejos la reyerta de dos majos. Hubo profusión de insolencias y agudezas, menudearon los desplantes y salieron a relucir por último las cuchillas. . . . El lance los dejó a todos en un estado de excitación mayor que el que ya traían. El novio de Mariquita Pons tomó prestada una guitarra y cantó un bolero, que fue muy aplaudido por la concurrencia; luego las dos chicas bailaron una milonga con mucha gracia y picardía. Todos querían que Prullàs hiciera alguna cosa, pero éste pretendió excusarse alegando que no sabía tocar la guitarra, ni cantar, ni mucho menos bailar; sin embargo, ante la insistencia general, acabó recitando con voz campanuda y ademanes histriónicos un romance grandilocuente del Duque de Rivas (CL, pp. 79–80).

A flamenco dance platform in a Barrio Chino tavern is used to introduce the theme of audience stultification. Like don Manolito and don Estrafalario in *Los cuernos de don Friolera*, Prullàs and Vallsigorri analyze the Spanish spirit in its coarsest theatrical manifestations of a popular type of art, that used by the Franco regime as a propaganda instrument:

La retórica de la patria, la madre y la novia es muy del gusto de las mentes simples, los beodos y los militares, y es muy normal que un pobre artista recurra a este truco infalible para granjearse el favor de un público tan agreste (CL, p. 147).

Each person reacts differently to the patriotic harangue of *la Fresca*: Vallsigorri is enthused by “ese salero muy especial que redime [a

cantaora y público] de su bajeza," while Prullàs laments the fact that Spain is "el único país donde se enaltece lo feo y lo deforme" (CL, p. 148). Also the press falls back on spectacle as a substitute for news, filling up its pages with ads for popular celebrations, bullfight news, strange happenings, inexplicable phenomena, outlandish inventions, and contests (CL, p. 19).

This marginal and self-satisfied niche of comedy inside more prestigious literary forms reflects, on a deep level, the lack of a leading role and political power in a city and a class that have lost both their voice and their will to take back their independence. Mendoza's systematic irreverence exposes and reexamines the absurdity of this situation, which tied Barcelona's entrepreneurial class economically to Madrid. At issue is its willingness to consent to its own oppression by integrating itself into an increasingly consolidated Spanish state and a semifeudal superstructure that intensified class divisions, as well as suppression of its Catalan culture.¹³ Prullàs is aware of his self-exclusion from other hard-working and forcibly silenced Catalonians, but his comfort-loving bourgeois spirit does not allow him to give up his privileges:

Le fascinaba el espectáculo de aquella Barcelona insólita, de blusón y mandil, ordenada, tenaz y laboriosa, tan distinta de aquella otra Barcelona de pechera almidonada y traje largo, frívola, viciosa, hipócrita y nocturnámbula que la vida le había llevado a compartir y en la que se encontraba maravillosamente bien (CL, p. 156).

Enclosed within a cultural quarantine, Barcelona lives out its subjugation to Madrid in a schizophrenic fashion. Its newly emerged stability and prosperity contrast sharply with its lack of real power under a government taken over by administrators and watchful state police who protect the luxury and well-being of the upper classes. The ongoing and inherent antagonism between Verdugones and Prullàs is the incarnation of this irritating coexistence, transmitted by the author through his discordant sense of humor; the Catalan's defense mechanism is irreverence and a self-directed irony. There is a whole parade of witticisms, elaborate bows, *acudits*, double-entendres, and a lazily mocking spirit, or *socarronería*, as a way of being both inside and outside the *gran familia española*—a way of backing down and giving up. Vázquez Montalbán points out, "el

chiste [de estos años] no tiene el valor absoluto del desfogue, porque entonces tendría un papel histórico activo. El chiste es la resignación, la aceptación, la integración" (p. 108). A clear vision of this social, cultural, and national contradiction leads to a tragic and absurd reasoning process similar to what Vázquez Montalbán defines as *lógica subnormal*: a logic developed after the war by those who were able to maintain a sense of what was truly abnormal (p. 41). A sample of this double perspective is Vallsigorry's derisive refutation of the obvious:

En el extranjero cuentan verdaderas barbaridades: que si aquí la gente se muere de inanición en las aceras, que si no se puede salir de casa por temor a los carteristas, que al que no va a misa no le venden pan ¡qué sé yo! Oyendo esas patrañas cualquiera pensaría que España es la antesala del infierno; y sin embargo, ya vé, ¡qué paz y qué animación! . . . Varios mendigos con gesto piadoso tendieron sus manos escuálidas al paso de los hombres, que repartían limosnas con alegre camaradería (CL, p. 141).

In sharp contrast with Prullàs's and Vallsigorry's slyness, Verdugones's cutting jibes are bitter and sardonic, demonstrating a class-based resentment and an anti-Catalan prejudice that he does not bother to hide, a clear echo of the rejection felt by bureaucrats transplanted from the central regions to convert Catalan language and culture to the autarchic discourse of the Franco regime. His humor often alternates cursing with the bombastic:

¡No me hables, coño, no me hables! Ya sabes lo que decía aquél. Todos los comerciantes son unos sinvergüenzas, todos los catalanes son comerciantes, y aquí tiene usted servido el silogismo (CL, p. 301)

Contra todo pronóstico he acabado encariñándome con esta hermosa y noble tierra; el tesón febril de sus industrias, la finura de sus iglesias románicas, sus playas bañadas por el sol, los fértiles campos ilerdenses . . . y Barcelona, urbe alegre, laboriosa y cosmopolita que inmortalizó Cervantes! Gran región! Lástima de los catalanes, que la afean mucho (CL, p. 374)

The theatrical artificiality of this human comedy reaches its peak in the multiple linguistic and tonal registers orchestrated by the

omniscient narrator. From the prologue on, he functions as an off-stage voice that, like an opening curtain at the beginning of a play, gives us a slightly comic overture. The ironic narrator pretends to share his characters' naive, serene, and self-satisfied view, but with more vehemence than they express. His exultant tone contrasts sharply with their insipid fervor, and his Castilian, largely lacking in bilingual inflections, reflects the diglossia of Barcelona's elite, which replaced its native tongue with a cosmetic Castilian naturalness. This domesticated, homey Spanish used in the service of Catalan rites and *seny*, shows the bourgeois betrayal of the Catalan letter, though not the spirit. A language with no literary pretensions, it aims to reflect the supposedly homogeneous and benign society that surrounds the protagonist. Contrasting with this colloquial register, there are more affected types, Brusquets for example, "que hablaba un castellano impecable, pero algo lento y plagado de perífrasis"; Lili's speech, learned on the stage and full of hyper-correction to cover up her Andalusian accent; and the elaborate discourse of black marketeer Poveda, with which he seeks acceptance to the refined spheres of his customers ("Como usted bien sabe, mi madre adolece de una leve ceguera total" [CL, p. 290]). These registers are attuned to the aseptic style so sought by the Barcelona novelists of those years: Ignacio Agustí (*Mariona Rebull* [1944], *El viudo Rius* [1945]), Juan Sebastián Arbó (*Las piedras grises* [1948], *María Molinari*), and Carmen Laforet (*Nada* [1944]), to name a few.

In contradistinction with all these speeches and with the soft tonalities of a Catalan substratum, there is the categorical sonority of the authorities and those who form part of the monolithic discourse and ideologies of the regime. They are testimonies to the linguistic, ideological, and spiritual colonization of Catalonia applied by Franco from the end of the Civil War onward, mobilizing a complete Castilian machine—administrative, educational, and order-keeping—to transform its culture. Several examples among many: the insults, imprecations, and pronouncements of Verdugones, Sigüenza's circumspection, Poveda's Falangist rhetoric, the lawyer Sanjuanete's high-flown oratory, the sonority of dubbed movies, the patronizing tones of Father Emilio Porras, minute details of an affidavit, the patriotic panegyric of La Fresca, Fontcuberta's aggressive philistinism, and Marichuli Mercadal's miracle-laden religious irrationality. These stylizations recall the spirit of "official-

dom” parodied by Vallé-Inclán in the Bourbon Madrid of *Ruedo Ibérico* and *Luces de bohemia*. As Antonio Risco states:

Oficialidad de lo que significa la ley, la norma implacablemente generalizadora, allanadora de toda originalidad al nivel de lo mediocre, el racionalismo del derecho romano, de la lógica aristotélica, de la teología tomista y de la retórica académica; todos ellos instrumentos de momificación . . . maquinaria ultrarefinada para la fabricación de muñecos, peles, títeres y marionetas (p. 264).

In Mendoza, as in Valle-Inclán, this multilayered colloquial speech transcends to a “coloquio de universal proyección artística” (Greenfield, p. 168).

At the edges of these cultured, pseudocultured, and dogmatic inflections of the Spanish language are the vulgar expressions, the Andalusian slang, and the *caló* of Barcelona’s Barrio Chino lowlifes that act as intrusions of “lo feo y lo deforme” in Prullàs’s serene and rational world; they also signify a further degradation of the ordinariness and harshness of their Castilian roots carried to an extreme. Stigmatizing of the Other, the Andalusian gypsy, doubly subjugated and as far from the Castilian-centered bourgeoisie as from the Catalan middle class, is emphasized by the phonographic reproduction of his grammatical lapses, thus establishing textually the superior position shared by writer and protagonist.

Transcription of a Castilianized Catalan, caricatured in Barcelona Restoration farces of Santiago Rusiñol and Serafi Pitarra, and of a Catalanized Andalusian of the postwar years, the *xarnego* used by such novelists as Francisco Candell and Juan Marsé to dramatize the conflicted values of popular Barcelona culture, are conspicuously absent. Thus the novel appears to document the diglossia and the triumph of Catalan linguistic nine years after the advent of the dictatorship.¹⁴

Mendoza’s genteel vision of the painful Spanish and Catalan postwar years refuses to agree with the solemn, categorical, official version of history. He sets forth no criticism that is not wrapped in a humorous covering, making it appear trifling and airy. His *Comedia ligera* is a systematic avoidance of tragedy. Correctness and good taste are presented as the most sophisticated way to approach vital complexity with a smile. More than merely unable to sense tragedy,

he refuses to allow himself to be depressed and overcome by reality, reducing his *tremendismo* to a kind of masquerade that is, nonetheless, true. Like the frivolous and antiheroic comedy that gives the book its title, the protagonist finally declares himself free of the historical sins and responsibilities of his ancestors:

Solo era, en definitiva, una pieza de aquel prodigioso engranaje, limpio de mérito y de culpa, siempre heredero de un pasado en cuya construcción no había participado, pero cuyas consecuencias estaba obligado fatalmente a aceptar (*CL*, p. 383).

His tale seems to be directed at readers no less disenchanted and desirous of escape than those today.

NOTES

1. Alfred Krupp's Nuremberg indictment, the resulting twelve-year sentence in 1948 for his role in financing the Nazi war effort, and his 1951 release on a technicality resulting from errors in the judicial procedure (Snyder, p. 201) were much discussed in the Barcelona press. Besides dating the novel's action, the Krupp reference establishes a paratextual interplay, in *La verdad sobre el caso Savolta*, with the example of the Savoltas, a Catalan industrial dynasty involved with armament manufacture under the cover of Spanish neutrality during World War I. Mendoza intends less a rigorous historical reconstruction than a synthesis of the period, which is further developed by continual reference to a series of verifiable local and international materials: jokes, anecdotes, and pseudoscientific announcements. Such items transmit the vapid inauthenticity of official (and officious) news. Significant examples include Franco's retreat with Our Lady of Fatima when her image arrived in Madrid on its way to Maastricht to be blessed by Pius XII; Eva Duarte de Perón's 1947 visit to Spain; the debut of Lola Flores with "La zarzamora"; Juan de Borbón renouncing collaboration with Republican exiles to overthrow Franco; UN sanctions; Ortega y Gasset's return from a round of lectures in America coinciding with Ingrid Bergman's departure to film *Stromboli*; medical endorsement of lobotomies as "painless and minimally invasive" procedures. Among some chronological inconsistencies we find a reference to TV in Madrid on a trial basis (in actuality, not appearing before the mid-fifties) and a reference to Franco's first granddaughter (born 1950).
2. The entire work functions as an elegy to these minor genres (mystery comedy, vaudeville, sainete, *cuplé*, and musical comedy), which survived at the

margins of political turmoil and aesthetic changes. During the Civil War, these genres, considered “compensations for the light puritanism of bourgeois society” (Marrast, p. 150), prevailed because performers were not able to pursue serious theater. In the postwar period, the public, avid for escapism and melodrama, returned to these formulas, which are characterized by a conformist ideology reflecting their own alienation. Seen as a frivolous and inconsequential game, light comedy placed itself beyond the systematic order, thus permitting the dramatist relief from (censorship and) political coercion.

3. Theater is seen here as a sanctuary for nostalgia and a liberating space. For Gaudet, it is the extension of a mother’s Oedipal ties; for the ambitious Lili, the promise of economic independence; for Prullàs, a respite from marriage and family life; for Quiquí, a refuge from connubial disillusionment and a hiding place from the law.
4. *¡Arrivederci, pollo!* consists of eight interposed sequences: (Ch. I, 2) Todoliu’s niece and nephew plot his murder in order to inherit; (I, 13) Todoliu and the niece’s maid talk about a crime that occurred at her former place of employment; (II, 1) the heirs, planning to murder their uncle at 5 p.m., arrange a midday visit from Inspector Enrique and their uncle in order to avert suspicion; (IV, 1) the plan goes awry when Todoliu is discovered dead in the closet before Enrique arrives; (V, 3) the inspector arrives, and the niece cannot figure out how to hide the body under the sofa before Enrique enters; (VI, 2) he insists on opening the closet, only to discover the maid and a nephew in underwear; (VII, 1) the inspector returns the following day to inform them that Todoliu had not left for the Riviera after 5 p.m. as they had attempted to make him believe. Instead, he was murdered a month earlier by an impostor pretending to be Todoliu; (VIII) the maid is accused of murdering the false uncle and complains that her former mistress died in pieces as well.
5. On 31 March 1947, without concurrence by the legitimate royal heir, Franco presented the Cortes a succession plan by which Spain was to remain a monarchy. Don Juan de Borbón, Count of Barcelona, responded with a manifesto clearly stating his own position and declined to “disfrazar con el manto glorioso de la monarquía un regimen de puro arbitrio gubernativo” (to cloak the rule of an arbitrary government with the glorious mantle of the monarchy) (Orts, p. 816). In 1948, the Socialist Party Congress at Toulouse proposed consolidating anti-Franco factions in order to present the monarchists with a united front. Several months later, however, they repudiated the plan. Here, Mendoza refers to the meeting of 25 August 1948, between the *caudillo* and Don Juan de Borbón. The talks covered broad contemporary issues, including Juan Carlos’s education, and instigated wild speculation in the foreign press. Most widely diffused among the commentaries was the rumor that the interview was about the probable abdication of the Count of Barcelona in favor of his son and including his rights as heir to Alfonso XIII. In a press conference on 8 October, the Count of Barcelona denied these rumors, which led to cancelation of the Reuter’s

press release announcing a socialist-monarchist pact signed by socialist leader Indalecio Prieto and monarchist leader Gil Robles. Spanish monarchists reacted indignantly, blaming the false news release on Foreign Office ulterior motives (Orts, p. 822).

6. On 30 October Argentina signed a financially significant trade agreement with Spain. "Argentina would sell Spain a minimum of 400,000 tons of wheat during 1947 and 300,000 in 1948. From 1949 to 1951, Argentina provided up to 90% of the wheat distributed in Spain, which was unable to produce enough to supply its own needs. Argentina's friendly attitude was Perón's response to international indictment of his refusal to go along with the great powers in ostracizing the Spanish government" (Orts, pp. 795–96). The incompatibility between the regime's military spirit and Catalan epicureanism is reduced to a confectionery metaphor. The ode to humble "buñuelos, polvorones, roscos y pestiños" as symbols of a savory Spain corresponds to the cursing of the more refined "cocas" and "monas amasadas con harina de la patria" (CL, p. 372).
7. As Mendoza pointed out in an interview, "Chandler's *The Last Goodbye* was the novel he would have wanted to write" (Tuñón, p. 51, quoting from Santos Alonso).
8. Juan Ramón Resina (p. 120) has called attention to delayed adaptation of the detective or police procedural genre in Catalonia, in spite of better socioeconomic conditions for the development and reception of this quintessentially bourgeois form. Mercè Rodoreda's *Crim* and Rafael Tasis's fictions were, for Resina, parodic responses to the initial disjunction between police fiction and actual contemporary practice. By setting his "detectivesque" comedy in a 1970s Catalonia, Mendoza intensifies the anachronism, combining an obsolete detective formula with realistic and innovative conventions of the North American thriller only available in the cinema in Spain during the 1940s.
9. H. Douglas Thompson introduced this term in his pioneering study of detective fiction, *Masters of Mystery* (1931). According to Elaine Bander, the "what fun" spirit is found in works such as A. A. Milne's *The Red House Mystery* (1922), Agatha Christie's *The Secret of Chimneys* (1923), and Dorothy Sayers's *Have His Carcass* (1923): "The attitude announces that criminal investigation is an amusing pastime, and an ounce of cynical wit is worth a pound of moralizing. In short, just as the detection problem in the novel frustrates the reader's plot expectations, so too the comedy in the novel works by reversing the conventional pieties readers expect in detective fiction" (p. 48).
10. The author has indicated to me that he had in mind the literary models of Miguel Mihura, Carlos Llopis, Edgar Neville, and Víctor Ruiz Iriarte when writing *Una comedia ligera* (letter of 14 May 1999).
11. Adolfo Torrado was a popular playwright criticized for his pulp fiction situations, happy resolution of labyrinthine family and social complications, and a somewhat coarse sense of humor, achieved at the cost of preju-

dicial and trite slurs about Galicians. *Torradismo* was the easiest way to turn a profit by driving unsophisticated audiences from laughter to tears. Besides *¿El muerto de risa?* (1947), cited here, other related titles include *Un caradura* (1940), *Mosquita en palacio* (1940), *El gran calavera* (1945), and *¿Qué verde era mi padre!* (1946) (Gullón, pp. 1618–19).

12. In "Clean Slate: From Screen to Stage," Ramón Pérez de Ayala claims that "Benito Pérez Galdós, our most renowned literary figure . . . observes that the contemporary dramatist is no longer able to write for the stage oblivious to the existence of Theater's successor or antagonist, Cinematography" (*Nuevo Mundo*, no. 1,072 [13 July 1914]; quoted in Frieria Suárez, pp. 105–7).
13. Joan Ramón Resina eloquently describes these ambiguous relations of dependence between the Catalan bourgeoisie and the central government in the 1930s: "In Catalonia capitalism was subservient to a vigilant Spanish state that wavered between the need to extract revenue from Catalan productivity and the need to restrain excessive progress, in fear that this could exacerbate the desire for self-determination" (p. 132).
14. Caricature of the Catalanized Castilian occasionally appears in uncultured or lower middle class characters. Syntactical error in the speech of Brusquets's sister-in-law is one example ("¿cómo se decía?" / "¿Como no me recordaba con la risa que me hizo?" / "las obras de este señor son de aquellas sin pretensiones, para personas como ahora yo" [CL, p. 130]); also Poveda's mother ("a mi hijo le hace vergüenza tener una madre inválida" / "¿Qué no le dices de pasar?" [CL, p. 290]); or a waiter ("¿qué le viene de gusto, padre?" [CL, p. 127]). Catalan is only heard from writer Santamans referring to an exiled friend who has died in Mexico, from a salesperson complaining of her liver, and from a flea-marketeer ("Es compren pells de conills" [CL, p. 84]). It is most conspicuous in the characters' names, surnames, and nicknames ("Roquet dels Fems" [Roquet of Manure]).

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THE EVOLUTION OF WORD-INTERNAL CLUSTERS IN IBERO-ROMANCE: SOME EVIDENCE FROM CATALAN

Donna M. Rogers

WIREBACK'S APPROACH TO THE PALATALIZATION OF INTERNAL CLUSTERS IN PORTUGUESE AND CASTILIAN

In a recent study, Kenneth J. Wireback offered a new interpretation of the reflexes of /kt/, /ks/, /k'ɫ/, /g'ɫ/, and /gn/ in Castilian and Portuguese, postulating three different palatalization processes for Ibero-Romance. Wireback's new explanation breaks with a tradition that has generally described a process whereby the syllable-final velar was attracted forward toward the place of articulation of the following alveolar or dental consonant to produce a yod. Then, according to the traditional explanation for Castilian, that yod palatalized the contiguous consonant to produce, respectively, [tʃ], [x], [x], [x], and [ɲ]. For Portuguese, the results were [jt], [ʃ], [ç], [ç], and [ɲ]. Wireback argues that the processes of change for /kt/ and /ks/ probably did follow that pattern, but that the evolution of the other clusters did not involve the production of a yod.

This study will examine the evidence from Catalan and consider it in light of Wireback's findings for Castilian and Portuguese. While it can be risky to try to make Portuguese, Castilian, and Catalan conform to a single explanation for a given phenomenon, a comparative approach may help to elucidate certain processes common to the proto-Romance stages of all three peninsular languages.

For the sounds under study, we observe right away that there are at least two different kinds of clusters: /kt/, /ks/, and /gn/ are original Latin clusters, while /k'ɫ/ and /g'ɫ/ are secondary ones, after syncope has occurred. This means, naturally, that we are dealing with at least two chronological periods. Ray Harris-Northall (pp.

78–82) suggests that the nature of the contiguous consonant influenced the chronology of the palatalization of the velars in all of these contexts in the evolution of Castilian. Menéndez Pidal classified the yods according to the length of time they survived before assimilation to the preceding vowel. According to Menéndez Pidal, the yod of NOVACULA (produced by palatalization in a secondary cluster) did not raise the tonic /a/, while in contrast that of FACTU (out of an original Latin cluster) did raise /a/ to /e/. Wireback notes that “one traditional view of Hispanists postulates the palatalization of syllable-final /k/ to [j] in all five sequences, with the inflection of the preceding vowel dependent upon how long the yod survived before being absorbed by the following consonant” (p. 2).

Wireback (pp. 2–3) goes on to question the evidence adduced to support the idea that /k/ and /g/ palatalized to [j] in the clusters with /l/ and /n/. Traditionally, the explanation goes that if /kt/ and /ks/ became [jt] and [js] respectively, and that the yod in each case then palatalized the plosive consonant, then necessarily the velar in the /k'1/ and /g'1/ clusters developed to yod and then fused with the contiguous consonant to form a new, palatal sound (/ç/ in Portuguese and /ʒ/, later /x/ in Castilian). He notes some counterevidence from Mozarabic, which I am reluctant to cite due to the general problematic nature of all “documented” Mozarabic forms.

The variety of evidence from Peninsular Romance dialects, however, is enlightening. In the /kt/ and /ks/ clusters, the yod from velar /k/ was absorbed by the palatalized consonant in Castilian and could also raise the preceding vowel and even be fused with a preceding front vowel:

NOCTE > *[nɔjte] > *[nojte] > [notʃe] *noche*

LACTE > *[lɛjte] > *[lejtʃe] > [letʃe] > *leche*.

In other dialects, the yod remains intact:

LACTUCA > Leonese *leichuga* ‘lettuce’

LAXARE > Portuguese *deixar* (Wireback, p. 5).

The only evidence from Catalan in Wireback’s study notes some variation in this regard, giving as examples

MATAXA > *madeixa* ‘skein’

vs. MAXELLA (C.L. MAXILLA) > *maixella* 'cheek.'

He does not, however, take into account here the fact that in his first example, the affected vowel is tonic, while in the second, it is atonic. Moreover, given the complex evolution of the front vowels, tonic and atonic, in Catalan, calling this "intradialectal variation" (p. 5) is too simplistic.¹

In Portuguese, on the other hand, there is a consistent retention of the off-glide in these contexts following /a/ or /e/, but absorption into the palatalized consonant following back vowels. Examples:

AXE > *eixo* 'axle'

CAPSA > *[kaksa] *caixa* 'box' (cf. Catalan *caixa*)

but COXU > *coxo* 'lame' (Wireback, p. 5).

Portuguese, of course, in contrast with Castilian, is characterized by falling diphthongs like /aj/, /ej/, and this feature may account for the preservation of the yod.

To return to Wireback's argument, however, and to summarize it:

[The] stability of /aj/ and /ej/ in Portuguese suggests that if the /k/ or /g/ preceding medial /l/ and /n/ had vocalized to [j] and then palatalized these consonants, the off-glide would have remained there as well" (p. 5).

It seems unlikely that, without any influence from the preceding vowel or the following palatalized consonant, nor any chronological difference, the yod in the /kt/ and /ks/ sequences should remain, while for /gn/, /k'l/, and /g'l/ the yod should be lost after palatalization (p. 8).

For Luso-Romance the only way to eliminate the /j/ is through absorption by sonorant /ɲ/ or /ç/. But why should by sonorant /ɲ/ and /ç/ favor absorption more than /ʃ/?" (p. 9).

Finally,

The determining factor regarding absorption vs. preservation of /j/ is the preference of each dialect or language rather than a universal tendency for /ɲ/ and /ç/ to absorb a preceding yod

more rapidly than palatalized obstruents. Thus, since Western Ibero-Romance dialects like Galician-Portuguese show a strong preference for preservation of the off-glide (Rini 1991:127), had there been vocalization to [j] in /k'1/, /g'1/, and /gn/ with subsequent palatalization of /l/ and /n/, there ought to be evidence of an off-glide (p. 10).

Wireback (pp. 10–12) continues his analysis by examining the feature specifications for /ɲ/, /ç/, and /ʃ/ in order to determine whether certain features that are shared by the off-glide and the following palatal consonant favor the retention of the former. This does not seem to have been an influencing factor.

The issue of primary importance in an analysis that proposes an intermediate yod in all five of these clusters, however, is that of syllable structure. For Eastern Romance, it is assumed that medial /k'1/ and /g'1/ produced [kç] and [gç] directly (Bourciez, p. 175; Lausberg, pp. 342, 375), with the alveolar /l/ partially assimilating back toward the velar /k/; a palatal articulation would be the compromise result (Tuttle, pp. 403–6). The subsequent step in this evolution is the loss of the lateral quality of /l/, leaving only the palatal glide following the velar /kj/: OCULU > Italian *occhio*, Romanian *ochiu* (Lausberg, pp. 333, 376).

This is, of course, somewhat similar to what occurred in the initial /kl/ (as well as /pl/ and sometimes /fl/) clusters in both Eastern and Western Romance. CLAVE > Romanian *cheie* [kʲeje], Italian *chiave*, Castilian *llave*, Portuguese *chave*, which evolutions necessarily involve a primary step of initial /kl/ to [kç].

The heart of Wireback's argument (p. 12), then, lies with this question: why should /k/ or /g/ become syllable final after syncope? We know that /kl/ is a permissible onset in Latin, since it occurs at the beginning of many words. If we accept that initial /kl/ undergoes palatalization in varieties of both Eastern and Western Romance, why can we not treat the secondary cluster /k'1/ as an onset, rather than resyllabifying the velar?

Before the loss of the posttonic vowel of OCULU, the syllable division is /o • ku • lu/; the /k/ is plosive. After syncope, the remaining elements are /o • k • lu/; "the stranded /k/ must be reassigned either to the preceding syllable as a coda, or to the following syllable as part of the onset" (Wireback, p. 12). That is to say, up to

this point, /k/ has never been syllable-final, and if it is now to be resyllabified as implosive, there must be a reason for this in the syllable-structure patterns of Latin. But clusters constituted by occlusive-plus-liquid exist as syllable onsets in Latin; indeed, there are many of them, and Latin syllable structure always assigns them to the onset as a cluster: initial /kl/, /gl/, /kr/, /tr/, etc., and medial /pr/, /tr/, /kr/, etc.

Moreover, there are other cases where the syncope loss of a posttonic vowel produces a new onset cluster of the type postulated here:

PAUPERE > Castilian, Portuguese *pobre*, Catalan *pobre*

NEBULA > Castilian *niebla*

In these examples, the “stranded” consonant simply forms an onset cluster with the following liquid, provided that the resulting cluster is a permissible one (here, /pr/, /br/, /bl/ are all permissible).

Given these patterns of syllabification, why should we postulate that the velars /k/ and /g/ are exceptions and consider them to be syllable-final after syncope? Such a treatment is modeled on the implosive velars of primary Latin clusters like /kt/ and /ks/. But /kt/ and /ks/ are not permissible syllable onsets, so the syllable division must necessarily occur between the two consonants. The above arguments demonstrate that the secondary clusters /k'l/ and /g'l/ could naturally have conformed to the existing syllable structure to become onset clusters: for Castilian

OCULU > *[ɔ • klo] > *[ɔ • kɔ] > *[oɔ] > [oɔ] > [oɔ] *ojo*

For Portuguese

OCULU > *[ɔ • klo] > *[ɔ • kɔ] > [oɔ] *olho*.

According to Wireback (pp. 14–15), the difference in the result of palatalized initial /kl/ (> [kç] > [ç] in Castilian; > [kç] > [kj] > [tj] > [tʃ] > [j] in Portuguese) and palatalized medial /k'l/ (> [kç] > [ç] > [ʒ] > [x] in Castilian, > [kç] > [ç] in Portuguese) is easily accounted for. Syllable-initial consonants underwent lenition in intervocalic position, but not in word-initial position: METU > Castilian *miedo*, Portuguese *medo*; TERRA > Castilian *tierra*, Portuguese *terra*. This is also true of consonants that underwent palatalization: CAELU > Old

Castilian *cielo* [tsjelo]; FACERE > Old Castilian *hazer* [hadzer]. The difference between the reflexes of initial /kʎ/ and medial /kʎ/ is attributable, then, to the effects of lenition for the latter, as well as the chronological difference between the original Latin /kʎ/ and the slightly later secondary /kʎ/. Wireback concludes:

The palatalization of /kʎ/ and /gʎ/ resulted from the assimilation of alveolar /l/ to the dorsal quality of velar /k/ and /g/, so the velar consonants did not palatalize at all. Instead, they were eliminated via lenition during the course of cluster simplification in favor of the two other features of the cluster, palatal and lateral (p. 16).

The final section of his study considers the palatalization of /gn/. Here, the velar is clearly syllable-final. Again, one explanation of the evolution of Latin /gn/ in the Iberian Peninsula describes a palatalization of the implosive velar /g/ to yod, with subsequent fusion of yod + /n/ to /ɲ/ (Penny, pp. 61, 96). Another, proposed by Wireback (pp. 16–19), suggests that the /gn/ cluster was pronounced /ɲn/. In fact, Lloyd (among others) described this some time ago:

The velar nasal /ɲ/ occurred before nasal consonants, e.g., SANGUIS [saɲuis] ‘blood’ . . . and before /n/, where it was written with the letter G, e.g., PUGNA [puɲna] ‘fight’” (p. 81).

No doubt both Lloyd and Wireback are correct in their understanding of this process, although they arrived at the same conclusion via different sets of evidence.

If, then, the Vulgar Latin pronunciation of /gn/ was /ɲn/, no yod was produced as the cluster palatalized. Wireback asserts that in Western Romance, “the velar nasal in the /ɲn/ sequence assimilated partially to the following alveolar [n] by palatalizing to /ʃn/. Progressive assimilation then palatalized /ɲn/ to /ɲ/, and finally degemination produced /ɲ/” (p. 17). Wireback summarizes his investigation with the following conclusion:

Three different processes are necessary to account for the palatalization of /ks/, /kt/, /kʎ/, /gʎ/, and /gn/ in Ibero-Romance: (1) /k/ > [j] for /kt/ and /ks/, (2) /l/ > [ç] through assimilation to the preceding velar for /kʎ/ and /gʎ/, and (3) [ɲn] > [ɲn] >

/ɲ:/ > /ɲ/ for /gn/. Whether these three processes are valid for all of Western Romance is not clear; what is clear, however, is that the Ibero-Romance palatalization of /k'1/, /g'1/, and /gn/ cannot be explained by assimilation of the syllable-initial son[or]ant to a putative syllable-final yod (pp. 19–20).

THE EVIDENCE FOR CATALAN

Taking each of Wireback's clusters in turn, we begin with /kt/ and /ks/. In Catalan the results of these are [jt] and /ʃ/ respectively:

COCTU > *[kɔjto] > *[kwojt] > [kujt] *cuit* 'cooked';

COXA [koksa] > *[kɔjsa] > *[kwojfa] > [kujfa] > [kuʃə] *cuixa* 'thigh.'

In these clusters, as we have seen for Portuguese and Castilian, syllable-final /k/ is partially assimilated to the following plosive alveolar or dental to produce yod. With /t/, the yod is generally preserved, while with /s/ it is eventually absorbed into the pre-palatal /ʃ/ (note that in some dialects of Catalan, the yod is preserved before /ʃ/ [Alcover and Moll, vol. 3, p. 829]). Exceptions to the preservation of yod in the reflex of the /kt/ cluster have to do with the vocalic content of the syllable, as in

PECTU > *[pɛjto] > *[pjejt] > [pit] *pit* 'chest, breast.'

The phenomenon of diphthongization of the open vowels is also a factor here: Portuguese will not produce a diphthong from a tonic open /ɛ/ or /ɔ/; Castilian will, but not before a yod; and Catalan will *only* before a yod. Portuguese and Catalan coincide in preserving the yod from the /kt/ cluster; in Castilian it is always absorbed. Castilian and Catalan coincide in the assimilation of yod in the /ks/ cluster (except in dialect variants), while Portuguese preserves it.

The overview I have just given suggests nothing to contradict Wireback, and indeed, for these two palatalization processes he concurs with the traditional explanation.

Moving on to the secondary clusters /k'1/ and /g'1/, let us examine the evidence from Catalan. In both groups the result is [ç]:

OCULU > *ull* 'eye'

APICULA > *abella* 'bee'

COAGULU > *quall* 'rennet.'

This evolution could be explained according to either theory (that /k/ and /g/ become implosive and vocalize to yod, or that they remain syllable-initial and create a new onset with /l/). The stages of evolution according to Wireback's model would be:

OCULU > *[ɔ • klo] > *[ɔ • kɔ] > *[oɔ] > [uɔ] *ull* (cf. Portuguese OCULU > *[ɔ • klo] > *[ɔ • kɔ] > [oɔ] *olho*);

COAGULU > *[ko • a • glo] > *[ko • a • gɔ] > [kwaɔ] *quall* (cf. Portuguese *[ko • a • glo] > *[ko • a • gɔ] > [koaɔ] > [kuaɔ] *coalho*).

All of the factors adduced so far to argue that secondary /k'l/ and /g'l/ were treated as onset clusters in Ibero-Romance can be brought to bear on the evolution from Latin to Catalan. Assigning the stranded velar to the onset of the syllable already begun with the following /l/ presents no problems and coincides rather neatly with the sound change processes described for Portuguese. One problem for Catalan, though, is the lack of palatalization of Latin initial clusters with /l/: PLUVIA > *pluja* 'rain' (cf. Portuguese *chuva*, Castilian *lluvia*); CLAVE > *clau* 'key' (cf. Portuguese *chave*, Castilian *llave*). In contrast, it is simple initial /l/ that palatalizes from Latin to Catalan: LUNA > *lluna* [ɟunə], LACTE > *llet* [ɟet]. Can we account for this as part of a unified explanation of the medial clusters /k'l/ and /g'l/?

Despite our pairing of Latin initial /kl/ with secondary /k'l/ to support the analysis of the latter as a plosive rather than implosive velar, we saw that in Portuguese and Castilian the initial and medial clusters had different results (Portuguese [ʃ] and [ç] respectively; Castilian [ç] and [χ] respectively). It is not a counterargument to recognize that, similarly, Catalan will produce [kl] and [ç] respectively. Let us remember that we accounted for the difference in the result in each case before by considering the effects of lenition and the chronological difference in the processes of change between the initial and the medial (secondary) clusters.

But we must also account for developments like TEGULA > *teula* 'roof tile,' also > *tella* 'tile,' and REGULA > *reixa* 'grating, grille,'

also > *rella* 'plowshare.' *Tella* and *rella* are the expected developments according to the explanation given above for the palatalization of /g'1/, and both are documented from the thirteenth century (Alcover and Moll, vol. 10, p. 200; vol. 9, p. 324). *Reixa* is undoubtedly borrowed from Old Castilian *rexa*; it is documented from 1309 (Alcover and Moll, vol. 9, p. 317). *Teula* is found in Lull and indeed is a much more common word in Catalan today than *tella*, which is primarily found in Ribagorça (Alcover and Moll, vol. 10, p. 200). TEGULA evolved to *teula* with the spirantization and loss of /g/ before the back vowel /u/ (Gulsoy n.d.: 15). It is difficult to make generalizations about a cluster like /gl/~g'1/ because there are so few examples of it (Lloyd, pp. 224, 253). Since the expected evolution to [ç] did occur for all of the forms cited, we cannot argue against Wireback on that basis.

The other problem with an explanation for /k'1/ and /g'1/ to [ç] that does not involve the production of a yod is the question of diphthongization of a preceding vowel. In Catalan the open vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ diphthongized only before yod:

PECTU > *[pɛjto] > *[pjejt] > [pit] *pit* 'chest, breast'

NOCTE > *[nɔjte] > *[nwojt] > [nwit] > [nit] *nit* 'night'

and then underwent a reduction of the resulting triphthong (Gulsoy n.d.: 6–7). The result of *ull* > OCULU, with vowel raising, has led us to believe that the /ɔ/ diphthongized because it preceded a yod. Indeed, the /ɛ/ in a similar context was raised to [i]: SPECULU > *espill*. But if a yod existed here as the result of a palatalized implosive velar, and if a yod is known to have raised a preceding vowel (Gulsoy n.d.: 5–9), then why would that yod not raise the tonic vowels of VERMICULU > *vermell*, APICULA > *abella*, OVICULA > *ovella*, TEGULA > *tella*, COAGULU > *quall*, etc.? Particularly in the case of *quall*, we know that the Romance diphthong [aj] formed by A + yod regularly gave [e]; if there had been a yod here, why was the result not **quell*?

The data are not conclusive here either way. Words like *ull*, *espill*, and *llentilla* show some kind of raising occasioned by some element of the palatal cluster. For *ull* and *espill*, the explanation could conceivably be the presence of a yod that would trigger diphthongization, but not for *llentilla*. Moreover, the vowels of *vermell*, *abella*,

ovella, and *quall* show no effect from yod. The data from Catalan, then, may support Wireback's hypothesis, in which case an explanation must be found for the apparent raising in *ull*, *espill*, and *l lentilla*. Or they may constitute counterevidence to Wireback, in which case an explanation must be found for the lack of effect from yod in *quall* and other forms.

Finally, let us turn to /gn/, for which the Catalan data support Wireback's explanation of the sound change. The Catalan result is exactly the same as that of Portuguese and Castilian—that is, /ɲ/—so the detailed evolution we have described for those languages would be the same for Catalan: [ŋn] > [ɲn] > /ɲ:/ > /ɲ/. Thus LIGNA > *l lenya*, PUGNA > Old Catalan *punya*, etc. I can find no graphic evidence of a yod having existed at any stage of this word in Catalan.

To conclude, let us look again briefly at Wireback's "three different processes . . . necessary to account for the palatalization of /ks/, /kt/, /k'l/, /g'l/, and /gn/ in Ibero-Romance" (p. 19):

1. /k/ > [j] for /kt/ and /ks/
2. /l/ > [ç] through assimilation to the preceding velar for /k'l/ and /g'l/
3. [ŋn] > [ɲn] > /ɲ:/ > /ɲ/ for /gn/.

In response to his final question as to whether or not these three processes are valid for all of Western Romance, we can conclude that for 1 and 3 the answer is certainly yes; for process 2, it is at least possible for Catalan.

NOTES

1. For an overview of the complex history of the front vowels in Catalan, see Rasico (pp. 9–19), and Gulsoy (1993: 67–103).

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QUILOMBO, 'BORDELLO': A LUSO-AFRICANISM IN THE SPANISH AND CATALAN OF MODERNIST BARCELONA

Philip D. Rasico

In his *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana* (vol. 3, p. 956), Joan Corominas informs us that the term *quilombo*, borrowed from Brazilian Portuguese *quilombo* 'refugio de esclavos africanos alzados y evadidos en los sertones brasileños,' which in turn is of African origin, is found in the Río de la Plata and Chilean varieties of American Spanish, where it has the meaning 'burdel,' as well as in Venezuelan, Colombian, and Ecuadorian, where it signifies 'choza campestre' and 'andurriales.' The same information is repeated without modification in Joan Corominas and José Antonio Pascual, *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico* (vol. 4, p. 729). More recently, Günther Haensch and Reinhold Werner in the *Nuevo diccionario de americanismos* (vol. 2, pp. 257, 507–8; vol. 3, p. 326) note that *quilombo* 'prostíbulo,' 'situación en la que imperan la confusión y el desorden,' as well as derivatives of this lexeme such as *quilombero -ra*, *quilombear*, *quilombificar*, *enquilombado*, *enquilombar*, are not found in Peninsular Spanish. Nevertheless, as Martín Alonso observes in his *Enciclopedia del idioma* (vol. 3, p. 3472), *quilombo* 'choza, cabaña campestre,' 'despeñadero,' 'zanja,' 'lugar quebrado y lleno de baches,' appears in the *Historias de Venezuela: La Catira* (pp. 395–96), published in 1955 by the Spanish author Camilo José Cela, the language of which is characterized by the use of numerous dialectal forms and expressions proper to Venezuela.

Heretofore unattested, however, is the use of *quilombo*, in the sense of 'bordello, brothel,' in a number of personal travel journals written in Spanish as well as in Catalan by the turn-of-the-century historian and native of Barcelona, Joaquim Miret i Sans (1858–1919), who, insofar as my research on this scholar has determined, never

journeyed to South America's Southern Cone. How, then, is the appearance of *quilombo* in early twentieth-century Barcelona to be explained? The Catalan dictionaries of Marian Aguiló, Antoni M. Alcover and Francesc de B. Moll, and Joan Coromines, which often record lexical borrowings from Castilian and other languages, are silent on this question. The present paper, which takes as its point of departure a recent article of mine concerning an unpublished travel journal by Joaquim Miret i Sans,¹ is intended as a complement to previous discussions of the term *quilombo* in Luso-Brazilian, Spanish, and Spanish-American sources, as well as a contribution to the study of the Catalan lexicon of Barcelona during that period of its cultural history known as Modernisme.

Historians and linguists agree that the word *quilombo* is of West African or Angolan origin and that its original meaning in the Quimbundo (Kimbundu or Mbundu) variety of Bantu was 'war-camp' or 'circumcision-camp,' where young males were prepared to become adults and warriors (Schwartz, pp. 125–26; Anderson, p. 558). A variation of this African institution was transferred to the Brazilian backlands by runaway slaves, who established fugitive or maroon communities, known as *mocambos*, *ladeiras*, *magotes*, or *quilombos*, whose social and political structures were based upon traditional African models (Schwartz, pp. 103, 122). The largest, most long-lived, and most famous of these fugitive slave settlements was the Quilombo dos Palmares, which existed for much of the seventeenth century (c.1630–95) in the interior of the modern states of Alagoas and Pernambuco in northeastern Brazil. According to Ronald M. Rassner, the Quilombo dos Palmares was

an empire of eleven confederated communities that stretched 250 kilometers from Maceió, Alagoas, to Recife, Pernambuco. With a population of over twenty thousand inhabitants, the history of Palmares is a history of an African nation in Brazil and the history of a courageous people who maintained their African traditions, revolting against a landed Portuguese aristocracy for almost a century (p. 202)

The word *quilombo*, which eventually came to designate any encampment of a band of outlaws in Brazil, is not attested in documents until the middle of the seventeenth century, when it is used to refer to any location where blacks gathered; in 1691 it is mentioned

specifically in relation to the Quilombo dos Palmares (Schwartz, pp. 121, 125).

Luso-Brazilian scholars begin to record and to comment on *quilombo* in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Among the first of such references appears to be that of António de Morais Silva, author of the *Grande dicionário da língua portuguesa* (1789), the second edition of which was published in 1813. According to Morais (vol. 9, p. 92), *quilombo* is proper to Brazilian Portuguese, where it signifies 'casa ou lugar onde se acoitavam os negros foragidos.'² From the first half of the twentieth century there is Renato Mendonça's *A influência africana no português do Brasil*, in which he affirms (p. 164) that the etymology of *quilombo* is the Quimbundo word *kilombo*, 'povoação,' which, with variations in meaning, is used in a geographical area that includes Venezuela, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil. Also noted by Mendonça (p. 166) is the derivative *quilombola* 'escravo refugiado em *quilombo*.'³

The earliest mention of *quilombo* 'bordello, brothel' in Spanish and Spanish-American lexicographical sources is that which is found in the sixth edition of the *Nuevo diccionario de la lengua castellana*, published in 1863 by Vicente Salvá, in which the author simply records *quilombo* 'burdel' and qualifies it as "p[rovincial de la] Am[érica] M[eridional]" (p. 905). More than a quarter of a century later Daniel Granada, *Vocabulario rioplatense razonado* (1890), cites *quilombo*, which he defines as 'lupantar' and observes that

En el Brasil llaman *quilombo* a la habitación clandestina, en un monte o desierto, que servía de refugio a los esclavos fugitivos. Le llaman también *mocambo*, y es voz de la lengua bunda, en la que significa *campamento*. . . . En Venezuela equivale a *andurrial* (vol. 2, p. 173).⁴

Additional early mentions of *quilombo* 'burdel, lupantar, casa de tolerancia' appear in Elías Zerolo, *Diccionario enciclopédico de la lengua castellana* (1898); Aníbal Echeverría y Reyes, *Voces usadas en Chile* (1900); Roque Barcia, *Primer diccionario general etimológico de la lengua española* (1902); Rodolfo Lenz, *Diccionario etimológico de las voces chilenas derivadas de lenguas indígenas americanas* (1904); Ciro Bayo, *Vocabulario criollo-español sud-americano* (1910); and Lisandro Segovia, *Diccionario de argentinismos, neologismos y barbarismos* (1911).⁵

The Real Academia Española's *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*, retitled *Diccionario de la lengua española* as of the publication of the fifteenth edition in 1925, does not register *quilombo* until the sixteenth edition, published in 1939, in which it glosses this term as 'choza, cabaña campestre' in Venezuela and 'lupanar' in Chile and Río de la Plata (p. 1056). The nineteenth edition of the *Diccionario* provides a fuller definition adding to 'lupanar,' 'mancebía, casa de mujeres públicas' (p. 1093), while the twenty-first edition includes a third meaning, another proper to Argentina: 'lío, barullo, gresca, desorden.'⁶

A semantic shift in the case of *quilombo*, from Brazilian 'fugitive community,' 'out-law encampment' to Southern Cone Spanish 'bordello, brothel,' is readily comprehensible. Less apparent, however, is how and why this Luso-African Hispanic term came to be used at the beginning of the present century in Barcelona by the Catalan historian Joaquim Miret i Sans. A brief overview of the life of this scholar seems appropriate at this juncture.⁷

The heir of a wealthy Catalan family, Joaquim Miret i Sans was born in Barcelona on 17 April 1858, at his family's residence on Carrer de la Mercè near the city's Moll de la Fusta. Although he majored in law at the University of Barcelona (1880) and received a doctorate in civil and canon law from the University of Madrid (1882), Miret never practiced this profession. Instead, he soon became interested in medieval history, particularly that of the former Kingdom of Aragon, and in exploring the rich and at that time little known archival collections of Catalonia. In 1896 he conducted the first of numerous research trips to the archives of the old county of Pallars, having already become familiar with those in the area of Barcelona. Among the many results of these early excursions was the discovery and publication in 1904 of the *Homilies d'Organyà* from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, one of the oldest literary texts written in the Catalan language.

Miret's personal circumstances as a well-to-do bachelor (he would remain unmarried throughout his lifetime) allowed him not only to pursue historical studies and archival research, but also to become deeply involved in the activities of various academic institutions, such as the Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona and the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, as well as to travel extensively throughout Europe, northern Africa, and the Middle East (Carreras

y Candi, p. 41). As a scholar accustomed to taking detailed research notes and transcribing medieval documents, Miret kept a series of travel journals in which he recorded his itineraries, experiences, and, of course, his expenses. Although the precise number of travel journals written by Miret is uncertain, thirty of these manuscripts, dated between 22 April 1901 and 16 May 1918, have survived among the collections of documents and personal materials that he donated to the Institut d'Estudis Catalans upon his death in 1919. It is Miret's travel journals that provide, to my knowledge, the first examples of the use of the word *quilombo* in Spain with the meaning 'bordello, brothel.'

In late July of 1904 Miret traveled on holiday to the northern Catalan *comarca* and ancient county of Cerdanya, astride the border between Spain and France. He arrived in the town of Puigcerdà on 31 July and, from there, continued his journey to Luchon and Toulouse. The list of expenditures which follows his travel narrative, "Viaje á Cerdaña y Francia, Año 1904," includes the following notations for Luchon: "Café, *quilombo* y correo y cartas postales 10 [francos]"; and for Toulouse: "29 agosto: *Quilombo* y tranvia y cartas postales 3,80 [francos]"; "30 agosto: Café, comida, *quilombo* 2,50 [francos]."⁸

In June of 1916 Miret made what appears to have been his only visit to Mallorca, where he spent approximately six days, having as his primary residence Palma's Gran Hotel, designed by the architect Lluís Domènech i Muntaner. During his stay on the island Miret visited a number of villages, churches, and museums, and he met with various local scholars, archivists, writers, and artists, including Antoni M. Alcover and Miquel Costa i Llobera. While in Palma our traveler is once again a patron of the *quilombo*—in fact, several *quilombos*, according to his travel journal, titled "Viatge a Mallorca en 1916," which was written between 6 and 13 June 1916. In the text of this journal, as well as in the accompanying expense list, Miret not only indicates that he had occasion to visit several *quilombos* (by his own count three during his six-day sojourn in Mallorca), but he also mentions their location: "Dimecres [7 juny] . . . A la nit al *quilombo* de Carrer de Camaró, ara dit Calle Velázquez"; "Divendres 9 juny . . . *Quilombo* al Carrer de Santañy"; "Dilluns 12 [juny] . . . Després de dinar, siesta, y visita al *quilombo* del Carrer de Vilanova, 23." His list of expenses, which bears the heading "Viatge a Mallorca en 1916:

Gastos,” reveals the following debits: “[Dimecres] . . . Café y *quilombo* 5,30 [pesetes]”; “Divendres . . . Café y *quilombo* 3,50 [pesetes]”; “Dilluns . . . Provisions, propines y *quilombo* y bosa 39 [pesetes].”⁹

If, as the evidence suggests, the occurrence of *quilombo* in Miret’s travel journals represents the first documentation of this term in Spain, then several questions remain to be answered—namely, how to interpret Barcia’s observation (vol. 4, p. 552) that *quilombo* ‘burdel’ was then obsolete? And, more important, how and where did Miret become familiar with this word to the extent that he regularly employed it in his travel journals and, one would logically conclude, also in his daily speech—that is, in both his Spanish and Catalan?

As to the first of these issues, it seems clear that Barcia was simply unfamiliar with *quilombo* and, for lack of any information, simply qualified it as “anticuado.” In this regard it will be recalled that both Salvá (p. 905) and Zerolo (vol. 2, p. 609) identify *quilombo* as an *americanismo*.

Regarding the means by which *quilombo* ‘bordello, brothel’ found its way into the Spanish and Catalan lexicon of a Barcelonese historian, several possibilities exist which are worthy of serious consideration. It is well known that at the turn of the century Paris was the cultural capital of Europe and one of the principal cities to which both the upper and middle classes of Barcelona were drawn (Hughes, pp. 426–30). Miret was among those who frequently traveled to Paris in order to conduct research at the Bibliothèque Nationale and to visit the French Hispanist, Raymond Foulché-Delbosc, editor of the *Revue hispanique*, with whom he established a long friendship and collaboration. According to another of Miret’s friends and colleagues, the historian Francesc Carreras i Candi:

Los mesos de Maig y Novembre passava quinze o vint dies a París. Ab molta anticipació senyalava la data de sa partida y l’itinerari a seguir, retornant quasi sempre puntualment en lo día prefixat. . . . La costúm d’anar a París, que tant arrelada tenía En Miret y Sans, com abans indicavem, l’encamina, des de 1892, a ses noves aficions. Se convertí, des de 1895, en constant concurrent de la “Bibliothèque Nationale.” . . . Una segona resultancia de les seves estades a París ha estat la col·laboració directa d’En

Miret en publicacions editades a França, resultat de relacions establertes ab eximis literats de la nació vehina (pp. 41, 45, 48).

It may have been in Paris that Miret encountered the term *quilombo* among fellow Hispanists such as Foulché-Delbosc, or perhaps in that city's many cafés, salons, and cabarets, especially those of Montmartre, where the Argentine tango achieved great popularity in the early years of this century. Well known is the close association between the tango and the bordellos in the Río de la Plata area and, later, in Paris and other major European cities. In this respect, Enrique Cadícamo has noted:

El tango, nacido en los conventillos del barrio del tambor, arribó. . . , en su juventud, a los prostíbulos bonaerenses y montevidéanos y allí asentó su feudo y adquirió su personalidad definitiva. . . . Las clases medias y altas argentinas tomaron contacto por primera vez con el tango en el burdel. Allí lo escucharon, lo bailaron al ritmo eufórico de la coca y el champagne. Del *quilombo* volvían a casa satisfechos, con olor a sexo entre sus ropas y el tango adentrado muy profundo en sus corazones (pp. 25–27).¹⁰

On the other hand, Miret may first have heard talk of the Argentine *quilombos* from sailors who manned the ships that regularly plied the sea routes between Barcelona and Buenos Aires, or perhaps he learned the term from passengers on those ships. In this regard, Donald S. Castro (p. 180) has observed that in the period between 1890 and 1914, Barcelona was the principal Spanish port of embarkation for emigrants to Argentina. It was also the base of the Italian ship line La Veloce, which carried Spanish and other European passengers to Buenos Aires and, presumably, returned with others from the latter city and elsewhere, including, undoubtedly, some Spaniards.¹¹

Whichever of the two explanations proposed may bear a greater resemblance to the historical facts, it is certain that Miret's travel journals, with their use of the Luso-Africanism *quilombo*, provide an interesting source for the occurrence of this *mot voyageur* in the Spanish and Catalan of Modernist Barcelona. Moreover, I suspect that Miret, who apparently was quite an aficionado of the *quilombo*, chose to employ this rather exotic sounding *americanismo* as a code

word rather than use the more familiar designations for this establishment, such as Catalan *casa de putes*, *puteria*, *bordell*, *bagasseria*, *casa de barrets*, or Spanish *casa de putas*, *putería*, *burdel*, *casa de citas*, *casa de tolerancia*, etc.¹²

NOTES

1. Rasico (1997). See especially footnote 6.
2. I have been unable to consult the 1789 edition. However, according to Corominas and Pascual (vol. 1, p. lvi; vol. 4, p. 729), *quilombo* appears in the second edition.
3. The first edition of this volume, which I have been unable to consult, was published in 1933, and the second, which I have consulted, appeared in 1935.
4. The first edition was published in Montevideo in 1890 and is cited by Corominas (1970: vol. 3, p. 956) and by Corominas and Pascual (vol. 4, p. 729) as providing the first documented mention of *quilombo* in Spanish. Nevertheless, Salvá (p. 905) had recorded this term almost thirty years earlier.
5. Barcia (vol. 4, p. 552) curiously notes that *quilombo* 'burdel' is archaic, although he does not indicate whether he is referring to its use in Spain or in Spanish America.
6. On the use of *quilombo* for 'confusion, disorder, clamor,' see Catalan *bordell* (Corominas 1970: vol. 2, p. 108), Spanish *burdel* (Real Academia Española, 19th ed., p. 209). Worthy of note is the survival of Catalan *bordell* among the vestiges of the Minorcan dialect in St. Augustine, Florida, where it has the meaning 'causing a state of confusion,' 'an undesirable quantity,' 'a well-endowed woman' (Rasico 1987: 213).
7. On the life and scholarly endeavors of Joaquim Miret i Sans, see Carreras y Candi (1921–22) and Rasico (1992).
8. Biblioteca de Catalunya, Secció d'Arxiu, fons Joaquim Miret i Sans, caixa 9, "Viaje á Cerdaña y Francia Año 1904," 3v–4r.
9. *Ibid.*, "Viatge a Mallorca en 1916," 2r, 4r, 7r, 8r.
10. On the arrival of the tango in Paris, see Savigliano, pp. 109–12.
11. Concerning a group of Americans who in 1893 traveled from Genoa to Barcelona on a ship bound for Buenos Aires, see Rasico (1994: 104).
12. A similar exotic character appears to underlie the use of *quilombo* in the title of a brief note, published on 25 March 1997 under the pseudonym ERO

(= Alvaro Ruibal) in the *Revista* supplement of the Barcelona daily *La Vanguardia*.

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ASPECTS OF THE SPREAD AND BOUNDARIES OF CATALAN LEXICON IN ANDALUSIA

Juan A. Sempere-Martínez

The presence of Catalan words in Andalusia was attested and recorded by Salvador (1960) and later by Fernández-Sevilla (1975: 450), among others. However, none of the authors who have researched the topic have made full use of both the *Atlas lingüístico y etnográfico de Andalucía (ALEA)* (Alvar et al.) and the *Léxico de los marineros peninsulares (LMP)* (Alvar). Salvador's study (1960), limited to Cúllar-Baza in northeastern Granada, explains the Catalan words as a result of the 1488 reconquest of that town, when settlers from Aragon, including Catalan-speaking families, moved in.¹ Fernández-Sevilla, in turn, drew isoglosses from the *ALEA* for six items under the heading "Límites de algunos occidentalismos y orientalismos," thus avoiding a commitment as to whether those words came from Catalan or Aragonese. He outlined the occurrence of *cabirón* 'corn cob,' *tabiya* 'pod,' *gobén* 'crossbar of a cart,' *picola* 'pickax,' *garbiyo* 'sieve,' and *gaveta* 'stretcher' (1975: 473, map 2).

The only evidence that Salvador presents to support the view that those words come from Catalan is that they appear in dictionaries such as García Soriano and Escrig y Martínez's *Diccionario valenciano-castellano* (Valencia, 1871). However, some of the entries may need a more thorough critical review before being assigned as Catalanisms. A case in point is *helor*, which, Salvador argues, "puede relacionarse con el val[enciano]. *gelor* 'frío muy intenso' (*Tresor*, Escrig)," s. v. *helor*. Nevertheless, if this word were derived from Catalan, it should have retained a voiceless velar fricative, which is the phonetic development followed by other Murcian and Andalusian borrowings from a Catalan voiced palatal fricative, as in *gemecar* 'to groan.' Also puzzling is Salvador's inclusion of *boria*, which elsewhere he analyzed as deriving from Aragonese (1953: 151). Never-

theless, considering that both Aragonese and Catalan speakers contributed to the Andalusian dialect and that both languages share many lexical items, it is not always easy to discern which language contributed a specific word. For that reason many authors prefer to lump words of Catalan and Aragonese origin together under the heading *orientalismos*. Fortunately, Coromines's etymological dictionaries stand nowadays as invaluable research tools to pinpoint the Catalan or Aragonese source of many etymologically controversial words.

There is historical and linguistic evidence that Catalan speakers settled in southeastern Spain during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the following centuries, the kingdom of Murcia still received the influx of Catalan speakers from Valencia, who in turn also migrated to the kingdom of Granada after the Muslims were defeated in the late fifteenth century (see Sempere 1995b: chs. 1 and 4). Nevertheless, we must differentiate between two areas of influence of the Catalan lexicon in Andalusia: 1) words from the coast used by fishermen, applied to ichthyonyms and sailing; 2) words from the interior, mainly referring to agriculture, zoonyms, and phytonyms. Lexical diffusion in the former group presents a wider spectrum than in the latter (see Sempere 1995a: 259–60).

COASTAL RANGE OF CATALANISMS

Catalan has been a language of influence in the Mediterranean. Not only have Catalan words for kinds of fish spread beyond the Catalan coasts into Murcia, but they have also spread throughout Andalusia and the North African coast and have traveled east to Italy. Witness Roman *lampuga*, Neapolitan *lampuc* (Coromines, *DECLIC*, vol. 5, p. 61), Sardinian *lampuga*, and Maltese *lampuka*—all meaning 'dolphin' from Cat. *llampuga*. The following data have been culled from the *LMP*, whose page numbers are given below. The key to the abbreviations of the Andalusian towns and the North African cities of Ceuta and Melilla is in Appendix 1 below. When information comes from the *ALEA*, the acronym, the volume, and the map number are included.

TERMS RELATED TO FISHING AND SEAFARING

Boira < *boira* 'fog,' Sp(anish) 'banco de niebla.' P(age). 401. Al 1, Ma 1, Ce 1, MI 1. *ALEA*, vol. 4, map 1008, Al 404 (Palomares) *boriazó*, Al 600 (Carboneras) *baria*, Al 509 (Balerna) *boria*, Ma 406 (Málaga) *cerracina de boria*. The metathesized Andalusian variant could be an archaic form from *boreas* 'north wind.' Compare the cities of Lleida and Alguer *boria* (see *boria* below).

Bornoy < *bornoi* 'float,' Sp. 'corcho del sardinal.' P. 1598. Found in every town in Andalusia, Ce1 and MI 1.

Gallo < *gall* 'buoy,' Sp. 'boya de cristal en la red.' P. 1636. Al 1, Al 2, Gr 1, Gr 2, Ca 1, Ca 2, H 1, H 2. Paragogic -o is attributable to both folk etymology and phonetic need of a support vowel.

Parel (*de remos*) < *parell* 'pair of oars,' Sp. 'remos pareados.' P. 1082. Al 1, Gr 2, Ma 1, Ma 2, Ca 1, Ca 2. H 2, Ce 1. MI 1. As expected in implosive position, [ç] depalatalizes to [l].

Servar < *servar* 'to steer,' Sp. 'gobernar el barco.' P. 557. Al 2, MI 1.

MARINE ORNITHONYMS

Charrán < *xarrant* 'tern,' Sp. 'golondrina de mar.' P. 2359. *Sterna sandwicensis*, cf. A 4 (Santa Pola) *xarrant*. Al 2, Gr 1, Gr 2, Ma 2, H 1, H 2. Loss of final [t] is expected in Spanish (and in most Catalan dialects in final consonantal clusters).

Gavina < *gavina* 'sea-gull,' Sp. 'gaviota.' P. 2364. *Larus ridibundus*. Al 1, Al 2, Gr 1, Ma 1, Ma 2 (also in the Canary Islands) Ce 1. P. 2368. *ALEA*, vol. 4, map 1172, Al 404 (Palomares), Al 600 (Carboneras), Al 508 (Almería), Al 602 (San José), Al 509 (Balerna), Gr 515 (Gualchos), Gr 514 (Almuñécar). *ALEA*, vol. 4, map 1173, *Larus argentatus*, Ma 503 (Estepona), Ca 602 (Algeciras).

Gayareta < *gaig* 'kingfisher,' Sp. 'martín pescador.' P. 2371. *Alcedo atthis hispida*. Al 1, Al 2, Gr 2, Ma 1, Ma 2, H 1. *ALEA*, vol. 4, map 1174, Al 404 (Palomares), Al 508 (Almería), Al 509 (Balerna), Gr 514 (Almuñécar), Ma 405 (Nerja), Ma 406 (Málaga), Ma 503 (Estepona), Ca 101 (Chipiona), H 502 (Moguer), H 503 (Huelva), H 504 (Ayamonte). We cannot be

categorical about this entry. In Catalan, *gaig* refers to the *jay*, *Garrulus glandarius*, whereas Andalusian *gayareta* is used for the *kingfisher*. The word's phonetic makeup, however, including the suffix *-eta*, suggests Catalan origin.

FISH AND SHELLFISH

Bacoreta < *bacoreta* 'albacore,' Sp. 'bacoreta.' P. 1912. *Euthynnus alletteratus*. Ma 1, Ma 2. *ALEA* vol. 4, map 1123, Al 509 (Balerna), Ma 405 (Nerja), Ma 406 (Málaga), Ma 503 (Estepona) *barcoreta*. Estepona's form is obviously modeled after a folk etymology from *barca*. This Catalanism, derived from Arabic *al-baqur* 'the young,' is also the basis of English *albacore* and the standard Spanish name.

Bedriá < *variada* 'two banded bream,' Sp. 'mojorra.' P. 1843. *Sargus vulgaris*. Al 1. Metathesis also occurs in some Catalan dialects.

Cabeza de olla < *cap d'olla* 'sperm whale,' Sp. 'cachalote.' P. 2152. *Physeter macrocephalus*. Ml 1. Loan translation.

Cabote < *cabot* 'rock goby,' Sp. 'cabote.' P. 1945. *Gobius paganellus*. Ml 1. Paragogic *-e*, to avoid a voiceless stop in final position, is canonical. The Spanish gloss, given by Alvar, appears only in Ml 1 and is not included in the 1992 ed. of the *Diccionario de la lengua española (DRAE)* by the Real Academia Española.

Cañeta < *canyeta* 'purple murex,' Sp. 'cañadilla.' *Murex trunculus*. *ALEA*, vol. 4, map 1164, Al 602 (San José).

Cirbiola < *sirviola* 'derbio,' Sp. 'palometa.' P. 1921. *Lichia glauca*. Ma 2.

Corbá < *corball* 'black-umbert,' Sp. 'corvallo.' P. 1781. *Corvina nigra*. Ca 2. Expected loss of palatalization first and then loss of the alveolar lateral in final position.

Chapina < *petxina* 'scallop,' Sp. 'vieira.' P. 2236. *Pecten jacobaeus*. Al 1 (see *chapineta* below).

Chucla < *xucla* 'picarel,' Sp. 'caramel.' *Maena smaris*. Ma 1, Ma 2, Ml 1, Ca 2, Ce 1. *ALEA*, vol. 4, map 1116, Al 404 (Palomares), Al 508 (Almería) *chucla blanca*, Ma 405 (Nerja), Ma 406 (Málaga), Ma 503 (Estepona), Ca 602 (Algeciras), Ca 300 (Cádiz).

- Demonio** < *dimoni* 'flying fish,' Sp. 'golondrina.' P. 1965. *Dactylopterus volitans*. Al 1, Al 2, Gr 1. Cf. Ge 4 (Blanes), *dimoni*. Loan translation.
- Dento** < *déntol* 'dentex,' Sp. 'dentón.' P. 1855. *Dentex dentex*. Al 2, Ml 1. ALEA, vol. 4, map 1117, Al 600 (Carboneras) *déntules*, Al 602 (San José) *dento*, Gr 515 (Gualchos) *dento*. Expected loss of alveolar lateral in final position.
- Esparrallón** < *esparrall* 'annular gilt-head,' Sp. 'raspallón.' P. 1846. *Sargus annularis*. Al 2, Gr 2.
- Gallo** (*pedro*) < *gall* (*de Sant Pere*) 'John dory,' Sp. 'pez de San Pedro.' P. 1981. *Zeus faber*. Al 1, Ma 1, Ml 1. Loan translation.
- Llampúa** < *llampuga* 'dolphin,' Sp. 'llampuga.' P. 1784. *Coryphaena hippurus*. Al 1, Al 2, Gr 1, Gr 2, Ma 1, Ma 2, Ml 1, Ca 1, Ce 1. Presumably from Catalan **llampúa* < **llampusa*. The DRAE registers *lampuga*, not *llampuga*.
- Malarmao** < *malarmat* 'armored sea robin,' Sp. 'armado.' P. 1963. *Peristedion cataphractum*. Ca 2, H 2. ALEA, vol. 4, map 1127, Ca 300 (Cádiz), Ca 101 (Chipiona), H 504 (Ayamonte). Loan translation.
- Morrúa** < *morruda* 'sharp-snouted sparus,' Sp. 'sargo picudo.' P. 1849. *Charax puntazzo*. Ml 1.
- Móyora** < *mòllera* 'kind of cod,' Sp. 'capellán.' P. 1999. *Gadus capelanus*. Al 1. Vocalic assimilation in Andalusian.
- Musclo** < *musclo* 'mussel,' Sp. 'mejillón.' *Mytilus galloprovincialis*. ALEA, vol. 4, map 1166, Al 404 (Palomares), Al 600 (Carboneras), Al 602 (San José).
- Remo** < *rèmol* 'brill,' Sp. 'rémol.' P. 1987. *Scophthalmus rhombus*. Ce 1. Loss of alveolar lateral in final position. Not in DRAE.
- Robalo** < *llobarro* 'bass,' Sp. 'lubina.' P. 1775. *Dicentrarchus labrax*. Al 1, Gr 1, Gr 2, Ma 1, Ma 2, Ml 1, Ca 1, Ca 2, H 1, H 2. Depalatalization and metathesis: *llobarro* > *lobarro* > *robalo*.
- Toyina** < *tonyna* 'albacore,' Sp. 'bacoreta.' P. 1912. *Euthynnus alletteratus*. Al 1, Gr 1, Gr 2. ALEA vol. 4, map 1156, 'dolphin,' *Coryphaena hippurus*, Al 404 (Palomares), Al 600 (Carboneras), Al 602 (San José), Al 508 (Almería), Gr 515 (Gualchos), Ma 406 (Málaga), Ma 503 (Estepona), Ca 602 (Algeciras) *tonina*, Ca 101 (Chipiona) *tonina*.

Vaqueta < *vaqueta* 'comber,' Sp. 'cabrilla.' *Serranus cabrilla*. *ALEA*, vol. 4, map 1108, Ma 405 (Nerja), Ma 406 (Málaga), Ma 503 (Estepona).

Verderol < *verderol* 'greater amberjack,' Sp. 'pez de limón.' P. 1930. *Seriola dumerili*. Gr 1, Gr 2.

We have observed that while coastal Catalanisms abound in Almería and become less common in western Andalusia, some Catalanisms extend as far as Huelva, as well as to Ceuta and Melilla in North Africa. That is to be expected, considering the open Mediterranean sealanes among those localities and their contacts with Catalan-speaking fishermen through the centuries. On the other hand, areas away from the coast have clusters of Catalanisms that do not reach western Andalusia, since rural societies tend to remain more conservative in the lexicon applied to crops, farm tools, flora, fauna, and natural phenomena. This is made evident by the more compact isogloss bundle observed in rural eastern Andalusia.

RURAL CATALANISMS

The following data, culled from the *ALEA*, and by no means exhaustive, will illustrate the lexical distribution of Andalusian Catalanisms.

Alhábega < *alfábega* 'basil,' Sp. 'albahaca.' Vol. 2, map 297 (see map n° 4 below). Limited to eastern Granada and Almería (see map n° 4 below). This Catalanism, from Arabic *hábaqa*, followed the phonetic change [f] > [h] > ∅, which occurred in Spanish in initial position. The Arabic definite article *al-* was unable to prevent that change and, uncharacteristically, the Arabic article was also retained in Catalan.

Baladre < *baladre* 'rosebay,' Sp. 'adelfa.' Vol. 2, map 299 (see map n° 3 below). This word, which Salvador catalogued first as of Aragonese origin (1953: 150) and later as a Catalanism (1960: 337), is also used in Lower Aragon, no doubt borrowed from the neighboring Catalan dialects.

Boli < *bòlid* 'tip-cat game,' Sp. 'juego de la tala o toña.' Vol. 5, map 1413 (see maps n° 3 and 5 below). This game, somewhat remi-

niscent of baseball (with a batter, catchers, and a three-strike rule) is often referred to in Murcia as *boli-vale*. There, when the player gets ready to hit a wooden peg, he shouts *boli!*, to which the catchers answer *vale!* or *venga!* Already in 1919, Sevilla commented about the decline of the game in Murcia: “Como tantos otros juegos, este del *boli* va estilándose poco” (1919: 41). However, the term lingers on mainly in the memory of some elderly people.

Borde < *bord* ‘bastardized, wild (plant),’ Sp. ‘bastardo, silvestre.’ Vol. 2, map 288 (see map n° 1 below). This word, from Latin *burdu* ‘mule,’ is also known all over Murcia with the same meaning as in Andalusia (Lemus 1933; Cerdán Casado, 1986; Gómez Ortín 1991) and is also common in Aragonese and in La Mancha (Llatas 1959; Serna 1974; Chacón Berruga 1981: 383–84). For Andalusia, Alcalá Venceslada localized it in Jaén and illustrated only the metaphorical use of the word, glossed as ‘bruto,’ as follows: “No quiero bromas con él, porque es muy *borde*” (1980).

Boria < *boira* ‘fog,’ Sp. ‘niebla.’ Vol. 4, map 846. Aside from its more extended use along the coast, *boria* occurs sporadically in eastern Andalusia: Gr 200 (Puebla de don Fadrique), Gr 400 (Cúllar-Baza), Al 405 (Gafarillos), and Al 508 (Almería). In addition, it was also recorded in Gr 200 (Puebla de don Fadrique), map 849 ‘llovizna,’ ‘drizzle,’ although it was followed by a question mark by Alvar to indicate doubts about the answer.²

Chapineta < *petxineta* ‘shell,’ Sp. ‘concha.’ Vol. 2, map 426. This diminutive of *chapina* (see above) appears in only one place, Al 204 (La Perulera). The metathesized Andalusian form may have been influenced by the folk etymology *chapa* ‘disc.’ Alcalá Venceslada (1980) recorded the word for the province of Almería.

Charraire < *xarraire* ‘talkative,’ Sp. ‘charlatán.’ Vol. 5, map 1491. Only Al 402 (Vera) contains this word, along with *hablaor*. The Catalan suffix *-aire*, originally from Occitan, is used mainly with an agentive meaning—e.g., *drapaire* ‘ragman,’ *captaire* ‘beggar, scavenger,’ *lleyataire* ‘lumberjack’ (Moll 1952: 276–77; Duarte and Alsina 1986: 97–98).³

Charrar < *xerrar-xarrar* 'to chat,' Sp. 'charlar.' Vol. 5, map 1492.

Found only in two localities, *charrar* is used all over Murcia (Sevilla 1919; García Soriano 1932), where it alternates with *cascar*, also spread all over eastern Andalusian.

Chulla < *xulla* 'pork chop,' Sp. 'chuleta.' Vol. 3, map 721, Sp. 'astilla,' 'chip, splinter,' and vol. 4, map 937, under Sp. *viruta* 'wood shaving.' In Andalusia, the meaning has shifted to 'wood shaving' in J 404 (Larva), and to 'chip, splinter' in Gr 400 (Cúllar-Baza), Al 205 (Pulpí), and Al 402 (Vera). In Al 301 (Bacares) it has changed to *tuya*. For northwestern Murcia, Gómez Ortín (1991) records the original meaning 'pork chop,' along with the semantic extension attested in Andalusia: "Astilla de madera, cuero, hierro, etc."

Clanco < *cranc* 'crab,' Sp. 'cangrejo.' Vol. 2, map 428. The semantic shift of *clanco* to 'tadpole' is found in only one place: J 400 (Santiago de la Espada), at the northeastern boundary of Jaén with Murcia. *Clanco* was not attested in the *LMP*, but it does occur in the coastal town of Aguilas, near Almería, with the meaning of 'crab' (Sempere 1995b: 80).

Cobula < *cogula-cugula* 'wild oat,' Sp. 'avena loca.' Vol. 2, map 293. The most common word for 'wild oat' in eastern Almería is *ballueca*, but in Al 200 (Topares), *avena borde* alternates with *cobula*. I also recorded *cobula* in Almaciles, in northeastern Granada. In Murcia, large pockets of *cobula* share the territory with *ballueca* (Sempere 1995b: 113).

Cocio < *cossi* 'leaching tub,' Sp. 'cuezo.' Vol. 3, map 794 (see map n° 1 below). This is a continuation of Murcian *cocio* (Sempere 1995b: 127). In Al 405 (Gafarillos), the *ALEA* recorded the Castilian cognate *cuezo*, with the canonical diphthongization in Spanish O > ue.

Corcoma < *corc* 'wood-borer,' Sp. 'carcoma.' Vol. 4, map 938 (see map n° 2 below). In *corcoma* we have a hybrid form: Catalan root *corc* has crossed with Castilian *carcoma*.⁴ Murcia is divided between *corcón*, to the east of Alhama, and *corcoma*, west of that town, all the way to Andalusia (Sempere 1995b: 169).

Gemecar < *gemegar* 'to whine,' Sp. 'gimotear.' Vol. 5, map 1199 (see map n° 2 below). Also known all over Murcia, where it alternates with *gemequear*. The unvoiced velar is not surprising

when we consider the phonetic wavering of intervocalic velars in Murcian and Andalusian as in, for example, *acacharse* for *agacharse* 'to stoop,' *cocote* for *cogote* 'nape,' and *sacudir* for *sagudir* 'to dust.'

Gobén < *govern* 'crossbar of a cart,' Sp. 'travesaña.' Vol. 1, map 156 (see map n° 1 below). Latin GUBERNU 'helm' yielded Spanish *gobierno* and Catalan *govern*. Thus Andalusian *gobén* reflects the reduction of the Catalan consonantal cluster and retention of the original meaning, inasmuch as the crossbar holds the cart together.⁵ We have attested *gobén* all over Murcia, with the sole exception of the north and the northeast of the region (Sempere 1995b: 104). Within Andalusia, this word has experienced drastic phonetic changes, perhaps owing to folk etymology. Witness *bogué*, Gr 405 (Gor), *borbé*, Al 303 (Abla) and Al 501 (Alboloduy), modeled as Sp. *volver* 'to return.'

Guardiola < *guardiola* 'piggy bank,' Sp. 'hucha.' Vol. 5, map 1505. The most popular word for this item in Andalusia and Murcia is *alcancía*. However, in Al 301 (Bacares) and Al 405 (Gafarillos) there appeared the Catalanism *guardiola*. The lack of continuation of this word in Murcia bespeaks the rarity and archaic nature of this form from Almería, which could once have been known east of Almería as well.

Jinjolero < *ginjoler* 'jujube tree,' Sp. 'azufaifo.' Vol. 2, map 314 (see map n° 1 below). Both *jinjolero* and *jínjol* 'jujube fruit' form a continuum that runs from the Spanish-speaking area of Alicante through Murcia to eastern Granada and Almería.

Llampar, llampear < *llampar* 'to flash lightning,' Sp. 'relampaguear.' Vol. 4, map 853. Only two places register these forms, Al 402 (Vera), *llampar*, and Al 404 (Palomares), *llampear*. Farther down the Andalusian coast Ma 406 (Málaga) expresses the concept with a noun: *hay llampo*. In Murcia, *llampear* is common inland, in the southern part of the province. However, for the coastal cities of Cartagena and Mazarrón, I recorded *llampar*. All over Murcia, *llampar* and *lampear* have come to mean metaphorically 'to ravage, plunder,' especially when referring to an inordinate appetite.

Llampo < *llamp* 'lightning,' Sp. 'relámpago.' Vol. 4, map 858. The noun *llampo* is somewhat more extended than the verbal deri-

vations. In Al 204 (La Perulera) and Al 405 (Gafarillos) we find *llampío* and *llampeando*. Al 602 (San José), Gr 515 (Gualchos), and Gr 514 (Almuñécar) register *llampo*, in a continuum that runs along the coast, down from Murcia; cf. Mu 1 (Santiago de la Ribera) and (Aguilas) in the *LMP*, n° 93. In addition, the *LMP* attested *llampo* in Ma 1, Ma 2, Ca 1, Ml 1 and Ce 1.

Melsa < *melsa* ‘spleen,’ Sp. ‘bazo.’ Vol. 5, map 1256 (see map n° 2 below). Common to Catalan, Aragonese (Andolz 1977), and Navarrese (Iribarren 1952), there also exists the Aragonese diphthongized form *mielsa*. For Murcia, García Soriano (1932) glosses *melsa* as ‘bazo,’ ‘spleen,’ but Lemus (1933) assigned it the meaning of ‘pancreas’ instead.⁶

Molla < *molla* ‘bread crumb,’ Sp. ‘miga.’ Vol. 5, map 1515 (see map n° 3 below). This word has moved from Murcia into Andalusia. In Murcia, other meanings have also been attested: *encontrar uno tierra molla* ‘to be well received’ in the northwest (Gómez Ortín 1991); *estar mollar* ‘to taste good’ in southwestern Aguilas (Cerdán Casado 1986). For Andalusia, Alcalá Venceslada also glosses *molla* as ‘fruit pulp’ and *mollaza* as a type of very soft bread.

Pala < *pala* ‘prickly pear tree,’ Sp. ‘chumbera.’ Vol. 2, map 365 (see map n° 3 below). Prickly pears are generally known in Andalusia as *higos chumbos*, the official name in Spain. Other forms in Huelva and Sevilla are connected with the Mexican term *tuna*: *higo d’atunera*, *higo atune*, *higatune*, *higo tuno*, and *higo de tuna*. In eastern Andalusia, however, the Catalanisms *pala* and *paleta* ‘prickly pear tree’ cover a part of Granada and Almería, but only Al 202 (Contador) refers to the fruit as *higo de pala*. In Murcia, the south of the province uses *pala*, whereas in the north *palera*, the Catalan form, is more common.

Papau < *papau* ‘bogey man,’ Sp. ‘el coco.’ Vol. 5, map 1374. This word appeared in only two places: Gr 200 (Puebla de don Fadrique) and Al 200 (Topares), right at the boundary with Murcia. The *DCVB*, vol. 8, defines it as a bug or worm, but it also explains its secondary meaning as a word to provoke fear in children: “Animal amb que es fa por a les criatures; generalment és qualsevol insecte, però també s’anomena el *papau* com a animal imaginari.” In Murcia, where I researched that

concept across the region, the closest form that I found was *papú*, in Lorca.

Préseoles, bréseoles < *pèsols* 'peas,' Sp. 'guisantes.' Vol. 1, map 110 (see map n° 1 below). Lat. *pisulum* yielded Cat. *pèsol*, reflected in eastern Murcia as *pésol*, pl. *péseoles* (see Sempere 1995b: 202 for its distribution). West of Totana (Murcia) the epenthesized form *préseoles* reaches all the way into Almería and in a few spots in Granada. There is still another isogloss west of *préseoles* with forms such as *préseoles*, *bréseoles* and *gréseoles*. But beyond Jaén and Granada the ALEA found mainly the Castilian *chícharos* along with sporadic *arvejones* and the standard Castilian *guisantes*, among others. Regardless of their epenthetic *r*, no doubt due to influence from Castilian *frijoles*, both *présol* and *prísol* maintain paroxytonic stress, as does Catalan *pèsol*.⁷

Quijales < *queixals* 'molars,' Sp. 'muelas.' Vol. 5, map 1224. As such it is found all over Murcia. In Andalusia the ALEA registered it only in Gr 201 (Huéscar), Al 200 (Topares), Al 201 (Vélez Rubio), and Al 205 (Pulpí). The form *quijares* in J 205 (Sabiote) and J 403 (Jódar) comes from the neutralization of *-r* and *-l* in implosive position by the eastern Andalusian dialect: *quijal* and *quijar* alternate and both subsequently restructured their plurals.

Regalicia < *regalíssia* 'licorice,' Sp. 'regaliz.' Vol. 2, map 301 (see map n° 4 below). In contrast with *paloduz*, generalized all over Andalusia and also known in northwestern Murcia (Gómez Ortín 1991), northeastern Almería retains this Catalanism with reflexes throughout Murcia.⁸

Rolde < *rotle* 'halo,' Sp. 'halo, cerco.' Vol. 4, map 844 (see maps n° 2 and 6 below). Lat. *rotulu* 'little wheel' gave the semilearned form *rotle* and the popular development *rull* 'curly' in Catalan. *Rotle*, which is at the base of the metathesized *rolde*, is also common in Murcia, parts of La Mancha, and Castilian-speaking Alicante. Andalusian variants like *reorde*, *rorde*, and *ronde* abound also in Murcia, whereas *reol*, in Al 601 (Níjar), directly reflects Cat. *redol*. Cf. "Posaran cascun d'aquells noms en un redolí petit de cera . . . e puix fan venir un infant poch qui no haja conexença de negun dels dits *redols* o *redolins*." (Eximenis, *Dotzèn*, in DCVB, vol. 9, s. v. *redol*).

Sarrieta < *sarrieta* 'portable trough,' Sp. 'comedero portátil.' Vol. 2, map 452 (see map n° 4 below). Coromines derives Cat. *sàrria* 'pannier' from Gothic **sahria* through Hispano-Arabic *shaira*. The Castilian form *sera* and its augmentative *serón*, common in Andalusia and Murcia with the meaning 'pannier,' find their counterpart in Cat. *sàrria* and *sarrió*. Nevertheless, it has been mainly due to the semantic shift to 'portable trough' that *sarrieta* has been able to survive in Andalusia.

Solaje < *solatge* 'dregs,' Sp. 'heces del vino.' Vol. 1, map 211. The ALEA records this word in Al 203 (Oria), Al 301 (Bacares), Al 401 (Tahal), and Al 601 (Níjar). In Cúllar-Baza, Granada, Salvador glossed it as 'poso, hez, sedimento.' It is also attested in Murcia (Gómez Ortín 1991).

Susía < *solsida* 'landslide,' Sp. 'desprendimiento de tierra.' Vol. 4, map 892. It is remarkable that only one locality in all Andalusia, Al 400 (Cantoria), answered with this Catalanism to the concept 'landslide.' Unsurprisingly, this word is not to be found in Alcalá Venceslada, and it has been unrecorded in Murcian vocabularies, with the exception of *sulsía* (Torreblanca 1976: 203) for Villena and Sax. In my fieldwork throughout Murcia and Alicante, I attested it only in Yecla: *susía*, in Villena: *sursío*, in Guardamar (Cat.-speaking town): *solsía*, and in Sax: *zurció* (possibly with the folk etymology of Sp. *zurcir* 'to darn, sew up'). This is thus one of the few breaks in the continuum of Catalanisms from Alicante to Andalusia.

Tapenera < *taperera* 'caper tree,' Sp. 'alcaparra.' Vol. 2, map 300 (see map n° 4 below). *Tapenera* and *tápena* 'caper' are common words in Murcia. In Andalusia, only eastern Almería knows that term. The rest of the region generally refers to the shrub as *alcaparra* and to the bud as *alcaparrón*.⁹

Tereseta < *Tereseta* 'praying mantis,' Sp. 'mantis religiosa, santateresa.' Vol. 2, map 382. Attested only in Al 404 (Palomares), this form is especially suggestive as a Catalanism because of its suffix *-eta*. Al 402 (Vera) uses the Castilianized *teresita*, possibly an adaptation from Catalan. In Mallorca, puppets are called *tarasetes* (DECLIC, s. v. *titella*), and it appears that the movements and appearance of the praying mantis would have suggested that name to some Catalan speakers.

The presence of Catalanisms in eastern Andalusia has two possible explanations. The main one stems from the vacuum left by the defeat of the Islamic Kingdom of Granada in the fifteenth century. Just after the reconquest, Christian settlers rushed to occupy the fertile lands of Granada (Molina Molina 1977–78: 169–70), and many of these colonizers were Aragonese and Catalan speakers, as well as Murcians of Catalan descent. The other explanation, a secondary factor at best, has to do with the areal contact between eastern Andalusia and Murcia. Migrant and temporary workers may have introduced words in a similar manner as happened in ports along the coast. However, the existence of isolates such as *guardiola*, *papau*, and *susía*, with no continuation in western Murcia, leads us to believe that Catalanisms in Andalusia were introduced more due to settlements than due to areal contact. Further historical and archival research should confirm the hypothesis presented here.¹⁰

NOTES

1. Salvador's list is as follows: *acorar* 'to kill,' *agradoso* 'nice,' *amanoso* 'handy,' *arna* 'moth,' *baladre* 'rosebay,' *boli* 'tip-cat game,' *boria* 'fog,' *cantusear* 'to hum,' *carral* 'decrepit,' *cocón* 'trough,' *cucala* 'crow,' *embolicar* 'to mess up, to deceive,' *endormiscarse* 'to feel sleepy,' *enjugascarse* 'to become playful,' *eslenguío* 'languished,' *estufío* 'puff,' *garba* 'sheaf,' *garrón* 'heel,' *gemecar* 'to whine,' *helor* 'chill,' *llatir* 'to yelp,' *matapollo* 'spurge flax,' *meca* 'hairless woman,' *melis* 'substance,' *melsa* 'spleen,' *molla* 'bread crumb,' *olivaó* 'puffy bread,' *panocha* 'cob,' *pansío* 'withered,' *pincho* 'bully,' *rampa* 'cramp,' *rasposo* 'rough,' *remijón* 'trifle,' *revolica* 'commotion,' *solaje* 'dregs,' and *traspol* 'clay floor.'
2. My fieldwork in Murcia has shown that in northern Murcia *boira* means 'drizzle' (Sempere 1995b: 101). It is unsurprising then that in the northern Granadine town of Puebla de don Fadrique *boira* would carry the same meaning.
3. In Andalusia *charraire* must be extremely rare, for it was not documented by Alcalá Venceslada.
4. Corominas and Pascual (1980–91) suggest the folk etymology *comer* in *corcoma*, *carcoma*. They also entertain the idea of the suffix *-oma*, as in Murcian *bardoma* 'debris,' from *barda* 'fence,' but reject it because of the great rarity of that suffix (DCECH; s. v. *carcoma*).

5. Curiously enough, in Catalan *govern* is not applied to that part of the cart; instead Catalan uses *travesser* < TRANSVERSSARIU.
6. Alvar encountered the same problem of definition in his fieldwork interviews: “En general el pueblo tiene una idea poco precisa de esta víscera; a menudo la confunden con el páncreas” (*ALEA*, vol. 5, map 1256).
7. Corominas and Pascual regard the epenthetic *r* as a “proceso meramente fonético de repercusión de la líquida”—i.e., the *l* in *pèsol* (*DCECH*, vol. 2, p. 958). As for Spanish *frijoles*, Meyer-Lübke had suggested the influence of the *r* in *fresa*: “Im Sp. hat sich FRESA 3498 eingemischt.” (*REW*, no. 6464).
8. Ramírez Xarriá (1927) recorded *regalicia* and *rogalicia* for Murcia. The latter also appears in Al 402 (Vera) as *rogalicia* and *rogaricia*.
9. For Murcia, Sevilla (1919) recorded a popular song that illustrates both the Cat. borrowing *tápena* and the Sp. equivalent *caparrón*:

En el campo hay una mata
que echa tres frutos al año:
tápenas y caparrones
siendo primero los tallos.
10. I thank Dr. Richard Laurent for his invaluable editorial help.

APPENDIX 1

ABBREVIATIONS OF WORKS

ALEA = Alvar et al. 1960–73
DCECH = Corominas and Pascual 1980–91
DCVB = Alcover and Moll 1926–68
DECLIC = Coromines 1995
DRAE = Real Academia Española 1992
LMP = Alvar 1985
REW = Meyer-Lübke 1935

ABBREVIATIONS OF ANDALUSIAN TOWNS IN THE *LMP*

Al 1 = Almería
 Al 2 = Adra
 Gr 1 = Motril
 Gr 2 = Almuñécar

Ma 1 = Málaga
Ma 2 = Estepona
Ca 1 = San Fernando
H 1 = Palos
H 2 = Ayamonte

ABBREVIATIONS OF NORTH AFRICAN CITIES

Ml 1 = Melilla
Ce 1 = Ceuta

APPENDIX 2

WORD LIST

| | | |
|----------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| Alhábega | Cobula | Morrúa |
| Bacoreta | Cocio | Móyora |
| Baladre | Corbá | Musclo |
| Bedriá | Corcoma | Pala |
| Boli | Demonio | Papau |
| Borde | Dento | Parel |
| Boria | Esparrallón | Présoles, bríssoles |
| Boria | Gallo | Quijales |
| Bornoy | Gallo (pedro) | Regalicia |
| Cabeza de Olla | Gavina | Remo |
| Cabote | Gayareta | Reol (s. v. rolde) |
| Cañeta | Gemecar | Robalo |
| Chapina | Gobén | Rolde |
| Chapineta | Guardiola | Sarrieta |
| Charraire | Jinjolero | Servar |
| Charrán | Llampar, llampear | Solaje |
| Charrar | Llampo | Susía |
| Chucla | Llampúa | Tapenera |
| Chulla | Malarmao | Tereseta |
| Cirbiola | Melsa | Toyina |
| Clanco | Molla | Vaqueta |
| | | Verderol |

Map 1

Map 2

Map 3

Map 4

Map 5

Map 6

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LANGUAGE, FICTION, AND CULTURE IN CATALONIA AND SPAIN AT THE END OF THE CENTURY

Sebastià Serrano

Even though we are already less than a thousand and one nights from the year 2000, it seems hard to imagine how our world will be organized within a generation, in the year 2025. We find it hard to extrapolate and can at best form a vague idea about what the demographic situation will be. According to the experts, the problem with making exact forecasts lies in the fact that evolution is chaotic, random, and subject to violent accelerations that are followed by periods of stagnation. Thus a trivial fact, if it takes place in an appropriate context and gets blown up out of proportion by the media, could change the fate of a community or a whole nation. This is the so-called "butterfly effect" popularized by physicist E. Lorenz, one of the fathers of the theory of deterministic chaos, according to whom the fluttering of a butterfly in the China Sea could unleash a tornado in the Caribbean. If it is risky to make weather forecasts a week in advance, the same may be said about forecasts for periods of four or five years hence regarding societies and cultures. In the last few years we have seen the fall of the Berlin Wall; the disintegration of a supposed world power; the emergence of a tender and fragile peace between Israel and Palestine; the economic, social, and cultural impact of AIDS; and, finally, the appearance of the first cloned beings. All these events have taken place in a far shorter time than the two decades or so of democracy that have been enjoyed by the peoples of the Iberian Peninsula.

As our century nears its end, the mythical horizon of the year 2000 is being banalized, and we are living a real "future shock," partly as a result of progress in the physical and biological sciences and in technology related to them. Mathematics and the electronic branch of physics have led to the development of data-processing

and communications technologies. To be sure, humanity has gone through other striking periods of formidable turbulence that resulted in revolutionary changes for civilization. The agricultural revolution spanned millennia, the industrial revolution lasted a couple of centuries, and for a few decades we have been in an information and communications revolution. These evolutionary processes have imparted to society and human organizations an increased complexity that eludes and almost rejects our traditional methods of analysis and action.

We are poorly prepared to approach such changes. Our theoretical equipment and the reasoning models we deploy are analytical, our world view is based on discipline, our strategies are reductionist, and our knowledge is too encyclopaedic. We continue to extrapolate in linear fashion from the data of the past, even though we are increasingly aware that the evolution in which we are living is nonlinear and often immersed in real turbulence. We, as scholars of language, literature, and culture, just like economists, sociologists, and social planners, are often aware of the limitations with which we approach the complexity of situations, organizations, or cultural facts. We use intellectual tools dating from the nineteenth century which conceive of evolution as a linear, homogeneous process in a stable world in which the same causes will produce the same effects. We realize, however, that processes, networks, and systems form an inextricable fabric that requires new tools, models, and methods of thinking and new strategies to embark on an evolutionary course in which we are the principal players.

Given the current state of our knowledge, it seems opportune to seek a better vantage point—to globalize—in order to understand better and act more effectively. In fact, I am currently involved in an attempt to formulate a global theory that is coherent with a theory of evolution. My point of departure is the principle that communication has been the great driving force behind evolution, to the extent that any biological innovation has always been correlated with an improvement in communicative abilities, which in turn facilitate further biological changes. We can observe the communicative dimension of evolution in the progress that stretches from the emergence of life to the communications explosion embodied in the Internet. This may well be the most fascinating story ever told—a story about nonlinear development, full of remarkable discontinui-

ties, dotted with emergences, strange attractions, and turbulence. As a first approach to this story, well-equipped with new conceptual and formal frameworks developed from nonlinear dynamics, from deterministic chaos, or from dissipative structures, perhaps we will be able to clarify the processes of cultural evolution so as to make some kind of forecast. My wish is to present a systematic view of a system as a set of elements in dynamic interaction, organized according to a purpose. A cell, a city, a work of art, an ecosystem, or a culture are all demonstrations of a systematic model.

It is in this sense that we can observe how Catalan culture, in the framework of the Iberian Peninsula, enjoyed, in its early formative stage in the Middle Ages, all the necessary and sufficient conditions to become a political power. This process was based on the Catalan language, which we could define as the ordered pair SC-SR—where SC is a system of beliefs or myths and SR is a system of rituals or rites—which function to generate the Catalans' symbolic universe. This symbolic universe, which coincided partly with the symbolic universe of other peoples of the Iberian Peninsula and medieval Europe, was essentially a verbal culture endowed with a writing code that was beyond the reach of most members of the community. However, Catalonia, like other communities, began to lose political power just when major changes took place in what we identify as information theory. The development of printing, the first technology applied to alphabetical writing, represented a decisive qualitative change in the handling and processing of information. With printing, writing was no longer simply a tool for storing information; instead it became a means for propagating and even transforming information, so that its creative function complemented the storage function, as innovation complemented the preservation function. It utilized not only modern literature, but also science and new technologies, which in the long run made industrialization possible, particularly in the framework of those cultures most affected by printed books and the habit of reading—i.e., the Protestant communities.

At that crucial moment, Catalonia lacked the political power necessary to promote the task of cultural adjustment to the new stage of communication. It could not carry out the educational task of schooling that was required to reconvert its symbolic universe along the lines necessary to enter modernity. Furthermore, from that moment on, schooling would be implemented in a foreign language,

imposed by a foreign power, in order to build a new symbolic universe—again, the role of myths—that was foreign to the symbolic universe that the Catalan community had built for itself throughout its history. Although for the majority of the population, living in a communicative space generated by orality, such changes did not yet mean a loss of identity, there was nonetheless an imminent danger of replacement not only of language, but also of the symbolic universe of culture. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, when Catalonia began to enjoy a minimum of political power, it embarked on an often exemplary project of adjustment to modern times through a linguistic policy that would be fully developed by the autonomous Catalan government under the Second Republic. This policy of adjustment to a culture based on writing and printing was probably unique among the cultural communities that did not enjoy the superstructure provided by full statehood. This cultural policy designed in Catalonia had a distant following in the Basque Country—Euskadi—and in Galicia, but the political turbulence in Spain had mostly negative consequences for the normal development of Catalan culture.

The worst upheaval, the Civil War, led to a new situation in which Catalan culture as well as other non-Castilian cultures were not only ignored or denied, but also subjected, by a dictatorship imposed by the force of arms, to a policy of cultural genocide that included a project of language replacement by coercive and violent means. This policy amounted to systematically building a single symbolic universe in a single language. Furthermore, the difficulties encountered by non-Castilian cultures in Spain would be multiplied by transcendental changes that were taking place in communication areas by mid-century. A new difficulty came from the world of technology: just as the development of a printing-based culture had coincided with the beginning of the loss of political power for the Catalan community, so the development of audio-visual media—television in particular—coincided with a period in which Catalan political power was nonexistent.

In the nineteenth century, technology had greatly improved printing while telegraphy had advanced the means to communicate information over large distances. Daily news became commonplace, and the new mass media were in a position to change social values and the way people used information. Telephone and radio contributed to create a communicative space in which much more informa-

tion circulated than could ever have been imagined by anyone living at the end of the eighteenth century. It is a truism that in the last twenty-four hours any one of us has handled more information than an eighteenth-century person would have processed in his or her lifetime.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that in the eighteenth century more than 95 percent of the messages circulating in the Catalan-speaking world were cast in Catalan and that the framework of the symbolic world of Catalan culture enjoyed a high level of stability. In contrast, since the middle of our century, new technologies have changed the face of all cultures. It is worth observing, however, that for years these technologies have developed and exploited the values implicit in writing and printing and thus the power of books. Access to the world of books presupposes a learning process sufficiently long to acquire the necessary competence for the effective use of the code of reading and writing. Consequently, school has to be fundamentally a space that leads to both the acquisition and control of the code giving access to new culture and the handling of the basic rules of arithmetic. Certainly it was detrimental for a community to be prevented from using its own language in the schooling process that led to reading, the primary technology of modernity.

While the Catalan community—and to a lesser degree the Basques and the Galicians—made a great effort to reestablish the access route to the reconstruction of their own culture, new technologies were opening up ways to circulate information which in the short run—that is, today—would modify the nature of communication substantially in all senses. The world of images emerged forcefully, upsetting in a short time all the relationships of power among the different models for accessing, acquiring, storing, transmitting, or processing information. Things will never again be as before. First cinema, then television and video, and finally the CD-ROM, along with the development of digital technology, unified the storage and transmission of information that before had been the province of separate carriers—i.e., paper, magnetic tape, or chemical film.

Television's images are simultaneously persuasive and elusive. Every day thousands of these fleeting images impress a diffuse awareness of their effects upon viewers. We ask ourselves today how images operate in a technological society. Yet it is true that the power of images was already known to traditional cultures, which took

advantage of them to build a meaningful world view. In primarily illiterate societies images can become the basic instruments of social integration and guidance for the community to create a holistic social experience. The image provides a way to know who each individual is, how the society is organized, and even how the universe is conceived.

Nowadays some communities, such as churches, continue offering myths and visual symbols to their members. At the same time, however, television forcefully began to exercise that most ancient and traditional function of images: to give visual shape to shared myths and to integrate the individual into society.

The above has bearing on the status of Catalan culture at the moment of the audio-visual media explosion. Not without great difficulties, steps were being taken at the time toward a kind of normalization that would lead—if its objectives were fulfilled—to the reorganization of a book-centered communicative space—that is, to the recovery, by an autonomous school system, of the code that controls reading and writing. Taken to its logical conclusion, this process would have led to a situation like that of cultures that enjoy linguistic autonomy without outside intervention. But in the case of the Catalan community, as we have said, a lack of political power, combined with the intervention of an external power, favored the displacement of the Catalan language and the symbolic universe generated through it. This *imposed* substitution was so advanced that reversing it required decisive intervention in favor of the Catalan language, such as only a Catalan political power would be in a position to effect. Our Catalan community did not acquire such political power—even in a degree that I dare qualify as minimal—until 1980, when, for the first time since the Civil War, Catalonia could choose its representatives. The elected government assumed as its foremost responsibility the normalization of the country's language. It accepted the priority of the task and also the risks and difficulties derived from the weakness of its political power and from the complexity of the process, which depended on several variables that were difficult to control.

A fundamental point of reference was the Law of Linguistic Normalization passed in 1983, which provided the legal framework for undertaking a long process leading to the situation in which we now find ourselves: striving to reverse the replacement of Catalan

by Spanish and to endow the Catalan language with the necessary human and technical resources required to make it the language of social life in all areas of our community. However, as Catalonia began to implement a limited but coherent linguistic policy, a combination of forces among the world's various languages and cultures reached a critical situation that involved not only change, but also a much higher level of complexity. The result is that we are currently immersed in several overlapping processes of language replacement and linguistic normalization that increase the difficulty of designing linguistic and cultural policies. The first, to repeat, is the normalization process of our language and the objectives mentioned above. The second is the replacement of a communicative world based primarily on the printed word by an environment created by audio-visual media, in which images constitute the generating matrix. This latter process has disrupted the relationships among languages that hitherto had enjoyed a stable situation. No longer are the Catalan community's problems unique: other communities such as the Danish, Dutch, Swedish, or Hungarian face the problem of the stability of their linguistic framework, and even cultures such as the French or the Spanish are aware of the need for some type of linguistic policy as a consequence of the process of globalization. Insofar as communications are concerned, we live in interesting times.

In 1986 I took part in a debate, held during a symposium on language acquisition and teaching at the Sorbonne University, on the sociolinguistic situation of communities in the European Union. After listening to a discussion by Professor Charaudeau of the situation of the French language, I was left with no other option but to repeat his arguments, adding only a dramatic note to support his request for direct intervention in the subject of language and culture. I had the same feeling a year later at the First Congress on European Cinema in Europe, organized by the European Federation of Audio-Visual Producers. The French minister of culture gave a speech that reminded me of the words of my French colleague. Among other things, he deeply regretted that at that very moment there was not a single French film among the top ten box office hits in Paris; they were all American.

Let us look at some figures. In France, for example, while in 1981 American films held 30 percent of the market, in 1996 they held more than 75 percent. In Catalonia, the movie listings for the second

week of March 1996 showed that 90 percent of the films being shown were American, and the remaining 10 percent included productions from the rest of the world, including Catalonia. Moreover, most films are dubbed in Spanish, while the few that are dubbed in Catalan are shown at theaters that are difficult to reach. As a rule, non-American films receive a second-class treatment because the new multiscreen theaters belong to large American producers and act like aircraft carriers for the American multinationals. Contracts for box office hits include a whole package of second- and third-rate movies which thus get to be shown and yield sizable economic results. Such figures do not suggest that the Catalan, Spanish, or European audiences have a great preference for American films. Rather, the figures reflect the agreement that in order to exhibit a box office hit, the exhibitor has to live with ten poorly made movies. It is a curious fact that a poor American film can sell ten thousand tickets in Catalonia, which for a Catalan film would be a major success.

We live at a time when Catalan films and audio-visual products, like their European counterparts, can offer little competition, particularly when there is no coordinated effort in Europe against the hegemony of the United States, a country in which the audio-visual media are increasingly replacing the printed word. Audio-visual media have an enormous industrial component that makes them a major export. There is no doubt that the application of new communications and information technologies has transformed the information industry, particularly the audio-visual components focused on leisure and entertainment. The latter are the foremost sources of economic expansion in the United States and make it a first-world power, since nowadays power is more related to information and communications than to military strength or money. Moreover, in today's information world, audio-visual products make American hegemony almost absolute.

It is almost redundant to note that the communicative space of the printed letter is increasingly the product of what might be called the generative base of images. In large cities traditional theaters have been converted not only into movie houses, but also into movie houses designed with multiple projection rooms—that is, into functional multi-cinemas owned by big producers. Fiction texts no longer generate other texts or even possible worlds whose images might evolve from likelihood into quasi-reality. It is rather the other way around: images now generate texts, so that our decade's best-sellers

tend to be texts that have been born with the intention of going with the film, and so are released by publishing houses that also belong to big producers as a means of advertising a new film. Books thus lose their original function and are made into a kind of feedback for the audio-visual product, which is totally hegemonic in this new communications scene.

Hence we find ourselves—not only in Catalonia, but also in Europe or perhaps all over the world—at an authentic crossroads of systems and changes. We are increasingly under the control of information processing done mainly through hearing and sight, mostly the latter. This is a crossroads of linguistic and cultural dimensions, of civilization, genders, and speeches. There is no doubt that language, information, and communications have been the great protagonists of the epistemological theater of the twentieth century. This is a century characterized by the search for the fundamentals of knowledge, which began with the wondrous adventures of the foundations of mathematics, on the one hand, and of the movement of images in cinema, on the other, and which ends by introducing the paradigm of simulation and virtuality, supported by the triad *brain, computer, television*. Reflection on mathematical work through language has led to reflection on cognitive strategies and to the representation of knowledge by means of different kinds of behavior. These adventures have been largely linguistic, but at the conclusion of this century it is difficult to predict the continued preeminence of that model.

I think this has been the second great reflection on language that has taken place throughout history. The first reflection—an important one for all of us—led to the birth of literature. The emergence of language was a key factor in evolution, probably the factor that characterized humanness. Language made possible the transmission, storage, and transformation of information. It made it possible to turn the past into the present and to project the present into the future. Suddenly human beings could imagine movement from one place to another—between the earth and the sky, for example. Language made possible the capacity to conceive and imagine a universe of possible worlds. In fact, one of the most characteristic features of language is that it enables us to make up stories to be told. It allows us to create fiction.

As a system, however, language had its Achilles' heel: words disappear quickly, borne by the wind, and who knows how much vital information has been lost with them? It was necessary to find a reliable way of storing information vital to the community, and language provided the means to that end. Our ancestors discovered a new structure, poetry, which provided storage, and which much later, with the invention of writing, would be redirected toward literature. Poetry and fiction acted symbiotically and proved decisive for the preservation and stabilization of the first human groups. I think we can safely state that literature came to be a mechanism of natural selection among cultures. To put it another way, a fundamental principle of a theory of culture is that those who have literature survive. Literature perfectly joins the best of two functions—namely, information storage and the creation of worlds. And those worlds created through fiction often generate another function that ultimately offers stability to social groups—the *sacralization of their identity*: it generates the symbolic universes that identifies them as a community and at the same time sets them apart from other communities.

The predisposition to literature has doubtless been one of the most powerful and complex forces of the human mind and in all probability an inseparable part of our nature. For centuries, investing in literature offered a community enormous cultural advantages. A few centuries after the creation of the first information technology—that is, writing—this new technology empowered the emergence of formal languages (the language of logic is a good example) and, through them, scientific language. Just as Moses had done with the sea, Plato and Aristotle separated languages, distinguishing between the languages of literature and fiction and the languages of coherence. Once writing had been invented, preserving information became less crucial than investing in coherence and in strategies to make it possible to carry out inferences. It was necessary to squeeze out information for the purpose of achieving rigor and consistency in reasoning and demonstration.

First came reasoning with a certain dose of coherence, then the syllogism, and later the intuitive demonstration and the semiformalized demonstration that still could not prevent paradoxes from sprouting like mushrooms. Ultimately there appeared the formal proof that tries to eliminate paradoxes—those strange monsters that surface in the middle of reason's sea—and thus provide a point from

which undiscovered and wonderful islands, like those posited by Kurt Gödel, can be glimpsed. Set theory; natural deduction; bivalent, trivalent, and polyvalent logic; epistemic and temporal logic; fuzzy sets; the mathematics of imprecision; iterative logic; nonlinear mathematics or chaos theory are, together with literature, the expansions of verbal language, generated by the technologies of writing, printing, and computers.

And what about literature? Even though it has lost the function of storing information, it has gained a great deal, probably through contact with other languages, in ludic aspects—a product of the constant exercise of linguistic de-automation—and has acquired many points in common with a universe that could be characterized as *playful evasion*. If the literary apparatus once commanded a strong, decisive role in our history, nowadays the decisive role in the control of humanity is played by the scientific-technological apparatus, which, presented in the form of increasingly formalized languages, has produced the algorithms that are necessary for processing audio-visual information in a wholly symbiotic manner.

Is this good? It simply *is*. One might ask if literature and fiction are simply epiphenomena related to playful evasion and generators of texts for audio-visual products. And do these products “play” roles in the service of the scientific-technological apparatus? Are they consumer objects that serve the great economic audio-visual machine? What I find paradoxical is that the great scientific-technological adventure has been consolidated as a great linguistic adventure, like its literary precedent. I suggest a metaphor: the outward appearance of science-technology is a butterfly that used to be a larva in literature. A wondrous metamorphosis to explain the transformation of a culture transcribed according to a linguistic code.

It behooves us, as scholars of language and literature, Catalans and scholars of Catalan culture and other cultures, to raise such problems that call for a response from the theories of language, literature, and culture. Let me underscore the priority of the literary work in a culture such as ours, which has lived for years and continues to live in a situation of language replacement. Let us assert, as a *fundamental principle*, that literature is necessary for our survival as a people. Literature in all of its genres plays a double role in the process of cultural normalization, since linguistic normalization, albeit necessary, does not suffice to reach that goal. For it is also nec-

essary to bring about a normalization of nonverbal expression, the subtle, sometimes hidden universe that eludes us everywhere even more fleetingly than verbal expression.

Regarding audio-visual products, we have experienced, in the nonverbal area of our culture, an authentic substitution process which we share with many other communities, though perhaps only its first symptoms can be detected. From this situation stems our demand for a coherent cultural policy. Let us be more specific: culture implies communication, which in turn implies information. Not all the information stored in our community circulates verbally. Further, language does not consist of words and their combinations alone. There is a host of other elements on the border. Let us keep in mind that borders, even in the world of thought and behavior, can be problematic. And it does not require much observation to see that paradoxes flourish everywhere. The borders of language and linguistic activity are also part of culture, and they are the first points across which cultural replacement occurs. This is natural.

Let us focus our attention on this point for a moment and consider why it is essential to dub movies in Catalan, and why, for example, *Dallas* in Catalan has been a key point in our linguistic normalization in the audio-visual media. The first reason is the prestige imparted by television to the languages used therein. For many people, Catalan acquires prestige the moment it is used on television, when J. R. talks in Catalan on the screen. However, our television provides only words from our culture—and that is of course a lot—but all other information reaches us through nonverbal signs. Even though such *iconicity* may appear universal, we should not ignore the fact that there is a Catalan way of accompanying, substituting, emphasizing, or even contradicting the language. And this is where literature has a certain role to play, particularly in relation to the transformation of film scripts into audio-visuals. It is necessary for scriptwriters to make an effort—with the support of whoever is in a position to provide it—to reproduce in our works those communicative strategies so typically our own in solving day-to-day problems.

Writers can present models of this quotidian social reality by illustrating, for example, the interaction between persons taking part in a chance meeting. Our film scripts and our fiction should make explicit the rules that govern our face-to-face meetings, since our movements, in a general sense, are just as subject to conventions as

our words, and in fact are part of our cultural background. We approach communicative situations as problems, but we have many strategies for solving them. It is true that these strategies involve certain innate features, but there are also many features we have learned on a day-to-day basis through processes that operate largely according to statistical laws. This is very important, since there are ways typically our own of using our body in communication—ways of looking at the interlocutor, lowering our eyes, asking for a turn in a conversation, or refusing it when offered. All of these elements are an essential constituent of our culture.

Does every culture have a way of asking or refusing politely? Does our culture have a typical way of acting when there is a misunderstanding? When we see a movie dubbed in Catalan—or in another language—we have to be aware of two dimensions—one linguistic, which is rather more visible, and another, somewhat hidden, that passes unnoticed before our eyes and which, perhaps because of this, has effects that are less easily perceived. It is in this dimension that the process of replacement—of cultural uniformization—takes place. *And this is serious for most cultures.* We all know about the importance of feedback in conversation. Feedback is largely the element that defines the communicative and social orders. Television and cinema send us messages in our language—through dubbing—but a large portion of feedback comes through nonverbal signs that impose a framework which, in the long run, could facilitate not only cultural unification, but also language substitution. This is why a fiction typically our own should have priority if we mean to fill our communicative space with information that is genuinely our own.

An ideal linguistic policy must follow models compatible with the complexity of the social organization in which, as we noted above, the variables are difficult to control because of inadequate political power to carry out the task without interference that threatens the stability of the system. Our project has to have as its aim a nonlinear, interdisciplinary communicative world without frontiers, in which competent people will work together on the audio-visual text. In such a world, creators of fiction, information technologists, physicists, mathematicians, linguists, anthropologists, etc. will make it possible to design strategies of conservation and survival in harmony with other communities. In Catalonia there is sufficient nega-

tive entropy to slow down the arrival of stasis and total balance in the culture of the earth. We possess sufficient anti-entropic force to delay uniformity—i.e., the absorption of weak informative universes by stronger ones.

The foregoing suggests that this century's end is turning out to be an epistemologically exciting crossroads, a convergence of processes of replacement and normalization of languages, cultures, civilizations, and types of production that affect each of us—Catalans, Spaniards, Europeans, and citizens of the world. Catalonia thus emerges as a metaphor of this crossroads. It is a country fortunate enough to know what it means to resist, a country that is now immersed in the attempt to reverse the replacement of its language, and which uses literature, television, and audio-visuals to normalize its cultural universe while preserving the hidden nonverbal dimension of communication. It is a country, too, that seeks to make the Catalan language compatible with the formalism required to participate from a strong position in the most advanced projects of machine translation.

We are entering the new millennium with one foot in innovation and the other in conservation. But we are also endowed with an increasingly nonlinear mind, capable at every moment of de-automatizing processes to adapt ourselves better to a changing reality while simultaneously preserving the features that have always defined us. And it is in this sense that Catalonia appears as a metaphor. Indeed, I would like to propose it as the first authentically *fractal* country, a new vantage point from which to observe a world of similar countries able to enjoy an immense *fractal* harmony resting on a symbiosis of the most sophisticated languages with the images that implicitly define a people.

To conclude, I would like to propose that we all make an effort to experience, in a nonlinear way, the cognitive turbulence around an *attractor*, which is Catalan culture and its relationships with other cultures. I began talking about complexity and strategies to understand it and have ended by speaking of an exciting cultural crossroads. Now I would appeal to the visionary side of things in order to place language, literature, and culture in a framework that will not exclude linguistics, sociology, anthropology, audio-visual theory, neuroscience, or artificial intelligence. Ours is a vast new world, but in communicative interaction we have found the agent that keeps it together.

**MANUEL DE FALLA AND THE BARCELONA PRESS:
UNIVERSALISMO, MODERNISMO, AND
THE PATH TO NEOCLASSICISM**

Carol A. Hess

Few would dispute the status of Manuel de Falla (1876–1948) as Spain’s greatest twentieth-century composer. Scholars of modern Spanish music take his achievements as a point of reference, while authors of general twentieth-century music studies accord him sympathetic if brief accolades (Marcos, pp. 31–42; Chase, pp. 182–97; Morgan, pp. 267–68). During his lifetime, Falla’s standing was recognized not only in Spain, but throughout Europe, especially in France, Italy, and England. This status was not consolidated, however, until the 1920s.

How did Falla’s reputation establish itself? Essentially, he had to become a “universal” composer; this gradual stylistic transformation, in turn, coincided with several broader trends in Spanish culture. At the beginning of his career in turn-of-the-century Madrid, Falla had confronted two opposing musical currents, *universalismo* and *españolismo*. The former consisted of the European classics, including French and Italian opera, Beethoven symphonies, and Wagner, whose operas were admired by a small but avid cult (Amat and Turina, pp. 26, 134–35; Borrell; Unamuno). With concert music dominated by central Europeans, *universalismo* proved a highly impractical proposition for Spanish composers. Rather, their prospects lay in *zarzuela*, the musical manifestation of *españolismo*, or the glorification of Spanish identity. Indeed, *zarzuela*, with its in-jokes and local diction, inspired such intense public loyalty and strong nationalist sentiment that for many composers it proved the only commercially viable career path (Chase, pp. 121–37).¹

Over the next two decades, however, *universalismo* gained ground in Spanish musical circles. This change in attitude was linked

to the advent of neoclassicism, one of the more influential aesthetic movements of post-World War I Europe. Aspiring to “purity” and “objectivity,” neoclassical composers (Stravinsky, Poulenc, Honneger, and others) drew on Baroque models and eighteenth-century procedures such as counterpoint and sonata form (Sims, pp. 274–303; Taruskin 1993: 286–302). In their “remaking of the past,” they also reduced the enormous orchestras of Wagner and Strauss to small ensembles of contrasting instruments, enabling the listener to grasp the quintessential timbre of each independent line.² Extra-musical connotations, as found in the programs of Strauss’s tone poems or Mahler’s symphonies, were seen as an impediment to music’s objective autonomy.³ Composers also rejected overtly nationalistic or populist expression, formerly evident in folk-tune quotations or dance rhythms (Dahlhaus, pp. 79–101; Taruskin 1980: 510–43).

In Spain, where neoclassicism was largely an utterance of the *vanguardia*, it was this last factor that had the greatest impact. As these anti-Romantic ideals became increasingly attractive, several vanguardista composers renounced the flashy *jotas* and *seguidillas* of *españolismo* to embrace the “universal” genres of symphony and sonata.⁴ Others, however, continued to fill their music with references to Spain, although they now did so in the language of modernity. In much the same way that the Generation of ‘27 looked to the complex, abstract formalism of Góngora for inspiration, Falla and his followers made subtle allusions to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century *cancioneros*, liturgical melodies, and the *vihuela* repertory.⁵ In short, as composers of greater Europe were going “back to Bach,” their Spanish counterparts idealized the *siglo de oro*.

In striking out on this path, Falla provoked conflicting reactions in Spain’s musical community. The scope and passion of these reactions become clear when we compare Falla’s reception in Madrid to that in Barcelona. In making this comparison, several new insights arise, beginning with an enhanced view of Falla’s relationship to the latter city. Several of the composer’s biographers briefly note his fondness for the Catalan capital (indeed, his affinity for Catalonia in general), mentioning his mother’s Catalan ancestry, his stay in 1915 at the Cau Ferrat, his extended visits to Mallorca, and, especially, his setting of Jacint Verdaguer’s epic poem, *L’Atlántida*, for which he diligently studied Catalan grammar (Pahissa 1956: 17–19, 164; Thomas; Demarquez, p. 1). Yet no one has addressed the

role of Barcelona's musical press in shaping Falla's stylistic evolution. As a point of departure for such a study, this essay considers the reception and performance history of selected works in Madrid and Barcelona from 1921 to 1926, critical years for both the composer and the development of Spanish neoclassicism. Beginning with the ballet *The Three-Cornered Hat*, a work seen by some as a harbinger of Falla's neoclassical style (Marcos, p. 36; Chase and Budwig, p. 25; Demarquez, p. 96), I will suggest that the difference in attitudes to this work (largely negative in Madrid and overwhelmingly positive in Barcelona) set the tone for subsequent reviews in both cities of Falla's bona fide neoclassical works.⁶ Critical reaction to Falla's music also reflects a fundamental dichotomy in the aesthetic climate of these two cultural centers, encapsulating in musical terms the centuries-old conflict in Spain between isolationism and so-called Europeanization. As at other points in history, Catalonia proved highly receptive to a "universal" perspective (Carr, p. 769; Molas, p. 79).

From the beginning of his career, Falla's relationship with Madrid was troubled. Seeking financial security, he attempted zarzuela, but of his six efforts in this genre, only *Los amores de Inés* was performed (April 1902), and to lukewarm reviews at that (Demarquez, p. 15).⁷ Another fiasco was his opera, *La vida breve*. Although it won a 1905 contest sponsored by the Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, *La vida breve* never received the performance at Madrid's Teatro Real that Falla understood the contest organizers to have promised. Embittered, he moved to Paris in 1907. In that heady environment he associated with Stravinsky, Ravel, Debussy, and other musicians and artists of international stature; with the support of Debussy and Dukas, he succeeded in arranging performances of *La vida breve* in Nice and in Paris.⁸ Falla later compared this experience with his earlier treatment in Madrid, concluding that "without Paris, I would have remained buried in Madrid . . . eking out a miserable living . . . my opera stuck away in a drawer, like a family heirloom" (De Persia, p. 51).⁹

Only the outbreak of war compelled Falla to return to Spain. Arriving in Madrid in September 1914, he immediately sought to reestablish himself by mounting the Spanish premiere of *La vida breve*, almost a decade overdue. Yet acceptance into Madrid's musical circles was by no means straightforward. Some of Falla's works from

this period, the majority of which were for Gregorio Martínez Sierra's theatrical company, aroused critical ire for their modernism and perceived lack of fidelity to the national image.¹⁰ When the first version of the *gitanería* *El amor brujo* premiered in 1915, for instance, the critic "Tristan," writing in the Madrid daily *El Liberal*, declared that Falla was "obsessed with the modern French school," from whose influence he "could not escape." Another critic commented that *El amor brujo* was "not to everyone's taste," while a third fell just short of calling it an "*españolada*" (Gallego, pp. 264, 266).¹¹

One highly successful work, however, was the pantomime *El corregidor y la molinera* of 1917, also a Martínez Sierra production. Based on a composite of the *romance* of the same name and Alarcón's novel *El sombrero de tres picos*, the pantomime's unabashed *costumbrismo* drew enthusiastic praise. From its scenery, described as "worthy of a Quintero brothers production" (Salazar 1917: 53) to its colorful score, the pantomime impressed Madrid's critics as a near-perfect realization of *españolismo* (*ibid.*).¹² The popularity of *El corregidor y la molinera* was one of several factors that led to its conversion from a modest pantomime for local consumption to a full-scale ballet for the internationally renowned Ballets Russes.¹³ Under the direction of impresario Sergei Diaghilev, this forward-looking company had scandalized Paris with the premieres of Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring* (1913) and Satie's *Parade* (1917). Falla's ballet, now known as *The Three-Cornered Hat*, featured sets and costumes by Picasso, an expanded version of Falla's pantomime score, and choreography by Leonid Massine. Its London premiere, greeted with acclaim in 1919, was followed by a triumph in Paris the following year (Buckle, p. 358).

What of *The Three-Cornered Hat* in Spain? In contrast to the enthusiasm of London and Paris, the Madrid premiere in April 1921 sparked shrill controversy. To be sure, a few critics upheld the ballet as a liberating influence on Spanish art. But a greater number registered the work's departures from Spanish tradition; indeed, for several critics, the ballet's ironic attitude amounted to a lack of national pride. The Barcelona premiere in 1924, on the other hand, was a resounding success. Critics for the *Diario de Barcelona*, *El Diluvio*, *El Correo Catalan*, *La Veu de Catalunya*, *La Publicitat*, and the *Revista Musical Catalana* not only praised the ballet, but also noted the public's delirious response. Indeed, *The Three-Cornered Hat* was so well re-

ceived in Barcelona that when Diaghilev returned there in May 1927, he programmed it again; once more, critics and audiences reacted enthusiastically. In 1925, when Falla himself conducted a concert version in Barcelona, critics recalled the warm reception of the 1924 premiere. And when Falla performed in the Catalan capital in 1926, selections from *The Three-Cornered Hat* again appeared on the program ("Salvatore" 1925a: 2; "X," p. 4).

Before attempting to account for these conflicting responses, it should be emphasized that the hostile reaction in Madrid was by no means unanimous. Critics of the stature of Juan de la Encina, an associate of José Ortega y Gasset, admired the collaborators' departure from the "slavish realism" of many theatrical productions (Encina, n.p.). Yet Encina, along with Julio Gómez and Adolfo Salazar, warned that the work's modernist approach lacked general appeal (Gómez, n.p.; Salazar 1921: n.p.). Indeed, it was this perceived incompatibility between modernism and the Spanish character that so angered *The Three-Cornered Hat's* detractors. One of the more strident of these, "B," attacked the ballet as "an ostentation of modernism and dislocation" ("B" 1921: n.p.), while another critic, "V" (surely Francisco de Paula Valladar, editor of the Granada-based paper *La Alhambra*), referred to the ballet's "bizarre orchestral devices and exported gestures" ("V," n.p.). Also under attack were Falla's "misguided turn toward impressionism and snobbism," Picasso's "arbitrary and inauthentic" decor, and Massine's "erotic" choreography. Perhaps it was Víctor Espinós, critic for the Catholic daily *La Época*, who best summed up this indignation by condemning the ballet as "futuristic claptrap" and "a chapter out of the Black Legend" (n.p.).¹⁴

Like their *madrileño* counterparts, Barcelona's critics addressed the relationship between modernism and national image. Instead of viewing the ballet's modernity as an assault upon Spanish character, however, they perceived it as an enhancement of intrinsically Spanish qualities. J. Ll. of *La Veu de Catalunya*, for example, found that "the choreographic interpretation was a formidable synthesis of an entire people" (Ll. 1924: 4), while "A. M." of the *Diario de Barcelona* noted the intertwining of "modern harmonies and fresh, spontaneous melodies that bear the mark of Spanish music" (1924: 39). Similarly, "Alard" of *El Diluvio* asserted that although the score "[renders] tribute to modern forms, it does not overlook the character and the internal sense of the novel" (1924: 46).¹⁵ Unlike Madrid,

Barcelona found reasons to praise the choreography and scenery. Picasso's set was evaluated as "a stylized and appropriate decoration" ("A. M." 1924: 39), which "unfolded with cubist delineation" ("B" 1924: 5).¹⁶ Even J. Ll. (the one Barcelona critic who expressed any reservation about the work) allowed that "Picasso's costumes and scenery were a marvel of color and artistic intention" (Ll. 1924: 4).¹⁷ In both cities, the musical press also addressed audience response. Madrid's Matilde Muñoz of *El Imparcial*, however, was the only critic in that city to note any degree of enthusiasm; others referred to "puzzlement," "disgust," and "apathy." Taken in the context of the issues discussed above, the frequent references of Barcelona's critics to audience approval suggests more than a *succès d'estime*, but rather an endorsement of modernism by the general musical public ("A. M." 1924: 39; "B" 1924: 5; "Eceache" 1927: 27).

This difference in reaction would seem to stem from several factors. First, Barcelona has always prided itself on its receptivity to the latest aesthetic trends.¹⁸ Critics were hardly likely to snub Diaghilev, who, after all, had collaborated with Stravinsky, Satie, Debussy, Poulenc, Milhaud, Braque, Cocteau, and others. Second, and perhaps more significant, was the Catalan public's perception of the national image. Lacking a strong tradition of *españolismo*, so much a part of zarzuela and costumbrista theater, the ironic treatment of such elements in *The Three-Cornered Hat* seems to have been largely irrelevant to the Catalan audience. We might conclude that these divergent reactions to Falla's most celebrated work are rooted in issues of identity: for Catalans, *The Three-Cornered Hat* was about "others," while the audience of Madrid saw Spaniards—that is, themselves—as the ballet's primary subject matter.

As *The Three-Cornered Hat* was applauded in Barcelona, however, Falla's style had already begun to undergo significant changes. If in the ballet he had fused an ironic approach to *jotas* and *seguidillas* with lush, extravagant orchestration, his 1923 masterpiece, *El Retablo de Maese Pedro*, works on far subtler premises. Based on an episode from the *Quijote*, the *Retablo* contains recondite allusions to the Spanish tradition in the form of *pregones*, Gregorian chant, and seventeenth-century lute songs, all cleverly concealed beneath acerbic harmonic language and stark instrumentation (García Matos, pp. 33–52). The following year, in his Impressionist vocal chamber piece *Psyché*, Falla paid tribute to Debussy. Finally, in the Harpsichord

Concerto of 1926, the first substantive twentieth-century work to showcase this “antiquarian” instrument, Falla surpasses even Stravinsky in purity of line and concentration of form.¹⁹ Significantly, *Psyché* and the Harpsichord Concerto received their world premieres in Barcelona; the premiere of the *Retablo* in that city took place in 1925. To be sure, the critical reception of the concerto was mixed, but on balance, all three works were greeted with enthusiasm and intense interest. Again, Barcelona’s critics addressed issues that pointed the way to neoclassicism.²⁰

In discussing the *Retablo*, for example, several commentators hailed the work as representative of the modern age, with F. Lliurat of the *Veü de Catalunya* going so far as to place it on an equal footing with Stravinsky’s *Petrushka* and Debussy’s *Pelléas et Mélisande*.²¹ Of central importance in this assessment was Falla’s instrumentation. As A. Marqués observed, Falla followed “modern procedures [in reacting] against the proportions of the Wagnerian orchestra” (1925: 4).²² J. Ll. of *La Publicitat* noted that the composer’s approach here was “of the latest style” in that it allowed the “diverse timbres of the different instruments to sound freely” (Ll. 1925: 4).²³ In a similar vein, critics considered the neoclassical preoccupation with “pure” music, free from extramusical connotation. When Lliurat, for example, remarked (indeed, several times in the same review) that the *Retablo* was “always *musical!*” (italics in original), he echoed the notion that musical sound in and of itself was an aesthetically viable precept. This concept, in turn, is related to Ortega y Gasset’s call for the elimination of sentimental or psychological referents in “the new art,” which eschewed all notions of “meaning” or “transcendence.”²⁴ Ortega’s provocative assertion that “a work of art is nothing but a work of art” (p. 14) would likewise find expression in Stravinsky’s assertive campaign for neoclassical values during the 1920s, during which the composer upheld the value of music “based on objective elements which are sufficient in themselves.”²⁵

The Barcelona *Retablo* also accrued practical benefits for the composer. Several critics made suggestions about the rather complicated staging of the work, which calls for a double stage and two sets of puppets (one to serve as Maese Pedro’s theater, along with a life-sized set to enact the three principal roles of Don Quijote, Maese Pedro, and the Trujamán). It was in Barcelona that the idea arose of using a marionette theater for the puppets in Maese Pedro’s show,

“following the original in the *Quijote*,” as the critic “Salvatore” of *Las Noticias* put it (1925b: 2). In addition, it was suggested that the life-sized puppets for the three main characters be replaced by real singers, a procedure adopted for subsequent productions.²⁶

Although critics wrote rather sparingly of the intimate, less ambitious *Psyché*, similar considerations emerge in the reviews of this work’s premiere (Romea 1925: 5; [J. B. d] P., p. 1; Marqués, p. 4). On a text by Georges Jean-Aubry, *Psyché* is scored for voice and small instrumental ensemble; thus its purely sonic qualities, realized within self-imposed limitations, attracted critical notice. As J. Ll. noted, “the restricted orchestra, instead of harming the sonority, augmented its transparency” (Ll. 1925: 4).²⁷ As for Falla’s harmonic structures, J. B. de P. (p. 1) declared that *Psyché* was “a confirmation of an ultra-modern harmonic idiom.”²⁸ In effect, where Falla’s “obsession with the modern French school” had earned him condemnation in the Madrid press a decade earlier, Barcelona greeted *Psyché*, his most Impressionist score, with brief but appreciative notices.

Of the works under discussion, certainly the Harpsichord Concerto, premiered on 5 November 1926 at the Palau de la Música Catalana, caused the greatest stir. Written for the eminent French harpsichordist Wanda Landowska, this chamber concerto (scored for harpsichord and five other solo instruments) displays severe economy of form and pungent harmonies. To be sure, its austere, dissonant character puzzled several critics. “B” of the *Correo Catalan*, for example, acknowledged that, despite Falla’s impressive standing in the musical world, the concerto manifested an “exaggerated sense of innovation,” constituting a “spontaneous arresting of his artistic faculties” (1926: 6).²⁹ Another negative review is by “Alard” (1926: 28), who, like “B,” considered the concerto an aberration, an “error” committed through overfondness for esoteric procedures ultimately lacking in spontaneity.³⁰

Several other critics, however, were quick to defend the work. Disinclined to blame an “exaggerated sense of innovation” for the less than brilliant premiere, some simply observed that despite the caliber of the performers, the difficult new work was underrehearsed (Lliurat 1926: 5; Pahissa 1926: 3). Indeed, several tried to see beyond the immediate limitations of the premiere and place the work in a broader perspective, even while acknowledging some uncertainty in doing so. “X,” for example, of *La Publicitat*, saw the concerto as a

reflection of Falla's "rigorous fidelity to his own instincts"; these the critic likens to "the . . . devil that [also] tempts Schoenberg and Stravinsky." Consequently, the "value and importance" of the concerto would have to await the judgement of history (as, "X" implies, would the music of Schoenberg and Stravinsky). Avoiding a definitive evaluation of the concerto, "X," nonetheless expressed interest in hearing it under more auspicious circumstances (1926: 4).³¹

Lliurat's comments were less guarded. Describing the concerto as "a nobly, dextrously written work," he notes Falla's timbral purity, achieved through his finesse with instrumentation: "The intention to fuse the sonorities of the harpsichord with those of the other instruments is worthy of high praise. Maestro Falla sought . . . to combine the sonorities delicately, spiritually." The weak performance, however, prevented Lliurat from determining if Falla had realized his "laudable intention" to create "pure music" (1926: 5).³² Despite these circumstances, Lliurat remained convinced of the concerto's intrinsic value. Falla's timbral sense also caught the notice of "A. M." Asserting that "it was unnecessary to state that the work is realized with great mastery," "A. M." commented that "with this reduced group of instruments, Maestro Falla has composed a very interesting work with . . . his expert hand for instrumentation . . . realizing from the various timbres a fascinating and surprising sonic amalgam within the ensemble" (1926: 22).³³ Another who defended the work against the deficiencies of the performance was Jaime Pahissa, Falla's first important biographer, then critic for *Las Noticias*. Calling attention to the concerto's innate complexities, Pahissa commented that these could hardly be grasped in a single hearing, whatever the quality of performance. Noting Falla's "concentrated spirit" and ongoing quest for the "purest artistic ideal," Pahissa affirmed the concerto's "very modern technique and severe character" (1926: 3).³⁴

In short, although Barcelona's critics generally admitted that they could not adequately judge the work on the basis of the premiere, a core group arrived at certain conclusions.³⁵ First, they agreed that in the concerto Falla had probed more deeply into radical modernism than ever before. Next, they observed that this had led Falla's keen ear for timbre to proceed in a new way, one that emphasized linear clarity and "objective," even percussive sonorities. Last, the critics concluded that whatever incomprehension the concerto

had aroused at its premiere, history would ultimately judge its merits. That this judgment would be positive several of Barcelona's critics were firmly convinced.

"History" did, in fact, bear out the instincts of Pahissa, Lliurat, and their colleagues. After a performance in Paris in May 1927, critic Henri Prunières and others waxed enthusiastic over the concerto (Demarquez, pp. 167–68). A month later Falla played it in London, a performance Igor Stravinsky chanced to hear (along with the *Retablo*). The Russian composer later wrote:

While in London . . . I greatly enjoyed hearing [Falla's] concerto for harpsichord or piano, which he himself played on the latter instrument. In my opinion these two works give proof of incontestable progress in the development of his great talent. He has, in them, deliberately emancipated himself from the folkloristic influence under which he was in danger of stultifying himself (Stravinsky 1936: 209–10).³⁶

For Stravinsky, it was Falla's shedding of overt nationalism that accounted for this "incontestable progress."³⁷ In fact, Barcelona had anticipated Stravinsky's assessment: "Alard," for example, had asserted that "Manuel de Falla today is no longer only a Spanish personality, but global" (1926: 28), while "Salvatore" had referred to the *Retablo's* "universal psychological value" (1925a: 2). More explicitly than his colleagues, J. B. de P. noted Falla's tendency "to abolish the superfluity of vacuous sounds and the artificial mordent of conventionalized rhythms with which regional music is described" (p. 1).³⁸

Falla's "incontestable progress," encouraged in Barcelona, was eventually acknowledged throughout musical Spain, for Madrid applauded the Harpsichord Concerto in November 1927.³⁹ Thus, from his early attempts at zarzuela to his ironic treatment of *españolismo* in *The Three-Cornered Hat* to the culmination of his style in the cool neoclassicism of the 1920s, Falla's output encompasses the most significant trends in Spanish twentieth-century music. In encouraging him during his neoclassical period, Barcelona's critics not only promoted an individual composer, but also heralded a new direction in Spanish music, one that aspired beyond local idiosyncrasies to the language of universalismo.

NOTES

1. While stylistic elements of zarzuela tended to influence the symphonic production (admittedly scant) of turn-of-the-century Spanish composers, exceptions can be found in the orchestral works of Conrado del Campo and in Granados's symphonic poem *Dante*. Ironically, zarzuela's close stylistic proximity to Italian opera often resulted in ersatz Spanish music. See Grout, pp. 480–85. Some of the more successful zarzuela composers included Falla's contemporaries Vicente Lleó, José Serrano, Pablo Luna, and Joaquín Valverde.
2. The phrase is Joseph Straus's (1990). See also Messing (1996).
3. A program is a literary complement to a musical score, either selected or written by the composer. It may be either philosophical—that is, dealing with ideas and generalized emotions—or descriptive, in which specific nonmusical events are represented.
4. The anti-Romantic attitude was expressed in an address at Madrid's Residencia de Estudiantes outlining the new aesthetic by the Spanish composer Gustavo Pittaluga (“no Romanticism, no chromaticism, no divagations—and no chords of the diminished seventh!”). Trans. by Chase, p. 203. For examples of “universal” approaches in the music of vanguardista Spanish composers, see the Prelude and Fugue, gigue for guitar, and three sonatas for solo piano by Falla's student Rodolfo Halffter, or Ernesto Halffter's *Sinfonietta in D Major* with its four movements in the standard symphonic formal arrangement.
5. Lorca echoes much of the discourse of musical neoclassicism when he refers to “objective beauty,” “clarity, measure and order” in his “The Poetic Image in Don Luis de Góngora.” Trans. by Gibson (1989: 158).
6. Others, mostly non-Spaniards, have labeled *The Three-Cornered Hat* a “nationalist” work. For a summary of these viewpoints, see Hess (1994: ch. 4).
7. Falla's other zarzuelas include *La Juana y la Petra, o La Casa de Tócame Roque* (c. 1900), *Limosna de amor*, (1901–2), *El cornetín de órdenes* (c. 1903), *La cruz de Malta* (c. 1903), and *Prisionero de guerra* (c. 1903–4). See Hess (forthcoming).
8. *La vida breve* was finally performed in 1913 in Nice and then at Paris's Opéra-Comique the following year. On Debussy's role in Falla's subsequent revisions of the score and in helping Falla publish his works, see Christoforidis, pp. 2, 7–8. For a discussion of *La vida breve* in the context of Falla's Paris period, see also Seitz.
9. “Sin París, yo hubiera quedado enterrado en Madrid . . . arrastrando una vida oscura, viviendo miserablemente . . . y guardando, como un recuerdo de familia . . . en un armario, la partitura de mi ópera.”
10. Falla's collaborations with the Martínez Sierra company include incidental music for *Amanecer* (1915), *Otelo/Tragedia de una noche de verano* (1915). Two unfinished projects include the opera *Fuego fatuo* and incidental music for

Don Juan de España (Rodrigo, pp. 161–68; 186–97). On the *gitanería* *El amor brujo* (1915) and the pantomime *El corregidor y la molinera* (1917), see below.

11. “La moderna escuela musical francesa le obsesiona, le atrae y no puede sustraerse a su influencia.” “Tristan’s” comments are cited in Sagardia, n.p. (clipping courtesy of Archivo Manuel de Falla in Granada; hereafter AMF). The next remark is by Eduardo López-Chavarri in *Revista Musical Hispano-Americana*, 2^a época, 7/16 (1915), and the last is by Tomás Borrás in *La Tribuna*, 16 April 1915. These latter two critics are cited, along with others, in Gallego, pp. 263–66.
12. Another critic described the set as a “*cuadro de género* that no *costumbrista* painter would disdain to copy.” See Anonymous, p. 3.
13. A comparison of the scores of *El corregidor y la molinera* and *The Three-Cornered Hat* is found in Budwig, pp. 191–212.
14. Every member of this latter group of critics was employed by a politically conservative newspaper. See Hess (1995: 57–67).
15. “La interpretación coreogràfica és una formidable síntesi de tot un poble” (J. Ll., probably Joan Llongueras); “Si bien, como hemos dicho, hay en *El sombrero de tres picos* todas las características modernas, no por eso deja de serpentear por en medio de las modernidades armónicas y una melodía fresca y espontánea, que lleva bien marcado el sello de la música española.” (“A. M.”); “La musicalización de *El sombrero de tres picos* . . . con todo y rendir tributo a las formas modernas, no olvida el carácter y el sentido interno del libro” (“Alard”).
16. “Una estilizada y apropiada decoración.” (“A. M.”); “un espectáculo [que] se desarrolla con trazo cubista” (“B”).
17. “Els vestits i decorat d’En Picasso són una meravella d’intenció y de color.”
18. Evident in events like the Cubist exhibit at the Dalmau gallery in 1912, one of the first outside Paris (Green, pp. 183–94; Suarez, pp. 195–210).
19. Francis Poulenc’s harpsichord concerto, the *Concert champêtre*, dates from 1928.
20. Several reviews, while favorable, are so general as to be unworthy of detailed discussion. See, for example, “A.” (1925: 20), or “Walter,” p. 17. The critic “Walter” has been identified by Oriol Martorell (n.d.) as the pianist and impresario Climent Lozano.
21. “En Falla ha creat, creiem, una de les obres més interessants, més originals dels nostres temps . . . *El Retablo de Maese Pedro* ens sembla tan bell, tan important com *Petrushka* o com *Pelléas*.”
22. “Un aspecto en que el maestro Falla muéstrase también con técnica e inventiva pujante, es en la instrumentación, en la cual, siguiendo los procedimientos modernos de reaccionar contra las proporciones de la orquesta wagneriana, consigue, con contados elementos, efectos de sonoridad admirables.”

23. "La instrumentació es de la darrera moda. . . . Els diversos timbres característics dels instruments diferents poden sonar així lliurement, descarregats de tota feina arquitectònica."
24. Ortega y Gasset (1993: esp. 52–57).
25. Stravinsky (1924); in White, p. 575.
26. This practice began with the Amsterdam production of 1926, under the direction of Luis Buñuel (Bonet and de Persia, p. 41). The suggestion came from "Salvatore" (1925b: 2), although J. Ll. and Lliurat also commented on the staging (in 1925: 11 and 1925: 6 respectively).
27. "La restricció de l'orquestra, en comptes de perjudicar la sonoritat, l'augmenta de transparència."
28. "*Psiquis* nos parece una obra de reválida en el sistema armónico de ultramodernismo."
29. "[Aunque el] maestro Manuel de Falla [es] hoy reconocido como astro de primera magnitud en el firmamento del arte lírico . . . el concierto estrenado en el 'Palau de la Música Catalana,' escrito para clavicembalo . . . es una obra en que se exagera el sentido innovador de los procedimientos armónicos y se busca allí molde nuevo sin que convezan del todo cierto ímpetus del autor, que, por otra parte, pueden considerarse como un espontáneo arresto de su genio artístico."
30. "Nadie puede disputarle a Manuel de Falla el puesto de honor entre los compositores españoles contemporáneos. . . . Claro que no nos referimos al "Concerto" para clavicembalo, pues salvando todos los respetos que nos merece tan insigne maestro, no estamos conformes con la forma y estructura de esta obra. . . . Todo lo que es espontaneidad en sus obras es [en?] el "Concerto" referido rebuscamiento y banalidad. No, no podemos en ninguna manera hacer comentarios sobre esta composición; creemos que es una equivocación del maestro que, queriendo seguir nuevos derroteros, quedó completamente desorientado."
31. "El mestre Falla s'ha deixat temptar pel 'personatge reinant,' un diable complicat que no és gens estrany, per exemple, a l'especulació d'un Schoenberg o que podria haver dictat a Strawinsky algunes de les seves obres, com la "Història del soldat," suposem. . . . De la vàlua i la importància de la partitura en són penyora la història artística del compositor i el seu gran talent. Ara, de les condicions precises d'aquesta producció no gasariem a dir-ne res abans d'escoltar-la una altra vegada en millors circumstàncies que les que presidiren l'execució de divendres passat. . . . Es evident, no obstant, que aquest "Concerto" és una obra per demés interessant i plena de suggestions."
32. "La intenció de fusionar les sonoritats del calvicèmbal amb les sonoritats dels altres instruments és ben digna d'ésser lloada. . . . El mestre Falla volgué . . . combinar traçadament, espiritualment, les sonoritats. . . . Reeixi [Falla] en la seva ben lloable intenció? Gairebé no ho sabem, car l'execució que ens fou oferta era poc a propòsit per a judicar l'obra de la qual parlem

des del punt de mira. . . . Com ocupar-se, en tal cas, del darrer estat que podriem dir-ne, d'una execució, estat la difinitiu, i en el qual s'equilibren, es combinen, es 'timbren' les sonoritats?"

33. "Con esta reducísima masa orquestal ha compuesto el maestro Falla una obra muy interesante en cuanto a las sonoridades que obtiene combinando con mano maestra los instrumentos . . . consiguiendo de sus diferentes timbres una interesantísima y sorprendente amalgama sonora en el conjunto. . . [Que] la obra está resuelta con gran maestría no es necesario consignarlo, pues ya es sabido el dominio técnico que posee el maestro Falla."
34. "De la nueva obra: el 'Concerto' . . . podemos hablar poco: en primer lugar, porque una sola audición de un obra nueva moderna, escrita por un espíritu concentrado, y que sólo mira al más puro ideal artístico, es muy poco para hacerse cargo de ella: y en segundo lugar, porque la ejecución fué muy deficiente. . . . Pero no dejó de percibirse que se trata de una composición elevada, de técnica muy moderna en el segundo tiempo de carácter severo, y de un rito más claramente 'español' en el último, que fué el que el público comprendió mejor."
35. For a highly personal account of one critic's difficulties in evaluating the concerto, see Romea, who begins: "Salgo del Palau . . . lleno de confusiones, de inquietudes, de zozobras, de indignación a la vez. . . . Y conste que mis inquietudes, mis zozobras, mi indignación, no las motivaron ni la Danza final del 'Sombrero de tres picos' . . . ni las 'Noches en los Jardines de España,' . . . ni del famosísimo y genial *Retablo de Maese Pedro* . . . [sino del] 'Concierto' . . . estrenado anoche" (1926: 4).
36. Stravinsky also referred enthusiastically to the concerto as a "delicious" work in a letter to Falla (12 February 1929). See Craft, p. 164.
37. For a discussion of Stravinsky's motivations as a leader in the neoclassical movement, see Taruskin (1980: 501–43).
38. "Manuel de Falla es hoy no solamente una personalidad española, sino mundial" ("Alard"); "La curiosidad de nuestro público fué extraordinaria para conocer la originalísima obra intitulada *El Retablo de Maese Pedro*, . . . por la clásica filiación literaria de un asunto tan profundamente ibérico, además de tener valor psicológico universal" ("Salvatore"); "Como si quisiese abolir la hojarasca de vacua sonoridad, y el artificioso mordente de ritmos convencionales con que se describe . . . la música de una región" (J. B. de P.).
39. The commentary by Adolfo Salazar (1927), appearing in *El Sol* two days before the Madrid premiere, can be taken as representative.

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COMMUNITY ENSEMBLE MUSIC AS A MEANS OF CULTURAL EXPRESSION IN THE CATALAN-SPEAKING AUTONOMIES OF SPAIN

Richard Scott Cohen

Since the nineteenth century, people of the Catalan-speaking regions of Spain, as in other European nations, have united in song as a means of community involvement and expression of regional cultural identities. Throughout this area, comprised of present-day Catalonia, the Balearic Islands, and the Comunitat Valenciana, community musical participation is a common trait, but the types of ensembles and levels of participation vary among these three regions. This paper will examine the three principal musical activities that unite and help define cultural identity via the participation in predominantly nonprofessional ensembles: the sardana, found exclusively in Catalonia; choirs, found in all three regions, but to the greatest extent in Catalonia; and community concert bands, also found throughout all three regions, but to the greatest extent in Valencia.

THE SARDANA

Of these three musical activities the sardana is not just the only one found exclusively in Catalonia, but it is also the one which occurs in the greatest variety of artistic media, including literature, dance, and music. The sardana appears in a variety of literary forms. The *Llibre de la sardana*, by Josep Miracle i Montserrat (pp. 265–68), classifies these forms as poetic works about sardanas, prose works about sardanas, and poems created as lyrics to accompany instrumental sardana music. This text also provides many examples of these literary forms. Examples of poetic works about or inspired by

sardanas include *La sardana*, by Joan Maragall, and others by Vicenç Arpa i Llopis, Agustí Esclasans, Josep M. Salvador Perarnau, López Picó, and Jacint Verdaguer (Miracle, pp. 35–78). Examples of prose works about or inspired by sardanas include three works also entitled *La Sardana*, one each by Lluís Millet, Eugeni d’Ors and Santiago Rusiñol, as well as others by writers such as Joan Llongueres, Josep Pla, and Francesc Pujol (Miracle, pp. 81–105, 205–38). Examples of sardana lyrics include those by Josep Clavé, Ambròs Carrion, Angel Guimerà, Joan Llongueres, Joan Maragall, and Joan Manén (Miracle, pp. 120–85).

The sardana dance is a modern-day manifestation of the tradition of ancient circular dances found throughout the Mediterranean area. Cave paintings, such as those in the Cogul Cave, depict the antiquity of this class of dance (Martorell, p. 16). Many, including Aureli Company (pp. 13–15), have related the sardana to a dance known as the *contrapàs*, or *contrapàs llarg*, which may date back to the Iberian culture itself. More recent circular dance forms known as the *ball redon* or *rodó* were also known to exist in the thirteenth century.

By the mid-1800s the sardana had attained its present-day form; its invention at the time of Company’s book in the late 1940s was still popularly attributed to Pep de Figueres (Company, p. 17). However, it was two men from the Empordà county, composer Pep Ventura (1818–75) and dancer Miquel Pardàs (1818–72), whose “formulated reforms . . . gave the sardana the musical and choreographic characteristics which continue to this day” (Martorell, p. 16).¹

Joan Maragall’s poem, *La sardana*, eloquently states that the sardana:

No és la dansa lasciva, la innoble,
els un parells d’altres, desaparellant;
és la dansa sencera d’un poble
que estima i avança donant-se les mans (p. 36).

Oriol Martorell also agrees that “La sardana, senzilla i austera, no s’ha de contemplar: la sardana s’ha de ballar” (p. 15). Hand in hand, the sardana “has as an essential characteristic that it is an open dance in which all can participate” (p. 15).² This is one of the principal “community ensemble” characteristics of the sardana: it is a dance

open to all, a dance for the common people and not limited to trained professional dancers.

The musical component of the sardana is performed most typically by a folk band known as a *cobla*, although sardanas may be sung as well. The sung aspect of the sardana will be further discussed in the following section, but the fact that nonprofessional, community choirs sing sardanas also reinforces the fact that the sardana is a multifaceted art form which helps define and express the essence of being Catalan.

Instrumentally, the *cobla* is a very unusual ensemble of recorder, double reed, brass, string, and percussion instruments which by its mere constitution affirms a unique facet of culture in Catalonia. One single person plays both the recorder and percussion instruments in this ensemble. The small treble recorder is known as the *flabiol* and is held and played in one hand. The small tabor-like drum known as the *tamborí* is strapped to the same arm whose hand is playing the *flabiol*, while the other hand strikes the drum head with a small stick or wooden beater. The double reed instruments give the *cobla* its most strikingly identifiable sound. Known as the *tiple* (treble) and the *tenora* (tenor), they are similar to other predecessors of today's oboe and English horn, such as the shawm and the flageolet, in that they use a very wide and short reed which connects to the instrument in wider yet shallower resonating chambers. The *tiple* and *tenora* are each employed in pairs in the *cobla*, and their piquant sound and full chromatic capabilities lend themselves to playing key melodic roles.

The brass instruments of the *cobla* today include a pair of trumpets, but prior to the popularization of the orchestra during most of the twentieth century these were most typically cornets. A single trombone is also used, and it is interesting to note that it is still most typically a valve trombone, which since the heyday of the bands throughout Western society in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has almost completely been supplanted by the slide trombone. Compared to the slide trombone, the valve trombone has a somewhat stuffier, more nasal sound, which would have blended well with the cornets. It continues to blend well with the other brass instruments of the *cobla*, the *fiscorns*. These instruments, also used in pairs, are similar in shape to a cornet but are twice the size, giving them a range similar to the trombone. Not found in orchestras or

symphonic-style community bands in Western Europe or the New World, today most are imported from Central Europe. They bring their mellow and lyrical qualities to the cobla, while the trombone and trumpets typically play rhythmic roles or stand out with more brilliance and fanfare.

The final member of the cobla is the string bass. This, too, has its own Catalonian bent in that it typically has just three strings, as opposed to the double basses of the orchestra, which use four.

With the cobla, the sardanas today are danced throughout Catalonia at town festivals and as weekend activities in town and church plazas. The author did not have access to statistical records for the purpose of this document, but the massive proliferation of sardana performances can be seen in the weekend newspapers of Catalonia, which often report on the place and time of such events:

La sardana és la veritable i inconfusible dansa nacional de Catalunya i un autèntic fenomen en el camp del folklore universal . . . un dels pocs balls tradicionals encara ben vius i populars en el món occidental (Martorell, p. 15).

Beyond this manifestation of folk music and dance, the sardana has also attempted to bridge the gap to universal musical forms. This has been achieved by composers who have written both concert music for coblas and more symphonic sounding "concert sardanas." Among the concert works for coblas are *Sant Jordi Triomfant* for cobla and choir, by Francesc Pujol; Manuel Oltra's *Rapsòdia* for piano and cobla; the waltz *Mr. Jacques* for two coblas, by Josep Serra; and *Maledicció del Comte Arnau* for three coblas and timpani, by Francesc Pujol (Martorell, p. 22; Orfeó de Sants, p. 2). Among the concert sardanas are those found in Juli Garreta's *Suite in G*, Pau Casals's oratorio *El Pessebre*, Eduard Toldrà's "free sardana for orchestra" entitled *Empúries*, and Frederic Mompou's third *Canço i dansa* for piano (Martorell, pp. 21–22). In addition, the renowned conductor Joan Lamote de Grignon arranged numerous sardanas for the Banda Municipal de Barcelona, in which the parts for the tipples and tenoras were preserved intact and played by band musicians who also doubled on those instruments. These arrangements are still used regularly today, usually as concluding music or an encore piece. The author has conducted two of these arrangements: the first was *La Santa Espina* in 1995, and most recently the sardana *Juny* in February 1997.

Other renowned European composers who have been exposed to sardanas have been impressed and inspired by them as well. In 1924 the Ateneu Barcelonés sponsored a sardana concert for Igor Stravinsky during his visit to Barcelona. Being especially excited by the sardana *Juny*, Stravinsky was reported in the newspaper *La Publicitat* to have said, “When I am back in Paris, please send me some sardanas, for I should like to study them; send me some folk songs as well; I will then send you a sardana of my own” (cited in Moragues, p. 107).³ It is not known if such a piece was ever written, but two other renowned composers, Englishmen Benjamin Britten and Sir Lennox Berkeley, did comply with a commitment to compose a Catalan-inspired work together after having witnessed folk dancing on Montjuic in 1936 (Fenske, p. 4). As Berkeley’s *Overture* was premiered in Barcelona on 23 April 1936, it is possible that these two men may have in fact witnessed the Dia de la Sardana itself, which has fallen on 24 April in other years, such as 1960 (Miracle, pp. 192–93; Slonimsky). *Mont Juic: Suite of Catalan Dances* is an orchestral work which is unusual due to its collaborative nature, and it includes an original sardana by these two composers. It was composed in 1937 and premiered by the BBC Orchestra on 8 January 1938 (Slonimsky).

The sardana, whether performed during town festivals or as weekend activities in town and church plazas throughout Catalonia, is a unique artistic amalgam of literature, dance, song, and instrumental music. Its prose and poetry overtly express and celebrate the culture and heritage of Catalonia, while its circular dance form and uniquely instrumented folk band provide visual and aural import in a more abstract but possibly even more effective manner. The sardana is, indeed, the incarnation of Catalonia’s cultural quiddity.

THE CHOIR

The choir as an ensemble for the participation of the community at large is a phenomenon which exists today in many countries and many regions of Spain, including all three of its present-day Catalan-speaking autonomies. Among these, the proliferation of choirs is most widespread in Catalonia.

Philosophically, the concept of such community-based performing ensembles was a sudden break with the tradition of music's being performed much more exclusively by professionals of the church and theater. As a populist movement, these choirs were "one of the fruits of the new democratic mentality born with the ideals of the French Revolution" (Martorell, p. 49).⁴ In fact, the progenitor of this movement in Catalonia, Josep Anselm Clavé (1824–74), adopted the motto "*progrés, virtut i amor*," and named his first men's choir La Fraternitat (Martorell, pp. 51–53).

The choral movement in Catalonia can be divided into three eras. The first, approximately 1850–90, began with Clavé and the founding of La Fraternitat in 1850. For the next quarter century Clavé worked to promote his personal ideal of "redemptorisme obrerista," both politically and culturally. In his later years, in fact, he became first a *diputat* and eventually a *governador civil*, always at the service of the "ideals catalanistes, federalistes i republicans" (Martorell, p. 52). His crusade had not only voice, but song as well. Clavé "became an apostle of the bringing of human dignity to the working and artisan classes, specifically by means of the choir" (*ibid.*).⁵

La Fraternitat soon changed its name to Euterpe, and within a decade nearly one hundred such choirs, known as Societats Euterpenses, had formed throughout Catalonia. These choirs sang mostly original songs—many composed by Clavé himself—extolling the virtues of their lives and livelihoods. Two of these works by Clavé are *Els pescadors* and *La maquinista*. The choral societies eventually joined together to form the Associació Euterpense, helping to preserve Clavé's legacy for generations to come. It is still thriving to this day under the name Federació de Cors de Clavé.

The second era of the choral movement in Catalonia, approximately 1891–1936, was spearheaded by a similarly dynamic individual, Lluís Millet (1867–1941). Like Clavé, he developed a musical organization that inspired massive imitation: the Orfeó Català, founded in 1891. Philosophically, Millet reflected the changed political atmosphere and viewed the choir as a means of social integration on a larger, more inclusive scale. All social classes were to be embraced and gender lines were to be crossed, as women were now admitted into the choirs. The goal now was a unified, coherent Catalunya for all. To this end, Millet embraced traditional Catalan folk songs within the framework of new choral settings. He also

encouraged the composition of new works for choirs which reflected this new philosophy. Antoni Nicolau was one of his principal composers, with such renowned works as *La Mare de Déu* and *El Noi de la Mare*. Last, demonstrating Catalonia's bent in favor of European trends (which remains strong to this day), Millet sought to embrace classical master works from the Renaissance through the Romantic era by renowned European composers.

The *orfeón* movement thrived under Millet's leadership, as he further promoted the choirs via annual regional assemblies and county-wide conferences. He also helped establish the Palau de la Música Catalana (1908) as, among other things, the seat for his Orfeó Català. By 1917 the Germanor dels Orfeons de Catalunya was formed at a musical festival, comprised of some fifty choirs from seventeen counties and involving more than 5,000 singers. This event eclipsed even Clavé's spectacular festivals, which fifty years earlier had roused more than 2,000 instrumentalists and singers at Barcelona's 1864 Camp Elisis Festival. As part of Millet's extensive musical legacy, this Germanor is still very active today under its new name, the Federació Catalana d'Entitats Corals.

The third era of Catalan choral music comprises the period since the Spanish Civil War (1936–39). According to Oriol Martorell, this period has manifested

two essential and simultaneous concerns: that of contributing to the tasks of recuperation and affirmation of a national consciousness, and that of reshaping—connecting to the currents which are flowing throughout the world—Catalonia's musical lineage and spirit: repertoire, performance, pedagogy, technique, etc. (p. 58).⁶

Groups formed in this current period continue to include terms in their names that are still associated with Millet's era (e.g., Orfeó Lleidatà). But more universal terminology such as *polifònica* (e.g., Agrupació Polifònica de Vilafranca), *cor* (e.g., Cor Montserrat de Terrassa), and *coral* (e.g., Coral Sant Jordi) now begins to dominate the names of these groups.

The Germanor dels Orfeons de Catalunya was reorganized in 1959 as the Societat d'Orfeons de Catalunya (SOC)/Moviment Coral Català to help develop and promote such choirs. Its component Grups Intermedis de Catalunya foster choirs for boys and girls ages 13 to 18. In 1967 this generalized commitment to bringing the choral

tradition to the youth of Catalonia expanded with the creation of the Secretariat de Corals Infantils de Catalunya to foster choirs for even younger children. By 1983 the SOC removed the last direct reference to Millet's orfeón heritage as it reorganized once again under its new and current name, the Federació Catalana d'Entitats Corals.

Today choirs not only proliferate throughout Catalonia, but they are also part of the socio-musical fabric of the Balearic Islands and the Valencian Autonomy. In the islands they are coordinated by the Federació de Corals de Mallorca, and the Federació Valenciana de Cors unites the choral activities in the three Valencian provinces. Table 1 is compiled from data from the musical reference text, *Recursos musicales en España* (Centro de Documentación Musical). It illustrates the demographic spread of choirs in the Catalan-speaking areas of Spain as of 1994 and shows the percentage as compared to national totals.

THE COMMUNITY CONCERT BAND

Table 1

Demographics of Choirs in the Catalan-Speaking Areas of Spain, 1994

| Region | Number of Choirs | National Percentage | Choral Festivals and Contests |
|------------------------|------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| Catalonia | 477 | 28 % | |
| Girona | 34 | | 1 |
| Lleida | 46 | | 0 |
| Barcelona | 345 | (20.5) | 6 |
| Tarragona | 52 | | 1 |
| Balearic Islands | 66 | 4 | 3 |
| Valencian Autonomy | 44 | 3 | |
| Castelló | 6 | | 0 |
| Valencia | 22 | | 2 |
| Alacant | 16 | | 1 |
| Catalan-Speaking Areas | 587 | 35 | 14 |
| All Spain | 1,687 | 100 | |

The “concert band,” in Spain as throughout Western society, is an ensemble of musicians who perform primarily on brass, woodwind, and percussion instruments. Spanish bands are nearly identical in their instrumental composition to those in the United States except that in Spain 1) the flute is used much more sparingly as a color instrument; 2) the flugelhorn is used commonly as a solo instrument, whereas it is not commonly used at all in the United States; and 3) the full range of the saxophone family is used regularly, including the soprano and bass saxophones, which are rare in American bands.

In Spain there are three main types of bands: military, municipal, and community. The military band is a professional ensemble of soldier-musicians in the service of one of the branches of the military. The municipal band has typically also been a professional ensemble of musicians, but one funded by local municipalities such as the provincial capital cities. Today, such *bandas municipales* may be professional or semi-professional. In the Catalán-speaking autonomies, where a vast percentage of Spain’s band activity occurs, fully professional municipal bands remain strong to this day in the capital cities of Barcelona, Palma de Mallorca, Castellón, Valencia, and Alicante. Two of these are continuing two of the longest municipal band traditions in all of Spain: the Banda Municipal de Barcelona, founded in 1886, and the Banda Municipal de Valencia, founded in 1903. By comparison, the Banda Municipal de Madrid was founded in 1909.

It is the third type of band, the community concert band, which is the most prolific throughout the Catalán-speaking lands. Like the sardana and the choir, this type of band involves vast numbers of primarily nonprofessional members of the community in activities which help define and celebrate local culture. As it is most extensively found in the Valencian Autonomy, it is fitting that this phenomenon be studied from the Valencian perspective.

Unfortunately, the historical foundations of the community bands in Valencia, while generally surmised, have been studied very little. José Climent, the noted musicologist from Valencia, states that the band phenomenon in Valencia

poses a sociological phenomenon which, even to the present day, has not been sufficiently studied. What’s important is not the detailed analysis of each one of these musical organizations (which

would also be very interesting) but the search for the singular or composite causes which, in themselves, make possible the existence of such a proliferation of bands (p. 150).⁷

Eduardo López-Chavarri Andújar reinforces this assertion: "It is difficult to believe that in Valencia, the antonomasia of bands, there still exists no historical study which investigates the general phenomena of how they were formed and how they are constituted" (p. 93).⁸

There are indications that it was a confluence of military, civic, and religious conditions and circumstances that coalesced in a unique way within the Valencia area to produce the community band movement at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Military antecedents included both indigenous and foreign elements. As far back as the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries, the local and

secular *Milicias Valencianas* displayed a wealth of variety in parades and official ceremonies, and along with flags, banners, and pennants representing noblemen or a military regiment, there resounded kettle drums, field drums, bagpipes, tabors, etc., which tended to play ahead of the royal flag (López-Chavarri Andújar, pp. 94–95).⁹

With the presence of Napoleonic troops in Spain from 1808 to 1813, a well-developed and spectacular impression was left behind. "Napoleon's regimental infantry already included a structured instrumentation [for its bands]. . . . These instrumental ensembles were soon imitated throughout Europe and the Americas" (Adam Ferrero 1986: 12).¹⁰ Vicente Ruiz Monrabal summarizes the impact of the military on the development of the bands in Valencia:

Las convulsiones políticas y revolucionarias de la primera mitad del s. XIX llenaron de conjuntos militares la geografía de las tierras valencianas. . . . Cuando no eran las tropas napoleónicas eran los Ejércitos Españoles o las *Milicias Valencianas* (tropas irregulares); y cuando no era la contienda entre liberales y conservadores eran las tropas carlistas contra las "cristinas," pero siempre, en todos estos conflictos, cada facción iba acompañada de su agrupación musical. . . . Cuando estas músicas militares fueron disolviéndose o retirándose de los pueblos, estaba sem-

brada la semilla para imitarlas y despertado el deseo de crear grupos bandísticos locales (pp. 31–32).

Civic influences also have a deep-rooted history in this region. Salvador Seguí Pérez suggests that the traditions of the bands date back to the traditions and roles of the Mediterranean minstrels. He states that these earlier “instrumentalists are those who later assume the responsibility of accompanying processional parades, both civic and religious, depending on their respective occasions” (p. 472).¹¹ López-Chavarri Andújar acknowledges the role of the *gremios* (trade guilds) in the musical activity preceding the bands. Summarizing from Blasco (1889), he states:

Cuando las armas se alzaban y [las Milicias Valencianas] eran preludio a fragor de combate, también acudían los gremios a estas expediciones guerreras, y allí estaban los tambores de los gremios, tomando parte en las formaciones (p. 95).

María del Mar Peris Silla suggests similarly that “with all probability it was the reduced groups of amateur musicians which gathered, apart from the church, to perform instrumental music which could have been the origin of the bands” (p. 257).¹² She cites numerous other manifestations of instrumental music of the eighteenth century, which may have prepared the way for the bands of the following century. These include instrumental groups employed by theaters, others performing in the new music academies and stately houses of Valencia’s burgeoning bourgeois class, and those involved with the civic and local festive celebrations (pp. 242–43).

Last, the church probably played an important role in the development of the bands in Valencia. López-Chavarri Andújar (p. 95) acknowledges that the *cofradías* (religious brotherhood organizations) employed small groups of musicians in much the same way that the guilds did. Peris Silla (p. 242) notes that by the eighteenth century there were well-established instrumentalists or minstrels used and funded by churches in Valencia. However, Valencian musicologist Vicente Galbis postulates that the 1798 *desamortización*, or seizure of church lands and properties, left many of these trained and highly organized musicians without a venue to practice their livelihood and that the nearly coincidental arrival of Napoleon’s troops and bands most likely proved to be a new source of income

for motivated organizers and would-be directors. With few professional musicians at his disposal in the early nineteenth century, José Climent explains that it was the church organist who often had to fill the role of musical leadership in many towns:

Se puede afirmar que en todos los pueblos había un organista titular . . . ; en algunos sitios, este cargo era simultaneado, con mucha frecuencia, con el de maestro o con el de sacristán. Lo cierto era que ello obligaba al interesado a demostrar que trabajaba. Uno de los modos principales para demostrarlo era la formación de coros y, por qué no, también formando conjuntos instrumentales, de donde podían arrancar, hablando en términos generales, la abundancia de bandas existentes en la Región (p. 147).

So it was these religious, civic, and military conditions that set the stage for the band in Valencia. With the added technological developments resulting from the industrial revolution, including the invention of the valve for brass instruments in 1814 and the development of the saxhorn and saxophone families by Belgian Adolphe Sax in the mid-1840s, the band movement was set to explode throughout Europe and America.

Table 2 illustrates the ebb and flow of the growth of the band movement in the Valencia region. The data may be less than completely reliable, as they were collected by the author from the self-reports and oral histories in *Historia de las sociedades musicales de la Comunidad Valenciana* (Ruiz Monrabal). But they do indicate periods and trends of important activity.

The first spurt occurred in the 1840s through the 1870s, when approximately twenty new bands were being created every decade. This period was soon eclipsed by the one which followed, from the 1880s through the 1920s, which experienced double and triple that expansion. Following the unsurprising decline in the war and post-war years of the Spanish Civil War, the band boom begins again, especially in the post-Franco era, when the band movement becomes unified as a major cultural exponent of the new Valencian era.

In Valencia community bands are funded and managed by local private organizations known as *societats musicals*. They are generally open to the public upon payment of a basic membership fee and any other instructional fees desired by member families. Some utilize

Table 2

Proliferation of Bands in the Three Valencian Provinces, 1800–1993

| Decade | Number of New and Restarted Bands | Decade | Number of New and Restarted Bands |
|--------|---|---------|---|
| 1800 | 5 | 1900 | 39 |
| 1810 | 5 | 1910 | 25 |
| 1820 | 4 | 1920 | 42 |
| 1830 | 2 | 1930 | 13 |
| 1840 | 17 | 1940 | 9 |
| 1850 | 11 | 1950 | 17 |
| 1860 | 20 | 1960 | 15 |
| 1870 | 28 | 1970 | 46 |
| 1880 | 57 | 1980 | 85 |
| 1890 | 43 | 1990–93 | 28 |

terms like *agrupació* or *ateneu* instead of *societat* in their names, and many of their names are often indicative of their nature, heritage, or purpose. Names including the word *unió* or *unión*, like the Unió Musical Belgidense de Bèlgida, usually refer to an organization which was formed by the unification of two older musical societies. Like the term *belgidense* in Bèlgida (Province of Valencia), many create adjectives from their towns' names and incorporate them into the official organization. The term *nova* is usually applied to a new, possibly a second or even third *societat* musical within the same locale, and purposely so distinguishes it from another, older institution, which may be referred to proudly as *primitiva*. Other indicative and interesting names include L'Entusiasta in Benifairó de la Valldigna (Valencia), Unió Democrática de Pensionistas in Lliria (Valencia), Círculo Católico in Torrent (Valencia), d'Ensenyança in Lliria, Unió de Pescadors in Valencia, and numerous appellations employing Santa Cecilia, the patron saint of musicians.

Similar to American school boards, the *societats* musicals are administered by elected community members who receive no financial compensation for their efforts. Known collectively as the *directiva*,

this board of directors today carries democratic titles of responsibility, such as president, secretary, and treasurer. Together they plan the acquisition, construction, and/or maintenance of a facility used by their musical society, which may be referred to as the *musical*, the *academia* or even the *casino*. When it exists, this facility is used not only for music classes, private lessons, and rehearsals; it often includes social areas, most typically a restaurant/bar, where members can congregate.

The board also plans fundraising activities, which may include dinners and lotteries. In some cases, the societats musicals own or operate a movie theater to help generate revenues. An example of this is the Cine Teatro "La Primitiva" belonging to the Ateneu Musical i d'Ensenyança "Banda Primitiva" in Lliria (Valencia). Last, the board also plans the musical and social activities and "contracts with" personnel to serve as teachers, private instructors, and directors, although typically these associations are by "gentlemen's agreements" instead of legal contracts. Primarily within the last decade the activities of these societies have grown to include chamber ensembles, jazz bands, orchestras, and choirs, in addition to the traditional activities of the band.

In addition to membership dues and fundraising monies, many musical societies receive money from governmental agencies as well. This is partly due to the success of the Federació de Societats Musicals de la Comunitat Valenciana (FSMCV), which was initially founded primarily to help regulate the numerous band contests which occur throughout the Valencia region. Since its founding in 1969, the Federació has lobbied for financial support and cultural recognition for its member societies. Today, with well over 400 officially federated bands, the number of people represented by this organization, including members, students, and musicians, is indeed impressive. From the author's calculations from data provided by the FSMCV, as of 1995 there were more than 210,000 people so represented (Federació de Societats Musicals de la Comunitat Valenciana).

With such populist participation and support, the bands have become a political force for their own financial benefit. At the local level, financial support is often supplied by the city government, usually in exchange for participation in the celebrations of the community. On a few occasions, the city government may also help sponsor a local band contest. The provincial governments often support

band festivals and contests with sizable sums for participating bands. In the Province of Valencia, a campaign known as *Retrobem la Nostra Música* has produced a series of works for band and financial incentives for bands to play them and other works by Valencian composers. At the level of the Valencian Autonomy, the *Generalitat Valenciana* funds some festivals, as well as the *Certamen de Bandes de Música de la Comunitat Valenciana*, which gathers the winning bands from the three provincial contests and pits them against each other in a financially rewarding contest. An unusual collaboration between the municipal *Ajuntament de València*, the provincial *Diputació de València*, and the autonomous *Generalitat Valenciana* currently funds Valencia's famous *Certamen Internacional de Bandes de Música "Ciutat de València,"* one of the world's longest-running band contests, running almost without interruption since 1886.

The bands in Valencia serve to create social identification and to educate culturally. Sometimes social identification occurs via rivalries between neighboring communities, or even between different factions within a single community, especially in those communities where more than one musical society exists. "*Detrás de tantas formaciones bandísticas de nuestras poblaciones hubo (y en ocasiones todavía existe) un antagonismo larvado, incitado por razones extra-artísticas*" (López-Chavarri Andújar, p. 95). Over the years the causes for these antagonisms have been the same forces which have created social strife throughout the country: socioeconomic conditions, political ideology, religious orientations, etc. Today, much as sporting events do, band contests often play the role of social battlefield where these sentiments can be exorcised.

In spite of this competitive aspect, bands perform in numerous other activities which help unite municipalities, counties, provinces, and regions. Many of these activities have also resulted in the creation of new artistic means of expression through new musical forms. Every city and village in Valencia celebrates one or more annual festivals, usually in the summer and often related to the local patron saint. For the secular side of these celebrations, the local band serves to enhance the festive atmosphere by marching in parades, performing concerts, hosting band festivals, and sometimes even sponsoring a band competition from which the local bands would serve as noncompeting performers.

For the parades, a variety of marches are used. In Spain the term *marcha* is used primarily for military marches and a few other specialized forms. Most other festive and concert marches are referred to as *pasodobles*. Many nationally popular marches are referred to as *pasodobles toreros*, or bullfight *pasodobles*. *Amparito Roca* is perhaps the most famous example of this style of march (*Texidor*). Other *pasodoble* styles have developed in various regions of Spain, with *Puenteareñas* being an example of a *pasodoble gallego* (Soutullo Otero), *En "er" mundo a pasodoble flamenco* (Fernández and Quintero), and *L'Entrà de la Murta a pasodoble valenciano* (Giner).

For more symphonic settings like concerts, festivals (noncompetitive performances by two or more bands), and contests, a variety of transcribed and original works are performed by bands. Before orchestras and orchestral recordings spread throughout Western society, it was the band that first brought the music of the great composers to the masses. This was just as true in Spain as it was in France, England, or the United States. Today, this heritage continues as bands perform the great orchestral masterpieces, especially from the Romantic and post-Romantic eras. In Spain, and especially in Valencia, transcriptions are also played of the national operetta form known as the *zarzuela*. In Valencia, the majority of original symphonic works are produced for the *Retrobem la Nostra Música* series and for the region's numerous band contests. They are typically either settings of folk songs or folk-inspired ideas, such as Bernardo Adam Ferrero's *Dances valencianes*, or they are more universally abstract, as in Amando Blanquer's *Concierto para banda*.

For the sacred aspect to towns' *fiestas patronales*, the bands march in solemn processions and perform a style of march known as the *marcha de procesión*. An entire repertoire of this musical form for bands has come into being in Spain, also due to the popularity of the Holy Week processions throughout many regions. These processional marches are very slow, usually half the tempo of regular marches, and feature beautiful melodies and peaceful harmonies. *Cordero de Dios* is an example of one such march (Dorado Janeiro).

Last, in two major holidays widely celebrated in parts of the Comunitat Valenciana the band plays a very important role. They are *Las Fallas* and *Moros y Cristianos*. *Las Fallas* takes place during the week preceding St. Joseph's Feast and is celebrated by approximately 400 "falla clubs" in the city of Valencia, as well as numerous

others in the collar towns. Like the *societats musicals*, each *falla* club spends an entire year raising money and hiring sculptors and painters to create the papier mâché figures known as *fallas*, which are ceremoniously burned to the ground on 19 March. In addition, these *falla* clubs also contract with bands from the neighboring *pueblos* to provide music for their parades through the city throughout the week. In fact, there are today three *societats musicals* that have been formed by *falla* clubs in order to have their own band for such purposes. They are the Agrupación Musical “Falla Fray J. Pedro Rodríguez—Pintor Cortina,” the Asociación Cultural “Falla Arzobispo Olaechea—San Marcelino,” and the Agrupación Musical “Falla Carteros,” all of the city of Valencia (Federació de Societats Musicals de la Comunitat Valenciana). Special band music has also been composed for these festivities, including symphonic works like Bernardo Adam Ferrero’s *Fallera Mayor de Valencia*, and *pasodobles falleros* like *El fallero* (Serrano).

Moros y Cristianos is the other major regional festival in the Valencia region. It celebrates the Christian Reconquest of the thirteenth century and has traditionally been celebrated throughout the Province of Alicante and in the southern limits of the Province of Valencia. The cities of Alcoi and Cocentaina in Alicante and Ontinyent and Albaida in Valencia are especially renowned for this festival. Due to the quickly spreading popularity of the pomp and pageantry of this fiesta, by 1992 it was being celebrated in sixty-three towns in Alicante, twenty-eight towns in Valencia, one in Castellón, and in nineteen other provinces throughout Spain (Castelló, pp. 31–34). In each town where this festival is celebrated there are a number of clubs known as *comparsas*, *filaes*, or *compañías*, which are similar in social-cultural function to the *falla* clubs and the musical societies elsewhere in the Valencia region. They are aligned with either the Christian or the Moorish faction. Once again, bands are employed to perform concerts during opening ceremonies and to play in the parades of each faction.

Over the years a body of marches first known as *marchas árabes* (Arabian marches) and today known as *marchas moras* (Moorish marches) has been created for the bands playing for the Moorish factions. These works are slow, half-tempo marches which typically feature minor or modal harmonies, chromatic and ornamented melodies, and the percussion instruments first known to Western society

as “Turkish music” since the days of Haydn and Mozart: the timpani and cymbals. Featuring loud brass instruments as well, this music is very bombastic in nature and often has the character of the theme song from *Exodus*, which is actually used quite frequently for this very purpose. One of the many original marches in this style is *Al-Azarch*, by José Insa Martínez (Insa Martínez).

In 1958 Amando Blanquer invented the counterpart to the *marcha mora* with the first-ever *marcha cristiana* (Christian march) entitled *Aleluya* (Blanquer Ponsoda). Even symphonic works depicting this festive celebration are beginning to be composed. One such example is *Impresiones festeras (Ontinyent: Moros i Cristianos)*, by Bernardo Adam Ferrero.

In summarizing any discussion about the bands in Valencia, it is necessary to mention that their active and highly organized nature has helped the band movement spread throughout the rest of Spain, especially in the provinces closest to Valencia. Today in the Balearic Islands there exists a local *Federació Balear de Bandes de Música*, seated in Palma de Mallorca. In Catalonia there is a *Federació Catalana de Societats Musicals*, which, interestingly, is not located in Barcelona but rather in Tarragona, the province closest to Valencia. Table 3, compiled from data from the *Federació de Societats Musicals de la Comunitat Valenciana*, illustrates the distribution of bands throughout the areas where Catalan is spoken. It is interesting to note the inverse relationship to the distribution of choirs presented in Table 1.

The continual spread of bands throughout Spain led these and other band federations from other autonomies to form Spain’s first national organization of amateur bands: *La Confederación de Sociedades Musicales de España*. This event took place at the Twenty-Fifth Annual Assembly of Valencia’s band federation in 1993, with Valencia being elected the initial seat for this new organization.

CONCLUSION

The Catalan-speaking autonomies of Spain have cultural fabrics tightly interwoven with musical ensembles and participatory activities for the common man to an extent much greater than in most—if not all—other parts of Spain. The differences in types of

Table 3

**Demographics of Community
Bands in the
Catalan-Speaking Areas of
Spain, 1995**

| Region | Number of Bands | National Percentage | Band Festivals and Contests |
|---------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Catalonia | 18 | 1.6% | 0 |
| Girona | 1 | | 0 |
| Lleida | 1 | | 0 |
| Barcelona | 8 | | 0 |
| Tarragona | 8 | | 0 |
| Balearic Islands | 33 | 3 | 1 |
| Valencian Autonomy | 433 | 39.4 | 34 |
| Castelló | 64 | | 5 |
| Valencia | 264 | 24 | 20 |
| Alacant | 105 | | 9 |
| Catalan-Speaking Areas | 484 | 44 | 35 |

ensembles in the various areas illustrate the musical and social diversity in the region and define unique cultural characteristics within this large, general area. Catalonia has the unique sardana, a rich and vastly popular choral tradition and an important piece of the Spanish band heritage with its centenary Banda Municipal de Barcelona and its small but growing number of community bands. Valencia has the community band movement as its own sociocultural phenomenon, and it is one that permeates all other major festive events in the area, including Las Fallas and Moros y Cristianos. The Balearic Islands possess a much more balanced combination of bands and choirs, in numbers which are significant for its size. Further study to find the unique manifestations of their socio-musical heritage will certainly add to the global picture of a diverse people united by a love of musical participation and by the mother tongue known as Mallorquí, Menorquí, Eivissà, Valencià, and Català.

NOTES

1. “. . . reformes formulades . . . donaren a la sardana les característiques musicals i coreogràfiques que encara avui perduren.” All translations are by the author unless otherwise noted.
2. “. . . té com a característica essencial el fet de ser una dansa oberta a la qual tothom pot participar.”
3. “Quan sigui a París, envieu-me unes quantes sardanes, que les vull estudiar; envieu-me també unes quantes melodies populars; després jo us enviaré una sardana meva.”
4. “. . . un dels fruits de la nova mentalitat democràtica nascuda amb els ideals de la Revolució francesa.”
5. “. . . va erigir-se en apòstol de la dignificació humana de les classes obrera i menestral a través, precisament, del cant coral.”
6. “. . . dues preocupacions essencials i simultànies: la d’afirmació de la consciència nacional, i la del replanteig—connectant amb l’ambient que també es respirava arreu del món—de la línia i de l’espirt musicals: repertori, interpretació, pedagogia, tècnica, etc.”
7. “. . . plantea un fenómeno sociológico hasta ahora no suficientemente estudiado. No se trata de analizar minuciosamente el origen de cada una de estas agrupaciones musicales—lo que también es muy interesante—sino buscar una causa o varias concausas que puedan, de por sí, hacer posible la existencia de tal proliferación de Bandas.”
8. “Es difícil creer que en Valencia, la tierra por antonomasia de las bandas de música, no hay todavía ninguna historia que estudie su formación y formulación general.”
9. “. . . las seculares Milicias Valencianas mostraban una rica variedad en los desfiles y actos oficiales, y junto a los estandartes, señeras y gonfanones nobiliarios o de las órdenes militares, estas paradas lucían timbales, tambores, cornamusas, tamborinos, etc., que solían ir tocando delante de la bandera real.”
10. “Los regimientos de Infantería de Napoleón contaban ya con una estructura en su plantilla . . . la gran evolución de la moderna música militar arranca de estas fechas . . . Estas agrupaciones instrumentales pronto fueron imitadas en Europa y América.”
11. “. . . instrumentistas los que más adelante se encargan de acompañar los desfiles procesionales, cívicos o religiosos, de acuerdo con la motivación correspondiente.”
12. “Con toda probabilidad, los grupos reducidos de músicos aficionados se reunían, al margen de las iglesias, para realizar sesiones de música instrumental, podrían ser el germen de las bandas.”

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