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“A Home Divided: A Post-National Approach to Family, Gender and Region
in Modern Galician Narrative”

A Dissertation Presented

by

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Abstract of the Dissertation

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By focusing on the case of Galicia, *A Home Divided* represents an attempt to understand the multiple linguistic and gendered subjectivities that are enclosed within and excluded from larger regional/national Iberian identities. Contemporary debates about identity in post-national Iberia are often contingent upon the belief that since the nineteenth century there was a singular, official Spanish national identity that in the last few decades has been superseded by the political recognition of Spain’s autonomous communities. I engage with these discussions by taking nineteenth-century Galicia as a starting point for thinking about post-national Iberian identities. Through a close reading of the region’s *fin-de-siècle* literature, we see that rather than offering singular origins for what have become modern day Galician and Spanish identities, this was a period marked by linguistic, political and cultural ambiguity. Literary, feminist and post-colonial studies help analyze the complex images of home and family (the nation and the region) that were represented by Galician authors.

Beginning with a critical history of the *Rexurdimento* (c. 1860-1900), we see that the linguistic plurality of Galicia justifies questioning philologically determined definitions of Spanish and Galician literatures that have limited the ways in which critics have approached them. The second chapter analyzes how from different transnational and gendered positions different writers created narratives of exile and enclosure that offer unhomely visions of home/land. The third chapter examines incest and illegitimacy as tropic expressions of anxiety about the legitimacy of Galician and Spanish nationalisms, particularly in the works of M. Valladares, Pardo Bazán and X. Rodríguez López. In the final chapter I argue that the domestic violence so common in Galician narrative reveals the violence—colonial, cultural, sexual, and economic—implicit in the creation and perpetuation of Galician and Spanish national identities. Revealing the multiplicity of pre-national Iberian identities, these analyses offer historical legitimacy to a variety of linguistic and gendered post-national identities today.

To my mom and dad, JoAnn and Jim.

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to their love, encouragement, and generosity.

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Introduction

For many readers, this dissertation will deal with people, places and works far away in time and space. Many of the authors and works that I will be discussing in the following chapters have been relegated to a tight and dark corner of the Galician literary memory, not to mention their veritable absence from the Spanish and European literary landscape. *Fin de siècle* Galicia lacks a seat of eminence within the literary imaginary and memory of nineteenth century Europe, having been obliterated by the larger, modernized and imperial cultures of the continent. The cobbled streets of Compostela are less transited by readers than Balzac and Zola's grand Parisian boulevards; the happenings within the sepulchral *pazos* of the valley of Ulla, with their pretentious blazons, are less often run through the gossip mill than the goings-on within the bustling bourgeois apartments of Galdós's Madrid; and the verdant fields and coastal hamlets are blotted out by the smoke of Dickens' industrial London. The *cantigas* and *muñeiras* of the peasants during harvest are drowned out by the carousing of Burns and his bawdy pub-dwellers; poets trying their tongues and pens in the Galician language seem to offer no more than faint and distant echoes of Goethe's lyrical craftsmanship; and neither the most beautiful *rapaza* nor the most notorious *destripador* can steal attention away from Tolstoy's heroines or Dostoyevsky's criminal masterminds. Constant comparisons to other European works have made Galician literature seem inferior or

unimportant, and for this reason sufficient consideration has not been given to its particularities.

Yet, for other readers—perhaps the majority—this work presents us with a society and culture that seems surprisingly familiar, as it deals with a culture and literature divided by language, territorial displacement, and subjugated to an official state culture. During the nineteenth century, Galicia is a place marked by accords and discords, or perhaps more precisely, ambiguity. National boundaries are disputed, and there is no agreement on where Galician autonomy begins and where Spanish centralism ends. There is a linguistic cacophony as Spanish, Galician and mixtures of the two compete for a position of prominence in the arts, politics, commerce, and everyday social interchanges. It is a place caught in the whirligig of modernity and tradition, stuck somewhere between its small, bourgeois urban centers and its feudal countryside. For many, Galicia is a paradise, and for others it is a home that has become inhospitable, especially for the hundreds of thousands who must leave—to stave off poverty and starvation, to go to war, or to attend the music halls, art galleries and literary debates of cafés in the European and American cultural capitals.

At the start of this project, for me Galicia was somewhere between the two. Galicia was entirely foreign when as an undergraduate, on a search for nineteenth century women's literature, I picked up Emilia Pardo Bazán's *Los pazos de Ulloa*. Like Julián, I, too, was dumbstruck by the uncouth denizens of the *pazo* and the imposing landscape—neither of which corresponded to what I'd come to expect of either European or of Spanish literature. However, unlike Julián, I began to find this strange place ever more familiar. As I clumsily

thumbed through Rosalía de Castro's poems, generating a rudimentary knowledge of the Galician language, other novels by Castro and Pardo Bazán and prose works by Ramón del Valle-Inclán, I found myself before a host of problems, themes, and literary styles that were evocative, not of Europe's canonical literature, but the literary and intellectual traditions that I was closest to.

It was as a New York-born Puerto Rican and a student of Latin American and Caribbean Studies and Non-Western English Literature that I came to Galicia. Galician literature wasn't the literature of the place from where my family and I hailed. Nor was Galician literature subjugated to Spanish literature as a sub-field, a politically correct and cautious footnote or an exception to the norm, as it has become for many post-national Spanish studies. I approached this literature as many others that I was already familiar with—as a literature of state-less, diasporic, and/or colonial nations. So much of what I was finding in the pages of these books, written across the ocean a century ago, resonated with the works of seemingly unrelated Puerto Rican authors. The violent familial relations and consuming landscape in the world of Pardo Bazán and Valle-Inclán's *pazos*, were strikingly like the Puerto Rico represented in *La charca* (1894) by Manuel Zeno Gandía—a writer influenced, in fact, by Pardo Bazán—and the decadence and selfishness of the Puerto Rican aristocracy of Rosario Ferré's *Maldito amor*. Castro's Galician emigrants who left with little more than hope of finding work abroad, created an image of a Galicia adrift at sea—somewhere between Spain and the Americas—unable to be located or limited to either here or there. It was easy to understand this conflict and tension from

aboard Luis Rafael Sánchez's "guagua aérea," hovering somewhere between New York and San Juan with a group of people from *acá* and *allá*, neither and both. The feminine longing of the women at the shoreline was not unlike the longing and desire that the sea comes to represent in Julia de Burgos's *El mar y tú*. Pardo Bazán's Condesa de Asís in *Insolación*, who is wizened by the heat and pace of the metropolis, recalled the host of Puerto Rican characters, such as those in René Marqués's *La carreta*, who leave their island to stumble down cold streets of cement and steel in New York City. The victims of Spain and Galicia's uneven modernizing process, like those in Castro's *Ruinas*, living out their lives in a ghostly state, joined the host of characters in Miguel Piñero's *La Bodega Sold Dreams*, Enrique Laguerre's *La ceiba en el tiesto*, and Ernesto Quiñonez's *Bodega Dreams*, who take refuge in drugs, in order to deal with their frustrated attempts at a desired modernity. The cigar-rolling factory of Pardo Bazán's *La Tribuna* recalled the odors of the one mentioned in cigar maker Bernardo Vega's *Memoirs* about his emigrant experience.

From within the fields of Galician and Hispanic studies, I now realize that for many critics coming to Galician literature via texts written in Spanish would seem paradoxical and problematic. But this was, and is, hardly a problem. Galician literature, like that of other colonial, diasporic or state-less nations, by necessity, crosses linguistic barriers. Written in Spanish or not, Galician literature was no more Spanish to me than Indian or Nigerian literatures are "English." The fact that *Los pazos de Ulloa* was written in Spanish does not necessarily make it any more Spanish than the novels of the Latin American Boom.

While the intellectual project of recuperating and preserving the Galician language is necessary and important within today's society, the conflation of language and national identity has been detrimental to our critical understandings of Galician literature. Such has been the state of Galician literary studies throughout the past century that Rosalía de Castro's *En las orillas del Sar* could be read exclusively as Spanish literature, and her *Follas novas* could be read exclusively as Galician. When we do this, it is like we are listening to only one end of a phone conversation—we are muting one half of the debate, tearing down lines of communication between Spanish and Galician, when in the nineteenth century that line was still very much open. Linguistically restricted approaches to Galician literature in the nineteenth century are going to always already be limited and flawed. It is from within Latino, diaspora, and colonial studies that I believe we can draw productive ways of reading national literatures that cross over linguistic and territorial lines. It might be useful to take Puerto Rico, another state-less nation, as a comparative study: there are two extreme groups of idealists, those who believe that Spanish should be the sole language of the Puerto Rican community and those who believe it should be English, each of which is tied to a political project: independence and statehood respectively. But the Puerto Rican community's history, language, identity and political structure—much like the Galician community's—has been fractured by colonial or imperial annexation, massive migrations and linguistic displacement and imposition. While monolingualism remains an ideal for some intellectuals and politicians, for the masses, it has not been nor is it a practical reality.

Galicia, like other stateless nations, is a place where languages are “broken”—to use a popular term from within Latino Studies. Luis Rafael Sánchez, one of the first writers within a Latin American context to theorize the diasporic condition, promoted a deterritorialized vision of Puerto Ricans as a group that destabilizes binaries such as “*allá y acá*” (20), and Puerto Rico as: “¡El espacio de una nación flotante entre dos puertos de contrabandear esperanzas!” (22). The festive mix of voices, languages and cultures that characterize the travelers of this floating nation, their level of comfort moving between different spaces and languages, from the perspective of colonial and imperial authority, can become a threatening act of terrorism (12). Juan Flores, drawing on Sánchez’s work has described the colonial space as one in which “English breaks Spanish and Spanish breaks English” (52). The idea of breaking languages is useful because it exposes the colonial and epistemological violence between two languages, but it is also a creative term—both in the sense of witty and productive. Breaking languages—and communities and identities—creates pieces from which to assemble and reassemble new identities and hybrid cultures (in the Puerto Rican case, this has led to the appearance of identities such as *Boricuas*, Nuyoricans, Tato Laviera’s *AmeRícanos*, or Willie Perdomo’s *Niggericans*, etc). We can think of Galicia in the nineteenth century as a place where Galician broke Spanish and Spanish broke Galician, meaning that the two languages and their related national, ideological and cultural elements, intercepted, bifurcated and entwined in both negative and positive ways. For example, Galician forms of poetry could enrich the Spanish tradition, and the Galician intellectuals could keep abreast of the ideological currents that entered

the peninsula via Madrid. It was this encounter between different cultures and languages that actually proved to be an important aspect of the nation-forming processes in Spain and Galicia during the nineteenth century, as I will explore in Chapter One.

The idea of languages breaking each other in destructive and creative ways means that we have to change the way we think about language in Galicia, and Spain as well. Even after the reduction of the Spanish Empire to its peninsular and Northern African landholdings in 1898 and the end of repressive Francoist monolingual politics after 1975,¹ language continues to be heavily policed, protected and persecuted. Free of censors and *índices de libros prohibidos*, cultural institutions still work diligently in Spain and its autonomous communities to rein in language. There are *Real Academias* and *Instituts* that oversee the normalization of Iberian languages, there are quantitative restrictions on the public use and visibility of different languages throughout the peninsula, and legal systems that parcel out the correct amount of Castilian and Galician to be used in a school or on television. Even these bilingual models reinstate language hierarchies, and confine languages into distinct normalized groups: Basque, Castilian, Catalan, Galician, etc. This means that we can still speak of correct and incorrect Galician and Spanish.

¹ The Statute of Autonomy of Galicia, in 1981, recognized the language as the official language of the region, restoring the autonomy granted to the region during the Second Republic, which was revoked at the end of the Civil War. In 1983 the Linguistic Normalization Act established norms to regulate the use of this language.

Thinking of the nineteenth century as a period of broken languages means that we must dismiss those hierarchies and notions of correct and incorrect grammar. Texts written during the period that reflect the spoken word do not need to be thought of as improper or deficient. They are creative works that reveal the cultural and linguistic tensions of the day, and outline the strategies that authors developed to cope with them, permitting us to move creatively between the different positions that they occupied. In a place where languages are broken, we are free to read without a red pen in hand writing “[sic]” after every other word, nor do we need to re-edit works from the nineteenth century with modernized orthographies, which in addition to erasing “errors,” erases the complexity of the society and culture in which those texts are steeped.

The nineteenth century in Galicia is a period of cultural translation, in Homi Bhabha’s sense of imitation, simulation, transformation (210). It is a fallacy to talk of pure origins, instead we must work with the period’s hybridity—and create, again to use Bhabha’s term, a “third space,” a hybrid space that is not the result of meshing two whole entities—say Spanish and Galician—but rather a hybrid space that challenges these originals, the hybridity from which other identities try to emerge (211). Sometimes, in these sites of cultural difference, “the multiple identities do actually articulate in challenging ways, either positively or negatively, either in progressive or regressive ways, often conflictually, sometimes even *incommensurably*” (208, emphasis in original). Bhabha’s third space is compatible with the image of languages breaking each other within Latino Culture where multiple identities emerge,

merge and diverge in a constant process of negotiation, not as harmonious multiculturalism, but rather in the sense that “subversion is negotiation; transgression is negotiation” (Bhabha 216).

However, if we are going to think of Galicia as a place where Spanish and Galician break and are broken, we must also begin to think about what to do with the pieces. Parts and pieces of works and poems are scattered all over the Spanish and Galician literary landscape. Pardo Bazán and Castro’s novels are somewhere in Spain while *Cantares gallegos* belongs to Galicia and to the Galician emigrant communities in Cuba or Buenos Aires. Juan Flores reminds us that when colonialism, migrations and linguistic displacement fracture a community, the pieces cannot be put back together, but instead, “The seams and borders of national experience need to be understood not as absences or vacuums but as sites of new meanings and relations” (51). Instead of filling gaps, we need to return to the breaking point (in Galicia, the *Rexurdimento* and understand the gaps and breakages as potential spaces from which to rethink Galician culture. Within Latino intellectual circles there have been many creative attempts to overcome the internal divisions of state-less diasporic communities. For example, in her influential work *English is Broken Here*, Coco Fusco looks at the ways in which artists can creatively work across divides such as emigration and linguistic conflict: strategies such as *Ricanstruction*. Her work looks for continuity and variation among texts belonging to the members of Latino diasporic communities that are divided and traversed by linguistic and geo-political borders.

A Galician equivalent of this book—perhaps to be entitled *Aquí fállase castelán*, playing with the phonetic similarity of the words *falar* (to speak) and *fallar* (to fail; to malfunction)—remains to be written. But, there is fortunately an ever growing post-national trend within Galician and Spanish literary studies to decentralize language as the most important identifying marker of national literary history. While this has become an increasing concern in Iberian cultures in the last twenty years or so, Ernest Renan had already noted in 1882 the problematic linking of nation to ideas such as language—an idea that seemed most natural through much of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as Herder exemplifies in his *Treatise on the Origin of Language* (1772). Renan writes: “This exclusive concern with language, like an excessive preoccupation with race, has its dangers and its drawbacks. Such exaggerations enclose one within a specific culture, considered as national; one limits oneself, one hems oneself in. . . Nothing could be worse for the mind; nothing could be more disturbing for civilization” (17). It was already becoming clear throughout Europe during the period of Galician literary history that I am concerned with here, that the conflation of nation and language was detrimental both to individual subjects and to the greater society. Renan’s work has been the starting point for many post-national literary, historical and cultural studies, such as Homi Bhabha’s *Nation and Narration* (1990). Renan’s ideas also lay the groundwork for many of the post-national approaches to Iberian culture, where language and religion had endured throughout the twentieth century as key markers of Spanish identity. In 2003, Teresa Vilarós published “Brokering Postnationalist Culture: An Introduction,” which commences a section of the

Arizona Journal of Hispanic Cultural Studies dedicated to the problem of nationalism in Spain. Vilarós returns to Renan’s speech as a guiding principle for her own opinion of post-nationalism within Spain. Vilarós’s interpretation of Renan is fundamentally flawed since she erroneously (embarrassingly?) dates Renan’s speech as a text from 1939—the date that it was first published in English translation—and hence, interprets his ideas as a direct response to the rise of Fascism and Nazism between the World Wars. Unknowingly, Vilarós proves or exemplifies Joseba Gabilondo’s thesis in an article published in the same issue, in which he shows contemporary histories of Spanish national identity often omit or show a lack of regard for the nineteenth century (“Historical Memory” 255-260).

Despite the erroneous situation of the text historically, her introduction allows us to think about contemporary problems with post-national discourses in Iberian contexts. For Vilarós, Renan’s argument that a nation is neither a language, race, territory or dynasty, but a spirit, signifies a return to nineteenth century national sentimentalism—of course, it’s not a return to but a manifestation of the period’s national sentimentalism. She argues that in a post-modern Spain within a globalized economy, a nineteenth-century style national sentimentalism is still very much present, only now in service of post-modern nationalisms and global economies (115). In the case of state-less historical communities such as Galicia, Catalonia and the Basque Country, it is from this sentimentalism that stems their *raison d’être* (114). Beyond this point, Vilarós merely goes on to comment that there are a plethora of takes on post-nationalism and strategies that allow for post-national interpretations of

Spanish culture. Yet, the comparisons of post-national and pre-national situations of the nineteenth century are worthwhile, and remind us of the importance of revisiting that foundational period.

Of course, the myriad of post-national strategies within Hispanic, or perhaps more aptly, Iberian studies, extends well beyond the essays in that volume. 1992 is often held as the date that marks the beginning of a post-national and post-modern Spain (Graham and Sánchez). Spanish nationalism, throughout most of its modern history, had been defined in relation, or rather, in stark contrast to Europe and Africa (Delgado “La nación”). So, it is not until Franco’s death and Spain’s acceptance into the European Union that Spain’s national boundaries begin to dissolve and blur with those of its neighbors and the country can leave behind its complexes of inferiority and debates about its own national identity (Mermall 170). Critics, such as Elena Delgado, assert that nationalism within Spain is alive and well. “Spain may want to represent itself as a completely ‘normal’ European country with an unproblematic collective identity,” she writes, but in its intellectual and cultural production there is a constant return to “that denied yet ever-present ‘difference’” as a point of interest (“Settled” 121). While difference is no longer marked in relation to Europe, Spain has developed a heightened awareness of its internal difference, marked by the autonomous communities within Spain, and their claims to essential, ethnic difference (Delgado 121).

This incorporation of Spain into a larger political and economic unit has been accompanied by the fragmenting of Spain into smaller ethnic communities. Post-national Spain, Delgado argues, is still employing the same techniques to

establish its identity: “Las categorías de agente y víctima, tan presentes en el discurso político del estado español actual y que sirven como base para establecer las ‘nuevas’ identidades autonómicas, deben ser utilizadas con precaución e insertadas en el modelo de categorías oposicionales a las que pertenecen, para evitar caer en la tentación del binarismo y/o reproducir ad infinitum el monoculturalismo de los centrismos” (“La nación” 216). The local nationalisms, such as Galician, have reproduced absolute, monolithic identities established around central ideas and based on victimization, and have in fact returned to an us/them binary. The projected sense of internal homogeneity offered by this language of “isolated otherness,” Delgado argues, perpetuates, “a self-absorbed discourse incapable of coming out of itself in order to establish fluid and relational categories” (“Settled” 129).

This has certainly been true of institutionalized discourses of Galician nationalism, which have defined Galicia in negative relation to Spain—due to its “feito diferencial” or its differentiating fact. Both the sentimentalist strategies and strategies of victimization intended to rally citizens together have often been centered on the Galician language—considered to be “o sangue do espírito” (Piñeiro ctd. in Alonso 4) of Galicia. Galician has been constructed over the twentieth century as the soul, the heart, the most intimate mode of expression, as well as the greatest victim of Francoism.

Post-nationalism in intellectual circles fails to overcome the sentimentalism and victimization discussed by Vilarós and Delgado. Delgado doesn’t see the need to move beyond nationalisms as if they were a non-issue and claims that we must continue to interrogate the problem of Spanish

national identities based on the exclusion of others. She argues that Spaniards ought to aspire to an awareness that “la identificación de lo español con lo africano, lo indígena, con lo árabe, lo Gitano o lo judío no sea un insulto, o una realidad incómoda que hay que esconder debajo de la alfombra, sino un reconocimiento de la hibridez de una civilización que en ciertos momentos ha evolucionado paralelamente con Europa y en otros no” (“La Nación” 217). Delgado’s solution echoes earlier (and problematic) notions of cultural and religious *convivencia* so famously promoted by Américo Castro.

Post-national trends in contemporary Hispanism are certainly problematic as Delgado recognizes, since the national is not truly “post,” and, as we learned long ago from McClintock, the notion of “post” harbors a sense of progress of which we need to be wary (“The Angel of Progress”). Also, the celebratory air around the idea of Spain having become post-national distracts us from other problems that have not gone away. For Brad Epps, the hostility of Spanish nationalism seems to be overridden by post-nationalism (135), but it conceals and perpetuates the historic violence of nationalisms that it claims to move beyond, “silencing, forgetting, or otherwise eschewing the violence by which such sovereign designations as Spain, France, or the United Kingdom—let alone the United States—have been maintained, *are* maintained” (136). Post-nationalism, then, turns nationalism into the scapegoat of all problems of cultural identity, and makes a space in which racism and sexism, etc. seemingly—but do not—cease to exist (Epps 136). The post- of post-nationalism for Epps is just a new old attempt at overriding the national, a new addition to a long sequence of terms that hardly differ in meaning: “Nationalism,

internationalism, multinationalism, supernationalism, antinationalism, postnationalism” (155). Each of these terms, as he shows in the case of Catalanian *modernisme*, is destined to reproduce the same racism and exclusions as the nationalisms that they try to supersede. As a strategy, he finds post-nationalism to be “absurd” (155), because: “The borders are still there, and here, however much some of us might wish them away, declare them outdated, or relegate them to posterity” (156).

While both Delgado and Epps are correct to point out the fact that post-nationalism does not escape the problem of the nation, their arguments which deny the importance of the concept seem as precipitous as post-national claims that nationalism is no longer an issue. Delgado’s solution of *convivencia* mentioned earlier to the problem of creating a Spanish national identity that includes difference is a problematic one from the perspective of the historical national identities within Spain, such as Galician. Delgado’s solution would give visibility to the different identities in Iberia, but I am apprehensive about “convivencia,” since that would not necessarily lead to a state that could recognize difference. This type of Spanish nation identity would turn different ethnic identities into Spain’s diversity. In doing so, the more than century-long struggle of different regions and ethnicities for visibility and cultural autonomy is undone, and they are again subsumed under the heading of Spanish. This has been the tendency within many postmodern and post-national studies of Spain—literary anthologies and collections of essays risk being seen as incomplete or worse, retrograde, for not including separate sections on Galicia, Catalonia and the Basque Country. This image of Spain is obviously preferable

to the definitions of Spanishness that circulated during the twentieth century under Franco, as it loosens the tight restrictions on Spanishness that limited it to Castilian-speaking, Catholic, etc. But this, beyond granting the autonomies some visibility, maintains and validates them as Spanish possessions. David Gies, for example, in his introduction to *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Spanish Culture*, writes that: “From the traditional—and besieged—center (Castile), to the periphery (predominantly, Catalonia and the Basque Country, although Galicia, the Valencian region, and Andalusia all make claims for cultural autonomy), Spanish culture is a rich amalgam of tastes and needs and expressions which make up that rather amorphous concept called ‘Spain’” (6). Not only do these new definitions of Spain reconfigure Spain as the ‘besieged’ victim of cultural difference, those internal different cultures are placed into a hierarchy and competition with each other for attention, with Galicia, Valencia and Andalusia occupying a position of relative degradation. Only several lines later, Gies manages to claim with excitement that Spain has achieved its cultural decentralization (6). But, we need to ask, has it really? If Spain has, Gies’s analysis certainly has not. These readings confuse cultural diversity with cultural difference, to use Homi Bhabha’s terms; the cultural diversity of these works form part of a liberalist project that subsumes cultural difference—otherness—within a universalist framework (208-9).

This has been an increasing problem for those scholars working on literatures from the autonomous communities for whom this visibility is a double-edged sword. Catalan studies scholar Kathryn Crameri discusses the problem of teaching Spain’s “other cultures.” When they are labeled as such

within Hispanism, they are marginalized the way the regions themselves have been in politics (Crameri 210-11). Yet, as Crameri puts it: “In a sense Catalan, Galician and Basque Studies are moving out of the shadow of Spanish Studies but losing its protection too” (212). On the one hand, we want to acknowledge the hybridity of Spain and still recognize regional difference and autonomy. But, while political and cultural autonomy is a desired outcome for many, the fields of Catalan and Galician, for example, can lose their visibility within intellectual debates, and suffer the same fate as other languages with few speakers, without their ties to Hispanism. Cultural studies, which take all aspects of culture to be equally worthy of attention, have justified the incorporation of these ‘other’ cultures, as Crameri questioningly calls them, into the field of Hispanic studies. While thematically the field of Hispanism may have widened, structurally the university has changed very little. Hence, even within the broader field of Hispanic studies, “there are constraints on the expectations that can be placed on students since this will almost certainly be a minor component in their Hispanic Studies programme and therefore their level of linguistic competence and cultural knowledge is unlikely to be as good as their knowledge of Spanish” (221). Crameri’s solution is to promote reading texts in Spanish or English translation so that students might become acquainted with cultural problems and “alternative voices,” even if not in their original languages (222). While certainly a practical solution, this still reproduces the linguistic hierarchies that favor Spanish over other peninsular languages. It is precisely alternative voices that are still lacking within the fields of Hispanism and regionalist studies.

This is not to say that language is the most important or only marker of national identity, as I will discuss in detail in Chapter One; it is still important as a site of much cultural debate in the autonomous communities in Spain. Also, within fields such as Galician literature, very few works have been translated into Spanish much less other languages, and as far as works from the nineteenth century, even fewer have been translated. Within this context, regionalism, as Kurt Levy has written, is often used “con cierto sabor peyorativo, culpando el género por escasez de interés psicológico y por falta de profundidad literaria” (85). Galician has been no exception to this marginalizing label. As Levy argues, looking closely at the regional we can identify issues of universal importance without losing sight of local particularity. When we think of Galician literature as that which was written in Galician and—breaking with tradition—by Galician authors writing in Castilian, we can accomplish the task of widening the breadth of Galician studies, by discussing texts already familiar to many Hispanists, such as the works of Castro, Pardo Bazán and Valle-Inclán. Yet, we still acknowledge linguistic discontinuities—or breakages—that characterize the period and the literature without creating the cultural seamlessness that reading in translation might create. This approach, in addition to lending visibility to texts written in Galician, also helps us to rethink certain texts long considered Spanish because they were written in Spanish, as Galician texts. In doing so, we can question the label Spanish—and as such unsettle Spanish national identity in a post-national way. With this strategy, we neither invert terms, nor do we subsume “Spanishness” within the label of Galician, or treat Galician as a subfield of Hispanism. This sort of approach also continues to make difference

visible, thereby avoiding the tendency for internal differences of race, class, sexuality, gender, political affiliation, that sometimes get lost. One of the advantages of post-national approaches, or the model of broken languages offered above, is that we avoid the dangerous exclusions so characteristic of binaries (Spain/Galicia or Spanish/Galician) and create ways of speaking of them while we recognize other hybrid or fractured identities that do not fit into neat categories.

In response to Epps's position, I want to argue that while post-nationalism may not transcend national borders, it is not necessarily "absurd." Post-national approaches allow borders to be questioned, crossed, and redrawn. To call them absurd is to undermine the work done by numerous scholars whose post-national positions have "broaden[ed] the notions of nationalism(s), cultural identities, multilingualism, and the pluralities which constitute modern-day Spain" (Bermúdez et al x). Post-nationalism, as will be discussed in Chapter One, has provided an important tool for transcending the linguistic and the national in Galician studies, in order to create space to discuss other identities such as gender, sexuality and genres other than poetry, such as the novel and the short story, that typically receive little attention from critics (Chapter One). The sheer volume of works dealing with the post-national in Iberian contexts is a testament to its usefulness and ability to generate new ways of seeing Iberian literatures and cultures.

Post-modern life has fractured, destabilized and multiplied identities, and as a strategy for dealing with these issues John Rutherford promotes a politics of home making (25). He writes that subjects in sites of cultural and

identity conflict do not have stable places to return to, they must create their own homes, which he understands “not only as the making of a sense of self and identity, but as a motif for a culture that values difference and thrives on its own diversity” (25). What we need is a house divided, not in the proverbial and negative senses, but a house that can allow us to a sense of wholeness and still accommodate difference. In this dissertation, I want to look at how Galicia during the latter half of the nineteenth century was involved in the process of building a house, a family, and a nation. Because of the way identity politics have played out over the twentieth century, parts of the house have been closed off, or torn down. Certain differences—linguistic, gendered, etc—were denied and kept from view so as to create the illusion of uniformity and homogeneity. As contemporary Galician studies scholars start questioning the uniformity of Galician identities in contemporary and post-national Galicia, it is important that we return to pre-national Galicia, where the limits of nation were blurred, where languages competed and coexisted, where differences of class and gender could be overlooked in the name of *galeguidade* [Galicianness] or could tear apart communities. As we ponder how to recognize Galician identities that are not limited by national discourses, we can find models in the subjectivities of the past. We need to resurvey the house—the burgeoning Galician nation—and see it in all of its plurality and ambiguity by looking at texts in Galician, Spanish, and combinations of the two, as well as by looking at problems of class, gender, and familial belonging. In doing so we can see that the need for a home divided, not only a contemporary requisite, was present from the Galician nation’s earliest origins.

In addition to the works of post-colonial and Latino studies scholars that provide the frame for this post-national approach to Galician literature—or, at least an approach to Galician literature that aims to look beyond the question of national linguistic identity—this analysis of domesticity, gender and sexuality in the nineteenth century has been influenced by the work of many literary critics working within nineteenth-century Spanish literature. In many of the chapters, I privilege the Galician-ness of the texts and avoid reading them by way of and in contrast with the rest of Spain, and as such, much of this criticism is absent from the debate. In that sense, just as one discusses domesticity in the Spanish novel without constant comparison to the English or French novel, I opted to focus on the local specificities and the problematic readings of these texts within a Galician context. I would like to think of this work as a continuation of the kind of scholarship in Susan Kirkpatrick's *Las Románticas* (1989), Lou Charnon-Deutsch's *Narratives of Desire* (1994), Jo Labanyi's *Gender and Modernization in the Spanish Realist Novel* (2002), the contributions in Charnon-Deutsch and Labanyi's co-edited volume *Culture and Gender in Nineteenth-Century Spain* (1995), and the articles that comprise *La mujer en los discursos de género* (1998), edited by Catherine Jagoe, Alda Blanco, and Cristina Enríquez de Salamanca, insofar as it looks at how domesticity, gender and sexuality operate as constructive and destructive forces of nationalism in nineteenth-century. Many of these works deal with Galician women such as Rosalía de Castro, Concepción Arenal and Emilia Pardo Bazán, and their role in the construction and questioning of gendered and national

identities in a Spanish context. From this feminist Hispanist scholarship we can see how, as Catherine Jagoe states:

Making gender the central category of analysis reveals uncharted levels of complexity in the deceptively simple thesis novels and highlights the fact that literary texts are always ineluctably complicit in the production and reproduction of multiple ideologies, often in ways unintended by the author. (56)

Focusing on the sexual conflicts in Galician narrative the way scholars have read the Spanish novel can reveal ideological complexities that characterize national literary production.

My approach to domesticity, family and nation formation in Galicia's late nineteenth-century literature begins with a historical and critical framework from which to think of these questions within a specifically Galician context. In Chapter One, "Of Mother Tongues and Fatherlands: A Critical History of Galician Literary History and Criticism," I offer a description of Galicia's *Rexurdimento*, or literary revival. During this period, Galician intellectuals produced literature, essays, and histories in Spanish and Galician in an effort to establish Galician difference from the rest of Spain. I also look at *rexionalismo*, or Galician regionalism, the historico-political setting in which this cultural activity was taking place and implicated. Both the *Rexurdimento* and the *rexionalista* movements, the revival of Galician as a mother tongue and Galicia as a fatherland, were characterized by what Carlos Pabón would call the "insoportable amigüedad" of life in the state-less nation, in which identity is neither modern nor pre-modern, neither completely autonomous nor completely incorporated into the hegemonic state. From there, I look at how

twentieth century literary history and criticism has erased national and linguistic ambiguity from the landscape by insisting on a definition of Galician literature limited only to that literature written in Galician. Using language and grammar as a differentiating fact of Galician identity has excluded writers writing in Spanish, though they were active participants in the *Rexurdimento*, and has relegated narrative prose in Galician to a space of unimportance within Galician literature, often deemed deficient literarily and linguistically. Finally, I look at the ways in which post-national approaches to Galician literature can provide useful strategies for overcoming ideological and linguistic parameters of traditional Galician literary studies, and allow us to focus on other issues such as domesticity, gender and sexuality, which in turn allows us to redefine the Galician nation or region during the end of the nineteenth century.

In Chapter Two, “ ‘Miña terra non é miña’: Echoes of Emigration and Enclosure,” I look at the different articulations of the notion of home in literature of the period, particularly from the vantage point of the emigrant, and from the perspective of those who stay behind. Looking at novels such as Castro’s *Flavio*, Xan de Masma’s *¡A besta!* and Pardo Bazán’s *Morriña* among others, this study reveals complex relations between the idea of home, emigration and gender, since the home for the emigrant (usually male) is idealized, and for those who stay (often women), this space can become a site of violence or enclosure that limits their desire.

In Chapter Three, “Strange Resemblances: Sexual and Cultural Endogamy and Exogamy,” I look at several texts whose plots center around problems of incest such as Pardo Bazán’s *Los pazos de Ulloa* and *La madre*

naturaleza, Marcial Valladares's *Maxina ou a filla espúrea*, Xesús Rodríguez López's *A cruz de salgueiro* and Rosalía de Castro's *La hija del mar*. I examine the ways in which sexual boundaries are crossed and blurred in these novels. In doing so, I trace how the fears surrounding incest and its taboo reveal larger fears about Galician identity at the onset of modernity. A study of these anxieties uncovers larger fears and insecurities about Galicia's relation to the Spanish state, the changing role of the aristocracy, the abandon to which the rural areas have been left as the provincial capitals modernize, and on a more cultural level, I argue that these stand in for suspicions that *galeguismo* may be the equivalent to cultural inbreeding or the solution to a more promiscuous, polygamous relationship between provinces in a centralized, federal, Spanish state.

In Chapter Four, "Dysfunctional Fictions: The Violent Nature of Galician Narrative," I examine the violence that characterizes the relationships between lovers and family members in Galician literature, especially in the short story. I argue that this violence questions the idea of a Galician collective identity as natural or harmonious. I also look at how nature and landscape are involved in these violent acts—be it as an accomplice, a witness, as a space of memory of these crimes, or as an oppositional force to this violence. The romanticized notion of a Galician family bound in love is missing from the literary landscape, unlike in other national literatures of the same period. I argue that this lack of love, or rather surplus of violence is owing both to Galicia's lack of autonomy and, contrarily, is offered as proof by authors that Galician collective identity

and its relation to territory is fundamentally flawed at the end of the nineteenth-century.

By offering a more pluralistic vision of nineteenth-century Galician literature I hope to situate the reader before a series of problems and solutions that authors have engaged with during periods of national instability to cope with problems. By casting a contemporary glance towards the past we can find new starting points for thinking about the most pressing critical and theoretical issues in Iberian cultural and literary studies. When we do this we find that the monocultural and monolingual nations—both Galician and Spanish—that have been both feared and defended are more properly constructions of the twentieth century than essentialist historic realities, and that these nations have always housed multiple identities, voices, and cultural practices.

Chapter 1
Of Mother Tongues and Fatherlands: A Critical History of Galician
Literary History and Criticism

The Galician *Rexurdimento*

The term *Rexurdimento*—resurrection, revival, rebirth, resurgence— has come to denominate the period of Galician literary history at the latter half of the nineteenth century. The publication of Rosalía de Castro’s *Cantares gallegos* in 1863 is traditionally said to mark the onset of this period in which there was a dramatic rise in the number of texts written in Galician (Carballo Calero, Vilavedra, Fernández del Riego, Blanco).¹ The effect of the publication was precisely what Castro had hoped for; as she states in the volume’s “Prólogo”: “¡Queira o ceo que outro máis afertunado que eu poida describir cos seus cores verdadeiros os cuadros encantadores que por aquí se atopan, inda no rincón máis escondido e olvidado, pra que así, ó menos en fama, xa que non en proveito, gane e se vexa co respecto e admiración merecidas esta infortunada Galicia” [“May

¹ While many literary historians consider Castro’s collection to mark the inception of the *Rexurdimento*, there are many other milestone events prior to the appearance of *Cantares gallegos*, though perhaps none warranted as much critical attention and notoriety as the publication of Castro’s poems. Other major literary events said to inaugurate the *Rexurdimento* include the publication of Xoán Manuel Pinto’s *A gaita gallega tocada polo gaitero, ou sea Carta de Cristus para ir deprendendo a ler, escribir e falar ben a lingua gallega, e aínda máis* in 1853, an open letter to Galicians to utilize the Galician language (Tarrío Varela), and the celebration of the first *Juegos florales de La Coruña* in 1862 (Varela Jácome).

heaven will that someone more fortunate than I should describe in their true colors the enchanting landscapes that can be found around here, even in the most hidden and forgotten corner, so that, at least in reputation, if not in material, this unfortunate Galicia might earn and see itself with the respect and admiration it deserves.”] (43). Castro was successful on all counts: she inspired other writers and had conferred upon the region and herself the laurels and praise of her Spanish contemporaries.² Susan Kirkpatrick even claims that Castro “far surpassed her earlier Spanish models in capturing popular traditions and language and in speaking for a marginalized group” (296).

Castro’s accomplishment was no small feat considering that the *Rexurdimento* follows upon a period of nearly 400 years in which Galician had fallen into disuse as a language of print culture. This period known as the “*Séculos escuros*” [Dark Centuries], saw the decline of the Galician language’s presence within the public sphere. With Galicia’s separation from Portugal and the unification of the Spanish nation in 1492, Castilian was readily adopted by the nobility, intellectuals, government agents and urban dwellers as the new hegemonic language (Piñeiro 33-5). The effect, as Ramón Piñeiro describes it, was a division of Galicia in two: “a Galicia castelanizada e desgaleguizada” [“the

² Anxo Tarrío Varela reminds us that Castro’s success was neither instant nor unanimous throughout Spain: “Nun primerio momento, a partir da data da súa morte [...]. Rosalía foi obxecto dunha marxinación por parte dos estudiosos da literatura española, á que tan bos froitos proporcinou” [“At first, after the date of her death, [...] Rosalía was the object of a marginalization by the scholars of Spanish literature, to whom such good fruit she had borne.”](130). Later, she would be recognized for her influence on the works of Azorín, Juan Ramón Jiménez, Antonio Machado, and Federico García Lorca (Tarrío Varela 130-1). Tarrío Varela also points out her conspicuous absence from studies and anthologies by other important writers such as *Clarín*, Juan Varela, and Menéndez y Pelayo (131).

Castilianized and De-Galicianized Galicia”] and “a Galicia galega” [the Galician Galicia”] (34). He argues that the split was vertical, so rather than creating two parallel and equal societies, it created “dous núcleos superpostos, un deles aliado do Poder e, mesmo por eso, en posición dominante, e o outro —o da Galicia galega— en situación dominada, en situación abafada, en situación que terminaría por xerar un complexo colectivo de inferioridade cultural” [“two superimposed nuclei, one of them an ally of Power and, because of that, in a dominant position, and the other—Galician Galicia—in a situation of domination, in an asphyxiating situation, in a situation that would end by generating a collective complex of cultural inferiority”] (34). Of course, we need to question just how clean a split this was: even if Galician ceased to be used in print culture, the social reality of the Galician language would have been much more complex. Emilia Pardo Bazán, for example, discusses how even the upper classes occasionally incorporated Galician into their speech and cultural celebrations: to “balbuicir una frase amante, arrullar a una criatura, lanzar un festivo epigrama” (16-17). In any case, Piñeiro’s schemata does arrive at the proper conclusion—the Galician language came to lose its association with the arts that it had enjoyed in the Middle Ages and slowly became denoted as a language of poor, rural and uneducated Galician masses: “era menosprezado pola Galicia castelanizada que, desde a súa posición dominante e co orgullo da súa instalación na lingua estatal e na cultura escrita, consideraba a lingua do pobo ‘iletrado’ e a cultura oral nela conservada como mostras de ‘atraso’, de ‘incultura’, de ‘rusticidade” [“it was undervalued by the Castilianized Galicia that, from its dominant position and with the pride of its installation in the state language and written culture,

considered the language of the people ‘illiterate’ and the oral culture conserved in it as signs of ‘backwardness’, of ‘ignorance’ and of ‘rurality’”(35).³ The list of known authors to have written in Galician during this period does not seem to extend beyond twenty or so. Scholars of Galician literature such as Domingo Blanco Pérez have pointed out that even though written Galician production waned, “*polo contrario, a literatura popular amosábase vizosa*” [“on the contrary, popular literature showed itself to be exuberant”] (47); studies such as his reveal the wealth of songs, *cantigas*, *coplas* and other forms of popular music that were transmitted orally over that span (60-5).

The term *Rexurdimento* already reveals a certain degree of class bias since it implies that a dead language had been resurrected, even though it never ceased to be spoken in the agrarian and lower sectors of society. The *Rexurdimento* was only so for the educated, middle classes that were re-discovering Galician. Nevertheless, the flurry of poems, stories, novels and plays that began to appear in print not only throughout the region but among the emigrant Galician communities in Latin America,⁴ signals a moment of tremendous importance within Galician literary history. Xesús Alonso Montero catalogues the voluminous production of work produced by Galician emigrant communities over

³ A less incendiary and more detailed account of the linguistic politics of the period is offered by Henrique Monteagudo in his *Historia social da lingua galega*. He offers a more nuanced discussion of the period, and the social, economic and geographical factors that influenced the development of the language.

⁴ Emigration is a major motif of the literature of the period and is a recurring topic in the remaining three chapters. To gain an idea of the immensity of the waves of emigration, it is worth looking at Ramón Villares’s statistical analysis of the years between 1810-1880 (*Historia da emigración* 73-97). In the 1860s, the decade in which the *Rexurdimento* begins, Villares estimates that some 160,000 emigrants left Galicia (87).

the course of the nineteenth century, ranging from the songs sung by emigrant workers in the fields of Spain to the periodicals, journals and books published throughout Spain and Latin America during the latter half of the century (43-62). His work bears testimony not only to the sheer quantity of these publications but also the diverse social contexts in which these works appeared.

Galicia was not alone in its endeavor to reinstate the regional language to a position of cultural importance. Similar movements were taking place in the other historical regions of Spain, such as the *Renaixença* in Catalonia and the rising interest in Basque culture and language characterized by the writings of Sabino Arana. Although analogous movements were cropping up all over the peninsula, the literature of the Galician *Rexurdimento* dealt with a number of its own local specificities, apart from the use of the regional language. Historian José Luis Barreiro Barreiro discusses the invention of a Galician identity that was constructed largely upon the notions of territory, language, history and race (169-179).⁵ In Castro's *Cantares gallegos* we can already identify the major themes that are going to become central within publications during the period—not only in the Galician-language literature but that written in Castilian as well. Poverty, emigration, the landscape, folklore, religion, family and nation are some of the themes that are ubiquitous during the *Rexurdimento* from its inception.

Castro's work is doubly important as it marks the first major contribution of a woman to the literature written in the Galician language. In her study of

⁵ It is during the *Rexurdimento* that the idea of Galicia as a Celtic territory and race comes into being. During this period, one can find political writings that literally attempt to create a new cultural cartography that decentralizes Madrid and focuses around Ireland. For example, see Brañas (123-126).

women's presence in Galician-language literature, Carmen Blanco points out that prior to Castro, there are only two known women to have written in Galician: Isabel de Castro e Andrade, the countess of Altamira, in the sixteenth century, and Francisca de Isla e Losada in the eighteenth century. Despite their minor presence, Blanco points out how ironic it is that in the “momento en que se inicia a decadencia política e cultural do idioma galaico, é cando curiosamente, aparecen as primeiras noticias de escritoras, que se circunscriben ao terreo literario” [“moment in which the political and cultural decadence of the Galician language begins, is when curiously, there appear the first notices of women writers, who circumscribe themselves within the literary terrain”] (15). Castro's poetry would conclusively break the silence of writers, both male and female, in the Galician language. Similarly, A. Gómez Sánchez and M. Queizán Zas acknowledge that “outro feito destacábel no Rexurdimento foi a importante participación de mulleres na literatura galega, así como a defensa de moitos dos seus participantes da emancipación feminina, continuando o labor que emprendera o Padre Feixoo no século XVIII” [“another outstanding fact about the *Rexurdimento* was the important participation of women in Galician literature, continuing the work that Padre Feijoo had begun in the eighteenth century”] (114).⁶ It is true that Galician women would make tremendous feminist advances not just within Galician-language writings, but also in Castilian; most visible and studied within the greater Spanish context have been Concepción

⁶ Galician author Padre Feijoo is often considered the originator of the modern essay in Spain, the genre that would begin the discussion of the “Problem of Spain” and Spanish identity. Thomas Mermall discusses this fact in his analysis of the Spanish essay (165).

Arenal and Emilia Pardo Bazán, influenced by the liberal ideas of Father Benito Jerónimo Feijoo (see Ana María Freire López's "Feijoo en el XIX (Concepción Arenal, Emilia Pardo Bazán y Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo)") and Krausist ideologues (see Pirat, Jongh-Rossel).

In *Las Románticas* (1989), Susan Kirkpatrick acknowledges Castro as one of the inheritors of the early (and conflicted) feminist tradition that existed within women's writing in Spain during the earlier half of the century. She notes that: "the female perspective is an essential part of this poetry, which refers repeatedly to the double burden carried by Galician women, responsible for both working the fields and for raising the children while their husbands were at sea or seeking work in other parts of the peninsula" (296).⁷ The central position played by Castro, at once a regionalist and feminist, places questions of gender, sexuality and domesticity at the center of nineteenth-century Galician literature, as some of its crucial themes. This is important to keep in mind as I move my analysis towards issues of the home, gender, sexuality and patriarchy. These should not be thought of as marginal or secondary concerns of the period but instead perceived as lying at the core of the literature of the *fin de século/siglo*, as some of the more universal concerns that the authors of the period were grappling with alongside issues of national identity. When we look closely at how these problems are represented in the literature, we realize that among the many fractures within Galician society that the writers of the *Rexurdimento* longed to overcome—

⁷ The other side to emigration, the lives of those persons—mostly women—who are left behind and the hardships that they bear are discussed at length in Chapter Two.

differences of class, language, politics—the sexual politics of the region would still reveal a fissured society.

The *Rexurdimento*, a literary and cultural movement, occurs during and as part of an important period of Spanish political history: the rise of regionalist movements. The regionalisms of the nineteenth century are part of a complex process of formation and deconstruction of Spanish nationhood. As Xosé Manoel Núñez Seixas argues, regionalism is both a product of and reaction to the centralization of the Spanish state and forces of Spanish nationalism (“Region as Essence” 483). He argues that Spain’s project of nation-state formation was a weak one, which is why local and regional identities endured (486).⁸ The regionalist movements in Spain have their roots in Medieval Spanish history, when Spain was composed of a conglomerate of kingdoms that enjoyed varying degrees of autonomy and privilege. In fact, Spanish nationalism had always depended on the idea of a nation composed of various ethnic elements united under the banner of Catholicism (487-8). Núñez Seixas highlights three socio-political conditions that served as catalysts for the regionalist movements: i) disparate levels of economic development, this includes infrastructure, communication and industrialization; ii) the unhurried and encumbered transition from the *antiguo régimen* to the modern, liberal state which created

⁸ José Álvarez Junco, who argues that the regional nationalisms have underestimated the relevance of Spanish nationalism, makes the exact opposite argument in *Mater dolorosa* (2001). He argues that Spain’s nationalism was actually a very strong one, which can be proven among other things, by its immutability. While I agree with Álvarez Junco, I think that the regionalist version offered by Núñez Seixas closer approximates the perception of Spanish nationalism by Galician intellectuals during the *Rexurdimento* and thereby allows us to understand the internal logic of the *rexionalista* movement, whether or not they were correct to believe that Spain offered a weak nationhood.

an ambiguously liberal and modern state that still honored certain provincial liberties; iii) Spain's relatively weak nationalization that "only gradually changed previous territorial and local loyalties, so that the nineteenth century demonstrates a proliferation of new models and projects for Spain's administrative division, each one including elements of an ideological survival of the traditional territorial model, shared by both democrats and traditionalists" (489-90). Núñez Seixas's approach to the problem of regionalism is useful because it highlights the anti-modern impulse of modern regionalism, as the regions strived to maintain medieval privileges and autonomy. Also, his study of regionalism underscores the ways in which regionalism extended beyond other broader, Spanish political distinctions such as *liberal* and *absolutista*, since on a local level, provincial or regional privilege favored all parties.⁹

The socio-political climate of the beginning of the nineteenth century set the course for the regionalist discourses of the latter half of the century in Galicia, Catalonia and the Basque Country. Núñez Seixas acknowledges two important cultural outcomes of regionalist ideologies: "First, they contributed to relegitimizing the literary use of peripheral languages, and therefore slowly to initiating their modern standardization. Secondly, the cultural revivals meant a certain historical legitimization of the regions through the development of regional historiographies" (491).¹⁰ It is no surprise that in the case of Galicia, two

⁹ X. R. Barreiro Fernández offers a close analysis of these two political groups within a Galician context in his book *Liberales y absolutistas en Galicia (1808-1833)* (1982). His analysis helps to explain these two Spanish political groups in a regionalist setting.

¹⁰ Jon Juaristi offers a harsh, but provocative criticism of this process of nation and identity formation. He argues that the recuperation of a national identity

of the most important figures of the Galician *Rexurdimento* are precisely poet Rosalía de Castro and her husband, historian Manuel Murguía. In his book *Los precursores* (1886), Murguía comments on his marriage to Castro saying, “Un día vino a formar conmigo el nuevo hogar y crear una familia” (481).¹¹ While Murguía is speaking quite literally, from the present and in light of Núñez’s comment about the importance of literary and historical discourses in the constitution of a Galician nation, we can re-imagine that the “nuevo hogar” and “familia” refer to Galicia and the people that embrace a Galician national identity. Núñez Seixas also reminds us that Galician historiography was of interest across political lines so that traditionalists and democrats alike would reclaim local histories (491).

Speaking of the regionalist movements in general, Núñez Seixas points out that within each of them there were different political proposals ranging from extreme autonomy to federalism, but that in their earliest stages, none was

grounded in historical reality is a melancholic move by regionalists, who are in reality mourning the loss of Spanish Empire that they helped to create: “puede afirmarse que nunca se perdió una patria gallega, catalana o vasca, sino un imperio—el español—del que habían sido fieles soportales los gallegos, catalanes, asturianos, aragoneses, castellanos, andaluces, extremeños y, no faltaba más, los vascos” (33). While I believe that Juaristi’s criticism may be overly inspired by a frustration with contemporary regionalist movements and their contradictions, this state melancholy could easily be looked at in relationship to nineteenth century Galician literature, in which, as R. Landeiro argues, “la saudade [. . .] es el elemento de más importancia dentro de la lírica gallega” (9). J. Gabilondo (“State Melancholia”) and A. Loureiro (166) use the idea of state melancholia outlined by Juaristi to analyze literature from a regionalist perspective.

¹¹ The home of Rosalía de Castro and Manuel Murguía is actually the setting of a story by Lisardo Rodríguez Barreiro, “Unha visita a Rosalía de Castro” (1885). Published the year of the author’s death, the house is represented as a “tempro da poesía” [“temple of poetry”] (410). The holy and ethereal feeling that fills the house represent the literal house of the historian and the poet as a mixture of holy site and archive of all things Galician.

perceived as exclusive of a Spanish nation-state (491-4).¹² It is not until the early twentieth century that one can begin to speak of a proper Galician nationalist movement, which will be discussed below. Additionally, it is worth noting that the nineteenth century is often considered to mark the beginning of modern Galician history and the appearance of a national subject yet, within the Spanish context, as has been shown by Gabilondo, the nineteenth century has often been ignored within Spanish historiography as a period of relative unimportance (“Historical Memory” 255-260). I think this illustrates how regionalism and empire work in tandem, or in an inverse relation—cultural highs of Spain tend to coincide with cultural lows in Galicia and vice versa.

Typically within Galician studies, critics concur that there were three major currents of Galician Regionalism: federalist, traditionalist and liberal (Núñez Seixas 1999: 42-43; Agís Villaverde; Beramendi 41-58). While all the branches of Galician regionalism sought after many common goals—they “atacan ao sistema político da Restauración denunciando a uniformidade lexislativa e administrativa, o centralismo, o caciquismo e o cunerismo” [“attack the political system of the Restoration by denouncing the legislative and administrative

¹² For a more detailed and contrastive analysis of Basque, Catalan and Galician regionalist movements in the nineteenth century see Xosé Manoel Núñez Seixas’s *Los nacionalismos en la España contemporánea* (1999). For a comprehensive look expressly at the political development of Galician regionalism see the chapter on the nineteenth century in *Historia de Galicia* or the book *El levantamiento de 1846 y el nacimiento del galleguismo* by Xosé Ramón Barreiro Fernández, historian and president of the *Real Academia Galega*. In these works, Barreiro Fernández, by approaching Spanish history from a Galician context, reveals that the perception that the inhabitants of the Spanish countryside were traditionally conservative and traditionalist needs to be reevaluated, as the labels of *liberal* and *absolutista* were not associated with the same social sectors across all of Spain.

uniformity, the centralism, the *caciquismo* and *cunerismo* (carpetbagging)"] (Beramendi 43-4)—there were nevertheless different proposals for the political destiny of Galicia. As these different forms of regionalism were not tied to clearly defined political parties, Galician intellectuals' engagement with these ideas was relatively fluid and overlapping.

The smallest was the federalist brand of *rexionalismo*, spearheaded by Aureliano Pereira. Regionalist federalism was characterized by an extreme decentralization of Spain, but its proponents believed that Spain was an organic nation, and that the regions were natural entities within it to be defined by a certain degree of folklorism (Beramendi 43-6). The group was also extremely anticlerical. Beramendi attributes its lack of presence within the *rexionalista* context to its focalization around federal republicanism which meant it was more involved in a larger Spanish context than with an exclusively regional one.

The traditionalist regionalist thinkers were determined to realize a Catholic integrationist project. This project, outlined by Alfredo Brañas in 1889 in his book *El regionalismo*, would strive “na procura de novos instrumentos ideolóxicos-políticos para a defensa da vella Orde político-social” [“in the pursuit of new ideological-political tools for the defense of the old politico-social Order”] (Beramendi 47). Because it took Catholicism to be the underlying base of its beliefs, it was able to build larger connections with other traditionalist groups throughout Spain.¹³ The traditionalists believed that regionalism was the best way to combat liberalism and industrialization; their regionalist historicist

¹³ Again, see Álvarez Junco (2001) for the most eloquent description of the role that Catholicism played in Spanish nation formation during the nineteenth century.

project sought to determine Galicia's true, essential nature so as to best decide how to return to it.¹⁴

The liberal project, outlined by Manuel Murguía, held the most sway within *galeguista* intellectual circles. According to Núñez Seixas, this project “aspira a la modernización social del país, su democratización y galleguización cultural” (*Los nacionalismos* 42). This project insisted on the idea of Galician difference based on the language as an ethnic marker and laid the groundwork for the nationalist movements of the twentieth century. While Murguía never mapped out an explicit program for national independence, in his work “mantenía una clara vacilación en la adscripción y el uso de los términos región y nación” (Núñez Seixas 1999, 42). If the federalist project claimed that Spain was the nation and Galicia the region, Murguía's project claimed that Galician constituted one's nationality and Spain was the state (Beramendi 46).

From a cultural standpoint, it is important to realize that the authors of the *Rexurdimento*, both the staunch *galeguistas* on the one extreme and the fervent centralists on the other, were all placed against this political backdrop. It

¹⁴ While the most radical sectors of Galician nationalism have distanced themselves from Brañas, the influence of his ideas is far from irrelevant today in Galicia. In fact, of Brañas, to the extent that the *Partido Popular* has dominated current Galician politics, we can say that his ideas have served as the foundational structure of the current Galician government. Manuel Fraga Iribarne, former Minister of Culture under General Francisco Franco and former President of Galicia (1990-2005), wrote *A contribución de Braña á identificación dunha política galega* (1999). In this work, he argues that Brañas's project: “de carácter unitario, sistemático e xeral, de carácter cristián, tradicionalista e liberal-conservador” [“of a unitarian, systematic and general character, of a Christian, traditionalist and liberal-conservative character”] is precisely the project that in the twentieth century “se acreditou como máis realista e efectivo, en comparación con todos os que lle seguiron asta os nosos días” [“proved itself the most realistic and effective, in comparison with all the others that have followed until now”] (55).

is a period of much ideological and political indecision in which the idea of Galicia is an ambiguous one at best. Across the board, however, there does seem to be an interest in Galicia: its folklore, character, history, geography, political situation and customs are a subject that all the writers of the period seem to touch upon regardless of their opinion of the Galician language or the viability of any regionalist or autonomist project. In fact, just as there were rifts between the political currents of the *rexionalista* movement, so there were disputes among artists and writers about the cultural turn that was necessary within Galicia.

The most visible and important debate within the intellectual community was the rift between Manuel Murguía and Emilia Pardo Bazán, as a result of the latter's speech at an act of homage just some months after the death of Rosalía de Castro.¹⁵ In her biography of Pardo Bazán, Carmen Bravo-Villasante blames the falling out on Murguía's "antipatía instintiva" (108) towards Pardo Bazán. Yet this fails to explain the major import of this event among the Galician intellectual community and the symbolic importance that it would acquire during the twentieth century. The marginalization that Pardo Bazán would suffer in many *galeguista* circles after this is one of the oft-cited reasons for not reading Pardo Bazán's writing within the context of the *Rexurdimento* (Varela, Freire López, González-Millán "E. Pardo Bazán").¹⁶

¹⁵ In reality, this was not the first sign of friction between the two. As Enrique Miralles points out, Pardo Bazán beat Manuel Murguía to the creation of the Sociedad de Folk-Lore Gallego, which was originally his project (226-8).

¹⁶ Just as Pardo Bazán came to symbolize traditionalist and Spanish values for a generation of intellectuals who would later question her legitimacy as a Galician author, so the same would happen with Ramón del Valle-Inclán during the earliest decades of the twentieth century, as Kirsty Hooper details in her article, "This Festering Wound."

In her speech, Pardo Bazán praised Castro as an adroit lyricist but used the platform as an opportunity to voice her apprehensions about using the Galician “dialecto” outside of poetry.¹⁷ She also used the speech as a chance to rebuke the growing sense of political separatism that she detected within the regionalist movement (40-2), which, if ever should come to pass, “sería para las literaturas regionales cargo más grave que el de romper la [unidad] del idioma y del pensamiento artístico nacional” (42). Benito Varela details the rebuff of Pardo Bazán by her Galician contemporaries, which began her erasure from the Galician literary landscape (for detailed account of this polemic see Varela Jácome’s “Emilia...”).

But it is not the bio-bibliographic importance of this event that is most important. Personal rivalries between Murguía and Pardo Bazán aside, the confrontation of competing ideas about language, *patria*, and literature foreshadows the radical break that was made by Galician intellectuals at the beginning of the twentieth century who superimposed the ideas of nation,

¹⁷ While Pardo Bazán consistently referred to Galician as a dialect and not a language, she still attributed the language a place of importance within Galician regional identity as a mode of expression within Galician culture. She states that Galician “posee un dejo grato y fresquísimo, que impensadamente se nos sube á los labios cuando necesitamos balbucir una frase amante, arrullar á una criatura, lanzar un festivo epigrama, exhalar un *¡ay!* de pena” (*De mi tierra* 16-17). This “dialecto” helps modify the Castilian “lengua” and adopt it to the region: “lo ablanda con su calor de hogar, que modifica y el acento y la pronunciación, que impone el giro, el modismo, el diminitivo; que, en suma, comunica perfume campesino y agreste al habla majestuosa de Castilla” (17). Her use of the term dialect during the period is not as conservative as it might seem today; in fact she justifies its use as “el único para evitar confusiones y expresar el estado de la actual” (18). And much confusion there was; the ambiguity of the terms *lengua*, *habla*, *acento*, and *dialecto* within regionalist discourses have been the source of much analysis within socio-linguistic histories (González-Millán “Menéndez Pelayo”; Alonso). In fact, Pardo Bazán’s public pronouncements remind us of the importance of rethinking her place within Galician letters.

language and literature one upon the other, so that writing in Galician became a nationalist act and writing in Spanish, a veritable act of cultural treason. The literary histories of Galicia that have been written during the twentieth century gloss over the fact that in the earliest years of the *Rexurdimento* there was an intellectual zeal to modernize the Galician public, to bring information to Galicians and to create knowledge about Galicia, which went beyond the project of creating a normative and written Galician language. This period was one characterized by difference—political, gender, linguistic and ideological. Yet, this ambiguity has been silenced in literary histories and replaced by narratives of linguistic and national homogeneity. The tendency of modern Galician literary historiography has been to create tautological definitions of Galician literature in which Galician national literature is that which is written in Galician and everything written in Galician is reinterpreted as necessarily nationalistic. In what follows, I will analyze how language, nation and literature become entwined in Spanish and Galician literary history and how it has influenced our reading (or not reading) of texts written during the *Rexurdimento* as constructive (or deconstructive) of a modern Galician identity.

The Language of History and the History of Language: “*O criterio filolóxico*”

While the regionalist movements of the nineteenth century may or may not have been successful politically, the effects of regionalism within literary studies have been far reaching, shaping the way texts of the period are categorized, re-edited and received. The topic of Galician national literary history

is troublesome for a number of reasons: on the one hand, there is the universal question of what constitutes a national literature (language, geography, etc.) and the validity or usefulness of such categories. On the other hand, there are several local issues such as the question: is Galician literature that which is written in Galician, by Galicians, or that which is nationalist in its bent?

National literary history is a very modern concept and until the nineteenth century, there was no fixed idea of what a national literature ought to entail. The earliest volumes of Spanish literary history were written outside of Spain. During the nineteenth century, two of the most important projects to create a Spanish literary history were those undertaken by Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo and Emilia Pardo Bazán. While neither of them carried out their project to completion, the projects that they outlined reveal interesting questions about the period. González-Millán shows how Emilia Pardo Bazán's volume was to include only those works written in Spanish whereas Menéndez y Pelayo was going to include literatures written in the regional languages and in Latin America. González-Millán reveals that while fans of some plural and linguistically hybrid definitions of Spain might jump to applaud Menéndez y Pelayo's version as offering a more acceptable, contemporary post-national take on Spanish literature, his is actually the most imperialist and conservative since it seeks to wipe out the differences that the regionalists and Latin American independence leaders sought to establish. Pardo Bazán, on the other hand, even if she is disliked by Galician nationalists and linguistic purists because of her low regard for Galician, ironically was going to create a literary history that would avoid giving things Galician a Spanish label. Because of and despite her "conservative," anti-

regionalist efforts, Pardo Bazán was actually helping to establish regional and linguistic difference (González-Millán “Menéndez Pelayo”).

A major obstacle to thinking about Galician national literature is the problem of Galician nationalism. One cannot properly speak of Galician nationalism until the second and third decades of the twentieth century (Núñez Seixas). The period of Galician intellectual history known as the *Época Nós* (1916-1936), is generally accepted in Galician studies as the beginning of a national project that would draw heavily on the Galician language as the most important marker of Galician identity. In 1916, groups known as “As Irmandades da Fala” (“The Brotherhoods of the Language”) began to spring up throughout Galicia (Tarrío 199-207), a collective of writers and intellectuals that “ademáis de insistir nas cuestións lingüísticas, subliña a necesidade dun marco amplo no que se contemple a defensa dos intereses de Galicia e a súa recuperación económica, social e política” [“in addition to insisting upon linguistic questions, underlines the necessity of a broad frame in which to contemplate the defense of Galicia’s interests and its economic, social and political restoration”] (Tarrío 200). Unlike the *Rexurdimento*, which went hand in hand with the regionalist project, the Irmandades da Fala would join with political thinkers to promote a Galician nationalism in opposition to a Spanish state. Also during this period, Galicianist writers and intellectuals would insist on a generalized use of Galician in all social spheres, particularly in their political writings and narrative prose (Tarrío 201). The intellectuals during the *Época Nós* created their own institutions that promoted and circulated writings in Galician and sought to propagate nationalist ideas (Tarrío 202; Alonso 34). The group of writers and thinkers—among the

most visible of which were Ramón Otero Pedrayo, Emilio Castelao and Vicente Risco—were able to establish themselves as the ultimate arbiters and authorities within the Galician cultural sphere. For this group, the defining characteristic of a Galician literary work would be the language in which it was written. Another important change that would take place during the *Época Nós* was a move away from the folkloric and the rural in their literature, as they sought to bring about a modernist and avant-garde renovation of Galician literature (Tarrío 205).

The Spanish Civil War brought the work of the *Grupo Nós* to a screeching halt, but it would not entirely undo their efforts. Many of the intellectuals and writers would maintain a low public profile during the first decades of the dictatorship, while others would continue publishing from exile.¹⁸ Those intellectuals who remained behind would be shut out of any institutionalized space from which to articulate a Galician identity,¹⁹ though there was still involvement from several intellectuals who kept the home fires burning, such as

¹⁸ The role of the emigrant community during every period of contemporary history is fundamental and has led to the creation of an endless amount of bibliography. For a look at this period in particular, see Xosé Manuel Maceira Fernández's *A literatura galega no exilio* (1995) that looks in depth at the activity of Galician exiles, especially in Latin America, from the end of the war until Franco's death in 1975. Additionally, the section in C. Sixirei Paredes's *Galeguidade e cultura no exterior* (163-240) discusses not only the intellectual contributions of the emigrant community, but also other elements of social organization within the community (nursing homes, cultural centers, political organization within even the Latin American context, etc). Two commendable aspects of his work are his inclusion of Spanish-language texts and writers in his portrait of the emigrant community. He also complicates the notion of a universal Galician identity by emphasizing the discontinuities as well as the continuities between Galicians in Galicia and those abroad (164), and highlights significant ideological differences between figures such as Argentine-born Luis Seoane and Galicia-born Alfonso Castelao or Ramón Piñeiro. Also, see Ramón Piñeiro (75-82, 143-153).

¹⁹ See R. Piñeiro's articles on the "batalla pública da actividade cultural," Galician literature, culture and language (88-106).

Ramón Piñeiro and the publishing group Galaxia. The legacy left behind by the Galician scholars of the *Grupo Nós* provided the starting point for scholars in the 1960's who would begin to disinter the works in Galician that had fallen by the wayside during those years.²⁰ The major problem then for Galicianist scholars becomes the revitalization and vindication of Galician-language writing.

The earliest and most cited Galician literary history written in Galician is Ramón Carballo Calero's *Historia da literatura galega contemporánea* (1963). This book has been extremely influential in setting the parameters of the field of Galician literary history.²¹ In the introduction to the work, Carballo Calero

²⁰ This is a rather generalized statement. Galician writers continued to read and write in Galician (for example, Álvaro Cunqueiro who enjoyed a prolific career as a novelist in Francoist Spain but whose manuscripts were written in Galician and self-translated to Castilian). It is more accurate to say that they lost any institutionalized public space from which to promote and discuss Galician writing within Spain.

²¹ Other important literary histories and manuals of Galician literature express their indebtedness to Carballo Calero's work. F. Fernández del Riego says that it is "unha Historia da nosa Literatura, da que non existían precedentes, e que resulta de consulta obrigada para quenes tencionen coñecer o proceso das letras galegas desde as horas iniciais do seu rexurdimento" ["a History of our Literature, without any precedents, and that has become a required reference for those who intend to become familiar with the process of Galician letters from the earliest hours of its revival" (191). Anxo Tarrío Varela cites him as one of the most important references for his literary history (13). Dolores Vilavedra's *Historia da literatura galega* (1997), does not stray very far the path mapped out by these predecessors, except in what concerns the literature of the latest years:

Evidentemente, a existencia de insignes precedentes, como a magna *Historia da literatura galega* de Ricardo Carballo Calero, a *Historia da literatura* de Francisco Fernández del Riego ou a *Literatura galega* de Anxo Tarrío, convertía case en irrelevante calquera pretensión innovadora pola miña banda, obrigándome a seguilos no tratamento de certas épocas, autores ou xéneros, posto que o enfoque deste traballo non me permitía dar cabida a interpretacións alternativas ou excesivamente novidosas (agás casos moi puntuais), que aínda non suscitaron o consenso da comunidade investigadora.

unwaveringly restricts the definition of Galician literature to solely that literature written in Galician: “Íste é o senso máis doado e natural que cabe atribuir á expresión ‘historia da literatura galega’” [“This is the most simple and natural definition that it makes sense to attribute to the expression ‘history of Galician literature’”] (9). These literary histories fall right back upon organic definitions of national identity, such as those offered by Western philosophers like Johann Herder, that conflate language and nation, and that had already been criticized by the turn of the twentieth century by Ernest Renan. In addition to cataloguing Galician works, Carballo Calero’s history works to naturalize the idea that Galician literature is only that which was written in Galician. He explicitly refuses the idea that any Spanish-language work could be considered Galician: “Por moi galego que poda ser o mundo de *Los pazos de Ulloa*, tampouco compre crasificar ista obra dentro da literatura galega. Entendo literatura galega por literatura en galego” [“As very Galician as the world of *Los pazos de Ulloa* might be, it is nevertheless senseless to classify this work as Galician literature. I understand Galician literature to be literature in Galician”] (9). Carballo Calero acknowledges

[Obviously, the existence of distinguished precedents, like the great *Historia da literatura galega* by Ricardo Carballo Calero, the *Historia da literatura* by Francisco Fernández del Riego or the *Literatura galega* by Anxo Tarrío, has made almost any innovative pretense on my part almost irrelevant, obliging me to follow them in their treatment of certain periods, authors or genres, seeing that the focus of this work does not allow me to make room for alternative or excessively novel interpretations (except in very specific cases), that still have not earned the consensus of the investigative community.] (9-10)

I think it is important for a reader unaware of the practices within Galician literary studies—a field that within Hispanic studies seems quite progressive or renovating—to realize that it is very limited by tradition.

that during the nineteenth century it was uncommon for writers to write prose in Galician, and insists on its exclusion from his history without the slightest willingness to entertain any ambiguity or doubt as to the viability of this option:

É certo que durante os séculos XIX e XX o espírito galego tense espresado non só en galego, senón tamén en castelán, e temos escritas niste derradeiro idioma algunhas obras nas que se espellan certos aspectos da vida galega con nidez e fondura innegabres. Isto só siñifica que a literatura castelá posee libros de tema galego, e que moitos galegos teñen ilustrado as letras castelás.

[It is certain that during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the Galician spirit expressed itself not only in Galician, but also in Spanish, and in the latter language there were written several works that reflect certain aspects of Galician life with undeniable clarity and depth. This only means that Spanish literature possesses books with Galician themes, and many Galician authors have distinguished themselves in Spanish letters.] (9)

This defensive explanation is a clear example of the tautological current that runs through many works of Galician literary history that deem all things written in Galician as national products:²² it is Galician nationally because it is Galician linguistically. Ramón Piñeiro does the same thing when he refers to the “Galicia galega,” or the Galician-speaking Galicia when he wants to refer to the “true” Galicia. This technique was strategic for two reasons: it weds the political to the cultural as a way of gaining force within the *galeguista* movement, and also, it divides Galicia in two, blotting out internal ideological difference and creating the

²² One notable exception to this tendency is Benito Varela Jácome’s *Historia de la literatura gallega*, which acknowledges a much broader spectrum of works, including texts in Galician, Spanish and Latin. In his section on the period of the late nineteenth-century, dedicates a large section to Emilia Pardo Bazán and Ramón del Valle-Inclán (313-36).

illusion of having achieved the creation of a unified, homogenous Galicia—linguistically and politically.

While it has been the dominant opinion within Galician intellectual circles during the twentieth century, this insistence on linguistic purity as a sign of national identity is problematic for a number of reasons. Firstly, it fails to account for other Galician intellectuals who worked with less rigid notions of Galician literature. For example, as González-Millán points out in his article on the cultural importance of the exiled Galician communities after the Civil War, Luis Seoane was invested in the “revaloración del ‘espíritu’ de una cultura gallega entendida en términos inclusivos (gallego y castellano), y que tenía como destinatarios a propios (la comunidad gallega de la emigración, pero también la de la metrópoli) y a extraños (especialmente la clase letrada de las sociedades de acogida)” (“El exilio” 11). The de-territorialized group had to create and raise an awareness of themselves as a distinct group, both among each other and before the other communities in their new adoptive countries—Argentina, Mexico, Uruguay, etc. Disseminating Galician works in Castilian became an important tool to achieve this end.

Secondly, even if today writers and critics want to claim that Galician literature is only that literature written in Galician in the twentieth century, this criterion imposes values that hardly existed during the nineteenth century. Even Manuel Murguía’s *Diccionario de escritores gallegos* (1862) includes the names of many authors whose works were written exclusively in Castilian. Lastly, in Galician society, beyond intellectual circles, it is not unanimously accepted that language is the ultimate marker of Galician identity. José del Valle shows that

amidst a broad demographic, there is little consensus about the degree to which language and national identity are bound together (104). Galicians today defend laws that protect the Galician language in public institutions, yet in practice, “se mueven constantemente a lo largo y ancho del amplio repertorio plurilingüe y pluridialectal de que disponen. Pero se niegan a sentirse por ello menos gallegos” (Del Valle 108). So while sociolinguistics would suggest that as a label of national identity “Galician” can include a panoply of languages, the most recent of literary histories cannot make this distinction. Dolores Vilavedra, in her *Historia da literatura galega*, acknowledges the usefulness of reading texts written in Castilian (16), but mentions them only in passing, preferring to adhere to the “criterio filolóxico” utilized by Carballo Calero.²³

This tendency, Alejandro Alonso reminds us, is not an exclusively Galician problem. In his study of literary histories throughout Spain, he finds that, “en la mayoría de los casos, las historias literarias peninsulares son narraciones más o menos lineales, paralelas a la historia política, en las que se delimita una serie de autores, críticos, movimientos y textos literarios cuyo factor común es estar vinculados a prácticas literarias en una misma lengua” (2). Alonso’s work draws heavily on the work of social theorist Pierre Bourdieu to understand the workings

²³ The term “criterio filolóxico” that Vilavedra employs here is a concept developed by Xoán González-Millán (1994, 1998, 2000) and utilized in many of his analyses of Galician literature. The term has become important within the field of Galician studies. Alonso offers a synthesized definition of González-Millán’s term as “un instrumento del discurso nacionalista, incorporado inconscientemente en las prácticas de la crítica, que contribuye a legitimar un proyecto político que había hecho de la lengua, como ya se ha visto, el factor identitario fundamental” (28-9). Of course, just how unconscious this decision is, is certainly a worthwhile debate, but one that is tangential to this proposal which aims less to debate the validity or mechanisms of the “criterio filolóxico” and more to develop a means to overcome it.

of the literary sphere in Spain during the nineteenth century in order to historicize the intellectual processes that so tightly compounded language, literature and nation so as to make them seemingly synonymous. Alonso's study departs from the Galician context and moves to the larger Spanish one; about the former he writes: "En el caso gallego, por ejemplo, la identificación entre lengua e identidad nacional, la consideración de la 'lingua como sangue do espírito', en palabras de Ramón Piñeiro, hace que la crítica acepte como un hecho consumado esta identificación y que en ningún caso se plantee la posibilidad de historizar la relación entre lengua, literatura e identidad nacional" (4).

Just as the use of language within politics as the distinguishing mark—"hecho diferencial" or "o feito diferencial" in the case of Galicia—has been criticized,²⁴ so it has negative consequences for literary studies. Alonso points out that one of the results is the under valorization of thematic content:

Más allá del significado ideológico de su obra, o de su posición respecto a las grandes cuestiones del pensamiento, es su competencia lingüística la que le otorga a su trabajo literario un valor: valor que es otorgado por la institución literaria, en concreto por aquellos que por sus conocimientos filológicos pueden racionalizar sus prácticas literarias. (5)

Antón Figueroa and Xoán González-Millán had previously acknowledged this phenomenon or tendency within literatures of diglossic societies, where the role of an author "no es estrictamente la de un mero creador de ficción sino que, al mismo tiempo, se convierte en gramático y hasta en lingüista, ya que su trabajo

²⁴ For example, L. González Antón. *España y las Españas* (699-700) or Jon Juaristi's critical take on the history of Basque nationalism in *El bucle melancólico*.

es también participar en la creación de un código estándar, y toda comunicación literaria ‘se voit acompañée d’un composant philologique superposé’” (Figueroa y González-Millán 29, qtd. in Alonso 30-31).

This has been especially detrimental to the study of nineteenth-century literature written in Galician. The critical editions of nineteenth-century works in prose—published nearly exclusively by Editorial Galaxia, Editorial Xerais and Centro de Investigación Ramón Piñeiro—are prefaced with little more than a brief biography of the author, a synopsis of the plot, and a lengthy discussion of linguistic elements such as the authors’ orthography, *dialectismos*, *castelanismos*, *lusismos*, etc. When these works are discussed at all, the content is completely passed over. This has created the potential for ideological complexities in the works to be overlooked and places the works at the service of a linguistic nationalism. Rather than assume that an author was strategically blending Spanish and Galician into their works, the work is framed so that bilingualism becomes error, *castelanismos* or irregular spelling becomes linguistic deficiency, rather than elements to be analyzed in relation to the larger themes within the works. In short, Galician language becomes hypervisible, obfuscating questions of gender, politics, class, and sexuality, relegating them to the background.

Others, among them Kirsty Hooper, have shown the effects that this exclusion has had on the history of Galician women’s writing (“Girl, Interrupted” and “Alternative Genealogies”). Joseba Gabilondo has shown the effects on the reception of individual writers’ works such as those of Emilia Pardo Bazán (“Towards”). Even from within the field of Galician literary studies, women’s and

feminist voices have raised complaints about the invisibility of diverse experiences within the nation because their ideological concerns always take a backseat to nationalistic/linguistic concerns (Blanco, González Fernández). Together, all these texts mark the continued need for new ways of reading.

Old Boundaries, New Frontiers: Contemporary Approaches to Galician Literature

Despite the traditional approach outlined in the above paragraphs, over the past twenty years or so, there has been a conscious effort on behalf of some scholars within Galician studies to acknowledge linguistic difference within the region and denaturalize the definitions of Galician literature that thrived during the twentieth century. The first major turn away from linguistically over-determined analyses of Galician literature were those studies by Antón Figuroa and Xoán González-Millán. Heavily influenced by social theory and comparatist literary theory, both scholars introduced terms and concepts that signal the introduction of cultural studies in a Galician context. In 1988, Antón Figuroa published *Diglosia e texto*, which would determine the social importance of a text written in a linguistic situation that he calls “non normal,” such as the case with Galician. He describes this as a situation in which one language is valorized positively and another negatively (8), as is the case with Spanish and Galician. These valorizations are subject to change and fluctuate, as can be seen clearly above, in which the value attributed to Galician, say, changes over time within a given context. Figuroa’s analysis helps us to understand how this politico-social context conditions the very production and reception of the text, which must

necessarily be aware of its position of subordination, and therefore, aware that its role is never only aesthetic but also political (18). In this context, “hai unha certa reducción tamén do texto a un ‘feito’ case histórico, que se inscribe así nun proceso temporal concreto (o proceso do propio conflito diglósico) alleo en principio ó proceso de desenvolvemento dos presupostos estéticos da cultura” [“there is also a certain reduction of the text to an almost historic “event,” that inscribes itself as such in a concrete temporal process (the process of the very diglossic conflict) that is alien in principle to the developmental process of the aesthetic precepts of the culture”] (26). Hence, the reading of a Galician text must always be a political act (40).

Figueroa’s work on literary systems helps us to understand Galician texts as part of a system that is heavily dependent on political and economic systems (unlike the French literary field studied by Bourdieu that achieved a relative degree of autonomy and modernity in the nineteenth century). Reading in a more autonomous literary system can be an aesthetic act, whereas linguistic politics will always determine readings in a dependent literary system. A clear and relevant example that he gives, is in reference to Pardo Bazán’s *Los pazos de Ulloa*. For a reader in Madrid, Galician elements within the text become “parte da ficción ou do exótico normal” [part of the fiction or of the normal exotic”] (“Literatura, sistema” 100). But, a Galician reader, with a different set of expectations and lived experience, “vai reaccionar tamén de maneira distinta porque a cultura da que parte é unha experiencia distinta da prevista pola obra para o seu lector” [“is going to also react in a different way because the culture in which he is positioned is a different experience than that which was intended by

the work for its reader”] (100); for this reader, beyond the question of fiction, the text is going to be read in relation to reality. By understanding the mechanics of literary production and reception in Galicia, he invites us to think of elements such as language, folklore, etc. not as “natural” facts of Galician literature, but as part of a complex political process (*Diglosia* 83-98). This idea will be fundamental in Chapter Four, where I analyze a number of *costumbrista* texts as fictions that grapple with social and political problems.

While Figueroa is ultimately concerned with more contemporary Galician production, his research does offer useful insight for thinking about literature of the *Rexurdimento*. He reminds us that: “A literature rexorde, ou nace se quere, vinculada a unha heterodoxia política e tamén en certo modo como unha heterodoxia literaria dentro do campo español” [“literature resurrects, or is born if you will, tied to a political heterodoxy and also in some way as a literary heterodoxy within the Spanish cultural field”] (*Nación, literatura* 114). This un-normative political and literary movement would determine the production of texts during the period. “Esta heterodoxia lingüística,” continues Figueroa, “e o feito de que se manifestase mediante o xogo literario, daba automáticamente á literatura un poder extraliterario, un poder certamente forte, pero heterónimo, de carácter político, que ó mesmo tempo dificultaba, e, na proporción da súa importancia, atrasaba a súa constitución en literature *à part entire*” [“This linguistic heterodoxy and the fact that it manifests itself by means of a literary game, automatically gave literature an extraordinary power, certainly a strong but heteronymous power, of a political character, that at the same time hindered and, in proportion to its importance, delayed its becoming a literature *à part*

entire”] (115). Figueroa is not alone in perceiving the aesthetic and literary dependence of Galician literature during the nineteenth century, especially of narrative prose. This dependent and peripheral position of Galician literature means that among other things, intellectuals would have had very little experience writing and reading in Galician and therefore would have used texts written in Spanish as the point of reference (*Diglosia* 44). The awareness of the Galician-language text’s alterity would certainly determine the formal, structural and thematic content during the act of writing and the critical and aesthetic experience at the moment of reading.

While Figueroa’s model is useful for thinking of the relationship between literature, language, nation and aesthetics, I have several reservations with his model. Although he urges us to think about reading the Spanish literary system and Galician literary system together (“Literatura, sistema” 101-2), these literary systems are always linguistically defined, so that Galician literature continues to be that which was written in Galician, rather than literature written in a bilingual setting by members of the same social and cultural milieu. While Figueroa sees texts written in different languages as existing in a hierarchical relation, my research approaches texts on equal footing. Arguing that Galician-language texts have the same level of ideological and literary complexity and aesthetic value as texts produced within the Spanish-language literary system, my concern in the analyses that follow is less with the linguistic disparity, than with problems of genre, ideology and gender that are the commonalities of literature produced in Galicia during that time period. While the social and cultural symbolic importance of the Galician language is important to keep in mind, it has over-

determined literary criticism today, which continues to neglect other problems within the literature.

Xoán González-Millán's analyses of Galician literature are important because they question the conflation of language, nation and identity as natural, and undermine essentialist readings of Galician literature ("O criterio filolóxico" 20). His identification and criticism of the "criterio filolóxico" closely analyzes the relation between literature and nationalism. His historiography of Galician literature reveals how competing groups have vied for control over what is canonized as Galician literature ("Do nacionalismo" 69). Throughout the twentieth century, the "criterio filolóxico" allowed texts that did not meet linguistic standards to be marginalized within the field of Galician studies. When language becomes the most important marker of Galician national identity, Galician-language literature acquires broader national importance: "Cando a lingua funciona como o alicerce dunha determinada identidade colectiva, a literatura, a sintetizada nos textos canónicos, constitúese igualmente nun instrumento privilexiado de lexitimación e institucionalización da identidade nacional" ["When the language functions as the base of a particular collective identity, the literature, summarized by the canonical texts, equally becomes a privileged instrument of legitimization and institutionalization of national identity."] (17). This aspect of González-Millán's research is much like Figueroa's in its concern for the fetishization and the over politicization of Galician-language literature, and the negative effects these have had on the aesthetics and criticism of literary works. The publication of a work in Galician becomes an important cultural event within the Galician literary system, and this can blind readers to

non-national and linguistic problems that may be hidden within the work on the most superficial levels of the text.

A clear illustration of this is offered by Helena Miguélez Carballeira's analysis of the works of Teresa Moure, a contemporary novelist in Galicia. These works—by a woman and in Galician—are applauded by critics as examples of modern Galician feminist literature. Miguélez Carballeira, using González-Millán's critical approach to the field, shows us that the texts are not feminist, nor do they challenge the (patriarchal) literary system that produced and received the work. The system of reviews and literary prizes that the Galician literary institution bestowed upon the author made the Galician literary sphere “convulsionar . . . cunha forza e unha sonoridade inéditas, coa fin de avanzar unha primeira achega crítica a un proxecto literario que se presentou coma novidoso cando. . . non o foi” [“convulse. . . with a force and an unprecedented clamor, with the intention of attaching a critical contribution to a literary project that presented itself as innovative when. . . it was not”] (6). The system of literary reception masks the works' retrograde feminism in a way that might not have happened if the works would have appeared within an Anglo- or Franco-feminist tradition.

The aspect of González-Millán's work that has had the most bearing upon my own has been his development of the concepts “nacionalismo literario” and “literatura nacional.” When we talk of a national literature—Spanish literature, Galician literature—we are employing a category that, although quite natural seeming, is very complex. González-Millán's shows how a national literature is dependent upon many non-literary discourses that support this idea. In the case

of Galicia, this is complicated by the fact that literary discourses serve multiple functions: aesthetic, linguistic, political, etc. The concept of national literature has been defended within the field of Galician literature by the use of the problematic “criterio filológico.” Another major problem is that of speaking of Galician literature as a national literature since it precedes any national formation in the political or economic spheres. During the nineteenth century, more than a national literature we must speak of “nacionalismo literario” (77). Literary nationalism, writes González-Millán, “debe ser entendido como un fenómeno social en el que confluyen diferentes procesos: la intervención de determinados agentes sociales, la formulación y concreción de estrategias específicas y la institucionalización de una serie de usos implicados en la articulación de un discurso literario, todo ello con el objetivo de consolidar y legitimar una ideología nacional” (“Nacionalismo literario” 226). With the process of modernization, the fields of politics and literary production would ideally become autonomous, but in Galicia there was no state apparatus or political discourse from which to articulate a national identity. To use the terms that Julio Ramos employs when talking about the role of literature in early Latin American republics, there would be a difference between the “man of letters” and “the lettered man”—or rather, the politician and poet would disentangle and emerge as a separate artist and statesman. Galician authors—like Martí in the late Spanish colonial situation that Ramos studies—had to employ literature in the service of the political. So, Galician nationalism in the nineteenth century was a literary invention, a construct of authors who used literature as a vehicle to create a national space at a time when there was no political space from which to

articulate a national identity (González-Millán “Nacionalismo literario” 226). Galician literature’s lack of autonomy and subjugation to questions of national identity means that we cannot speak of national literature. González-Millán argues that there must be a stage of literary nationalism that creates the space from which to speak of a national literature, but the two are not the same (“Do nacionalismo” 78).

This is important in helping us understand how a work can be said to construct a literary nationalism but might not be canonized by intellectuals later as “national literature.” González-Millán cites the example of Castro’s *Cantares Gallegos* which was part of a nacionalismo literario but was able to be incorporated into the canon of literatura nacional (70), whereas non-Galician literary expressions have hardly been incorporated into formalized discussions and histories of Galician literature, though they were part of the literary nationalism.

González-Millán’s ideas are important for two reasons: on the one hand, they remind us that though Galician literature is still commonly considered that which is written in Galician, this was not always the case nor must it remain so. On the other hand, he reminds us that literary nationalisms and national literatures self-interestedly canonize texts that share their ideological project. This is one of the reasons that I think it is important to turn our attention towards those works that have been excluded: works in Spanish such as Rosalía de Castro’s novels, as well as works of narrative prose from the period. These works, as we will see in the following chapters, have been considered unworthy of critical attention within Galician studies because of their scarcity and lack of

literary complexity (Varela, Vilavedra, Carballo Calero). These same critics have often attributed the scarcity and lack of aesthetic appeal of nineteenth century prose to issues of language. As Dolores Vilavedra points out in *Historia da literatura galega*, a lack of a reading public accustomed to reading in Galician, limited publishing opportunities for longer texts in Galician, the widely-held belief that Galician should be restricted to lyric and the lack of a normative orthographic and grammatical system worked together to encumber the development of the novel (141-3).

As many Galician writers would themselves acknowledge in forwards and prefaces to their works, the lack of a written and grammatical norm represented a particular problem for writers attempting to adapt a minor language to what was the dominant genre throughout most of Europe during that period. In order to compensate for these difficulties, writers would appeal to spelling based on oral speech, use various words for the same referent, introduce *castelanismos*, and often would combine dialectisms from different areas of Galicia. By writing prose in Galician, these authors were expanding the reaches of the Galician language by adapting the peripheral language to a more modern genre.²⁵ For these reasons, the Galician novel by the end of the nineteenth century ends up a motley composition: a written language which mirrors the spoken word, a Galician still

²⁵ While the publication of *Follas novas* in 1880 by Rosalía de Castro has become a landmark of the regional literary movement, X. González-Millán suggests that Marcial Valladares's novel *Maxina ou a filla espúrea* (1880), published that same year, is perhaps the most important for radically violating the de facto generic restrictions that had limited the use of Galician to poetry. For González-Millán, *Maxina's* "relevancia en el contexto del incipiente sistema literario gallego de la época sería igual o superior a la del poemario rosaliano, ya que se trataba de un fenómeno radicalmente nuevo en la incipiente dinámica de la literatura gallega del 'Rexurdimento'" (52).

heavily indebted to Castilian, and peripheral themes adapted to metropolitan genres. Unfortunately, later audiences would prove to be considerably less forgiving than the original reading public; literary history and criticism have considered the Galician novel an impoverished genre lacking in tradition, complexity, importance and aesthetic value.²⁶ So while literary histories give two different reasons for excluding those texts—either language or aesthetics—I want to argue that there is one ideological reason for excluding the two, which is that Galician works of narrative prose whether in Spanish or Galician do not conform ideologically to the nationalist project within Galicia today.

González-Millán's ideas, like Figueroa's, still have their problematic moments, especially insofar as they evidence his own dependence upon those dominant, linguistically determined notions of Galician literature. For example, he writes that Reigosa's *Crime en Compostela* (1984), represents a radical break within Galician literature because it introduces the genre of the crime novel, and is less than overtly interested in constructing a literary nationalism ("Nacionalismo literario" 229+). Yet, this is only true if one ignores texts in Castilian and texts in Galician prose. For example, there is an obsession with criminality in many of the prose works from the *Rexurdimento*, as I explain in Chapter Four. Also, one can think of works by less canonized writers such as Eduardo Blanco-Amor, who have been marginalized for things such as ideology,

²⁶ Modesto Hermida is one of the few critics who have recognized the importance of the novel written in Galician during the *Rexurdimento*. In his *Narrativa galega*, he shows how the criticism of the novel has been very scarce throughout the Twentieth Century and how the genre has been consistently undervalued (9-22). Many literary anthologies and introductions to novels in Galician comment on their scant aesthetic value and credit these works with very little importance during this period of nation building. See Varela for an example of this tendency.

sexuality and bilingualism. Yet, *A esmorga/La parranda* (1959/1960) can certainly be read as a detective story which predates Reigosa's by 25 years.

Kirsty Hooper has leveled a similar critique at González-Millán's work, which "has not succeeded in unpicking the conflation of nation and culture that drives Galician literary history" ("New Cartographies" 128). Hooper's critique that González-Millán understands the working of national literature formation but doesn't free himself from it, is one that could also be directed at Vilavedra's *Historia da literatura galega*, which acknowledges the problem of the "criterio filolóxico" but continues to be guided by it as an organizing principle. While Hooper is correct in her assumptions of González-Millán's work, and is correct to think that it represents a necessary stage in the growth of Galician studies, in González-Millán's defense, it is worth noting that his interests were starting to drift away from linguistically restrained ideas of Galician literature, such as in those studies on Emilia Pardo Bazán and Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo ("EPB..." and "Menéndez Pelayo") that have been published posthumously. These articles were released after the publication of Hooper's "Novas cartografías" (2005), and each considers the role of Spanish-language texts both by Galicians and other Spaniards in shaping the cultural milieu of the *Rexurdimento* and of *rexionalista* Galicia.

González-Millán and Figueroa map out the Galician cultural field and help us to understand the cultural biases, economic and political conditions and dominant nationalist ideas that determine our reading of Galician literature, yet they also perpetuate certain exclusions. So while they suggest and call for new ways of reading Galician literature, they offer no clear project for approaching

individual works of Galician literature. In spite of any problems that we might now find in their works, González-Millán and Figueroa have done groundbreaking work in the field of Galician cultural studies, from which a number of intrepid critical works have emerged, broadening the scope of Galician studies over the past few years. Kirsty Hooper's "Novas Cartografías"²⁷ represents a post-national turn in Galician Studies. Since its publication in 2002, this work has left a lasting imprint upon the scholarship done within the field. Here, Hooper emphasizes the problems with Galician literary history which, "like any teleological narrative, is characterized by lacunae and absence—that is, as much by what is excluded, as by what finds a place" (125). As a result, Hooper finds that much of women's literature has been excluded, as well as much of the literature published during the turn of the twentieth century (126). Hooper argues that "the monolingual, pre-national Galician consciousness evoked by modern literary critics as distinct from and in opposition to Spain never existed in a pure form" (130). This idea is especially true of the late nineteenth century and has blotted out the possibility of seeing multiple and alternative identities within the Galician literary landscape. Hooper follows Joseba Gabilondo's lead and argues for the creation of an Iberian "post-national paradigm" in order to read the literature in creative and less restrictive and silencing ways.

More than mapping out a new intellectual field, Hooper places the scholar before an expanse of uncharted territory: the field of post-national Galician studies as she describes it would draw on post-national projects, particularly

²⁷ Quotes from "Novas cartografías" come from the English translation, "New Cartographies" published in 2007.

from those done within Hispanism. Despite the voluminous body of post-national critical takes on Spanish culture, this project is much easier said than done. Adapting post-national theories including feminism, queer studies, post-colonial studies, within a Hispanic setting has been challenging enough (Del Pino and La Rubia-Prado; Epps and Fernández Cifuentes; Pope). Incorporating post-national theories to Hispanic studies, and by proxy Galician Studies, introduces yet new problems of translation. Within Hispanism there has been concern about how to adapt (if at all) post-national theories, such as feminism, queer, racial or post-colonial studies—largely associated with Anglo intellectual traditions within a Spanish context (Gabilondo “Intro”). For example, the utility of a category such as “queer” (Davis) or “gay” (Mira), “feminist” (Johnson) has been much contested in recent Hispanist scholarship.

A large part of this post-national problem often involves applying culturally and linguistically embedded terms and categories to a foreign social and intellectual context, which can feel like trying to fit a square peg through a round hole—when not entirely decried as impractical (Epps). The challenge is even greater in the case of Galician studies where the study of literature has for so long been limited to problems of language and nation (see Miguélez Carballeira and Hooper). Even outside of the university, on a wider societal level, there has been debate about teaching English in Galician schools; critics of the plan often argue that the Galician language is still too young in its public life, and the region is still reeling from Francoist language policy, to open a new linguistic and

cultural war with English.²⁸ Still there has been an ever-growing bibliography of approaches to Galician studies in recent years that addresses post-national issues such as gender and sexuality without losing sight of the local specificities of Galician culture and history. The contribution of Anglo-based criticism within Galician studies has had its advantages and drawbacks, but ultimately Miguélez and Hooper celebrate the post-national turn that has taken place which has seen “the development of new spaces and new debates, which transcend or interconnect language, location, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, citizenship and ideology in hitherto unaccustomed ways, and in so doing, embrace multiple ruptures, discontinuities and – often – downright disagreements” (211). The current trend within Galician studies has been to celebrate the hybrid, to break with teleological models and read creatively across history, and across linguistic and territorial borders (Miguélez Carballeira and Hooper 205-9). In this sense, José Colmeiro’s work within Galician cultural studies has also provided theoretical impetus for my own work. He argues that the “erosion of the traditional nation-state paradigm” has “provided a fertile ground and creative impetus to redefine Galician culture and identity beyond the confines of the nation or the nation-state” (“Peripheral Visions” 217). I argue that these conditions existed during the nineteenth century, not because the nation-state had already deteriorated, but rather because it had not yet been fully articulated.

²⁸ For a sense of the debates around the “Galicia plurilingüe” project of the Xunta, see articles such as “Plurilingüismo: ¡Benvido, Mr. Marshall!” by history professor José Carlos Bermejo Barrera, “Viene la fractura” by philosophy professor Antón Baamonde, or “Trick or Treat? It’s Up to You” by professor of linguistics Henrique Monteagudo. These debates impart a sense of the broader significance and anxieties that these questions raise within Galician society.

The artistic creations of the *Rexurdimento* offer the same possibility that the post-national state offers Galician artists and scholars today: “these apparently opposing cultural forces create new hybrid realities and new forms of identity that bind the old with the new, the local with the global” (217). This innovative spirit was present during the *Rexurdimento* but, because of the national and linguistic paradigms of the twentieth century, criticism has been blind to the plurality of identities and ideologies that were being sketched out by the modern Galician authors.

This present work also dialogues with those working on issues of gender and sexuality within this post-national framework. Just as within the larger Hispanic context, there have been some problems with incorporating gender studies within a Galician context. On the one hand, critics such as Sharon Roseman have shown how feminist interventions by Galician authors “are resisting not only the Spanish state but also sexism both within Galicia and internationally” (44). If on the one hand, feminism has created alliances across national boundaries and has helped to challenge patriarchal structures within Galicia, on the other, it has also been shown to be a divisive tool and to perpetuate sexist structures. In her article “Stuck with the Label,” Helena Miguélez-Carballeira points out the major disjunction between feminist critics and women writers within a Hispanic context. She argues that much of feminist criticism elaborated from within Anglo-American institutions “may prove ill-equipped, and ultimately alienating for the study of things Hispanic” (11). The expectations of foreign readers of what they feel Spanish (and by extension, regional) female authors ought to be doing—their heroines, plots, political

agendas, etc.—determine reception of these works by foreign or external standards.²⁹ Part of my work in the following chapters involves identifying locally and historically specific criteria for evaluating the literature of the period. Reading Galician works of the *Rexurdimento* closely, to pick out motifs, themes and problems that are important to the authors of the period, rather than dismiss the works as aesthetically or ideologically uninteresting as much contemporary criticism has (Chapters Two, Three and Four) reveals that works of the *Rexurdimento* offer a distinct series of plots and stylistic conventions that are rarely found in other literatures of the peninsula during that period and need to be appreciated as such.

Also, as part of this post-national turn, there has been a search for queer identities within Galician culture. Timothy McGovern's work (in the bibliography) deals with the problem of queer literature and identity within Galician and Spanish contexts. He argues that Galician critics' hesitance to engage with sexual identities has been problematic both for intellectual discourses as well as for homosexual and queer subjects living in Galicia. He argues that works by queer artists, "when they are acclaimed by critics and accepted by readers or spectators, help to de-marginalize their artists, and to further undermine the gender and sexual hierarchies of which the canon is both product and instrument" ("Expressing Desire" 150). One of the major obstacles that McGovern comes up against in carrying out this project is the lack of a

²⁹ I agree to an extent with Miguélez but would not go so far as to declare it such an impasse for feminist criticism. She herself denies Moure the label of feminist and challenges Galician critics who have praised the work as a triumph for feminism in Galician letters by comparing her to feminists outside of the field of Hispanic literature ("Inaugurar").

visible queer tradition within Spanish and Galician culture (“Camping the Nation” 3). While *fin de século/siglo* literature in Galician may not be a queer literature per se, we can approach marginal texts during the period (the short stories analyzed in Chapter Four, for example), for sources that also challenge hegemonic ideas about Spanish or Galician identity. Among the characteristics of queer Galician writing that McGovern applauds is its ability to provide an “alternate” geography of Spain (10), its tendency to combine genres, and to illustrate non-traditional sexual relationships by drawing on camp (12-3). These texts, such as Antón Lopo’s *Manga*, challenge mainstream and hegemonic values by questioning middle-class standards of taste and aesthetics. The complicated, melodramatic, far-fetched plots, and sexual intrigue that are the main component of many of the under-criticized works that I explore (particularly in Chapters Three and Four) also open a position from which to think critically about the ways in which Galician and Spanish identities were being performed at the end of the nineteenth century, as well as to provide an alternative history of Galician literature that considers issues of gender and sexuality not as marginal or peripheral concerns, but the very nucleus or origin of Galician narrative.

The project mapped out by Hooper and explored by other critics such as Colmeiro and McGovern, among others, provides the foundation for the work that follows. In the following chapters, I attempt to bring—to use Piñeiro’s terms—“Galicia galega” and “Galicia castellanizada” back into dialogue with one another. The goal is to reunite these texts without necessarily reconciling them: pointing to absences, discontinuities without necessarily trying to correct them. I want to point out contradictions and limitations of *galeguista* discourse both

during the *Rexurdimento* and in the literary histories of today. By showing that the *Rexurdimento* was a complex period of Galician literary history, we trouble the very foundation upon which most modern Galician literary histories rest. In many ways, the structure of the following chapters mirrors Hooper's "Alternative Genealogies?" (2006), in which she compares two works of Galician women's writing, not because they are written in the same language, but because they address the same problem. By reading the two texts together, differences and similarities emerge, revealing the problem of creating national origins. So by reading Galician literature for problems such as the home (Chapter Two), family (Chapter Three) and violence (Chapter Four), we see that positions held by various authors can be alternately similar and different, revealing unexpected ties across seemingly unrelated texts.

However, I am not sure to what degree my work entirely avoids the pitfalls that Hooper warns against in "New Cartographies": the trap of falling back into the discussion of nation. What is certain is that in this work, I am not taking national identity as the original justification for reading these texts. I am looking at problems of gender, sexuality, territory and domesticity in a series of texts written in the same period by authors that formed part of the same regionalist atmosphere. Rather than read my own assumptions about the nation into the texts (i.e., Galician language texts are nationalist, Spanish language texts are not, therefore *Cantares Gallegos* must be nationalist and *Los pazos de Ulloa*, is not), I am arriving at conclusions about the nation—Galician and Spanish—via its marginalized voices.

As González-Millán has shown, Galicia's earliest articulation of nationhood begins as an act of "nacionalismo literario." It is precisely within the space of the literary that Galician national identity is first articulated. As such, when thinking about this period there are three texts that seem central to approaching the problem of Galician literature during the *Rexurdimento*: Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*, Doris Sommer's *Foundational Fictions* and Homi Bhabha's *The Location of Culture*. The critical approaches to literature outlined by these three texts supply the theoretical underpinnings of this work. Even though the language with which I have to talk about Galician literature may remain bounded by problems of language and nation, and the critical work done by Galician scholars, these texts can allow new readings and explorations of new territories within the Galician literary landscape.

In his work, Anderson starts from the idea that the nation "is an imagined political community—and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (6). It is limited insofar as it defines itself in relation to other nations, and sovereign because it destroys older hierarchies (7). Anderson's comments are no less true in the case of Galicia. Galicia as national space, in its earliest of articulations, existed in relation to other nations: in negative relation to Spain, in an analogous relation to Catalonia and the Basque Country, and in positive identification with Ireland. As illustrated above, in the quotes from Piñeiro, for example, the intellectual production of the *Rexurdimento* sought to invert the linguistic and cultural hierarchies that had been established during Spain's *Siglos de oro* and *Siglo de las luces*—or, antonymously, in Galicia as the *Séculos oscuros*—Galician intellectuals set about turning the tables, revitalizing their

region's cultural production. The Galician nation also stood in relation to the older hierarchies that it sought to replace. As Núñez Seixas pointed out above, the regionalist movements in Spain emerge in response to and reaction against the shifting political changes that marked the end of the *antiguo régimen*, and sought to upset the political structures of Spain by either restoring ancient modes of organization, such as proposed by the *tradicionalistas*, or through more modern democratic proposals, such as those put forth by Manuel Murguía.

In Anderson's definition of the nation, nation-ness and nationality are not organic or essential facts but "cultural artifacts" (4). What, then, are the particular cultural artifacts of Galician nationalism? Where do they circulate? Galicia does not provide a much different example than many of the other European nations that Anderson studies. Language, history and lineage become some of the key markers of identity, and they circulate most importantly in novels and newspapers. Of these, Anderson writes: "These forms provided the technical means for 're-presenting' the *kind* of imagined community that is the nation" (25). They help to standardize languages, to create a feeling of simultaneity among the readership, foster a sense of fraternity, and bind readers in affective bonds (23-36). Anderson's understanding of nation formation works perfectly alongside González-Millán's understanding of "nacionalismo literario." In Galicia, not only was print culture a vehicle of nationalism, it was practically the sole space from which to justify and reveal a national identity. The Galician nation had to write its own narrative or its own biography, its own history—in Castilian and/or Galician—but this process, Anderson reminds us, is never natural (205).

Galicia needed a beginning, an origin, and so it wrote one: the *Rexurdimento*. As mentioned above, the *Rexurdimento* involved a particular class of intellectuals publicly exhuming a culture that they were also in fact creating. The *Rexurdimento* reads today as a more contrived national process—there was so much debate about what to write, who should write, how to write—but in fact, this process was universal in all nation-forming processes. Anderson describes the tendency to create linguistically defined nationalisms from languages that were no longer thought of as “languages of civilization” (Galicia had to reclaim that title from Spanish, but centuries earlier, Spanish had to claim that title from Latin). This process that he outlines, serves to explain what had occurred during the *Rexurdimento*:

. . . ‘uncivilized’ vernaculars began to function politically in the same way as the Atlantic Ocean had earlier done: i.e. to ‘separate’ subjected national communities off from ancient dynastic realms. And since in the vanguard of most European popular nationalist movements were literate people often *unaccustomed* to using these vernaculars, this anomaly needed explanation. None seemed better than ‘sleep,’ for it permitted those intelligentsias and bourgeoisies who were becoming conscious of themselves as Czechs, Hungarians, or Finns to figure their study of Czech, Magyar, or Finnish languages, folklores and musics as ‘rediscovering’ something deep-down always known. (196)

This is precisely what happened in Galicia, where intellectuals claimed the resurrection of a language, culture and music from a deathlike state. While so many Galician literary historians view this as a natural or spiritual process in their descriptions of a poetry that springs from the Galician poet’s heart in her or his mother tongue, Anderson makes us aware of the contradictions and paradoxes of these movements, whereby through a contrived process of literary

creation, elites re-invent and appropriate popular culture, as part of a bourgeois political process. He points out that languages are an especially useful tool since they lend a sense of unisonance (144-5) and they are ultimately without origin and situate the imagined community in an infinitely far away past (196), preceding borders and other cultural appendages such as music, architecture, etc.

What I find particularly useful in Anderson's model for reading the Galician *Rexurdimento* is that it argues that national and nationalist history can be read as fiction and fiction can be read as national and nationalist history (30). Literary narratives—especially those “dollar-dreadfuls” (25), the non-masterpieces, the marginal and non-canonical texts—“in their clumsy and literary naivety” (32), stumble back and forth between fiction and social reality, “fus[ing] the world inside the novel with the world outside” (30). As I will show in greater detail, many of the works of narrative prose in Galician that I am looking at in the following chapters belong to this category of artistically deficient works, according to many literary critics and historians. While I will later take exception with that classification, I want to insist upon the importance of reading these texts, as does Anderson, as ones that offer statements on Galicia's political and social situation. These works, perhaps because they are so unaware, offer images of Galicia that are censored from the more self-conscious stylings of poets like Castro, Pondal and Lamas Carvajal or politicians such as Murguía and Brañas.

The narratives of nationalism—or, of literary nationalism—draw on certain tropes: language, history and family as a way of granting continuity. Later, in Chapter Four, I will look more closely at how Anderson's analyses of fratricide and the unburying of the dead can help us to understand their function as (de)

constructive elements of national Galician identity in the writing of the *Rexurdimento*. What is of more general importance here is Anderson's belief that these national narratives, aimed at creating a sense of continuity and unity, of consciousness, are never whole: "All profound changes in consciousness, by their very nature, bring with them characteristic amnesias. Out of such oblivions, in specific historical circumstances, spring narratives" (204). From the perspective of the present, Galician literary history has woven narrative tapestries whose holes are becoming bigger, the very gaps and lacunae that Hooper speaks of: the presence of Galician writers in prose, the absence of women from the literary canon, etc. But what were the amnesias of the writers of the *Rexurdimento*? What were their stories/histories leaving out? Many of the texts that I analyze in the chapters ahead disguise themselves as oral folk-tales, giving them an air of antiquity, presenting themselves as stories we all know. They redefine the territory, history and language of Galicia to make things seem as if they had always been that way. They try to provide a linguistic and social continuity or simultaneity—characters and readers existing on the same plane, in the same real spaces, speaking the same language that we've always spoken (the reader today and characters in days long past). Yet, they too, shabbily reveal the holes and breaches that they try to hide. In my analyses of Galician literature, I want to argue that many Galician texts of a Galicianist nationalist bent, while they try to place characters and readers on the same plane, reveal the social, linguistic, class and gender disparities and tensions within Galician society that have and continue to encumber Galician nationalist movements and literary development. In other words, the plots of the texts in this study—filled with violence, anxiety

and taboo sexual relations—reveal the very roadblocks in the path of a modern, democratic or liberal national project. Also, Galician narrative prose reveals the impossibility at the time of the *Rexurdimento* of creating the unisonance that other nations such as Spain were able to create. A lopsided Galician prose, heavy on *castelanismos*, or *dialectismos*, or diglossia reveals the difficulty of creating a monolingual Galician identity—a difficulty that persist today.

The effectiveness of cultural products to establish a national imaginary comes from their ability to create affective ties between the recipients of these cultural artifacts and the idea of the nation. At the same time that nations define themselves by what they are not by resorting to fear and hatred for others (in the case of Galician literature, think of Castro's "Castellanos de Castilla" which teems with contempt for the Spanish), they also, according to Anderson, "inspire love, self-sacrificing love" (141)—such as the self-sacrificing love illustrated in Castro's poem "Adios qu'eu voume," analyzed in Chapter Two. The cultural products that perform this function are many, according to Anderson: "poetry, prose fiction, music, plastic arts—show this love very clearly in thousands of different forms and styles" (141). He argues that these texts inspire political love through things to which we are "naturally" tied: "the vocabulary of kinship (motherland, *Vaterland*, *patria*) or that of the home" (143). My work aims to offer an analysis of the ideas of home and kinship in works produced in Galicia during the *Rexurdimento* both in Galician and Spanish to see what affective ties authors sought to attach to them, and metaphorically, to Galicia. One major and significant difference that I find in Galician literature with regard to Anderson's findings is related to the idea of love of home, family and nation that he considers

to be ubiquitous in national literatures. While that current is certainly present in Galician writings of the late-nineteenth century, there is also a good deal of hate, ire and violence directed towards homes, families and nation in Galician literature. If Anderson's claim that in European national literatures "how truly rare it is to find analogous nationalist products expressing fear and loathing" (141-2), is in fact true, then Galician literature represents an anomaly. The relations of fear and loathing that characters in Galician narrative feel towards home and family are discussed at length in Chapters Two and Four.

Anderson's thesis that nation building was carried out in large part through print culture becomes the point of departure for Doris Sommer's analyses of Latin American literature during the nineteenth century. Her analyses of Latin American novels prove useful for analyzing Galician literature since the young American republics had gained their independence from Spain, just as Galicia sought to do. Also, the nations where these battles for independence had taken place and the process of nation building had begun, were often the places in which the emigrant Galician intelligentsia had begun to settle. Sommer's major contribution in her work on literary foundations of Latin American nation building projects has been in locating an "erotics of politics" in the works she studies (*Foundational* 6). This involves identifying works in which personal affections—between characters, between readers and characters, and between readers—cross over from the realm of fiction into societal relations. When discussing these fictional works she finds that they are "almost inevitably stories of star-crossed lovers who represent particular regions, races, parties, economic interests, and the like. Their passion for conjugal and sexual union spills over to a

sentimental readership in a move that hopes to win partisan minds along with hearts” (5). In her readings, she shows “*how* [italicized in the original] the rhetorical relationship between heterosexual passion and hegemonic states functions as a mutual allegory, as if each discourse were grounded in the allegedly stable other” (31). The stability of a union based on love would symbolically represent a stable alternative to former hierarchies based on pre-revolutionary notions of caste, class, and race, in which characters could relate to one another disinterestedly out of love, which would in turn generate a productive, modern democratic family (35).

Sommer finds that in the literature of the newly formed Latin American republics, domesticity in the novel “is an exhortation to be fruitful and multiply” (76). This is not to say that the foundational fictions she studies all share a common project, in fact there is much ideological difference among the novels that she studies (“Irresistible” 79-82). Yet she finds that despite ideological differences, the works all attempt to bring varied, historically opposed groups of a region together in harmony (81). “Whether the plots end happily or not,” writes Sommer, “the romances are invariably about desire in young, chaste heroes for equally young and chaste heroines in order to establish conjugal and productive unions which represent national unification and which can be frustrated only by illegitimate social obstacles” (82). These fictions make possible the unions that were impossible in the literature of the *antiguo régimen*.

One would think that since the movements for Latin-American independence stem from the same political history as the regionalist movements, their literary trends would, too, be analogous. Since literature was also the

foundation of Galician nationalism, one would expect its fictions to inspire the same love of nation and fellow Galician citizens. Yet, as I show in Chapters Two through Four this is far from the case. If democratic and national stability can be measured by the success of the characters in literature to establish sexual unions and found families free of class and social prejudices of the *antiguo régimen*, then Galicia's narrative is less than successful. Galician narrative rarely (if ever) ends happily. The sexual relationships that are established either result in unwanted endogamous relations and lunacy (Chapter Three) or in bloodshed (Chapter Four). These differences are important. I claim that because the Galician regionalist movement was similar in many ways to the Latin-American independence movements, characters from different classes and social circles can come together through romantic, sexual relations. But, just as the goal of Galician autonomy was never achieved in the political sphere, nor would fictional couples be able to escape former class and social tensions.³⁰ The family (and the nation), meant to be a natural union, is either destroyed or held together by violent means (Chapter Four).

The fact that Galicia does in fact remain territorially and politically attached to Spain, significantly limits our ability to use Sommer's studies to understand the Galician case, though it certainly provokes us to think about the erotics of politics in Galician literature, and points us towards themes in

³⁰ While there is a problematic reductionism and causality in this claim that the absence of Galician autonomy hindered the creation of a Galician romance, Sommer's claim that independence made possible the national romance nevertheless provides an interesting foundation to think about the relationship between the lack of a Galician state and the absence of an idealized Galician romance.

literature that might be useful in de-centering questions of language in Galician studies in order to create new definitions of nation that stem from the sexual unions of the literature of the *Rexurdimento*. Both Anderson's and Sommer's strategies are limited by the problem of nation-ness when discussing Galician literature. Whereas there is a functioning state-apparatus in the countries they are analyzing, Galicia is a state-less nation. The political sphere is subsumed within the literary sphere, as González-Millán points out, and additionally, the Galician literary system is subjugated and determined by a larger Spanish literary system, as Figueroa shows. For that reason, I find it useful to also keep in mind Homi Bhabha's writings on literature and nationhood. Working from within a post-colonial framework, Bhabha can help us understand the role of literature in situations such as the one described by González-Millán and Figueroa. For Bhabha, national discourses are fraught with ambiguities owing to the instability of the idea of nation. He writes that this conceptual ambiguity affects the narratives and discourses that articulate nation-ness (*Nation 2*). This ambiguity is represented in conflicting and uncanny representations of ideas, such as that of the "home," that are so central to national literatures.

By focusing on ambiguities, Bhabha suggests that we can focus on the broader values with which the nation is posited, and question the sense of wholeness or closure that national literary histories typically provide. Bhabha graphically describes this project as one which involves a double vision: "... to explore the Janus-faced ambivalence of language itself in the construction of the Janus-faced discourse of the nation" (3). Not only is there ambivalence about the nation within Galician literature, there is also a pluralism of languages: Spanish

and Galician intersect and bifurcate creating interesting resonances and distortions of the idea of nation. Bhabha's project also requires that we read with a willingness to accept incompleteness: "meanings may be partial because they are *in medias res*; and history may be half-made because it is in the process of being made; and the image of cultural authority may be ambivalent because it is caught, uncertainly, in the act of 'composing' its powerful image" (3). No truer is this than in the case of Galicia during the *Rexurdimento* when intellectuals were in the middle of the process of forging a national identity; competing proposals were on the table, and there were no winners who had yet claimed the right to (re) write literary history and consecrate certain texts and deny others entrance into the Galician canon. Far from the foundation and idyllic moment that it is constructed to be in Galician literary histories, the *Rexurdimento* was a period in which languages vied for power and literary titans clashed (Pardo Bazán, Castro, Murguía and Valle-Inclán). Additionally, there were debates outside of Galicia as to what was going to be done with regional literature if it was going to be considered Spanish or not as González-Millán and Alonso point out in their analyses of Spanish literary histories.

Literature not only helps construct the nation but also to deconstruct and question the very idea of nation. We must look at Galician literature not as a monolithic and mono-linguistic whole, but as one of the "*in-between* spaces through which the meanings of cultural and political authority are negotiated" (Bhabha *Nation* 4). Like Bhabha, I want to read for those moments that are "discontinuous and 'interruptive'" (5)—moments such as the departure of

emigrants (Chapter Two) and moments when family ties are broken, crossed, entangled or become maddening (Chapters Three and Four).

In conclusion, it is necessary to question the “criterio filológico” and read marginal, national texts for questions of domesticity, gender, and sexuality as a means of gaining a double vision of the nation. We need to return to the *Rexurdimento* in all of its ambiguity—linguistic, territorial, ideological—and render a post-national reading of this corpus of pre-national literature. There is no better time period to do this than the *fin de siglo/século*, when “we find ourselves in the moment of transit where space and time cross to produce complex figures of difference and identity, past and present, inside and outside, inclusion and exclusion” (Bhabha *Location* 1). This post-national approach will help to restore problems of gender and sexuality to the position that they held in Castro’s *Cantares Gallegos*, allow us to understand the complex relation between literature and nation in Galicia, and broaden the understanding of Spain’s nineteenth-century literary history.

Chapter 2

‘Miña terra n’e miña’: Echoes of Emigration and Enclosure

One of the advantages of broadening the definition of Galician literature to include works written in Spanish is that it gives us access to a wider range of subjectivities, ideologies and perspectives about Galicia and *galeguidade* than if we were to read only those texts written in Galician. Likewise, it can allow us to better evaluate the ambiguities that characterized intellectual debates of the day. Galician studies have so long focused solely on those texts written in Galician that there still remains a need for a methodological approach to reading across linguistic lines. In nineteenth-century literary studies, such an approach would permit us to recover the linguistic, political and semantic ambiguity that characterized life in nineteenth-century Galicia. How can we flesh out a notion of nineteenth-century *galeguidade* that emerges not from any one language (*galego* or *castellano*) or any one place (*nación* or *región*), but rather in the interplay between them? Such a perspective would allow us to historicize Galician identity, and see it as a construction rather than a timeless or homogenous entity.

In an introduction to their work on post-national Spain, Bermúdez, Cortijo Ocaña and McGovern state: “The archeological move towards origins is always necessary when discussing issues of national identity, language, and territory” (vii). However, it is this tendency to find singular, linguistically and nationally determined origins that has left Galician studies short-sighted. I agree with Kirsty

Hooper when she says that a literary history that has limited nation to a single language has created a number of “lagoas e ausencias,” and that as a result, Galician literary history has suffered “a ausencia de voces social e politicamente marxizadas” [“the absence of socially and politically marginalized voices”] (65). Critics of Galician literature need to move away from origins and purity if they are to account for the other positions and voices within Galician literature. Feminist historian Joan W. Scott has suggested abandoning the search for timeless essences and origins, in favor of understanding identities across history as discontinuous and varying categories. In order to uncover the plurality and ambiguity of identity in the past, Scott suggests the notion of identity as “echo”: a temporal and spatial repetition and re-articulation. When we do this,

Identity as a continuous, coherent, historical phenomenon is revealed to be a fantasy, a fantasy that erases the divisions and discontinuities, the absences and differences that separate subjects in time. Echo provides a gloss on fantasy and destabilizes any effort to limit the possibilities of “sustained metaphoricity” by reminding us that identity (in the sense both of sameness and selfness) is constructed in complex and diffracted relation to others. (“Fantasy Echo” 292)

For Scott, collective identity, as it depends on its repetition and re-articulation, is necessarily incomplete, fragmented and distorted as it reverberates through time and space, thereby allowing us to account for difference, ambiguity and plurality. Listening for the echoes of *galeguidade* across texts is, I think, a useful approach to nineteenth-century Galician literature since the process must yield a definition of *galeguidade* that already accounts for linguistic and spatial displacement.

One of the sites from which Galician identity was (re)articulated in the nineteenth century was in literary discourse. As we have seen, print culture in nation building is by no means limited to Galicia but was a corner stone of nation building throughout the world. In Galicia, this project was not limited linguistically or geographically. Texts written in Galician and Castilian established a sense of Galician essence and character in readership within Galicia, Spain and abroad. The spaces from which intellectuals sought to establish Galician difference were not limited just to Galicia either. The influence of writers and periodicals of emigrant communities in places such as Buenos Aires and La Habana has been duly noted in studies dedicated to the role of the Diaspora in the process of building a Galician nation (Alonso Montero; Núñez Seixas).

An unusually heavy onus was placed on Galician letters to summon the nation into being. Literature's efficacy in creating the nation depended upon its ability to create a sense of what Anderson might call "community" or Sommer "intimacy." Writers were able to accomplish this through a wide number of metaphors; binding identity together with landscape using conventions such as the pathetic fallacy that worked to naturalize and territorialize national identities.¹ Likewise, literature was able to bring the nation together through metaphors of the nation as home. The home appears as a recurrent and powerful metaphor for the nation throughout the nineteenth century. Making nation synonymous with home could mean, by extension, that the members were like a

¹ The role of landscape in the literature of the *Rexurdimento* will be explored closely in Chapter Four. For a monograph on the role of landscape in the Galician national imaginary see María López Sáñez's *Paisaxe e nación* (2008).

family bound not only to a shared space but also to each other through a set of affective, economic, and biological bonds.² The idea of national identity as family also creates bonds across temporal lines, linking the present to the past and the future through ancestors and descendants respectively. Though ubiquitous in Galician literature, each repetition of the home often reveals varying ideological and affective relations which can allow us to recover the nation or homeland's ambiguities and discontinuities. In this chapter, I am going to look at how the idea of home has been articulated from different perspectives within Galician literature and how they can offer an alternative to the idea of home—or Galicia—as a hospitable, amenable space.

Architecturally and anthropologically several types of homes are common in Galicia. They are classified by class: poor farm houses, two-story stone homes, seigniorial *pazos* (Dobby 576-8); by utility and location: mills, coastal, interior, rural and urban (Mariño Ferro 53-7; Soraluze Blond 55-8); and aesthetics (Navascues Palacio). In Galician literature the home has been given a place of importance—drawing on their social and cultural importance, but also in more complex symbolic, metaphorical and structural ways. The most notable Galician home that often appears in Galician narrative is the *pazo*, yet there are many other types of homes. In her study of Valle-Inclán's work, María del Carmen Porrúa analyzes the diversity of domestic spaces and their importance in Valle-Inclán's *Comedias bárbaras*. She reveals the way in which spaces such as the

² While in this chapter I will be focusing on images of the actual home, in Chapters Three and Four, I will explore in greater detail the familial bonds of Galician literature. Chapter Three explores endogamous and exogamous relations and Chapter Four, sanguine/sanguinary bonds.

pazo, la casa labradora, la casa aldeana, la rectoral, el molino are used by Valle-Inclán, “para lograr una ambientación total de ese conglomerado humano” (191). This is true not just of Valle-Inclán’s work, but of all nineteenth-century literature. Comparing the different descriptions and utilization of these spaces by Galician authors, allows us to draw larger conclusions about the “conglomerado humano” that is Galician society.

To begin, we could look at two nearly identical articulations of the home in Galician literature, that in reality announce very different homes. The first is an articulation of the home from the perspective of the emigrant. This image of the home is one of the most consecrated and canonized images in Galician literature. The emigrant represents the domestic space—and by extension, the homeland—as an idealized home, as a longed-for site of origin and love, present only as absence. The second representation of the home is one that has not been as readily acknowledged within Galician literary studies but that is nevertheless common in nineteenth-century literature. This second home, unlike the first, is a space that is ensnaring, enclosing, and present even when one believes it to be absent. Interestingly these contrasting images both appear in texts written by Rosalía de Castro in the same year: “Adiós qu’eu voume,” Castro’s first poem in Galician which was published in 1861 in *El museo universal*, and was later re-edited for publication in *Cantares Gallegos* and the novel *Flavio*, written that same year in Castilian. When read together, the texts’ reverberations reveal ambiguous feelings towards “home,” making it unhomey or unfamiliar unto itself.

Rosalía de Castro—together with poets Manuel Curros Enríquez and Eduardo Pondal—has long been considered one of the key spokespersons of the incipient *galeguista* movement. “Adiós qu’eu voume” has long been considered one of the poet’s hallmark texts, marking the beginning of the *Rexurdimento*. Besides being one of the most anthologized of Castro’s poems, it has been placed on the monument to Rosalía de Castro and the emigrant in Santiago de Compostela’s *Paseo da Ferradura*. In “Adiós qu’eu voume,” Castro lends voice to the emigrant, an emblematic figure of the Galician imaginary, as he takes leave of his home and homeland, in search of work in America. The emigrant paradoxically defines and declares his true home/homeland to be that place where he will never again reside³: “Deixo á terra onde nacín/. . . Adios por sempre quisais.” The home, for the emigrant, is defined by a number of affective relations both to the land and the people: “Terra donde m’eu criei./Hortiña que quero tanto/Figueiriñas que prantei”; “Deixo amigos por estraños”; “Adiós tamén queridiña”. The speaker expresses a filial duty to the land, as a site of his personal history and the burial place of his ancestors: “Donde meu pai s’enterrou”. The penury and difficulties which characterized the politico-economic reality of the nineteenth century for the many Galicians who went abroad are omitted by Castro in this emigrant’s farewell. The *casiña* and the *terriña* are hospitable spaces of love and family for the emigrant, but they are here most pointedly absent. This is the idealized notion of home that emerges typically from the experience of emigration as Bhabha points out (*The Location of Culture*). As a fantastic space, a *casiña* and a *terriña* in Castro’s poem are both absent and

³ See Appendix for complete poem.

idealized, and like the many texts to follow in its wake, expound a *galeguidade* marked by the lack of a home; as the speaker of the poem states: “a miña terra n’ é miña,” which would suggest that home can never belong to the Galician subject: only as memory, imagination or fantasy.⁴

Elvira Romero, in her essay “Amusement Parks, Bagpipes, and Cemeteries: Fantastic Spaces of Galician Identity through Emigration” argues that the massive emigration which began in the 19th Century and continued throughout the 20th makes it difficult to limit *galeguidade* to a specific geographic space. In her analysis of contemporary Galician texts dealing with the emigrant, she concludes that “the idea of nation or home materializes in the space of the absent which can only be localized in the fantastic” (167). This supplanting of a real space for a “ghostly and fantastic space questions the idea of an actual *Galeguidade* as well as the localization of such concrete space: the nation” (167).

Of fantasy, Joan Scott reminds us that “it extracts coherence from confusion, reduces multiplicity to singularity. . . . It enables individuals and groups to give themselves histories. . . . And it can be used to study the ways in which history—a fantasized narrative that imposes sequential order on otherwise chaotic and contingent occurrences—contributes to the articulation of political identity” (289-90). If the fantastic, absent home is in fact a reduction of a more complex reality which has been suppressed for the sake of a political identity, as Scott would argue, we can use her idea of the echo to recover the denied

⁴ Ángel Loureiro has argued that Galician nationalism obeys the logic of state melancholia. The emigrant’s nostalgia for home can perhaps be interpreted as symptomatic of this nationalism constructed around the lack of nation.

multiplicity and confusion. Adding to Romero's observations on the home as that which is present only as absence, I suggest that there is within nineteenth-century Galician literature a complementary image of home: a home that is overwhelmingly present to the point of being stifling, detaining, enclosing, and frightening. For example, home for the protagonist of Pardo Bazán's "Las medias rojas" is a space she is condemned to live in (Chapter Four), or can represent a space of psychological imprisonment as it does for Nucha in *Los pazos de Ulloa*.

The words of the emigrant in "Adiós qu'eu voume," with which Castro announces a notion of *galeguidade* as the condition of being without a home and a nation are echoed that same year in the opening pages of *Flavio*. At the beginning of the novel, Flavio says farewell to his home, upon the death of his parents:

Casa que me ha visto nacer. Jardín en donde por primera vez aspiré de las flores. Fuentes cristalinas, bosque umbroso, en donde gemía el viento en las tardes del invierno, prado sonriente bañado por el primer rayo del sol, ¡adiós!. Adiós tranquilo hogar, techo amigo. . . Yo me ahogo en las blancas paredes de tus habitaciones mudas y sin ruido. Tu silencio y tu tranquilidad pesan sobre mi alma como la fría losa de un sepulcro. . . Nada me liga ya a estos lugares sombríos, que han sido por espacio de veinte años la cárcel de mi libertad. Desde hoy podré recorrer el mundo entero sin escuchar una voz que me detenga, y sin tener que volver los ojos llenos de lágrimas al lugar que dejo tras de mí. Cenizas de mis padres..., adiós... Yo os lloro, pero sonrío a la libertad, que me abraza y me saluda. (6-8)

With words nearly identical to those used by the emigrant—only this time written in Castilian—Castro is able to create an entirely different image of home from that of "Adiós qu'eu voume," that of a structure that actually burdens and stifles

the freedom of the subject. Leaving the home is not a traumatic parting but a celebration of freedom from the prison that is the home.

It is not only the home but the land as well that weighs upon Flavio. Critics such as Marina Mayoral and Benito Varela have focused on the novel's narrative structure and its expressions of romantic sentimentalism (such as Castro's continual recourse to the pathetic fallacy), which reveals, interestingly, a correspondence between the character's internal emotional state and the external natural world which comes not from the subject's projection onto the landscape, but rather the landscape imposing itself on the subject, which too lends to the notion of Galicia as force which imposes itself on and determines the Galician subject (Chapter Four).

In this sense *Flavio* can be read as the counter-emigrant text, not that of the Galician subject who cannot return home but rather that of the Galician subject who is enclosed by a home from which he cannot escape. The "Adiós" takes place continually throughout the novel, as Flavio repeatedly fails in his attempts at departure in spite of his "instinto errante" (62). What keeps Flavio from leaving is his relationship with his girlfriend Mara, which unlike the emigrant's loving relationship with his *queridíña*, is marked by a destructive masochism (see Chapter Four). Rather than a loving space, the home is represented as a site of torment.

Flavio moves between various residences throughout the novel: his parents' home, Mara's house, several *posadas*, etc. After leaving his own home and that of Mara, he settles on a *posada*—a public house—owned by a woman and her daughter, whom Flavio will ultimately drive to suicide. Flavio initially

finds the *posada* to his liking for its dissimilarity to his own home. It is therefore much to his surprise that Flavio learns that this house is in fact his own. On her deathbed, the owner reveals that she had doctored a will in order to inherit a house whose legitimate inheritor is none other than Flavio. The patriarchal home is ultimately inescapable for Flavio who, in spite of his efforts, left his home only to go home. The common narrative of the Galician who is not able to return home is rewritten here by Castro to establish a Galician identity over-determined by territory, a Galician identity whereby Galicians cannot be anywhere but home, captives of land and the family, much to their own dismay and attempts at flight. Flavio, who declares that his “*patria es el mundo*,” must rather make a world of his homeland because for him there is no world beyond the walls of the *pazo*.

Flavio makes explicit those feelings that are omitted from the emigrant’s text; that is, the realization that as a real space, the home or the homeland has become inhospitable and must be left behind. This experience of the home as both a familiar and unfamiliar space or an unhomely home, which is produced by the reverberations between Castro’s “*Adiós qu’eu voume*” and *Flavio*, can perhaps be read, not as ideological inconsistency on Castro’s part but rather as a characteristic of the uncertain and ambivalent position of Galicia as a nation during the second half of the nineteenth century. In *The Location of Culture*, Homi Bhabha writes that in the occupied or stateless nation, the home is often experienced as an unhomely space: “Although the ‘unhomely’ is a paradigmatic colonial and post-colonial condition, it has a resonance that can be heard distinctly, if erratically, in fictions that negotiate the powers of cultural difference

in a range of transhistorical sites.” (9), or, as Castro’s emigrant expresses it, as the paradoxical situation in which for the subject, “miña terra n’é miña.”

The experience of the home as unhomey in nationalist and regionalist literature, also suggests that within the national-regional movement there lies the possibility of isolation and entrapment if the national border is indeed established and secured; the *patria* might, as Flavio fears, be exclusive of the *mundo*. Again, Bhabha helps to explain this fear: “The recesses of the domestic space become sites for history’s most intricate invasions. In that displacement, the borders between home and the world become confused; and, uncannily, the private and the public become part of each other, forcing upon us a vision that is as divided as it is disorienting” (9). Reconciling the world and the home and distinguishing between them is Flavio’s great dilemma. This was precisely the concern of intellectuals such as Emilia Pardo Bazán, who feared that regionalism was exclusive of a more universal subjectivity. In her speech given in honor of Rosalía de Castro, Pardo Bazán stated: “la noción de *patria* llega á subvertirse, y los regionalistas de Buena fe la reducen á las fronteras de su región, y aun hay quien la circunscribe á una localidad determinada” (*De mi tierra* 38).

Regionalism threatened to reduce *patria* to Galicia, whereas Pardo Bazán imagined that one’s *patria* ought to be universal in reach: “la patria representa una idea más alta aun, y la patria, para los españoles todos, donde quiera que hayan nacido, desde la zona tropical hasta el apartado cabo de Finisterre” (40). These anti-regionalist comments were received by Murguía and his followers as incendiary remarks that sparked the animosity between Pardo Bazán and the

regionalists.⁵ The debate that opened between them seems all the more ironic since Flavio expresses that same sentiment in Castro's novel.

In a recent analysis of other poems by Rosalía de Castro, contemporary Galician poet and literary critic María do Cebreiro Rábade Villar has offered a reading of Castro's poem "Extranxeira na súa patria," that reveals the ambiguous relation of the female to her home. In doing so, she is able to problematize the image of the nation that Galician studies have centered on. The female character, sitting on the road—a border space for Cebreiro (242)—is essentially "unhomed," to use Bhabha's term. For Cebreiro, the alienated female subject experiences a kind of emigration that is psychological rather than physical: "the feeling of exile does not depend on the appearance of Castile, which is understood as the referent of opposition for Galician territorial identity. That is, Rosalía can recognize the house and know she belongs to it, but at the same time she is showing us that she has crossed a boundary: it is possible to belong and yet not belong to a place of one's own" (242). A similar move takes place in *Flavio*, in which Flavio lives a simultaneous feeling of belonging and unbelonging to the family estate.

It is also worth noting that emigration is represented typically as a masculine experience in Galician literature. In these texts, the masculine wandering subjects convert the female characters into part of the landscape/home that the emigrant will be leaving behind. Emigrant writer Novás-Calvo wrote a number of pieces upon his return to Galicia from Cuba, one of which was an essay entitled "Hombres de mar y mujeres de la orilla." Not only

⁵ Many scholars have commented on the debates between Pardo Bazán and Murguía, Pondal, Curros Enríquez, etc. See Chapter One or Valera, Gabilondo, and Bravo-Villasante.

does emigration convert Galicia and the beyond into masculine and feminine spaces, emigration also entails a linguistic displacement. In a story about his return to Galicia, “Un encuentro singular” (1931), the male protagonist returns to the maternal home, the only space in which Galician is spoken, only to come out again and return to Cuba. In literary works about emigration, the male leaves behind a home which he then idealizes. The female character who is left behind, who is tied to the land and the hardships associated with it often experiences this home in the opposite way: an imprisonment, an enclosure, and the affective bonds to this home are usually less loving and more those of fear. This home can even become the typical Gothic structure from which the female characters attempt to escape, as can be seen in *Los pazos de Ulloa* (1886).

This idea had been in gestation since the *Rexurdimento*, if not even earlier and has been common in many works of Galician literature about *os emigrantes*, but nowhere do we see the contrast between the masculine and female experiences of home more clearly illustrated than in *¡A besta!* (1899) by Xan de Masma. *¡A Besta!* has been hailed by literary critics as one of the first novels written in Galician with an explicit, socio-political and naturalist bent (Alonso Montero 61; Hermida 18; Carballo Calero 448), yet it has received very little attention from critics. The novel was published in La Habana as the work of Xan de Masma, a pseudonym for whom many believe to be Patricio Valentín Sixto Delgado Luaces (Alonso Montero, Hermida, Vilavedra). Whatever the name of the author, we do know from the book’s prologue that he was a Galician emigrant in Cuba. Much of the criticism on this work has focused on the social commentary in the novel. For Carballo Calero, “a novela ten un propósito de

sátira social, e ataca con caraxe o despotismo caciquil, carregando as tintas no deseño dun señor de xeitos e apetitos feudás, que nos é presentando como unha besta noxenta” [“The novel’s intention is to offer a social satire, and to angrily attack the despotism of the *caciques*, exaggerating the figure of a *señor* with feudal form and appetites who is presented to us as a nauseating beast”] (448). It is not only the *caciques* that Xan de Masma portrays as “as bestas,” but the Galician worker who has been reduced to an animalistic state because of an exploitative economic system. As he puts it in his own introduction to the novel: “besta e cansada é probe labrador gallego” [bestial and tired is the Galician worker”] (43).

In her study of the language of *iA besta!*, Carme Hermida offers a descriptive account of the frequent use of vulgarisms, dialectisms, popularisms which characterize Masma’s prose (24-31). While she points out that these are common recourses utilized by many writers in Galician during the nineteenth century, I think we can say that they play a more structural role in Masma’s novel. Masma declared that naturalism presupposes a more explicit need to find a language that mirrors the actual oral language of the classes he wished to represent. We can perhaps understand the formal aspects of Masma’s language together with Carballo Calero’s understanding of the grotesque and crude elements in the language as part of the author’s project: “Xan de Masma empresta ao naturalismo a linguaxe descarnada pra describer e poñer en aborrecimento a abxeición do caciquismo na súa terra” [“Xan de Masma lends naturalism a stark language to describe and vilify the abjection of *caciquismo* in his land”] (448). When describing those in power, the naturalist narrator

becomes fixated on the corporeal and the eschatological, aiming to produce a physical reaction in the reader: “¡Preparádevos leutores e tapade os fociños por si acaso! O que vades a ler, vaivos a cheirar” [“Prepare yourselves readers and cover your snouts just in case! What you are going to read is going to reek”] (65), “vámonos prá casa a tomar vometivo” [“let us go home and take an emetic”] (74), “sempre que vou a referir aqueles roubos e aquelas lástemas, revólveseme o calleiro, a bilis amárgame a gorxa, e co noxo dame ganas de gomitar” [“whenever I am about to mention those robberies and offences, my head spins and the bile burns my throat, and the nausea gives me the urge to vomit”] (131).

Despite its naturalist language, the degree to which the work ought to be considered a naturalist one is open to debate. This is perhaps owing to the author’s own professed ambivalent relation to the naturalist movement. In his introduction, Xan de Masma confesses a certain debt to Zola’s naturalism, even taking the title from his work from Zola’s *La bête humaine* (Carballo Calero 448). However, like Pardo Bazán, he is careful to distance himself from the naturalist movement:

Non son Zola nin vou pra aló. É máis, danme noxo as súas novelas. Creo e creerei astra morrer, que a misión do que escribe pró púbrico, é de xuntar o *utile et dulce* de Horacio, e de señar deleitando, e de facer canto ben se poda, e de levar consolo á ialma do que sofre pra que teña forzas pra seguir sufrindo; e de azoutar o que está cheo e rico pra que teña caridade; e unha e outra cousa non se poden cumprir sin mirar o ceo, sin precurar copiar ó pé da letra o Evaxelio de Xesucristo.

[I am not Zola nor do I want to go down that route. What’s more, his novels make me ill. I believe, and will believe until my death, that the mission of the writer who writes for the public is to assemble the *utile et dulce* of Horace, and to teach while pleasing, and to do all the good possible and to bring consolation to the soul

that suffers so that it will have the strength to keep on suffering; and to whip those who are rich and sated so that they will be charitable; and no one of these things can be done without looking towards heaven, without trying to copy the Gospel of Jesus Christ down to the letter.] (42)

Carballo Calero considers this Catholic element to be at odds with the naturalist project: “Pero Xan de Masma non é determinista, senón católico” [“But Xan de Masma isn’t a determinist but rather a Catholic”] (448). While his Catholic zeal may distance him from French naturalists such as Zola, it certainly permits us to think of his novel in relation to those of Emilia Pardo Bazán, whom the narrator of *¡A besta!* declares to be the “honra de Galicia” (142-143). Pardo Bazán’s own Catholic ideology has led scholars to dismiss her professed naturalism, or to create labels such as “naturalismo católico” (Brown, González Herrán). Like Pardo Bazán’s, Masma’s characters escape social and biological determinism through redemption. Less spiritual a redemption than in the works of Emilia Pardo Bazán, redemption for Masma, as Carballo Calero expresses it, comes in the guise of “formas técnico-económicas, culturás e sociás, co cal o libro maniféstase en fin como pertecente ao xénero das utopías” [technico-economic forms, cultural and social, with which the book ultimately manifests as a work that belongs to the genre of Utopias”] (448). Rather than seeing how Catholic ideology undermines the naturalist project of these authors, there needs to be an attempt to consider Galician naturalism in its own right, a subject we will return to in Chapters Three and Four in order to explore what critics have considered to be inconsistencies in Pardo Bazán’s naturalism in relation to Galicia’s politico-cultural context. Masma and Pardo Bazán alike sought to reconcile a number of

conflicting ideologies in their works. Masma, like Pardo Bazán at differing stages of her career, was a staunch supporter of the *carlista* movement, a fervent Catholic, and critic of the *caciquismo* that plagued the Galician countryside; yet, he maintained a less troubled relation to the regionalist movement, as Modesto Hermida points out: “era, ó que se pode observar pola súa obra narrativa, un convencido galeguista, [e] non dubidou en acudir ás citas sobre Manuel Murguía, Curros Enríquez e outros prohombres do galeguismo, citas que [...] o comprometían co liberalismo de Murguía e con ese particular revolucionarismo republicano de Curros Enríquez” [“he was, from what we can see in his narrative work, a convinced *galeguista*, [and] he didn’t hesitate to turn to quotes by Manuel Murguía, Curros Enríquez and other big figures of *galeguismo*, quotes that [...] identified him with Murguía’s liberalism and with that particular Republican revolutionary position of Curros Enríquez”] (20).

Masma himself states in the introduction to his work that his project moves in contradictory directions: “eu son partidario do progreso material, pro tamén da tradición” [“I am a supporter of material progress, but also of tradition”] (46). The advantage that Masma’s writing offers when trying to understand the complexities that marked cultural life in Galicia during this period is that it bridges several ideological and territorial gaps. Through emigration, *iA besta!* is able to offer a perspective of Galicia from both inside and outside the geographic limits of nation and reveal the degree to which the experience of home or nation is determined at least in part by gender.

iA besta!, the story of two siblings Xan and Pepiña, poor but hardworking country folk, is told by an emigrant narrator, whose own experience of emigration

becomes part of the novel. The characters undergo a series of partings from home for various reasons. In the opening scene, we are presented with the small home where Xan, Pepiña, their father Antón and their grandmother live. When the family is threatened with the loss of their home by their greedy landlord, Antón asks his daughter to bring their landlord a gift in order to win his favor and stave off eviction: “Vaslo a levar de regalo ó amo, [...] que desde que por perda da derradeira cosecha non lle puideren pagar a renda, tenme seco, amenazándome co despoxo, e eu choro e afíxome sin consolo pedíndolle á túa mai, que debe estar no ceo, porque era moi boa, que non me boten deste lugar donde nacín, e donde nacíchedes ti e máis Xan, meus filliños da ialma” [“You are going to bring it to the landlord as a gift [...] since we could not pay him the rent because of the failed crop; he has drained me, and threatens me with eviction, and I cry and am afflicted without comfort, begging your mother, who must be in heaven because she was so good, that they will not throw us out of this place where I was born, and where you and Xan, my dear children, were also born”] (51). Like the emigrant in Castro’s poem, the ancestral home is not the property of the family. Antón’s greatest fear is to have to leave that home, a move that would be equivalent to death: “Acostumbrárase a ver de pícaro o torrente da Fervencia, e aquelas penas enormes, das que facían moimentos prá súa relixión os celtas, nosos antepasados, e non sabía vivir fóra de alí” [“He was accustomed as a child to seeing the flow of the Fervencia, and those enormous rocks from which the Celts, our ancestors, would make monuments for their religion, and he did not know how to live away from there”] (53).

Because of the draft,⁶ Xan is the first to have to leave his home. While historically and politically military enlistment and emigration are different processes, one can find in nineteenth-century Galician literature, a literary and cultural tradition that connects the two. Manuel Curros Enríquez, an emigrant to Cuba like Xan de Masma and a principal poet of the *Rexurdimento*, was also the author of a short novel written in Castilian, *Paniagua y compañía* (1878). The novel begins with a young man waiting on a dock to leave A Coruña:

había alguien que devoraba las torturas de un dolor supremo; alguien que se retorció en el paroxismo de una angustia infinita y, mísera excepción del general contento, atravesaba esa crisis espantosa del que tiene que renunciar a su patria y a su hogar por ir en busca de un porvenir que ofrecer a su indigente familia, dulce objeto de sus desvelos, santa personificación de todas nuestras glorias, arca sacratísima de todos nuestros recuerdos y de todas nuestras esperanzas. (846)

The reader assumes the young man is awaiting a commercial steamship and that Paniagua is the proprietor; however, we soon learn that he is heading off to fight in the Carlist Wars, in order to make money to help his family. Literarily, the farewell is familiar to the Galician reader as the farewell so often found in literature about emigration. In this farewell, Curros Enríquez plays with the idea of *compañía*, both as business and military company. Another such case in which military service and emigration are interrelated in literature is in Rosalía de Castro's poem "Na tomba do xeneral inglés Sir John Moore. Morto na batalla de Elviña (Coruña) o 16 de xaneiro de 1809," published in *Follas novas* (1880). Despite belonging to an invading army—or perhaps because he belongs to an

⁶ The draft is an important element in nineteenth-century Galician and Spanish literatures, and will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

enemy army of Spain—the poet shows great sympathy for the fallen soldier, sympathizing with him as if he were an emigrant, a victim of the Spanish state:

Ouh arboredos [...] mansos ríos [...] / I os frescos campos donde John correra...! / Si a vós amargo xemidor sospiro / chegou daquel que no posteiro alento / vos dixo adios! Con amorosas ansias / a vós volvendo o pensamento ultimo, / que da súa mente se escapaba inxele, / con qué pesar, con qué dolor sin nome, / con qué estrañeza sin igual diríades / tamén adios! Ó que tan lonxe, tanto, / da patria, soio, á eternidá baixaba!

[O copses [...] tame rivers [...] and the fresh fields where John used to run! / If to you reached bitter the mournful sigh / The parting thought of his transparent mind / Which sped to you / Bidding “good-bye” with anxiety / And love entwined in the dying gasp— / With what heartache, with what inexpressible sorrow, / With what un matched surprise you must have said also / “Good-bye” to him who so distant, far / From the homeland, slowly sank into eternity!⁷] (374-5).

The soldiers’ “adiós” for Castro and Curros echoes that of the emigrant. This is also true in Masma’s work. For him, the draft, that “temido sorteo que rouba pró exército os fillos ós probes, que os ricos teñen tres ou catro mil réas que lles costa un sustituto” [“the feared lottery that robs the children of the poor for the army, since the rich have the three or four thousand *reales* that it costs to send a substitute”] (52), is comparable to emigration. The narrator describes the effect of both upon the poor of Galicia:

Aqueles pais e aquelas mais que vían medrar os seus fillos, pra que o rei os levase ou pra que tivesen que deixar patria e lareira, co fin de buscar noutras terras a súa mai gallega, e as fillas pra que si eran bonitas, se fixesen costumeiras e por ende, outra cousa, e si eran feas

⁷ English translation by Eduardo Freire Canosa, available at <<http://www.rosalia--de--castro.webs.com/#Poem11>> accessed on March 29, 2010.

estivesen na casa pastando o gando e cargando feixes de herba, non podía ser un pobo de alegría.

[Those fathers and mothers who saw their sons grow, only for the king to take them or for them to have to leave their homeland and hearth, in order to find new ones in lands other than their Galician motherland, and their daughters, if they were pretty would become seamstresses, and by necessity, other things, and if they were ugly would end up at home grazing the cattle and carrying bundles of hay, these could not comprise a people of happiness.](57)

Both emigration and enlistment become characteristics and consequences of an exploitative Spanish monarchy and economic system. Enlistment/Emigration or the abandon of the *patria*/hearth that these young Galician men are forced to undergo, also has a devastating effect on the Galician women for whom the home that the emigrant is forced to leave often becomes a torment.

When Xan, in *iA Besta!*, takes leave of his family, the narrative prose is interrupted by the song of the company of young men whose ranks Xan is to join: “Adiós terriña querida/que vou servir ó reiiii/pro inda que non volva/de ti non me olvidareiiiiii” [“Farewell dear land/I must go serve the king/and though I may not return/I will never forget you”] (118). In doing so, Masma symbolically returns to the tradition of poetry in which emigrants take leave of Galicia with song and verse, and reveals the sense of nostalgia and melancholy that afflicts the emigrant. Unlike in Castro’s “Adiós qu’eu voume,” the women who stay behind answer the farewell: “iXa se foron! ¡Cántos non volverán!/Malditas sean as quintas/e astra o rei que as fundou,/que rouban o fillo á mai/que nas entrañas criou” [“They have gone already! How many will not return!/Damn the drafts/and even the king that ordered them,/that rob the son from the mother/who in her womb created him”] (119). Masma is always quick to

understand emigration as a two-fold problem: men who leave and women who stay behind;⁸ Rosalía de Castro does not really account for the female's experience with emigration until the publication of *Follas novas* (1880), which contains a section entitled "As viudas d'os vivos e as viudas d'os mortos," which comprises several poems about the female experience of abandonment, although, the literary topos of female abandonment by the emigrant is also an important part of *La hija del mar*, published two years before *Flavio*. Though the husband in *La hija del mar* didn't emigrate in search of work to earn money for his family and was abandoning his wife, her experience is much like that of the women in "As viudas" who live emotionally unfulfilled and lonely lives, raising children and working to earn a subsistence living.

Shortly after her brother's departure, Pepiña, too, is displaced from the home when the landlord Policarpio decides to evict the family after Pepiña refuses to be his lover. Shortly after the eviction, Antón dies and Pepiña is left an orphan, with no home of her own. The second part of *¡A Besta!*, which takes place some years later, deals more with the relationship between Pepiña and Pedro, another soldier/emigrant and her future husband. Pedro, shortly after meeting Pepiña, begins a series of travels throughout the world as a Carlist soldier, as a war criminal, and an exile. Pepiña, the only character who doesn't leave Galicia, fares no better than the men. If the men fear being away from home, Pepiña faces the threat of entrapment in the home of Policarpio. In the second part of the novel, she is captured and brought to Policarpio's home one night, drugged,

⁸ This is the very theme of a newspaper article, "Hombres de mar y mujeres de orilla. Instantáneas gallegas" (1931) by Galician emigrant Lino Novas Calvo, upon returning home from La Habana for the first time.

stripped down and left in the bed for Policarpio to rape. Pepiña's devotion to the Virgin Mary and her steadfast vigilance over her chastity seem to pay off.

Policarpio, ready to rape the girl, suffers a heart attack, agonizes for a few days and eventually dies, and Pepiña is saved from what has been her nightmare throughout the novel. This *deus ex machina* is the element most common of naturalist texts in Galicia whereby the social order of events is subverted by divine intervention. Pepiña is redeemed and the social and economic determinants that should have allowed for her abuse by the wealthy Policarpio are avoided.

While Pedro is away—at war, in prison, or exile—he continually longs for home and Pepiña. It is this nostalgia that constructs the home through its very absence as an ideal space. When in exile in France, Pedro entertains the French with a musical performance: “ó fin, sal noso paisano, e ó aparecer no escenario o xentil mozo unha nube de aprausos o saludou. Saluda el tamén, e despois dun hábil prelude, as notas desa melancónica canción de Curros Enríquez—“unha noite na eira do trigo”—levaron ó delirio o entusiasmo dos gabachos” [“finally, our countryman came out, and upon appearing on the stage a cloud of applause greeted the gentleman. He greeted them also, and after a masterful prelude, the notes of that melancholy song by Curros Enríquez—‘unha noite na eira do trigo’—raised the enthusiasm of the crowd of foreigners to delirium”] (273). The song by Curros Enríquez, itself about emigration and nostalgia for home, far from whipping the singer into a frenzy, makes him sad for home: “Aqueles doces acentos falábanlle da terriña, onde tiña o pensamento, e non hai nada coma o recordo da patria, cando está un en terra estranxeira; cando un é probe emigrado

pra que quen astra os colchós de prumas son duros croios. Entón ve a bandeira que cobixou a súa cuna e chora sen podelo remediar” [“Those sweet accents spoke to him of the land, where his thoughts stood, and there is nothing like the memory of the homeland, when one is in a foreign land; when one is a poor emigrant for whom even down cushions are like hard pebbles. Then he sees the flag that sheltered him in the crib and he cries uncontrollably”] (273). Geographic displacement foregrounds language (“doce acentos”), family (“patria,” “cuna”), nation (“bandeira”), territory (“terriña”) as the distinctive markers of identity. Emigration, both here and in the text, is able to erase class difference. Life in Galicia is marked by class difference and inequality for the narrator of the text; this is evident in earlier descriptions of economic disparity in the novel: “Entre os nobres e os frades, pois, tiñan dominado o país, e us e outros convertían en escravos ós campesinos, si ben a escravitude dos segundos era moito máis levadeira” [“Between the nobility and the clergy, then, the entire country was dominated, and each of them converted the peasants into slaves, even if the slavery of the latter was much more bearable”] (57), and “Sin escolas; sin terras propias pra labrar; monopolizados os montes comú polos caciques de tódolos tempos, o labrador foi peón que ganaba catro réas, unha cazola de caldo e unha coda de pan mouro de mestura” [“Without schools, without their own lands to work, the public hills are monopolized by the eternal *caciques*, and the worker was the peasant who earned four *reales*, a bowl of soup and a piece of brown bread for a salary”] (57). Class difference in Galicia leads to both the metaphoric and literal rape of the countryside and poor: “en fin, todos os lacazás da vila que solo van ás aldeas a ensinar vicios e non virtudes. [...] ¡Cantas probes mozas de

aldeas perden a súa honra agarradiña cos señoritos da vila nesas bacanales!
¡Cantas choran despois!” [“after all, all of the truants from the villages only come to the small towns to teach vices and not virtues. [...] How many poor girls from the small towns lose their precious honor with young men of the villages during those feasts! How many lament it later!”] (100-1). This is exactly what nearly happens to Pepiña. Yet, through the process of emigration, national identity is experienced in such a way as to be unmediated by class, and even “colchós de pruma son duros croios,” as the narrator states in the above quote.

This new homeland—language, family, nation, geography—free of class privilege, is constructed from abroad. In the novel, this experience of emigration lays the groundwork literally for a new home. In Cuba, Xan and Pedro are reunited. Now Xan, the poor worker and Pedro, the wealthy *señorito*, are on equal footing. Xan informs Pedro of his plan to return to Galicia: “Co meu traballo e os alcances, teño uns dous mil pesos aforrados, e con istos pensaba irme pra aló, casarme con Ramona de Pedrido, tomar un bon lugar en arrendo e con máis ventaxas que aqueles probes labrexos, pois teño cartos pra comprar o gando meu, poñerme a traballar e recoller a Pepiña” [“With my work and earnings, I have around two thousand pesos saved, with which I thought about going there, to marry Ramona de Pedrido, rent a good place and live with more advantages than other poor laborers, since I have enough money to buy my own livestock, I’ll go back to work and take care of Pepiña”] (240). Xan, through emigration, has the ability to return to Galicia and live in a “bon lugar,” free of exploitation by landowners such as Policarpio. Pedro decides to enlist Xan’s help in constructing a new home for himself in Galicia, his dream home, that he will

share with Pepiña upon his return and their marriage: “Vaite canto máis antes; xa che darei o plano. Alí hai cantería abondo, pedra, cal e madeira. Si eu vivo, irei pra aló a ser feliz coa miña ruliña; si morro, será a casa pra ela e pra ti” [Go as soon as you can; I’ll give you the plans. There you will find that stonework abounds, stone is like wood. If I survive, I will go there to be happy with my little girl; if I die, the house will be for her and for you”] (241). Pedro’s plan isn’t to return to Galicia and live in the family’s aristocratic home, but to create a new home, one that belongs to the *señorito* and *labrega*, ending the exploitation that runs rampant throughout the first and most of the second parts of the novel.

Xan returns and builds the perfect home, which is described in great detail at the end of the novel: “¡Mañífica era a casa! Había primeiro ó frente unha galería de cristales que collía todo o ancho do edificio. [...]. Non era pois un palacio dun grande, pro era a boa casa dun que ten medianas riquezas” [“The house was magnificent! First, there was a gallery of windows in the front that ran along the widest part of the building [...]. It wasn’t the palace of a bigwig, but rather the good house of someone of moderate riches”] (287). Pepiña, with her own experience of emigration—or, abandonment, entrapment, displacement—has also shed some of her class markings and acquired new ones; she has become a *señora*, according to another aristocrat: “Señora sí, porque vosté é tanto coma a duquesa de Osuna, pola súa hermosura e pola súa bencianza” [“Señora yes, because you are as much as the Duchess of Osuna, both in beauty and in upbringing”] (293). In spite of her level of education during these years, and her shift in economic class, Pepiña does not merely abandon one class for another, she manages to pertain to both classes, or simply deny the class system in Galicia.

Or to put it another way, she materially obtains a higher class status but refuses the identity which comes with it. She says: “Señora non... non me soa ben ese nome porque non a son. Pepa ou Pepiña a secas” [“Señora, no... that name doesn’t sound right to me because it is not who I am. Pepa or just plain Pepiña”] (293). She is simply Pepa, neither Señora nor peasant.

Though Xan de Masma finds a fictional solution to Galicia’s problems of *caciquismo*, displacement, emigration, poverty, vice, etc., this perfect home continues to be a fiction, a creation of the emigrant narrator whose own experience frames this story. It is important to remember that the narrator is also a character in the text. Like Xan and Pepiña, he knows the torments of poverty in Galicia and like Xan and Pedro, he has suffered in Cuba and has longed for home. The narrator’s tone is characterized simultaneously by anger and nostalgia for Galicia. Anger at the ruling classes and living conditions, yet there is a melancholy and nostalgia that accompanies his descriptions of the land, customs and people:

¡Perdóame, leutores!, Non o poido remediar. Sempre que me ocupo daquelas vexaciós que de neno contemprei; sempre que vou a referir aqueles robos e aqueles lástemas, revólveseme o calleiro, a bilis amárgame a gorxa, e co noxo dame ganas de gomitir.

Eu falo daqueles temos. Despois saín de aló e pelegrino polo mundo andiven e ando pidíndolle a Dios traballo [...]

[Pardon me, readers! I cannot help it. Every time that I think about the abuses that I contemplated as a child, every time that I am about to talk about those robberies and those abuses, my head spins, the bile burns my throat and the nausea gives me the urge to vomit.

I am speaking of those topics. After I left there, I have wandered like a pilgrim throughout the world asking God for work [...]] (131)

The adverse physical reaction produced in him upon remembering past injustices, is accompanied by a nostalgia and idealization of those things he loved and misses. The narrator recalls his own departure, and offers his own emigrant's farewell:

¡E léveme o demo sífón se me enchen de bágoas os ollos! Porque é moi triste deixar a mai chorando; deixar a terriña dos primeiros amores; deixar aqueles valles feiticieiros, aqueles montes xigantes, aquelas fontiñas que sorten das penas, aqueles regos que fan crecer a herba nos prados, aquelas carballeiras sombrías, aquelas terras onde crece o maíz sabroso, aqueles xilgueiros, ruiseñols e rulas, aquelas meiguiñas da ialma, e co ato ó lombo vir pra onde non nos conocen nin nos queren e astra nos chaman patóns, coma sinón fóramos fillos de Dios; como si os gallegos fóramos cagotes daqueles que na Edad Media arroxaban as sociedades do seu seo; coma si estivérvamos condenados a andar sempre polo mundo sin pátreas nin lareiras, coma o Xudío Errante. Deixar todo isto; deixar as nosas mulleriñas pra que as padreen aqueles ladrós, é ben cousa de chorar sinón fósemos homes.

[And may the devil take me if my eyes weren't filled with tears! Because it is very sad to leave one's mother crying; leave the land of one's first love; leave those enchanting valleys, those gigantic hills, those springs that cure your ills, those showers that make the grass grow in the fields, those shady oak groves, those lands where the tastiest corn grows, those goldfinches, nightingales and turtle doves, those lovely witches, and with a bundle strapped to one's back come somewhere where no one knows us and even call us dumb, as if we weren't also children of God; as if the Galicians were lepers like those who in the Middle Ages were expelled from the city limits; as if we were condemned to wander forever throughout the world with neither a homeland nor a hearth like the Wandering Jew. To leave all of this; to leave our women so that those thieves can take them would be something worth crying over if we weren't men.] (133)

The narrator has recourse to many of the same images as those in Castro's farewell: the lover left behind, the landscape, the flora, the springs, and the birds.

As he acknowledges the hardships of leaving, he again recognizes the dangers

that women face by staying behind. Here Galician identity is characterized by the condition of being “sin pátreia nin lareira” [“without homeland nor hearth”]. This idea of Galicia as an absent home/nation that defines the narrator’s experience is a counterpoint to the experience of Xan and Pedro.

The narrator’s personal nostalgia at times interrupts the story of Xan, Pepiña and Pedro. For example, the narrator is from the same place as the characters: “¡Cibdad de M... donde nacín! O teu fillo desterrado nesta terra [Cuba], nosa astra aier e agora extranxeira, conságrache unha lembranza” [“City of M... where I was born! Your son exiled in Cuba, ours until yesterday and now foreign territory, blesses your memory”](55). Memory becomes an important tool in recreating the nation from abroad. He describes at length feasts such as that of Corpus Christi. However he is aware that his memory may have lacunae and traces of fiction: “Si se me olvidou algún, e algún leutor o recorda, sepa que fai vinteseis anos que non os vexo” [“If I have forgotten something, and some reader should remember it, know that it has been twenty-six years since I have last seen the place”] (59). Here we learn that unlike Xan and Pedro, our narrator has never returned home. Home for him is memory and fiction; we can say figuratively that like Pedro the narrator, too, has a plan for a home, but it is never built.

Masma seems to illustrate González-Millán’s belief that the nation in the nineteenth century could only exist as literary convention. For the narrator, fiction becomes the vehicle for returning to the nation and the home: “Pro deixemos a Xan en Cuba, e volvamos prá nosa terra, que ista non é. . . . E pra Galicia vamos; e fóramonos si aquilo non estivera inda peor que esto” [“Let’s leave Xan in Cuba, and return to our land, because this one is not ours. . . . Let us

depart for Galicia; and we left as if that place wasn't going to be even worse than this one]" (129). The ease with which the narrator can move between Cuba and Galicia, is not available to him in reality. Instead he bridges the distance between fantasy and reality through his fiction, allowing us to move not only between Cuba and Galicia, but back and forth from the narrator's penury and hardship and to Xan, Pepiña, and Pedro's happy ending. Even the happy romantic reunions between Xan and Ramona, and Pedro and Pepiña, also only exist in fiction, as the narrator reveals that he will never again see the woman that he left behind. Speaking nostalgically of the harvest season he remembers several of the women of his hometown working in the fields: "Era de verse a nosa Pepiña descalza de pé e perna, [...] e a cheirona Pepa de Hilario, e, a miña carrapucheiriña... ¡que xa morreu e inda a choro!" ["Our Pepiña with her legs exposed, and Pepa de Hilario, and my own rosy-cheeked girl were a sight to see... I'm now nearing the end of my life and still I cry for her!"] (85-6).

Fiction and writing are the only tools available to this narrator to create a nation. The narrator states the importance of writing in Galician for this very purpose: "Así, e solo así se fai pátria. Falando no adro; sacando a nosa língua do sopor en que dorme desde o sigro XV" ["That way, and only that way can one create a fatherland. Speaking in our language; shaking our language from the lethargy in which it has slept since the fifteenth century"] (143). Not only does the Galician novel revitalize the Galician language, summon the *patria*, and bridge the geographical distance that separates Galicians living in diasporic communities, it becomes a hybrid genre capable of offering multiple vantage points and reconciling various conflicts and oppositions.

The experience of emigration in this novel crosses and establishes boundaries: sexual, geographic, and economic. The narrator, through the novel, is able to offer a multiple vision: one that is both masculine and feminine, errant and entrapped, poor and rich, home and abroad. The territorial displacement involves reconciling not only spatial but linguistic difference as well. One of the most salient aspects of the language of the text, and one that Carme Hermide does not comment on in her detailed study of the language of the novel, is the amount of different languages that are used. The novel is written mostly in Galician but a number of languages are employed in the text: Latin, Euskera, Portuguese, Castilian, *Castrapo*, French, and Italian. In war and in exile, there are many cross-linguistic encounters, most of which occur in Castilian (i.e., 125), but Pedro is addressed in Italian by a priest (260), and speaks French when he goes into exile (271). While in the Basque Country, there are moments of incomprehension when someone speaks in Euskera. Sometimes hearing Euskera, another regional language, is accompanied by a feeling of sympathy, such as when the Basque mother sweeps up her child from Pedro and murmurs affectionate phrases to the child in her arms (253). Yet, at other times, Pedro finds the incomprehension of the regional language dangerous and frustrating, such as when he is stopped by Carlist security:

Socediu que el casi non entendía o gallego nin o castexo, e que nos non entendíamos tampouco aquela lingua que estivo o demo aprendendo vintedous anos sin podelo conseguir. Mal satisfeito coas nosas explicacións, incomodouse e escramou:

--*Espías siendo fusilando pues.*

Fíxome falla toda a miña enerxía pra que aquel pedazo de bárbaro non fixese aquela barbaridá [...].

[“It so happened that he almost didn’t understand either Galician or Castilian, and that we didn’t understand that language that the Devil tried to learn for twenty-two years without any success. Unsatisfied with our explanations, he became irritated and exclaimed:
—*Spies being executing then.*
It took all of my energy to keep that barbarous oaf from carrying out that savagery [...].] (254)

Even though the narrator states the importance of writing and speaking in Galician, Pedro is also able to move between languages and also find camaraderie with characters beyond linguistic and national lines.

Many of the emigrants who have returned to Galicia often appear in the text speaking in Castilian or *Castrapo* (97-8), a Galicianized dialect of Castilian, which isn’t vilified in the text in any way, but merely defines those who form part of an emigrant community. There are other invasions of Galician by Castilian that are more offensive in the text. The idea that displacement from the home is also a displacement from one’s language is perhaps best exemplified—even if not so overt a linguistic clash between Galician and Euskera—in the scene where Antón and Pepiña are evicted from their home. The judicial decree they receive is written and reproduced in the novel in Castilian (139) and the agent that Policarpio sends to do the job speaks in a mix of Castilian marked by Galician phonetics: “--*iVamos!... ¿que ajuaradan? [...] Aquí está el inventario de sus pertenencias [...]. A recoger pronto lo suyo y... larjo*” (139).⁹ For Pepiña, the use of Castilian also accompanies threats to her virginity and chastity. The use of Castilian in courtship customs, noted by Modesto Hermide (footnote on page 64),

⁹ In italics in the original. The pronunciation of the “g”-sound as the “j” in Castilian is a common phenomenon in Galician known as the *gheada* but is often considered an uneducated dialectism.

is bothersome to Pepiña when one of the men interested in her, approaches speaking in Castilian: “fálame en gallego, que gallegos somos os dous” [talk to me in Galician, the two of us are Galicians”] (63-4).

As has been said earlier, the novel is also structured in such a way that it combines not only different languages, but also different narrative voices. Not only does it tell of the men who leave and the women who stay, but Pedro also becomes the narrator of the text over the course of two chapters. The main narrator decides to withdraw from the text and simply allow the reader to peruse Pedro’s war diaries first hand: “Nos dous capítulos seguintes estraotaremos as súas mamorias, pois Pedro existeu e ningún mellor ca el pode contarnos as súas peripecias. Esta novela está calcada principalmente na vida dese noso bon amigo cuiro recordo deixo un rastro de luz para cantos conocimos o nobre mozo” [In the following two chapters we will turn to his memoirs, since Pedro existed and there is no one who can tell us about his travails better than him. This novel principally traces the life of our good friend whose memories left a remnant of light for those who knew the noble young man”] (241). This move also incorporates various genres, in addition to languages, into the novel, giving the work a tone of non-fiction, so that it should seem more like evidence and less the work of fantasy. In recent years, Galician scholars have begun to pay special attention to such diglossic moments in texts, which have been deemed crucial to the shaping and survival of a minoritized Galician literature (Figuerola, González-Millán, Vilavedra). Here, too, we can see how the diglossic novel permits Masma to create a Galician novel that can still account for linguistic, spatial and ideological difference.

The multiplicity of territory, genre, and language, also allows for a multiplicity of vantage points that permit us to experience a space such as the home in various ways. These domestic spaces are of great importance in the novel and serve more than anything to characterize the inhabitants before we even meet them. All told, there are three homes that appear in the novel: Antón's, Policarpio's and Pedro and Pepiña's. Antón's home, the first home we encounter, is much like that of the emigrant in Castro's poem. It is the home of rural laborers and is marked by poverty. It is the birthplace of several generations; it is the land on which they labor yet this place they call home is not their home. Policarpio's home is the antithesis of Antón's home. The narrator introduces us to Policarpio through a description of the house: "Empecemos por pintar a casa. Un casarón con más ventanas que un colexio. Capaz de albergar dentro un batallón" [Let's begin by painting a picture of the house. A huge home with more windows than a school building. Capable of housing within its walls an entire battalion"] (65). The excess and wealth of the house is emblematic of Policarpio's economic and political strength and his portentous size. In spite of its dimension, the house only has four inhabitants, none of whom share any familial ties, nor are they permanent residents. Policarpio changes female servants with frequency, once he's had his way with them. The only one who has remained is the old woman who is a madam, finding young girls for Policarpio. The familial and affective bonds of Antón's home are replaced in Policarpio's home by economic and lascivious relations.

Pedro, Pepiña and Xan then spend several years without a space to properly call home. The years of displacement, as mentioned, draw the two

characters together; as Pedro states: “Ti naciche na aldea, mais xunto de Dios; eu nacín na vila, mais xunto do Inferno. Íbamos os dous pelegrinos polo mundo e atopámonos” [“You were born in the country, but near to God; I was born in the village, nearer to Hell. We wandered like two pilgrims throughout the world and we found each other”] (200-1). The home that Pedro and Pepiña build represents the reconciliation of the two extremes, it collapses the difference between the wealthy homes of the elite and those of the rural poor, offering Pepiña a home that she can in fact call her own. In its description, it bears a certain resemblance to Policarpio’s—its magnificence, windows, luxury—, yet it is much more simple, and the relations between the inhabitants are spiritual, familial and affective, and not marked by any economic relations of employer/employee; in fact, it is surprising that they appear to live in a large, wealthy home without any domestic help. These domestic relations suggest that the family has formed a more well-off middle class.

This perfect home appears only in the narrator’s story since he is not able to occupy a home such as the one he describes. We might even think of how the fantasy and idealistic home might also be a product of the narrator’s own nostalgia or *morriña*. *Morriña* becomes a defining characteristic in the writing about Galicia during this period. Galicia is often experienced as a place that is already absent, lost or dead, especially in the poetry of the day. Sometimes this *morriña* is literally, a homesickness, like that which we see in the writing of emigrants such as *¡A besta!*, or in the poetry of writers such as Manuel Curros Enríquez. But *morriña* also mediates the relation between Galicia and Galicians, cultivating a patriotism that is an impossible love or the longing for a lost lover.

This phenomenon is best evidenced in those lyrical works such as “Unha noite longa na eira de trigo” by Curros Enríquez. Not only was it his first poem in Galician, it is the song sung by Pedro in *¡A besta!*. In the poem originally titled “Cántiga” in *Aires da miña terra* (1880), both the emigrant and the woman left behind lament their losses. The woman’s cry, “¡Vou morrer e non vén o meu ben!” [“I’m going to die and my lover is not coming!”] (91), echoes and is answered by the young man who is far away on a ship bound for America. All that remains for the Galician lovers is “un cadaver no fondo do mar” [“a cadaver at the bottom of the sea”] (92).¹⁰ Galicia in the end is merely an absence and the Galician subject is neither aboard the ship nor on the shore but floating dead in the space between. The loss of Galicia is represented as the loss of the female lover, yet again.

Although emigration is often represented as a masculine experience and the characters’ nostalgia and melancholy for Galicia or the *galegas* that have been left behind would seem to inform a romanticized image of Galicia, there are notable exceptions. Emilia Pardo Bazán offers a different account of emigration in her novel *Morriña* (1889). The characters in the novel: Doña Aurora Nogueira de Pardiñas, her son Rogelio, their social circle, and the servant Esclavitud are all Galicians living in Madrid. The vision is different from that of the above texts because the emigrants are both male and female, and belong to differing classes:

¹⁰ The poem had immediate success and was popularized once put to music. This musical version is mentioned not only in *¡A besta!* but also in Emilia Pardo Bazán’s *El cisne de Vilamorta* (1885).

both *señores* and servants.¹¹ When they gather in the afternoons, the members of the *tertulia* enjoy talking about Galicia and offer conflicting images of Galicia and the regional character. Normally it is Rogelio who brings up the topic: “nunca se cansaba de oír de su tierra, Galicia, de donde había salido de muy pequeño” (36). It is Rogelio for whom Galicia has taken on mythic proportions; with no referent of his own, his own sense of *tierra* depends on the stories of his elderly mother and her friends, who “hacíanse lenguas de la benignidad y salubridad del clima, lo barato y sabroso de los alimentos, lo tratable y afectuoso de la gente, y la hermosura extraordinaria del país” (36). Of course, we must assume that these accounts have been shaped not only by their class and their acquisitive power, but also by their own nostalgia. Earlier we are told that all the characters live in the past, except for the one non-Galician character who prefers the present (27). In fact, the Galician don Gaspar, Rogelio’s favorite, is known for his expansive memory: “en la tertulia de la señora de Pardiñas se hilaba continuamente el copo de los recuerdos, [...]. Era la memoria de don Gaspar una especie de armario de cedro, donde se guardaban perfumados, empaquetados, clasificados, íntegros, los sucesos, los nombres, las fechas y hasta las palabras” (25). It is in this environment that Rogelio is raised, distanced not only geographically but also temporally from what would be his Galicia.

¹¹ See this discussion in Chapter Three of the Galician novel, *A cruz de salguiero* (1899) by Xesús Rodríguez López, in which characters from different strata of Galician society travel to Madrid. EPB has many works in which Galician characters go abroad; for example, the novels *El cisne de Vilamorta* (1885) and *Insolación* (1889). The latter does not deal with emigration per se, but it is an interesting image of the Galician female’s experience abroad, for whom the experience is erotic, sensual and pleasurable, though she does ultimately return to Galicia.

The return to Galicia seems to be an unattainable desire for the emigrants, or as doña Aurora claims, “Los que allá nacimos... es tontería; no tenemos más ganas de volver, ni perdemos nunca la querencia” (37). However, the romanticized image of Galicia seems to change when it comes to remembering the Galician people: “En nuestra tierra, rapaz, es difícil saber quién está por uno y quién está en contra. [...] A lo mejor te venden amistad mientras te clavan el cuchillo hasta el mango. La verdad se ha de decir: por allá no somos así... francotes y reales, como los castellanos viejos” (39). It is worth remembering that Aurora’s characterization of the Galician people, while not a favorable one, still establishes difference of *galeguidade* from the Spanish character. During these discussions, Rogelio would sink further into his fantasies and *morriña*, furnishing his image of Galicia: “el muchacho, sumido en vaga contemplación, fantaseaba cómo sería aquel país bonito, aquella Galicia verde, llena de agua, de flores y de muchachas mimosas” (44). His image of Galicia continues the literary tradition seen above in *¡A Besta!*, whereby Galicia is posited as a feminine space, desired by the male emigrant.

Doña Aurora, in spite of her claims that Galicians in Galicia are a duplicitous set, has established a network of Galician relations in Madrid: not only are her friends Galician, but she prefers to employ Galician coach drivers and domestic help. One day, when Rogelio goes to find his mother a coach, he finds the Galician driver talking to a young woman who has come to Madrid in search of work in doña Aurora’s home. This woman, Esclavitud, is a fellow Galician. Just as in *¡A besta!*, it seems that the experience of emigration has erased the class difference between the *señorito* and the would-be servant:

“Rogelio, por instinto, se colocó á su izquierda, como haría con una dama” (50). Rogelio nervously speaks to the young girl as if she were of his same class, not even daring to use the word servant (52). He then confirms that she is from Galicia, which, as she says, “Es una tierra muy buena, mejor que la de Madrí y la de todo el mundo” (52). This encounter and dialogue reinforces Rogelio’s conflation of Galicia and *galega*: “Rogelio sonrió, agradado del patriotismo de la muchacha, y comenzando á sentirse bien con ella” (52-3).

Esclavitud has come to find work with Galicians: “el no estar entre gente de su tierra, ni oír mentarla nunca, le pone á uno el corazón muy negro. Por la metá de soldada y con doble de trabajo, quiero servir á una persona del país” (59). The Galician emigrant’s name takes on literal meaning when Esclavitud announces that she is dedicated to the construction of a Galician home outside of Galicia, a slave to a definition of *patria* and *galeguidade* that she holds. For her, the home she had in Galicia became intolerable and inhospitable, and it would seem that there she had been threatened by someone’s sexual advances (60-2)—as had Pepiña in *¡A besta!* or María in *Paniagua y compañía*. Aurora looks into the girl’s history, going to talk to mutual friends Rita and Gabriel de la Lage, characters in *Los pazos de Ulloa*, *La madre naturaleza*, and *Insolación*, and learns that Esclavitud is actually the daughter of a young girl who had been taken in and taken advantage of by a priest. Esclavitud’s mother was sent to Montevideo when the crime was discovered and Esclavitud was left behind to be raised by the priest who fathered her and whom she believed to be her uncle. Together with the image of Galicia in *¡A besta!* and *Paniagua y compañía*,

Morriña furthers the image of Galicia as a space in which poor women are subject to sexual victimization at the hands of the powerful.

Esclavitud grants Rogelio access to a different kind of *galeguidade* than that offered by the elderly *tertulia*. Carlos Feal notes, “No hay duda de que la atracción de Rogelio por Esclavitud se confunde con la sentida por Galicia” (77). However, this desire for motherland, or *morriña*, that she offers him is different from the brand which was offered to him by the old men of the *tertulia* or his mother. He begins to become enamored of the more popular and political *galeguidade* that she represents. Rogelio vows to learn Galician from Esclavitud (114), he admires what is deemed a natural decency embodied by Galician women (169), and he learns folklore and superstitions from her (197). Rogelio’s fascination with Galicia and his attempts to create a cartography of Galicia in his imagination liken him to many of Galicia’s modern authors. Like them he faces a certain predicament, “a inestabilidade entre un pasado real e un presente vivido imaxinariamente a que obriga ao narrador galego a instalarse nun espacio imaxinario (fantástico e/ou utópicos)” [“the instability between a real past and a present lived imaginatively that obliges the Galician narrator to situate himself in an imaginary space (fantastic and/or Utopian)”] (González-Millán 1991; 65). Rogelio’s Galicia must account for the lived experiences of the elderly *tertulia* members and the present of Esclavitud, a Galicia that only exists only vicariously as a utopian dream space.

Aurora becomes suspicious of the relations that are springing up between her son and the servant whom she deems unworthy of her son’s attentions, and invents reasons to separate the two, and ultimately decides to take Rogelio to

Galicia, leaving behind Esclavitud, which confirms the servant's premonition that she will never return to Galicia (262). In spite of the young lovers' sadness, the departure of Aurora and Rogelio from Madrid is an excitement-filled event. Pardo Bazán writes: "No había escenas tristes: no era el adiós del marinero, ni la partida del soldado, ni la nostálgica despedida del emigrante: los que se iban, excitados y gozosos; risueños en su dentera los que se quedaban" (290). Pardo Bazán's farewell scene would appear to depart from those of other Galician works, seemingly because the characters are heading toward Galicia rather than away from it. However, the happiness of the travelers and the revelries of Rogelio, who, "asomando á la ventanilla, creía divisar ya los frescos valles galaicos, los castaños frondosos, el azul festón de las rías orlando la tierra más bonita del mundo" (292), are somewhat false. There remains great reason for sadness: unknown to Rogelio and Aurora, when the train departs, Esclavitud resolves to take her own life. The final farewell then is not to Madrid, but the narrator's farewell to the *galega*.

For Carlos Feal, this ending signals the victory of the mother over Rogelio and Esclavitud, and represents Rogelio's failure to become a masculine character (80). Feal's psychoanalytic reading focuses on Rogelio's frustrated attempt at escaping his mother's repressive authority, but we can also think about the political/national implications of the ending, since the romance between Rogelio and Esclavitud is not only sexual but also national. With the death of Esclavitud, the character who has represented Galicia throughout the text, we can question Rogelio's ability to possess Galicia. Throughout the novel he didn't have Galicia but he had the Galician; at the end, he obtains Galicia but at the cost of the

Galician. In this novel, there can be no happy reconciliation of Galicia/territory and *galeguidade*/identity—Galician subjects can exist only as subjects marked by a lack of homeland; fulfilling that desire results in the destruction of that subject. In fact, we could say that Galicia and Esclavitud are never more than projections of the characters' own *morriña*. According to Kay Engler, Esclavitud is just that, an incarnation of *morriña*: “El título de la novela es la clave: si Esclavitud se considera la protagonista, será sólo como una encarnación de la morriña, anhelo misterioso de que sufren todos los gallegos” (45). While Esclavitud certainly represents a ‘misterioso anhelo’ that in some way afflicts the Galician characters in the novel, it can be argued that she does not represent an incarnation of *morriña*, and that in fact she often lacks corporeality altogether.

From the moment we meet Esclavitud she is illusory and phantasmal, dressed in mourning from head to foot so that Rogelio is unable to make out her face (49). She arrives with an enigmatic personal history and appears to be wasting away physically. Esclavitud tells of her experience with the Andalusian women: “Yo me fui quedando morena morena, y tan flaca, que la ropa se me cae. Yo de noche tenía unos aflictos como si me atasen una soga al pescuezo tirando mucho” (63). She appears as a tormented soul, with a sunken face and oversized clothing, much like a ghost. Her appearance changes very little in her first weeks in Aurora's home (101-2). Even though Rogelio feels he has a hold over this mysterious, mournful woman, this is questionable. Rogelio tells Esclavitud that if he didn't have his mother, “no me quedaba nadie en el mundo más que tú, nadie” (171). When asked if she reciprocates the feeling, Esclavitud answers inaudibly and cryptically: “La respuesta la entreoyó nada más: por eso nunca estuvo bien

seguro de que hubiese sido ésta, tan romántica é impropia de una aldeanita: — Hasta la hora de morir” (179). Esclavitud remains elusive, even if Rogelio himself never realizes it, and at times seems literally a ghostly figure. At night, when she tells Rogelio of Galicia, “los ojos verdes de Esclava fulguraron en la oscuridad, como los de los gatos” (195), she then becomes a medium, conjuring up images and smells of Galicia (198). Later, she enters Rogelio’s room, moving quietly through the darkness: “Rogelio observó mejor que nunca como en una quincena había quedado empalidecido y se había demacrado, afinando y espiritualizando su tipo, que ahora podría servir de modelo para esas imágenes labradas en cera, donde se encierran los huesos de alguna mártir desconocida” (278). She then tells him that she hears the voices of the dead beckoning to her: “Pues estoy como si oyese á una persona... de allá, del otro mundo que me habla” (280). Esclavitud is revealed at the end to be a ghostly figure that belongs just as much to the living as to the dead, both here and *allá*. Also it is worth noting that Pardo Bazán often employs *allá* when referring to Galicia; in this scene, *allá* ambiguously refers to both Galicia and the afterlife.

Morriña constructs a utopian vision of Galicia from the vantage point of the emigrant, yet it simultaneously offers tools to challenge that image as a mere illusion. In her study of emigration in contemporary narrative, Romero states that “the idea of nation or home materializes in the space of the absent which can only be localized in the fantastic” (164). So it is here that Emilia Pardo Bazán exposes the emigrant’s home as a fantasy. Even in the very last scene, Rogelio is neither in Madrid nor Galicia, still dreaming of Galicia. Additionally, Pardo Bazán’s text also challenges the idea of Galicia as a home, the type of ending

granted by *iA besta!*; like Masma who believes that the working class has been debased to the position of slaves, Pardo Bazán's protagonist, Esclavitud, is also reduced to that status. Unlike Masma, however, by having the señorito abandon the poor Galician woman, the author emphasizes that the social and economic conditions that prohibit that marriage still exist, in spite of the emigrants' illusions that they do not when they are absent from Galicia. The traditional social order is still intact, Galicia remains Rogelio's illusion, a ghostly woman waving goodbye.

In all these narratives, emigration, enlistment, errantry, eviction, escapade, and entrapment provide variations on a theme that allow us to understand the concept of homeland in the late nineteenth century as a place of polyvalent meanings, even though this period is typically thought of as having offered a simple vision of Galicia and *galeguidade* that barely questioned the relations between nation, territory and language. In these novels, experiences of class, gender, and displacement intersect with nation and home to reveal a more complex set of relations that bound Galicians to the idea of Galicia. Rather than looking to the nineteenth century for a point of origin for a Galician national identity, if *galeguidade* is to be understood beyond the territorial limits of the nation, those in Galician Studies ought to listen to the echoes between the various voices that have proclaimed or decried the nation. These resonances can reveal a multiplicity and complexity which was the very definition of Galicia's position within Spain as a stateless nation. Critics have found these complexities in contemporary narrative, and many of their conclusions would seem to apply to nineteenth-century texts as well. In work on the Galician novel of today,

González-Millán describes the hybridity which characterizes Galicia: “Galicia representa alegoricamente a imaxinaria síntese dun «algures/ningures/xalundes»; un espacio contradictorio, heteroxéneo, incoherente e inestable como a historia mesma do pobo galego, e, como todo espacio utópico e imaxinario, situado entre o fusco dunha realidade reprimida e o lusco dunha irrealidade desexada” [“Galicia allegorically represents the imaginary synthesis of ‘somewhere/nowhere/anywhere’; a contradictory, heterogeneous, incoherent and unstable space like the very history of the Galician people, and, like all Utopian and imaginary spaces, one situated between the opaqueness of a repressed reality and the lightness of a desire unreality”] (66). Home in all of the *Rexurdimento* novels analyzed above also yield images of home located somewhere between somewhere, nowhere, and anywhere; spaces with multiple valences.

While the contemporary interest in Galician subjectivities such as *o emigrante* has permitted the understanding of a deterritorialized notion of *galeguidade*, reading for echoes involves a redefining of *galeguidade* as having a plural voice that may at times resonate with texts written in Castilian, Galician, or any other language in which Galician experience finds expression. In this way, Emilia Pardo Bazán’s terrifying and dark *Los pazos de Ulloa* or Ramón del Valle-Inclán’s *Comedias bárbaras* aren’t “incomplete” expressions—as some critics have claimed (see Barreiro in Hooper (2006))—or denials of a Galician homeland, but ones that complement our understanding of a Galician home, *terriña*, *rexión*, *nación*, etc. as a paradoxical space. Examining the way these images of the home resonate across coetaneous texts written in Galician and

Castilian, and listening to them we can better evaluate the myriad of homes and homelands that circulated in the Galician imaginary during a particular historical period. Understanding Galicia as an unhomely home also has the advantage of allowing us to account for difference—territorial, ideological, linguistic—within a notion of *galeguidade*, without denying the problematic political relationship of Galicia to Spain which spurred the nationalist and regionalist movements of the nineteenth century.

Chapter 3

Strange Resemblances: Cultural and Sexual Endogamy and Exogamy

The consolidation of a national identity is often carried out through the projection of difference beyond the national borders. That one can “saír da nación”¹ reminds us that the opposite may in fact also be true. The nation-as-closet suggests that the nation also confines difference in its darkest corners, limiting alternative identities, and counter-discourses to its peripheries. Instead of thinking of this act of coming out of the nation as synonymous with abandoning national identity, I will be studying it instead as queering the nation: making visible ideologies, practices, works and artists that had previously been unacknowledged or that refuse neat categorization. In Galicia, queering the nation would question the relation between language and territory that have been the foci of national identity.

With the transition to a democratic state and the official recognition of various national identities within Spain at the end of the twentieth century competing notions of *galeguidade* circulated as a post-Francoist Galicia sought to reclaim a national identity. A number of recent works within Galician cultural studies show how the configurations of national identity in circulation within the cultural sphere range from traditional to modern, to the degree that they draw on

¹ I use this idea of coming out of the nation in Galician respecting the keyword or term that comes from a conference and special edition of the *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* (2009), both organized by Kirsty Hooper and Helena Miguélez-Carballeira.

traditional and local or modern and global influences (Colmeiro, 2009; de Toro 1995, 2002). Regardless of whether these strategies for forging a new Galician identity are more culturally endogamous or exogamous, for many within the field of Galician cultural production, as we have seen, the Galician language continues to be the distinguishing characteristic of a *galeguidade*.² In recent years, however, artists and intellectuals have begun developing strategies for creating a Galician art that is not predicated solely upon a language-based nationalist project. For Toro, this has been a literal move from language towards the *gaita*, a bagpipe typically used in Galician folkloric music (2002, 238). While it is questionable to what degree the *gaita* has become as important as the Galician language, one can certainly identify an ever-increasing move towards extra-linguistic modes of expression such as music, video and performance art;³ several contemporary writers have sought to create multilingual works that undermine the notion that *galeguidade* can only find expression through *o galego*;⁴ and writers working within a feminist framework have sought to wrest from *o galego* a language that can give expression to *a galega*, seeking a gendered and sexual polyphony as an alternative to a monolithic, masculinist literary tradition.

As artists *saen da nación*, they move into the future creating works that resurvey the nation's geographic, linguistic, cultural, gendered and sexual contours. We might also think of ways in which a project of *saíndo da nación*

² See the forum held in *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* edited by Kirsty Hooper. Various scholars and artists from within the field of Galician cultural production were asked to define a Galician work of art.

³ See J. Colmeiro's "Smells Like Wild Spirit" (2009), X. de Toro's "From Bagpipes to Digital Music" (2002) and S. Bermúdez in *Saíndo da nación* (forthcoming).

⁴ See K. Hooper (2007).

ought to entail new ways of revisiting the past, a project that, to borrow Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's term, would produce an epistemology of the Galician closet.⁵ This requires us to understand the 'ins' and 'outs' of Galician literary nationalism—both what authors and texts are in and which are out, as well as how the cultural preoccupation of determining insides and outsides translates into the literature of the period: who is in the family and the nation, and who is not.

Like the intellectuals faced with reevaluating Galicia's relation to Spain after Franco's reign, intellectuals at the end of the nineteenth century faced analogous problems. The destabilization of the *antiguo régimen* and the creation of a new liberal state brought about various changes in the social, political and economic spheres of the Spanish nation; as Galician historian Ramón Villares points out about this period:

Desaparecieron señoríos y monasterios, gremios y cofradías, reinos y jurisdicciones. Una nueva constitución política, un nuevo sistema tributario, una administración centralizada y un nuevo concepto de propiedad aparecen como los pilares de un Estado capitalista. (125)

The distribution of resources was not carried out to the same degree in each of the provinces of Spain, above all in places like Galicia where, in spite of the social upheaval, the characteristic order of the *antiguo régimen* remained relatively intact. The problem that faced Galicia at this time was that of "la incapacidad de

⁵ Sedgwick's *Epistemology of the Closet* looks at the ways in which the distinction between homo and heterosexual and its related binaries (male/female, center/periphery, etc.) have motivated literary production and reception, closeting those works that either fall on the wrong side of or blur those distinctions.

la sociedad gallega para modernizarse en su tránsito a la época contemporánea y su integración en el sistema económico y político español, históricamente más desarrollado” (Villares 124).

The fervor of intellectual and artistic activity that centered on this question came to be known as the *Rexurdimento*, a period, as the name implies, aimed to revive a Galicia that had long been stagnant. Galician intellectuals bore the arduous task of reconfiguring the political and cultural identity of Galicia, of distinguishing its character and understanding its provincial relation to the centralized government in Madrid. It is around 1868 that Galician regionalism finds cultural and political expression: there is an exponential growth of publications in Galicia, an attempt to standardize Galician grammar, and reforms for more autonomy in the political sphere were undertaken. This regionalist spirit differed from the provincialism offered by the centralist, federalist state in that it sought to decentralize the political power of Madrid. According to José Luís Varela, “El regionalismo supone una región encerrada dentro de ciertos límites, si no geográficos y políticos, por lo menos etnográficos, que tiene derecho a no ser confundida con los demás pueblos de la nación ni tampoco a ser separada radicalmente de ellos” (127). The regionalism that dominated the discourse of the period, worked toward the construction of borders, the demarcating of insides and outsides, each with their own politico-cultural centers. Of course, as mentioned in Chapter One, there were competing outlines for how the regionalist project ought to have been carried out; the books that marked the conservative and liberal parameters of the debate were *El Regionalismo. Estudio sociológico*,

histórico y literario (1889) by Alfredo Brañas and *El regionalismo gallego* (1889) by Manuel Murguía.

Thinking of the problems that contemporary criticism has identified in Galician cultural production, what I want to consider is how we might read the *Rexurdimento* in a way that both moves beyond questions of nation and language and allow us to read the problem of escaping the nation as a theme in the works of that period. The incipient regionalist movement sought to offer an alternative to the Spanish state's project of *federalismo* and *provincialismo*, in hopes of gaining more autonomy for Galicia. National borders and difference needed to be established—but as they were not meant to be radical, they were at times ambiguous and what was inside and outside was not always clear. As with contemporary Galician production, some of the proposals argued for a more self-enclosed, endogenous Galician identity, and others for a more cosmopolitan, exogenous one.

One difficulty we encounter when we try to move beyond the nation in the nineteenth century is that there is no clear sense of Galician nation from which to depart. Those involved in the *galeguista* movement could not reach a unanimous decision about what the position of Galicia ought to be. As Xoán González-Millán points out, this was a period in which there was a burgeoning awareness of Galicia as a distinct space but also a historical moment in which “las distintas posiciones frente a la ‘experiencia gallega’ distaban de mostrar la coherencia ideológica y de poseer la eficacia necesarias para convertirse en una distintiva fuerza hegemónica” (42). So varied were the opinions of those who were interested in redefining Galicia that even dedicated *galeguistas* were caught in

what Marcelino Agís Villaverde refers to as “o baile terminolóxico e ambigüidade característica do XIX para referirse a Galicia: país, rexión, provincia, nacionalidade” (129). This plurality of opinions obstructed the path towards a more complete incorporation into the liberal, centralist state, and prevented the creation of a nationalism as dominant as that which was born of Catalan regionalism.⁶

While there was little ideological accord, by the late nineteenth century there was a notable increase in Galician cultural production that aimed at establishing Galician difference, both at home and abroad, principally through literature and journalism. Ana María Freire López, in her study of *Revista de Galicia*, a periodical founded by Emilia Pardo Bazán, reveals the network that was established at the time between intellectuals of the period to encourage dialogue about Galicia (423). Many of the contributors to the *Revista de Galicia* collaborated on other projects together. For example, Emilia Pardo Bazán contributed to *Ilustración gallega y asturiana*, which was under the direction of Manuel Murguía (González-Millán 52). Many of the intellectuals of the period also formed part of “El Folklore Gallego,” an organization founded by Emilia Pardo Bazán. In 1884, *Folklore gallego: un saber popular con sabor celta* was published by “Emilia Pardo Bazán y otros”; among whom were writers such as Marcial Valladares who was the author of the first novel in Galician. Such was the

⁶ According to Ángel G. Loureiro, Galicia’s nationalism was one of the weaker nationalisms within Spain in comparison with similar Catalan and Basque movements and would remain so until the death of Franco when the Bloque Nacional Galego would emerge as a hegemonic voice of Galician nationalism (167). While this conclusion is arguable, his essay does shed light on some of the problems that the *galeguista* movement may have experienced in the nineteenth century.

intellectual climate that intellectuals like Pardo Bazán who opposed a political regionalist movement and the use of Galician for anything other than folklore and poetry, could work alongside Murguía, one of the founders of the radical regionalist movement and Valladares, author of prose in Galician and one of the first Galician grammars. It was this collaborative effort of a wide range of intellectuals with conflicting ideas on the future of Galicia that nevertheless helped to generate the momentum that would carry the *Rexurdimento* and modern Galician national identity into the twentieth century.

This is also a period in which the Galician language had not yet become the fulcrum upon which *galeguidade* and *nación* rested, a relation that was ambivalent at best. While poetry in Galician became the vehicle for nationalist literature, Castilian remained the language in which most prose of the period was written. Many important works of the *galeguista* movement were written in Castilian and still received as Galician by the reading public,⁷ such as those works by Manuel Murguía. Nevertheless, one of the ironies of the *Rexurdimento* is that it has come to refer principally to the works of poets such as Rosalía de Castro, Eduardo Pondal and Manuel Curros Enríquez, while literary histories and anthologies leave aside major works of the region that contributed to the intellectual climate of Galicia and helped to construct the Galician imaginary and gave Galicia a presence within the larger literature of Spain.

⁷ The relations established between genres and languages during the *Rexurdimento* is perhaps analogous to what happens today when Galician literature is translated into film: Manuel Rivas's *O lapis do carpinteiro* (1998) becomes Antón Reixa's *El lápiz del carpintero* (2003) and Suso de Toro's *Trece badaladas* (2002) becomes Xavier Villaverde's *Trece campanadas* (2002).

Attempting to move beyond the national and seek those writers and texts that were overshadowed by Galicia's great poets and closeted by subsequent literary history, we could look to those writers of the late nineteenth century whose legitimacy within Galician letters is questioned because of their use of Castilian. Two prime examples are Emilia Pardo Bazán and Ramón del Valle-Inclán. While they have remained outside of language-based definitions of Galician literature, in a welcome move critics have begun to incorporate their works into analyses of Galician literature. In addition to the fact that writing in Castilian was not necessarily a sign of anti-*galeguismo* at the time, literary critics and historians have found grounds for the incorporation of these writers based on the thematic elements in their works as well as their relation to the intellectual milieu. Studies such as "La poética de Galicia en los cuentos de Emilia Pardo Bazán" by Francisca González Arias, reveal Pardo Bazán's reliance on Galicia in her literary creation, drawing from it not only settings but also linguistic elements, social concerns, the psychology of her characters, and also feminine archetypes (153-61). While this study highlights important Galician elements in her work, it fails to understand them in relation to the intellectual climate of Galicia and instead sees them as elements that are either autobiographical or that allow for the comparison of her work with that of the Russian writers whose works she valued. Galicia in her works is often understood as personal or universal and not in relation to the national.

Other critics, focusing their attention less on those thematic aspects of her work that link her to the *galeguista* movement, have noted her place within intellectual debates on regionalism. In an article about the *Revista de Galicia*,

Xoán González-Millán has shown how Emilia Pardo Bazán's relation to the *galeguista* movement was not one of simple antagonism but one that was quite complex and allows us to understand some of the tensions in the process of constructing Galicia as a nation within Spain at the end of the nineteenth century (62). In another article, Enrique Miralles traces Pardo Bazán's history with the regionalist movement and her continual defenses against attacks on it. Miralles argues that Pardo Bazán enjoyed a privileged position as both an insider and outsider within the regionalist movement whose perspective reconciled some of the more regionalist and centralist arguments. According to him, in the debates about regionalism, Pardo Bazán "era una de las personas más llamadas a intervenir por su cercanía con cada una de las posturas enfrentadas, pudiendo así erigirse en árbitro de la polémica desde una perspectiva neutral" (232). "Una perspectiva neutral," might be a bit strong since Pardo Bazán wasn't very neutral on any polemical topic, but she did alternate between pro- and anti-regionalist positions throughout her career.

Similarly, works such as Ramón del Valle-Inclán's first book, *Femeninas* (1895), was preceded by a "Prólogo" by Manuel Murguía who repeatedly reinscribes Valle-Inclán within Galician tradition, referring to him as an "hijo de Galicia," in whom are "manifiestas las condiciones especiales de los escritores del país" (ix). As language became the most important marker of Galician literature, these works were excluded from the Galician canon. Nonetheless, we can say that these authors emerged from and went beyond the limits of Galician regionalism in that they challenged the centrality of the concept of nation in order to explore gendered identities and more cosmopolitan and polyglot ways of being Galician

in the world. Today there is an increasing tendency to acknowledge those Galician authors that wrote in Castilian as Galician writers in spite of the difficulties that this has raised. As Xelís de Toro points out, “to include them in the concept of Galician culture would require a redefinition of the parameters used to describe Galician culture and identity” (350).

Although the voice of Galician nationalism during the late nineteenth century was a poetic voice, we might also queer our concept of the nation by looking at narrative prose written in Galician. It is precisely the hybridity of the Galician novel, I argue, that has made it difficult to incorporate into the national literary canon. It straddles different languages, spaces and ideologies.

Valladares’s novel *Maxina ou a filla espúrea* is often hailed as the first Galician novel, in spite of the fact that as the title page clearly states it is a “conto gallego-castellano de miña avoa.” Much like its eponymous protagonist, it is a novel of linguistically “spurious” or adulterated origins, by traditional definitions of Galician literature that privilege linguistic uniformity. This is a problem affecting much of Galician prose of the period. *A Campaña de Caprecórneca. Novela Gallega. Hestórica, fantástica e poética* (1898) de Luís Otero Pimentel, tells the story of a man swept up by the two girls he is cheating on who turn out to be *bruxas* and take him on an intergalactic voyage. The novel contains text in Castilian and large blocks of the text are written in verse, which serve to further hybridize the text as something neither entirely prose nor poetry. As seen in our discussion of *iA Besta!* in the previous chapter, both the development of plots

and publication of the Galician novel continually raise questions as to whether the Galician novel ever ‘belongs’ fully to Galicia.⁸

The Galician novel of the late nineteenth century is marked by its violation of generic, territorial, sexual and linguistic boundaries and taboos. No novel of the period evidences this tendency as well as Xesús Rodríguez López’s *A cruz de salgueiro* (1899). Generally speaking, Rodríguez López’s body of work crosses over a wide range of genres and subject matter. In Galician, he is the author of the theatrical piece *O Chufón* (1915); *Cousas das mulleres* (1890), a work that Ricardo Carballo Calero has called “unha novela en verso,” and which has earned him a place beside Valentín Lamas Carvajal as one of the foremost poets of rural Galicia by his contemporary Leopoldo Pedreira;⁹ *Supersticiones de Galicia y preocupaciones vulgares* (1895), an anthropological study of traditional belief systems in Galicia; and works of more social and medical import such as *Defensa de las feas, estudio social* (1898) and *Las preocupaciones en Medicina: Conocimientos útiles a la familia: Reglas para conservar la salud, para no dejarse engañar por los curanderos y para conocer a los médicos* (1896).

In addition to the abovementioned obstacles that the Galician novel presented to its readership, *A cruz de salgueiro* also challenged any expectations that the reader might have of regional literature. The studies on *A cruz de salgueiro* tend to focus on the complicated structure of the text. In his *Narrativa galega: tempo do rexurdimento* (1995), Modesto Hermida points out that there

⁸ The importance of Galician magazines in La Habana and Buenos Aires for the dissemination of galeguista ideology, literature was discussed in Chapter One. See Xesús Alonso for a detailed discussion.

⁹ “Prólogo”. Second Edition of *Cousas das mulleres*.

are several elements that interrupt the text's sense of unity: “nas inconexas actividades dos personaxes, na desbordante abundancia dos mesmos, sen unha xerarquización estrutural na súa condición de actantes, e na ausencia de linealidade da acción, que nos fai pensar nun libro composto por sucesión de anécdotas autónomas” [“in the disjointed activities of the characters, in the overflowing abundance of them, without any structural hierarchy in their importance as actors, and in the absence of any linear action, we can think of the book as being composed by a succession of independent anecdotes”] (89).

Carballo Calero points out that there is no unity of space or time (436), and that in addition to the quantity of characters, the fragmentation of the text is further accentuated by the fact that there is no protagonist in the novel. Rather, “Estevo, Mingas, Berta, Caitano, Martiño, Pancha, Adelaira, Delores, adiántanse, cando lles chega o turno, ao borde do proscenio, pra interpretar o principal papel. Pertencen istes persoaxes a diversas crases sociás. Señores e criados, cidadáns e campesiños, universitarios e artesáns” [“Estevo, Mingas, Berta, Caitano, Martiño, Pancha, Adelaira, Delores, come forward, when their turn comes, to the front of the stage, in order to play their lead role. These characters belong to different social classes. *Señores* and servants, urban and country, students and workers”] (436). Devoid of *meigas*, *compañas*, *gaiteiros*, *pazos*, *muñeiras* and other such stock conventions and figures of Galician literature, in *A cruz de salgueiro*, sex, lies, bare-knuckle boxing, stabbings, gambling, emigration, and class tensions garnish a plot in which characters move throughout different parts of the Spanish empire weaving a complex network of amorous relations, alliances and rivalries.

In my reading, I propose that *A cruz de salgueiro* can be read as a novel about the difficulties of leaving the nation, about identity and about reconciling endogamous and exogamous cultural tensions. Assuming that the novel is unfamiliar to many readers, I will attempt to summarize the plot, as much of the following analysis of incest heavily depends on it. In a narrative that moves between past and present, *A cruz de salgueiro* tells the stories of two love triangles: the frame tells of the love triangle between Mingas, Estevo and Delores; the flashback tells the story of the previous generation, particularly the love triangle between Berta, Caitano and Panchiña in addition to the enmity between Caitano and Martiño. I will begin with the flashback: Berta, a young servant from a town in the province of Lugo, finds work in the house of some *señores* in Lugo where she falls in love with their son Caitano who takes advantage of the girl and gets her pregnant. The family decides to send their son to Madrid to avoid any scandal and there he falls in love with Panchiña. Panchiña and Caitano's relationship enrages the jealous Martiño, an ex-boyfriend of Panchiña, who is himself caught in a love triangle with Adelaira and Locaia. Martiño begins to persecute Caitano. After various aggressions, the two arrange a duel, Caitano takes all of Martiño's money in a card game, and Martiño eventually attempts to murder Caitano in the street.

According to the narrator, "Caitano e Martiño son dous tipos moi distintos" ["Caitano and Martiño are two very different guys"] (94). They certainly differ in their appearances and temperaments—Caitano is dark and "linfático" ["lymphatic"] while Martiño is blond and in him "domina o nervioso" ["the nerves are dominant"] (98). Beyond this superficial incommensurability we

can argue that the two characters are actually each other's double and like most nineteenth century literary doubles, are bound in a violent, destructive relationship (Kosofsky Sedgwick 13). Martiño himself is aware of the bind that ties him to Caitano: "teño que matar a ese home que é como a miña sombra" ["I have to kill that man who is like my shadow"] (92). Many critics and theorists have studied the use of the double in nineteenth century fiction. For queer theorist Judith Halberstam, the doubles and monsters of the nineteenth-century novel enter "as a symptomatic moment in which boundaries between good and evil, health and perversity, crime and punishment, . . . inside and outside dissolve and threaten the integrity of the narrative itself" (2). And so it is in *A cruz de salgueiro* where the apparition of doubles actually threatens the difference that the regional novel strives to establish with respect to the Spanish novel. If at first glance the men are "moi distintos" we soon realize that Caitano and Martiño share a number of vices: womanizing, fighting and gambling, and in fact, it seems that Caitano often surpasses his counterpart in these activities that are presented as urban vices of the Spanish capital. The young man from a more modest, provincial Galician family fares just as well along side his wealthy, metropolitan counterpart, collapsing the distance between the Galician and the Spaniard, who rather than opposites, increasingly become viewable as reflections of each other. In a later scene, Estevo will be told that "los gallegos tenéis mucho de andaluces" (265).

That the Galician has a Spanish double is perhaps explained by Fred Bottig, who in his study of the Gothic argues that the apparition of doubles signifies "the alienation of the human subject from the culture and language in

which s/he was located” (12). Several identities in the book are linguistically ambiguous. The characters’ names make it difficult to distinguish Galician characters from the rest: names like Martiño and Panchiña make the characters seem familiar as Galician when they are in fact Spanish. The Galician character Delores also becomes her own Spanish double, Dolores, at certain points, alternately using the names Delores and Dolores. The Delores/Dolores split could be taken as a hint of realism in the text as it was common for Galician’s to use the Castilianized versions of their names outside of Galicia. This split into a dual identity, though only in name, was something that even many of the authors of the period experienced: Xesús Rodríguez López who often appears as Jesús Rodríguez López or Luís Otero who appears as Luís Oteiro on certain publications. Below, another interpretation of this linguistic split of the character into Delores and Dolores will be discussed.

While Caitano and Martiño are perhaps the only Gothic doubles, many situations and characters are mirrored later in the novel or in the next generation. For example, the situation between Berta, Caitano and Panchiña is repeated with the next generation of characters in the love triangle Mingas, Estevo and Delores. Before we get to the next generation of characters there are a number of important twists in the plot that usher in the final tragedy.

Martiño, afraid of being arrested for attempted murder, marries Adelaira and plans to flee to Buenos Aires but the couple is detained and imprisoned. Caitano also learns that Berta has followed him to Madrid. He pays her to take her child Delores and not interfere with his impending marriage. Berta’s daughter is kidnapped and ends up at a convent. Berta, unfortunately, is never

able to find her daughter. In the meantime, Caitano and Panchiña have a child, Estevo. Panchiña—who learned of Berta—dies shortly after childbirth and as a last request asks that if Caitano is going to have another woman raise her child that the woman be Berta. Caitano hands Estevo over to Berta, together with some money, and sets off to Cuba to settle some problems with his wife’s inheritance. Caitano is gone for years and Berta, without any word from him, assumes the worst. She takes Estevo back to her village in Lugo and raises him as if he were her own son.

Eventually, Caitano returns to Madrid and is unable to find Berta and Estevo, but does in fact find Delores living in a convent with some other girls. He is able to identify her by the amulets to protect the infant from *meigas* and the *mal de ollo* [evil eye] that Berta had sewed into her clothing, which identify her not only as their child but as a galega as well. He takes the girl in but never reveals to her that he is her biological father. He takes her to Logroño where he runs a mine. Years later, while he is away on business, a young Galician man, Estevo, comes into town. A romance ensues, Delores gets pregnant, but Caitano prohibits the marriage and sends for Delores. Estevo then returns home to Galicia and falls in love with and impregnates a middle class girl, Mingas. Her parents refuse to allow them to marry as Estevo is poor. He sets out again to seek a fortune, giving Mingas a cruz de salgueiro as a promise of his fidelity. This time he sets out for Bilbao to avoid running into Delores in La Rioja. Without money or work, he stumbles upon a lost girl, Marica. The young girl tells him that she has no father and tells him where he can find her mother. The mother turns out to be none other than Delores, and Marica, his own child. The couple decides to

marry; Caitano returns to his *village* to tell his mother the news. She disagrees with his decision to abandon Mingas of whom she has grown quite fond but decides to tell him the truth of his origin and gives him the inheritance that she saved for him. Estevo returns, happy, ready to reveal to Caitano that he is in fact his long lost son—still unsuspecting that Delores is his own sister. When he reveals his identity to Caitano he is ecstatic until he realizes their folly and tells Caitano: “¡Esa muller non pode casar contigo, porque esa muller é túa irmá!” [“That woman cannot marry you, because that woman is your sister!”] (295). Upon hearing the news, Delores falls ill and is moved to an asylum. Unable to marry Delores, Estevo is able to move back to the village and marry Mingas.

When the secondary characters and their amorous relations are introduced into this plot, the novel grows even more complicated. This *red amorosa* links the characters together in a complicated set of sexual relations that extends around various regions of Spain and its empire. Caitano, Estevo, Berta and Mingas are from Galicia; Panchiña is a Cuban-born Asturian who has relocated to Madrid; Locaia, one of Martiño’s girlfriends, is from Andalucía; her sisters are courted by a group of Filipinos that live in Madrid; Delores, even though she is of Galician descent, is raised in La Rioja and the Basque Country. The Spanish capital is converted into a site of sexual and regional promiscuity that in the end is abandoned by the characters. Berta and Caitano stay in Lugo while Mingas and Estevo take up permanent residence in Bilbao. In doing so, the novel stays true to its regionalist aim, distancing itself from Madrid and withdrawing further into the provincial regions.

The novel's sexual and regional encounters also entail moments of cross-linguistic encounter. One of the aspects of the novel that most critics have written about is the fact that unlike many other novels of the period, in *A cruz de salgueiro* all the characters speak in Galician, even the Spanish characters (Carballo Calero 437; Hermida 89). While most of the novel is written in Galician, presumably a fair amount of the conversation in the novel would normally occur in Castilian. In one particular scene, Martiño's sister Sabela is talking to Berta, which turns into a discussion about the linguistic politics of Galicia:

—Eu pensei que en Galicia non falaban as criadas de servir tan ben o castelán.

— Señora, eu ben non falo porque non son estudiada, pero en Galicia ata polas aldeas falan o castelán, de modo que o poidan entende-los señores na cidade e as cántigas que botan todas son feitas en castelán.

—Si, xa sei que choca a moitos que os segadores que van á Rioxa falan entre eles sempre en galego e cantan case decote en castelán, pero eu pensei nas cidades de Galicia a xente do pobo falase no seu dialecto, como fan os cataláns e os vascos, que falan en catalán e en vasco.

—Alí falamos segundo cadra; pero conversando coas señoras, todas falamos castelán.

[“I thought that in Galicia the servants didn't know how to speak Castilian so well.”

“Miss, I don't speak well because I have no studies, but in Galicia even in the small towns they speak Castilian, so then we can be understood by the *señores* in the cities and the songs that the workers sing in the fields are all in Castilian.”

“Yes, I know, it is very shocking to hear the field hands that go to Rioja speaking to each other in Galician but singing almost always in Castilian, but I thought in the cities of Galicia the people spoke in their own dialect, like the Catalans and the Basques, who speak in Catalan and Basque.”

“There we speak whatever is called for. But when speaking to *señoras*, we all speak Castilian.”] (137-8)

This quote, together with Caitano's description of the Galician temperament when he responds to a classmate who making fun of Galicia says "o galego que sae listo, sae de verdade" ["el gallego que sale listo, sale de verdad"] (95), and his description of the Galician countryside as a space of beauty and enchantment (227), offer the novel's few direct discussions of social life in Galicia. In the prologue, Rodríguez López refers to his novel as "unha obra de costumbres gallegas," an opinion that Carballo Calero refutes, insisting that it has "tanto ou máis de costumes madrileños da clase media que de costumes galegos campesiños" ["as much or more of Madrid's middle class's customs than rural Galician customs"] (436-7). While it may not focus on "costumbres gallegas," the novel privileges Galicia, especially the language. Unlike in Valladares's *Maxina* where upper class characters' dialogue appears directly in Castilian, Rodríguez López has the Castilian speaking characters' dialogue appear in translation. For Carballo Calero, the uniform and constant use of Galician in *A cruz de salgueiro* "supón un progreso na dignificación do galego. Valladares fai falar aos señores en castelán. Rodríguez fai falar en galego a todo o mundo, labregos e señores, galegos e non galegos" ["supposes a progress in the growing prestige of Galician. Valladares makes the señores speak in Castilian. Rodríguez makes everyone, laborers and señores, Galicians and non-Galicians, speak in Galician"] (437). In many cases, such as the above, fiction allows for the inversion of the social reality by imagining a reality in which instead of the poor galega speaking with the Spanish señora in Castilian, the Spanish señora speaks to the Galician servant in

Galician. In doing so, Rodríguez López is able to establish some degree of linguistic and regional dominance over the metropolis within his text.

That Rodríguez López exclusively uses Galician in place of Castilian in dialogue calls special attention to the novel's only diglossic moment, which occurs when Estevo travels to Logroño seeking employment and meets Delores:

—Vaia uns caraveis que se dan por esta terra. [What carnations grow in this land!]

—¿Qué quiere decir eso, gallego?

—Isto quere dicir que esa porta paréceme unha roseira que dá cobiza vela, e que fai caer en tentación de roubar ó home máis santo. [I mean that door looks to me like a rose garden that makes me covet it and tempts me to rob even the most holy man.]

—En fin, si no te explicas mejor nos quedamos en ayunas [...] Me pareceis muy picarón, ¿de qué punto eres de Galicia?

—De Lugo. [From Lugo]

—De esa tierra es mi señor, yo desearía verla.

—Élle, pois, moi bonita, e é terra onde a levaría eu a vostede de boa gana. [Well, you would find it very beautiful, and it is a land to which I would take you quite willingly.]

—Ya tendrá allá alguna galleguiña que le sorberá el seso.

—Alá nunca vin muller capaz de facerme iso porque alá non hai ningunha meiga que teña tantos feitizos para o meu corazón coma vostede [...] [I have never seen a woman there who could do that to me because there isn't a single witch there who has as many spells over my heart as you.] (264-5).

For Carballo Calero, the interruption occasioned by the use of Castilian in the novel is little more than “una ecseición inxustificada” [“an unjustified split”] (437), but I would argue that this scene is a pivotal moment in the text and one that permits us to understand the problem of exogamy and endogamy that are of major importance in the work.

At the end of the flirtatious exchange, Delores introduces herself as “Dolores” (266). The character that the reader knows as the daughter of Berta

and Caitano, Delores, becomes her own Spanish double: Dolores. What is most interesting about this exchange is that of all the moments in the text, this would seem to mark the relationship that furthest crosses national and linguistic lines, taking Estevo well outside of Galicia in his amorous relations. While the relationship is the most seemingly exogamous of the text, it is actually the most endogamous. The two Galician siblings, separated by territory and language misrecognize their own familial bond.

Incest appears as a theme in a number of important Galician works of the period, and as in *A cruz de salgueiro*, it is often the consequence of or solution to a problem of illegitimacy, as one of the siblings is almost always the product of an extramarital relation. In Rosalía de Castro's *La hija del mar* (1859), a father has a child with a mistress and throws her out to sea. Years later he unknowingly becomes the captor and sexual abuser if not rapist of his own daughter. Most widely recognized and analyzed is the relation of the two siblings Perucho and Manuela in Emilia Pardo Bazán's *Los pazos de Ulloa* (1886) and *La madre naturaleza* (1887). Their incestuous union never comes to a conclusion because the two find out that they are siblings. Surprisingly, however, very little work has been done to relate Pardo Bazán's novels of los pazos to *Maxina*, one of the most important novelistic works of the *Rexurdimento* and with which they share many commonalities.

Beyond the professional connection between Pardo Bazán and Valladares in their work on Galician folklore, their abovementioned novels deal with endogamous and exogamous relations and how they affect inheritance. The plots of *Maxina ou a filla espúrea*, *Los pazos de Ulloa*, and *La madre naturaleza*

unfold in three principle spaces: Santiago de Compostela, a small Galician village, and Madrid. The conflict between these places is dramatized in these novels as a family feud or a fight over an inheritance whose resolution depends on an incestuous relationship between two siblings: Maxina and Ermelio in Valladares's work, and Manuela and Perucho in Pardo Bazán's novels.

In *Maxina*, the eponymous character is born as the product of a rape, in which Otilia Sancti-Petri, a young girl of Compostela's aristocracy, is raped in a masquerade ball by Veranio, the son of the Marqués de Tria-Castela. Ignoring the identity of the rapist and afraid of losing the family's honor, Otilia, at her mother's behest, goes to give birth at the home of some poor country folk, Caitán and Inés, who become the adoptive parents of Maxina, raising her alongside their own newborn son, Ermelio. Without an aristocratic, urban upbringing, Maxina is raised like any other villager. Once again in Santiago, Otilia finds another suitor, the *Señor* de Rebordán, who is coincidentally a friend of Inés and Caitán. Otilia never marries him out of fear that her secret be found out. Rebordán, suspecting that Inés's daughter is really Otilia's, withdraws his offer of marriage believing that Otilia has been sexually impure.

The unexpected death of Inés and Caitán leaves Maxina and Ermelio, the closest of siblings, orphaned. The two children move from house to house in the village and are eventually taken under the tutelage of the Marqués de Tria-Castela (still ignorant that he is Maxina's biological grandfather) and Rebordán (Ermelio's godfather), who take the siblings to Madrid in order to educate them. Meanwhile, Veranio, son of Tria-Castela and father of Maxina, dies in Paris but not before leaving a letter confessing that he had raped Otilia when he was young.

Learning of Otilia's innocence, Rebordán again offers her his hand in marriage but before the marriage Otilia goes insane, as a result of her separation from her daughter, and must be moved to an asylum where she eventually dies. Maxina, the recognized heir to both the Tria-Castela and Sancti-Petri estates, and Ermelio, heir to the Rebordán fortune, are married in 1868, full of hope.

Incest functions in this novel in different ways than in *A cruz de salgueiro*. The principal tension is not between Madrid and Galicia but between the country and the city within Galicia. It is the many complicated economic relations and inequalities that bind the city folk to the country folk and that push the two siblings into a relationship. Money, rather than language and territory, plays a much clearer role in creating the confusion that results in the incestuous relationship that unites the divided city and country. The countryside is represented in Valladares's work as poverty-stricken and backward. For example, the lack of infrastructure and of education are exemplified in Chapter XII, in which we are given a description of the postal service that takes more than two months to deliver a letter from Madrid and a comment about the abundance of illiteracy in the rural areas. In spite of these shortcomings, the country is also characterized as rich in virtues. The saying that Caitán repeats, "Fai ben e non cates a quen" ["Do right and don't worry about to whom"] (78), reflects the generosity that he and Inés show to Otilia and her mother when they come to the house even though they do not have enough to sustain themselves. Alone at night Inés expresses to Caitán her worries that they won't be able to make ends meet, yet when Otilia and her mother offer Inés an ounce of gold for her help and for taking care of Maxina, she responds, "Garde a señora o seu diñeiro, que hoxe por

hoxe, gracias a Dios, non necesitamos del pra comer. Nunca pousada cobrei, nin a cobrala empezo agora” [Save your money, *señora*, because this very day, thank God, we do not need it to eat. I’ve never charged anyone for lodging, and I’m not planning on starting now”] (79).

Inés, the feminine representative of the Galician countryside, is an exceedingly maternal figure. After Otilia gives birth, Inés usurps the maternal responsibility from Otilia and her mother:

Ó fin, preto das oito, unha escorreita nena saíu á luz. Todas querían collela; pero Inés talla con lixeireza a corda umbilical e foxe coa criatura para un recuncho do cuarto. . . vístelle Inés unha camisiña das do seu pequecho. . . mételle logo na boquiña un dos seus peitos, para que mame.

[Finally, close to eight o’clock, the little girl was born. Everyone wanted to hold her; but Inés tied the umbilical cord with ease and went off with the child to a corner of the room. . . Inés put a small shirt of her son’s on the baby. . . she put one of her breasts in the baby’s mouth so that she could nurse.] (75)

The next day, the Sancti-Petri women send a servant to pick up Maxina from Inés. When the latter finds out that Otilia and her mother are planning on sending the baby to an orphanage she is infuriated: “eu a meniña pra a incrusa non a deixo ir, mais que usté se empeñe” [“I will not let my little girl go to the orphanage, no matter how much you insist”] (88). Inés follows the servant to the orphanage and adopts Maxina: “dedicada, despois ó seu filliño e, constituída ultimamente en adoptiva nai de Maxina, . . . ó tirar da inclusa á nena, obedecendo entonces a impulsos do seu caridoso corazón” [“the mother of a small boy, and recently converted into the adoptive mother of Maxina. . . she decided to remove the girl from the orphanage, obeying the impulses of her charitable heart”] (89).

Despite the symbolic importance of Inés as a maternal figure, the countryside in *Maxina* is a space inhabited mostly by masculine characters: workers such as Caitán, Bieito and Félix. Even Inés herself, when Caitán dies, leaves the home behind to replace her husband in the fields: “marchaba para o traballo, levando consigo os rapaciños e deixando pechada a casa” [“would head out to work, carrying with her the children, leaving the house closed up”] (108). In fact, a number of critics and writers have commented on the masculinity of the women of rural Galicia, such as Emilia Pardo Bazán in her essay “La gallega” (1900). Ironically, however, although the countryside is filled with male characters, it is still configured as a feminine space. It is Caitán who welcomes Otilia and her mother into his home, later, after being orphaned, Bieito and Félix, whose religiosity and sentimentalism are typically found in female characters during this period, take in Maxina and Ermelio. Even nature and wildlife celebrate the reproductive power of the Galician territory: “ladrando os cans nas eiras, . . . o merlo e o reiseñor nos salguerais, . . . todos, en concerto vario, [facían] traballos preludio da maternidade” [“the dogs barking in the fields, the blackbirds and nightingales in the willows. . .all of them, in varied concert, [carried out] the perambulatory works of maternity”] (141).

In comparison with the generous, maternal and humble qualities of the countryside, Santiago is a space of corruption. First, it is the site of the rape of Otilia. The provincial city is a space inhabited exclusively by female characters (Otilia, her mother, Fara and Adria), with the exception of señor Sancti-Petri who is practically devoid of any protagonism in the novel. On the other hand, Santiago is lacking any of the characteristics thought of as stereotypically feminine. When

she learns of the rape and pregnancy of her daughter, “A de Sancti-Petri, ó saber tal quedou como morta; comprendeu, empreso, dende logo a inocencia da súa filla, e tratou de salvar a todo trance a honra desta e de seus pais, a honra da súa casa, e salvala sen que vislumease o home” [“*Señora* de Sancti-Petri, upon finding that out became deathly still; she then realized her daughter’s innocence, and tried to salvage at any cost her parents’ honor, the honor of her house, and save it without her husband suspecting anything”] (86). Less worried about her daughter and granddaughter, Otilia’s mother is concerned with public opinion and the family’s standing in the city; this image is in stark contrast with that of Inés, who raises Maxina in spite of her illegitimacy. The relation between Inés and Caitán that the señora de Sancti-Petri so admires (76), is the exact opposite of the relation that she has formed with her own husband, to whom she has never reported the rape of their daughter, nor about the existence of Maxina for over sixteen years.

Any maternal attributes are totally foreign to Otilia. After giving birth, Otilia doesn’t even want to give a name to the child; when Inés and her mother ask her what name she wants to give the newborn, Otilia answers, “el que V.V. quieran, igual me es” (80). When Inés and Caitán die, the Sancti-Petri women lose all news about and interest in Maxina:

Nai e filla, pois, perdíanse en conxecturas e fóronse así estando meses e anos sen noticia ningunha, de se viva, ou morta, era Maxina.

Otilia, por outro lado, confesémolo, pouco, ou ningún cariño lle profesaba, como xa notarían os lectores, e ique estraño, concebida sen amor, sen pecado, ata sen conciencia de que pecado se houbese nela!

[Mother and daughter, were lost in their conjectures and so passed months and years without any news of whether Maxina was alive or dead.

Otilia, on the other hand, let us confess, professed little, or no care, as the reader has seen, and how strange, conceived without love, without sin, without even consciousness of the sin contained in that act!”] (122)

These are the characteristics of the provincial city that are responsible for the disinheritance of Maxina and her abandonment to the country.

The women of Santiago abandon their daughter and figuratively, the city ends up disinheriting the country. The arrival of the women from the city to the country robs the country of the reproductive and vital qualities earlier described. The narrator says, “montes e campos sen floriñas; terras, onde o centeo e trigo verdearan, áridas, ou de color raxado; froiteiras, sen froita nos eixidos; . . . Era unha tarde, en fin, e tres señoras, Otilia, súa nai e Adria . . . saíndo. . . de Santiago, marchaban por Sar abaixo dereito a Angrois” [“hills and fields without flowers; lands, where the rye and wheat are green, arid, or a striped color; fruit trees without any fruit; . . . It was an afternoon, and three women, Otilia, her mother and Adria... leaving... Santiago, headed down along the river Sar straight to Angrois”](68). The advent of these women is accompanied by the death of the countryside: the presence of city folk divests the countryside of its natural wealth.

On a literal level, the blame for Maxina’s disinheritance and abandonment rests upon the urban characters. But before that, it is Veranio, the father of Maxina, a character who appears only in Santiago and in Paris, who deprives her not only of a legitimate birth, but also of a social inheritance, the title of *marquesa*, and an economic inheritance. Later, she is abandoned by her

matrilineal line: if her father denies her a surname, it is Otilia who doesn't even want to give her a name. It is Inés, the stepmother who gives the baby the name Maxina (80). The difference between mother and stepmother, between biological and social roles, collapses in order to underscore all the more the difference between the city and the countryside.

Maxina, like Manuela, her counterpart in Pardo Bazán's novels, ends up a "natural" daughter of the countryside: "era aldeá, nacera na aldea, criárase entre labradores" ["she was a villager, she was born in the village and she was brought up among the laborers"] (104). Marqués de Tria-Castela decides to bring Maxina to Madrid to study, in order that she learn to "ganar la vida honradamente, sin andar por aquí descalza cogiendo hierbas" (114), but the young girl is apprehensive about the city: "Madrid, dicen que está muy lejos, que allí se gasta mucho y eso no es para mí" (114), and "yo oí decir más de una vez al maestro y a mi adoptiva madre que en las ciudades se pierden muchas jóvenes y yo de esas no quiero ser" (114).

Her abandon to the countryside, however, does not take away the innate sense of urban refinement that Maxina appears to possess, no doubt an atavistic vestige of her noble lineage.¹⁰ Other characters seem to be aware of this difference in Maxina; the Marqués de Tria-Castela asks Rebordán: "¿No advierte V. una especie de señorío en todo su continente?" (114); even Maxina's own brother tells her, "ti es moi lista, guapa como ningunha da aldea" ["you are very smart,

¹⁰ Laura Otis, in her book on organic memory in nineteenth-century narrative, including Pardo Bazán's work, discusses that many of the authors of the period believed in atavism, which crops up in a number of the work. We will again return to the topic in Chapter Four when we discuss Heraclio Pérez Placer's *Prediución* (1889) and Miguel Luján Freire's *O penedo do crime* (1884).

beautiful like no one else in the town”] (115). Maxina represents a hybridization of the country and the city. Together with her brother Ermelio, Maxina is one of two characters in the novel who belong to the rural setting but speak in Castilian, one of the markers in the novel of urban education and the upper echelons of Galician society. The two siblings—Ermelio with his country blood and urban education, Maxina with her city blood and rural education—represent the possibility of harmony between the two spaces.

If the first half of the book deals with Maxina and Ermelio’s abandon and decline into poverty, the second half, deals with how the two siblings become the sole heirs of the rural and urban families: the latter leaving them material wealth, and the former, the Galician language and traditional customs. The cultural inheritance of the countryside is perhaps the most valuable in Valladares’s opinion, who writes that Galician is the “*dialecto que mamamos e ó que de vellos volvemos, cando xa todo nos é indiferente e parece case que todo tamén nos abandona*” [“*dialect that we are breastfed and the one to which we will return in our old age, when we are indifferent to everything and it seems that almost everything has abandoned us*”] (65). The disinheritance of the rural children by those of the city is overcome by the characters Tria-Castela and Rebordán who, as land owning aristocrats, straddle both the country and the city. It is they who offer the children the possibility of reconciling the rural and the urban. The harmonious relation between the rural and the urban that is represented by the relation between Maxina and Ermelio is established in Madrid, again illustrating that geographical movement enables incestuous relationships as we saw in *A cruz de salgueiro*. There the siblings receive a solid intellectual and sentimental

education: “ían estando xa tamén contentos, sen acordarse a penas nin sequera de Galicia, pensando sempre un no outro” [“they went on being happy, without remember their troubles or even Galicia, thinking always about each other”] (132). The marqués and marquesa de Tria-Castela, upon learning of their son’s death, are grief stricken, as they have lost “o seu herdeiro único, o herdeiro do seu nome e título” [“their sole heir, the heir of their name and title”] (132). But, when the truth of Maxina’s origin is uncovered, the narrator says that the marqués looked to Maxina “xa como súa neta, a súa herdeira” [“as his granddaughter, as his heiress”] (168). Depressed about the death of Otilia, and without hope of ever having a child, we are told of Rebordán that “tal melancolía se apoderou del, que enfermou, ó fin, e, pensando de morrer, fixo testamento, instituíndo polo seu herdeiro a Ermelio” [“such melancholy took hold of him, that he became sick, finally, and, thinking of his death, made a will, naming Ermelio his sole inheritor”] (165).

Maxina and Ermelio—“hermano de leche un día, amante hoy” (148)—decide to marry in 1868 when the couple turns eighteen years old. Valladares very well may have chosen this marker of Spanish modernity to have the couple reach maturity. The narrator says at the end: “Maxina, se ben nunca coñeceu a seus naturais pais, fixo unha gran casada, foi ditosa con Ermelio e, tempo andado, Marquesa de Tria-Castela; Ermelio, dono e Señor de Rebordán” [“Maxina, even though she never knew her biological parents, arranged a great wedding, was happy with Ermelio, and, further along, became the Marquesa de Tria/Castela; Ermelio, the owner and *Señor* of Rebordán”] (168). The conflict between city and country appears to be resolved with the marriage of the two

siblings. With Maxina and Ermelio, Galician and Castilian, the noble and villager are also wed in a prosperous and harmonious union.

How hopeful ought we to be for the young couple? A number of questions arise when we try to analyze the ending of the novel. Valladares chose the year 1868 as the year of the wedding, the same year in which the Glorious Revolution and the dethroning of Isabel II took place, which perhaps explains the hopeful tone with which the novel, written in 1870, ends. By 1880, however, when *Maxina* was first published, Spain had already seen the failure of the First Republic and the restoration of Isabel II's son to the throne. Maxina and Ermelio stay on in Madrid, the place where they fell in love and married. It seems paradoxical that the place where the young Galician couple can live happily ever after is outside of Galicia. Another ambiguity in the text lies in the fact that Valladares, in his introduction to *Maxina*, refers to Galicia as “nosa nai” [“our mother”] (66), yet the entire novel, is a novel that questions the very idea of motherhood. Otilia never does recognize Maxina as her daughter; nor does the ending ever tell us explicitly that Maxina inherited the estate of the Sancti-Petri. The absence of Maxina's mother and the excess of surrogate parents blur the distinction between parents and stepparents. His novel exposes the imperfect and irrecoverable maternal figure, thereby allowing us to think of Galicia—or at least its ruling urban classes—as the absent and abandoning mother that robs its children of their patrimony.

In his *Diccionario de escritores gallegos* (1862), Manuel Murguía understands Galician economic development and history in terms of a family drama, as well. First, he acknowledges that Spain did not extend the experience

of modernity to Galicia, leaving the region “sin grandes centros, sin industria, lejos de todo movimiento, encerrado en la soledad de los campos” (xxvii). However, Murguía criticizes Galicia, characterizing it by saying, “fue como una madre que gastó todos sus tesoros con hijos ingratos” (xxvi), implying that Galicia facilitated a feudalism that permitted only certain children access to resources and opportunities while abandoning and disinheriting others. He is referring to the internal economic and political structure that favored the order of the *antiguo régimen*.

Emilia Pardo Bazán’s novels are similar to Valladares’s *Maxina* in that they also relate the problem of incest to problems of class, and offer endogamy as a solution to unite a Galicia divided along country and city lines. The action of *Los pazos de Ulloa* begins in 1868, the same year in which *Maxina* and Ermelio marry. As Jo Labanyi has pointed out: “her decision to set the first novel around 1868 associates the onset of modernity with the 1868 Revolution which opened Spain up to modern ideas” (342). The conflict between provincial city, the countryside and Madrid, which *Maxina* imagines having been resolved with the marriage of the siblings, has still not been resolved in Pardo Bazán’s Galicia. *Los pazos* begins with Julián’s descent along “aquel repecho del camino real de Santiago a Orense . . . murmurando que tenía bastante más declive del no sé cuántos por ciento marcado por la ley, . . . y alguna quinta de personaje político, alguna influencia electoral de grueso calibre debía de andar cerca” (127). The *Camiño de Santiago*, a road that has symbolically and historically carried visitors and ideas from abroad into Santiago, the center of Galicia, is being traveled in reverse by Julián. From this moment, Pardo Bazán establishes the precarious

relation and relative incommunicability between the provincial city, the Galician villages and the state capital.

The sexual tension between country and city that we find in the abovementioned novels is also present in Pardo Bazán's novels. The country and the city in Pardo Bazán's novels, as in *Maxina*, are marked by gender although the value assigned to them varies from *Los pazos* to *La madre naturaleza*. As we saw in Valladares's novel, the urban spaces are replete with feminine bodies but are endowed with masculine values. In contrast with *Maxina*, and many other novels of the period (Charnon-Deutsch 131), in *Los pazos de Ulloa* the city suffers from an excess of femininity (the Pardo de la Lage sisters, Julián) while the country is assigned a masculine value (Pedro, Primitivo, Barbacana, Trampeta). In the second of the novels, *La madre naturaleza*, these spaces acquire symbolic values more typical of the nineteenth-century novel. With the death of Primitivo and the body of Pedro weakened and aged, the country is reconfigured here as a maternal and natural force. It is the city, here represented by Gabriel, that is associated with patriarchal values.

However, none of these divisions is ever perfect, and there are always moments of contamination of one space with the others. On the one hand, there is the *casino* of Santiago (a masculine haven) and the gatherings of Sabel (a women's haven in the kitchen) in *Los pazos*; in *La madre naturaleza*, the feminine country is also the place where El Gallo meets with his male friends (masculine), and Madrid, which is associated with Gabriel and the *caciques*, is also a space marked by the widow and Gabriel's love affair with her (78-9), and where shopping (coded as feminine) takes place. As Jo Labanyi mentions, in the

two novels there are also “multiple two-way movements between city and country by male and female characters (339), that hybridize and sexually unite the two spaces.

Labanyi also establishes various relations in which the country characters cross with city characters across the two novels:

Country male-country female (Perucho—Manuela), country male-city female (Pedro—Nucha), country female-city male (Manuela—Gabriel), city female-city male (Nucha—Gabriel), undermining the city-country opposition on which the novels are ostensibly based. (340)

The attempts to reconcile the country and the city normally do not work, in part because of the unnatural pairing of oppositional elements. These incongruent and incestuous relationships also fail for reasons that Labanyi points out:

The situation is further complicated by the fact that the incests between first cousins (Pedro—Nucha) and between literal uncle and niece and figurative siblings (Gabriel—Manuela) are shown to be socially acceptable but bad matches, while that between half-brother and –sister (Perucho—Manuela) is universally condemned but comprises the ‘perfect couple’. (341)

“Incest,” according to Labanyi, “occurs across the board because in these novels almost everyone, for different reasons, is trying to keep the outside world of modernity out” (341). This comment seems an over-simplification if we try to apply it to the relationship between Manuela and Perucho. The first problem is that the relationship between Perucho and Manuela ought not to be reduced to a relation between “country male-country female.” Nor does it seem that we should say that the relation between the siblings represents an effort to protect

themselves from modernity. In fact, their relationship represents the very opposite: an unsuccessful attempt at realizing the project of modernity in Galicia, and bridging the distance between the city and the country.

The problem with characters such as Pedro or Julián, or with spaces such as the *pazos* or Santiago, is that they are exclusively rural or urban and do not allow for any relation with the other. There are, however, in the novel other characters and spaces that allow for a benevolent relationship between the social and the natural, the urban and rural, and of the masculine and the feminine. These characters and spaces are idealized by the author in both of the novels. If one looks at the spaces in which the amorous relation between Perucho and Manuela develops one repeatedly finds the same characteristics. In *Los pazos*, Perucho, fearing that Pedro is going to kill Manuela, escapes with his sister to hide in an *hórreo* (399), a construction typical of Galician villages, used to store grain. The roofs of *hórreos* are adorned with a cross on one side and a pagan symbol of fertility—combining the modern with the traditional. In *La madre naturaleza*, the first time that we see the siblings together, they seek shelter from the rain in a quarry: “abandonada hacía tiempo por los trabajadores la cantera, volvía a enseñorearse de ella la vegetación, convirtiendo el hueco artificial en rústica y sombrosa gruta” (9). The last time that we see them together is when the siblings are in the *castro*, an old Celtic hill fort. The narrator writes:

el estado de conservación de los dos campamentos era tan maravilloso, se veían tan claras las líneas del reducto y el círculo perfecto de la profunda zanja que en torno lo defendía, que aquella fortificación de tierra, . . . trabajo de defensa practicado para ostentar la independendencia galaica, aparecía más entero que las fortalezas, . . . de la Edad Media. (203)

In addition to the passing of time, neither the climate nor the flora has had a negative effect on the *castro*: “no habían hecho más que vestirlas de enredaderas, de zarzales, de plantas y hierbas lozanísimas” (203). None of these places are either entirely natural or modern constructions but a mix of the two, or rather, they are man-made constructions that have been absorbed into the landscape and to that extent are naturalized.

By making the *castros* the backdrop for the setting of the siblings’ sexual encounter, Pardo Bazán relates it to “la independencia galaica.” The incestuous relation would be a revolutionary act, one that would reclaim Galician independence. The incest in *La madre naturaleza* is similar to that of *Maxina* in that it is viewed positively, unlike in *A cruz de salgueiro*. What is also interesting to note is that Maxina and Ermelio’s relationship culminates in Madrid, whereas Pardo Bazán’s perfect relationship is consummated in one of the most traditional of Galician settings.

Like the *hórreo*, the quarry and the *castros*—or like the siblings Maxina and Ermelio—Manuela and Perucho also represent a harmony between the city and country, culture and nature. Like Maxina, Manuela belongs to an aristocratic and urban bloodline while her brother is the purebred villager. In spite of this social difference, their educations put the two siblings on equal footing. When we last see the siblings at the end of *Los pazos*, Julián expresses his surprise at the changes that have occurred in a mere decade:

Sólo una circunstancia le hizo dudar de si aquellos dos muchachos encantadores eran en realidad el bastardo y la heredera legítima de

Moscoso. Mientras el hijo de Sabel vestía ropa de paño, de hechura como entre aldeano acomodado y señorito, la hija de Nucha, cubierta con un traje de percal asaz viejo, llevaba los zapatos tan rotos, que puede decirse que iba descalza. (416)

Julián finds Manuela in the same condition that the *marqués* de Tria-Castela finds Maxina in Valladares's novel. The siblings represent the potential harmony between the sexes, classes and castes that was promised by modernity.

Although the incestuous can be understood as a natural relationship, characteristic of an idyllic and pre-social state, the relationship is also progressive, insofar it promises reconciliation between social spheres and groups that had been held apart by the order of the *Antiguo Régimen*. In this sense we could speculate that it is the fear that this harmony be achieved that drives characters like Pedro and Gabriel to prohibit the union from being carried out. In the relationship's purity there is not only a return to the past but also the promise of a modern future. As Perucho best expresses, neither he nor his sister are interested in the feudal and backward values in which they live:

Desde chiquillos andamos juntos, sin diferencias de clases ni de señoríos, y nadie nos recordó nuestra condición desigual hasta que cayó aquí llovido del cielo el señor Gabriel Pardo de la Lage. . . Si Manola es rica, sepan que yo no quiero sus riquezas y que me futro y me refutro en ellas... Que el padrino gaste su dinero en lo que se le antoje: que lo gaste en cohetes o lo dé a los pobres de la parroquia. Dios se lo pague por la carrera que me está dando; pero con carrera o sin ella... yo ganaré para mí y para mi mujer. Manola se crió como la hija de un labriego, no necesita lujos ni sedas; yo, menos todavía. (*Madre* 262-4).

With these words, it is difficult to see the incestuous relationship as an anti-modernizing force. Pedro and Manuela move beyond questions of titles and

privileges and obey an order in which value depends on the value of their work. It seems that the love between the siblings is the result of “the transition from an economic system based on inherent value (represented by the aristocratic equation of worth with birth) to one based on nominal value (where status derives from money and what it can buy)” (Labanyi 346), and not a defense of the older system that according to Labanyi incest supposedly supports.

Manuela and Perucho’s refusals of their inheritances are merely the last in a long chain of disinheritances that have accumulated from *Los pazos de Ulloa* and that continue until the very last line of *La madre naturaleza*. Don Pedro Moscoso should have been the heir of “cierta tradición de cultura trasañeja” like all of the men of the family, “desde el abuelo afrancesado,” but Pedro remained an orphan (*Pazos* 158). Later, Pedro’s uncle Gabriel comes to help his sister and “para disfrutar a su talante las rentas del cuñado difunto” (*Pazos* 158). Gabriel, after having robbed almost all of Pedro’s money, on his deathbed confesses to having illegitimate children in Cebre, and “otorgó testamento legando a tres hijos que tenía sus bienes y caudal, sin dejar al sobrino don Pedro ni el reloj en memoria” (*Pazos* 161). Further on, Julián describes how the members of the Moscoso family aren’t even the legitimate *marqueses* of Ulloa, but that Pedro’s father bought the honorary title (*Pazos* 162-3). Pedro himself is robbed of the ‘right’ wife when Julián convinces him to marry Nucha instead of her sister.

Pedro, unaware of the fact that Nucha’s father has declared his son Gabriel the heir of the entire de la Lage fortune and that “no restaba más esperanza a las hermanitas que la herencia de una tía soltera, doña Marcelina” (*Pazos* 233), decides to marry Nucha who he believed was to be Marcelina’s sole heir. With his

formal marriage to Nucha, the family composed of Sabel, Pedro and Perucho is converted into an “horrible familia ilegal. . . la familia espuria” (*Pazos* 258). The novel concludes with the image of Perucho made a *señorito* and Manuela, a poor villager.

In *La madre naturaleza* questions of inheritance become even more important. They appear as early as the first descriptions; for example, in the first scene in which the siblings seek shelter from “una lluvia legítima,” under an “árbol patriarcal, de esos que ven con indiferencia desdeñosa sucederse generaciones” (7). It is the same indifference with which Pedro views his daughter, according to Juncal: “cuando nació la pequeña, ya renegó y echó por aquella boca una ristra de barbaridades... Al que adora es al chiquillo de Sabel. . . Dicen que le quiere dejar bajo cuerda casi todo cuanto tiene” (102). El Gallo, Perucho’s step-father, behaves as the boy’s father in hopes that Perucho will one day be made *marqués de Ulloa*, and that he himself will be able to ascend the social scale (129). Instead of children inheriting from their parents, El Gallo wants to invert the natural order and inherit the wealth of his step-child.

When Gabriel asks Pedro for Manuela’s hand in marriage, the situation quickly turns to a bargaining table in which they debate the inheritance. Gabriel says to Pedro: “Si se arregla la boda, no le des un céntimo a tu hija de presente, y dispón tu testamento como te dé la gana y a favor de quien se te antoje. . . La legítima materna de Manolita te la cederé: yo le señalaré de mi patrimonio, en carta dotal, otro tanto como le corresponda por herencia de su madre” (138). The incestuous relationship between uncle and niece that Gabriel is bargaining for would further disinherit Manuela.

Further along in the text, Pedro begins to take open notice of Perucho and to prepare him to take over his estate. In one scene Pedro sends for Perucho so that he can take over his role in the harvest: “Llamarle a que majase la camada en lugar del hidalgo, era lo mismo que decirle ya sin rodeos ni tabujos: «Ulloa eres, y Ulloa te engendró»” (229). The heir, however, cannot be found because he is in the *castros* with his sister.

The problem of inheritances, and disinheritances, is complicated further by the network of incestuous relations: Nucha is cousin and wife to Pedro, Pedro is father and godfather to Perucho; Perucho is brother and lover to Manuela; Gallo is father and step-father to Perucho; Gabriel is uncle and lover to Manuela; Nucha is sister, surrogate wife and mother to Gabriel. In this confusion of roles and familial relations, it is almost impossible to determine what belongs to whom legally, as in *Maxina*. It also makes it impossible for the two siblings to recognize each other as such.

A second debate about inheritance that appears in both of Pardo Bazán’s novels concerns biological inheritance. The defender of deterministic theories in the novels of *los pazos* is the doctor Máximo Juncal. In *Los pazos*, it is he who argues his beliefs with Julián, “alardeando de materialismo higiénico, ponderando mucho la acción bienhechora de la madre naturaleza” (279). Later, in *La madre naturaleza*, he continues defending his beliefs in his conversations with Gabriel. When Gabriel comes to him to tell him that Manuela has fallen ill, the doctor misdiagnoses the patient; without even seeing her he says that her delirium is a result of a “mal conocido, herencia materna... la pobre doña Marcelina, que en Gloria esté... era nerviosísima y algo débil, y, aunque la

señorita Manuela salió más robusta y se crió de otra manera muy distinta, en su edad es la cosa más fácil” (284-5).

The biological determinism that governs many of the works of naturalist writers does not hold in Pardo Bazán’s novels. Perucho, the country bastard child, is one of the most refined characters in the text, and one morally superior to, say, Gabriel, in spite of the latter’s refined upbringing and Madrilene education. Likewise, even though Juncal supposes that Manuela has inherited her mother’s constitution, we know that this is not the true reason for her illness.

Debates over Pardo Bazán’s beliefs about naturalist inheritance and biological determinism have been central in the criticism about her works. Unfortunately, most of the bibliography deals with whether or not Pardo Bazán was a Naturalist or not, like the author she admired, Emile Zola, or in the same way as were other Spanish authors such as Galdós and Clarín. This question ought to be secondary to how the laws of inheritance function within her works. The literary critic Joan Oleza accuses Pardo Bazán, as do many critics, of a “falta de compromiso con sus propias creencias” (67), of employing an unscientific naturalism “cargado de literatura” (73). In doing so, he reduces her to a body without interiority, another superficial female author: “la condesa no pudo ser nunca una auténtica naturalista ni evolucionó, en el sentido de Galdós, hacia un interiorismo hondo y total, capaz de proyectarse sobre la colectividad y fecundarla” (76).¹¹ Although he never clarifies what he means by “auténtico

¹¹ Critics have traditionally denied the profundity or intellectual depth of Pardo Bazán’s novels by denying them any interiority. These are often replete with commentaries about the author’s appearance (linking her production to her own superficiality) or by masculinizing her, so as to rob her of her “fecundity” as does

naturalista,” we know that Oleza means to place her works below the standard of Galdós and Clarín.

This tendency to compare different authors’ brands of naturalism to create a hierarchy of whose is most consistent has distracted critics from appreciating the regional particularities of Pardo Bazán’s work. Discussions of naturalism always situate the author in Spanish or European contexts and never in a regional context alongside other Galician intellectuals, which at the time of the publication of these novels, was important to her intellectual formation. In the former context it seems that she aimed to illustrate the power of determinism and fell short. Yet, *Los pazos de Ulloa* and *La madre naturaleza* alongside novels like *Maxina* seem to be not about inheritance but about disinheritance; not focusing on what one inherits from their family and their environs but what one does not inherit. Instead of being read as inconsistent novels of inheritance, they could be read as novels of disinheritance that are aimed at revealing the impossibility of inheritance in a place like Galicia, a territory far from the capital where the laws

Oleza in the above quote. Another such example can be found in a review of *Insolación* that was published in the *Álbum Literario*, a paper published in Ourense in 1889:

La señora Pardo Bazán, la eximia novelista gallega, acaba de dar a luz—en sentido literario— una nueva obra puesta ya a la venta en las principales librerías. . . Hay pasajes del naturalismo *tan natural*, que sólo pueden disculparse en gracia a la galanura del estilo y al indiscutible talento de quien ha cambiado de sexo en el terreno literario, según afirma el mismo Cavia.
Con el pelo cortado masculinamente, viajando sola por todas partes, publicando su admirable memorial . . . son ocurrencias y atrevimientos peregrinos que solo á Doña Emilia se le toleran en esta Sociedad tan caprichosa como incomprensible.

Even when she is receiving a compliment for a naturalist endeavour, she herself seems to defy nature.

of the *antiguo régimen* do not entirely cease to function and where the new laws of modernity and the Republic fail to take hold.

In an illegitimate and incestuous Galicia, how can one expect writers to offer the “aceptación del determinismo filosófico. . . al naturalismo” (Oleza 4)? The laws of determinism not only malfunction in the works of Pardo Bazán but in those of many Galician authors of the period. Galicia is precisely that space where no modern laws—whether related to Democracy, Modernity, Naturalism, etc., can function correctly because of a historical legacy of corruption, illustrated by the promiscuity of *A cruz de salgueiro*, the rape and abandonment in *Maxina*, and the corrupted familial relations and disinheritances of the *Los pazos* and *La madre naturaleza*. This provincialism makes all forms of legitimacy—familial, titular, political, economic—impossible because of the layers of corruption. Here it is only through the marriage of brothers and sisters that the historic problems of inheritance can be solved.

In her analysis of the *Pazo* novels, “Bearing Motherhood,” Lou Charnon-Deutsch discusses the ways in which “the law of patrolling, ensuring the passing on of the father’s name and privileges, relegates the mother-daughter relationship to the margins of all that is recognized as authentic in *Los pazos* and *La madre naturaleza*” (120). In this setting, any notion of family and maternity dissolve (Charnon-Deutsch 120, 123-130). The power of the mother has been undermined by the paternal power: “Mother nature, despite Pardo Bazán’s exaggerated depictions of its might, does not predetermine the failure of the new family; rather, the Father’s Law does” (Charnon-Deutsch 121). Both the world of Ulloa, and that of Lula in *Maxina*, have made maternity an impossibility. If in

Los pazos and *La madre naturaleza* mothers like Nucha die and mothers like Sabel do not raise their children, in *Maxina* mothers either die, like Inés, or go insane like Otilia.

In *Gender and Modernization in the Spanish Realist Novel*, Jo Labanyi argues that the novel of the adulteress and the prostitute become the important narratives of the late nineteenth century Spain. If sexual relations outside of the family serve as a metaphor for the national anxieties of the Restoration in the Spanish novel (Labanyi 386-7), I would suggest that it is sexual relations *inside* the family that are amongst the major concern of the Galician novel during the *Rexurdimento*. In *A cruz de salgueiro*, the sexual promiscuity that characterizes life in Madrid results in incest for the Galician characters; Spanish narrative becomes Galician tragedy. In *Maxina*, a less literal—but equally taboo relation between siblings, provides the solution to Galicia's entrance into modernity, allowing the long-abandoned country to claim its riches from the city. In *Maxina*, as in *La madre naturaleza*, the incest is avoided only by the discovery that Maxina and her brother are not real siblings but stepsiblings, a *deus ex machine* that permits the couple to magically change from siblings to lovers without the disapproval of the reader. In *Los pazos de Ulloa* and *La madre naturaleza*, a history of incestuous relations has hindered the development of characters and convoluted their relations, but would also be solved through the endogamic relationship between Perucho and Manuela, if not for the intervention of Gabriel from Madrid.

Jo Labanyi reads the problem of incest in the realist novel as a rural problem, closely linked to the state of economic decline provoked by the policies

of a centrist government. For Labanyi, the incests of *Los pazos* and *La madre naturaleza* are read as Spanish problems and position the novels alongside works by authors that wrote about rural life in Spain such as Varela and Pereda (265-384), and as previously mentioned, this represents an attempt at “trying to keep the outside world of modernity out” (341). I suggest, however, that we view the problem of incest in Galician literature as a regional or national problem, a problem related to the cultural concerns of Galicia during that period. The fear of endogamy appears in the Galician novel at that very moment when Galician national borders are first being erected, a nascent *galeguidade* is beginning to define its relation not only to the ideas of nation and language but also to the rest of Spain, and in a universal context. Issues of endogamy and exogamy in the late nineteenth-century novel can perhaps be understood as an early anxiety about endogamic and exogamic cultural proposals. The Galician novel in Galician—traditional in language and often content, but modern in form—was perhaps the most fitting genre to explore and reconcile these concerns. In the case of *A cruz de salgueiro*, endogamy is most certainly something to be avoided, yet, paradoxically, it is the result of an excess of exogamy. Rodríguez López seems to be proposing that a *galeguidade* that wanders too far beyond questions of territory and language creates the circumstances in which sanguinary bonds between Galicians become unrecognizable. Not only does this happen in the encounter between Estevo and Delores, but also leaving the nation is responsible for misrecognition between Estevo and Mingas. When Estevo secretly returns to the village to tell Berta of his plan to leave Mingas and marry Delores, he passes Mingas on the road. Mingas notices Estevo and a servant pass by on horseback

but, “como ningún dos dous falou unha palabra mentres pasaron, Mingas seguiu o seu camiño pouco a pouco por ver se sentía falar, por se os sentía falar, por se na voz coñecía a aquel que tanto reparaba nela; pero que non puidera coñecer pola escuridade da noite e a sombra que daban os cabalos” [“since neither of them spoke a word as they passed, Mingas continued along her path little by little to see if she could hear them speak, to see if she could recognize the voice of that person who stared at her so long but whom she couldn’t recognize because of the darkness of the night and the shadows cast by the horses”] (67). She assumes Estevo to be some “forasteiro” (68). Without language Estevo is unrecognizable to Mingas; with no familiar voice she can only assume he must come from *máis aló*.

In both of these scenes, Dolores/Delores’s and Estevo’s respective lack of language, or more specifically, the Galician language, blur their true identities even to family and loved ones. While this seems to suggest the importance of a *galeguidade* closely bound to Galician—a bind that the novel in Galician of the *Rexurdimento* most certainly hoped to establish—there is also the possibility that the characters’ misrecognitions of other Galicians as *forasteiros* is due to an overdependence on the Galician language as the sole marker of *galeguidade*. It is this kind of linguistic determinism that in the twentieth century would make it difficult to recognize the Galician novel in Castilian as a spurious or marginal genre of the *Rexurdimento*. This understanding that the Galician language is a distinctive and important marker of Galician literature but not the only marker is being echoed today as artists and critics reevaluate traditional relationships between *galeguidade*, language and nation more than a century later.

Reincorporating the Galician novel in Spanish such as Pardo Bazán's works has great consequence not only for how we think of Galician literature but for how we can rethink works that have long been read in a Spanish context. Alongside other Galician novels, new debates and questions become audible in the writing of *Los pazos de Ulloa* and *La madre naturaleza* that allow us to hear responses to questions posed by the regionalist movement in which she was immersed, even if at odds with it in some respects. Whatever the author's intentions, Emilia Pardo Bazán's *pazo* novels become, like the *castros* where the incestuous couple seeks refuge—a "trabajo de defensa practicado para ostentar la independencia galaica," establishing Galician difference during the *Rexurdimento*.

The incestuous relationships that seem to provide an escape from the characters various problems create another set of problems. The words spoken by one of Caitano's Spanish classmates who intended to offend the Galician by saying that Galicia was devoid of any great figures because "galego que sae listo, sae de verdade" are contradicted, not only by Caitano who fights the student, but by the ending of the novel itself. Leaving Galicia is not a sign of sanity but rather insanity. The wandering beyond the nation that leads to incest, also leads to insanity and enclosure. When the incestuous relation is discovered, Delores falls ill and eventually, "a pobriña entolecera" ["the poor thing went crazy"] (296), which requires that she be moved to the insane asylum. Carballo Calero remarks that *A cruz de salgueiro* and *Maxina* share the fact that in each of the novels someone goes insane at the end (437), but he makes no effort to understand the significance that these scenes might have within the larger works. In other novels

that blur the line between endo- and exogamy, incest and insanity or enclosure are usually the results. In *Maxina*, at around the time that Maxina and Ermelio learn that they are only step-siblings and can marry, Otilia, Maxina's mother becomes mentally ill: "¡¡¡Loqueara!!!" ["She went crazy!!!"] (162). In *La madre naturaleza*, when Manuela learns of her relation to her brother she suffers a nervous breakdown, as another character reports, "convulsiones, lloreras, soponcios... Desvaría un poco...; yo creo que hay delirio" (284); Manuela is able to avoid being sent to an asylum but at the end decides to live walled up in a convent (319). When the protagonist of *A campaña de Caprecórneca* awakens after having spent the night traveling to foreign galaxies in the company of his two lovers to whom he has been unfaithful, he finds himself lost in a mountainous forests of Lestedo and he despairingly exclaims: "¡Eu toleei!" ["I've gone crazy!"] (210). Just when he believes himself to have left Galicia with his lovers, he finds that he is in reality deeply embedded in the Galician wilderness, lost in its vastness. In *La hija del mar* by Rosalía de Castro, after being abducted and sexually abused by her own father, the main character goes crazy and is locked in a house, under the supervision of her father/lover and nurses. Homi Bhabha's understanding of insanity in relation to social and cultural problems is useful for thinking of these moments of incest in relation to Galician society: "It is at this moment of intellectual and psychic 'uncertainty' that representation can no longer guarantee the authority of culture; and culture can no longer guarantee to author its 'human' subjects as the signs of humanness" (*Location* 137). The subjects' breakdowns in this literature need to be read as symptoms, not of

mental or individual instability, but of the unstable cultural space in which these subjects live and where they cannot develop a stable identity.

A cruz de salgueiro is certainly a novel whose plot and style *sae da nación* at a time when most regional prose writers are offering more folkloric and *costumbrista* looks at life in Galicia. It is a novel that helped to widen the scope of Galician literature while strengthening the Galician language as a mode of novelistic expression. On the other hand, it is also a novel that warns about going too far beyond the nation making the claim that too exogenous a *galeguidade* is tantamount to one that is dangerously endogenous. It continuously blurs the differences between insides and outsides, Galicia and Spain, by putting them into conflict and seeking to reconcile them again. This novel that spans two generations of a family and some thirty years, covers nearly all of Spain and its former territories, ends ambiguously with half of its main characters, Berta and Caitano, taking up residence in Lugo, and the other half, Mingas and Estevo, leaving for Bilbao—insisting on a *galeguidade* that has a foot on each side of the national border. In *Maxina*, Maxina and Ermelio are able to reconcile the problem that hindered Galicia's own modernizing project: that of bridging the distance between the Galician city and country. Yet, they are unable to turn Galicia into a home, and at the end of the novel, like Mingas and Estevo in *A cruz de salgueiro*, they leave Galicia but unlike Mingas and Estevo, for Maxina and Ermelio Madrid seems the best option. Though *Maxina* is hailed as a *galeguista* text, this ending allows us to question the degree to which *Maxina* frees Galicia from its dependency on Madrid. Linguistically, these novels challenge Spanish authority but they are only partially able to convert Galicia into a livable space.

Paradoxically, the novels by Emilia Pardo Bazán, those that linguistically are perhaps the least Galician, are the novels that most fiercely seek an endogamous solution to Galicia's move into modernity. Unlike the other happy Galician couples that leave Galicia, the siblings in Pardo Bazán's novels were to make Galicia their idealized home. Perucho leaves Galicia at the end, not as part of a happy ending but as an expulsion from Paradise.

Chapter 4

Dysfunctional Fictions: The Violent Nature of Galician Narrative

It is always possible to bind together a considerable number of people in love, so long as there are other people left over to receive the manifestations of their aggression.
-Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents*

It was upon reading Emilia Pardo Bazán's *Dulce Dueño* (1911) that I first began to think about the violent and cruel sexual relationships of Galician narrative. The protagonist Lina, in search of an absolute love, scorns three suitors, the last of whom dies in a drowning accident. This victim, whose death is posited as a result of Lina's idealism and games, turns out to have been the true love she had sought after, irremediably lost forever. Feeling her own unworthiness before this unattainable ideal, Lina thinks momentarily about beating her own head against the wall and tearing apart her clothing and flesh with her nails. This urge soon passes and instead the provincial, modernist female grabs her coat and hat, rushes into the clamorous streets of downtown Madrid and walks until chancing upon a prostitute in a doorway. Lina approaches and asks the woman to trample upon her for money. The "venal sacerdotisa" agrees to stomp on Lina for the sum of 50 pesetas. Lina narrates:

Abrí el portamonedas, y mostré el billete, razón soberana.
Titubeaba aún. La desvié vivamente, y, ocultándome en lo sombrío

del portal, me eché en el suelo, infecto y duro, y aguardé. La prójima, turbada, se encogió de hombros, y se decidió. Sus tacones magullaron mi brazo derecho, sin vigor ni saña.

--Fuerte, fuerte he dicho...

--¡Andá! Si la gusta... Por mí...

Entonces bailó recio sobre mis caderas, sobre mis senos, sobre mis hombros, respetando por instinto la faz, que blanqueaba entre la penumbra. No exhalé un grito. Sólo exclamé sordamente.

--¡La cara, la cara también!

Cerré los ojos... Sentí el tacón, la suela, sobre la boca... Agudo sufrimiento me hizo gemir.

La daifa me incorporaba, taponándome los labios con su pañuelo pestífero.

--¿Lo vé? La hice a usted mucho daño. Aunque me dé mil duros no la piso más. Si está usted guillada, yo no soy ninguna creminal, ¿se entera? ¡Andá! ¡En el pañuelo se ha quedao un diente!

El sabor peculiar de la sangre inundaba mi boca. Tenté la mella con los dedos. El cuerpo me dolía por varias partes.

--Gracias—murmuré, escupiendo sanguinolento--.Es usted una buena mujer. No piense que estoy loca. Es que he sido mala, peor que usted mil veces, y quiero expiar. Ahora isoy feliz!" (267-9)

Much of the recent scholarship on *Dulce Dueño* has dealt with issues of female identity at the turn of the last century. While certainly an important aspect of the book, what interests me here is this scene in particular. In this brief moment of contractual violence intersect questions of sexuality, religion, language, legality, class, territory, nation, pleasure and pain. Masochistic violence is able to make a union of conflicting and contradictory values and forge, or literally bang out, a subject that can exclaim, albeit to the reader or listener's discomfort, "ahora isoy feliz!" In her article "Tenía corazón," Lou Charnon-Deutsch builds upon the corpus of feminist criticism of *Dulce Dueño*, arguing that even as the text ushers in a modern or modernist feminine identity as other feminist scholars had previously pointed out, it continues in the longer tradition of nineteenth-century literature which takes the female body as an object of study and divests woman of

her independence (325). This masochistic moment, “repulsiva para lectores modernos” (Charnon-Deutsch 334), seems to undermine the modern feminist intentions of the text by suggesting that women are most satisfied and complete when divested of their will or in service of an authority, in this case, of Jesus, Lina’s *dulce dueño*.

Joseba Gabilondo, in a recent article for the *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, interprets the masochism evidenced in Pardo Bazán’s writing in a more bio-bibliographic sense. He reads this violent relationship as representative of her own exilic position within Galician literature, as both a writer of prose in Spanish and a feminist. Gabilondo’s claim that Galician national literature is defined by the exclusion of Galician women’s writing (“Towards”), echoes Kirsty Hooper’s claims that linguistically defined criteria of what constitutes Galician literature have erased Galician women from the literary landscape since much of their production was in Spanish (“New Cartographies”). I would add that in addition to the exclusion of writings in Spanish and writing by women, one of the greatest omissions from the literary canon of the nineteenth century has been that of prose. Galician prose has remained largely untouched by scholars within Galician studies as it has been either deemed non-Galician (as in the case of authors such as Pardo Bazán, Valle-Inclán and Rosalía de Castro), or as non-existent, or at least scarce in quantity and literary value. Modesto Hermida, however, in cataloguing and re-editing narrative works from the nineteenth century, has shown that narrative prose did in fact play a more fundamental role during the *Rexurdimento* than is typically believed (*Tempo*).

Just as *Dulce Dueño* can be read within a context of women's writing or of Pardo Bazán's long and tumultuous association with the *galeguista* movement, I want to argue that if we view it within the larger corpus of Galician prose of the nineteenth century and *fin de siglo*, we begin to notice a recurrent theme of violent relationships between lovers and family members. Lina's scornful and manipulative relations are just one of the many kinds of violence represented in Galician narrative, which include homicide, domestic violence, fratricide, rape, patricide, abuse, infanticide and sadistic and masochistic amorous relationships. These violent relationships thematically unite much of Galician prose written in Spanish and Galician, as well as attribute to it a particular character distinct from that of other literatures of the peninsula. While I do not mean to suggest that Galician literature or *galeguidade* is inherently violent, I do think that these depictions of relationships between relatives and lovers invert the image of the family that circulated in the dominant bourgeois national literatures of the Hispanic world.

As mentioned in Chapter One, among the works that inform this analysis of the Galician family at the end of the nineteenth century are *Imagined Communities* by Benedict Anderson and *Foundational Fictions* by Doris Sommer. Both authors agree that the newspaper brought together the members of the nation temporally, even if they remained separated socially or geographically. The happenings of the stories and novels could unfold in various salons and reading rooms simultaneously. Anderson notes that literature, particularly the serialized novel, played a major role in this process of identity formation. These novels, whether romantic, domestic or realist texts, brought the

reading public together through shared affective bonds. The sense of intimacy that the novel provided—sharing interior spaces, thoughts, emotions, and behaviors of the characters—served as guide books for the elites of the young nation, and defined the characteristics of the national spirit of each nation and helped make them palpable to readers via the characters. The nation's viability and reality then depended heavily on the citizens' shared belief in and sense of community, allowing readers to overcome geographic discontinuities by way of a sense of imagined continuity.

Sommer argues that the novel—a European genre—was appropriated by the new American bourgeois states and converted into an autochthonous genre that drafted the proposal for a new set of relations amongst the citizens of the newly independent states. Latin American writers did this through the Romantic novel, which was able to bring the stories of sexual romance and infuse them with patriotism so that these romances and the sympathies that they stirred in the hearts of readers would redouble the readers' love for the nation. Differences of class and race could be redressed and overcome by the characters through marriage in the new democratic state.

One might expect a similar narrative structure of Galician literature, since it too is a product of a weakened Spanish Imperial state and the politico-cultural situation that led to the independence of the American territories. Spain's anfractuous history over the nineteenth century, which had given way to the American wars of independence, also favored the internal divisions and contestations of Spanish sovereignty particularly from the regions of Catalonia, the Basque Country, and Galicia. The Napoleonic Invasions, the Carlist Wars and

The Glorious Revolution of 1868, are among those major events that fueled the regionalist movements at the end of the nineteenth century. Yet, unlike its American counterparts, Galician literature offers an image of family tied by repression and violence, and in which sanguine kinship ties become sanguinary encounters.

One possible reason why the difference between Latin American and Galician nationalist literature is so extreme is because of the regions' distinct political histories. Unlike the American nations analyzed by Sommer, nationalist sentiment in Galicia would not result in nor emerge with political autonomy as in the case of Latin American states. So, when reading the Galician novel as foundational national fiction, we must remember that unlike those novels analyzed by Sommer, the Galician novel precedes the formation of a Galician state, and until the late twentieth century provides the only space in which Galician national identity would be developed (González-Millán, Figueroa). According to Sommer, it was the successful creation of the nation-state that made possible the happy ending of the Latin American novel. On the contrary, Galician romance remains an unattainable object of desire in the literary works, since there was no Galician nation-state to sanction that relationship.

Sommer finds that the frustrated love stories of eighteenth century Europe are revised in Latin America so that true love between equals can in fact become a reality. In this literature emotive and amorous bonds (rather than merely class and economic bonds) provide the foundation for new familial relations. The fecundity of this love and those relations give rise to new families, whose bloodlines are joined through love and equality. If the Romantic novel helped

establish national identities in Latin America through its depictions of amorous and familial relations, we can say that literature provided the spaces in which social contracts were drafted or exemplified. My question here, then, is what is the nature of the Galician social contract? What are the bonds—affective and familial—that bring the characters together? What is the nature of these relationships and their relationships to the nature around them?

Sommer gives us some ideas of how to think about love, but how might we approach and interpret this violence between lovers, friends and family? One possible but unsatisfactory answer is that this violence is merely part of Galician narrative's realist project. Antonio Risco's article on crime in Spain at the beginning of the nineteenth century reveals that crime rates in Galicia were more than double what they were in many other parts of Spain (392-3). Additionally, whereas most crimes in the rest of Spain were related to vagrancy, the crimes in Galicia were described by authorities as "horrendos" (397): violent crimes, homicide, robbery, and the abuse of women and children. Risco attributes this high incidence of criminality to the politico-economic position of Galicia within Spain at the start of the century. He argues that the underdevelopment of the region (a lack of schools, prisons, orphanages, etc.) and its abandon by the Spanish state generated social problems that led to this crime. Galician *Rexurdimento* writer Manuel Curros Enríquez urged the central state to redress its lack of economic support in *Paniagua y compañía* (1878), a novel discussed at length below. His narrator exclaims: "Es necesario que el Estado se declare padre de los huérfanos. Es necesario que la patria los cobije bajo su bandera para que nunca noten la falta de una madre. ¡Una casa de amparo y un taller en cada

aldea!” (945). Just as Risco argues, Curros Enríquez did not see crime as an inherent or psychological condition but a result of abandonment: “Preguntad a la mujer desgraciada por qué es desgraciada; al hombre infame por qué es infame. Todos veréis que os dicen: «¡Hemos sido huérfanos!»” (945). These proposals are interesting for thinking about the problem of violence in Galician narrative because, as Risco’s study shows, Galician criminality became a distinguishing mark of Galician society within the larger Spanish state. Also, these accusations blame this criminality on Spain’s abandonment of those regions. Additionally, Curros Enríquez’s description understands the precarious position of Galicia through a narrative of abandonment and orphanage, themes that reappear in many of the *Rexurdimento*’s works, as we saw in the previous chapters.

The irony, as Risco points out, is that the reports drawn up by legislators in Galicia to understand this particularity, highlighted the need for the centralist government to strengthen its hold over the region and its inhabitants. Put another way, Galician difference needed to be understood and simultaneously annihilated. This logic is analogous to Galicia’s larger cultural struggle throughout the nineteenth century: to the degree to which the region managed to approximate its idealized difference and autonomy, the more intellectuals felt the strength of the cultural ties that fettered them to the rest of Spain. This is the same paradoxical catch, in fact, in which Lina in *Dulce Dueño* finds herself trapped: the more independent she becomes, the more pressing becomes the need that she be subjugated to a male authority (Charnon-Deutsch “Tenía” 334). Lina, like several of the characters seen in Chapter Three and others that we will discuss below, will be placed in a mental institution.

While I do not believe that Galician literary violence is merely a realist or mimetic flourish, it does establish Galician difference within the larger body of Spanish literature. Just as Risco points out that historic violence originates in social and cultural problems that afflict Galician society during this period, so I feel that the symbolic and fictional violence is a symptom of underlying social and cultural tensions. These texts reveal a desire for unity, love and family, and illustrate the obstacles that lie in the burgeoning nation's path. A broad survey of the literary creations that appeared in the novels and periodicals during the *Rexurdimento*, reveal numerous stories of violence between lovers and families, reflecting the ambiguities, tensions, and problems that formed around the *rexionalista* project by dramatizing the desires and difficulties in creating unities and familial relations among characters.

The Violent Nature of Galician Romance

Doris Sommer builds upon Anderson's premise that the nation is an imagined community brought together largely through print culture, and focuses on how eroticism and nationalism function as metaphors for one another in the context of Hispanic American literatures. She argues that prior to the independence of the American nations, literary relations across class and race lines were an impossibility, and that afterwards, in the democratic nation, those relationships became not only possible but also the bourgeois ideal. In the case of Galician narratives, the relationships are somewhere in the middle: while

relationships are not impossible, the union is far from the romantic ideal. Instead of harmony and unity, the lovers torture one another and themselves.

One such story is “A cruz do carballo” by Idefonso López Saavedra. The story was first published in three installments in the publication *A Monteira* in 1889 and was reedited subsequently that same year in *O Tío Marcos d’a Portela*, the first entirely Galician-language periodical. “A cruz do carballo” tells the story of María, the daughter of the nobleman don Pedro de Xiráldez. María falls in love with Hernán de Mendoza but her father prefers the wealthier Don Félix do Penedo. María patiently waits ten years for her father to die so that she can marry Hernán. At this point in the story, it would seem that the couple’s happiness has been secured through a union based on love and not merely social status, a plot that Sommer identifies as the narrative of democratic nationalism. In the second installment the preparations are made for the wedding: “Chegou por fin o día da voda, e amaenceo unha miñán como poucas: o perfume das frores, o remexer dos albres, o resoar das pandeiras, as mociñas que porparaban aquí ramallos e croas, as notas da gaita acolá, o repincar das campás, en fin, formaban un harmunioso conxunto” [“The day of the wedding arrived at last, a day that dawned like few others: the perfume of the flowers, the rustling of the trees, the resonances of the tambourines, the young girls preparing the bouquets and floral crowns, the notes of the bagpipes in the distance, the tolling of the bells, all together, formed a harmonious ensemble”]. (205) The wedding unites not only the couple but also the land itself and its inhabitants in happy union.

However, at the opening of the next installment, this idealized landscape turns cold and brutal: “Camiñaba pró seu fin unha tarde do mes de Decembre e o

sol acultábase xa tralos penedos das montañas que cerraban o val; o frío facía tremer o corpo e bate-los dentes; ruxía o vento e levantábase o polvo nas veredas [...] A noite seguía terrible. O vento sopraba coa mesma forza, algunhas pingas da auga batían na cara como perdigós e a escuridá da noite empidía ve-lo que había rededor” [“A December afternoon was marching towards its end and the sun was already hidden by the peaks of mountains that enclosed the valley; the cold made the body shudder and the teeth chatter; the wind howled and kicked up the dirt from the pathways [...]. The night continued on terribly. The wind blew with the same force, drops of water beat against the face like bullets and the darkness of the night kept one from seeing anything around him”] (206). The couple that makes its way through the lashings of the wind and rain is none other than the newlyweds María and Hernán. A pregnant and innocent María falls to her knees and begs for her husband’s sympathy and assures him that the child she is carrying is his. The narrator continues: “Non houbo piedá, sen embargo, e dun golpe fundeulle o coitelo no seo; botou o cadavre no buraco, cubrindo apenas con terra... parecía que o ceo escomenzaba unha vinganza” [“But there was no pity, however, and with a strike he buried the knife into her bosom; he tossed the corpse into the ditch on the side of the road, barely even covering it with dirt... it seemed as if the sky had begun to take its revenge”] (206).

Not only does the story depict bloody acts of misogyny it also suggests the complicity of the land or Galicia itself in the killing of this pregnant woman. If we are to read sexual romance as national romance, the love for the Galician nation is a problematic one. The ideal love is also cold, cruel and murderous. From one installment to the next, the reader is forced to reconsider the romance between

the characters, as the dream marriage turns into a nightmare. Similarly, the reader must reconsider her or his relation to the territory and land itself, which changes with each new installment. The same wind, sky and trees that had seemed so gentle, have turned harsh and violent without any warning. The many stories that share similar plots complicate the very sense of love and belonging that the periodicals were starting to foment during the *Rexurdimento*. These works undermine the romanticized and idealized version of a bucolic Galicia that one finds in the many poems entitled “A Galicia,”¹ and reveal that idealized space to be an inhospitable land. The polyvalence of the landscape and contradictory representations of nature are common, as María López Sánchez has shown in *Paisaxe e nación* (2008), a study of the relation between landscape and national identity in Galician literature.

One of the very few female authors who wrote prose in Galician, Hipólita Moíño de Landrove, published a similar story in the *Revista Gallega* in 1906. The story, entitled “Contos da terriña,” tells of a love triangle between a nameless “rapaza,” a poor peasant Lourenzo, and a rich *indiano* who has returned from Cuba. Even though the *rapaza* acknowledges that on all accounts the *indiano* is the better catch, her love is for the abusive and jealous Lourenzo. Before she can tell Lourenzo that she loves him above all else in the world, a series of mysterious

¹ Many Galician-language poets authored a poem entitled “A Galicia” or some other form of ode to Galicia. This is due in large part to the fact that many of the poetry competitions such as the Xogos Flores de Galicia or the Juegos Flores de La Coruña required authors to submit an ode to Galicia. Francisco Añón (1878), Filomena Datos Muruáis (1891), Francisco María de la Iglesia (1861), Valentín Lamas Carvajal (1880), and Xoán Manuel Pintos (1861) are among those poets who exemplify this lyric tradition that sing the praises of Galicia. For a history of the Juegos Flores in Galicia see Manuel Rodríguez Alonso in the bibliography.

events occur and in the morning the body of the *rapaza* is found strangled in her room and Lourenzo's body is found hung from a fig tree. As in López Saavedra's story, nature and the land are an integral part of the characters, as they are usually described in natural terms. For example, the people of the town "miraban na nena coma se miraban os paxariños nas craras augas do río" ["looked at the girl as though watching the birds in the clear waters of the river"], or the girl is described as being "fresca coma as froriñas" ["fresh like the little flowers"] (236).

Similar stories appear in many, if not most, of the works by Heraclio Pérez Placer, one of the most prolific writers of narrative prose in Galician during the *Rexurdimento*. Pérez Placer's stories and short novel *Prediución*, appeared in important periodicals of the period such as *O Tío Marcos da Portela*, *As Burgas*, *La Estrella Galaica*, *El Eco de Galicia*, *La Revista Gallega*, and *Follas Novas*. Nearly any one of his stories would serve to illustrate the cruelty of Galician relationships in nineteenth-century prose. "O Puzo da Sila" ["Sila's Well"] and "O Puzo do Inferno" ["The Well of Hell"] are two interrelated stories that appeared in *O Tío Marcos da Portela* in 1886. The first story tells of the rape of Sila, a beautiful and poor *campesina* by Don Alonso, the son of the Condes de Castelo-Ramiro. Before being raped in bucolic setting, she begs don Alonso for pity and offers to be his slave. Don Alonso doesn't heed her pleas and rapes the girl in the woods. Sila, unable to bear her loss of innocence, throws herself into a well and kills herself. Her father, upon discovering his drowned daughter, goes mad and throws himself into the well behind her. In the sequel, the ghost of Sila's father visits don Alonso, burns down the *pazo* of the Castelo-Ramiro family and drags don Alonso to hell. Sila appears and argues on Alonso's behalf, granting him the

pity that he denied her, but don Alonso remains in hell. All that remains of the *condes'* home is a crater that the locals name “o puzo do inferno.” While the story might seem a re-telling of the Don Juan myth, it is important that the stories' titles do not make reference to don Alonso, but to toponyms. In fact, this is one of the commonalities of all the above-mentioned stories. Galician nature and landscape provoke a set of relationships among the inhabitants, and then these crimes are written into the landscape. “A cruz de carballo”, “o puzo da Sila” and “o puzo do Inferno” each refer to places that commemorate where a sexual relationship met its violent end; even the story “Contos da terriña” by Hipólita Moíño de Landrove is hardly about the lovers themselves, two of whom are nameless. The tale of love, abuse and murder is deemed a “conto da terriña” or a tale of the land, a story about Galicia represented by a tale of sex and murder. In this discussion, we could also include Alfredo Fernández's “A peneda negra” (1900), the tragic tale of Rosiña.² Upon arriving at her and her boyfriend's favorite spot, “a peneda negra,” she finds him there with another woman. She suffers syncope from the shock and dies from cracking her skull upon a rock. The lovers flee the scene, and the authorities find the body. Believing it to have been sheer accident, they bury the body and engrave into the rock the following inscription: “Eiquí morreu Rosiña a Pastora. Rogade pola súa ialma” [“Here died Rosiña the Shepherdess. Pray for her soul”] (87). The blood of the innocent,

² The name Rosiña associates the female character with flower and affiliates her with natural world. Those writers who wanted to create a feminine poetics of the Galician topography, such as Rosalía de Castro, often used the name Rosiña for the speakers or characters of her poems (López Sández 112). This association between females and flowers was common within the larger Iberian context (Charnon-Deutsch *Fictions* 24-33).

betrayed lover becomes part of the countryside, and is literally written into the landscape by the state authorities. Landscape plays an important role in nineteenth-century literature and, as María López Sánchez points out, “é, ademais, o lugar privilexiado da confluencia do espazo e o acontecemento histórico, que oculta e ao tempo sustenta as evidencias arqueolóxicas da historia. . . unha especie de rexistro histórico inscrito na paisaxe” [“is, furthermore, a privileged place of confluence of space and historic event, that at the same time hides and exposes the archeological evidences of history. . . a type of historic register inscribed into the countryside”] (66). López Sánchez’s claim is exemplified quite literally through the merging of space and event in these examples of Galician narrative. The sites and story titles both recall and hide the violent histories to which they are linked.

During the same years that the *Rexurdimento* was taking place, Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, a regionalist, folklorist and writer from the other Galicia in Eastern Europe published his most famous novel, *Venus in Furs* (1870). Here a male character contractually agrees to be abused by the woman he considers to be a goddess, an idealized beauty. After he has dedicated himself to this woman he discovers that far from ideal, she is in fact a cruel mistress. Similarly, while the relationships in the Galician texts cited above are masochistic in the most general sense of combining sexuality desire and violence, they also reveal the “cold and cruel” nature of Galicia,³ the very territory that these authors and periodicals of

³ “Coldness and cruelty” are the most notable aspects of the masochistic relationships studied by Deleuze in his study of the novels of Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, and will be discussed below. Other studies important to thinking about the relation between sexuality, violence, nation and narrative are Michelle

the *Rexurdimento* sought to construct as an ideal. Galicia in these texts is a cruel natural force that brings Galician subjects of the *Rexurdimento* into a social contract marked by ambiguities, contradictions and relations of love/hate for one another and for Galicia itself.

Nowhere is representation of Galicia as a scornful, unattainable and idealized beauty more literal than in the short stories of Francisco Lourido Sánchez. His two stories, “A Virxen das Ribeiras” (1894) and “A tola das ondas” (1895), were written and published from Puerto Rico, where Sánchez lived as an emigrant. As with Xan de Masma’s *iA Besta!*, Galicia for the narrators of these stories is not immediately and physically present, but is available in its absence only through literature and nostalgia. “A Virxen das Ribeiras” begins with a narrator sitting on the shore on an autumn evening, when he is overcome with nostalgia, brought back to “ó corruncho ben querido da pátreia ausente” [“the well-loved corner of the absent homeland”] (209), and whisked away in his mind to the shores of Galicia. All the action in the story, both the narrative present of the emigrant and the flashback to Galicia, take place on the shore, at the very limits of here and there, of Galicia and beyond—a typical space of emigrant literature (see Chapter Two). There on the shore the narrator first observes this other-worldly beauty: “Sópeto, e a longo treito, vin cabe das ondas a unha muller que, de pé, inmobre e cara ó mar, semellaba, envolta pola luz endebre do crepusco, unha cousa parecida a unha pantasma” [“Suddenly, from some

Massé’s *In the Name of Love: Women, Masochism and the Gothic* (1992), and Lou Charon-Deutsch’s “Social Masochism and the Domestic Novel” (*Bearing* 79-112), which looks at psychological forms of masochism in a particularly Spanish context.

distance away, I saw a woman alongside the waves who standing, immobile and facing the sea, enshrouded in the dim light of dusk, appeared to be something like a phantom”] (209). The ghostly figure, with the moon rising over the sea recalls the image of “o mesmo que Venus das escomas” [“the very Venus of the surf” (209), the same Venus idolized by von Sacher-Masoch, only instead of fur, this Venus is wrapped in sea foam⁴.

At the sight of so much beauty the tremulous author writes: “Tremo de pracer e de sorpresa, contendo a penas o batido do meu corazón” [“I shudder with pleasure and surprise, barely containing the beating of my heart”] (209). He approaches the woman and sits next to her; thinking he might be cold she extends her petticoat over his lap: “arropoume todiño, e quedamos, poideramos decir, case que dúas almas nun sólo corpo” [“she covered me entirely, and we sat there, we might say, almost as two souls in one body”] (210). The narrator feels their bodies, nature and time come together in perfect unison, “unha sola cousa, un solo fin” [“only one thing, one sole purpose”] (210). The mysterious beauty, to which no man has ever drawn so near, acknowledges the narrator’s “mezcla de medo e amor nacente” [“mix of fear and burgeoning love”] (210). She reveals to him her identity and living situation: “a Virxe das Ribeiras, como chámame pola aldea, non ten, non pode ter casa; cando máis, templos ou altares” [“The Virgin of the Ribeiras, as they call me in the village, does not have, cannot have a home; but rather, temples or altars”] (210). The narrator succumbs to his violent

⁴ Manuel Celso Matalobos points out that the protagonist of Rosalía de Castro’s *La hija del mar* is also Venus-like (382). He argues that the comparison allows Castro to blur the boundaries between “realidade e irrealidade” in her text, and create a character that is at once part of society and nature.

passions and declares his love and loyalty to the woman: “tolo de todo, coas cinzas dun volcán dentro do peito, fóra de min, sin poder conter unha pasión que me ahogaba, que non había prodecatado, nin conocía, boteille un brazo polo pescozo, aperteina contra min, e tembrando de amor, sin saber nin darme conta do que facía, idinlle un bico tan grande!” [“Altogether insane, with a chest full of volcanic ash, beside myself, unable to contain the passion that smothered me, that I hadn’t yet become fully conscious of, nor had ever known, I threw my arm across her chest, and pressed her against me, and trembling with love, without even realizing what I was doing, I gave her a big kiss!”] (211). Pleasure and torture come together when admiring this idealized, beautiful woman; however, just when the narrator believes to have possessed her, this Venus or Virgin of the Ribeiras scorns and reproaches the narrator: “Triste ela astonces, enoxada, e coa dinidade dunha reina díxome: —Perdónoche, porque non sabes o que fixeches, iprobe tolo!; pro dende agora pra logo , a Virxen das Ribeiras, morreo para ti. ¡Adios!” [“Then she became sad, angry, and with the dignity of a queen said to me: ‘I forgive you, because you know not what you have done, poor madman!, but for ever and ever, the Virgin of the Ribeiras, will be dead to you. Good-bye!’”] (211).

Lourido Sánchez’s feminine characters are like the heroines in fellow-emigrant Ramón del Valle-Inclán’s *Femeninas*. Catherine Davies, in her article “‘Venus impera’? Women and Power in *Femeninas* and *Epitalamio*,” writes that these women are: “decadent ‘femmes fatales’; tantalizing, aggressively beautiful, perverse, and without conscience, women who lure weaker men to their ruin and wield the upper hand” (131). Interestingly, Davies argues that these imperious

women offer a “disruption of the very patriarchal foundations of Spanish society, its symbolic traditions and laws” (151). She argues that these Venus-like, power-wielding women offer a potential for subversion of patriarchy and possibility of democracy (151). The scornful women of Galician literature might offer a challenge to the Spanish state, as Davies argues, but they offer no loving relationship with the Galician male subject either.

In these stories in which romance and nationalism are tied together, the woman is often represented as an incarnation of the landscape and the nation.⁵ She—nation and Virgin—are ideal, command our love and affection, yet they can also be cruel and illusory. In the final scene, the woman heads into the waves and is never seen again by the narrator, who is left to remember that woman and that place that: “nin volví a ver, nin soupen máis dela. ¡Pasaron tantos anos!... itantos!, como o treito que me sopra daquela area onde pasou todo o que che levo dito, e bate o Cántabro, o fero Cántabro, entre as grandas de Burela e Vilachá” [“I never saw her again, nor knew anything else of her, so many years have passed!... So many! Like the distance that separates me from the place where everything that I have told you about took place, and where the Bay of Biscay beats down, the ferocious Bay of Biscay, between Burelas and Vilachá”] (211). Time and space separate the narrator not only from the woman but from the land itself. The Virgin and spot on the beach belong to the “ferocious” sea. Even though distance and time separate the narrator from an impossible and absent lover and patria, he can only remain faithful to and desirous of those

⁵ See L. Charnon-Deutsch, *Fictions of the Feminine in the Nineteenth-Century Spanish Press* (2000).

idealized objects. The ambiguous position of Galicia during the period captures characters and citizens in an ambiguous relationship of affection and suffering, of belonging and absence, and love and cruelty.

These stories employ almost *costumbrista* techniques and draw on legends, lore, oral history, rural life and folk customs. But these authors interweave with these stories, as I have shown, intriguing tales of violence in which territory, gender, sexuality, class and even religion collide, and are disguised as “contos da terra” which leads the reader to accept them at face value as anecdotal and overlook their social, cultural and political complexities. Sommer reminds us of the importance of *costumbrismo* within the greater Hispanic literary tradition:

Perhaps as much in Spanish America as in the Spain that Larra spoke for, the function of costumbrismo was “to make the different strata of society comprehensible one to another,” that is to promote communal imaginings primarily through the middle stratum of writers and readers who constituted the most authentic expression of national feeling. Identifying with the heroes and heroines, readers could be moved to imagine a dialogue among national sectors, to make convenient marriages, or at least moved by that phantasmagorical ideal. (14)

If we think of *costumbrismo*'s role within the process of nation formation, we must raise the question of what understanding is being created about the Galician people in these stories: what are their relationships and unions like and what ideal are they moving their readership towards? These stories often present members of different class strata killing each other, rather than coming to any mutual understanding, much less happy matrimony. The entire society—upper and lower classes—is susceptible to acts of violence against each other. Pérez

Placer's don Alonso is willing to rape a peasant girl and drive her to suicide with a clear conscience, at the same time that characters like López Saavedra's working-class Hernán is disposed to murder the wealthy wife who has in fact married him in spite of societal norms. The emotions that are provoked by these texts and which unite the readership with the texts are negative emotions: there is a recurrent theme of loss throughout all of these stories: loss of love, life and land.

Galicians love, marry, work, celebrate, and intermingle but there is a reoccurring unhappy ending that creates varying and ambiguous images of Galicia. The potential is there for an abundant, beautiful country and for a people united in love across class lines, but something always goes wrong to hinder their happiness. The stories all seem to point back in time to histories and stories of betrayal, abuse and murder. Fernández's "A peneda negra" is emblematic of the problem that these *costumbrista* works seek to resolve. As with the shepherdess Rosiña, the state has ineffectively righted the wrong; the story has been remembered and penned down, inscribed into the countryside, but there is no state apparatus to ensure justice or democracy. This situation is mirrored in the very dynamic of Galician nationalism during the *Rexurdimento* when these stories were being published. The authors of literature were doing their part to create a national space, local historical memory and vindicate the victims of the past and the landscape, but the lack of a socio-political autonomous Galician sphere left the idea of a unified Galician nation unrealizable, and as unresolved as Rosiña's death.

The *costumbrista* label that is placed on many of the shorter narrative works in Galician leads critics to downplay the active, political role that nature

plays in these texts. Rosalía de Castro's poetry collection *Cantares Gallegos*, in addition to being the first book published entirely in Galician, is also the place where the idea of landscape or "*paisaxe*" is first expressed in Galician (López Sández 99-100). The critical reception of *Cantares Gallegos* has often overlooked the political importance of the landscape, as has been pointed out by López Sández: "as achegas á paisaxe, a miúdo tinguidas de sentimentalismo, foron vistas en ocasións como inocuas, simplemente costumistas, propiamente feminina" ["the contributions to the landscape, often tinged with sentimentalism, were occasionally seen as innocuous, simply *costumbrista*, strictly feminine"] (101). Kathleen March, in her reading of Castro's work, shows how the text was depoliticized in much of the criticism before the 1980s, which reduced the work to biographical readings and categorized it as a mere example of feminine sentimentalism. Ignoring the political nature of descriptions of landscape is a problem for López Sández, but she also reminds us that landscape's "natural" or apolitical appearance allows a literary work to disguise its "carácter fundamente subversivo e antidiscursivo que precisa presentarse baixo unha aparencia inocente por feminina e popular" ["profoundly subversive and anti-discursive character that manages to present itself under the guise of an innocent appearance, as feminine and popular"] (101).

López Sández's work on landscape is an important reminder for the need to read representations of the natural in their relation to the concept of nation. Throughout the work, she reminds us that the modern idea of landscape—a cultural, artistic representation of nature, already perceived in relation to the human subject (López Sández 37)—and nation emerge simultaneously

throughout Western history (44). Not in a relationship of causality but one of mutual interests: “Paisaxe e nacionalismo son, daquela, dúas construcións míticas simultáneas, como se plasma nos neoloxismos que as designan e que se desenvolveron paralelamente, e manteñen entre si unha relación de significante e significado pola cal houbo unha derterminación mutua” [“Landscape and nationalism are, as such, two simultaneous mythic constructions, as illustrated by the neologisms that designate them and that developed alongside one another, and they maintain between themselves a relation of signifier and signified in which there has been mutual determination”] (28). Like myth, these two ideas needed to be re-articulated and repeated until they can appear as natural, organic phenomena. If there was much conceptual ambiguity around the idea of nation in Galicia during the *Rexurdimento*, as mentioned earlier, where authors alternated between *terra*, *país*, *nación*, *rexión*, *estado*, etc., the idea of a Galician landscape was also a plural in meaning at the end of the nineteenth century (López Sández 28-9). The ambiguity of the landscape, however, “permite o seu funcionamento ideolóxico nunha ampla variedade de ámbitos” [“allows it to function ideologically in a wide variety of situations”] (72).

While landscape is a very malleable symbol, Castro inaugurates Galician literature—and a national imaginary—with a surprisingly consistent view of nature in *Cantares Gallegos*. While Castro represented the Galician territory as a place that wavered between extreme beauty and violence in her prose works, such as *La hija del mar* and *Flavio*, discussed below, and other poetry collections such as *Follas novas* and *En las orillas del Sar*, *Cantares Gallegos* offers an unwaveringly positive image of the Galician landscape. The absence of

contradiction and paradox so common in descriptions of landscape, as exemplified in the stories above and below, for López Sáñez is telling (102). She argues that this is owing to the fact that contradictions or the polyvalence of certain natural symbols stem from the intertextual relations between texts, and since Castro's work would have been the first work in Galician to offer a poetics of the Galician landscape it could avoid such contrasts (103). This of course is questionable since Rosalía had already written novels with ambivalent descriptions of nature such as *La hija del mar*. López Sáñez's other reasoning seems more likely. She argues that Castro's coherence is to fulfill the text's political aim of establishing Galician difference, and to invert the dominant image of Galicia within the context of the Spanish cultural imaginary, which marked Galicia negatively. So, for Castro emphasizing Galicia's "beleza" ["beauty"] becomes a way of establishing its superiority over Castile's "fealdade" ["ugliness"] (López Sáñez 108-111).

López Sáñez's work allows us to think about the way descriptions of landscape are tied to the construction of national identity and imaginary, but by only focusing her attention on the coherent and consistent work by Castro, she avoids all other discussion of the more ambiguous texts of the period such as those we have been analyzing in this chapter. If the relation between landscape and nation is steady in *Cantares Gallegos*, the relation in narrative prose tends to be more temperamental. The quick shifts from a beautiful landscape at the beginning of the stories to the dark, stormy and cruel one at the end, seems to mirror the characters' own interior affective states as they move from the promise of lasting love to rage, jealousy and violence. There is a tendency to overlook

these moments, and consider them mere stylistic conventions of romanticist and *costumbrista* literature. While there are certainly abundant examples of the pathetic fallacy in many of the above quotes, there is also an important difference. Nature does not merely hold a mirror to man's emotions, but rather imposes itself upon the characters, shaping their psychological and emotional lives. In the examples from the short stories, nature shakes, beats, whips—and in other stories, even kills characters, particularly in shipwrecks—the subjects who inhabit the land, who then reproduce that violence among themselves. The people's relation with nature determines to a great extent their relations with each other. In this sense, this Galician literature shares the same structure as the texts of social contract theory. Like works of social contract theory, such as Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan* (1651), John Locke's *Second Treatise of Government* (1689) and Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *The Social Contract* (1762), these works begin with man in a state of nature that ultimately determines the kinds of social lives that these men lead. For example, Hobbes's state of nature where life is “nasty, brutish and short,” and Rousseau's bucolic state of nature become the contingent beginnings and justifications for societies that are respectively authoritarian and democratic. In nature, especially in the literature of the nineteenth-century, one finds a tangible, contingent origin upon which to found national identities. Speaking particularly of the Galician case, López Sández writes that “A paisaxe ten un papel esencial nesta cuestión [da formación dun imaxinario nacional]. . . . A nación ancoraríase na xeoloxía, no substrato natural. . . . de xeito que o territorio podería encarnar a nación, dotándoa de corpo e presenza” [“The landscape plays an essential role in this question [of the

formation of a national imaginary] . . . The nation would be anchored in the geology, in the natural substratum . . . in such a way that the territory could become the nation incarnate, granting it a body and a presence”] (27-8).

The interconnectedness and interchangeability of landscape and human subjects is often made explicit. In 1890, Heraclio Pérez Placer wrote the story “Frol muscha,” in which nature is the protagonist, and which illustrates the complex relation that unites Galician men, women and nature in a masochistic tie of love and pain. “Frol muscha” is the story of “a frol máis fermosa do xardín” [“the most beautiful flower in the garden”] (225). Despite its Edenic garden, and the adorations of the sun, birds and butterflies, the flower was always “triste e melancólea” [“sad and melancholy”] because it was in love with Elvira, “a nena de cabelos de sol e ollos de ceo” [“the girl with hair of sun and eyes of sky”] (225), who would often visit the garden.

Personifying the flower and naturalizing the girl, Pérez Placer refuses to differentiate between the natural and social. The use of nature as a symbol for the feminine is a wider literary trend in nineteenth-century literature. As Charnon-Deutsch points out, “the flower is the most common token associated with the feminine” in Spain during the period (24). Yet, what makes Pérez-Placer’s flower interesting is the fact that it alternates between masculine and feminine positions. On the one hand the flower exhibits an erotic attraction for the girl, which likens it to the girl’s lover in the story, but at the end, when it loses its petals it will come to represent the girl’s loss of innocence and virtue, so typical of nineteenth-century iconography (Charnon-Deutsch 30). Other authors also play with the confusion between man and natural elements, such as Emilia Pardo

Bazán, whose story “La puñalada” (1901) could refer to a type of pigeon that appears to have a fresh wound on its abdomen or to Claudia whose boyfriend drives a knife into her chest. In such stories there is a perfect symmetry between the behaviors of the natural world and the relations between the lovers: both of them rooted in violence (“La puñalada” 82).

In Pérez Placer’s story, Elvira chances upon the enamored flower and plucks it much to the flower’s excitement: “Por fin un día creu estremecerse de pracer ó ver a fermosa nena pararse diante dela e trembaleou emocionada ó sentir baixo o seu cáliz unhos dedos de nacre que apreixaban cariñosos” [“Finally, one day it felt itself swell with pleasure upon seeing the beautiful girl stand before her, and trembled with emotion upon feeling below its sepal those mother-of-pearl fingers carefully pressing down”] (225). The erotic pleasures of the scene soon mix with feelings of pain: “No medio da súa dicha sintiu o dor que lle producía ó ser separada do tallo onde se criara, pro aquel deixo de amargura que sempre se sinte ó abandonar o sitio onde un nace, pronto foi esquecido ó sentirse bicar por dous roxos beizos que somellaban os máis fermosos caraveles do xardín” [“In the middle of its joy it felt pain, produced upon being separated from the stem from where it had grown, but that bitterness that one always feels upon abandoning the place where one is born, was soon forgotten when it felt the kiss of those two red lips that looked like the most beautiful carnations of the garden”] (225). The flower’s mixture of pleasure and pain are likened to an act of emigration, in which one parts with some pleasures and tolerates pain in order to access other joys—here the pleasure of sitting upon Elvira’s breast. Like emigration, this love is a contradictory and complex experience.

Just when the flower is at the height of its pleasure, a boy approaches and declares his love to Elvira who confesses that she, too, is in love with him. The flower is racked with grief and pain as the boy presses himself to the girl to kiss her: “A probe froi sintiuse apreixada, apreixada, dobráronselle as follas, rompéuselle o cáliz, pro tivo antes de morrer o consolo de ouzar á nena que tanto quixo, que decía ó ver as brancas follas no chan, con voz entre risoña e doída: — ¡Croel, desfollaches a máis fermosa froi que tiven!” [“The poor flower felt itself crushed, crushed, its leaves were bent, the sepal broken, but before dying it had the consolation of hearing the girl that it loved so, who, when she saw the white petals on the floor, said with a voice between joking and pained: ‘Brute, you deflowered the most beautiful flower that I ever had!’”] (226). Here, again, the female becomes the idealized and scornful lover who responds to the flower’s tragedy with a mixture of laughter and pity before the flower dies and the story ends.

In longer Galician narratives, in both Galician and Spanish, relations with nature and fellow Galicians are equally strained. In a thorough look at the structural role that nature plays in *La hija del mar*, Manuel Celso Matalobos highlights the duality of nature in Castro’s prose work in Castilian: “É esta unha paisaxe animada, hilozoísta, sensible e viva onde as árbores sosteñen íntimas conversacións coas brisas nocturnas e as flores se bican agarimosamente. Pero outras veces é turbulenta e monstruosa” [“It is an animated, hylozoist, sensitive and lively landscape where the trees hold intimate conversations with the night breezes and the flowers kiss each other affectionately. But other times it is turbulent and monstrous”] (383). Matalobos also finds that “existe unha estreita

comunión entre a terra e as xentes” [“there exists a close communion between the land and the people”] (383). For Matalobos, the consonance between man and nature is one of mere reflection; nature “parece como se adiviñase, como se tivese o poder de ler no interior das persoas e exteriorizase os seus estados anímicos” [“seems as if it were capable of divination, as if it had the power to read the interior of the people and externalize their emotional states”] (383). He goes on to highlight a number of these passages, particularly episodes related to storms and other natural phenomena that appear in moments of heightened tension and conflict in the novel.

This reading, while suggestive, too readily classifies nature as a reader of human emotion and leaves aside the more abusive nature that appears in the work. The moments of harmony that at times exist between man and nature are countered by some of Castro’s earliest comments about nature in the novel. The rough seas and approaching storm at the beginning of the novel terrify the people on the shore who witness what is described as “una sinfonía infernal con sordos rumores y silbos agudos, con murmullos tenebrosos y maldiciones y agitados suspiros” (19-20). The dissonance is matched by a visually disturbing scene: “todo esto presentaba un aspecto de luz y de tinieblas, de desorden, si así puede decirse, y de grandiosidad, difícil de comprender si causaba espanto o admiración” (20). Far from the consonance that Matalobos finds, there are repeated moments of confusion and chaos, that according to Castro, force the viewer to surrender to a Nature that takes possession of us: “Hay cuadros sublimes en la Naturaleza que conmueven de una manera extraña e indefinible, sin que nos sea posible juzgar de nuestros sentimientos en aquellos instantes en

que no nos pertenecemos” (20). In other words, Nature disorients and forces us into a sense of emotional ambiguity, where one feels both love and fear. The relations between the characters also pervert the relations deemed natural. In the novel, Esperanza’s father returns from sea, and tries to sleep with the very illegitimate daughter that he believes he had left for dead years before, piling crimes of abduction and incestuous sexual abuse upon the crime of attempted infanticide. The scene that unfolds upon the father’s return is a scene of sadistic torture and sexual abuse:

Alberto, el dueño, el señor de aquellas vidas, se complacía en amargarlas. En medio de Teresa y Esperanza, brutal sultán, que pretendía, como los del Oriente, echar su pañuelo y hallar una voluntad sumisa a la suya, se hacía acariciar por aquellas dos mujeres [. . .] Gruesas lágrimas rodaban entonces por las mejillas de aquellas dos mujeres, tan hermosas y tan ultrajadas; pero ambas permanecían atadas al victorioso carro de su dueño; la una, sujeta por los robustos brazos que la oprimían; la otra, por su corazón.
(98)

The mixture of pleasure and torture, of love and torment in these moments are like those experienced at the beginning of the novel when the women of the village are watching the storm approach from the sea. Family relations turn violent, cruel, and in this case, the sexual abuse of the daughter will lead to her eventual insanity and suicide. The happy family that Teresa dreamed of constructing becomes a living nightmare from which she cannot escape.

The idealized romance is also thwarted in Rosalía de Castro’s second novel, *Flavio*. As mentioned earlier (Chapter Two), Flavio’s relationship with Mara turns into one of torture and disdain from which Flavio cannot escape. Upon their first encounter, the emotions of the two are a mix of affection and

hatred, Mara with her “rostro semiburlón” and Flavio with his desire to let “caer sobre ella todo el peso de mi venganza” (46). Love and hatred intermingle and Flavio becomes all the more attached to Mara, surrendering his will and at times what would seem his happiness, for example when he complains that “Mara es una espina que se ha clavado suavemente en mi corazón..., es mi propia vida” (105), “ya no podría borrarse aquella amor de su corazón sino cuando las primeras hojas de la primavera de la vida cayesen a sus pies sucias, marchitas, azotadas por el fiero aquilón de los amargos desengaños” (106); “. . . Flavio amaba a Mara, y desde que la amaba no había dejado de sufrir; su vida era una agitación continua. . .” (131). Mara’s cousin explains to Flavio, “castigo, entre dos seres que se aman, no es más que una chanza cariñosa, un dulce correctivo que enciende más y más la pasión” (162); “La imagen de Mara, fija en su corazón como un dardo cruel, era su tormento más amargo, y su única vida al mismo tiempo. Después que la maldecía pretendiendo rechazarla para siempre de su memoria, volvía a buscarla con avidez insaciable, y se gozaba en su propio tormento, en su propia amargura y su tormento era Mara” (168). Sexual pleasure and violence establish unions between characters, but this union is far from the idealized love that one typically associates with a conventional romantic novel.

Mara is depicted as a natural force that imposes itself and its will upon Flavio. Some critics read the descriptions of the natural world in *Flavio* as examples of Romanticist rhetoric. These readings divest the Galician landscape of the important role it plays in the novel and fail to see how it acts on Flavio, controlling his emotions as much as Mara does. In his article “El discurso narrativo de *Flavio*,” on the contrary, Benito Varela Jácome reveals the way that

nature works on Flavio's senses, altering his emotional states through vision (389) and touch (393-4). To offer some examples of this phenomenon, when Flavio is suffering, he sees the moon and "su corazón se ensanchó en medio de su tormento" (84); "Es pernicioso el rocío de las noches de invierno... y pudiera dañarte" (105); "La tierra parece alzarse siempre rejuvenecida cuando la hiera el primer rayo del sol" (129). Nature wounds and, like Mara, grants pleasure at the same time as it causes pain. It imposes itself on man, and to the degree that it alternately provides Flavio with affection and cruelty, nature can be said to be as masochistic as Mara, or at the very least, metaphorically the amorous relationship between Flavio and Mara is naturalized.

Winds, trees, Mara's heart and words "azotan" (7, 58, 89, 106, 107, 170, 261), wounding Flavio physically and emotionally. In his essay "Coldness and Cruelty," Gilles Deleuze argues that in masochistic literature "folklore, history, politics, mysticism, eroticism, nationalism and perversion are closely intermingled, forming a nebula around the scenes of flagellation" (10). Although he is speaking specifically about Sacher-Masoch's writings, we can think about how the same might be said of Castro's novel—not to mention the above quote from Pardo Bazán's *Dulce Dueño*—that also brings together these elements, converting *Flavio* into a work that is at once folkloric and erotic as well as nationalistic and political. Thinking of Castro's *galeguista* project in relation to this romantic tale fraught with emotional abuse raises questions about the viability of ideal social relations in a space that is by nature cruel with its inhabitants. As we saw with the theme of emigration in Chapter Two, the novel creates a space in which Castro can explore the ambiguous feelings of love/hate

for Galicia that complicates the effusive love professed for the land in much of her Galician poetry.

Blood(y) Ties: Family Romance and National Identity

The brutality represented in Galician literature is not limited to relationships between lovers but also takes place between different members of the same family. The themes of infanticide, patricide, fratricide are ubiquitous elements of the prose of this period, suggesting that in these works filial ties are less based on sanguine continuity and more on the sanguinary acts that characterize family life. These relations offer a denaturalized vision of the family, if we think of these families in relation to the bourgeois norm at the end of the nineteenth century. The works discussed in this section deal with violent relations between family members: *O penedo do crime* (1884) by Miguel Luguís Freire; *Prediución* (1889) by Heraclio Pérez Placer; *Paniagua y compañía* (1878) by Manuel Curros Enríquez; “Madre gallega” (1896), “Justiciero” (1900) and “Las medias rojas” (1914) by Emilia Pardo Bazán; “O pai dun axusticiado” (1899) by Alfredo Fernández; “¿Fixo ben?” (c. 1899) by Leopoldo Basa Villadefrancos; and “Na represa” (1888) by Adolfo Mosquera Castro.

Four years after the publication of Valladares’s *Maxina*, the first Galician language novel, Miguel Luguís Freire published his short novel *O penedo do crime* in the Cuban periodical, *El Eco de Galicia*. There are important similarities and differences with Valladares’s work. On a linguistic level, *O penedo do crime* is written entirely in Galician, unlike *Maxina*, so that all characters in the work

speak in Galician irrespective of class or social status. Like Valladares's novel, *O penedo do crime* also disguises itself as the written version of an oral tale, lending the novel a certain air of folk history. Since much of this analysis depends upon the complicated plot of *O penedo do crime*, as with *Maxina* and *A cruz de salgueiro* in the previous chapters, a synopsis of the work is necessary.

The novel, which opens in 1790, begins with an air of secrecy surrounding three seemingly well-to-do travelers who seek lodging in a poor, rural home. We learn that the twenty-year-old Marica is pregnant with Mingos's child. The lovers are not married because despite being madly in love with Marica, Mingos decides that she is socially too far beneath him. Marica gives birth to a boy and is resting when Mingos tells Xuana, the woman in their company, to take the baby to a villager's house. As they veer off the major roads and wander through the woods towards a large cliff, Xuana becomes suspicious that Mingos is going to kill her so that the secret pregnancy will never come to light. When they arrive at the rocky outcrop, Mingos makes his demands of Xuana: "—¿Ves ise penedo? [. . .] Pois sube a il e tira ise neno ó mare" ["Do you see that crag? [. . .] Well, climb it and throw that baby into the sea"] (86). Xuana begs him to rethink his plan, and give her the child to raise, but he is unyielding in his desire to kill the infant, and brandishes a knife with which he threatens to murder Xuana as well if she does not comply. Mingos looks away while the deed is done, and we readers see a small bundle fall into the sea.

Eighteen years pass by in the narrative and in that time Marica and Mingos have been married (out of the latter's feeling of guilt) and appear to be a happy couple. It is also worth noting that Mingos and Marica are both orphans,

which thematically unites the story with *A cruz de salgueiro*, *Maxina* and the other texts discussed in chapter 3.⁶ The couple has never been able to conceive another child, which they consider a punishment from God. Finally, they decide to invite their niece to come live with them so as to have someone upon whom to shower their affections. Xuana tells them that their niece Rosa has been dating Xuana's own godson Manuel. Marica is at once ecstatic to hear the news, despite the fact that the boy is poor, because as she says: "Sinto por il un cariño de nai que non podo espricar" ["I feel maternal care for him that I cannot explain"], to which Xuana adds, "pro non lle sucede así ó seu home" ["but the same cannot be said for your husband"] (90). While she may not be able to explain it, it is immediately clear to the reader that these atavistic impulses are due to the fact that Xuana's godson is none other than the baby that the couple believes to be dead. These atavistic maternal impulses, similar to those studied by Otis in Pardo Bazán's work, place the work in the same category as works by Pardo Bazán, Xan de Masma, and Valladares among others discussed in previous chapters. It is also worth noting that the theories of biological and environmental determinism—which find their earliest articulations and defenses in the Galician and Spanish contexts in Pardo Bazán's *La cuestión palpitante*—are implicated in and emerge simultaneously with the modern concepts of landscape and nation (López Sández 77).

⁶ Later in the text, the narrator likens orphanage to exile or emigration: "Un fillo sin nai é un ser desgraciado que en medio das máis tolas alegrías sempre sinte a lima roedora das esperanzas, desa nostalxia do aleixamento da dicha" ["A son without a mother is an ill-fated being who amid the most crazy of joys always feels gnawing at him feelings of hope and the nostalgia of having left behind his joy"] (102).

As Xuana anticipates, Mingos opposes the marriage between Manuel and Rosa. Marica tries to intercede by reminding him of the importance of love and the child that they murdered. The young couple meets one night to discuss plans to elope or flee to Portugal. On the way home Manuel is followed by the suitor that Mingos has selected for Rosa. He attacks Manuel and leaves him for dead on the very same cliff where Mingos believes to have killed his son eighteen years ago. While Manuel is recovering, Marica goes to visit him, and there is nearly a moment of anagnorisis: “pois [a Manuel] parecíalle ver na mirada daquela muller algo extraordinario; non esas chispas de amor mundán, sinón esa pasión tenra que solo sinten as nais” [“Manuel seemed to see in the look of that woman something extraordinary; not those sparks of common love, but rather that tender passion that only mothers feel”] (101). Before the final tragedy, Marica and Manuel unknowingly have a moment of recognition and reconciliation in which each expresses the natural and profound love that they feel for one another.

After his period of convalescence, Manuel returns to the house of Mingos and Marica to see Rosa. Mingos hears Manuel, a fight ensues and Mingos shoots Manuel with a shotgun. All the characters witness the act, and Xuana exclaims “Miserabre, imataches o teu fillo!” [“Wretch, you killed your son!”] (105). Marica, like Otilia in *Maxina* and Delores in *A cruz de salgueiro*, goes crazy when she discovers the truth: “Cando Marica volveu en si, atopou no colo o cadavre do seu fillo. Ceibou entón unha risa estrana. ¡Estaba tola!” [“When Marica came back to her senses, she found the corpse of her son on the floor. She let out a strange laugh. She’d gone mad!”] (106). Mingos, upon discovering the truth returns to the

rock where he first tried to kill Manuel: “Chegou ó pé do penedo que xa conocemos e subeu á cume del. —¡Dios! ¡perdón! Aquí comenzaron os meus crimes; aquí finarán tamén. E tirouse ó mar de donde non volveu a saír máis” [“He arrived at the foot of that familiar crag and climbed to the top of it. ‘God! Forgive me! Here began my crimes; here they will end, also.’ And he threw himself into the sea, never to emerge again”] (106). A grief stricken Marica dies two years later, and Rosa, in an almost spectral state, dedicates the rest of her life to visiting and praying over Manuel’s grave.

In this novel, an idealized Galician nature and family have been corrupted, both the victims of a horrendous crime. The original crime of infanticide orchestrated by Manuel has presumably destroyed the “froito dos seus amores con Marica” [“fruit of his love with Marica”] (93), the natural product of their mutual love. The crime is neither motivated by nor does it reflect the natural forces of Mingos and Marica’s environs. The motivation for the crime is purely social since Manuel fears having a child by a woman of less social rank than he. As in novels such as *Los pazos*, *La madre naturaleza*, *A cruz de salgueiro*, and *Maxina*, class clashes with sexuality and gender to destabilize and complicate a “natural” set of relations. Mingos attempts to create familial relations based on money and class, rather than affective and blood ties. Not only does he attempt to kill the child, his biological tie to Marica, but he also attempts to tether his niece Rosa to him financially: “Pois eu non llos cumprirei” [“Well, I will not oblige him”], says Rosa in relation to her uncle’s wishes, “e si pensa que facéndome herdeira dos seus bes ten en min unha escrava, trabúcase por comprobante” [“and if he thinks making me the inheritor of his goods he’ll have me for a slave, he’s

entirely mistaken”] (94). Like Policarpio in *iA Besta!*, Manuel’s familial ties are violent and monetary. The women of the novel and Manuel, on the other hand, remain faithful to the natural laws that Mingos, the wealthy noble, seeks always to blight. Nature continues to exert a pull on Marica, Xuana, Rosa and Manuel, who recognize the order that Mingos seeks to destroy. Xuana subversively disobeys Mingos’s command and tosses a rock into the sea, somehow sparing the baby’s life (the details are never quite explained in the novel); Marica and Rosa insist on relationships based not only class or guilt but on love; and Marica and Manuel are sensitive to the inexplicable familial bonds that exist between them.

Nature, far from being a co-conspirator in Mingos’s crimes, looks on in frightful disapproval. It is not the passive site of an unpunished crime as in several of the stories mentioned above. At the very moment that Xuana tosses the bundle to the sea and Mingos’s demand is carried out, a storm erupts: “Un lóstrego alumou de súpeto o desencaixado carís do home aquil. A lúa cubreuse novamente de nubes, e o trono deixou ouvir o seu ronco bruído, como si fora a fala de Dios que reprendía aquil crime” [“A bolt of lightning suddenly illuminated the altered face of that man. The moon was again covered by clouds, and the thunder made audible its rough boom, as if it were the voice of God scolding that crime”] (86-7). Unlike in the other texts, nature does not determine or reproduce man’s emotions and actions, but reacts against them in disapproval. Later, the “penedo” turns into an accusatory, silent witness and reminder of Mingos’s guilt. After his argument with Rosa, in which he prohibits her marriage to Manuel, Mingos gazes out the window and sees the very cliff: “Cerrou de novo a ventana e deixouse caer nunha silla acochando a cara cas maus, preso dos máis feros

remordimentos. Aquel penedo acusaba mudamente un pasado crime, e decíalle a súa conciencia estas palabras ‘¡Acórdate, miserabre, acórdate!’” [“He again closed the window and fell into his seat, rubbing his face with his hands, the prisoner of two of the most harsh regrets. That crag silently accused him of his past crime and filled his conscience with these words: ‘Remember, miserable wretch, remember!’”] (93). Again, when Alixandre tells Mingos how he beat and left Manuel for dead, he calls him over to the window and points out the scene of the crime: “Mingos ergeuse e olleou o sitio que lle asinalaban. —¡Será posible! — ecxramou con fala agonizante— ¡O mesmo sitio!” [“Mingos stood and eyed that place that was being signaled. ‘Could it be possible!,’ he exclaimed in an agonized voice, ‘the same place!’”] (100); as the narrator says, “Aquel penedo era o terco xués que acusaba os seus crimes pasados” [“That rock was the stubborn judge that accused him of his past crimes”] (101). As is the case in other short stories discussed above, landscape plays an important role in the novel. We can even again say that landscape “oculta e ao tempo sustenta as evidencias arqueolóxicas da historia” [“hides and at the same time provides history’s archaeological evidence.”] (López Sández 66). The title’s “penedo” becomes witness, accuser, judge, and finally, drowning Mingos, his executioner. Unfortunately, the crimes are too great and cannot be undone, so while there is reprieve, there can be no restitution: Manuel is dead, Marica is crazy and Rosa will never emotionally recover. Rosa and Manuel’s relationship will never become fruitful, which, as Sommer argues, is a fundamental aspect of the successful national romance.

A related plot appears in Heraclio Pérez Placer’s short novel, *Prediución* (1889), originally published in installments in Valentín Lamas Carvajal’s

fervently *rexionalista* journal *O Tío Marcos da Portela*. The story begins with Ilda, the countess, telling her adopted son Rodrigo why she cannot reveal to him the true identity of his parents. A flashback reveals this complex back-story: one day, on a hunting expedition, she wanted to take the boy with her on her horse. The horse takes off at vertiginous speed and eventually throws her and the child off. Lost, she wanders into a cave, where a witch appears. The witch, a young girl who was killed by Ilda's uncle during the Inquisition for witchcraft, places a curse on Ilda, telling her that her life will be miserable, and that the baby Rodrigo, should he ever meet his biological father, will murder him. Back in the narrative present, later that night, Ilda receives a visitor in her bedroom: her half-brother Lope, who we learn is Rodrigo's real father. Ilda and Lope's mother had an affair and gave birth to Lope and left him in a village to be raised by a poor family without ever knowing the truth of his origins. Raised as a poor villager, Lope falls in love with a girl from the country. Later in life, Lope and Ilda's mother comes for him to take him to live in the castle, though his real identity remains a secret to the count and the public. Lope's pregnant girlfriend dies giving birth, and Rodrigo brings him to the castle to be raised by Ilda. Rodrigo, who convinced his girlfriend to have sexual relations outside of marriage, feels responsible for her death and guilty that he has violated natural laws. He becomes suicidal and goes off to war hoping to die. Unsuccessful, after years he longs to return to see his son but feels that all creation condemns him and his impure relations; trees, birds, the heavens all seem to persecute and curse him: "Maldito... maldito seas... ela era unha tenra e sencilla pomba, e ti por cumprir o teu gusto non tiveches medo en sacrificala... a túa sangue caerá sobre ti e sobre os teus descendentes"

[“Damned... may you be damned... she was a tender and simple dove, and in order to fulfill your desires you were unafraid to sacrifice her... your blood will fall upon you and upon your descendants”] (172).

The new count, Ilda’s husband, finds her talking with a man in her chambers and, incredulous that he could be her brother, challenges Lope to a duel. The men go outside to fight, and Ilda screams to Rodrigo that they are going to kill his father. When Rodrigo gets outside he sees the count lying mortally wounded on the floor, and without knowing that Lope is his real father slays the stranger. A grief stricken Ilda enters too late and exclaims: “--iConde... Lope... Rodrigo!... iah!... a prediución... a prediución ‘perderás as persoas que máis ames... e ese fillo matará ó seu pai... cumpriuse... cumpriuse—e caíu desmaiada riba do conde” [“ ‘Conde... Lope... Rodrigo!... ah!... the prediction... the prediction that ‘you will lose the people that you most love... and that child will kill his father’... it has been fulfilled... fulfilled’—and she fainted on top of the count.”] (177). The young boy passes out after killing his father and is transformed when he regains consciousness: “Cando Rodrigo se levantou tiña os cabelos brancos e o seu xuvenil rostro volvérase vello. De súpeto soltou unha carcxada seca, nerviosa, e botou a correr marmullando... maldito... maldito; a prediución cumpriuse. O infeliz volvérase tolo” [“When Rodrigo got up his hair had all turned white and his youthful visage had aged. Suddenly he let out a dry, nervous laugh, and began to run around muttering... damned... damned; the prediction came true. The unhappy boy had gone insane”] (178).

In the story, the family is cursed to remain unintegrated. The family tradition of illegitimacy (both the countess and Lope’s extramarital affairs and

childbirths) keeps Rodrigo in ignorance of his true lineage. The discovery of the truth of one's origins once again ends in insanity, and robs Rodrigo of his manhood since he passes from adolescence to old age. In this story, however, unlike in *O crime do penedo*, it is not just illegitimate sexual relations and unknown origins that unwittingly lead to murder between fathers and sons. Ilda, Lope, Rodrigo and the count are relatively blameless for the murders since they are paying for a previous generation's crimes: the corruption of the uncle and the church during the Inquisition that sentenced a girl to death for witchcraft. In this case it is not that nature is opposed to a happy union, or even that social and class norms get in the way of amorous familial relations. The Galician family is cursed to remain separated by distance, death or insanity because of ancient crimes that have not been brought to justice. If we read the story as allegory, it is ghosts of an unknown and unresolved feudal past that continue to haunt Galician unity and happiness. The family that Ilda, Rodrigo, Lope, the Count, Margarita would represent would be comprised of nobles and peasants, upper and lower classes, legitimate and illegitimate relations, the very types of unions upon which the modern, national imaginary depends in order to create a new democratic nation that breaks with feudal inequalities. Yet, in Galicia, unlike in other national literatures, that happy ending is denied, binding the reading public in effective ties of tragedy, fear and horror rather than love.

Societal forces are responsible for the tragedies that befall the family in Manuel Curros Enríquez's novel, *Paniagua y compañía (agencia de sangre)* (1878). The novel begins with a poor boy from A Coruña getting ready to leave on a ship, complete with the conventional literary topos of emigrant departures:

nostalgia, farewell, and apprehension (847; discussed in Chapter Two). We soon realize that Juan is not embarking on a commercial enterprise but rather a military one. Curros Enríquez plays with the double meaning of *compañía* as business and military ranks in order to create a political and economic critique of the Carlist Wars as a Spanish business that victimizes the poor of Galicia. Ambroiso Paniagua, the recruiter, has been sent to Galicia along with Páter, a priest who has been sent to give incendiary sermons against the liberals throughout Galicia. Juan is in need of the work because their oldest brother Lucas was drafted to fight for the republican forces, the mother has died, the father has a cancer that has spread throughout his body, and the youngest daughter María is still only a child. Curros Enríquez blames not only the political and economic systems for the family's disgrace but also the medical and religious systems as well. Doctors, eager to experiment, have operated on the father Ignacio's cancer, leaving him an eyeless and limbless torso; and María, left defenseless, is prey of the pedophile priest, Páter.

The war is experienced by Juan as a form of exile:⁷ he often succumbs to “las nostálgicas tristezas que acuden al corazón del desterrado siempre que recuerda las dulces horas de la patria, horas pobladas de encantos que ya no volverán a deleitar el alma” (906). He is able to overcome this feeling when he is with his Galician comrades-in-arms, but that too ends when he is separated from them: “Lo que siento es que me hayan separado de mis compañeros y no pueda hablar gallego con nadie. El único consuelo que me quedaba me lo acaban de

⁷ The theme of war and emigration was discussed further in Chapter Two in the discussion of Xan de Masma's *iA Besta!*.

quitar” (917). Language becomes the emigrant’s only tie to the life he has left behind. Off at war in the Basque Country, the two armies sit across from each other in their trenches: on the one side Juan with the Carlists (whose politics he does not agree with), and on the other, unbeknownst to the brothers, is Lucas who has joined forces with the liberals. Juan fires one shot and kills an enemy soldier. The voices from the other side seem to indicate that he killed a soldier named Lucas. Juan begins to worry: “—¡Oh Dios mío!—murmuraba como perseguido por una visión sangrienta—. ¿Será verdad? ¿Habrás oído mal este hombre? ¡Yo asesino!... ¡Yo manchado con la sangre de mi hermano!... ¡Del hermano que tanto quería!” (920).

Juan wants to get information, to ask around, but linguistic barriers make communication impossible: “¿cómo hacerse entender de gentes cuya lengua no comprendía? En los pueblos que había recorrido no se hablaba más que el vascuense” (921). This dramatic moment in the text opens up questions about linguistic diversity within Spain. Earlier in the novel, language is considered the defining and unifying characteristic of a people—the belief that writers such as Curros Enríquez and other key figures of the *Rexurdimento* certainly professed. Here, however, linguistic plurality results in a lack of a common language and incommunicability. Here, the character’s concerns and linguistic isolation echo Emilia Pardo Bazán’s own reticence about the exclusive use of Galician that she expresses in *De mi tierra* and which was discussed in Chapter One. In contrast to the social reality of incommunicability, in his fantasies Juan imagines that Galician lyric could become a universal language of love. He imagines that at the hour of his death, Lucas may have been flirting with Basque women: “acaso

requebrando a la gentil *neskacha*, con aquellas sutilezas de la lengua gallega, dóciles sólo a la pluma de Rosalía Castro” (923). This scene exemplifies the belief held by many writers of the *Rexurdimento* that Galician best finds expression in poetry and not in prose, which is most likely the reason that Curros Enríquez’s only piece of narrative fiction is written in Spanish, while still remaining a regionalist/nationalist text.

The novel represents this Spanish war as a war between Galicians and Basques, forcing us to wonder what these soldiers are doing there in first place. The Spanish have transformed their nation into an “*agencia de sangre*,” a company that produces death, ruin and fratricide for the inhabitants of the least Spanish regions. Neither of the Galician brothers show any ideological interest in the war; both are merely performing a job hoping to better their family’s life, yet the only thing Spain’s war produces is death and the dissolution of that family: fratricide as the narrator states is the “*¡Resultado funesto, pero lógico, de las guerras civiles!*” (926). The novel aims to produce neither anti-Carlist nor liberal sentiments but frustration at the situation this family finds itself in: “*¿Quién no había de conmoveerse ante aquel final tan inesperado como sangriento? Dos hermanos que se quieren y se ven obligados a luchar en distintos bandos, que se buscan para abrazarse y se encuentran para herirse, que se miran y se desconocen, que se aman y se asesinan...*” (929).

Emilia Pardo Bazán represents the Galician family’s fatalism in similar terms in her short story “*Madre gallega*” (1896). Though Curros Enríquez was a professed anti-Carlist and Pardo Bazán a Carlist supporter, and though he was more regionalist in his politics and she more nationalist, the two share a similar

view of the effects that the Spanish nation and its war have on the poor families of Galicia. In “Madre gallega,” Pardo Bazán tells of the “serpents” of war that were tearing apart Spanish families: “El negro encono, el odio lívido, la encendida saña encarnando en el cuero de aquellas horribles sierpes, relajaban los vínculos de la familia, separaban a los hermanos y les sembraban en el alma instintos fratricidas” (93). Yet, Galician families remained largely unaffected by the political strife: “Sin embargo, en algunas provincias españolas, andaba más adormecida y apagada la pasión política, y una de éstas era el jardín de Galicia, Pontevedra la risueña y encantadora” (93-4). The Galician mother and her priest son who are the protagonists of the story must move to Aragon and live amidst the strife. Yet, the young priest remains true to his Galician spirit: “Sentía el párroco que ni aun por espíritu de clase podía vencer su repugnancia a tales salvajadas y horrores; había salido a su madre: tímido, manso, indiferente en política, accesible sólo a la piedad y a la ternura; gallego, no aragonés; cristiano, pero no carlista” (96). But unfortunately for Luis María, his Galician disposition does not sit well with the Aragonese who mistake his indifference for subterfuge, and assume he is either a spy or a coward. Aggressions begin to mount against the young priest who is called by people in the street to come to the window so they can give him a message. Luis María’s mother suspects something is awry and answers the call instead: “El bárbaro, que ya tenía apuntada la escopeta, disparó, y la madre, con el pecho atravesado, se desplomó hacia adentro, en brazos del hijo, por quien aceptaba la muerte” (100).

Curros Enríquez and Pardo Bazán’s stories suggest that it is not a lack of love, or a criminal instinct within the Galician family that brings about its ruin. In

both stories, it is the direct intervention of Spanish politics in the lives of Galician families that brings tragic death into the home. That two authors of such varying political opinions should write such similar stories points to the ambiguity regarding regionalist sentiment that existed at the end of the nineteenth century. A conservative and a liberal, one in favor of the priesthood and one against it, could share *galeguista* cultural concerns, establish Galician difference, and attribute Galicia's problems directly and explicitly to the Spanish political system.

Violence among family members is a recurring theme in a great number of works that constitute the corpus of narrative prose in Galician. In Adolfo Mosquera Castro's "Na represa," with very little explanation, the protagonist kills his father-in-law and then, realizing the authorities will hunt him in the morning, murders his wife and himself. Others are stories of accidental murders such as in Emilio Canda's "O señor Pedro" (1898), in which the old and gentle Pedro tells how he did prison time for trying to kill his rival, but accidentally stabbed his beloved to death. The story also begins with a haunting epigraph that alludes to the presence of the dead in Galician society: "Nin son tódolos que están nin están tódolos que son" ["Neither are those present everyone who is, nor is everyone who is present."] (53). In "¿Fixo ben?" Leopoldo Basa Villadefrancos narrates the story of a father who takes his daughter to live in Argentina. Fearful that her fiancée will take his daughter from him, he gets the boy drunk on Galician wine and kills him by throwing him in front of a train. While he doesn't kill a family member, the story still depicts a happy, loving Galician family that is held together by a father's murderous instincts.

In Alfredo Fernández's "O pai dun axusticiado," a poor but honorable single father throws his son Constantino, a bad seed who gambles, out of his house, telling him to "busca-la 'madre gallega'" (92), that is, to earn his own living. The son decides to do so by murdering a visitor in the town and robbing him. Constantino is caught by the police and sentenced to death. The son's murderous acts results in the father's own ruin: "O seu crime deshonrou as canas deste probe velliño, arranoume pra sempre esa honra que tan pura e tan coidadosamente eu gardaba" ["His crime has dishonored the grey hairs of this poor old man, he has ruined forever that honor that I have so carefully kept so pure"] (94). At the moment of the son's execution, the father also dies, implying that the son is also to blame for the father's death. The following year, the topic of justice and family honor would again appear as a theme in Emilia Pardo Bazán's story "Justiciero" (1900). In the story, a young boy steals a small amount from his employer. The father, who goes by the name "El Verdello," is horrified at the son's behavior and fears the social repercussions: "¡Tener un ladrón en casa! Él, el *Verdello*, había sido todo su vida hombre de bien a carta cabal; su palabra valía oro, sus tratos no necesitaban papel sellado, ni señal siquiera. Palabra dicha palabra cumplida. [. . .] ¿Quién se fiaría ya del padre de un ladrón?" (159). The father takes justice into his own hands, taking his only son into the woods where he pulls out a pistol: "El padre se acercó; vio a la semiclaridad de los astros dos ojos dilatados por el terror, que imploraban... e hizo fuego, justamente allí [. . .]. Cayó el cuerpo abajo [. . .] ya no respiraba aquella mala semilla" (161). The father's punishment exceeds the crime in severity yet what is most shocking is his lack of hesitation or remorse. Both stories reveal the intersection of natural and

societal laws in the formation and dismantling of the Galician family. The criminal acts of sons become issues that fathers must deal with, though the sympathy of Fernández's father contrasts greatly with that of Pardo Bazán's character.

Sons are not the only ones who are punished by the cruel hand of their fathers, as illustrated in Pardo Bazán's "Delincuente honrado" (1897) and "Las medias rojas" (1914). In the former, an unrepentant father justifies murdering his own daughter because she was going to bring the same disgrace upon his family that his wife had. The shoemaker's only daughter would sing, like her mother, and draw the attention of male passersby in the street. The father, who had already imprisoned the girl in his home, drives a knife into her throat while she sleeps. The murder of the daughter restores the father's self-image and sense of honor (177-8), as with the father in "Justiciero." In neither of the stories does the narrator condemn the murderous act; the social laws of honor held by the Galician working-class males are presented as if they were natural laws; both fathers coldly assert that they did the only thing that they could do. Pardo Bazán thus represents murderous deeds among fathers and children as unexceptional, as acts that form part of the larger set of societal, economic and gender relations in Galicia.

"Las medias rojas," published posthumously in *Cuentos de la tierra* (1914), is a short but graphic tale that addresses issues of family, gender, domestic violence, class and emigration. The father lashes out against his daughter who has spent money on red stockings. Beyond the money, what enrages the father is that he knows his daughter is using her beauty and sexuality as a ticket to a

successful life overseas as an emigrant. He does not want to emigrate but at the same time fears being left alone. Again, as for female characters in the novels analyzed in Chapter Two for whom emigration is a positive, an escape from a backward and patriarchal society, so it is for Ildara in “Las medias rojas,” for whom, “cumplida la mayor edad, libre de la autoridad paterna, la esperaba el barco, en cuyas entrañas tantos de su parroquia y de las parroquias circunvecinas se habían ido hacia la suerte, hacia lo desconocido de los lejanos países donde el oro rueda por las calles y no hay sino bajarse para cogerlo” (8).

Ildara’s father crushes that dream and reasserts his authority over his daughter by destroying her face:

Y con el cerrado puño hirió primero la cabeza, luego el rostro, apartando las medrosas manecitas, de forma no alterada aún por el trabajo, con que se escudaba Ildara, trémula. El cachete más violento cayó sobre un ojo, y la rapaza vio, como un cielo estrellado, miles de puntos brillantes envueltos en una radiación de intensos coloridos sobre un negro terciopelo. Luego, el labrador aporreó la nariz, los carillos. (9)

Blinded in one eye, with a disfigured appearance, the girl’s dreams of leaving are lost and she remains trapped in her Galician town.

Cristina Moreiras-Menor offers an interesting reading of “Las medias rojas” within contemporary discussions on regionalism and Peninsular studies in her article “Regionalismo crítico y la reevaluación de la tradición en la España contemporánea” (2003), contrasting the work with X. L. Mendéz Ferrín’s “Medias azuis” (1994). Moreiras-Menor’s call for a “regionalismo crítico” that would draw out the complexities and tensions of the past rather than search for stable origins or create continuities with the past is provocative. Her reading of

“Medias azuis” as one that echoes and de-familiarizes us with Pardo Bazán’s story, without continuing it, is convincing. Yet, I believe that by treating “Las medias rojas,” as the originary text she accepts it as a self-enclosed whole, and fails to look for the echoes and resonances with other texts, in the way that she does with Méndez Ferrín’s story. As such, she denies the text the complexity and ambiguity that I believe it—and the larger corpus of nineteenth-century prose—contains. For Moreiras-Menor:

Pardo Bazán se inserta activamente dentro de esa tradición intelectual gallega que busca un proceso de homogeneización cultural y lingüístico cuyo resultado más importante es la marginalización de la lengua y la cultura gallega bajo la premisa de que lo español, o lo de fuera en general, es superior, es progreso y modernidad, mientras que lo autóctono se identifica con atraso e ignorancia. (199)

Moreiras-Menor’s conclusions, it seems, are more influenced by the *galeguista* criticism of Pardo Bazán’s work, than what the text might actually be saying. As we saw above, Pardo Bazán’s stories offer a vision of Galicia that is no less pacific and favorable than those we encounter in many of the texts written in Galician that form part of the *rexionalista* movement. In fact, one of the most salient characteristics of the story is the cold resignation with which both the narrator and the characters of stories like “Justiciero,” “Las medias rojas,” and “Delincuente honrado” accept the events that befall them. There is no moral, geographic or ideological distance between the narrators of her story and the characters. If her narrators do not distance themselves, Pardo Bazán does ambiguously distance herself in “Las medias rojas” by stating that the story was written “por esos mundos” (9) at once insinuating her distance from and

belonging to those places where events like these are carried out. Her narrators accept the events from within the logic of the violent fathers, collapsing the distance between the provincial father and the intellectual female author, and prompting an uncomfortable reader to wonder how or why things are this way, rather than merely judge Galicia with disdain from a safe critical distance. Pardo Bazán's story, like the other Galician stories mentioned above, points to the fractures in Galician family life, society and history, in ways similar to those that Moreiras-Menor finds in Méndez Ferrín's story. Pardo Bazán's position among Galicianist authors and the similarities that can be seen among them, help us to realize that even those authors who professed strong regionalist and Galician nationalist sentiments were not without their share of ambiguities about Galician life, brutality, and lack of modernization.

The love of freedom, land and fellow man that the Galician national literature sought to inspire in the hearts of readers is challenged in these works that are at the limits of nationalist discourse because they were written in Spanish or in narrative prose. These stories of domestic violence make public the private, sexual and familial dramas of Galician life. They are uncomfortable to readers, not only because they shock with their violence but because they appear to reveal that the natural laws that united family are no more natural than any other societal norm or law. The natural affinity that ought to exist among the members of a same bloodline or household is not there in the Galician family. If we read these stories of domesticity as stories about the nation, we see the anxieties and difficulties of creating a unified and harmonious Galician collective. The idea of a modern, democratic nation falls apart because of a history of crime,

injustice, violence and the most basic of societal structures. This violence can be attributed in the stories to local problems of class disparity, Galicia's subjugated position within the larger Spanish nation, gender difference, social norms, tradition, as well as the influence of literary convention, especially naturalist determinism.

We can think of these works as unhomely narratives in Homi Bhabha's use of the word as narratives that relate: "the traumatic ambivalences of a personal, psychic history to the wider disjunctions of political existence" (11). These unhomely tales remind us to read the public in terms of the private and vice versa, and as they move between the two, they remind us that Galician civil society is only as civil as the domestic spaces it comprises. More than "foundational fictions," it is more useful to read this as a cultural form of "family romance," to use the term from Freud's eponymous essay. According to Freud, freedom from the authority of one's parents is a necessary stage of development, and leads to the opposition between generations necessary for the advancement and progress of a society. If we think of this beyond the individual, and apply Freud's term on a cultural level, we can think of the *Rexurdimento* as a period of development in which Galicia begins to establish its autonomy from Spanish authority. When this process is not carried out, Freud tells us, and the child feels he is not receiving the due attention from his parents, the individual will create narratives that undermine the parents' authority. And as Risco showed us, Galicia was the neglected corner of Spain that turned criminal and violent. Interestingly, Freud points out that these will usually be stories where the individual fantasizes that he is the adopted or step-child, a common narrative in Galician literature:

such as *Los pazos*, *Maxina*, *Prediución*, *O penedo do crime*, *A cruz de salgueiro*, and *La hija del mar*.

For Freud, these family romances, “which seem so full of hostility, are none of them really so badly intended, and that they still preserve, under a slight disguise, the child’s original affection for his parents.” These violent narratives that we find in Galician narrative reveal a problematic relationship between Galicia and the state-authority of Spain. This road to autonomy has been troubled, and the effect has been a pathology, that has produced a culture that has become fixated on its origins, creating narratives obsessed with violent reactions against familial authority. The problem with Galician narratives is that the healthy opposition between generations becomes so violent that the cycle of progress stops. Sommer argues that the promise of a new generation is an important aspect of foundational fictions, but in these narratives the future generation has been murdered, executed, or has gone insane, impeding the narrative of progress. Rather than foundational fictions, Galician narrative in many cases offers fictions of dysfunction, of flawed and violent relations that threaten the dissolution of the family or continually recognize that collective relations are only possible through violence.

While these stories of violence problematize national history and identity, they still play a very active role in the process of nation formation.

As Anderson shows us, the excavation of the dead and the victims of history, is a necessary stage of nation formation. He writes, “the deaths that structure the nation’s biography are of a special kind” (205). These deaths must be narrativized for the sake of the nation’s vitality:

the nation's biography snatches, against the going mortality rate, exemplary suicides, poignant martyrdoms, assassinations, executions, wars and holocausts. But, to serve the narrative purpose, these violent deaths must be remembered/forgotten as "our own" (206).

This idea of narrating the horror but making it "our own," is one of the ways that Galician narrative was helping to create a consciousness of Galician identity that extended not only across space but time. This morbid task of the Galician *rexionalista* project is most visible in the period's prose.

Galician literature was the space from which intellectuals and artists had to create a national identity and inspire patriotic sentiments, create national intimacy and imagined communities. But as Freud reminds us in the epigraph above, this is a two-fold process, and inspiring national love must be accompanied by aggression. If Castro was able to turn that aggression outwards towards Castile in *Cantares Gallegos*, in the prose of the period that aggression is turned inward so that lovers and families become their own aggressors. The tendency or ability of narrative prose to take the symbols of national identity such as family, lovers, homes and landscapes, and reveal their contradictions and complexities, to incorporate conflict and depict internal problems have made it less than desirable for nationalist literary projects that have, as we have seen, left these stories by the wayside.

Conclusions

Nineteenth-century Galicia (and by proxy, Spain) offers an interesting point of departure to begin thinking about contemporary issues of national identity in Iberia. Xosé-Manoel Núñez Seixas, looking at the state of Spanish nationalism today acknowledges that “Spanish national consciousness is socially quite widespread, often coexisting with sentiments of dual patriotism or dual identity, as occurs in several regions including Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia” (What Is 725). The duality of national identities throughout Spain is perceived as a contemporary problem being faced at the turn of the twenty-first century, a period thought of as “post-nationalistic.” As theorists, politicians and artists grapple with this issue, they tend to look at the Francoist period of history as the origin of these problems. However, similar societal and cultural conditions began to surface at the turn of the twentieth century: specifically plural linguistic and cultural identities, regional autonomy and the relationship or antagonism between national and sexual and gendered identities.

Returning to nineteenth-century Galicia, to Spain’s geographic periphery, and understanding the intellectual debates taking place there allows critics to view the end of the nineteenth century and the cultural problems by which it was characterized from a less centralist and hegemonic position. Turning a post-national critical eye back upon a period best thought of as pre-national reveals a series of continuities and parallels with present day debates about Iberian

cultures. Then, like now, the boundaries between nations, cultures, genders and languages in the Peninsula were being questioned and traversed. I have chosen to focus on the problem of Galicia, particularly as seen in those narratives where issues of nation, gender and domesticity intersect as a way of challenging nationalistic definitions of Galician identity. As feminist scholars have shown, gender offers an important object of study for reading across national lines and for disrupting nationalist practices. Norma Alarcón, Caren Kaplan, and Minoo Moallem, have stated, “notions such as country, homeland, region, locality, and ethnicity and their construction through racialization, sexualization, and genderization of female corporeality become crucial sites of inquiry and investigation” (14). These sites in Galician literature of the *Rexurdimento* allow us to understand not only the role that these notions played in the formation of Galician identity, but by introducing new voices to the debate, to also question the interplay between notions such as homeland, gender, and sexuality in a broader context than that which has been studied by feminist Hispanist scholars.

My intentions have been two-fold: to challenge definitions of Iberian national literatures that are limited to the language of textual production and to read Galician literature in a local context as a way of remapping those Iberian Studies that assign Galicia the role of periphery of, an alternative to, or a sub-set of Spain. Doing so, we gain a critical view of Galician literary history, and simultaneously, if only implicitly, acquire tools to work with and perspectives on certain problems in literature that help us to rethink certain texts, particularly those by Galician writers in Castilian. Many of the works of Rosalía de Castro, Emilia Pardo Bazán, Concepción Arenal and Ramón del Valle-Inclán have mostly

been understood by critics in relation to Spanish culture and history, losing sight of the more immediate social, cultural and political contexts of their production. When we rethink national literary history from the ‘margins’—in the Galician context, from narrative prose; in the Spanish context, from the Galician *Rexurdimento*—we take away entirely different images of the nineteenth century.

The historiography and literary criticism carried out within a Spanish context, as Joseba Gabilondo has shown, often views the nineteenth century as one of little importance for national identity formation. Yet, when we rethink the period from Galicia, we see that it is one of academic and intellectual significance, and the period that witnesses the earliest articulation of a modern Galician identity. How reading from the *Rexurdimento* questions assumptions about the nineteenth century in Spain can be exemplified by looking at a brief passage in Jo Labanyi’s *Constructing Identity in Contemporary Spain* (2002). This work compiles essays that recognize the multiplicity of Spain’s cultural practices and includes essays on Galician, Catalan and Basque culture. Often these texts and regions become signs of Spain’s cultural diversity, in only the most superficial and troublesome way that critical thinkers, such as Stuart Hall, have signaled. These approaches to cultural identity reinforce a model of the diverse nation characterized by “one, shared culture, a sort of collective ‘one true self’, hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed ‘selves’, which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common” (Hall 393). The underlying assumptions about “Spain” are hardly disrupted or questioned by this brand of diversity or cultural studies. We can see this in specific statements, such as: “The consolidation of the modern nation-state—which for the first time in

history introduces the idea that the nation is based on ‘one race, one language, one culture’ (that of the bourgeoisie) rather than being a heterogeneous mix— took place in Spain in the mid- to late nineteenth century [. . .]” (4). While Labanyi is in many ways correct, these kinds of Hispano-centric readings continually silence periods such as the *Rexurdimento*, that couldn’t have been farther from a period of monolingual literary production, and where the bourgeoisie began to clamor for a bilingual national identity.

Once we recover the ideological and linguistic plurality of the *Rexurdimento* through a look at the region’s political and literary history, particularly when we look at the intellectual sphere and the relations between figures such as Pardo Bazán and Castro, we realize that reading along linguistic lines or in accordance with the *criterio filolóxico* we misread the period and overlook many of the major debates of the period. We can perceive the need for ways of reading that allow us to recuperate that ambiguity—linguistic, cultural, and political—and of viewing it as something positive, as constitutive and constructive of a Galician identity that can accommodate difference in the proper way, in a way that doesn’t reduce it to mere superficial flourishes and that views internal difference, conflict and ambiguity as a fundamental aspect of identity. This approach offers a reading of Galician literature able to recognize that “as well as the many points of similarity, there are also critical points of deep and significant *difference* which constitute ‘what we really are’; or rather—since history intervened—‘what we have become’” (Hall 394). Post-Colonial, Gender and Post-National Galician become tools to think of ways in which we might see the relation between identity and history, and appreciate the similarities as well

as difference between works of Galician literature across barriers of language and genre. By recognizing the internal differences and marginalized voices of Galician nineteenth-century literature we witness the ways in which an “ambivalent nation-space becomes the crossroads to a new transnational culture” (Bhabha *Nation 4*), or the ways in which the ambiguities of the nineteenth century can supply us with a base upon which to build a transnational Galician culture as we enter a new century, and a new period of Spanish and Galician history. By reincorporating Galician authors in Castilian, the fallacious analogy that Galicia is to Spain as Galician is to Spanish is disrupted, freeing us to focus less upon externalized difference, and bring the difference home by internalizing it. Rather than continue the line of argument that suggests that the Galician is all that is not Spanish, this method illustrates, again to quote Bhabha, that: “The ‘other’ is never outside or beyond us; it emerges forcefully, within cultural discourse, when we *think* we must speak most intimately and indigenously ‘between ourselves’” (*Nation 4*).

It is precisely a dialogue ‘between ourselves’ that becomes audible when we listen to transhistorical and transnational echoes of home and domesticity. The resonances between two works by Rosalía de Castro written in the same year, but in two different languages and genres, dialogue and resonate with one another to reveal ambiguous feelings about concepts of emigration, home, gender and language. This example reveals the dual processes comprised by emigration: the men who leave and the women who stay, homes that are idealized and ones that are nightmarish. These competing experiences of emigration give shape to the way that the home and the nation are depicted in them. The emigrant became

an important, if not the most visible, symbol during the *Rexurdimento*, one that represented Galicia's plight and struggle against marginalization and poverty. In constructing their emigrants' farewells, many authors depicted the home as a safe space, a utopia. But their journeys are acts of territorial displacement that are accompanied by linguistic and national displacement, as well as being acts of abandonment whereby this home, marked as feminine, becomes a space of vulnerability, repression and fear.

As a result, the idea of home as an ideal is a place—much like the Galician nation during the nineteenth century—that can exist only within literature as a fictitious construct. Of the nineteenth-century Galician subject, forced to live in a world of linguistic, territorial, national, class, sexual and gendered conflict and instability, we can say, echoing Jonathan Rutherford's statements on modern day identity problems, that: "In this struggle for new ways of living, more democratic relationships and new subjectivities there can be no homecoming" (25). The Galician home, the domestic space, is one that is constantly changing with each announcement and articulation. The efforts of many contemporary *galeguista* and nationalist scholars to represent the period as one of ideological unanimity is flawed because that home always escapes us with its ambiguity, and is already different unto itself. We can only realize this mutability and difference if we look to the marginalized texts of the period, such as the prose works written in Galician and Spanish.

There may be no home to return to, but critics in Galician studies have shown that moving beyond the homeland is not much easier (Miguelez-Carballeira and Hooper). Moving in and out of these domestic spaces, we find

that family relations are no less complex. Interrogating these relations, we see that there looms in many of the texts a fear of illegitimacy and incest. The problems of endogamy and exogamy in the novels read as metaphors on the cultural level for the problem of creating Galician identities and deciding to what degree they ought to seek open or closed relations with the other national spaces and identities of Spain. Today, a new generation of Galician artists, like their predecessor Rodríguez López, is seeking a reconciliation of endogamous and exogamous strategies for launching Galician identity into a new century. A new set of social and market relations have allowed these twenty-first century artists to go well beyond their precursors. Novelists of the *Rexurdimento* had their hands full merely trying to overcome the strict generic boundaries imposed on the Galician language and difficulties of translating regional subject matter into the novel, the period's most modern and popular form of literary expression. Similarly, today's cultural forces, according to José Colmeiro, "create new hybrid realities and new forms of identity that bind the old with the new, the local with the global" (217), which he describes as "rurban." Incest in these novels, we can argue, allows for the creation of a rurban Galician identity. These novels of sexual, regional and linguistic promiscuity are possibly just that, rurban novels of the *Rexurdimento* that offered a form of cultural hybridity analogous to that which is being offered by Galician cultural production today, in music, digital media, visual arts and literature.

A cultural project that aims to combine the old and the new, needs to seek new approaches to Galician literature of the past, approaches that allow us to read beyond the nation, approaches that draw on cultural studies, feminism,

post-colonial studies so that we might view the particularities of *galeguidade* in a more universal and less national and linguistic context. The problem of incest in the nineteenth-century novel illustrate how the Galician novel, with all of its ambiguities: *nación/rexión*; *lingua/dialecto*; *tradición/modernidade*, offers a starting point or precursory moment from which we can think through the process of “saíndo da nación” in the twenty-first century.

Keeping together a family divided by emigration or breaking free from the home and the family is a difficult task. Often in the narratives, the tensions within the Galician home reach violent extremes. The *Rexurdimento*, while certainly a period of exalted sentiment for the homeland, saw the proliferation of texts that exposed the violence that keeps the family together or that is necessary to escape from its constraints. The narratives’ focus on unhappy family romances signals larger societal concerns. Violence between family members, between lovers, and between men and their environment remind us that Galician society was bound not only by shared feelings of love, but also through negative emotions such as fear, pain, and loss. If other foundational fictions in Hispanic literature brought the readers into loving relationships—with the characters, the nation, and one another—through romantic stories that doubled as patriotic pamphlets, the Galician reading public, through consuming stories of mixed love and violence, had established a sado-masochistic or love/hate relationship with the natural and societal landscapes they were becoming familiar with through those narratives. While the characters themselves may not have been sadistic or masochistic, much less willful participants in their own torture or murder, it is the readers’ alternating emotions of love, hope, fear and loss that do create a sado-

masochistic bind with the national imaginary. By often disguising these extraordinary tales whereby husbands murder wives, and parents kill children and vice versa, as folkloric or *costumbrista* tales, these narratives are portrayed and handed over to the reading public as familiar, homely, natural and aesthetically pleasing works. They resignedly present us with this cruelty between men and nature as tales of the way things have been and are.

By revealing these conflicts in the domestic sphere in Galician narrative, I have tried to exemplify, as my title suggests, that Galicia during the *Rexurdimento* as well as today, is a home divided. Its unity assumes differences of class, gender, territory, and language, among others. There has been a hesitance to recognize these internal differences but many critics, such as Kirsty Hooper, José Colmeiro, Joseba Gabilondo, Eugenia Romero, and María do Cebreiro Rábade, are increasingly eager to explore them. Hegemonic Spanish and Galician identities during the twentieth century sought tirelessly to establish themselves as organic, eternal and monolingual identities, and have been afraid to recognize their internal difference. They have tried to project otherness beyond their borders, or if within their borders, at least classified under a different label, so that Emilia Pardo Bazán wouldn't have to be seen as Galician but rather "Spanish," and the existence of a Galician literature wouldn't alter the Spanish literary landscape as long as we kept it filed separately under "Galician." Obviously, these labels of Spanish and Galician, ubiquitous throughout this work, are not useless but they do need to be seen as unstable and mutually dependent.

In 1891, Juan Barcia Caballero published a collection of poetry in Galician. In one of these poems the speaker sees a phantom in the night, which produces

fear within him. His fear of the unknown other from whom he strives to keep his distance proves useless because the similarities between them are too striking. In the end, the speaker is forced to exclaim: “Teño medo de min!” [“I Am Afraid of Myself!”] Similarly, Galician-language literature is haunted by Spanish language Galician literature. Canon formation and the way that we read Galician literature have nearly always led to the exclusion of the Spanish-language corpus, and vice versa. The metanarrative of Galician literary history has created its own unfamiliar families and homes, through the exclusion and denial of difference in order to create a more continuous, homogenous image of itself rather than reckon with the “dissenters.” Likewise, general statements about nineteenth-century Spanish literature are equally flawed by not considering the regionalist movements whose texts could enrich our understanding of the literary climate of the period and challenge the way we conceptualize the label “Spanish,” both during the nineteenth-century, but also today in post-national Spain.

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Appendix

Below is the full text of Castro's poem "¡Adios qu'eu voume!" as it appeared in 1861. This is taken from a facsimile version reproduced in *Rosalía de Castro: Documentación biográfica y bibliografía crítica (1837-1990)*. Vol. 1. Eds. Aurora López and Andrés Pociña.

Castro de Murguía, Rosalía. "¡Adios qu'eu voume!" *Museo Universal* año V n. 47 (Oct. 24, 1861).

¡Adios qu'eu voume!

¡Miña terra, miña terra!
Terra donde m'eu criei,
Hortiña que quero tanto
Figueiriñas que prantei.
 Prados, ríos, arboredas,
Pinares que move ó vento
Paxariños piadores
Casiña do meu contento.
 Muíño dos castañares
Noites craras de luar
Campaniñas trimbadoras
Da igrexiña do lugar.
 Amoriñas d'as silveiras
Qu'eu lle daba á ó meu amor
Camiñiños antr' ó millo
¡Adios, para sempre adiós!
 ¡Adios groria! ¡adios contento!
¡Deixo á terra onde nacín!
Deixo á terra que conozo
Por un mundo que non vin.
 Dexio amigos por estraños,
Deixo á veiga pó lo mar,
Deixo en fin canto ben quero...
¡Quen pudiera non deixar!!

 Mais son probe e mal pecado
A miña terra n'e miña
Que hasta lle dan de prestado
A beira por que camiña
O que naceu desdichado.
 Por xiadas, por calores
Desde qu' amanece ó día
Dou á tera os meus sudores,
Mais canto esa terra cria
Todo... todo é dos señores.

 Téñovos pois que deixar
Aldea que tanto amei,
Foguereiña do meu lar,
Arboriños que prantei,
Fontiña do cabañar.
 ¡Adios! adiós que me vou
Erviñas do camposanto
Donde meu pai s'enterrou,
Erviñas que biquei tanto
Terriña que vos criou.
 ¡Adios vírgen d'a Asunción
Branca com' un serafín!
¡Lébovos nó corazón!
¡Pedidelle á Dios por min
Miña vírgen d'Asunción!

 Xa s'oyen lonxe as campanas
As campanas do pomar...
Par min ¡ay! coitadiño
Nunca mais han de tocar!
 Xa sóyen lonxe... mais lonxe
Cada valada é un dolor!...
Voume soyo... sin arrimo...
¡Miña terra! ¡adios! ¡adios!
 Adios tamén queridiña
Adios por sempre quisais
Dígoch' este ¡adios! Chorando
Desd' orrilliña do mar:
Non me olvides queridiña
Si morro de soidás...
¡Tantas legoas mar adentro!!
«Miña casiña, meu lar!!»