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“The Persistence of Difference: Mythologies of Essentialism, the Anglophone World and Modern Spanish Cultural Identity”

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Abstract of the Dissertation

"The Persistence of Difference: Mythologies of Essentialism, the Anglophone World and Modern Spanish Cultural Identity"

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My dissertation argues that contemporary and historical attempts to deconstruct essentialist ideas about Spain often reaffirm or reconstruct these same essentialist notions through Spanish self-representations which engage with or anticipate foreign perceptions of Spain, particularly Britain and the United States. I focus on the mechanisms through which generalizations of Spain as a backward foil for European order and progress are perpetuated and on the slippage between maintaining and deconstructing Spanish difference, particularly in the "contact zone" between Spaniards and foreigners (Pratt 1992). Although Spanish difference is often dismissed as an anachronism (Vilarós 1998), essentialist readings of Spanish culture are implicitly reasserted within the works I discuss.

Chapter One contrasts Spanish intellectuals who promote the idea of Spanish difference, whether to lament it or to embrace it: Blanco White's rejection of Spanish culture and adoption of a new British identity; Larra's assessment of Spanish difference as the projection of internal social problems onto Spain's relationship with France; and Lorca's claims that Spain preserves a "primordial" authenticity in the form of an emblematic national *duende*. In Chapter Two, I investigate the role of Hispanism in the perpetuation or demystification of Spanish difference, particularly through a contrastive transatlantic assessment of Hispanisms (Del Pino y La Rubia Prado 1999; Epps and Fernández Cifuentes 2005). A reading of novels depicting Spaniards in Anglophone academia (*Todas las almas* by Javier Marías, 1989 and *Carlota Fainberg* by Antonio Muñoz Molina, 1999) demonstrates how the perception of difference abroad and the stereotyping of Anglo culture reaffirm essentialist ideas of Spain. In Chapter Three, I trace the decline of the "exotic" in the Spanish tourism industry and argue that the comic representations of the Spanish/tourist encounter in films of the1970s serve as a metaphor for Spain's own reemergence within Europe, ultimately confirming Spanish difference from Europe as inevitable and desirable.

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Fred and Lisa Simpson, who have not only supported me throughout my doctoral career, but who have encouraged me all my life to follow my dreams, and very early on instilled in me the confidence that I can achieve anything if I put my mind to it.

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Introduction

Terror and Beauty: Contradiction, Cultural Identity, and the Anglophone World in Spain

Yet something sombre and severe
O'er the enchanted landscape reigned;
A terror in the atmosphere
As if King Philip listened near,
Or Torquemada, the austere,
His ghostly sway maintained.

The softer Andalusian skies
Dispelled the sadness and the gloom;
There Cadiz by the seaside lies,
And Seville's orange-orchards rise,
Making the land a paradise
Of beauty and of bloom.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, "Castles of Spain," 1863

The epigraph is a fragment of Longfellow's "Castles of Spain," one of many of the author's Spain-inspired works, which captures in twelve lines two contradictory images that have influenced discourses on Spanish culture for centuries. In the first verse excerpted here, the "ghostly sway" of a bloodthirsty, fanatical inquisitor and the fear and loathing inspired by an absolutist imperial monarch both embody the image of a cruel, despotic, intolerant Spain that has persisted in some form since the Conquest of America. This image, known as the Black Legend, has been perpetuated by (and, in a circular fashion, determined) foreign representations of Spain—particularly British and, later, Anglo-American.[1] The flower-strewn "paradise" of

[1] While the Black Legend is an abstract set of prejudices rather than a narrative, its association with ruthless colonial domination and reckless imperial decadence reflect favorably on Spain's imperial rival, Britain, whose own colonial settlers used Enlightenment-influenced language of democracy and liberty to characterize their own nation-building enterprise. Richard L. Kagan (among others) ascribes the colonial roots of the Black Legend to Spain itself: "One variant of this legend," he writes,

Cadiz and Seville in the next stanza of Longfellow's poem evokes a very different image, yet one equally powerful: Spain as an exotic, sensual land, a "paradise of beauty." This idealized vision contrasts with the violent one of the Black Legend, and within the poem they seem to cancel each other out: Longfellow presents Andalusia as "softer" than the Spain of the Empire, as a place to counter "the sadness and the gloom." Despite the nominal *regional* differentiation the poem draws between these two descriptions—Christian, imperial Castile as opposed to timeless, seafaring Andalusia—there is an inherent contradiction between the two in their later respective incarnations as all-encompassing characterizations of the Spanish nation. Austere, calculating, and deadly, or carefree, amorous, and bucolic; both were variously seen as apt descriptions of Spain on a global level. Of course, the Romantic foreign travelers who popularized the latter assessment of Spain saw violence and anger as the other side of the same coin by which Spain was portrayed as vibrant, sensual, and passionate. Representations of "exotic" Spain have often been described by critics as Orientalist, particularly for their emphasis on Spain's proximity to Africa, its Muslim past, and its Gypsy population. Many of the characteristics Edward Said associates with Western constructions of the Orient include both traits associated with "exotic" Spain and traits associated with the Black Legend: sensuality, mystery, and backwardness, in the first case, and duplicity, despotism, and cruelty in the second.[2]

The Romantic fantasy of exotic Spain exerted a seductive pull on artists in the nineteenth century, inspiring ecstatic admiration, while the characteristics associated

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"traceable to Bartolomé de las Casas's condemnation of Spanish atrocities in the New World, described Spaniards as barbaric bigots with an insatiable lust for gold" (Kagan 248-9).

[2] For a discussion of Orientalism in relation to Spanish self-identification, see Charnon-Deutsch *The Spanish Gypsy* pp. 10-11.

with the Black Legend are almost exclusively viewed as negative, whether as unfair slander or as a distillation of a few half-truths by present or former military rivals.[3] As Said points out, however, whether they be superficially positive or negative, Orientalist stereotypes collectively perform the same function, that of relegating the culture to which they refer to the status of inferior other. Whether negatively as untrustworthy adversaries or positively as intriguing windows onto a past forgotten by the West, Orientalized cultures are pushed into a corner as the embodiment of difference, and this essential difference inevitably signals inferiority. Like Said's East in relation to the West, Spain in relation to Europe bears a historical burden of perceived cultural difference—of exception to a "standard" that always seemed to be Britain or France—that, despite its many contradictory incarnations, has retained an association with the past commonly expressed in terms of *atraso* or backwardness. The short distance between the negative term "backward"—usually seen as synonymous with "inferior"—and the glowing admiration of the term "timeless," usually seen as positive, demonstrates a particular double bind in essentialist descriptions of Spain: even discourses nominally praising Spain can serve to reinforce constructions of Spanish culture as backward or inferior. As such, Spain's greatest admirers might well also be those most patronizing in their attitudes toward Spanish culture. José del Pino illustrates this point in a discussion of exoticism among colonial powers in turn-of-the-century art: "[C]omo los trabajos de Said y otros críticos han demostrado, la admiración e imitación de lo exótico no anula la conciencia de supremacía cultural con que la sociedad colonial se acerca al arte 'auténtico', pero

[3]Apart from Longfellow, some of the more well-known North American and British travelers in the nineteenth century who wrote about Spain include Richard Ford, Washington Irving, George Borrow, Lord Byron, and William Jacob, George Ticknor, and Severn Teackle Wallis.

'primitivo', de unos pueblos a los que somete a su tutela" (del Pino 257). While the Spanish relationship to Britain or France has never been strictly colonial (Gibraltar excepted), the benevolent condescension of many nineteenth-century travelers to Spain, not to mention the indifference illustrated by the virtual British colonies along the Costa del Sol in the present day, does sound clear echoes of the *attitude* dominating the colonial relationship that del Pino describes. Essentialist representations of Spain are inextricably linked to discourses of control, and both Spanish and foreign characterizations of Spain reflect an awareness of how the construction of Spain as "other" in turn emphasizes the hegemony of other European nations over it.

The corpus of foreign commentary arguing for Spain's essential difference within (or from) Europe is too great to attempt to summarize here. Richard Kagan refers collectively to American writing on Spain as being dominated by what he calls "Prescott's paradigm," or "an understanding of Spain as the antithesis of the United States." Spain was a useful foil that allowed the U.S. to emphasize, by contrast, what the U.S. saw as its own strengths. For North Americans in the nineteenth century,

> America was the future—republican, enterprising, rational; while Spain—monarchical, indolent, fanatic—represented the past. As it developed, however, Prescott's paradigm was less a clear model of analysis than a series of assumptions and presuppositions about the inherent backwardness of Spanish culture and the progressiveness and superiority of the United States. Yet this particular formulation, especially when combined with the pervasive belief in national character engendered by the rise of nineteenth-century nationalism, managed to exert a powerful influence on the way succeeding generations of U.S. scholars thought and wrote about Spain (Kagan 253).

The U.S., a waxing empire, used Spain, a waning imperial competitor, to bolster its own claims to an innate superiority that would justify its increasing global

hegemony—an innate superiority that was constructed not only around political issues, but also on cultural and even ethnic grounds. In her provocative 2005 study *Spain's Long Shadow: the Black Legend, Off-Whiteness, and Anglo-American Empire*, María de Guzmán charts this difference in racial terms, claiming that Spain functioned (and continues to function) in American literature as an imperfect example of whiteness whose symbolic existence aided in the construction of "American" culture as a superior, "whiter," purely Anglo-Saxon ethnic realm. Black/white dichotomies, for de Guzmán, are defined "against a critically unacknowledged third position or figure, that of the not-right-white or the off-white, the figure of 'the Spaniard'" (de Guzman 4). North American characterizations of Spanish culture as essentially different, for de Guzmán, were a necessary element of the construction of Anglo-Saxon whiteness as the norm in the United States. "Anglo-Americans created a fantasy of racial purity," she asserts, "through the representation of Spaniards as figures of morally blackened alien whiteness or *off-whiteness* and doomed hybridity" (de Guzmán xxiv). Thus maintaining Spanish difference—always concurrent with an assessment of Spain as inferior—was crucial to the dominance of the ethnically Anglo power structure in the U.S. James D. Fernández has demonstrated how North American contempt for Spain even influenced university Spanish departments, which suffered from a "prestige problem" despite high demand for Spanish language instruction. In an attempt to improve the standing of Spanish as an academic field, Ramón Menéndez Pidal even sent a letter to the American Association of Teachers of Spanish ¨wishing them well and offering them authoritative, scientific evidence of the cultural importance of the Spanish language and of the necessary and natural

centrality of Spain in U.S. Hispanism" (Fernández 132). Britain has produced respected studies on Spain such as those of Gerald Brenan[4], but the most influential British commentaries on Spain have traditionally been travel narratives that focused on exotic representations, which is also the case for fictional representations of Spain from both the U.S. and Europe, from the tales in Washington Irving's *The Alhambra* to Prosper Mérimée's *Carmen*. Lou Charnon-Deutsch in *The Spanish Gypsy* (2004) demonstrates how exoticism dominated European discourses on Spain in the nineteenth century, particularly with relation to Gypsies. José Colmeiro even writes of an "exorcising" of this exoticism in a 2002 article on how Mérimée's *Carmen* portrays Spanish identity as essentially non-European in the most nefarious ways. Jesús Torrecilla in *España exótica* (2004) addresses many of the same issues as Charnon-Deutsch and Colmeiro, but attributes it to the "aplebeyamiento" of the Spanish upper classes as a resistance to *afrancesamiento* rather than an imposition by condescending foreigners. In Chapter One I address these and other critical assessments of the construction of difference in nineteenth-century Spain and trace the continuation of such constructions, albeit in different forms, through to the present day.

My focus here is on how Spanish discourses generate, promote, perpetuate, reject, or deconstruct essentialist representations of Spain.[5] Spain had been construed both internally and externally as fundamentally different from Europe for centuries.

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[4] Among Brenan's best-known works on Spain are *The Spanish Labyrinth* (1943) and *South From Granada* (1957).

[5]Among the many works on nationalism and essentialism that have influenced the present study are those in *The Invention of Tradition* (1983), edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, and Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983).

Following the "Disaster" or loss of Spain's final American colonies to the United States in 1898, an existential panic arose within Spain, centered around the perception that the nation was in crisis with nothing less than its collective identity at stake. Internal chaos heightened the sense that Spain was at a turning point at which action was desperately needed, leading to the ideologically vocal (if politically disparate) movement of Regenerationism, in which it was agreed that "something must be done" regarding Spain.[6] Sebastian Balfour describes this sense of urgency and the respective conservative and liberal interpretations of its call to action:

> Encouraged by the prevailing intellectual fashion of positivism, most exegeses resorted to a pathology of the nation; Spain was suffering from a severe, if not terminal, illness and needed an immediate and radical cure. The deeply conservative view was that Spain had lost the empire because it had abandoned those virtues which had once made it great: unity, hierarchy, and militant Catholicism [...] Much more widespread was the view that attributed Spain's decline to its failure to modernize, for which blame was laid variously on incompetent politicians, the backward ideology of the ruling order, the corruption and clientelism of the political system, and the apathy of the masses. To recover health, Spain needed a vast programme of reforms modelled on those of the more advanced societies in Europe (Balfour 26).

This view of fin-de-siècle Spain in crisis, of Spain at a crossroads demanding action, permeates the writings of the so-called Generación del 98, particularly Unamuno, whose defiant stance on calls for Europeanization of Spain will be discussed in Chapter One. José María Beneyto characterizes Spanish thought after the Disaster of 1898 as an oppositional discourse which explores, at times obsessively, the gulf between Spain and Europe and presents Europeanization as "[e]l gran proyecto de la

[6] Prominent regenerationists included, in addition to Unamuno, Angel Ganivet and José Ortega y Gasset. While their views on what action should be taken vary widely, all three argue that the turn of the twentieth century is a watershed in Spanish history that calls for the nation to take stock and assess the proper course for the future in both politics and society. The title given to this literary group, the *Generación del 98*, reflects the significance of the particular historical moment for the writers' engagement with contemporary Spain.

España del siglo XX" (Beneyto 13). The Europeanization his subjects believed was the only solution to Spain's profound crisis of identity was made to seem all the more impossible by the sense, more acute in the first half of the twentieth century than at any other time in Spain's history, that Spain was fundamentally different from Europe. This crisis and the accompanying sense of the need to Europeanize should not be misinterpreted as simplistic self-loathing or anti-Spanish propaganda. In his detailed analysis of prominent Spanish thinkers, Beneyto emphasizes the unique sort of patriotism each one of his subjects brings to a seemingly incompatible sense of despair with regard to the situation facing Spain in their time. This patriotism is borne not out of a sense of historical or national pride, but rather out of a sense of collective identity:

> Costa, Unamuno, Ortega, Madariaga y tantos otros representantes del regeneracionismo, de la Generación del 98, de la del 14, están dotados de un patriotismo esencial, casi epidérmico. Un patriotismo que en su origen no es nacionalista. El objetivo regenerador, vertebrador, socializador, de la realidad española de Ortega, por ejemplo, tiene poco de bigotería o de tradicionalismo. Lo que se busca es constituir (desde la visión del Desastre, más bien *reconstituir*) una comunidad de convivencia española y europea que tenga en cuenta todas las diferenciaciones posibles, la más vasta pluralidad de la realidad, toda la significación histórica, cultural, lingüística de la sociedad española y de la sociedad europea (14-15, emphasis in the original).

This *patriotismo esencial* was the motivating factor, the source of the drive to forge "una comunidad de convivencia española y europea," and noteworthy in part for its contrast with later Francoist reappropriations of its essentialist conceptualizations of Spanish national identity. However, when considered individually, the work of these writers reveals an engagement with "todas las diferenciaciones posibles" that is far from the optimistic project of *convivencia* described by Beneyto. Beneyto acknowledges as much in his case studies of each writer. In his discussion of Costa he

describes how "[c]on el Desastre se agudiza la conciencia de la decadencia hasta convertirse en una obsesión colectiva, neurotizada, que será uno de los ingredientes permanentes del inconsciente colectivo español del siglo" (55). The *decadencia* referred to here would be converted by Unamuno into an irrevocable, essential aspect of the Spanish character, not merely a current condition that was contingent on the historical moment. Rather than attempt to extricate Spain from essentialist notions about its national character, Unamuno fetishizes these notions, and argues that the very traits seen to differentiate Spain from Europe are worth celebrating for the sole reason that they *are* so irrevocably Spanish. Spain's obsession with death, Unamuno argues, is a dyed-in-the-wool element of its culture and as such, is to be credited for Spain's accomplishments, not blamed for Spain's failures. The same is true of Spain's rough terrain, in an even more explicitly deterministic example; while life might be easier elsewhere, it could not lead to the tragic genius of Spain's great masters. Unamuno refers to an article by Pío Baroja noting how in France "los productos espirituales" such as painting and drama pale in comparison to their earthly delights such as wine and oysters. Boasts Unamuno:

> en cambio, nuestros grandes hombres—Cervantes, Velázquez, el Greco, Goya—valen tanto o más que los grandes hombres de cualquier parte; mientras nuestra vida actual vale menos, no que la vida de Marruecos, sino que de la vida de Portugal.
>
> Y yo digo: ¿no vale la pena de renunciar a esa agradable vida de Francia a cambio de respirar el espíritu que puede producir un Cervantes, un Velázquez, un Greco, un Goya? No son acaso éstos incompatibles con el vino de Burdeos y las o[s]tras de Arcachón? Yo—arbitrariamente, por supuesto—creo que sí, que son incompatibles, y me quedo con el Quijote, con Velázquez, con el Greco, con Goya, y sin el vino de Burdeos, ni las o[s]tras de Arcachón, ni Racine, ni Delacroix. La pasión y la sensualidad son incompatibles: la pasión es arbitraria, la sensualidad es lógica. Como que la lógica no es sino una forma de sensualidad (Unamuno 929-930).

This defiant stance on Spanish difference, typical of Unamuno, celebrates Spain's cultural patrimony while at the same time unproblematically accepting essentialist outside characterizations of Spain. The grand gesture of Unamuno in "Sobre la europeización" is that of a *value* inversion, not a deconstruction of stereotype. Unamuno proudly refuses even to engage with the *accuracy* of essentialist representations of Spain; rather, he proclaims that the Spanish national character is, for better or for worse, unchanging and eternal; to hope otherwise would be not merely a reflection of Spain's present crisis, but also (and more importantly), a rejection of its most celebrated forefathers. This proud defiance in the midst of a nation then plagued by fears of inferiority is evoked by Beneyto's subheading "Unamuno y España, héroes trágicos" (99). Unamuno depicts contemporary Spain as the direct spiritual descendant of El Greco, Velázquez and Goya, then draws a direct causal connection *backwards* in time: Spain's current challenges were the same sort of problem that had given these historical artists their uniquely Spanish spirit—that is to say, their genius. To wish for some other Spain (a more European Spain) would be to wish that Goya and Velázquez had never had their inspiration. I am interested in this argument less for the element of conjecture it entails than for Unamuno's apparent certainty that the crisis perceived by so many of his contemporaries was incidental to the losses of 1898 and was, in fact, simply a renewed awareness of aspects of the Spanish character that for Unamuno were nothing less than eternal. Unamuno insists on placing Spanish identity *outside* of time and space. Del Pino demonstrates how the application of this concept of timelessness to national identity influenced rhetoric in the Spanish Civil War and the Nationalist regime that followed:

> La articulación del concepto de *pueblo*, como el agente fundamental para la formación del carácter nacional, está en la base del ahistórico concepto de *intrahistoria* de Unamuno. En los dramáticos años de la Guerra Civil, las nociones de *pueblo* y *nación* se constituyeron en referencias sacralizadas sobre las que la retórica oficial de cada bando establecía su supremacía moral. El triunfo de los 'nacionales' supuso no sólo un drástico cambio de rumbo en la vida política sino también la imposición de una ideología ultranacionalista que situaba el origen de España fuera del alcance de la evidencia histórica, en el terreno de lo irrevocable y lo sagrado (Del Pino 258).

The militant nationalism of the Franco regime depended on a strictly defined interpretation of Spanish identity that both justified its repressive measures (aimed at maintaining the proud *casticismo* of Spain's noble character) and provided a rigid model against which individual citizens could be judged. If the end of Francoism meant the end of ultra-nationalism, it also meant the end of the Franco regime's monopoly on Spanish self-definition. Indeed, during the Transition after Franco's death, the multiplication of identities was one of the most dramatic initial changes, and Spanish artistic production was increasingly praised outside of Spain, allowing for a wider international engagement with all sectors of Spanish society. This artistic success was viewed as one more example of Spain's emergence from the figurative desert, an emancipation from Spanish history. Vilarós presents Spain's reaction to the international success of Spanish novels and films in the late 1980s and early 1990s in a similar fashion:

> Naturalmente, el aprobado general internacional dado a tales producciones culturales (y a otras empresas similares como pueden ser la Exposición Universal de Sevilla del 92 […] fue recibido en España en cada momento no sólo con satisfacción sino también con cierto sentimiento de liquidación de un pago atrasado, de cuenta por fin saldada con un 'vergonzoso pasado español,' y que nos ponía, por fin, en disposición de acceso y relativa competición dentro del mercado internacional (Vilarós 241).

Spain's perception of its integration into the European cultural scene as nothing less than an overdue payment on a debt demonstrates the clear conviction that Spain had broken with the past and made a long-overdue appearance at the table of modern Europe.

Vilarós's *movida*-driven, Transition-era Spain is one in which Spanish identity is changing and contingent. Unamuno, as we have seen, declared Spanish identity to be something eternal, an irrevocably essential part of Spain's fiber that operated outside of time. Here I will demonstrate how the reverse can be seen to characterize attitudes toward Spanish identity in the post-Franco era. That is, whereas Unamuno viewed Europe and Spain as intrinsically different and saw this difference as part of Spain's essence, today Spanish difference is more often represented as historical, even archaic; rather than being contested, it is relegated to the past. A century's worth of anxieties over Spanish backwardness is displaced onto the moment of Franco's death, which is seen as the chronological endpoint of all previous narratives of Spanish difference and of Spain's exclusion from modern Europe. This displacement risks perpetuating myths of Spanish difference because it refuses to engage with them, even to deny them; it simply waves them away as irrelevant to the post-Franco age. It would be difficult to argue that stereotypical representations of Spanish identity have vanished to the point that perceptions of Spanish difference have vanished with them. While the public image of Spain has changed drastically in the past thirty years, with Spain being increasingly perceived (and promoted) as a multicultural, cosmopolitan nation, the image of a "timeless" Spain is still heavily promoted in some sectors of the tourism industry, and the extent to which visitors are

more attracted to the "modern" or "historic" elements of Spain would be difficult to measure. More significantly, the ultra-modern incarnations of contemporary Spain currently so in vogue among foreigners—wild nightlife, cutting-edge fashion, and Almodóvar's colorfully spirited heroines, for example—are celebrated as representative of Spain's uniqueness, of Spain's "special" place among the nations of Europe. This positively valued "difference" may not be so different from the difference perceived in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Contemporary Spain may influence or manipulate *which* are the fetishized objects of local color, but if we look for examples of essentialist constructions of Spanish cultural identity today, they are plentiful. The expansion of regional identities, long considered anathema to projects of cohesive national identity in Spain, after Franco's death has ironically become one of the more "typically Spanish" characteristics appealing to travelers. Similarly, the multicultural heritage depicted by Américo Castro traditionally ran counter to *castizo* conceptions of a noble, homogenous Spanish identity. Now, Spain's history of *convivencia* is a source of pride, and tours of medieval Jewish quarters in Seville, Córdoba, and elsewhere highlight a multicultural model of coexistence that pre-dates current discourses on cultural diversity by several hundred years. Spain has clearly changed, but Europe is still able to find in Spain the reflection of its own fantasies, regardless of the reality.[7]

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[7] The term *España de pandereta* echoes Antonio Machado's poem "El mañana efímera" (*Campos de Castilla*, 1912), in which he refers to "La España de charanga y pandereta." The coinage is alive and well in contemporary Spain, but in ironic or campy contexts in which it would be difficult for even a foreigner to mistake it for an "authentic" cultural manifestation. Vilarós characterizes the resurgence of stereotypical, exotic Spanish imagery in the *Movida* as the return of the repressed: "El retorno de la España 'cañí', de la España de toros y panderetas, de castañuelas y pasodobles, vírgenes llorosas y cristos crucificados es evidente […] La iconografía fetichista presente en los pastiches de Almodóvar, Ocaña, los Costus, Nazario, Almudena Grandes, Ana Rossetti y tantos otras y otros vuelve también como lo reprimido retornado" (Vilarós 230).

Because I am focusing on representations of and engagement with essentialist notions of Spanish identity, cultural interactions between Spain and other nations is critical. The existence of a unique, specific cultural identity, far more even than national identity, depends on some degree of contrast to others, the awareness or perception of a group's difference. As I have outlined above, essentialist constructions of Spanish identity depend on a conceptualization of Spain as different from other European nations. Whether this difference is positively or negatively valued, it is a constant in foreign representations of Spain and in Spanish engagement with foreign cultures. Dumas' famous declaration that "Africa begins at the Pyrenees" distinguishes Spain not only from France, but from the entire European continent. Post-1898 calls to Europeanize, however, were hardly using Italy or Greece as models. Contrastive discussions of "Europe" in relation to Spain referred (and arguably still do refer) primarily to France and England, with more generalized references to "Northern Europe" sometimes including Germany and Scandinavia. Though I will address some elements of the French relationship to Spanish national identity, including the influence of *afrancesamiento* and its detractors, Britain is a more useful foil in this study because the stereotypes held of England (not least in Spain, as I demonstrate) happen to be the opposite of the stereotypes of Spain: dry, stiff, and affectless (though efficient and controlled and powerful) versus passionate, tragic, inefficient, backward, and uncontrolled.

As shown in the chapter outlines that follow, the specific works I will be addressing here deal with Spain in relation to both Great Britain and the United States. Both Anglophone nations are past or present imperial powers whose dominant

Anglo-Saxon cultures often inspire similar stereotypes in Spain, particularly those elements seen as furthest from Spanish culture (see Chapter Two for a study of two Spanish novels in which British and North American cultures are portrayed in startlingly similar terms, with the United States distinguished for a higher incidence of obesity and little else). Additionally, in the twentieth century the United States has replaced Britain as the dominant world power and thus fulfills much the same psychic role as Britain in the nineteenth century. The reaction of the Spanish-speaking world, while understandably defensive, was one that resorted to stereotyping, essentializing both *hispanohablantes* and Anglophones in equal measure, as outlines Sebastiaan Faber:

> A partir de la segunda mitad del siglo XIX, en reacción al ascenso de Estados Unidos e Inglaterra, intelectuales en ambos lados del Atlántico empiezan a reivindicar lo que consideran el aspecto más importante y más amenazado de su patrimonio cultural: la espiritualidad […] en Uruguay, José Enrique Rodó aboga por una defensa del *Ariel* latino contra el nuevo barbarismo del Calibán anglosajón (Faber 740).

The characterization of the Spanish-speaking world in this context is positive, because it represents passion and authenticity in opposition to the cold, brute force of the United States and Great Britain. It is easy, however, for self-promotion with words like *espiritualidad* to translate into "backward" or "anti-modern," especially when this "spirituality" is presented as the antithesis of a productive, highly efficient (if oppressive) empire. This slippery terminology is emblematic of comparative discussions of Anglo-Saxon and Hispanic cultural identity, and its variations are omnipresent in literature on Spain's relationship to Britain and the United States.

Another important factor in my decision to focus on Britain and the United States is the abundance of Spanish primary source material discussing both, a logical

outcome of the migrations detailed above. Britain in the nineteenth century and the U.S. in the twentieth were both popular destinations for Spanish political exiles, many of whom wrote about their experiences or drew inspiration from them, such as Luis Cernuda, Ramón J. Sender, and Francisco Ayala, and some of whom greatly influenced Hispanism in the United States, such as Américo Castro. In recent decades there has been an increase in Spanish nationals obtaining doctoral degrees abroad and serving on the faculties of North American universities in particular, a form of permanent cultural and intellectual exchange discussed at length in Chapter Two. In the case of both exile and academic migration, exposure to North American or British assessments of Spanish culture provides a fruitful opportunity to examine diverse approaches to Spanish cultural identity. In the case of José María Blanco White, a (self-imposed) exile in England during the early nineteenth century, this examination of Spanish identity reached the extreme of a total rejection of Spain, coupled with the enthusiastic adoption of an alternate British identity. In fact, Goytisolo praises Blanco's comments from exile as among the most accurate descriptions of the Spain of his time. He surprisingly characterizes British portrayals of Spain during the period as more penetrating than Spanish ones, implying that Blanco's clear perspective on his own culture's fanaticism could not have been arrived at so easily from within the Peninsula:

> los testimonios más significativos y válidos sobre la primera mitad del pasado siglo fueron obra de un expatriado (Blanco White) y dos forasteros (Borrow y Ford). Transplantado a orillas del Támesis y escribiendo en inglés, Blanco disfrutaba sin duda de una independencia de juicio y libertad de plauma inaccesibles a sus colegas peninsulares ("Presentación crítica" 25).

Perhaps even more remarkable than this praise of Blanco's perspective from exile as sharper than that of Spaniards within Spain (the logic of which could, perhaps not accidentally, be applied as a vindication of Goytisolo's own work) is Goytisolo's praise of influential British traveler-commentators, whose views on Spain are for him specific and individual as opposed to the sweeping condescension of the French *homme universel*. One could understand, says Goytisolo, how Blanco White's descriptions of Spain surpassed those of his countrymen, yoked by censorship and war,

> Pero, ¿y Richard Ford? ¿y George Borrow? […] los británicos no caen jamás (a lo menos sin ironía consciente) en la españolada (aunque Borrow se disfrace de gitano y traduzca el Evengelio [sic] según San Lucas al caló).
>
> Los viajeros ingleses, en cambio, recorren España con una óptica distinta: la mirada que posan en los peninsulares es la mirada de alguien plenamente consciente de pertenecer a un pueblo de rasgos muy singulares y específicos, y que observa las peculiaridades de otro pueblo con una buena dosis de humor, curiosidad y simpatía (Goytisolo "Presentación crítica" 25).

I reproduce this quotation here not to echo Goytisolo's praise of the British perspective on Spain (which I find optimistic, to say the least), but rather because Goytisolo's comments reproduce so perfectly the same oppositional construction of Spain and Britain I have been describing thus far. While Blanco White's own countrymen are so oblivious to their situation that a foreigner's perceptions are more illuminating than theirs, English travelers are "plenamente conscientes" of their own situation as outside observers, exercising tolerance and understanding in their curious, enlightened observations. Goytisolo represents English identity itself as coincident with intelligent observation, Spanish identity as anathema to it.

British culture appealed to Blanco White precisely because he saw it as the utter antithesis to Spanish culture. In fact, the reasons Blanco provides for his

rejection of Spain are hauntingly similar to the narrative promoted in the Black Legend of Spanish absolutism and intolerance. Joaquín Costa directly indicts the Anglo-Saxons of willful ignorance of Spain, as quoted in Beneyto (who emphasizes the continuity of the process between Anglo-America and Britain): "Los anglosajones americanos, amparados por los anglosajones europeos, 'han pasado la esponja por el mapamundi y borrado de él la mitad de España: la otra mitad se ha borrado a sí misma'" (Beneyto 58). The American and British characterizations of Spain, while unjustified, were (and are) relevant precisely because of their close intersection with Spain's worst opinions of itself. Thus the Spanish-Anglo contrast is particularly important in the construction of Spanish identity.

My dissertation is comprised of three chapters, each focusing in depth on a specific area in which Spanish cultural identity intersects with Spain's relationship—real or imaginary—with Britain or the United States. In each chapter I demonstrate how specific discourses on Spanish identity reinforce essentialist notions of Spanish culture. In spite of the wide range of genres and authors I investigate, and in spite of the wide range of themes in the works I address, all of my subject material is characterized by its ultimate reaffirmation of Spanish difference. Rather than argue that some works counter essentialism in relation to Spanish identity while others prove Spain's multiple identities and integration within Europe, I illustrate how the belief in Spanish difference from Europe is often both resisted and promoted *within the same discourse*. By highlighting the ambivalence that haunts even the most celebratory, proud approaches to Spanish identity in the post-Franco era, I demonstrate how the pervasiveness of the model by which Spain has emerged from

its own history as a full-fledged, modern European nation actually reinforces essentialist constructions of Spain, merely locking them away in history. What is celebrated is not a newly conceived Spain, but rather the steady march of time.

In Chapter One, "Voices From the Past: Essentialism and its Detractors," I argue that Spain is represented in multiple areas of Spanish public discourse as having emerged from its own history upon Franco's death. The general sense of euphoria that pervaded the nation and the cultural renaissance that followed (Vilarós 1998) were seen as Spain's opportunity to rejoin Europe following decades of cultural isolation and repression. Spain's integration into the European Union in 1986 and watershed events like the Olympics in Barcelona and the Expo in Seville in 1992 were seen as proof that Spain had successfully shaken off a past for which few expressed nostalgia. I argue that this narrow association of Francoism with notions of Spanish difference contained fundamental semantic and historical contradictions. The *castizo* Spain conceived of by Franco was not exactly the Spain of Felipe II and the Black Legend, and actively rejected the exotic, Oriental Spain of the nineteenth century that was so responsible for foreign ideas of Spain's marginal place in Europe. More importantly, by focusing on the end of Francoism, assertions that Spain was "no longer" different failed to engage with the considerable range of commentary on Spanish identity and difference dating from the nineteenth century up until through the Spanish Civil War. Even a cursory glance at the Generación del 98 demonstrates the extent to which Spanish national identity and the Spanish national character were emotionally charged topics long before the Republican defeat.

In Chapter One I focus in particular on three writers who were passionately engaged with issues of Spanish identity before the Franco era: Joseph Blanco White, Mariano José de Larra, and Federico García Lorca. Blanco White rejected his Spanish identity in favor of permanent exile in England on grounds that reflect stereotypical Spanish/British cultural dichotomies today. However, Goytisolo's enthusiastic praise of Blanco's identity switchup seems more a tribute to an ideologically committed Spanish forebear than simply a detached reading of a fellow intellectual. Blanco's bitter criticisms of Spain resonate because their message has never been contested. Whether his points are accurate or not, the stereotypes they evoke persisted through Francoism, and his work demonstrates that issues of Spanish difference did not begin with Francoism, nor could they have instantaneously ended with the arrival of democracy. Next, I argue that although Larra is one of the more emblematic voices decrying Spain's condition in relation to Europe, he is in fact remarkably measured in his comments on Spanish cultural identity, pronouncing sharp indictments of Spanish society while energetically rejecting weak excuses on how difficult things are "en este país" (Larra 227). For Larra, Spanish identity is changing and contingent, and even his most biting criticisms contain more exhortation to progress than resignation or cultural essentialism. Finally, I examine how Lorca managed to *combine* exhortations to progress with resignation to cultural essentialism in his rhapsodic pronouncements on Spain as *duende*-driven conduit to the authentic, primordial side of human existence through the medium of *cante jondo*. Through individual rereadings of each of these three figures, I demonstrate how many of their essentialist notions of Spanish

culture commonly dismissed as irrelevant today actually persist in ways unacknowledged in contemporary discourses on Spain.

In Chapter Two, "The Campus Novel *a la española*: Hispanism, Spanish Identity and Anglophone academia," I explore perceptions of difference between Spain and the United States and Britain as seen through the academic field of Hispanism. As discussed further in the chapter, the term Hispanism is somewhat problematic for its contradictory implications as to who is studying what (and where they are studying it), but these are questions central to my investigation and, as such, the term is useful. While Chapters One and Three deal directly with travel, Chapter Two conceives of scholarly production and even transatlantic professional trajectories as their own sort of border crossing with potentially as great an impact on Spanish intellectual dialogue with Britain and the U.S. as earlier instances of exile. In the first part of the chapter I address not only contemporary debates on divergent theoretical practices in Spain, the United States and Britain, but also the shifting "trade routes" in Hispanism today by which a scholar's national origin, ethnicity, and geographic location are becoming destabilized as firm markers of academic identity and critical practice. This destabilization of national identities at the *personal* level in a context in which "academic affiliation" may be a more relevant signifier than one's passport is a phenomenon largely neglected in current Hispanism debates and I explore the relative absence of personal compromise by scholars in the specific field of Hispanism. I also examine the role of Latin American Studies in shaping contemporary Hispanism and the extent to which the two fields intersect under the "Spanish Language and Literature" banner.

In the second part of Chapter Two, I analyze essentialist representations of Spanish cultural identity in the novels *Todas las almas* by Javier Marías (1989) and *Carlota Fainberg* by Antonio Muñoz Molina (1999), with some comparisons to the related novel *El inquilino* by Javier Cercas (1989). In the tradition of the "campus novel" satirizing life in academia, these novels depict the misadventures of Spanish male professors in academic positions in Spanish departments in England and the United States, respectively. Both works share an oppositional vision in which Spanish culture is utterly incompatible with the Anglophone world, beginning with comical details and ending with soul-quashing dejection that sends their protagonists running for cover back in Madrid. The satirical humor of both *Todas las almas* and *Carlota Fainberg* enhances this message rather than diminishing it. The exaggerated attempts of the protagonist of *Carlota Fainberg* to assimilate into American culture are presented as ridiculous, but the novel's portrayal of life as a Spaniard in rural Pennsylvania is played for knowing recognition as much as it is for laughs. Similarly, the smugly superior narrator of *Todas las almas*, while evocative of Marías' later globetrotting polyglot and sophisticated types, invokes his own status as a hot-blooded, flirtatious Spaniard constantly throughout the novel. While this characterization is projected onto other characters in the novel—"everyone else" notices these traits, while the narrator merely looks on, amused—the novel repeats oppositional constructions of British and "meridional" cultures almost obsessively, and the protagonist seems to enjoy being amused with his own Spanishness from his ostensible vantage point of a cosmopolitan man of intrigue. This is intended as a thoroughly postmodern, post-national attitude, but it is one that continues to construct

Spain itself in essentialist, backward terms; the narrator is lucky enough to have transcended national boundaries, but it is presented as a specific feat, not a dismissal of difference altogether.

In Chapter Three, "'El Turismo es un gran invento': Modernity, Contact Zones and New Interpretations of Spanish 'Difference'," I turn to the boom in Spanish tourism in the 1960s. Tourism was part of the Franco regime's plan for economic development, but the exposure to the outside world that it engendered posed threats to the insular cultural environment of Francoism that would change Spain forever. The immediate results of tourism were twofold. The first result was an acceleration of Spanish contact with foreign cultures whose influence in Spain had previously been sharply curtailed by Spanish censorship and isolation. Reactions to this contact were diverse, ranging from shock at the immorality of foreign tourists who arrived on the eve of the Sexual Revolution to fetishization of sexually available, "liberated" foreigners, especially women. Symbolically, foreign females and foreign capital were dangerously seductive, prefiguring Spain's increasing cultural exposure to Europe and the close relationship beween tourism's economic benefits and its potential cultural collateral damage. The second major result of the tourist boom was the mass marketing of Spain as a tourist destination to foreigners. While this led to the resurgence of Spain-is-different pneumonic devices like *toros* and flamenco, other more prosaic elements were thrown into the mix such as sun, beaches, and sangria. The advent of mass tourism in the context of the beach resort destabilizes the exotic, Oriental stereotype of Spain without replacing it with a more accurate image; as I demonstrate in Chapter Three, the sort of tourism that characterized the boom in

Spain disregards authenticity largely because it disregards local culture in general. This neocolonial model of tourism in which the local culure is incidental to the experience and natural resources such as sun and sand are paramount is exploitative, but it holds special interest in the present study for its removal of the "authenticity" factor from the tourist-host encounter. The boom-era beach resort serves as a "contact zone" (see Pratt 1992) between Spaniards and foreigners that relies on almost anything but *castañuelas* and *toros*. In the second part of the chapter I analyze tourism-themed film sex comedies from the period in the late 1960s and early 1970s, In the films I address, *Lo verde empieza en los Pirineos*, *Amor a la española* and *El turismo es un gran invento*, it is the Spaniards themselves who reintroduce the *España de pandereta* into the tourist contact zone. This self-stereotyping is not limited to the superficial or iconic. All the films represent Spanish males as possessed of a womanizing "defect" that is depicted as an essential trait dating back to the Conquest of America and linked specifically to the Black Legend. The films are ultimately conservative and support the maintenance of "traditional" Spanish values, with the contact zone of the beach tourist resort portrayed merely as a modern-day *reencuentro* with conventional wisdom about Spanish culture. Even when the *macho* male characters are mocked and ridiculed, it supports the conservative message: Spain is different from Europe, and renewed contact with Europe is incapable of changing anything. The fact that these films seem so outdated reveals how much has changed in Spain in the last thirty years. At the same time, their clear message that Spain's future in Europe will fall outside the old paradigms of exoticism and difference seems more relevant than ever.

Finally, I would like to turn briefly to my own critical position as it relates to the material I explore here. As an Anglo-American with no familial or (preexisting) cultural ties to the Spanish-speaking world, I assumed at the beginning of my career as a Hispanist that my outsider role would be an inevitable handicap. I assumed that the right of Spaniards, Latin Americans, and U.S. Latinos to "translate" their own culture in their scholarly production would be seen by the academic community as inherent and indisputable. I feared that my own contributions, particularly as I embraced cultural studies approaches that couldn't always tie their observations to one specific text, would be seen as presumptuous or even offensive, especially if I were to take a critical stance toward some aspect of Spanish culture or society. As I have matured as a scholar I have matured in my perspective of the scholar's "right" to address this or that material, and become more comfortable with the potential for differing receptions of my work. More importantly as regards the current study, however, I have been consistently surprised at the virtual absence of any sort of *official* dialogue on personal identity as it relates to scholarship in Peninsular Studies.[8] Skepticism about a non-Spanish scholar's ability to accurately assess or to "get" Spanish cultural production seems positively correlated to skepticism about his or her theoretical approach. Resistance to an "outsider" scholar's viewpoint often represents itself as resistance to research seen as nontraditional or agenda-driven, a paranoia satirized in *Carlota Fainberg*, as I discuss in Chapter Two. However, this resistance is rarely an openly acknowledged part of critical discourse. Although social

[8] An important exception to this would be Malcolm Read's *Educating the Educators: Hispanism and its Institutions* (2003). Read gives a highly personal account of his education and academic career from the vantage point of a British-born Hispanist. While my focus here is on Spanish-born academics, Read's discussions of his own critical position are illuminating for this study, particularly his descriptions of his migrations to New Zealand, Jamaica, and the United States as a Spanish professor.

networks and alliances are not to be underestimated in any profession, the research of scholars from Spain rarely mentions their own national identity explicitly, nor does it usually discuss the community of Spanish academics in the United States as a diaspora united by a shared set of values. This seems especially clear to me when comparing the (superficially) objective work in the Hispanism community with that of Latino or Chicano Studies in the United States, in which the perceived relevance of personal cultural identification or even autobiography is often revealed by references to "my" culture, "our" people, etc. I don't view this identification as negative, but the presence of this personal investment in other areas of Hispanic Studies does highlight the absence of such personal compromise in the Iberian-oriented field of Hispanism. Or, perhaps, when it does occur, personal compromise within Hispanism is channeled more subtly, not into self-exploratory research that uses the first person, but into certain critical approaches and communities (such as strict philology) in order to protect the cultural patrimony from incursions from radical transatlantic theoretical approaches. Skepticism toward North American critical trends and the contrast between the Spanish and Anglophone Hispanism communities will be discussed extensively in Chapter Two, but for now I will reiterate that I do *not* perceive a strict divide between what I, as an Anglo-American scholar, am "entitled" to say in the eyes of the Hispanism community and what my peer scholars from Spain are "entitled" to say, a fact that still occasionally strikes me as remarkable and has fueled my fascination with the national and cultural identity questions explored in this dissertation. Clearly there are those who would question my interpretations, as an American, of Spanish cultural phenomena, but I suspect such skepticism would arise

more from ideological differences than from cultural perspective alone, and such skepticism is rarely integrated into official academic discourses, at least not explicitly.

Another important factor influencing my own perceptions of my place within Hispanism would be the academic community I inhabit, in which the ostensible "insiders" as regards the subject of Hispanism are the technical "outsiders" within the United States, which may contribute to there being more open dialogue on *types* of research (for example, cultural studies as opposed to traditional philology) that may or may not be viewed as appropriate, rather than specific identities that may or may not claim proper perspective. If we can view Spanish nationals working in universities in Britain or North America as a sort of diaspora, the national identity of a particular scholar may be seen to matter less than his or her critical perspective—his or her scholarly identifications and alliances.

On a more personal level, I can trace my interests in cultural essentialism and Spanish identity to my first trip to Spain, when I was frequently asked by expectant Spaniards (as an American student in Valencia) if I was disappointed by the lack of bullfighters and flamenco dancers in the streets. Fully aware of the jocular or ironic nature of these questions, I was still struck by their constant recurrence. I hadn't expected to see these stereotypical images and I certainly hadn't introduced them into any conversation. Even if previous foreigners *had* arrived with such ideas, it was now Spaniards instructing *me*, the foreigner, in the sort of expectations I was supposed to have of their culture. I had the same impression years later reading Sender's *La tesis de Nancy*. The scores of individual episodes in the novel are all variations of the same

theme, that of an American girl whose expectations of Spain are so divorced from reality that she can and will believe anything. The novel's humor depends entirely on foreigners' misperceptions about Spain, and Sender goes to great lengths to manufacture new episodes in which these misperceptions can be "revealed" again and again. Sender's experiences in North American universities doubtless brought him comic tales of confusion from any number of enthusiastic undergraduates returning from Spain or preparing for a trip there. However, even if he had many actual examples of Anglo ignorance and gullibility, he portrays in *La tesis de Nancy* many more acts of confusion that are so unrealistic as to be difficult for a non-Spaniard to understand, much less enact, such as misunderstandings based on subtle differences in Andalusian accents that most foreign students would be incapable of even detecting. One class I observed of American *sixteen-year-olds* reading the book while studying in Spain found Nancy too naïve to relate to, her exploits too ridiculous even to be comical. *La tesis de Nancy* is a treatise on Spanish difference created by Spaniards and made for Spanish consumption; the foreign observer is merely a sort of mirror off of which to reflect Spain's own perceptions of itself, much like the nominally foreign narrator of *Cartas Marruecas* one hundred and fifty years earlier. This was my first impression of Spain. Other foreigners may have treated Spain unfairly, but in my case, it was Spaniards reopening the wound, and I as foreign observer was merely the audience for the performance. In the intervening years this impression has diminished, as I have encountered a majority of Spaniards who are indifferent to what preexisting stereotypes they feel I might carry, or who are more interested in my words and actions than in the expectations they project onto me.

However, I have maintained an interest in “Spanishness” and its meanings throughout my career, and all of my scholarship is imbued with a curiosity regarding perspectives on cultural essentialism. What follows are explorations of these perspectives.

Chapter One

Voices From the Past: Essentialism and its Detractors

The strongest evidence of Spain's historical exclusion from the idealized abstraction of a modern, democratic Europe is the chorus of proclamations that this era of exclusion is now over. In the 1960s the Spanish government promoted tourism with the oft-repeated slogan "Spain is Different," a deceptively simple catchphrase that encompassed any number of romantic fantasies and black legends. Today the slogan could be "Spain is *no longer* different" or even "Spain is Different—from Spain," given the ubiquitous assertions that Spain has finally "arrived," whether in Europe, on the global stage, into the world of commercialism, or at the forefront of technology. From the defiant exuberance of the *movida* in the 1980s to integration into the European Union in 1986 to the Olympics in Barcelona and the Expo in Seville in 1992, post-Franco Spain is presented as being on a triumphal march, as having finally emerged from the cocoon of its own history. The present is seen as a sort of emancipation, not only from a fascist dictatorship, but also from centuries of second-class citizenship amongst first-world nations and the perception (within Spain and outside it) of persistent backwardness and underachievement. Between tolling the bell for the *España de pandereta* and hailing the "new" Spain, however, lies a slippage point in which affirmations of Spain's "arrival" are in fact reinforcing, even recreating or reconstructing an image of Spain more in keeping with the "old" Spain than the "new" Spain. In order to praise the accomplishments of twenty-first-century Spain, in the ceremonial act of throwing off the figurative shackles of history, one

must revisit and reproduce timeworn stereotypes of Spain as backward, exotic, Oriental, African, premodern, feudal, antidemocratic or otherwise "Other." In the act of declaring that these images are *no longer* valid, the commentator accepts these images as having once been valid—he or she merely fixes them in time. A discourse intended to prove the irrelevance of stereotypes thus (unwittingly or not) reestablishes them.

If the superficial or negative images associated with Spain by outsiders have been displaced into "history," as if their association with the past were proof of their irrelevance to the present, we can see a similar semantic move in the area of valorization. That is, the most prejudicial characterizations of Spain as backward, violent, superstitious, lazy, ignorant, or worse—particularly in the nineteenth century—were softened (and avoided being labeled merely racist by later readers) by the fact that these characterizations were frequently inverted, not in their assertions regarding Spain, but in their valorization of these assertions. Thus backwardness, violence, and laziness are frequently (and only temporarily) recoded as timeless authenticity, passion, and *joie de vivre*. The same process can be observed in almost all foreign-observer accounts of Spain, but particularly in the case of Great Britain, whose contempt for Spain was conditioned by historical rivalries (especially military) with Spain as well as its own generalized sense of imperial superiority.

Because these same traits cited as evidence of Spain's inferiority are also hailed as evidence of its appeal, Spain would be hard pressed to promote itself (particularly in an incipient tourist industry) without reproducing potentially negative stereotypes. Spain might control the images it projected, but the valorization of those

images was in the eye of the beholder, who might see potentially neutral images (bullfighters, flamenco dancers) as confirmation of previous, negatively coded descriptions made by non-Spaniards. At the same time, Spanish critics who might decry the inaccuracies of the *España de pandereta* image are often surprisingly reticent about defending the "old" Spain, offering almost-apologetic defenses that reveal an internalization of certain criticism made by foreigners and instead focusing their critique on the incompatibility of the many stereotypes reproduced or the anachronistic nature of stereotypes. The reaction of Spaniards to the representation of Spain in the rest of the world, especially in Western Europe and particularly in Great Britain, is the focus of this chapter. The Spanish sense of inferiority in relation to the rest of Europe is personified dramatically in the figure of José María Blanco White (1775-1841), a Spaniard who despised Spanish culture as backward, corrupt, and superstitious, exiling himself to an England he portrays as a beacon of rationality and civilization. Blanco's wholesale rejection of Spain (and his consequent adoption of a new homeland ostensibly superior to Spain in all aspects) is exceptional, but his frank assessments of what he perceived as Spain's weaknesses touched on topics that would remain taboo until very recent years. This intensity made him a semi-heroic figure to twentieth-century Spanish intellectuals like Vicente Llorens and Juan Goytisolo, who saw the descriptions of Spanish life he made from his voluntary *destierro* as courageous in their bold condemnation of elements of a society that in Blanco's day was still under the shadow of the Inquisition. As we shall see, the characterizations of his rejected homeland in Blanco's semi-fictionalized *Letters from Spain* are clearly influenced by British travel writings describing Spain that were in circulation at the

time; this apparent repetition of foreign stereotypes by a Spaniard would in turn contribute to the prevailing mythologies regarding Spain in later accounts by British writers on Spain, confirming, as it were, the images of Spain that English pens were already crafting. On the other hand, today's Spanish academics who analyze traditional representations of an exotic *España de pandereta* are often circumscribed by the then/now dichotomy distinguishing Spanish history as an albatross which the Spanish present has finally cast off. As long as they remain *historical* analyses, wholesale negative assessments of nineteenth-century Spanish culture are acceptable. In this sense such critics tend to pick up where Blanco White left off: why protest the arrogance or misinformation pervading British travel writings, if indeed the Spain they visited was so different from the Spain of today as to be unrecognizable, and may indeed have lived up to its negative portrayal? Awareness of the perceptions of outsiders is an essential component in the crafting of any Spanish self-image. Whether in the internalization of these perceptions or the defensive rejection thereof, the ghostly presence of the "other" Spains of history continues to exert a powerful pull on domestic conceptualizations of Spanish national identity.

Bearing in mind important differences in space and time, this chapter relates Blanco White's stark opposition of Spain and England to later Spanish intellectuals' engagement with the construction of Spanish national identity as intrinsically linked to its status as "Other" within Europe. The negotiation of Spanish stereotypes by Hispanists who are Spanish, particularly within Anglophone academia where Spain is already necessarily "othered" to a greater or lesser extent, will be explored more in detail in Chapter Two. The second part of this chapter looks at the articles of Mariano

José de Larra, who provides an alternative critical vision to Blanco White's that echoes Blanco's dissatisfaction while at the same time redirecting the discourse toward social problems rather than cultural essentialism. Finally I address in detail a particular case of Spain being actively celebrated in the strictest terms of cultural essentialism as "primitive" and "primordial," through a close reading of Federico García Lorca's statements on *duende* and flamenco and his active conflation from *within* Spain of Andalusia, Gypsies, and flamenco with the core of Spanish cultural identity. Lorca, like Unamuno, chooses to re-imagine ostensibly negative qualities associated with Spain (an Oriental nation within Europe, eternally pre-modern) as its greatest source of pride. Lorca's influence on contemporary Spanish culture has extended beyond the literary to continue promoting Andalusia and flamenco within Spain at the level of popular culture, facilitating the ability of a vertiginously changing Spain to retain a sense of connection to its former "authentic" self, albeit an imagined self in an imagined past.

The topic of Spanish difference and its construction has been the subject of increasing interest in recent years. Contemporary assessments such as that of Jesus Torrecilla in his 2004 book *España exótica: la formación de la imagen española moderna* and Rafael Núñez Florencio's *Sol y sangre: la imagen de España en el mundo* (2001) are only two of many examples. As Chapters Two and Three will explore Spanish national identity through the negotiation of (perceived) Spanish stereotypes by fictional characters, this chapter explores divergent approaches to the construction and representation of Spain's essential difference by both Spaniards and outsiders. Nuñez Florencio argues that the image of Spain held by foreigners

fluctuates according to the historical moment, and that despite the ubiquitousness of certain iconic symbols, this image evolved quite considerably even within the nineteenth century. For Nuñez Florencio, Spain frequently functions as an inverse reflection of its beholder, an Other that reassures the outside observer of his or her own superiority. Thus perceptions and stereotypes of Spain during the nineteenth century vary considerably between England, France, and Germany, particularly on close observation, because each national imaginary is "using" Spain as its own foil. Nuñez Florencio acknowledges the role of some Spaniards in the stereotyping themselves or in buying into the characterizations projected onto them by others, but maintains that the most exoticized images of Spain are the work of foreigners and insists on the fragmented nature of characterizations of Spain from the outside as evidence of their having been constructed to serve the needs of the observer rather than the reality at hand. Torrecilla traces a much more uniform development of "España exotica" and posits a much greater role for Spaniards in the construction of this exoticized image. Though he stops short of claiming authenticity for Spain's most stereotypical incarnations, he traces the origins of the idea that Spain was fundamentally different from the other Western European nations back to Spain itself rather than to its "others." Torrecilla's argument repositions the specter of Spanish difference as Spain's projection of its own insecurities rather than as an active affirmation of superiority by England or France. He affirms that these insecurities stemmed from the fear that Spain was losing its identity through rampant *afrancesamiento*, rather than a perception that Spain was being marginalized out of Europe; this results in what Torrecilla terms the "aplebeyamiento de la aristocracia"

and the adoption of figures such as the *majo* or the *gitano* as iconically Spanish due to their distance from the Francophilic nobility. This argument forms the reverse of Núñez's in that Spain is constructed as France's opposite, but because Spain was exercising an active drive to preserve its own national identity rather serving as the passive foil for French superiority. These two approaches are similar in many aspects but reveal the complexities of the issue through their fundamentally different assessments of such relative terms as power, responsibility, and authenticity. This chapter will address the relationship of Blanco White, Larra, and Lorca to narratives of Spanish difference and assess the continued influence of their discourses on not only Spain's relationship with Europe but on Spain's evolving imaginary of national narratives.

1.1 Cultural Identity Rejected: Exhuming Nonconformity in Juan Goytisolo's *Obra inglesa de Blanco White*

The year 1775 witnessed a gathering storm of protest in Britain's thirteen American colonies against what they decried as British tyranny. In the same year Spain, whose colonies in America were also edging toward rebellion, saw the birth of José Blanco White, the grandson of Irish Catholic merchants and Seville nobility who would eventually flee Spain, which he saw as controlling and repressive, for the ostensible tolerance of Britain. Selections of his work in expatriate journals in London would later be reprinted as a collection of sketches of Spanish life in *Letters from Spain* (1822), and the autobiographical *Life of José Blanco White* was published in 1845, the year of his death, as a compilation of prior autobiographical sketches. A defiant *desterrado*, an unapologetic liberal exile who rejected Spanish society as hopelessly poisoned by papist repression, Blanco was both a clergyman and a scholar whose rejection of the Catholic Church and subsequent conversion to Anglicanism would eventually constitute a more generalized rejection of Spanish society. Angel Loureiro terms him "an apostate in the modern sense of a person who abandons a religious faith or a cause" (Loureiro *The Ethics* 44). What, precisely, was the faith or cause that Blanco abandoned? For many, including Loureiro, Blanco's transgressions were largely against religious orthodoxy and dependent on his historical context. Both Blanco's strongest supporters (Juan Goytisolo) and his most ardent detractors (including most of the Spanish literary establishment during the century after his death) agree, however, that Blanco's self-imposed exile constituted a much greater offense against Spanish identity in general. Exploring the nature of Blanco's relationship to the land of his birth and its symbolic relevance for later

reexaminations of Spanish national identity requires a closer look at the audience for his works and the trajectory of their reception.

As Vicente Llorens describes, the early-19th-century London in which Blanco White moved was the provisional home of a large community of exiled Spanish liberals—so many, in fact, that the neighborhood of Somers Town developed into a sort of expatriate Spanish *barrio* (Llorens 42). Many of these Spaniards were intellectuals who supported themselves writing or translating, for, as Llorens reminds us, "el desterrado de todos los tiempos y países ha tenido que buscar en la pluma su sustento o su consuelo" (153). In addition to an extensive range of literary magazines in Spanish, many also contributed to British journals, and Blanco White did both. Juan Goytisolo has pointed out the irony that when Blanco began a work on "la España que conoció y de la vida que soportó en ella, no lo hace en castellano sino en inglés," because of his conviction not only that no Spanish-speaking audience would listen without prejudice, but also because the Spanish language itself presented a "penosa molestia" when it came to putting thoughts on paper (Goytisolo "Presentación crítica" 24). Despite Blanco's nominally British audience and his longstanding ostracism within the Spanish canon, the works collected in *Letters from Spain* and the *Life of Joseph Blanco White* have been the focus of renewed interest since the second half of the twentieth century by Hispanists working both in and out of Spain. Goytisolo, from his own self-imposed exile, edited and translated the aforementioned selection of Blanco's works entitled *Obra inglesa de Blanco White* (Seix Barral, 1972) in which he passionately defends Blanco against "la vieja represalia nacional de silencio" (Goytisolo "Presentación crítica" 3) that has kept the

cleric's works from translation or publication and the "leyenda negra" (9) that has continued to dismiss Blanco as a traitorous heretic of questionable literary merit. Indeed, for Goytisolo, Blanco's *Letters from Spain* is "el documento más vivo y fresco, perspicaz y profundo de que hoy disponemos para juzgar la España y los españoles de comienzos del XIX" (24). Goytisolo's 100-page "Presentación Crítica" of the *Obra inglesa* is itself a *reivindicación* of sorts in which he argues that Blanco's criticisms of Spanish society have proved self-evident over time, as the same repression and orthodoxy criticized in *Letters from Spain* and the *Life of Joseph Blanco White* are for Goytisolo unchanged almost two hundred years later and bear primary responsibility for Blanco's continued marginalization. "No es de extrañar," he muses, "que quienes consideran a Unamuno la encarnación viva del 'español trágico', hayan desdeñado una figura que no encaja en ninguno de los clisés nacionales que tanto arrebatan a extranjeros e indígenas. Blanco no sirve gran cosa para los que alimentan el mito hispánico y viven de la cómoda profesión de españolear" (17). While Blanco may seem anathema to the mythologized figures of a glorified *castizo* Spain, for Goytisolo his criticisms of more prosaic figures of control and repression are all too familiar:

> La pluma de Blanco obra el milagro de enfrentar al lector con su propia vida: para quien ha conocido la España de los años cuarenta, numerosos pasajes de sus memorias traen irresistiblemente a las mientes una serie de experiencias y traumas que hubiese preferido olvidar para siempre. Una solidaridad secreta le une a esa voz íntima que parece brotar de ultratumba. Pues si para España no pasan días, para Blanco tampoco: su obra no ha envejecido un ápice. Los personajes que vemos desfilar en los primeros capítulos de su autobiografía son seres familiares con quienes hemos topado en nuestra infancia o juventud—en casa, en el colegio, en alguna iglesia, quizás en las aulas de la universidad: cónclave de fantasmas grotescos o amables, odiosos o mezquinos, compañeros pertinaces y fieles que, querámoslo o no, nos acompañarán al sepulcro[…]Las dudas, angustias, temores que abruman la

> conciencia de Blanco nos han abrumado también a nosotros (Goytisolo "Presentación crítica" 17).

From Goytisolo's vantage point in 1972, Blanco's work was too applicable to contemporary Spanish society to escape the unofficial censorship of the Spanish literary establishment. Whether due to the efforts of critics such as Goytisolo and, previously, Vicente Llorens, to a change in Spanish society, or to a combination of both, Blanco has emerged from the shadows in recent decades, and his rejection of Spanish cultural identity is viewed with increasing interest by scholars within Hispanism. Contemporary studies frequently identify Blanco with Goytisolo as self-declared exiles viewing repression and intolerance as intrinsic to Spanish society rather than as temporary problems contingent on a particular regime or government; we can see these comparisons in Alison Ribeira de Menezes's "Purloined Letters: Juan Goytisolo, José María Blanco White, and the Cultural Construction of Identity" or works by Angel Loureiro such as his article "Intertextual Lives: Blanco White and Juan Goytisolo" or the chapters he dedicated to Blanco and Goytisolo in his book *The Ethics of Autobiography: Replacing the Subject in Modern Spain* (2000). In a comprehensive 1989 biography, *Blanco White: Self-banished Spaniard*, Martin Murphy explains Goytisolo's identification with Blanco on the grounds of their shared ostracism for daring to question those in authority:

> He [Goytisolo] too had been the object of an official campaign of denigration and denounced by the regime as a traitor, and he too had come to feel ashamed of being Spanish on its terms. If he identified with Spain, it was with an alternative Spain of outsiders, pariahs, and victims—Jews, Moriscos, Lutherans, *afrancesados*, anarchists—of whom Blanco was the spokesman and symbol (Murphy 203).

Murphy goes on to call Goytisolo's critical presentation "a brilliant piece of

iconoclastic special pleading" (204), pointing out Goytisolo's own admissions that his defense of Blanco was a defense of himself. Loureiro declares that "Blanco White is not merely translated by Goytisolo but is appropriated in an act of cannibalism, transformed into Goya's flesh, a re-incarnation" ("Intertextual Lives" 51). The emphasis here on Goytisolo's unilateral identification with (and appropriation of) Blanco is prefigured by Goytisolo, who prefaces his translations of Blanco with an open proclamation of the applicability of the earlier writer's works to himself. At the close of his critical presentation of the *Obra inglesa* he proclaims with the pre-emptive defensiveness of a contemporary *heterodoxo* accustomed to hearing accusations:

> Acabo ya y sólo ahora advierto que al hablar de Blanco White no he cesado de hablar de mí mismo. Si algún lector me lo echa en cara y me acusa de haber arrimado el ascua a mi sardina, no tendré más remedio que admitir que la he asado por completo. Pero añadiré en mi descargo que resulta difícil, a quien tan poco identificado se siente con los valores oficiales y patrios, calar en una obra virulenta e insólita como la que a continuación exponemos sin caer en la tentación de compenetrarse con ella y asumirla, por decirlo así, como resultado de su propia experiencia (Goytisolo "Presentación crítica" 98).

Despite this attempt to forestall criticism by putting his cards on the table, Goytisolo does experience criticism, not for relating to his subject, but for the applicability of Blanco's heterodoxy to Goytisolo's. As mentioned previously, Loureiro questions the applicability of Blanco's rejection of Spain, which he sees as specifically directed at the church, to Goytisolo's wholesale rejection of everything official Spain represents. Comparing the relationship between the two authors in terms of Harold Bloom's *Anxiety of Influence*, Loureiro argues that "[p]retending to be his mirror image, Goytisolo swerves from Blanco White and effects a *tessera*, completing him where he did not go far enough" ("Intertextual Lives" 52). Considering Goytisolo's role in

making the works of Blanco available to the Spanish-speaking reader, there may well be an initial association made solely on the basis of the authors' proximity in the *Obra inglesa*. However, a closer look at Blanco's work, particularly *Letters from Spain*, will demonstrate the breadth of Blanco's rejection of Spain and the role of essentialism and juxtaposition (in this case, with England) in his characterizations of his homeland. The specific similarities with Goytisolo may be limited, but the same notes of alienation from one's own culture and, more importantly, the willingness to wash one's hands of a despised homeland suggest a comparison that holds up despite the gap in space and time.

It seems logical that Blanco and Goytisolo would be imported from the margins and given privileged positions in Spain's growing canon of newly-defended exiles during the first decades of Spanish democracy, when the Spanish cultural landscape seemed to be blossoming after a long winter of artistic repression, and self-expression in the arts was celebrated in defiance of decades of censorship. Across Spanish society, from sectors ranging from art to business to everything in between, cheers could be heard for what was perceived as the end of an era following the death of Franco. Teresa Vilarós explores the hopes (and later disillusions) of this era in her 1998 book *El mono del desencanto: una crítical cultural de la transición (1973-1993)*. Like many others, Vilarós characterizes this sense of celebration as directed toward Spain's new sense that it might finally assert itself as a European nation like any other:

> A pesar de las múltiples cuestiones por solucionar, el término que mejor cualifica este período es aparentemente el de "euforia" y "celebración" y las razones para tal sentimiento colectivo son obvias en una primera mirada atrás. Los primeros años del posfranquismo celebran la muerte del dictador. Marcan

> el fin de un régimen autoritario y represivo, el fin de la tiranía, de la censura social, ideología y política y la llegada, tan esperada, de la democratización, que se aúna de manera amplia en lo social y en lo político con una voluntad de integración europea. En el imaginario colectivo el fin del franquismo representa la posibilidad de que el resto de Europa "descubra" lo que los cuarenta años de dictadura habían impedido: el hecho, obvio de pronto para los que por tanto tiempo se habían sentido injusta, servil y despectivamente tratados, de que España era tan europea como cualquier otro país perteneciente a aquel Mercado Común de mediados de los sesenta y setenta (5).

Vilarós' description of the generalized excitement, almost relief, at this rupture with Spain´s past dates that past from the beginning of the Franco years and the *posguerra*. For Vilarós, the *desencanto* that later seeped through Spanish society, of disappointment at the great promise of the Transition going unrealized, was due to a willful disconnection from the past, a willful forgetting of the Franco years, as well as the dissolution or even disappearance of radical political opposition, above all the "adelantado abandono español[…]de los proyectos utópicos de base marxista" (15) in the absence of a central figure against whom to construct such utopic visions. What Vilarós terms the *pacto de olvido* about the recent Spanish past was a "gesto a la vez visceral y necesario que[...]permitió a la sociedad española pasar de una brutal dictadura lateralmente moderna y, por tanto, políticamente aislada y obsoleta, al circuito económico, cultural y político que caracteriza al paradigma posmoderno que nos ha tocado vivir" (16). I would argue that a likely reason for what Vilarós identifies as the *mono del desencanto* during the Transition was not merely the willful forgetting of the Franco regime, but a collective, if unconscious, drive to shake off the yoke of Spanish history on a much larger scale. If there is tension or contradiction in the wake of the Transition's proclamations of victory, of Europeanization, of (post)modernization, of globalization, it stems from the fact that while the battle is

presented as having been solely against Franco, the victory is presented as having been won over *the whole of Spanish history*. Because of this slippage, the many incarnations of the "new" Spain must be continually contextualized as against the "old" Spain. The frequent assurances to the outside world that Spain is "no longer what you think it is" reveal this slippage as well as the sense that if the ghosts of Francoism are hard to shake off, the ghosts of the preceding five centuries are harder still.

However, the proclamations that the era of Spain's *atraso* or difference was finally over threatened to end discussion on the nature of this essential "difference" and, as discussed in the introduction to this chapter, perhaps ironically formed a tacit acknowledgment that this difference had indeed existed, that it had been severe, and that only a long penance under Franco had allowed it to be phased out. Of course, the new democracy in Spain was far from a complete rupture with the Francoist regime, as Vilarós demonstrates, with many officials continuing on in the new government. The failed military coup of 1981 was a concrete example of the pervasiveness of fascist sympathies remaining in certain segments of the population. But while Franco was able to use iconic symbols to his advantage and to mobilize the Church as a tool of social control, he did not create the narratives of Catholic hegemony and cultural c*asticismo,* and as such the demise of his regime could not single-handedly uproot these tropes from the Spanish imaginary. The role of repression and conformity in Spanish culture is a recurring theme for Blanco White. Was he relevant to Goytisolo during the Francoist period because of Franco, or, as Goytisolo asserts, because of the continuing legacy of the same forces against which Blanco rebels? Goytisolo's

formative years in Barcelona during the dictatorship inevitably influenced his later views on Spain, but he identifies unproblematically with Blanco White's nineteenth-century rejection of Spanish identity—situating their kinship, as mentioned previously, outside of time and space. Blanco's view that Spain was fundamentally different from England (and his positive valoration of England as the inevitable location for his permanent exile) is an antithetical conceptualization of Spanish versus British culture that prospers even today, though today's manifestations often attempt to invert some of the previous valorizations. In the next chapter I will explore some late-twentieth-century fictional incarnations of this message, also involving expatriate Spaniards in Anglophone intellectual circles, and analyze their relevance to the continuing myths or realities of Spanish difference and stereotyping, demonstrating that the specter of this difference and the attempts to shake off stereotyping can never be fully successful, because these stereotypes are internal, not imposed by the Anglos themselves, and thus have less to do with reality than with a continuing Spanish sense of difference, if not inferiority. However, to better establish their historical lineage (or, perhaps more accurately, baggage, since their assessment intersects with, but does not echo, Blanco's), I propose in this chapter to examine Blanco's early-nineteenth-century analyses of Spanish culture, particularly as compared to British culture, and explore how his vitriolic rejection of Spain for England reflects or prefigures a dichotomy between Spain and Europe within the Spanish imaginary—a dichotomy that is reflected in foreign views, but not simply imported from them—that continues to color Spain's self-image to the present day.

Loureiro argues that the underlying cause of Blanco's rejection of Spain, as a

result of which Menéndez Pelayo "condemns Blanco White to his pantheon of heterodoxies," is religious: "From the time of his arrival in England until his death there in 1841, he dedicated himself almost obsessively to combating religious dogmatism, first in Catholicism and later in the Anglican church, which he accused of a religious intolerance as pernicious as the papists'" (Loureiro *The Ethics* 44). Loureiro focuses on the compiled autobiographic works in the *Life of the Rev. Joseph Blanco White*, but if we closely consider *Letters from Spain* there are many occasions in which Blanco does indeed reject Spanish culture as irredeemably corrupted, whether by the Catholic Church or by a more generalized intolerance and irrationality. He does so in terms not as unlike Goytisolo's as Loureiro claims (see *The Ethics of Autobiography* 51-52). In Blanco's *Letters*, the fictionalized intertextual author-narrator Leucadio Doblado paints detailed pictures of Spanish customs and narrates anecdotes regarding the repression of the Catholic Church to a fictional British friend curious about Spanish culture. This explanatory conceit makes the work necessarily broader in its focus. Rather than setting the record straight about his own life (and role in the church) as Blanco purports to do in the *Life*, the serialized *Letters* serve more as an illustration of the reasons why an enlightened man might feel forced to leave Spain, and thus are by nature more general in their criticisms. This anatomy of a nation that might lead to a scholar's self-imposed exile is made more poignant by the fact that unlike the narrator of the *Letters*, who has returned to Spain after a long absence, Blanco the author was writing from memory because he never returned.

1.2 "These European jungles": Blanco White's *Letters From Spain* as Travelogue and Cautionary Tale

The epistolary structure of Blanco White's *Letters from Spain* recalls José Cadalso's *Cartas marruecas*, written some fifty years earlier than the *Letters* and released in1793 after Cadalso's death. The *Letters* evoke *Cartas marruecas* in their shared premise of a narrator speaking from within the Peninsula, conveying the central elements of Spanish life to an outside interlocutor possessing no experience in the country. In both works a Spanish author provides a meticulous description of his country for an imagined foreign audience. The Moroccan narrator and interlocutor of *Cartas marruecas* are essentially literary devices whose African vantage point is used to justify the detailed account of Spanish culture in a work of fiction whose primary audience was indisputably Spaniards—that is, the objects of the study were also its consumers. *Letters from Spain* has a more clearly identified real-life foreign audience, as evidenced by its publication in English in British journals. However, much like *Cartas marruecas*, the *Letters* fascinate today for what they reveal about their author's perspective, not that of their audience. This is particularly true given that British readers of the time period had access to travel accounts by British authors who proclaimed their own "insider" knowledge of Spanish culture; Blanco even establishes a sort of dialogue with the earlier British travel writer Joseph Townsend, in which he reminds his readers when Townsend has previously described a scene and occasionally forgoes further descriptive detail on the grounds that it has been sufficiently portrayed by Townsend.

The opening pages of *Letters from Spain* clearly state the narrator's motive as

that of setting the record straight about Spain, of closing the gap between idealized visions and reality (a move echoed a century later by Italian literary scholar Mario Praz's 1929 book *Unromantic Spain*). The book begins with the narrator's return to Spain after a long absence, describing in great detail the approach by boat into Cadiz, insisting that in spite of the beauty of the skyline, the reality on closer examination is more prosaic:

> When, therefore, you begin to discover the upper part of the buildings, and the white pinnacles of glazed earthenware, resembling china, that ornament the parapets with which their flat roofs are crowned, the airy structure, melting at times into the distant glare of the waves, is more like a pleasing delusion--a kind of Fata Morgana--than the lofty, uniform massive buildings which, rising gradually before the vessel, bring you back, however unwilling, to the dull realities of life (Letters from Spain 6).

This enactment of the illusion/reality dichotomy so early in the text sets a tone of skepticism that will be echoed throughout the *Letters*. Blanco warns against deception by Spain's immediate aesthetic appeal—which was already beginning to seduce foreign visitors from more industrialized nations—and implicitly rejects the Romantic vision of Spain in favor of his own assessment, one that is ostensibly more measured and grounded in reality. Declaring that any tinge of nostalgia for Spain is tainted by his knowledge of its harsh realities, the narrator describes a progression of sights repugnant to him, particularly in comparison to his adopted British homeland:

> You know me well enough to believe that, after a long residence in England, my landing at Cadiz, instead of cheering my heart at the sight of my native country, would naturally produce a mixed sensation, in which pain and gloominess must have had the ascendant. I had enjoyed the blessings of liberty for several years; and now, alas! I perceived that I had been irresistibly drawn back by the holiest ties of affection, to stretch out my hands to the manacles, and bow my neck to that yoke, which had formerly galled my very soul. The convent of San Juan de Dios--(laugh, my dear friend, if you will; *you* may do so, who have never lived within the range of these European jungles, where lurks every thing that is hideous and venomous)--well, then

> San Juan de Dios is the first remarkable object that meets the eye upon entering Cadiz by the sea gate. A single glance at the convent had awakened the strongest and most rooted aversions of my heart (*Letters* 9-10).

Spain is explicitly characterized as base, primitive, even animalistic: it comprises European "jungles" wherein "lurk" everything "venomous." It is also linked to repression and even slavery, as in the compulsion to "stretch out my hands to the manacles," and "bow my neck to that yoke." Britain is from the outset portrayed as the opposite; Spain's repression is more intolerable to the narrator than ever precisely because he has experienced the "blessings of liberty" while exiled there. Describing how the passing of a priest in a sedan chair obliges passersby to kneel in the mud waiting until he passes, Blanco demonstrates a desire that will be present throughout the *Letters* to focus on what he believes will be the most interesting, shocking, or disturbing elements of Spanish culture for a foreign audience. The consequences of this focus are twofold. One, Blanco implicitly reveals a great deal about his perception of British culture, as his selection of anecdotes about Spain are intended to represent those he sees as the most antithetical to British sensibilities. Secondly, Blanco makes clear his agenda of exposing a "darker" side of Spanish culture in the *Letters*, not the romanticized, exotic vision that would become even more widespread in the decades to come. (In fact, this "darker" vision is one compatible with Orientalized representations of Spain as essentially different and non-European, representations which seem to merge the Black Legend in and out of Romantic fantasies as suited the context). The combination of Blanco's agenda and audience—exposé, and British, respectively—make the *Letters* a document that attempts to establish Spanish difference, even inferiority, in opposition to enlightened British

tolerance.

Throughout *Letters from Spain*, descriptions of Spain refer back to England, even when the latter is not mentioned by name. Of course, many references *are* explicit, and the valorization of Spain as inferior to England extends beyond the weighty themes of freedom and repression to more prosaic ones such as urban development. Praise for Cádiz is tempered by the assertion that what is superlative in Spain is perhaps on par with England's average offerings: "Cadiz, though fast declining[…] is still one of the few towns of Spain which, for refinement, can be compared with some of the second rate in England" (41). Later, this unfavorable comparison moves from the mundane to the moral. When describing the perversion of Spanish priests who manipulate the minds of the innocent during confession, Don Leucadio assures the reader that in England, even the Catholic priests demonstrate greater restraint and sensitivity. The subtle shift in Don Leucadio's critique from the Catholic church in general to Spanish clergy in opposition to the British clergy is followed by an assertion that Ireland, however, most likely *does* suffer the same abuses as Spain: "Such is the state of manners in England, that few or none, I will venture to say, among its Catholic females, will probably be aware of any evil tendency in auricular confession. I would not equally answer for Ireland, especially among the lower classes" (79). The linking of Spain and Ireland as ostensibly corrupt and abusive and, as a result, as antithetical to England, which Blanco depicts as kind and tolerant, is indicative of Blanco's continual portrayal of Spain as the failure to England's success. This essentialist characterization is subsequently extended to the Mediterranean in general, where the enlightenment enjoyed by England is apparently

impeded, largely (though not solely) through a corrupt church: “Thus, while I am persuaded that the religion of Spain, Portugal, and Naples, is the main obstacle to the final establishment of liberty in those countries, I positively deny the inference that Catholics must necessarily, and in all possible circumstances, make a wrong use of political power” (79). For Blanco, the Church bears some blame for the corruption and lack of liberty he attributes to these Southern European societies, but is not sufficient to fully explain it. Again, his argument states implicitly that Spain is fundamentally different from England, unfavorably so, and not merely because of its religion.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, *Letters from Spain* shares a basic “insider informant” premise with José Cadalso’s *Cartas marruecas* from 1793 in which a narrator with privileged access functions as a cultural guide for a nominally (if not actually) foreign audience. Gazel, the Moroccan narrator of *Cartas marruecas*, relies so heavily on his Spanish friend and local informant Nuño that many of his letters to his Arab mentor Ben-Beley consist of long verbatim transcriptions of material written by Nuño (see Carta III) or thirdhand anecdotes passed along by Nuño to Gazel and repeated in the letters. The conceit of writing in the voice of a foreigner does not change the basic tenet that *Cartas marruecas* is essentially an analysis of Spanish culture written by a Spaniard and directed at a Spanish audience. Gazel’s reactions read more like Spanish projections of their own concepts of Northern Africa and clearly reveal more of Cadalso’s views on Spain than those of a hypothetical Moroccan visitor. Blanco White also relies on third-hand anecdotes to support his points in the *Letters*, but as a Spaniard writing for a British audience in popular

literary journals, he clearly directs his narrative toward those elements of Spanish culture he sees as most anathema to British sensibilities: papism, censorship, political corruption, inefficiency, etc. However, Blanco's very selection of which elements of Spanish culture are the most *un*-British (and thus will be of greatest interest to his readers) reveals his own assumptions regarding British society as progressive, enlightened, rational, tolerant, etc. His assessment of Britain as Spain's opposite is in many ways just as artificial and functional as Cadalso's ventriloquistic impersonation of a Moroccan touring Spain. However, its fundamental movement of *substitution* (of England for Spain, of Anglicanism or Unitarianism for Catholicism) instead of simple *rejection* (of national ties, of religious affiliations) represents a value inversion that posits England as diametrically opposed to Spain, and diametrically opposed in particular to the most core elements of Spanish national identity. By rejecting Spain in favor of England, never to return, Blanco contributes to the construction of Spanish difference and embraces all that he believes Spain is *not*, a move that prompts his exile from the Peninsula and, in large part, from the Spanish language itself. This movement is similar to the inversion of orthodoxies Ribeiro de Menezes attributes to Goytisolo:

> According to Goytisolo's scheme, the expulsion of the Moors during the Reconquista places heterosexual (or 'normal') cristianos viejos with limpieza de sangre[…]in a position similar to the Infidel, who is of tainted blood and indulges in 'deviant' homosexual practices. Goytisolo simply adopts the second identity offered by this cultural binary. He thus blunts his rebellion by retaining an oppositional politics without effectively adopting, or […] 'transmigrating' to a position of marginality (Ribeiro de Menezes 332).

Though Ribeiro de Menezes does not refer directly to Blanco White until later in her essay, her portrayal of Goytisolo's relationship to Arab culture holds clear parallels

with Blanco's relationship to British culture. Blanco is not defending Spain against papist corruption and repression, but adopting what he perceives as its opposite.[9] His harsh assessment of his homeland in *Letters from Spain* is reflective of his belief that he has found an alternative. Blanco White's critique of Spain emerges because he believes he has found a sympathetic audience in Protestant Britain, and as he demonizes Spain he is simultaneously glorifying Britain as the place where things are the way they ought to be; perhaps not perfect, but at least "normal". For Blanco, it's Spain that needs explaining, not England.

Blanco White's internalized belief that Spain was a negative exception within Europe continues to a greater or lesser extent in a variety of contexts through to the present day. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, across a wide range of sociopolitical epochs, Spain engages with the question of its global identity. Beginning with Great Britain and, particularly after the disaster of 1898, the United States, the Anglophone world occupies the figurative position of Spain's more-successful foil. There were concrete strategic reasons for England and the U.S to characterize Spain through black legends (and the Black Legend) that morphed to suit the context. Lou Charnon-Deutsch has demonstrated how Spain was convenient for Britain to use as a backward, retrograde foil for its own sophistication: "The Spain invented by the British, and by extension the Gypsy who represented Spain's most colorful resident, was thus a deformed invention constructed in opposition to a more

[9] Although Blanco White renounced the Spain of his time, he wrote extensively on Medieval Spanish literature and praised it as more original and innovative than what was written during and after the explosion of the Spanish Empire (see Llorens 399-403). In this instance, like Goytisolo with Blanco himself, Blanco White attempts a sort of vindication of a previous Spanish author (or group of authors). Both Blanco and Goytisolo reject some portion of the official canon, but, in this case, both allow for the existence of a kindred spirit among their Peninsular forebears.

genteel British reality" (Charnon-Deutsch *The Spanish Gypsy* 102). Charnon-Deutsch illustrates a similar process of Spain being constructed as a backward other to Anglo-Saxon progress (in this case North American) in her work on political cartoons during the Spanish-American War. As Charnon-Deutsch shows through her analysis of an extensive selection of cartoons, Spain is portrayed as inept, Oriental, impotent, scheming, animalistic, and backward, while the United States is its opposite: vibrant, modern, powerful, and successful (see Charnon-Deutsch *Hold That Pose: Visual Culture in the Nineteenth Century Spanish Press*, in press). María de Guzmán demonstrates a similar process in nineteenth-century American narrative and painting. According to de Guzmán, "Anglo-American works (verbal and visual) have Orientalized, racialized, and primitivized Spain, not in some historically 'objective' fashion but as a vanquished imperialist over and around whose abjected body the Anglo-American empire might be erected" (de Guzmán xxv). This analysis is useful for its illustration of how the United States had an actual investment in Spanish difference and why it would continually work to reinforce this difference. However, portraying Spain as merely a victim of unfair Anglo stereotyping would be far too simplistic. Spain itself was also implicated in its symbolic construction as essentially different, for reasons having as much to do with the role of Britain and the U.S. in the Spanish imaginary as with British or North American characterizations of Spain. Later chapters will address the representation of Europe and the United States as Spain's antithesis in Spanish film and narrative and the implications of such a representation for Spanish national identity. The rest of this chapter explores contrasting critical assessments of Spain's own role in the construction of Spain as an

exotic other within Europe. As Blanco asserted that Spain was different, so too would many others in the decades to follow. Despite the shift toward positively coding many of these so-called differences, the portrayal of Spain as a nation at the margins of Europe would continue to exert a powerful influence well after it would seem to have been discredited.

1.3 Europeizarse Pronto y Mal: Mariano José de Larra, *Afrancesado* and Moderate

Though Blanco White passionately condemns the indignities inflicted upon Spain during the French occupation, the later installments of his *Letters from Spain* demonstrate a keen ambivalence regarding the relative advantages of French oppression over Spanish independence. Even while in the center of Madrid during the worst of the violence in 1808, Leandro, the friend and fellow rebel clergyman of narrator Don Leucadio, repeatedly weighs his patriotic sympathy for Spain against the conviction that even as it invades his home country, France might offer him the liberty he cannot find in Spain. Don Leucadio explains his friend's temptation: "Some wild visions of freedom from his religious fetters had been playing across his troubled mind, while the French approached Madrid; and though he now looked on their conduct with the most decided abhorrence, still he could hardly persuade himself to escape from the French bayonets, which he seemed to dread less than Spanish bigotry" (419-20). Fearing that Leandro might take advantage of the French invasion to defect to France and escape his obligations to the Church he so hates, Don Leucadio expresses an urgent desire to move Leandro from Spain to England "so as to shew that, if his own country oppresses him, he will not seek relief among her enemies" (443), i.e., France. This ambivalence toward the French occupation is prefigured by Don Leucadio when he suggests, however hesitantly, that rather than resist, Spain might be better off simply accepting the new king proffered by the French:

> It cannot be denied that indignation at the treatment we have experienced strongly urged the nation to revenge; but passion is a blind guide, which thinking men will seldom trust on political measures. To declare war against

> an army of veterans already in the heart of Spain, might be, indeed, an act of sublime patriotism; but was it not, too, more likely to bring ruin and permanent slavery on the country, than the admission of a new King, who, though a foreigner, had not been educated a despot, and who, for want of any constitutional claims, would be anxious to deduce his rights from the acknowledgment of the nation? (423)

The backward logic that a king's "want of any constitutional claims" would encourage a less, rather than a more, despotic regime seems to be a weak attempt to justify support for the occupation, even as Blanco proclaims sympathy for his besieged compatriots. The assumption that this foreign king would have "not been educated a despot" is seemingly founded merely on his having been educated in France—or, perhaps, his *not* having been educated in Spain.

The hesitation and measuredness in his condemnation of the French occupation in the later *Letters from Spain* are all the more remarkable given Blanco White's unequivocal criticism of Spain in previous *Letters*; after demonstrating a willingness to speak his mind no matter who he offends, Blanco begins to weigh his words carefully. There seems to be some ambivalence between expressions of sympathy for his invaded countrymen and admiration for French society. A much less apologetic tone can be found in the articles of the openly *afrancesado* Mariano José de Larra, who assesses the Spain of his contemporaries with far less emotion and much greater nuance than Blanco. Long associated with Enlightenment-era indictments against perceived Spanish backwardness, most famously in articles like "Vuelva usted mañana," Larra in fact makes clear distinctions between different groups within Spain and provides an illuminating perspective not so much on Spanish culture as on the complexity of defining national character and, indeed, the contradictions inherent in essentializing an entire nation. We may find in Larra the

antithesis to Blanco rather than his counterpart. More importantly, Larra's insights into the subjective nature of national identity—the inescapable limitations on the perspectives of both insiders (locals) *and* outsiders (foreigners)—will provide us with a model of moderation that counters cultural essentialism far better than many others to come well after him. Larra's resistence to simplistic depictions of Spain (even patriotic ones) particularly appeals to Goytisolo, who argues that Larra is far more biting and insightful than "los escritores del Noventa y Ocho que se vendieron por continuadores de su obra," and who, nonetheless, "no estuvieron ni mucho menos—en su conjunto—a la altura de la suya" (*El furgón de cola* 8).

Larra's comments on Spain (as well as France) never shy from direct and unapologetic critique. However, his criticisms are directed at specific social phenomena such as corruption and bureaucracy, the tendencies of the emerging middle classes toward self-importance or what would later be termed *cursilería* (see Noël Valis *The Culture of Cursilería*, 2004), and the pitfalls of both extreme religious doctrine and extreme liberalism and *afrancesamiento*. Never does Larra resort to addressing problems within Spain in terms of national character or cultural identity, and in fact he actively combats this essentialism in the aptly named article "En este país," in which he condemns the abuse of the eponymous phrase to explain anything negative that exists within its borders. "Cualquier acontecimiento desagradable que nos suceda," he laments, "creemos explicarle perfectamente con la frasecilla ¡*Cosas de este país*! que con vanidad pronunciamos y sin pudor alguno repetimos" (227). Larra rejects the notion that this dismissal of Spain as a nation is based on a true "atraso reconocido," since if Spain were truly so *atrasada* it would know no better

than to accept its *atraso* happily; nor is it simply laziness that makes Spain appreciate the phrase “en este país” as “una muletilla siempre a mano con que responderse a sus propios argumentos” (227). Rather, Spain has developed a greater self-consciousness as it confronts its differences from the other nations in Europe. For Larra, a sense of inferiority has arisen in the Spaniards precisely because they can begin to see the advantages of countries such as France and how close they might actually be to obtaining the same advantages for Spain. It is this in-between stage, which Larra compares to adolescence, that causes Spaniards to “despreciar y romper aquellos mismos sencillos juguetes que formaban poco antes el encanto de su ignorante existencia” (228). Larra’s main exhortation to Spain, then, would be to keep its eyes on the prize and avoid the traps of envy and negative comparisons.

Though an *afrancesado* in the most literal sense of a Spaniard who spent formative years in France and whose opinions are filtered through the prism of that perspective, Larra’s comments on the divide between French and Spanish culture bear surprisingly little bias toward either culture. He directs criticism at both, yet rarely makes the one-to-one comparisons common to Blanco White’s comments on Spain from the vantage point of England. Perhaps because of the equanimity of his critique, Larra lacks the ambivalence described here earlier in Blanco’s comments on the French invasion. His comments on Spanish and French culture are pinpointed and specific, and as such, are hard to characterize as prejudicial. There is always room for nuance in Larra. France, like Spain, is neither good nor bad; unilateral support for either one over the other is equally short-sighted. Larra illustrates this point most clearly in “El casarse pronto y mal,” in which the narrator (under Larra’s pseudonym

Bachiller) describes his sister's trajectory from unthinking religious and moral conservatism to unthinking atheism and liberal values. The former are associated with the sister's upbringing in Spain, the latter with her *afrancesamiento* abroad, but Larra portrays both extremes as equally irrational. While the sister's permissive parenting is blamed for her son Augusto's later failure to support his family and maintain his marriage, the strict adherence to social mores of the family of Augusto's wife Elena is equally responsible for pushing the young lovers to recklessly elope. The tragic ending of Augusto and Elena is a cautionary tale illustrating that while Spain may still conserve customs better left in the past, the careless adoption of foreign values under the guise of advancement and civilization is as disastrous as remaining stagnant. Spain needs a balance between enlightened progress and the preservation of the more noble of its values, and, as such, Larra explains that

> nuestra intención al pintar los funestos efectos de la poca solidez de la instrucción de los jóvenes del día ha sido persuadir a todos los españoles que debemos tomar del extranjero lo bueno, y no lo malo, lo que está al alcance de nuestras fuerzas y costumbres, y no lo que les es superior todavía. Religión verdadera, bien entendida, virtudes, energía, amor al orden, aplicación a lo útil, y menos desprecio de muchas cualidades buenas que nos distinguen aún de otras naciones, son en el día las cosas que más nos pueden aprovechar (175).

The casual assumption here that Spain is involved in a nationally recognized project of self-improvement that requires it to accept certain foreign customs is matched by the measured assertion that undifferentiated fetishization of everything foreign (that is, European) as superior to Spain is not only fallacious, but also counterproductive. Some of Spain's best tools for its development and improvement come from within its borders, goes the argument. In his Introduction to the collected *Artículos* by Larra, Enrique Rubio explains Larra's criticism of Spain's social deficiencies, such as its

inefficient bureaucracy or “pereza nacional,” in terms of acute frustration borne out of true patriotism: “Larra siente un tremendo dolor por España[…] Su crítica nace de un profundo amor a su patria y no de terco conocimiento como tantos escritores de la época” (Rubio 38-9). Of course, Larra has precious little patience for blind Spanish patriotism, as is made clear in many of his writings described by Goytisolo as “llenos de flechas emponzoñadas contra el patriotismo de los ‘castellanos viejos,’” writings which “figuran por derecho propio entre las obras más importantes de nuestra literatura” (*El furgón de cola* 15). In Larra’s “El castellano viejo,” an article explaining why its narrator avoids social invitations, a dinner party ends in disaster due to the ostentatious desire of its host to impress beyond his means or education. The insecure host (the *castellano viejo*) is exaggeratedly boastful of the superiority of Spain’s autochtonous products: “Es tal su patriotismo, que dará todas las lindezas del extranjero por un dedo de su país[…]de paso que defiende que no hay vinos como los españoles, en lo cual bien puede tener razón, defiende que no hay educación como la española, en lo cual bien pudiera no tenerla” (Larra 181).

The blind praise of everything Spanish in “El castellano viejo”occasionally intersects with reality, but just as often lacks foundation. One could make the same argument for blanket criticism of Spain as well. Spain is different from England and France, but not in every way, and not in only one way. Thus even as Larra avoids essentialist notions of national identity, he also acknowledges the realities of cultural difference and argues that they should be assessed individually, not embraced or rejected wholesale.

Just as Blanco White's essentializing, oppositional view of Spanish and British cultures provides us with an early nineteenth-century model for the conviction that Spain is fundamentally different from other European countries, Larra's even-handed critiques provide an alternative model in which the concept of national identity can be actively engaged without resorting to monolithic stereotyping. His cultural criticisms are both broad in range and specific in their characterizations of Spanish and French customs. However, there is another, more theoretical strain at work in Larra that is even more germane to our present study, which is the exploration of the insider/ outsider divide in cultural criticism. While privileging neither local points of view (which he sees as prone to blind spots) nor foreign assessments (which he sees as founded on conjecture rather than experience), Larra continually reiterates the multiplicity of perspectives inherent upon any encounter between cultures (what Mary Louise Pratt would later refer to as a "contact zone"; see Chapter Three). In fact, it is often a fictionalized foreigner who actually gives voice to the criticism in Larra's articles—a ventriloquistic convention designed to provide an ostensibly objective perspective on Spanish culture, as we have already discussed in relation to Cadalso and Blanco White. Rubio signals this phenomenon in relation to "esos diálogos sembrados de estupefacción y asombro que provocan en el lector la repulsa de los estamentos presentados. Presencia, pues, de un extranjero que desvela, con su atenta mirada escudriñadora, los defectos convertidos en costumbres" (80-81). He goes on to quote M. Baquero Goyanes, who reminds us that "el anteojo desengañador" who is created in the fictional foreign character "en el que el articulista de costumbres ha desdoblado su personalidad, de manera semejante a como

Montesquieu o Cadalso desdoblaron también las suyas, al inventar unas perspectivas exóticas—persa o marroquí—desde las que enjuiciar costumbres europeas" (Baquero Goyanes, qtd. in Rubio 81). The "exotic" perspective referred to here is significant in the case of Spain for its relation to Spain's national dialogue on its own reputed *atraso* and role within Europe. A fictional Persian perspective on France in the eighteenth century would seem likely, given its French author, to be imbued with the conviction that France is more advanced than the culture of the Persian observer. In the case of Spain and Morocco in *Cartas marruecas*, the narrator Gazel directs an inquisitive gaze at Spain that takes his Spanish informants at their word regarding Spain's Arab past, privileging their historical knowledge so much as to transcribe entire passages of history verbatim for his Moroccan interlocutor with little or no commentary of his own. In the context of our present study, the ironic subtext of these letters in which a Moroccan studies Spain like a wholly foreign land is the growing sense within Europe that Spain was too Oriental, too African, too much of an Other within Europe to fully belong. Thus the use in Larra of a *French* observer is far more charged with significance. Rather than an exotic (e.g., inferior) outsider looking in on Spain with curiosity and admiration, the French observer represents the ideal against which Spanish culture was measuring itself. The biting indictment of Spanish laziness in "Vuelva usted mañana" is all the sharper for its French provenance.

The use of the French point of view in Larra in several of his articles is similar to the nominally English point of view adopted by Blanco White in *Letters from Spain*. Unlike Blanco's oppositional constructions, however, Larra's articles refuse to privilege the French perspective even as Larra uses this perspective as a tool with

which to forge his criticisms of Spanish society. “Vuelva usted mañana,” an essay generally associated with its commentary on ineffectual public servants, is as much about the complexity of insider/ outsider perspectives as it is about *la pereza nacional*. When a French acquaintance arrives in Madrid planning to complete a lengthy list of personal business and believes fifteen days will leave him with time to spare, the Spanish narrator laughs and offers to treat him to dinner in fifteen months, when he predicts the Frenchman will still be in Madrid knocking on the same doors of the same uncooperative officials. The Frenchman initially scoffs at his Spanish host’s predictions, claiming that well-traveled Spaniards love to criticize Spain, because they think it makes them look superior. The Spanish narrator remains firm that fifteen days is insufficient to complete even one of the visitor’s planned tasks; the Frenchman protests, “¡Hipérboles! Yo les comunicaré a todos mi actividad,” to which the Spaniard calmly replies, “Todos os comunicarán su inercia” (Larra 193). The fifteen-day trip indeed turns into more than a year in Madrid, and the Frenchman eventually gives up on his planned business dealings, which, we are told, would have involved a considerable investment of foreign capital in Spain. The narrator experiences (and voices) considerable frustration with his compatriots over their unapologetic unwillingness to facilitate even a most advantageous business proposal, as long as their own immediate benefit is unclear. An important parallel theme of the article, however, is not the attitude of the Spanish civil servants but the French visitor’s myopic belief that he understands Spain before having gone there, and his refusal to heed the advice of his Spanish host because of his confidence in his own logical inferences. In fact, the visitor initially seems to align himself more closely

with the patriotic, conservative Spaniards than with the liberals who criticize Spain and do so most likely from a position of greater or lesser *afrancesamiento* themselves. His assurance that he will complete his business quickly casts an ironic shadow over the laziness of the Spanish bureaucrats he encounters, intensifying the article's criticism of the bureaucrats but also serving to illustrate the gap between insider knowledge and outsider assumptions. Describing the Frenchman's arrival, the Spanish narrator recalls that

> se presentó en mi casa un extranjero de éstos que, en buena o en mala parte, han de tener siempre de nuestro país una idea exagerada e hiperbólica, de éstos que, o creen que los hombres aquí son todavía los espléndidos, francos, generosos y caballerescos seres de hace dos siglos, o que son aún las tribus nómadas del otro lado del Atlante: en el primer caso vienen imaginando que nuestro carácter se conserva tan intacto como nuestra ruina; en el segundo vienen temblando por esos caminos, y preguntan si son los ladrones que los han de despojar los individuos de algún cuerpo de guardia establecido precisamente para defenderlos de los azares del camino, comunes a todos los países (Larra 191).

Particularly interesting in this passage is how the narrator allows for *two* possible stereotypes, even if both are equally lacking in verisimilitude. This is a remarkable acknowledgment on Larra's part of the schizophrenic nature of the stereotypes associated with Spain. Although over the course of the nineteenth century Spain would come to be seen by foreigners as primarily Oriental and exotic, some elements of the previous knightly stereotypes persisted and still exist today, although they are generally coded negatively and tied to the Black Legend. The multiplicity of iconic images associated with Spain continues to complicate essentialist descriptions of Spanish culture, especially since so many representations of Spain are so contradictory. While this can help in anti-essentialist projects—no one nation could possibly be everything Spain has been accused of being—it also works in reverse: as

one stereotype is deconstructed, an equal and opposite stereotype surfaces, like heads of a hydra. Adding to this dilemma, the agendas of Spanish and foreign commentators are potentially contradictory. Spanish critics of Spain are social commentators addressing problems and may propose changes to better Spanish society. Foreign visitors may have no investment in Spain's own interests, and may prefer to exoticize it into oblivion as a playground for foreigners weary of the "modern" world. Colmeiro, echoing Raymond Williams, describes the visitors from industrial societies in the nineteenth century to lands they longingly viewed as "unspoiled 'primitive' societies" (Colmeiro 128). Charnon-Deutsch describes how Andalusia in particular was a malleable object of desire for Romantic travelers, able to be interpreted according to the traveler's own tastes and preferences: "Whether their personal preference was for meridional, oriental, or medieval nostalgia, Andalusia seemed to fulfill every Romantic's notion of an exotic locale. At roughly the same time that the Orient was 'invented,' as Edward Said put it, by Europeans, Andalusia was constructed as a dream world where time could be slowed, live savored to its fullest, and the disturbances and hypocrisy of the modern, 'civilized' world of large European capitals avoided" (*The Spanish Gypsy* 59). Spain became a sort of repository for fantasy images, a world conceived as completely separate from rapidly modernizing Europe. Though this interpretation is most often associated with the nineteenth century and unselfconscious Romantics, it has never disappeared. In *The Sun Also Rises* in 1926 Hemingway represents Spain as a tragic inversion of Shakespeare's Green World, where human relationships and social networks of "real"cities like Paris and New York reach crisis point and/or are subsumed by the

self-destructive drives of the protagonists. Even within the decadent Lost Generation circles of Paris and New York represented in the novel, social decorum persists, if only in the superficial realm. When they must behave badly, rather than foul their own nests, the protagonists go to Spain.

At question here is how stereotypes affect Spanish representations of Spanish national identity and to what degree these stereotypes persist *within* Spain in the face of dramatic evidence of their invalidity. What, then, has been the role of Spain in perpetuating and reproducing essentialized images of itself? The motivations for doing so in the tourist industry are clear and will be discussed in Chapter Three. However, this motivation would not become relevant on a massive scale until the 1960s. Núñez insists that although foreign representations of Spain have been important to the development of the current corpus of stereotypes, one must remember that "tal perfil no es producto exclusivo de la observación extranjera, sino de la interacción entre ésta y la propia mirada de los españoles sobre sí mismos" (18). Torrecilla, by the same token, asserts that "la sustitución de la imagen áurea española por otra primitiva y 'exótica' comienza a producirse en el XVIII y es elaborada principalmente por los propios interesados," which is to say, Spaniards themselves (Torrecilla 3). As demonstrated previously in this chapter, for Torrecilla the sudden emphasis on representing Spain as exotic or different arose from resistance to *afrancesamiento* in Spain, a resistance which "opone lo español a lo extranjero, lo mío a lo que no es mío" (4). The problem or, more accurately, contradiction with this opposition was that in an era in which France (and *lo extranjero* in general) was so strongly associated with enlightenment and progress, Spaniards themselves came to

value whatever was perceived as unenlightened or retrograde as more "authentically" Spanish and, as such, more worthy of imitation. Thus, for Torrecilla, "[l]a rudeza y la ignorancia se convierten así en una prueba inequívoca de pureza, ya que toda manifestación de 'alta cultura' es, en principio, sospechosa de afrancesamiento" (5). This emphatic rejection of *lo extranjero* results in a double bind in which all that can be truly considered "*nuestro*" were those elements considered undesirable by Spaniards themselves. Although Torrecilla's unproblematic association of "la rudeza y la ignorancia" with *majos* and *gitanos* may seem to reproduce the preiudices of the time he describes, his assessment accurately signals a process which would gather increasing momentum within Spain, that being the substitution of a part for the whole, of the extrapolation of certain elements of Spanish culture (regional and/or ethnic) for Spanish identity in general. The most iconic example of such cultural appropriation in Spain, that of Andalusia, Gypsies, and flamenco, clearly illustrates this process. The cluster of ethnicities, aesthetics, and identities already associated with Andalusia in the early nineteenth century would take on increasing importance as representative not merely of Spain, but of Spain's most unique and authentic elements. In order to explore how Spain adopted some of the essentialist characterizations generally attributed to foreigners and, more importantly, how Spain engaged with or resisted the negative connotations of many of these characterizations, in the next section of this chapter I investigate more closely how the idea of a flamenco- and Gypsy- dominated Andalusia came to serve as standard-bearer for a larger collective of caricaturesque or exaggerated representations of Spanish culture. Through a close analysis of Federico García Lorca's comments on flamenco and its

critical importance to Spanish identity, I demonstrate how Lorca assigns positive connotations to characterizations far more often viewed as negative and redefines backwardness and inferiority as an authenticity and connection to nature than is nothing short of primordial. In this sense Lorca can be said to effect a performance of Unamuno's exhortations that Spaniards embrace their alleged difference from the rest of Europe, rather than negate it or minimize it. As we shall see, it is a process that held powerful appeal for Lorca's public and continues to resonate long after Lorca's death, perhaps for the same reasons.

1.4 "This strange Gypsy flavour": Spanish National Identity and Lorca's *Duende* Fantasy

Several years before the publication of his *Romancero gitano,* Federico García Lorca declared he was fed up with the centralist cult of Castilla so common among his predecessors from the Generación del 98. H. Ramsden cites a letter from the early 1920s in which Lorca vows that "Este verano, si Dios me ayuda con sus palomitas, haré una obra popular y andalucísima. Voy a viajar un poco por estos pueblos maravillosos, cuyos castillos, cuyas personas parece que nunca han existido para los poetas y...¡¡Basta ya de Castilla!!" (III, 717, qtd. in Ramsden 2). Throughout the 1920s both his poetic works and his personal comments reflect Lorca's fascination with his native Andalusia, in particular those elements he saw as mysterious and exotic. The Gypsies were for Lorca the most fruitful manifestation of this exotic Andalusia. Regarding the title of *Romancero gitano* Lorca says "though it is called Gitano, it is really the poem of Andalucía; and I call it Gitano because the Gitano is the most elemental, the most profound, the most aristocratic in the land, the most representative of this style and guardian of the flame, the blood, and the letter of the universal Andalusian truth" (qtd. in Washabaugh 29). The symbolic significance of the Gypsies in Andalusia and in Spain as a whole is well documented. Lorca's visions of Gypsies in Andalusia depend more on imagination than on the reality of Andalusian Gypsies. What was it that so appealed to Lorca about the Gypsy image? What "authentic" Spanish character did he see reflected there? Gypsies are specifically identified as the subject of the *Romancero gitano,* but the majority of its poems (including the passage excerpted above) deal rather generally with themes projected *onto* the Gypsies or responding to the *inspiration* of passionate Gypsy

stereotypes, rather than document actual living Gypsies. García Lorca fused timeworn images of Gypsies into his own creative fantasies, presenting the result as "authentic" Andalusian. The appeal of this fusion is especially significant in light of the post-1898 Spanish cultural environment which led many to question Spanish identity, in particular its supposedly "primitive" nature. In this section I explore the ways in which Lorca's fetishization of so-called "primitive" and "primordial" aspects of Spanish culture—rather more appealing when seen in the flattering light of soulful deep song—intersect with Unamuno's defiance in the face of Europeanization, his own fetishization of "backward" Spanish traits like the perceived obsession with violence and death. (Ricardo Molina even questions why Unamuno never confronted the topic of deep song, illustrative as it might have been for his tragedy-oriented project of defining a national character.) Colmeiro indicates how the same stereotypes at one moment coded as attractive and commendable are the next moment (and for the same reasons) signaled as inescapably backward or deplorable in his assessment of how "Oriental" Spain shifts between being an appealing and a contemptible place for the Romantics: "The persistent and widespread notion of Spain as an oriental nation and the Gypsy as one of its most recognizable commodities is the legacy of the romantic image of Spain as a land of passion, exotic travel, and erotic pleasure, but also essentially different, eccentric, primitive, and inferior" (143). For Lorca, as for Unamuno, all of these terms (except, of course, "inferior") woud be equally worthy of pride. I do not plan to argue that these "primordial" (or "Oriental", which Lorca uses interchangeably) traits attributed to flamenco are or are not essentially part of the Spanish character. Rather, I will argue that in a period of extreme anxiety over

Spanish identity and a perceived need to balance specifically "Spanish" traits with modern "European" progress, the Gypsy and flamenco images provided a "safe" difference that could be proudly emphasized on a purely cultural level at the same time that more modernizing or Europeanizing agendas were played out in the technological or political arenas. I rely partly on a concept defined by Elena Delgado as a "*diferencia descafeinada*", which she uses to refer to the "Spain is different" tourist boom of the 1960s but which incorporates many of the anxieties so visible in the early part of the century. Still today, flamenco is heavily emphasized in tourist agendas; it is the "quintessential" activity while at the same time being anything but "essential" Spain. Flamenco allows the Spaniards to boast of a "primordially" soulful spirit, while flamenco's relation to *gitanos* allows Spain to limit the bounds of this potentially backward nature to "the other within us."

The mystique of Andalusian Gypsies is almost a cliché, as is their legendary musical genius. In linking this romantic mythology to Gypsy-associated arts like flamenco, however, the living, breathing *gitanos* themselves are sometimes cut out of the equation. Nowhere is this divide between the imagined symbol of the g*itano* and the g*itano* himself clearer than in flamenco musicology, a field inclined toward proprietary rhapsodizing and definitive family trees of flamenco and *cante jondo*. No one wants to relinquish the exotic flavor Gypsies are seen to lend to the art of deep song; neither are many willing to accept a genealogy of flamenco or the associated musical forms that precludes an inclusive, pan-Andalusian view of flamenco. References abound to a *cante andaluz* which owes much of its flavor to the Gypsy *influence* but whose essence is tied to the landscape and spirit of Andalusia. Bernard

Leblon, for example, claims that with the songs of the Moors still echoing in the hills, the Gypsies "reworked the vestiges of Andalusia's Oriental past on their own cultural loom", thus creating deep song (90). Interestingly, Leblon defines the Gypsy influence from a purely subjective point of view, somewhere in the realm of "I know it when I see it":

> What exactly is this famous temperament, this strange Gypsy 'flavour', immediately recognizable regardless of instrument of style?...a sound too human to be heard without a total upheaval of one's being, a heartrending cry that rips through the guts and transposes the listener to the sacred ecstasy of the *duende* (19-20).

Other scholars question the conviction of those theorists like Leblon that the Gypsies themselves were responsible for the actual creation of *cante jondo*. These scholars argue instead that given the many varieties of Eastern music brought to Moorish Córdoba by way of Baghdad during the Middle Ages, "the fusion of Spanish, Moorish and Jewish musical styles had to have taken place before the Roma arrived in Andalusia" (Lee 15; see also Baloch). The Gypsies certainly contributed to the *development* of flamenco, goes this argument, but did so as Romani music converged with Spanish folkloric styles through their shared Middle Eastern and Persian influences. And of course there have always been scholars who attribute flamenco to a romanticized Andalusian "nature" (dark, passionate, tragic) and address the Gypsies little or not at all. Andalusianist Pedro Camacho declares that even his "gitanófilo" opponents admit the importance of Andalusia:

> El cante flamenco se ha originado en Andalucía; y en ella se ha gestado, ha nacido y se ha desarrollado, formando parte de su patrimonio espiritual y artístico.
> Aún para los mas acendrados *gitanófilos* (entre los que destacan R. Molina y A. Mairena) si bien el cante es 'esencialmente gitano' y 'engloba una fabulosa

> constelación de elementos extraños'...es 'expresión radical de Andalucía y 'no lo trajeron los gitanos consigo' (Camacho 28).

Camacho goes on to say that the Gypsy elements of *cante andaluz* are mere icing on the cake: "La radicalidad y la esencialidad del cante son andaluzas, su gitanidad es puramente circunstancial y nominativa" (32). Finally, he concludes his discussion on the Gypsy elements of flamenco with the summary remark "Todo ello viene a confirmar que el cante flamenco sí pudo *y ha podido* florecer sin necesidad de la presencia gitana" (38, emphasis added). Other theorists argue that flamenco is essentially the province of the marginalized or the working classes, of which Gypsies are but one important contingent. Washabaugh summarizes this argument: "The conditions that prompted the appearance of flamenco, according to this account, have less to do with ethnicity, whether Andalusian or Gitano, than with the structural conditions of oppression in which people find themselves, i.e. landless, jobless, and bullied by the corporate elite" (36). Carlos A. Rabassó and Francisco Javier Rabassó, clearly rather influenced themselves by Lorca's images, seem to designate Andalusia and its marginalized groups as keepers of the flame of idealized simplicity. According to their argument, Andalusia's multicultural history and even its economic disparities make it into a sort of "mestizo autóctono peninsular" (10). Andalusia is the essence of pure, untainted Spain: "Como en Cuba, la presencia viva de la música, del baile, del Verbo poetizado y de la naturaleza otorgan a Andalucía el privilegio de ser el alma y cuerpo de un sentir propio de *los pueblos todavía no colonizados por la escritura, el individualismo y el progreso tecnológico* (autor 219, emphasis added).

If flamenco is associated not just with Gypsies or the downtrodden, but with the entire region of Andalusia, I see this desire manifesting itself at one further

remove: as Andalusia is endowed with the soul or spirit (or *duende*) of flamenco, Spain in turn is attributed the soul or spirit of Andalusia. If *cante gitano* can be amplified into *cante andaluz*, perhaps one could speak too of a *cante español* and still be referring to the exact same style under all three terms. Certainly from the outsider's perspective, the term "Spanish music" will likely evoke the perennial handclapping and *olés*. This association is due not simply to foreigners' ignorance regarding Spain, but also to Spain's appropriation of flamenco as a tourist attraction. A walk around El Rastro flea market in Madrid offers the tourist multiple opportunities to buy a personalized poster advertising the tourist herself as the star *bailaora* in a flamenco *tablao*. Few (if any) of the *madrileños* who sell these posters will have felt a sense of incongruity selling an Andalusian stereotype; after all, flamenco is part of that Spanish energy tourists (ostensibly) come to experience. The passion, the drama, and the fiery characters so long associated with flamenco allow Spain to cast a romantic, appealing light on a "difference" that had been attributed to Spain by Europe (often negatively) for centuries. If Merimée's *Carmen* could take advantage of these stereotypes from the outside, why not Spanish musicologists from the inside?[10]

García Lorca's reflections on flamenco and its role in Spanish identity are certainly influenced by the fact that as a poet his focus is *symbolic*. He is able to figuratively fuse together the different groups associated with flamenco as all equally part of the Spanish "primitive" heritage, unlike those more "scientific" critics who argue fiercely for flamenco's being a purely Gypsy, or working class, or pan-

[10] For a more in-depth look at representations of Gypsies originating from within Spain, see Lou Charnon-Deutsch's chapter "'Our' Gypsies" from *The Spanish Gypsy: the History of a European Obsession* (2004).

Andalusian art form. Both in his publicly delivered comments about flamenco and in his Gypsy-inspired ballad collection the *Romancero Gitano* he celebrates Gypsies and flamenco without quibbling over the factual details. What is interesting in its relation to Spanish cultural identity is just *what* Lorca celebrates about flamenco and Gypsies. *Cante jondo* is significant and praiseworthy for Lorca because "[d]eep song is imbued with the mysterious color of primordial ages….Like the primitive Indian musical systems….Deep song is akin to the trilling of birds, the crowing of the rooster, and the natural music of forest and fountain. It is a very rare specimen of primitive song, the oldest in all Europe, and its notes carry the naked, spine-tingling emotion of the first Oriental races" (Lorca *In search of duende* 3). These "timeless" manifestations of "authentic," primal culture sound clear echoes of the backwardness attributed to Spain for centuries both from outside Spain, through Black Legend stereotypes, and later from within Spain, in the anxieties that reached levels of urgency with the disaster of 1898. Unamuno clung to a *defense* of backward irrationality rather than its denial, as when he argued that the Spanish nature is one more in touch with human emotion that the "controlled" European character:

> ¿Si la expresión enfática es la expresión espontánea de nuestro natural?....Lo que yo sé es que cuando un hombre se irrita de veras, o se entusiasma, no se expresa en frases bien ceñidas, claras, lógicas, trasparentes, sino que rompe en estrumpidos enfáticos, en ditirambos hojarascosos. Lo que sé, y sabe todo el mundo, es que en las cartas de amor, de verdadero amor, de amor trágico, del amor que no puede ser feliz, todo es un flujo de encendidos lugares comunes (934).

Unamuno stands in proud opposition to those who would criticize Spain's "spontaneous" nature, and insists that it is the rest of Europe (and particularly France) that walks around in imbecilic glee and oblivion, rather than Spain that walks around

with an unhealthy obsession with death and tragedy (Unamuno 930). What Unamuno does not do (which Lorca does) is *redefine the terms* of the European/modern, Spanish/backward dichotomy. The difference in the "primordial" qualities attributed to *cante jondo* and the "backward" qualities alleged in the Black Legend is primarily one of valorization. Lorca's positive, even rhapsodic approach to the primitive nature of *cante jondo* suggests an attempt to recast the "backward" Spanish *pueblo* as a sort of dark ideal that despite its struggles preserves an authentic version of humanity untainted by European (Western) progress.

The fact that the showy form of flamenco promoted to tourists (with *sevillana*-style dresses and castanets) is not the *cante jondo* style preferred by flamenco purists is significant. At the same time that flamenco began to be promoted as a latter-day stronghold of a "pure" or primitive Spanish spirit, flamenco *aficionados* began to clamor for a return to "real," pure flamenco, not the so-called "inauthentic" theatrical forms that were becoming ever more popular. The 1922 *cante jondo* contest in Granada, promoted by García Lorca and Manuel de Falla, was intended "to combat the decadence that deep song had reportedly fallen into;" the festival's supporters wished "to rescue cante jondo from bastardization" (Mitchell 165). Attempts to establish something "essentially Spanish" in deep song, something worth saving from the pillage of commercialism, coincide with a period in which the Spanish nation was itself undergoing an intense identity struggle, in the aftermath of the regenerationist rhetoric of the Generación del 98.[11] Washabaugh has demonstrated that in the

[11] The core preoccupations of the regenerationists were reconciling pride in Spanish identity and history with a sense of alarm, even urgency regarding the Spanish nation following Spain's 1898 defeat in the Spanish-American War and the subsequent loss of its last remaining colonies in the New World. This loss, commonly referred to as simply *el desastre*, shook the foundations of the Spanish

modernist environment that dominated Spanish identity politics at the turn of the twentieth century, there was a desire to reconnect with the "universals" of human experience, with Lorca and de Falla "[a]mong the most celebrated of these modernist intellectuals[…]who attempted to redeem flamenco music by calling it *cante jondo* and by portraying it less as a national or regional or Gitano art than as a crack in the cosmic egg of culture (see García Gómez 1993: 119)" (Washabaugh 12). Lorca's own talks on flamenco and *duende*, as well as his *Romancero gitano*, were to extend this "cosmic egg of culture" to the Spanish national character. The most admirable figures across Spanish culture, he suggests, are driven by the same *duende* that burns in those truly gifted singers of *cante jondo*; Lorca even makes references to "Saint Teresa, that supremely 'flamenco' woman who was so filled with duende" (*In search of duende* 58).

García Lorca was born in 1898, the pivotal year of "the disaster" in Spain, and the Spain of his time was highly concerned with its national identity. As noted previously, debates raged regarding Spain's perceived backwardness, and many called for a "Europeanization" of Spain, as summarized by Ferrater Mora:

> They [those in favor of Europeanization] meant to prove to all complacent Spaniards that there was a deplorable material and cultural lag in their country, and to warn their compatriots that this lag had increased with the passing years. Europe, they felt, had been making continual progress—political democracy, economic expansion, and scientific creation—whereas Spain had been, at least since the seventeenth century or perhaps earlier, in a continual decline (Ferrater Mora 64).

Unamuno speaks of a Spanish national character that needs to reconcile its quest for national pride with this sense of backwardness. This complex negotiating process

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self-image and led to widespread calls for reform in Spain, often in the form of Europeanization or modernization.

meant for Unamuno a sort of petulant defiance, an embracing of Spanish difference. As we have seen, Lorca was able to recast this Spanish *atraso* as a sort of authenticity uncontaminated by modernity. The Rabassós claim that after the defeats of 1898, Spain was in need of a poetic standard-bearer around whom to rally, much like José Martí was for Cuba, especially after his martyrdom on the front lines of the war for independence from Spain. Lorca's interest in the "authentic" Spanish *pueblo,* they argue, would have been influenced not only by Spain's *loss* of its colonies, but also by the compelling rhetoric of colonial leaders themselves as they rallied against Spanish domination. According to this account, García Lorca's execution in the early days of the Spanish Civil War, devoted as he was to defending and celebrating the Spanish *pueblo,* can also be seen as the martyrdom of the people's poet:

> Cuando Lorca reconoce que 'el ser de Granada me inclina a la comprensión simpática de los perseguidos. Del gitano, del negro, del judío....del morismo que todos llevamos dentro', parece como si el compromiso de Martí con su pueblo guardara similitudes asombrosas con el poeta andaluz (Rabassó and Rabassó 105).

What is particularly interesting about this passage on solidarity with the *pueblo*, an aspect glossed over by Rabassó and Rabassó, is Lorca's equation of his *pueblo* with marginalized groups. Two decades after Unamuno's most famous essays were published, now in a more intellectually optimistic period of accelerated creativity in Spain, Lorca's ideas on the Spanish character seem to put an *ethnic* twist, however fantasy-based it might be, on the Unamunian concept of "primitive" Spanishness. Whereas Unamuno spoke of the Spanish character as a rather monolithic national trait, Lorca views Spain's uniqueness as springing from the supposed historical influence of persecuted groups such as Gypsies, Jews, and *moriscos*, who provide a

symbolic connection to Orientalist visions of "untainted" pre-modern civilization. Almost like the medieval Arab scholars who helped translate the classics into Latin, Lorca represents the Spaniards as a link between a more primitive, "pure" form of humanity and the contaminated "civilized" world—a world whose culture is seen as having distanced it from some "authentic" version of humanity and replaced it with the impersonal efficiencies of so-called progress. The Spanish people are different, implies Lorca, not because of practical factors like economic underdevelopment or unsuccessful government, but rather because Spain possesses a privileged position at the crossroads of the Western and non-Western worlds. When Lorca analyzes the *duende* that in his view separates the most authentically "Spanish" art from other masters of European culture, he argues for its essential primitiveness, in opposition to the more "evolved" forms of inspiration—evolved here meaning distanced from nature:

> Just as Germany has, with few exceptions, muse, and Italy shall always have angel, so in all ages Spain is moved by the duende, for it is a country of ancient music and dance where the duende squeezes the lemons of death—a country of death, open to death (*In search of duende* 55).

Spain's soulful *duende* is presented as evidence of a privileged position outside the apparently fussy, overdeveloped cultures of Western Europe, outside those cultures portrayed as having lost their firm connection to the earth (represented by death) and which can focus only on the abstract ("muse", "angel"). This comparison clearly echoes Unamuno's declaration that it was his experiences with the "hórrido intelectualismo que envenena el alma" elsewhere in Europe that made him truly appreciate "nuestra vieja sabiduría popular;" "A fuerza de oír himnos a la ciencia y a la vida, me han hecho cobrarles desconfianza y tal vez horror, y amar a sabiduría de

la muerte, la meditación que, según Spinoza, no medita el hombre libre, esto es, el hombre feliz" (929). Death again becomes a source of ecstatic knowledge, of communion with the universe. Both Lorca and Unamuno perform a revalorization of historically reviled elements—ignorance, suffering, death. Given the original version of this story, the Black Legend of Spanish backwardness, Lorca's *duende* who "squeezes the lemons of death" seems actually to be taking lemons and making lemonade. Indeed, one might argue that Spaniards who profit from the "exotic" appeal of flamenco and Gypsies are doing the same.

The potential contradictions created by the fetishization of Gypsy or flamenco styles are numerous. Mitchell is particularly critical of what he sees as the trivialization that occurs when subjective fantasies are projected onto art that is ostensibly inspired by "authentic" folk forms. Parting from a discussion of the "primitivist postulates" that characterize De Falla's "gypsy ballet" *El amor brujo*, he argues:

> Falla elaborated on the enharmonic flamenco guitar scales allegedly discovered by Debussy in order to orchestrate a whole panoply of magic rituals and primal emotions. There are few clearer illustrations of Leonard Meyer's thesis that the technical choices composers make have a clearly identifiable ideological dimension. It can be argued that the difference between Bizet's *Carmen* (1875) and Falla's *El amor brujo* (1915) is simply the distance upper-class Western aesthetic sensibility has traveled in its flight from lucidity into fetishistic emotion magic. A Wagnerian leap of faith is required on the part of the listener, a willingness to sense something very deep in the artificiality of orchestrated alleged gypsy superstitions. A similar suspension of disbelief, now in the terrain of literature, is required for reading García Lorca's surrealist renovation of hoary romantic clichés in *Romancero gitano* (1928). In his *Poema del cante jondo* (1921-22), Lorca had proceeded much like Stravinsky, overlaying folk or pseudofolk motifs with symbolist conceits whose emotional or technical relation to the traditional materials was tenuous (Mitchell 164).

Mitchell certainly fails to address (or doesn't share) the immense *attraction* Lorca's "hoary romantic clichés" held for readers. Ramsden argues that "the *Romancero gitano* is one of the most immediately appealing books of poetry in Spanish literature" (Ramsden 12). Perhaps this "immediate appeal" is what allows the reader to suspend his disbelief (as Mitchell would say) in the romanticized nature of the Gypsy images in Lorca's ballads. In any case, as Mitchell makes clear, the argument for an essential "flamenco spirit" is not without its potential pitfalls. The simplifications undertaken in this promotion of essentialist national or ethnic characterizations (however imaginary the characterizations may be) run the risk of reproducing the same sorts of racialist assumptions that lead to negative generalizations and outright racism. Often today the appeal of emphasizing cultural difference lies in economics. The *diferencia descafeinada* of Delgado, mentioned previously, is a difference that is

> perfectamente integrada en el espacio del capital transnacional...ayuda a olvidar la realidad de esa otra diferencia que no puede ser simplemente subsumida en un circuito comercial y es por tanto mucho más amenazante. Pero tan preocupante como la comercialización superficial de la diferencia es su esencialización, la afirmación tajante de una otredad aislada que se articula en el mismo lenguaje polarizado y jerárquico de la política de la homogeneidad (211).

Even though in this passage Delgado is discussing Spanish Celtic music and the *realismo mágico* element in Spanish fiction, her argument is equally relevant to flamenco. The promotion of folkloric manifestations of Spanish culture today works in tandem with high enthusiasm for all that which is considered modern and "European". In 1992, the Olympics in Barcelona and the Expo in Seville were designed to crown Spain's "arrival" in the (capitalist) European fraternity; flashy

installations still visible in both cities serve as reminders of their proud moment on the international scene. The old tourist slogan "Spain is different" still strikes a chord; however, this "difference" competes with the unofficial counterpoint "Spain is European". Núñez Florencio argues that such tensions (if not outright contradictions) are nothing new, and that Spain has always been promoted for its "grandes contrastes en los más diversos ámbitos: sol y sangre, carabina y guitarra, crueldad y placer, edén e infierno" (130). The French Romantics to whom Núñez Florencio is referring in this passage played a key role in the advancement of the mystique surrounding Gypsies and Andalusia, and Lorca's later choice to promote flamenco and the "Gypsy spirit" as part of a Spanish "essence" was no doubt influenced by the perennial appeal these had maintained over many decades. Núñez Florencio describes Spain's passionate contrasts as "[l]a antítesis, en definitiva, del rumbo y la perspectiva del mundo moderno" (130). Even given the very different reality of Spanish culture, romanticized stereotypes die hard. In this context, flamenco and *cante jondo* provide a controlled dose of the fiery, primitive Spanish "character" that still fuels tourist fantasies, while the forward-looking aspirations of the Spanish people themselves remain unthreatened.

Lorca's poetic linkages between flamenco *duende* and nature of the Spanish people cannot change the inherent contradiction of allowing flamenco to be seen as a "Spanish" art form that is somehow "authentic," even though the majority of Spaniards do not excel at it. While Lorca's literary associations work on an intuitive or emotional level, the association of flamenco with Spain frequently works in a more concrete capacity, as seen in tourism. One might argue that Franco's explorations of

tourism as a source of foreign capital—and tourism's subsequent development into a pillar of Spanish industry—were Spanish efforts to capitalize on the nation's (and Andalusian Gypsies') perceived cultural assets in ways foreign poets had already been doing in the nineteenth century. Despite its international appeal, however, flamenco maintains a very *personal* importance for many Spaniards, providing a source of pride as an "authentically Spanish" national treasure. Whether it represents all of Spain or merely one aspect of Spain, nowhere else is it a local art form. Even those who do not perform flamenco may express proprietary attitudes toward it. What foreign visitor hasn't been told by a Spaniard that the tourist *tablaos* are mere imitations, that "real" flamenco can only be found in spontaneous private performances? Even for someone who doesn't practice flamenco, the supposed insider knowledge of where a visitor *won't* find "real" flamenco itself demonstrates a sense of authority, of being among the initiated. The same high standards for spontaneity and authenticity (as opposed to for-profit performance) could be applied to line dancing, clogging, breakdancing, or step shows in the United States, all three of which share with flamenco an association with geographically or racially marginalized groups. However, the preservation of the "authenticity" of dances that are internationally known and which are already codified elements of the tourist itinerary is a difficult, if not impossible, proposition. Edward Bruner in his discussion of ceremonial dance in Bali demonstrates how the distinction between performances for tourists and "authentic" performances for Balinese is often totally arbitrary, given that even the "inauthentic" incarnations of the dance are themselves Balinese cultural productions:

> If the Balinese perform at a temple, it is traditional culture and is described in ethnography; at a hotel, it is tourism; and on a concert stage, it is art[…]Cultural innovation that arises in the borderzone as a creative production for tourists, what anthropologists formerly called 'inauthentic' culture, eventually becomes part of Balinese ritual and may subsequently be studied by ethnographers as 'authentic' culture" (Bruner 200).

Bruner goes on to illustrate how *barong* dance in particular became increasingly prominent in productions for tourists, more for its popularity with foreigners than for its inherent importance for Balinese culture, "to such an extent that the *barong* has become the preeminent tourist performance and is now paradigmatic of Bali in Western discourse (Vickers 1989)" (201). The manner in which *barong* became emblematic of Balinese culture independently of its actual importance for the Balinese closely reflects the evolution of flamenco into the must-see emblematic dance of Spain, despite its traditional associations with only a small minority of the Spanish population. Yet, like *barong*, flamenco has been associated with tourism for so long that a strict differentiation between "real" and "fake" flamenco (or the differentiation between "good" and "bad" flamenco on the sole basis of perceived authenticity) seems a problematic distinction. Lou Charnon-Deutsch has demonstrated how even the earliest accounts of "Gypsy" dancing situate it as a potentially *paid* performance, whether for rich Spanish patrons (as in Cervantes's *La Gitanilla*) or for foreign travelers; by 1851, she reports, attendance at juergas of Gypsy dancing were such an established part of the British tourist itinerary that travelers boasted about knowing how to get the best deal for their money (*The Spanish Gypsy* 105). Clearly, Gypsies and their dances were an important draw for foreign visitors by the mid-nineteenth century. Lorca's calls in the 1920s for the

revival of the "authentic" Spanish art of flamenco music were mythologizing something that was *already* part of the tourist package of a timeless, exotic Spain. While his passion for Andalusian music and the *cante jondo* he saw as its purest incarnation was undoubtedly sincere, Lorca lived in an era in which flamenco was already part of Spain's narrative of seductive difference and as such *joined* (rather than created) a discourse in which Gypsy or Andalusian culture was extrapolated onto Spanish culture as a whole. Rather than destroy flamenco's "authenticity" as an element of Spanish culture, the promotion of flamenco as emblematic of Spanish national identity in general makes it *more* authentic as a cultural phenomenon, because flamenco performances for tourists become in and of themselves a "real" part of Spanish culture. If flamenco has attracted paying customers for well over a century, to designate it as not authentically Spanish seems problematic indeed. Bruner argues that in the case of Bali, "the Balinese *became* what ethnographers studied in that Western interest in the *barong* led the Balinese to modify their culture so that the *barong* became more prominent in their performances" (Bruner 201, emphasis added). Folkloric performances are not "closed systems" (Bruner 200); they influence the dominant cultures that reproduce them and become part of the cultural patrimony, regardless of their apparent adherence to objective standards for authenticity.

Another indication of the importance of Lorca to the Spanish relationship to flamenco on a wider scale is the considerable influence Lorca, who borrowed greatly from flamenco, has posthumously exerted on the flamenco performance community and on Spanish interpretations of flamenco within popular culture. Camarón de la Isla, a contemporary Gypsy flamenco singer who obtained cultish popularity during

the 1970s and 1980s, released an album in 1979 entitled *La Leyenda del Tiempo* in which he paired controversial innovations in style (such as the use of a sitar and an electric bass) with verses from Lorca's works, including a song entitled "Homenaje a Federico." Lorca's name appears first in many of the song credits, followed by the names of contemporary flamenco musicians and composers such as Kiko Veneno. Carlos Saura's 1981 film interpretation of *Bodas de Sangre* also fused Lorca with flamenco, representing the work through the rehearsals of a the Spanish National Ballet staging of the play.

Roger Tinnell reminds us how Lorca and De Falla organized the *Concurso de Cante Jondo* as an attempt to rejuvenate this supposedly pure form of flamenco, "to try to reverse the trend toward decay" (296). This revival depended largely on Lorca's presentation of flamenco as a national art worth preserving. Indeed, he even hinted at its potential tourist value. "No tenéis idea de lo que se emocionan estos americanos con las canciones de España," he wrote during his residence at Columbia University in New York, planning more performances for his willing audience: "En el invierno daré seguro en algún salon muy elegante varias audiciones de música popular española. Es una buena *propaganda* de España y sobre todo de Andalucía" (Lorca *Epistolario* 629, emphasis added). For many Spaniards and foreigners, the connections he drew between flamenco and Spanish national identity are as seductive today as they were in 1922. Then Lorca implored his audience to preserve "the immense, thousand-year-old treasure that covers the spiritual surface of Andalusia…..May you meditate, on this night in Granada, on the patriotic transcendence of the project which a handful of Spanish artists are about to present"

(*In search of duende* 21). Today, as Spain identifies itself more and more as European, the "patriotic transcendence" Lorca applies to *cante jondo* takes on a new meaning, as Spanish reality is perceived as ever more distant from the image of the tragic, dark soul evoked (and invoked) by Unamuno. Between this discourse of treasured authenticity and the discourse of Spain's long-sought-after modernity and the subsequent euphoria emphasized by Vilarós there remains a great deal of ambivalence.

Following this discussion of Lorca's contributions to essentialist representations of Spain, it is important to acknowledge Lorca's own declarations that his experiences abroad were among the most transformative of his life. While he rhapsodized about the primal forces of *duende* in his homeland, he was more than willing to extend this 'authenticity" to a global network of kindred spirits. One example of this would be in his descriptions of African-Americans in New York, whom he met at the height of the artistic golden age known as the Harlem Renaissance. In a letter to his family dated July of 1929, Lorca describes the writer Nella Larsen as "llena de bondad y con esa melancolía de los negros, tan profunda y tan conmovedora" (*Epistolario* 625). The guests at Larsen's parties sing songs so marvelous that "[s]ólo se puede comparar con ellos el cante jondo"; Lorca extends to African-Americans the same timeless, nature-based imagery he uses to characterize this Spanish form:

> En la reunión había una negra que es, y lo digo sin exagerar, la mujer más bella y hermosísima que he visto en mi vida. No cabe más perfección de facciones, ni cuerpo más perfecto. Bailó sola una especie de rumba acompañada de un tam-tam (tambor africano), y era un espectáculo tan puro y tan tierno verla bailar que solamente se podía comparar con una salida de la luna por el mar o con algo sencillo y eterno de la naturaleza (626).

For a writer as associated with his home country as was Lorca, his experiences abroad provide us with a unique opportunity to see his artistic eye turned on unfamiliar objects and to see his reactions to subjects that contrast with the material typically associated with him. The fact that his comments so often mention his own Spanishness is far from incidental. Lorca's experiences in New York were unique in that he was neither a tourist nor an immigrant, but held the comparatively privileged position of university-affiliated intellectual. His letters home frequently describe his positive interactions with Americans and his enthusiastic attempts to integrate as fully as possible. "A los españoles los veo muy poco," he says. "Prefiero hacer la vida de los americanos" (*Epistolario* 628). Of the Americans he declares, ""Los americanos son cordiales, llanos, abiertos como niños. Tienen ingenuidad increíble y son serviciales en extremo" (*Epistolario* 637). Lorca's depiction of his own harmonious interactions with a friendly, diverse American population contrasts sharply, however, with the chaotic, surrealism violence depicted in *El poeta en Nueva York*, particularly the poems in section III, "Calles y sueños." The poems are pervaded with imagery involving death, ghostly masses, and scatological debasement. Coney Island is "la selva del vómito con las mujeres vacías, con niños de cera caliente" (Poeta en Nueva York 143). A poem about Battery Place at night is entitled "Paisaje de la multitude que orina" (145). A poem about the Brooklyn Bridge is populated by unhappy ghosts: "Hay un muerto en el cementario más lejano / que se queja tres años / porque tiene un paisaje seco en la rodilla / y el niño que enterraron esta mañana lloraba tanto / que hubo necesidad de llamar a los perros para que callase" (151). We can see two different planes of engagement in Lorca's personal letters and in his New-York-

inspired work. The point is not whether these planes are contractory, but that Lorca's experiences as a Spaniard in New York in 1929 are characterized by a complexity not totally revealed in either his poems or his correspondence. In order to fully explore Lorca's cultural engagement with the United States, we must look to both the personal and "professional" elements of his writing.

While Lorca was already enjoying a degree of fame that opened many doors to him in New York, his life there was far closer to that of visiting academic than that of a celebrity. In the next chapter I will address the topic of how global academic trajectories, in particular those of Spanish academics abroad, relate to the academic fields associated with the study of Spain. Not only do the experiences of Spaniards in Anglophone academia provide a prime opportunity for a contrastive assessment of the two cultures, they also reveal a great deal about how disciplinary constructions perpetuate traditional characterizations of national identity. The contrast between Lorca's perceptions of the United States as reflected in his personal letters and in his poems highlights the duality of the personal and the academic or professional that will be discussed in Chapter Two, particularly as this duality relates to the conceptualization of Spanish national identity within academia.

Chapter Two

The Campus Novel *a la española*: Hispanism, Spanish Identity and Anglophone Academia

Crafters of fiction suffer notorious interest in and speculation on their personal lives. An author's childhood traumas are analyzed for clues as to his or her recurring narrative themes, and his characters undergo relentess attempts to connect them to their real-world referents. Any great novelist is assumed to have a biography worth reading. This tendency on the part of readers is particularly acute in the case of fictional narratives involving travel or exotic themes, when an author's own credibility as a world traveler who "knows what he's talking about" is cited as confirmation of a work's authenticity or even evidence of its literary quality. Such personal interest is only very rarely extended to the literary critics, philologists, or cultural historians who study fictional work such as novels and films, with the critic himself the one most likely to volunteer a relationship between his or her life and work. The so-called "creative genius" attributed to a Cervantes or a Shakespeare suggests that the subjectivity of the author pervades his work and thus merits investigation, from scholarly research to tourist visits to an author's birthplace (an interesting endeavor when an author's identity is uncertain, as with Shakespeare, or when what remains of the "birthplace" is little more than a house number on a city street, as with Cervantes). Given fiction's oppositional relationship to expository objectivity, its frequent denials of (specified) real-world referents, it is curious that the fictional author is subjected to individual scrutiny, personal criticism, or star adulation, while the philologist or literary critic, whose creative agency is

downplayed or even ignored, is assumed to maintain a scientific distance from his work and thus bear no identity relation to it. Speculation on a scholar's motives for his or her academic production is deemed irrelevant because scholarly interests are assumed to be serendipitous, even random, the scholar's *work* and *life* on parallel courses, enjoying only a peripheral relationship.[12] This is the case despite widespread declarations that subjectivity *is* taken into account. Thomas S. Harrington argues that "university professors have a deeply ingrained tendency to describe their professional trajectories in individualistic terms, obviating or downplaying the fact that scholarly institutions have effective, and at times, remarkably draconian ways of enforcing what Chomsky, echoing Wittgenstein, has described as the bounds of 'thinkable thought'"(Harrington 219-20). Citing factors such as institutional endogamy and mandated secularism within Spanish academia, Harrington suggests that "off-shore Hispanists" in the United States may be able to offer a useful perspective in areas which for Spaniards themselves constitute blind spots (220-21).[13]

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[12] Goytisolo complains that not only is there little interest in the critics themselves, but that in Spain, at least, even openly political writers lack a clear personal engagement with their work: "Al recorrer las páginas íntimas de los mejores escritores españoles advertimos de inmediato que mucho, por no decir lo esencial, queda en el tintero: que los propios escritores "comprometidos" no se comprometen nunca consigo mismos" ("Presentación crítica" 14).

[13] Harrington argues that the Spanish system of mentoring and job placement, in particular, contributes to the perpetuation of preexisting theoretical tendencies, a circumstance highly different from that found outside the Peninsula: "In Spain and Portugal, one generally ascends the ladder from fresh-faced student to irony-laced professor in the same physical and human space. While one can certainly defend this system's positive effects on the maintenance of the academic's intimate and family life, there can be no doubting its stultifying effect on the shape of individual teaching and research programs. From early on, one knows that to rock the boat is to risk expulsion from the academic paradise, with little or no chance of getting another opportunity in a different place. This constitutes a very strong incentive to uphold the pre-established bounds of 'thinkable thought.' Am I suggesting that such pressures do not inhere in other systems? Absolutely not. Rather, I am proposing that the pressure to conform increases exponentially when one's undergraduate teachers, graduate mentors and first professional hiring committee are virtually one and the same group of people. " In the United States, for example, an aspiring scholar can change doctoral programs relatively easily. And once in possession of the terminal degree, he or she is practically required to seek employment in a new institution (Harrington 221).

On one (arguably superficial) level, of course, the identity of the scholar is certainly acknowledged today. Area Studies university departments state a desire to build (and a pride in maintaining) a "diverse" faculty. Though diversity can mean many things, a department teaching foreign languages and literature will strive for at least some representation from "target" populations ostensibly related to the department's object of study. This aim reveals an understanding of the scholar's perspective as related to his identity, at least to the extent that the department seeks to combat traditionally strict assumptions about anthropological distance and us-them divisions between the object of study and the investigating subject. Of course, Modern Language departments must ensure that their faculty are masters of their target language, and native speakers are one way to do this. The appeal of faculty members with a personal relationship to the target language beyond classroom instruction, however, clearly goes far beyond linguistic skill, and a Spanish department comprised exclusively of non-native speakers would arguably be at a disadvantage over other more diverse departments for reasons having nothing to do with the Spanish language.

These assertions seem to me to be anything but controversial, but discussion of a professor or scholar's personal relationship to his work—particularly with regard to factors such as ethnicity when not foregrounded by the scholar him- or herself—is likely to be labeled "identity politics" and thus relegated to the realm of administrative university politics rather than treated as a topic of scholarly relevance. Postcolonial and subaltern studies are interested in the odyssey its study objects make through conflicted or contradictory identities, but present the scholar's own identity

as a function of privilege related more to power relations than to other factors such as culture, ethnicity, or personal experience. Following ethnographers like James Clifford, who posited their own subjectivity as part of the anthropological equation, postcolonial theorists such as Edward Said have emphasized their own experiences as pivotal in the development of their scholarly work. However, for scholars who do not do so, speculation regarding their identity as it relates to their work is deemed simplistic, if not in poor taste or even offensive. The same could be said for U.S. Latino scholars who relate personal experiences to their subject matter. When the connection is cited by the scholar himself, it is deemed legitimate and relevant. If this linkage was forced upon a scholar because of his or her ethnicity, however, it would (perhaps rightly) strike us as facile. This is particularly true of subaltern studies. Seemingly endless discussion of speaking subjects and mute subalternity manages to define the university scholar as a negative, as someone with (or without) the right to ventriloquize the experience of another while almost miraculously preserving a tacit taboo on discussing just *who* this scholar is, beyond his assumed discursive position of privilege. Román de la Campa argues that market pressures on academic production mean that every day "[t]he place of the researcher, or intermediary, becomes irremediably more public and ultimately more anxious" (de la Campa 307). As the scholar's relationship with his or her own subject changes, he continues, ever more influenced by factors external to the subject itself but intrinsic to the contemporary university research system, the scholar (or "intermediary") must address his or her own position as an integral part of his or her work: "If we ourselves are prone to market pressures, can we still address our object of study in terms of a

tradition immune from some exigencies? If not, the question would not be how to dispense with that tradition, but rather to learn new ways of reading it, fully aware of the fact that our own subjectivity is being rehearsed in the process" (307). The ability of external factors to influence the critic's relationship to his or her subject material—particularly factors such as market pressures that are perceived as so intrinsic to the North American system and so alien to the Spanish one—will be discussed further in relation to the satirical *Carlota Fainberg*, in which North American academia is for a professor from Spain a grotesque nightmare.

In his contribution to Moraña's *Ideologies of Hispanism*, Brad Epps argues that the identity of professors themselves *must* be confronted, not in spite of but because of the academic work in which they engage, particularly when that work identifies itself as "radical." He cites his own position as an Anglo-American, tenured professor at Harvard as a vantage point rife with potential contradictions: "My knowledge, including the essay that you now have before you, is implicated in its site of production—a partly movable site that inheres in funded sabbaticals, summers, and travels elsewhere—and carries a stamp of privilege that at once credits and discredits it" (Epps 232). This attention to the location of critical production and the position of the scholar is important, but Epps's passing reference to his "non-native" status seems to be potentially more relevant to his scholarly position than his analysis suggests. Harrington's above-mentioned off-shore Hispanists are conceived as resolutely *not Spanish*. His hope that off-shore Hispanists might provide insights into Spanish culture is made, he claims, "fully aware of the increasingly marginal role that university academics play in the development of public ideas in our countries of

residence, never mind in those places where we are viewed as ‘extranjeros,’ ‘estrangers,’ ‘atzerritarrek,’ ‘extranxeiros,’ or ‘extrangeiros’” (206).

With so much discussion of transnationalism and multiculturalism in relation to the Spanish state itself, the journey of the transatlantic scholar—who may not be a clear “extranjero” in Spain *or* the United States—drops below the radar. As discussed previously in relation to his comments on market pressures in academia, De la Campa has emphasized how the practical issues of transnational academic career paths wield a potentially transformative influence on the changing directions and permutations of such fields as Hispanism, Latin Americanism, Latino Studies, and Chicano Studies. “The pull of the American research apparatus currently engaged with what was once the province of Hispanism,” he points out, “has evolved into an expansive institutional nexus that trains and supports a growing body of transnational, middle-class, professional academics with potentially lifelong positions, in numbers that are simply unthinkable anywhere else” (de la Campa 300). De la Campa links these transnational career trajectories, in which a scholar may simultaneously form part of various academic or critical communities on a local, national, and international basis both within and without national borders, to the changes occurring today in the humanities at large. He characterizes the North American academic community today as having “an impulse given to remapping disciplinary paradigms, an energy comparable to software design that constantly alters the domain of fields, areas, and objects of study” (301). The personal, then, is a critical part of what is viewed as the strictly “academic,” not merely at the level of the individual, but on a more global

scale, in collective ways whose influence can be traced to the evolving tendencies within the discursive projects of Hispanism and related fields.

We might add a category to Harrington's "off-shore Hispanists", namely "off-shore Spaniards," who work within U.S. academia but defy simplistic differentiations of Peninsular versus North American Hispanisms. To address the scholar's relationship to his or her work—both in the university and in scholarly research—on ethnic, emotional, filial, historical, or personal grounds is still viewed with ambivalence within the study of Iberian cultures. This chapter attempts to work through some of these relationship factors through an analysis of both current research on the subject and of fictional explorations of the subject by two of Spain's most acclaimed contemporary novelists.

2.1 Spaniards, Hispanists, or Both: Border-Crossing and Identity in Contemporary Spanish Studies

Intellectuals in exile have been a field of interest to literary scholars throughout the twentieth century and the displacements that century engendered. An area that has been receiving increasing attention in the academic community is the repeated border crossings of the literary scholars themselves, not only in terms of their subject matter but also on a personal level. The transatlantic migrations of scholars in the field of Spanish-language literary and cultural studies have resulted in the comparison and contrast of approaches to the study of Spanish-language subjects in the "subject community" (a novelist's home country, for example) versus those in a foreign or expatriate community. Contrastive approaches to Hispanic Studies are especially interesting in relation to the Spanish- and English- speaking academies, because English-speaking academia (particularly the United States) has been able to attract a considerable number of foreign nationals onto the faculty of Spansish departments, who conduct research into the Spanish-speaking world as simulateneously a native of their subject country and an outsider working from abroad. Here we will refer to the study of Spanish-language literature and culture by the commonly used term Hispanism, although the word has historical significance revealing both the semantic complexity of any attempt to define it and the ideological complexity of the field to which it refers. Our definition differentiates Hispanism from Spanish philology by extending it from the study of literature to that of Spanish culture as a whole—a potentially wide-ranging inquiry into Spanish cultural production that presumes a critical (if not physical) distance from the object of study. Richard Kagan cites the *Diccionario de la literatura española*'s definition of

hispanismo as "the study of the language, literature, and history of Spain by foreigners"—not the Hispanophile's rabid consumption of "all things Spanish," but rather the application of serious scholarship on Spanish study objects by foreigners (Kagan 2). Joan Ramón Resina, to take one alternative yet similarly internationalist view, characterizes Hispanism as "a compensatory strategy to offset Spain's staggering territorial losses in America" (Resina "Whose Hispanism?" 163, 168), that is, an effort by Spain to consolidate its remaining cultural capital by emphasizing its role as symbolic mother of the Latin American countries slipping away from it, promoting the Castilian language as a unifying force for what he refers to as a highly exclusionary and castizo *Hispanidad* (166). While the divergence of definitions of Hispanism will be considered in this chapter, given our Hispanic-Anglo focus here, Hispanism, unless otherwise noted, will refer to the study of Spanish culture from the vantage point of foreign academia. Spanish nationals working in British or American universities are most certainly included in this definition, as the scholar's physical location works in tandem with ethnicity or cultural identifications to help craft each scholar's own critical perspective. Whether a Spanish scholar's physical presence in a foreign country necessarily entails a different perspective from that of a philologist within Spain will be considered in depth.

The movement of ideas associated with this "foreign" Hispanism in Britain and the United States involves the cross-fertilization of scholarly and critical publications as well as the frequent recourse to the so-called "high" cultural production of Spain (film festivals, literary novels) in the academic context in Britain and the United States. Although the personal identity of "purely academic" scholars

(as opposed to figures considered more “public” such as novelists) tends to be avoided as a topic of inquiry, the considerable presence of Spanish nationals on the faculties of American and British Peninsular literature departments is important for any serious discussion of the Spanish-Anglo cultural relationship, particularly given the aforementioned genesis of Spanish studies in the United States under the guise of a “Hispanism” conceived as the study of Spanish as a foreign culture. The “Spanish Hispanist” as expatriate in the U.S. may or may not attempt or achieve integration into “local” culture, which itself is increasingly difficult to characterize in simplistic ethnic terms given some university communities which are as likely to be dominantly Hispanic as Anglo-Saxon. However, despite diverse realities, Spanish perceptions of the U.S. and Britain are as prone to generalizations as Anglo perceptions of Spain, which often reveal more about the expatriate’s own projections or fantasies (or perhaps nightmares) than they do about the culture in question. Likewise, an analysis of representations and perceptions of Spain in the Anglophone world would be inaccurate were it to conceive of the American or British university as possessing a monolithic or uniform gaze toward a Spain conceived as Other. Not only are Spanish expatriates responsible for much of the literary criticism on Spanish works coming out of Britain and the States, but also it would be difficult to argue that through close working relationships professors raised in these “host” countries are not imbued with some of the perspectives and opinions of their Spanish peers.

None of this is to say that Spanish influence in U.S. and British academia is a pure, unadulterated import of Spanish philology. Among the many factors influencing Spaniards to pursue university careers abroad, from the personal to the professional to

the economic, one factor that must not be discounted is the persistent difference between Spanish and Anglophone Hispanisms, a topic discussed in this chapter. This border difference is often geographic, not ethnic, having more to do with academic formation and the scholarly climate in which a professor works than with the national identity of individual scholars. In the introduction to their edited volume *El Hispanismo en los Estados Unidos,* del Pino and La Rubia Prado argue that "[E]l hispanismo español y el estadounidense no solo están lejanos sino que cada vez se distancian más" (9). The Spanish and English-speaking Hispanist communities are conceived as diametrically opposed; the American mentality, for example, is characterized by these authors as an "obsesión por vivir de acuerdo a la moda más reciente (frente al vivir hispano en la moda de antaño) y, en fin, vivir en un aspaviento constante (frente a vivir en el ensueño de piedra del hispanismo español)" (11). Luis Beltrán Almería reiterates this opposition:

> At present, both sides seem to be locked in a dynamic of mutual rejection that has sidestepped the benefits of polemic altogether. The rejection assumes different guises depending on which side of the Atlantic stages it. While the Peninsula brandishes accusations of conceptual misuse, the American retort is equally abrasive in its criticism of a discourse it finds both autoritarian and oppressive (Beltrán Almería 271).

Spanish nightmares of American Hispanism as politically cutthroat and ideologically fickle are embodied by Antonio Muñoz Molina in his 1999 novel *Carlota Fainberg*, a novel which illustrates all too well the push-pull complexity of transatlantic Hispanisms. Similarly, Javier Marías's 1989 novel *Todas las almas* presents Spanish and Anglo cultures as antithetical rivals, utilizing a visiting professor of Spanish at Oxford to encapsulate the interplay of Spanish and British identities in academia, promoting a cosmopolitan image of the Spanish academic abroad but at the same time

embracing essentialist tropes about Spanish culture. This chapter explores such fictional representations of international scholarship as well as the actual scholarship produced by the information flows in Hispanism. Key to this approach is the assessment of globalization's impact on borders and on cultural absolutism; the evolution of patterns of ethnic identification; and the mapping of travel and migration routes. These questions and others are explored in the context of a proliferation of edited volumes on Hispanisms during the past several years. José del Pino's and Franciso La Rubia Prado's *El hispanismo el los Estados Unidos: discursos críticos/prácticas textuales* was published in 1999, arguing in its introduction that Hispanism on one side of the Atlantic is substantively different than on the other, contextualizing the essays that follow it as exemplary of North American critical practices in contrast to Peninsular modalities. As interest in critical subjectivity and scholarly identity within Hispanic Studies has risen, edited volumes on Hispanism have become more self-reflective, comprising meditations on Hispanism's relationship to sub-disciplines or the politics of the term "Hispanism" itself. In 2005 two volumes were published consisting entirely of investigations of Hispanism and identity: Mabel Moraña's *Ideologies of Hispanism* and Brad Epps's and Luis Fernández Cifuentes's *Spain Beyond Spain: Modernity, Literary History, and National Identity*. In her introduction—significantly entitled "Mapping Hispanism"—Moraña emphasizes the power relations inherent in Hispanism:

> A collective reflection on the *ideologies of hispanism* entails, then, the examination of the intertwined connections between power, cultural institutions, and cultural production, as well as an analysis of the changing role played by writers and scholars in the production of critical discourse related to the categories of colonialism, national formation, modernity, and

> identity politics that constitute the basis of the post-colonial debate (Moraña ix-x, emphasis in the original).

Epps and Fernández Cifuentes also call for a reassessment of Hispanism's history of reinforcing outdated modes of conceiving literature. In their introduction they lament that

> Developmental, delimited, teleological, and almost always monolingual, literary histories, whether penned by "natives" or by "foreigners," tend to consolidate and eternalize not so much literature—whose contours can vary markedly over time—as the nation which is enlisted as its fundamental referent (12).

Their volume attempts to problematize Hispanism's dependence on and promotion of rigid national identities in the transatlantic context of multiculturalism, multilingualism, and non-state nationalisms.

All three of the above-mentioned monographs are collections of essays, rather than single-authored, book-length studies, indicating more a call for dialogue than a definitive or unifying thesis. This chapter argues for a greater role for critical identity in studies of Hispanism while placing academic subjectivity alongside larger debates of Spanish identity, particularly in relation to the English-speaking world.

2.2 Spanish Scholars in America After the *Boom Latinoamericano*

In 1983 John Beverley asked, in a paper of the same name, "Can Hispanism be a radical practice?" Citing Hispanism's historical ties to the institution, to disciplinary fields dependent on linguistic and political dominance, and to reactionary forces contemptuous of 19th-century liberalism, Beverley argues that the discipline has accomplished much already by the introduction of, for example, Marxism into its modes of literary analysis. Beverley repeats predictions that Hispanics would soon surpass African-Americans as the largest minority population in the United States—predictions which have indeed come to fruition in the intervening 23 years. He lauds their potential influence on "Hispanic Studies" and praises the diversification of Spanish departments effected by their presence, particularly as this diversity diminishes the stranglehold white Anglo males have traditionally held in the field:

> Another consequence of the [Latin American] "boom" has been the diminution of the monopolization of Hispanism by Anglos and Spanish émigrés, whether of the Republican or Opus Dei persuasions. From Ticknor on, American Hispanism (like British Orientalism) has been dominated by male Anglos—peculiar Anglos, it is true, uneasy with their protestant and commercial republic, attracted like Lawrence of Arabia to the anachronistic and the exotic; but for all that Anglos, Anglos in method and outlook, conscious or unconscious servants of empire (Beverly 6).

These comments are thought-provoking for many reasons—for unproblematically associating Anglo inclinations toward Hispanism with an interest in the retrograde; for characterizing white Hispanists as at least tacitly progressive; and for simultaneously proposing that to a greater or lesser extent all Anglo scholars are interpellated in imperial "method and outlook." Beverley is talking here about Latin American literature, and as such his grouping of male Anglo-Americans with expatriate Spaniards (be the latter on the left or the right) seems logical enough given

their shared, if very different, conditions of imperial dominance. The relationship of these Anglos to the Spaniards with whom they have "shared" Hispanism in the United States is not addressed by Beverley's remarks, but his comments on the ethnic and national identity of scholars within Hispanism brings us to the focus of this chapter—namely, the role of Spanish Hispanists in the U.S. and British academies and the influence the unique cultural transactions of Hispanism wield on conceptualizations of Spanish identity within the English-speaking world.

Beverley's comments sketch a transatlantic/transcontinental triangle in Hispanic Studies connecting Spain, Anglo-America and Latin America through a differential, if not fixed, scheme of power relations. When the identity of the critic is treated as a factor worthy of consideration, the power (discursive or otherwise) inherent in the critic's position tends to be treated in the abstract—that is, articles questioning the role of "the academy" or "the canon" purport to address the hegemonic traps of the university system while maintaining a surprising distance from the professors themselves. Carlos Alonso argues that literary criticism has lately become more and more personal, producing "a large number of autobiographical works written by practicing literary critics," and critical works in which "the author's experiences or the travails of composing the study the reader has in his or her hands are introjected into the text as an integral part of the critical itinerary" (Alonso 25). One might question the extent to which the intervention of the personal into criticism is a convention rather than a wholehearted assessment of a critic's own subjective position. In any case, the relationship between a professor's background and his or her scholarly work is conceived primarily in relation to the professor's object of study

and only rarely in relation to the professor's position within the university system, particularly in the case of Spain. Beverley's aforementioned grouping of Spanish expatriates and Anglo-Americans together (as opposed to Latin Americans) as members of an old-line Hispanism establishment reveals the extent to which Spanish identity has been conceived as unproblematically self-explanatory within the U.S. academy, particularly in contrast to Latin Americans, who had (and have) a strong presence in North America not only stemming from political exile, but also as the result of economically motivated immigration.[14] Alonso recognizes that the previous invisibility of the critic created difficulties, even contradictions: "[H]ow could the critic avoid perpetuating hegemonic arrangements when his or her position was left unchallenged with respect to its relationship to power? To what extent was not the critic's authority complicit with the larger structures and discourses that sustained hegemony in his or her society?" (26). This casual mention of "his or her society" strikes at the heart of our focus in this chapter. Analyzing critical discourse in terms of power relations, while acknowledging the problems inherent upon a professor espousing radical critique from a position of privilege, neglects the important questions of who, where, and why. Professors have identities beyond their greater or lesser power within and without the academy, and the phrase "his or her society" assumes an unproblematically monolithic "scholar class" whose cultural, even ethnic relationship to its work is of little import. This is especially true of cases in which

[14] The rigidity attributed to Spanish identities within U.S. Hispanism is demonstrated by the nonexistence of a recognized, hybrid Spanish/North American identity. When applied to Spaniards, the hyphen symbolizing a shared national identification in the case of Cuban-Americans or Mexican-Americans instead has the actual result of *negating* Spain, such that "Spanish-American" refers not to people of Spanish ancestry in the United States, but to Spanish-speaking countries in North and South America. Spain is present only as a historical antecedent.

there is a difference between a professor's "critical location" in the discursive sense and his or her "critical location" in the physical sense. Surely there are critical questions inherent upon the study of Spain by Anglo-Americans that Hispanism's democratic acceptance of their contributions on their merits does not fully address. Similarly, and perhaps even more so, Spaniards working in the U.S. or Britain, particularly given the rise of cultural studies, have a relationship to Spanish identity that might seem redundant were they working in Spain. Where is a professor from Spain in a North American university "working from"? Is the locus of criticism dominated by a scholar's background? By his academic preparation? By his job title or the letterhead he uses? Though the anti-imperialism of many Latin American masterpieces lends an air of resistance to even canonical works, with Latin Americans thus portrayed as having more of a personal stake in their critical work, Spaniards are assumed to bear more of a scientific relationship to a national philology whose canon works in the service of (post)imperial hegemony, not against it. Alonso reflects the nebulous paths criss-crossing the critic's position when, arguing that cultural studies began in Latin America and later was taken up in the United States, he continually refers to Latin America as "we": "[S]omeone else has decided that cultural studies be the reigning paradigm, and we are happy to declare ourselves winners in the game"; "What is lost to the comment, of course, is that the claim to precedence is a winning gesture in a game that we still do not control" (Beverly 29). The reiterated *we* here, signifying Latin America as distinct from the North American or Spanish academies, clashes with Alonso's own status as a professor within U.S. academia publishing articles in English. Can it really be taken for granted that a professor in this position

can operate on the exact same terms as Latin Americanists in Latin America? To attribute to himself a purely Latin American vantage point is as fraught with contradiction as it would be to claim that U.S. Hispanism is derived solely from Anglo-American ideas with no influence from the Latin Americans and Spaniards working there (to say nothing of other ethnicities or nationalities which may be at play in a given academic community).

The purpose of this chapter is not to make a case for the universal relevance of biographical information. We can argue, however, that personal identity and scholarly practice (including teaching) are more closely linked in the case of a Spanish professor representing Spanish culture while working in a foreign university than in a Spanish one, and that for a study of Spanish national identity, this linkage deserves the same attention paid to the life/career paths of scholars coming from Latin America or Latinos in the United States. Particularly in the context of American and British universities, a Spaniard in a modern languages department finds himself a minority in a community which may include not only Anglo-Americans or Britons, but also fellow Europeans, Latin Americans, and other international scholars. Thus a Spanish scholar's personal relationship to Spanish national identity may come more into focus than it would within the Peninsula.

Current debates on Spanish cultural studies and on the shifting definitions of Hispanism itself privilege identity as a subject for investigation. In the first part of this chapter I have attempted to establish an extratextual outer layer of *scholarly* identity surrounding these debates and demonstrate how Spanish contributions to U.S. and British Hispanism communities reflect the evolving negotiation of Spanish

national identity. In the second half of the chapter I analyze representations of Spanish scholars in the U.S. and Britain in "campus novels" by Javier Marías and Antonio Muñoz Molina and argue that the characterization of Anglophone culture in these novels as antithetical to Spanish culture reflects continuing ambivalence regarding Spain's international image in an age of exponential globalization. Indeed, these fictional representations of Spanish nationals in U.S. and British universities project assumptions about Spanish culture onto the Anglo characters in a way that suggests the internalization of negative stereotypes by the protagonists, if not a generalized inferiority complex masked by arrogance (in the case of Marías's protagonist) or personal self-deprecation (in the case of Muñoz Molina's). The growing debates about Hispanism's transatlantic metamorphoses and the differences (irreconcilable or not) between Hispanisms in Spain, Britain and the U.S. form an important backdrop for my analysis of Spanish national identity as represented in these novels.

2.3 There's No Place Like Home: Anglophone Academia and the Spanish Utopia

> You must excuse, however, my declining to give you a sketch of the national character of the Spaniards. I have always considered such descriptions as absolutely unmeaning—a mere assemblage of antitheses, where good and bad qualities are contrasted for effect, and with little foundation in nature. No man's powers of observation can be, at once, so accurate and extensive, so minute and generalizing, as to be capable of embodying the peculiar features of millions into an abstract being, which shall contain traces of them all.
> -Blanco White, *Letters From Spain*, 1798

The irony of a declaration by Blanco White that he is most certainly *not* going to describe the Spanish character for his British reader is that it serves as an introduction to hundreds of pages in which he does just that, even within the very same letter from which the above-referenced disclaimer originates. In a discussion of expatriate Spaniards and language, Leonardo Romero Tobar cites Blanco White (along with Juan Goytisolo) as a Spaniard who adopted a foreign language "as an act of self-affirmation" (Romero Tobar 196). He distinguishes Blanco White's "moving metamorphosis" in adopting English as his primary language from that of other Spaniards whose use of other languages is purely utilitarian. This section focuses on two fictional Spaniards who confront the possibility of metamorphosis in the Anglophone world and ultimately reject it. The protagonists of Javier Marías' *Todas las almas* and Antonio Muñoz Molina's *Carlota Fainberg* address a reading public which, regardless of both authors' international critical acclaim, is unmistakably Spanish. Rather than interpret and critique Spanish culture for English-speaking readers as Blanco White proposed, these protagonists venture into Anglo culture and return to Spain to confirm for other Spaniards the essential dissimilarity of the two worlds. Spanish departments in British or North American universities host these meditations on difference. Although it does not adhere precisely to the similar plots of

Todas and *Carlota*, Javier Cercas' 1989 novel *El inquilino*, another Spanish send-up of American academia, is an interesting point of reference for how closely it reflects the other novels' comic reflections on the absurdity in which the protagonists find themselves. Another European professor in a caricaturesque North American university, Cercas' protagonist, Mario, is portrayed as Italian (as if to protect the innocent), but his impressions of American culture are strikingly similar to those of Claudio in *Carlota Fainberg*, particularly his comic paranoia towards backstabbing colleagues.

A close reading of the portrayal of Spanish and Anglo culture clash in these novels suggests the inescapability of critical subjectivity in Hispanisms on both sides of the Atlantic and illuminates how Spanish representations of Anglo culture can in fact serve to buttress antiquated notions of Spanish difference. Of course, Marías and Muñoz Molina both tend to portray Spaniards as multilingual, worldly professionals who move seamlessly across international borders and feel as comfortable in New York as in Madrid. We can situate this tendency in what Vilarós describes as art having translated "en práctica cultural la voluntad europea del país" (Vilarós 240). Among the many examples Vilarós cites are references to both authors analyzed here:

> desde los cosmopolitas liberales que aparentemente pululaban la época franquista (Javier Marías en *Corazón tan blanco*, con el personaje del padre del protagonista, curador del museo del Prado) hasta la imprecisión nacional y geográfica que parece acometer de pronto a muchos de los personajes de las novelas de los ochenta (Antonio Muñoz Molina en *Un invierno en Lisboa*[…], la mayoría de los textos producidos en la posdictadura nos dejan un abrumador y sofisticado retrato de una España plenamente occidentalizada (241).

The protagonists of both Muñoz Molina's *Carlota Fainberg* and Marías' *Todas las almas* fit this jet-setting ultra-modern profile. In spite of this, their narratives *still* manage to portray Spain and the Anglophone worlds as antithetical, not least by portraying the United States and Britain themselves as either too self-consciously and artificially cutting-edge (in the former case) or as antiquated and irrelevant (in the latter). The fact that both authors are known for the opposite tendency makes their (perhaps unwitting) insistence on Spanish difference in these novels all the more remarkable.

Early in Javier Marías's 1989 novel *Todas las almas*, the narrator, a visiting professor at Oxford, confesses to feeling embarrassed in the traditional academic gown. Not because he sees it as grandiose or presumptuous, but because he fears that when worn by a Spaniard, Oxford's lofty academic robes might seem anything but lofty or academic. "Sobre mí," he confides, "veía a veces un sospechoso y desagradable parecido con la ridícula y por fortuna abolida capa típica de mi país" (80). This cape, attacked by Enlightenment-era proponents of the Europeanization of a "backward" Spain,[15] serves as a reminder of Spain's past isolation for a contemporary Spanish scholar having won an appointment at a reserve for Britain's elite. As discussed at length in the previous chapter, debates regarding alleged Spanish "difference," *atraso*, or basic incompatibility with modern values date back to at least the eighteenth century. These debates are often circular, as indicated by Elena Delgado: "[O] bien España era diferente porque no era moderna, o bien España

[15] See Livermore 338, for example, on the 1766 royal order forbidding this cape, which was associated by Carlos III with the Hapsburg past and which was eventually designated the executioner's official dress.

no era, y no debía ser, moderna debido a su diferencia" (Delgado 208). Discussions of Spain as essentially "other" depend, of course, on the agenda of the speaker. Chris Schmidt-Nowara has argued that Richard Wright was awakened to his own sense of belonging in Western culture, despite his outsider status as an African-American, as a result of the alienation he felt in Spain, for him the antithesis of modernity: "Spain, because it was in the West but not of it, brought home to Wright his essential modernity, his place in the secular, rational culture of western civilization" (Schmidt-Nowara 151). The Atlantic context in which Schmidt-Nowara places Wright's Spanish encounter is particularly relevant here. As discussed at length in Chapter One, the question of Spanish difference has taken on increasing currency as manifestations of difference traditionally taken for granted have become less and less tangible, in large part because Spain is currently less isolated than at any time in its history. Entry into the European Union and adoption of the euro have provided, in Keating's words, "a new economic and political space and framework for identities" (Keating 30). A country that previously saw many of its own citizens cross its borders for work in Europe and beyond now forms a major gateway for immigrants from all over the world and in many areas has become dependent on immigrant labor. As Spain has become increasingly integrated into transnational networks of capital, culture, and foreign policy, conceptions of Spanish identity as essentially different increasingly seem outmoded or irrelevant.

Travel exerts an important influence on the renegotiation of national identities in an increasingly globalized environment. Academic travel, be it at the level of the student abroad or of the visiting academic scholar, provides a unique site of cultural

interaction because the exchange lends itself to—and perhaps even depends on—assumptions regarding the cultures of both visitor and host country. In this context, a Spanish academic who crosses national borders for scholarly pursuits would encounter a variety of ambiguities and contradictions, and these contradictions are making inroads into the traditional campus novel genre. As indicated by the above-mentioned British academic gown/traditional Spanish cape dichotomy, the narrator of Marías' *Todas las almas* is a Spanish visiting professor at Oxford whose experiences will be colored not only by his heightened awareness of his Spanish identity, which he continually opposes to the Anglo-Saxon culture into which he is immersed, but also by his rather contemptuous assessment of the sort of research the British "impose," as it were, on his national literature. As discussed previously in this chapter, the notion that there is a divergence of Hispanism as practiced outside of Spain from Spanish philology as studied within Spain is a source of increasing critical investigation, even more so today than when *Todas las almas* was originally published. Though the respective British and American academic establishments are far from identical, there is a growing tendency to oppose Peninsular scholarship to criticism emanating from Anglophone environments, and certainly collaboration among scholars on journals and conferences is more common between Britain and the U.S. than between Spain and either country. Thus, when del Pino and La Rubia Prado argue that "el hispanismo español y el estadounidense no solo están lejanos sino que cada vez se distancian más" (9), the comment could be interpreted as relevant to the Anglophone Hispanist community at large. The Spanish and English-speaking Hispanist communities are conceived as diametrically opposed; the American

mentality, for example, is characterized by "obsesión por vivir de acuerdo a la moda más reciente (frente al vivir hispano en la moda de antaño) y, en fin, vivir en un aspaviento constante (frente a vivir en el ensueño de piedra del hispanismo español)" (11). Epps and Fernández Cifuentes reiterate this conviction in their assertion that while characterizations of Anglo-American and Peninsular Hispanisms are "prone to overstatement," the assertion of differences "nonetheless obtains in ways that cannot be gainsaid with a flourish of the hand" (Epps and Fernández Cifuentes 18).

In *Todas las almas* and in Muñoz Molina's short novel *Carlota Fainberg,* the context of an academic community with ever-increasing professional migrations forms the backdrop against which larger questions of Spanish identity beyond the academic realm are played out. Both novels' shared premise of Spanish academics immersed in Anglophone Hispanist communities is extended beyond the academic sphere by their protagonists' complex negotiations of stereotypes in their statements about the host culture. Theories of Spanish difference intersect with Spanish perceptions of American and British cultures as the narrators confront images of Spaniards held (or assumed to be held) by Americans or the British at the same time that they wrangle with their own views on what it means to be Spanish.[16] Fears and fantasies projected onto Anglophone culture complicate these projects. Carlos Alonso

[16] For a study of expatriate academia in the Latin American context, see Lucille Kerr's article on *Donde van a morir los elefantes* and *Ciudades desiertas*. Both novels relate the experiences of Latin American academics at North American universities, with an emphasis on Latin American cultural self-assertion in opposition to imperialist American caricatures. Kerr argues that both novels' protest of the stereotyping of Latin Americans is brought about by equally contradictory generalizations about American culture. "By substituting one caricature, one deformation, for another," she states, "the vengeance taken on the U.S. academy and culture would at the same time neutralize the stereotypical images of Latin America believed to circulate within the U.S. and its academic territories" (42). An important difference between these novels and *Carlota Fainberg*, however, is that the latter's final parody is of its own protagonist, who would seem to be far more obsessed with essentialist cultural attitudes about Spain than the Americans around him.

traces problems such as a perceived lack of engagement with theory across the field of Hispanism to larger insecurities about Spanish identity and the proverbial *atraso*:

> [T]hese seemingly never-ending meditations on the question of theory in our discipline have become our own rendition, our field's version of another such questioning enterprise with which we are all familiar, and which still surfaces continually in a number of different guises: the status of modernity in Spanish and Spanish American historical life. Why is Spain so backwards vis-à-vis Europe; why Spanish America has not lived up to its original promise; is the Hispanic mind anti-modern? (Alonso 147)

Alonso's comments amount to the assertion of a personally invested relationship between cultural identity and scholarly work, a relationship governed by such sensitive factors as shame and pride. The introduction of a cultural contrast into the equation—Anglophone versus Spanish, in this case—draws an explicit link between the field of Hispanism and broader debates surrounding Spanish national identity. By comparing theories of Spanish difference in *Todas las almas* and *Carlota Fainberg*, we can identify the protagonists' conceptualizations of American and British societies as "dominant" in opposition to a Spanish "minority", a millennium-era reinterpretation of the Spanish inferiority complex that continues to portray Spain as a nation at the margins of global discourses. Conversely, we may contrast Muñoz Molina's and Marías' protagonists' self-identification strategies in the face of these "dominant" academic cultures and attempt to situate their respective value judgments with respect to Spain's historic relationship with the English-speaking world.

Carlota's protagonist Claudio, a Spaniard at an American university, sees his academic problems as intrinsically linked to his Spanish heritage. His counterpart in *Todas las almas* shifts the burden of Spanish difference onto the British, who were arguably responsible (at least in part) for the Black Legend that so obsesses *Carlota*'s

Claudio in the U.S. Inés Blanca describes *Todas las almas* as "una reflexión sobre qué pasa cuando nos sacan de nuestro entorno habitual (Madrid, en el libro) y nos llevan a otro que no se deja domesticar, que es lo ajeno (Oxford)" (219). However, the unnamed protagonist of *Todas las almas* goes to great lengths to "domesticate" this foreign world and define it on his own terms. He conceptualizes a superior Spanish identity in which British academic prestige is reduced to buffoonery and Spaniards, in spite of their own imperial past, enjoy both the "natural" intuitiveness of non-Westerners and the moral high ground over Western societies whose imperial hegemony is more recent in world memory. His narrative shares with Claudio's a heady satire of self-important academia; both are evocative of a long tradition (especially in Britain) of fictional parodies of university life. Marías's descriptions of drunken scandal at ostensibly formal academic events evoke similar descriptions from half a century earlier in, for example, Kingsley Amis' *Lucky Jim*, and the emphasis made in both *Carlota Fainberg* and *El inquilino* on the publication of an elusive make-or-break scholarly article seem to echo the plot of Amis' novel. Brian A. Connery describes this type of parody as designed to highlight the rift between academia and the real world:

> Academic satire generally depends upon the breakdown of the relationship between academic signifier (often in the form of academic theory) and the social or empirical signified. The theory endlessly spun in the ivory-tower world is ironically impinged upon (and thereby defamiliarised) by the world of praxis (Connery 128).

In *Todas las almas* this contrast between reality and self-referential academia is constructed as a difference between fake, stuffy British culture and more "natural," genuine Spain. In a variation on the academic satire described by Connery, Marías'

narrator codes self-important academic posturing as a British or Northern European problem and implies that a Spanish intellectual might find the environment hostile to actual research (which he manages to avoid almost completely while at Oxford). He does this, of course, without addressing similar problems of elitism or exclusivity that may exist in Spanish universities. Angel Loureiro, for example, has argued that the Spanish academy is "rígida, autárquica, endogámica, y jerarquizada" ("Desolación" 33), a view echoed in recent Hispanism debates with remarkable frequency. The narrator of *Todas las almas*, however, sees Oxford's exclusivity as a culturally specific phenomenon.

The association of Britain alone with pompous academia, along with the conclusion that Oxford's ceremony precludes actual research, is evident in Marías's unnamed narrator's continual references to Oxford traditions such as academic robes and "high table" college dinners. His descriptions of campus life at Oxford focus on the absurd. For Claudio in *Carlota Fainberg*, the market-driven American university is equally nightmarish but for reasons antithetical to Oxford's pomp and circumstance. In the world of *Carlota Fainberg*, American academia changes by the minute, continually redefining the "canon" with trendy, ever-changing study objects and fickle identity politics. Loureiro grimly suggests that in America, a critical approach can switch quickly from *use* value to *exchange* value as it picks up momentum in the academic market ("Desolación" 34). Resina points to the cooperation between Coca Cola and the Spanish government in sponsoring a literature conference at New York University, highlighting Spanish perceptions of

American academia as more marketplace than learning center (Resina "Hispanism and its Discontents" 87).

Both novels show the struggles of their Spanish protagonists to negotiate their roles as Spaniards in Anglophone academic communities. For *Carlota*'s Claudio, this process involves eager assimilation into American academic culture and a rejection of Spanish traits he sees as anathema to success in the "rational" American environment. Muñoz Molina's repetition of the word "Humbert" around the narrator—he lives in Humbert Lane and works in Humbert Hall at Humbert College—invokes Nabokov's Humbert Humbert of *Lolita*, the Frenchman whose adventures in the black hole he sees as American culture are satirized in bilingual wordplay much like that of *Carlota Fainberg*. Whereas the Frenchman Humbert Humbert sees Americans as merely crass, if anything *too* aggressively friendly, the Spaniard Claudio sees America as a land of invisible boundaries and tacit disapproval, an Anglo Saxon-oriented culture in which spontaneity and sincerity are cause for embarrassment. This virtual paranoia regarding the strict "rules" of American culture as opposed to apparently undisciplined, unbridled Spain reaches such heights that Claudio himself ultimately suffers the sharpest satirical treatment in the novel. Of course, despite its stereotyped views of Americans, *Carlota* addresses actual Americans less than it does American academia, a unique cultural niche in which many foreign nationals interact in ways not dependent on anyone's home culture.

The narrator of *Todas las almas* criticizes British formality much like Claudio criticizes North American stiffness, but he does so from a position of contempt rather than discomfort. He attributes to the British people no end of private neuroses and

secret agendas which their snobbery fails to conceal. His fantasies that half of the professors at the university are former spies, however, reveal the extent to which his views of Britain were brought to Oxford rather than simply formed there. The fact that Toby Rylands, former Mi-5 agent and Oxford don, did only neutral spy work in exotic areas far from the front (153) seems to be a slight *compensation* for the narrator, as if he can sneer at the reality even as his imagination continues the myth. This critique of British surface trumping British substance becomes far more explicit during a formal dinner at All Souls College. The unwritten rule that one must alternate in conversation between the dinner companions to the left and to the right at five minute intervals makes for a superficial dinner conversation characterized by insincere posturing. This indifference is encouraged by the drunken, imbecilic warden who presides over the table while pounding a gavel and eyeing women's cleavage. After a gluttonous feast in which most of the food served during the dinner itself is wasted in hurried replacement of one elaborate dish for another, the faculty guests and dons move to a private salon for dessert

> en el que durante hora y media se toman parsimoniosamente frutas del tiempo, frutas tropicales, frutos secos, helado, pasteles, tartas, sorbetes, bombones puros, galletas, oblea y bombones rellenos de licor y menta al tiempo que se van pasando en el sentido de las agujas del reloj y muy velozmente varias botellas o más bien garrafas de diferentes oportos extraordinarios que no se consiguen en el mercado (67).

Immediately preceding this listing of exotic foods is a description of Clare Bayes's childhood spent as a British diplomat's daughter in colonial India, which lends a strong imperial tone to the serving of fresh tropical fruits and "extraordinary" ports. The narrator even suggests that the students of All Souls College, seated spatially below the "high table" during dinner, are served inferior food to that of the honored

dons and guests. While the scene is broadly comic, there is no irony in the presentation of Oxford as an extension of Britain's colonial past. Thus a commentary that could have satirized academic privilege as comically ridiculous or elitist ceremony goes further, coding these rituals as clearly exploitative, or at least symptomatic of an exploitative system. The self-important ceremoniousness of Oxford, the narrator implies, is far from a victimless crime.

As noted above, Claudio of *Carlota Fainberg* also expresses frustration with what he views as the reserved, uptight American personality. However, his outright contempt when dealing with a gregarious Spaniard unschooled in rigid American social mores shows the extent to which he sees himself as indoctrinated into the American style of personal interaction, or as having at least rejected the perceived Spanish alternative. He accommodates himself to so-called American customs (expressive gestures strictly forbidden!) because he sees "Spanish" traits as an obstacle to North American academic success. Claudio's reluctance to ask for favors and his acquired obsession with personal space are his interpretations of "correct" behavior in the perceived minefield of American social regulations.

Carlota presents Spain as the antithesis of the American academic world. Claudio's negative portrayal of Spaniards as intuitive, uncontrolled, and irrational is encapsulated in the frequent references to cigarette smoking which color all his memories of Spain, from tapas bars to his father's afternoon walk. The carefree abandon which characterizes the Spaniards for Claudio is discredited as foolish by his father's death from lung cancer. For the narrator of *Todas las almas*, however, smoking is a mark of "real" sophistication (as opposed to Oxford's self-important

posturing) that the British can only dream of. In one scene his fidgety friend Cromer-Blake "[h]abía sacado un cigarrillo del paquete que yo tenía sobre la mesa y lo había encendido mal con mi mechero. Nunca llevaba tabaco ni fuego. Sostenía el cigarrillo como si fuera un lapiz. No se tragaba el humo. No sabía fumar". The macho narrator, on the other hand, comes to the rescue of his hapless (and homosexual) friend: "Yo le encendí el cigarrillo bien" (78). The exaggerated attention both narrators give to this detail exemplifies their attempts to negotiate not only Spanishness but Spanish masculinity, particularly in opposition to Anglo masculinity. Claudio believes that reckless macho nonchalance and self-confidence is a discredited relic of the past; his counterpart in *Todas las almas* embodies that macho indifference. Both narrators, however, are fond of ridiculing other men for less-than-macho behavior, particularly when these other men are in positions of authority. Claudio's department head, Morini, wears a fussy hairstyle, sports a year-round artificial tan and eventually declares himself bisexual. Morini's scheming academic intrigues are clearly coded as a feminized betrayal of the masculinized, no-nonsense Claudio. The head of the Spanish department in *Todas las almas,* Aidan Kavanaugh, transforms by night into king of the dance floor, a sleeveless shirt with a tie his uniform of choice in seducing local girls; the narrator's lengthy descriptions of Kavanaugh's copious body hair and exuberant dancing seem gratuitous and irrelevant to the story. The drive of both narrators to criticize, even humiliate their departmental superiors suggests a sort of heightened sensitivity to marginalization in which feeling simultaneously subordinate and foreign serves as a sort of collective last straw, an offense against their emphatic sense of masculine pride.

As noted by William Sherzer, the central theme in *Carlota* is a satirical critique of the American academic community itself, including "contemporary criticism and theory, particularly Anglo-American semantics and semiotics" (287). Julio Prieto finds in *Carlota Fainberg* evidence of Muñoz Molina's own "notoria aversión" to unbridled postmodernism and claims the novel's protagonist himself is "un grotesco conglomerado discursivo de clichés de la jerga académica posestructuralista y desconstruccionista" (429). Claudio's internalization of academic jargon is indeed dramatic. Spanish business traveler Abengoa's proud affirmation that the Spaniards are better off than they or the rest of the world believe is interpreted mentally by Claudio (with his characteristic multilingualism) as "aquella mezcla, si se me disculpa la pedantería, de recio noventayochismo y de freudian slip, ejemplo magnífico de lo que Umberto Eco, durante la lecture memorable que nos dio en el Humbert Hall, llamó *la fertilitá dell' errore*" (Muñoz Molina 30). Indeed, as Abengoa narrates his tale of ghostly seduction in Buenos Aires, Claudio assures his reader (or himself) that he is interested not in the story for its own sake but in analyzing it like a literary text:

> por el modo en que yo, como un lector, podía desconstruir su discurso, no desde la autoridad que él le imprimía (¿se ha reparado lo suficiente en los paralelismos y las equivalencias entre authorship y authority?) sino desde mis propias estrategias interpretativas, determinadas a su vez por el *hic et nunc* de nuestro encuentro, y —para decirlo descaradamente, descarnadamente— por mis *intereses* (32, emphasis in the original).

Here the word *intereses* is charged with academic significance, meaning not what he finds interesting but the strategically delineated "interests" which he might declare in a *curriculum vitae*. Claudio exercises an analytically-oriented superiority over Abengoa that is explicitly tied to his allegiance to American scholarship and to

Abengoa's embarrassingly organic (i.e., Spanish) concept of old-fashioned storytelling. Later Claudio's attempt at distancing himself will collapse when in fact he does become seduced by Abengoa's tale, or as Sherzer puts it, "in the battlefield constituted by the semantic field, story is winning out over discourse" (289). In one scene Marías' narrator also attempts unsuccessfully to emphasize the abstract/philosophical over the concrete narrative with little success, halfheartedly attempting to disguise his sexually explicit locker-room boasts as existential pondering when he has a one-night-stand with a local girl.

Todas, *Carlota*, and *El Inquilino* all devote special attention to the subject of academic competition and cutthroat gossip in a foreign academic community. In *El Inquilino*, Mario is less disturbed that Berkowicz, a flashy, threatening new colleague, has stolen Mario's graduate student girlfriend than he is that Berkowicz has begun to poach Mario's thesis advisees. A key difference in these constructions of academic competition, however, is that for Mario in *El Inquilino* and Claudio in *Carlota* the pressure takes the form of concrete academic work, whereas their counterpart in *Todas* complains about his teaching and research responsibilities being virtually nonexistent. Oxford academics live a life of compulsively malicious gossip centered on colleagues' personal lives, which among other negative traits leads the narrator to conclude that "todos los que viven allí están perturbados" (Marías 69). Robert Spires interprets this "perturbedness" of Oxford academia as a reaction to the narrator's own presence. He argues that the narrator "functions as a perturbation on community codes" (138) and that "the presence of this perturbing element inspires the society to perpetuate its ostracizing rules and attitudes" (139). However, Marías' narrator in fact

blames the "perturbedness" of Oxford not on himself, but rather on the dysfunctional nature of the system in place there, as if the backstabbing gambits of self-promoting scholars were an essential part of Oxford society that predated his presence there and would continue long after he left. According to this vision, Oxford's prestigious reputation is merely a self-fulfilling consequence of its elitism, rather than the result of any real academic quality. The narrator's dinner companions assault him with talk of arcane research specialties; even the work of his fellow Hispanists is dismissed with authoritative skepticism. Professor Cromer-Blake's opinion that Lorca is "un primavera, un fraude" is ridiculed in the narrator's smug statement that Cromer-Blake loves to "utilizar jerga antigua en mi lengua" (81). If there is no sense of scholarly community, there seems to be no work to do either. In fact, Marías' protagonist as visiting professor becomes a collector of rare books that interest him little or not at all, just so he can fill up the many empty hours of his day. It is difficult to imagine *Carlota*'s Claudio, with his crushing pressure to publish, foregoing even one afternoon at the Bodleian Library, given the opportunity. Both academics see their expatriate academic communities as fraudulent or insincere, and in both cases this insincerity is perceived as a function of an English-speaking culture more skilled at manipulating appearances than any Spaniard could.

This Anglo fakery, however, manifests itself quite differently in each novel and shades each novel's characterization of Anglo culture. While Marías' narrator puts the burden of his academic ennui onto the apparently uninspiring surroundings of dysfunctional Oxford, Claudio's fear is that Spanishness itself is incompatible with academic success. In his paranoid view, Spaniards may succeed only by "playing the

game" and assuming "American" traits. Claudio's belief that Spain is anti-academic is expanded to include Spanish-speaking culture in general by Claudio's trip to a conference in Argentina. The distancing from American academia (and figurative return to a "Hispanic" world) that takes place in Buenos Aires begins with a long night of drinking with an Argentine friend who has defected from American academic life. In fact, caught up in the bustle of Buenos Aires street life, Claudio dismisses the conference almost entirely, even before his paper is ridiculed. This abandonment is aided by a heavy midday meal, accompanied by carafes of wine—an essentially Hispanic custom, goes the implication, for its reckless disregard for the workday it disrupts. In Buenos Aires Claudio seems to awaken to some of his supposedly Spanish qualities, and to his point of view these are largely incompatible with a literature conference, however Hispanic the theme.[17]

Not surprisingly, Claudio blames his being Spanish for the condescension of his Latin American department head. "Otro descubrimiento del español en América," laments Claudio, "es que ha de cargar resignadamente sobre sus hombros con todo el peso intacto de la Leyenda Negra" (*Carlota* 24). Yet Claudio's own attempts to assimilate the North American "way"—attempts only underlined by his exaggerated perception of differences between Spain and the States —suggest that this *Leyenda*

[17] The feeling of homecoming that surprises Claudio in Buenos Aires evokes the passion Luis Cernuda had for Mexico in his long years of exile from Spain. Cernuda never felt truly at home in his various positions in England and Scotland. Sebastiaan Faber describes Cernuda's essentialist oppositions of Spain and England as "un choque entre dos posturas vitales, entre la supuesta mentalidad utilitaria anglosajona y la estética y espiritual española que considera la suya." Even worse is that once he transfers to the United States, "Cernuda comprueba con decepción que su entorno sigue siendo nórdico" (Faber 738). Mexico becomes an escape valve that allows Cernuda annual breaks from his adopted Anglo homelands and allows him to reconnect with Spanish roots that had never seemed important until he found himself in permanent exile. Faber describes Cernuda's affinity for Mexico as part of a "tradición de (pan)nacionalismo cultural, puesto que para él, la cultura hispánica representa el aprecio de lo espiritual, del ocio y de lo bello, mientras que el Norte es el reuno de lo utilitario, del trabajo y de la fealdad" (740). The description's relevance to *Carlota Fainberg* could hardly be greater.

Negra lies more in the expatriate academic himself than in some hypothetical American unconscious. Indeed, the only Americans to be found in *Carlota* outside a university context are one-dimensional: fat rednecks drinking beer (25), fat women who stubbornly refuse to wear high heels, and Claudio's American ex-wife who fortunately (he says) bore him no children, thus allowing for the complete severance of ties between the two. Claudio's real point of conflict is American academia and American university politics. While he perceives assimilation into North American culture as instrumental in his success, it is a perception driven as much by his own sense of inferiority as by any external cues that being Spanish is his "problem". It is Claudio who sees Spain as backward and embarrassing. Throughout his visit with Abengoa he attempts to distance himself from his "outdated" fellow countryman, snidely diagnosing Abengoa's hairstyle, clothing, and even body type as shamefully and undoubtedly Spanish. When Abengoa himself notes that any passerby would immediately identify both men as Spanish, Claudio even admits that "[me] disgustó que una persona tan vulgar se concediera tales prerrogativas sobre lo que él llamaba mi pinta" (17).

The insecurity with which Claudio denies looking Spanish contrasts with the international allure à la James Bond that Marías' narrator attributes to himself. Although he would seem to be the only Spanish academic in his college, indeed in all of Oxford, almost all references to his Spanish cultural traits center around his intuitive nature and, by extension, his authority to criticize British culture from the position of simultaneously being a literal insider (who has physical access to the colleges and wears the gown) and a figurative outsider (whose no-nonsense Spanish

pride finds the social constructions of British academia pathetic). He imagines that Muriel, his teenage one-night-stand, must see his Spanishness as proof of his sensuality: "[p]iensa en mi olor acaso, y piensa que es olor de extranjero, un continental, un meridional, un apasionado, sangre caliente según la fama" (148). In the case of both protagonists, despite their different valorizations of Spain, there is a fervent desire to distinguish themselves as more cosmopolitan or adaptable than other Spaniards abroad. In *Todas las almas* the narrator notes with chagrin the behavior of the Spanish tourists that descend upon the Oxford city center on Saturdays "batiendo palmas, como es su costumbre en el extranjero" (117). In both novels, other expatriate Spaniards are seen by the protagonist as hopelessly provincial and incapable of blending in, seeming somehow even more "Spanish" *outside* of Spain than they do *in* Spain. Again, the Black Legend is more alive in each narrator's own perception than in anyone else's. Claudio attributes more negative characteristics to being Spanish than any of his perceived adversaries would likely concede. Marías' protagonist instead chooses to ignore the existence of any but the most flattering views foreigners may have of his native country, an alternative as fantastical as Claudio's exaggerated embarrassment.

If we interpret Claudio's objective in "acting American" as the promotion to full professor, his assimilation project is a failure. His position is won instead by his cartoonish academic nemesis, Ann Gadea Simpson Mariátegui, whose qualifications, true to the world of the novel, stem primarily from her status as "la Terminator del New Lesbian Criticism" (137). Muñoz Molina himself has repeatedly criticized the American university system for what he calls "el enorme contraste entre los grandes

medios de que se dispone y el exceso de regulación, las terribles coacciones políticas, culturales o de la moda" (Méndez). In the duplicitous, cutthroat world of university politics conceived by Claudio, it is hard to imagine that his cloistering himself in his house, hesitating to speak to figures he admires (Umberto Eco), or refusing to ask for favors has helped him in his quest for success. These qualities of maniacal reserve and self-control are coded by Claudio as ultra-American, but ultimately they seem to be more characteristic of Claudio himself and as such he bears the brunt of the joke. Abengoa is a convenient object of ridicule and allows Claudio to differentiate between his own Americanized self and the provincially portrayed Spanish businessman. However, just as Abengoa's story eventually seduces Claudio into its narrative (as opposed to its critical interest as a literary text), Buenos Aires seduces him into the excitement of "real" experience he has denied himself in his academic life. That the return to a Hispanic culture is the catalyst for this change is clearly a projection of the protagonist. To Claudio, a rejection of analysis in favor of intuition, of intellect in favor of pleasure, seems in fact a return to the Black Legend, a myth Claudio chooses to buy into rather than deconstruct.

While Marías' narrator seems blissfully oblivious to the anxieties that plague Claudio, he also spends a great deal of energy arguing for essentialist differences between Spanish and Anglo communities. As he describes Oxford's cold, superficial atmosphere to his implicitly Spanish reader, Spain is coded as everything Oxford is not: sincere, warm, human. The narrator reveals the extent of his ethnic essentialism in a comically overlong account of the looks exchanged around a dinner table:

> En Inglaterra, como es sabido, apenas se mira, o se mira tan velada e inintencionadamente que siempre cabe la duda de que alguien esté en verdad

> mirando lo que parece mirar, tan opacos saben tornarse los ojos en su actividad natural. Por eso una mirada continental (por ejemplo la mía) puede provocar turburación en la persona mirada, aun cuando dentro de las miradas posibles de un español o de un continental la mirada en cuestión deba ser calificada de neutra, tibia o incluso respetuousa (53).

At one point the narrator admires his mistress as she walks away down a university corridor "en un gesto demasiado meridional" by his judgment (114). Although the "mirada velada" of the British is attributed to a Dutch visiting professor as well, highlighting the North-South divide implicit in the term "meridional," the Englishwoman Clare Bayes has acquired the openly inquisitive look presumably alien to her country: "[L]a propia mirada de Clare Bayes no era totalmente inglesa, a causa (como supe luego) de los años de su niñez pasados en Delhi y el Cairo, donde no se mira como en las islas ni tampoco como en nuestro continente" (54). The narrator's hierarchy of different *miradas* is rather prejudiced, particularly as regards the non-Western world. At the All Souls high table he attributes to the Indian doctor Dayanand a bizarre slew of Orientalized passions. The doctor shoots "miradas mortíferas" at the drunken college warden and opens and closes his fists on the table, alarming the narrator. "'Este médico indio se lo hará pagar caro aunque tenga que esperar diez años,' pensé; 'este médico indio es de cuidado'" (61). In a convoluted negotiation of Spanish identity, the narrator emphasizes his difference from the ceremonious, feminized world of British academia, while immediately distancing himself in turn from the hotheaded fury so long projected onto the Spaniards. Much as Claudio's eagerness to please limits his critique of American academia in *Carlota Fainberg*, his counterpart in *Todas las almas* mimics the same smug superiority in the British that he purports to parody. The insecurity that may be hiding under this

exaggeratedly snide assessment of Britain is suggested when the narrator admits his discomfort at feeling more of an affinity with the beggars and vagrants of Oxford than with the faculty itself: “En cuanto a mi educación y grado de conocimiento, eso no era un obstáculo para percibir la semejanza, ya que hay pordioseros muy cultos en Inglaterra” (118). His characterization of England as a place where even the homeless are haughty and refined clearly says more about the narrator’s fantasies (or nightmares) about England than the reality of British culture.

The ultimately ambiguous nature of cultural identity is emphasized in both *Todas* and *Carlota* by the unreliability of narration itself. Both novels are intertextually self-referential: Marcelo’s tale of seduction by Carlota Fainberg in *Carlota Fainberg*, and the self-referential search for rare books about a famous collector of rare books, who could have been the narrator’s mistress’s stepfather in *Todas las almas*. The verisimilitude of Claudio’s tale is called into question (or at least rendered irrelevant) when he too sees the ghost of Carlota Fainberg that so haunts Abengoa. In *Todas* the narrator admits openly the possibility that some of his tale is fabricated by the unreliability of memory or by mere fantasy: “quizá me equivoco o miento y *no* lo estaba viendo y *no* debo decirlo” (64). Both novels deal obsessively with translation, in particular as it affects their expatriate narrators relating in Spanish events that occurred in English. Claudio has suffered a sort of linguistic colonization in which a large proportion of the words with which he analyzes life and literature are English and have no exact or useful equivalent in Spanish. Yet while Claudio makes every effort to reproduce meanings faithfully, refusing to translate a great many out of fear they would lose their true gloss, Marías’

narrator translates his small amount of italicized English words only as he sees fit for his audience. Thus the "warden" of All Souls College is not a distinguished position of leadership but simply the title given to a lecherous old man who presides drunkenly over college events. The narrator even boasts of inventing creative definitions when overeager Spanish-language students ask him about obscure and useless words: "Así, ante preguntas que se me antojaban tan malintencionadas y absurdas como cuál era el origen de la palabra *papirotazo*, no tenía inconveniente en ofrecer respuestas todavía más absurdas y peor intencionadas" (17).

On a scholarly level the cynicism of Marías' narrator reveals his belief that Oxford is not about learning and in fact may be antithetical to it. At the same time it demonstrates the novel's continual emphasis on multiple perspectives, multifaceted truths, and general narrative unreliability. The narrator's mistress even refuses to make excuses to her husband regarding her whereabouts, claiming that for all he knows, she could be lying anyway (40). All of the academic intrigue in *El Inquilino* turns out to be a surrealist dream or hallucination, demonstrating that Mario's suffering in his Midwest university may be as dependent on his own paranoia as on his environment. Just as these multiple perspectives problematize the fixation of a definitive truth, so do they problematize an absolutist definition of national identity (Spanish, American, and British) for these narrators. Rather than rendering their perceptions of national identity totally subjective and therefore useless, this multiplicity of viewpoints demonstrates the complexity of the negotiations involved in cultural self-identification. Both in *Carlota Fainberg* and in *Todas las almas* national identity for the narrators is based half on fantasy and half on stereotype, as

much in relation to their Anglophone host countries as for their typified Spanish homeland. In *El Inquilino*, the pressures of the North American university and the claustrophobic town life surrounding it so destabilize Mario's sense of self as to render national identity an abstraction—his sense of not belonging is instinctive, not rational.

The revelation that the antagonism felt by Mario in *El Inquilino* is the product of his own imagination is its definitive thematic point of departure from *Todas* and *Carlota*. Both of the other novels preserve their portrayals of Anglo academia as "perturbed" through to the end, and the protagonists respond with a real and symbolic return to Madrid, which is presented as a haven of sincerity and authenticity. For Claudio this return may be temporary, but there is a clear emotional need to reaffirm the Spanish identity he "rediscovered" in Buenos Aires. The *Todas* narrator has definitely returned home for good and recalls his "perturbed" time in Oxford from the relieved perspective of being back on Spanish soil. His claim that his story may be altered by the inaccuracy of memory is countered by the author's own admission in an article (qtd. in Kercher 102) that the only difference between himself and the narrator was that unlike the narrator, he had never married and had no children. This rather dubious assertion of fact casts an interesting light on the machismo in the novel, confirming that perhaps the author/narrator *is* showboating a bit; after all, his real-life alter ego gets to live up to the portrayal. Kercher informs us that a film version of *Todas las almas*, which came to be called *El último viaje de Robert Rylands* (Gracia Querejeta, 1996), was eventually dismissed by Marías as having abandoned the novel in both plot and spirit. According to Kercher, Querejeta's

changes resulted primarily from the novel's being too inaccessible to women to translate to the screen without some large-scale changes: "what Gracia Querejeta does in her adaptation of *Todas las almas* is to rescue an overwhelmingly male chauvinist text for a feminine voice, to make a space for a woman's point of view as she deflects the novel's eroticism onto Rylands's past" (104). Kercher's argument is quite convincing as she defends the film adaptation as a response to the audience demands of European film festivals. She also notes, significantly, the increasing number of Spanish films (like this one) to be made in English and the increasing importance of English in the Spanish job market. Although she emphasizes the European context off-screen and asserts that "a new generation of Spaniards crossing over to Britain…is also a gendered crossing" (111), she does not address the important role of Marías' machismo within the novel's actual *text* (as opposed to in its reception) as a tactic for a Spaniard dealing with foreign cultures while maintaining a sovereign superiority. It would be interesting to see how both *Carlota Fainberg* and *Todas las almas* played out if their protagonists were academic *españolas* in a foreign land—for there are Spanish women in international academia, despite both novels' appearances to the contrary.

Despite their protagonists' different reactions to the foreign academic experience, both novels ultimately convey considerable anxiety about the idea of even partial fusion with a foreign culture. Claudio's attempts to assimilate the American mentality are shattered when he fails to achieve tenure, fueling a desire to reconnect with his Spanish roots and even to contact the loathed "typical Spaniard" Marcelo Abengoa. The passing urge of Marías' narrator's to marry his English mistress (thus

forming lasting ties with British culture) is ridiculed by the mistress herself. Realizing the narrator is following her as she tours a museum with her family, she points out a sculpture which represents Marco Polo with a mixture of Asian and European features. Speaking to her son, but loudly enough for her Spanish lover's benefit, Clare remarks that during his exploration of China, Marco Polo "se quedó allí tanto tiempo que se le puso cara de chino, ¿ves?....Mira cómo tiene los ojos azules. Ningún verdadero chino tiene los ojos azules" (189-90). *Carlota Fainberg* and *Todas las almas* reveal a deep ambivalence regarding cultural hybridity and cultural evolution, and both novels demonstrate some of the pitfalls of reducing an individual to his or her cultural traits, or defining an entire culture by a few customs. An inquiry into the relationship between scholarly work and national identities need not be so essentializing or antagonistic; a wider consideration of critical subjectivity within Hispanism could reveal more bridges and fewer gaps. Epps insists, "The critique of nationality *is* important and might take the form, from time to time, of a self-critique of the location, positioning, and memory—to use Achugar's words—of the critic, his or her signs of identity and his or her interrogation, or refusal, of such signs" (Epps 244). This call for the introduction of oneself into one's critical work is the closest we can find at present to a call for action that might foster inquiry into national identity while neither dismissing its influence nor reinforcing its most restrictive and essentialist tenets.

A final irony given our analysis of these protagonists' conflicts with Hispanism in Anglophone environments is the meteoric success both Muñoz Molina and Marías—and, to a lesser extent, Cercas—have had on the international literary

circuit. Characters like Claudio and his counterpart in *Todas las almas* are discussed in articles of the same sort these protagonists themselves write and critique. Scholarly research abounds on both Marías and Muñoz Molina, and novels by both authors regularly make the bestseller lists. The skill of both both Marías and Muñoz Molina in combining star quality with critical acclaim, suggests Joseba Gabilondo, has made them immensely attractive as torchbearers of Spanish culture: "Muñoz Molina, perhaps alongside Javier Marías, has come to represent in the 1990s the ideal cultural and literary 'personaje' that every Spanish or Hispanic cultural institution seeks…He embodies the so-long sought after international status of national high culture" (Gabilondo 250). In 2004, Muñoz Molina was appointed Executive Director of the Instituto Cervantes in New York, an ambassadorial position *par excellence* of the Spanish literary presence in the Anglophone world. His publication that same year of *Ventanas de Manhattan*, a personal and sometimes nostalgic account of his experiences in North America over a number of years, further illustrates the ways in which global intellectual exchange can lead to alliances rather than alienation. Muñoz Molina has argued that "las personas no somos macetas, no tenemos raíces, tenemos piernas y éstas nos sirven para viajar, para movernos, para irnos o volver" (Efe "Muñoz Molina afirma"). Marías' and Muñoz Molina's protagonists struggle to reconcile their Spanish roots with adopted Anglophone environments in which they feel like outsiders. Their satirical portrayals reveal how the changing dynamics of global Hispanism affect not only scholarly research but also expatriate scholars themselves. In an academic climate so focused on questions of identity, the extension of the purely academic into the realm of the personal poses important points for

further investigation. While the fictional treatments discussed here focus on the incompatibility of the Peninsular and Anglophone worlds, a look at Hispanism in practice suggests a far greater realm of possibilities.

Chapter Three

"El turismo es un gran invento": Modernity, Contact Zones and New Interpretations of Spanish "Difference"

Thus far I have been focusing on how Spanish conceptualizations and representations of Spanish national identity interact with foreign perceptions of Spanish culture: rejecting them, internalizing them, sometimes promoting them, but ever aware of them. More specifically, I have pointed out how the very assertion that Spain is European (or modern, or merely "not different") reveals the existence (historical or otherwise) of the opposite perception; the disavowal of difference with respect to Europe in effect reaffirms the extensive (if discredited) history of essentialist generalizations about Spain's position as Other with respect to Europe and to England and France in particular. This chapter discusses the relationship between Spanish national identity and the explosion of mass tourism, especially British, from the period in the 1960s-1970s leading up to the Transition and to the present day. While the central integration of customs and cultural traits seen as uniquely Spanish into tourism marketing—the consumption of "culture by the pound" as Davydd J. Greenwood put it in 1977—is important and widespread, I also explore the ramifications of the converse phenomenon: the removal of local culture from the tourist equation altogether, a sort of neocolonial pillage of resources in which a sunny climate is the most important of the raw materials, and local inhabitants are considered incidental (if not detrimental) to the experience. The prevalence of British mini-colonies on the Costa del Sol, in which Spanish infrastructure can be almost totally avoided, holds particular interest given the past (and present) colonial rivalries

between Britain and Spain and the echoes of colonialism and imperialism inherent in the British self-isolation. Above all, I explore the role of tourism in the Spanish imaginary. The image of the beach resort packed with foreign tourists is regarded as a sort of gateway to modernity in both the negative sense (environmental destruction, moral corruption, "selling out" to tourist expectations) and the positive one (economic development, integration into Europe, the introduction of "progressive" ideas, sexual liberation). Both the seductive and the troubling aspects of this image are addressed in a series of Spanish films from the late sixties and early seventies, with themes that often seem paradoxically both socially conservative and critical of Spanish culture—simultaneously insular and outward-looking.

3.1 "False Fronts" and "False Backs": Tourism Theory and Authenticity

I referred in Chapter One to some of the ways in which representations of Spanish identity have been influenced over time by foreign travelers to Spain, particularly North Americans, British, and the French during the nineteenth century. Even for admirers (or critics) who never actually traveled to Spain, the ubiquitous myths characterizing Spain as exotic, mysterious, unique, Oriental—"different" in ways whose appeal would seem endless, and endlessly adaptable—signified that Spain was a special destination with guaranteed delights for whomever was willing to travel there and experience them. Spaniards' awareness of this potential, regardless of its dubious factual basis, was reflected even in the nineteenth century. Lou Charnon-Deutsch describes how Spaniards had already begun to recognize the benefits of catering to the expectations of foreign visitors, and how the sought-after tourist sites rapidly became, ironically, too tourist-friendly:

> By the 1880s, the Sacromonte caves of Granada were widely regarded as a tourist trap, and foreign visitors there complained of being accosted with the familiar 'Good morning, gentlemen' or 'Bonjour, Messieurs' by hawkers of 'authentic' Gypsy dance. Those who visited the caves or ventured into the Albaicín district of Granada were usually greeted by a figure who claimed to be the king of the Gypsies (Charnon-Deutsch *The Spanish Gypsy* 126).

The attempt to cater to foreign expectations of "local color" such as Gypsies is, of course, complicated by the fact that the Gypsies were (and are) a real people; even if it is Gypsies themselves providing tours of Gypsy districts, the recognition that one's own culture is a potential commodity, elements of which have an exchange value, clearly has an impact on this "real" culture. Edward Bruner emphasizes this in his comments on the Mayers Ranch in Kenya in the 1970s and 1980s, at which members of the Maasai ethnic group regularly performed traditional Maasai dances on a former

colonial property. Not only did the ex-colonial family still occupy the main house, serving tea on the lawn to the tourists as part of the neocolonial spectacle, but the Maasai lived on the ranch as well, in mud huts apart from the main house (Bruner 75-76). There was a clear attempt on the Mayers's part to cater to tourists' expectations; the Maasai rituals and dances in the performance "were made to seem natural, as if the Maasai were dancing for themselves and the tourists had just appeared there by chance" (77). The attempt to make performances for tourists seem "authentic" is widespread across virtually all tourism contexts, as discussed further below. What distinguishes the situation at Mayers Ranch, however, is the ironic fact that the former colonial settlers and the Maasai themselves *did* in fact live in the respective house and huts in which they performed "authentic" Kenya for the tourists. Regardless of the situation's verisimilitude in contemporary Kenya, the actual real-life replication of the same living arrangements depicted for the tourists suggests the important ways in which the presence of tourists can not only exploit but also *influence* the locals' relationship to their own culture and customs. Or, to echo Bruner's comments on the barong dance in Bali (see Chapter One), the continual performance for tourists may eventually blur distinctions between "authentic" and "inauthentic," as the performance itself (regardless of its origins) becomes an integral part of the culture performing (Bruner 201).

The intersection of "real" culture and culture for consumption emerges as a point of contradiction or ambivalence during the mass tourism boom of the 1960s in Spain. The impact of the topical images in tourism marketing on actual local culture is important given that tourism to Spain is motivated by (and promoted with) the

perception that there is something unique that differentiates Spain from the tourists' home country. As discussed in Chapter One, the allure that Spanish culture (real or imagined) has held for foreign visitors has often been bound up in the notion that Spain still maintains a sort of cultural authenticity that elsewhere has been eradicated by modernity. Thus by marketing a positively coded Spanish difference in the tourism sector, Spain is at some level engaging with stereotypes that in other contexts are coded negatively as *atraso*: the fine line between Romantic Spain and the Black Legend. In this context, cynicism can be a form of resistance, as we shall see in the films discussed here. By exaggerating stereotypes of both the *macho ibérico* and the *caballero español* to the point of parody, the directors question the relevance of both of these stock characters for 1970s Spain. These films mock Spanish masculinity and foreground male insecurity, but by substituting repression and neurosis for hot-blooded *machismo* they suggest a site of resistance to stereotyping even as stereotypes are being reinforced through tourism marketing.

Although tourism is a subject of drastically increasing interest among scholars in Spanish departments in the United States and Britain, approaches to its study vary widely, and there is no consolidated body of theory on the subject, neither within what might be labeled Spanish cultural studies nor in the broader disciplinary networks of anthropology, economics, history, and public policy, or in broader theoretical approaches such as postcolonialism. The diversity of the fields listed here that have delved into tourism in some way demonstrates the newness of the debate. Culture-as-performance has been the object of criticism by many anthropologists who initially viewed tourists as a threat to native populations, whose "authentic" customs

ostensibly could not survive the spectacle of being observed and scrutinized as exotic practices—at least not when the motivation behind this observation was the observer's own leisure and not lofty academic research. Indeed, early anthropological analyses on the topic painted a critical picture of tourism as an assault on fragile cultures that deserved to remain "untouched." Theron Nuñez hints at the competitiveness that tourists may inspire in an anthropologist who is proud of his "authentic" relationship with his target population and may even feel possessive of them: "[t]he anthropologist is likely to be most empathetic toward the host population and even hostile to the very notion of tourism, much less wishing to be identified as a tourist" (Nuñez 270). Of course, tourists and anthropologists share a great deal, including, in many cases, the very desire for authenticity which anthropologists initially believed separated them from the tourist. Bruner unselfconsciously describes his experiences as a scholarly tour guide for an upscale American tour group in Indonesia with repeated references to his own fundamental differences from the tourists. He is, he implies, an experienced anthropologist whose fieldwork in the local terrain and dominance of the language render him practically a local informant, whereas the tourists enjoy some sites more than others for reasons that seem to him arbitrary or ill-informed. His self-identification as "authentic" outsider as opposed to the tourists he accompanies is particularly clear in a chance encounter in a village in Bali between the group and a well-known anthropologist, "Hildred Geertz, the personification of Balinese ethnography, resplendent in full ceremonial Balinese dress" (Bruner 196). Bruner emphasizes his close relationship to Geertz, relating that "Hilly" requested not to be introduced to the tourists

accompanying Bruner, but invited him to her home when his tour-guide stint was over. The reader can sense Bruner's frustration at being associated with the tourists, the "wrong" kind of visitor, while feeling entitled to a place among the insider ethnographers, the "right" kind of visitor. Though later Bruner reflects on the similarities of ethnography and tourism, referring to Geertz as "a tour guide guiding a tour guide" when she leads his group to look at some paintings (198), he clearly draws sharp distinctions between the two categories on a personal level. In fact, his insistence on providing "authentic" experiences for his tourist group frequently results in frustration when his tourists fail to appreciate or desire the specific experiences he believes are the most authentic, the most important, the most non-tourist. At one point this results in a curious revelation of self-awareness on the part of the tourists themselves. After days of Bruner's constant urgings that the tourists consider their position as tourists, that they consider the inevitable inauthenticity of their every experience, that they distrust their own perceptions (but not Bruner's) of what they observed in Indonesia, the tourists disagree with Bruner on which of two *barong* dance performances they had seen was better:

> These upscale tourists did not object to the fact that a performance was constructed for tourists, but they demanded that it be a good performance—and they had their aesthetic standards. They were not romantics. They were concerned with the artfulness of staged theatricality, not with issues of authenticity. They said that authenticity might be an issue in the literature on tourism, but that it was not an important issue for them […]The tourists appreciated my historical perspective on the dance and my data on the processes of its production, but my information did not detract from their enjoyment of memories of the evening on Java. I understood their position, and I believe they accurately characterized the views of many other tourists (Bruner 208).

Bruners' interpretation is that the tourists he accompanied had no understanding of the complexities of appreciating an "authentic" experience in Indonesia, and in the absence of the objective criteria, the "data" which he possessed and attempted to share with them, they simply fell back on the aesthetic as a more universal standard on which they, as "upscale" tourists, were ostensibly more prepared to make judgments. Leaving aside the relative merits of aesthetic or other methods of judging performances for tourists (as both of the *barong* performances were), these tourists' refusal to engage in the elite competition of accurately assessing greater or lesser authenticity perhaps suggests not a *lack* of self-awareness, as Bruner assumes, but rather a *greater* self-awareness on their part. Despite their lacking the theoretical framework (or simply the will) to express it, I believe Bruner's tourists may have been all too cognizant of their own position in the insider-outsider hierarchy and as such refused to engage in a discussion of it which they were bound to lose. Perhaps on a practical level, these tourists sensed what Bruner did not. Though he laments that the tourists "accepted what was presented to them and had no inclination to look beyond the staged authenticity of the Denjalan performance for the 'real' *barong*" (208), there may be an instinctive postmodern disengagement on the part of the tourists with the ethnographer's clearly drawn distinctions between "insider" and "outsider," "authentic" and "touristy," "real" and "fake." Such a move would prove problematic for anthropological theories in which the tourist is a mere sheep in a flock, incapable of self-awareness, but at the same time it would accurately reflect the increasing complexities, or perhaps even irrelevance, of drawing sharp distinctions between the "truly" authentic (or *un*authentic) with relation to foreign tourists.

Nuñez also notes that the host population itself is likely to blur the lines between the foreign researcher and the foreign tourist, given their shared outsider status. While Nuñez exhorts anthropologists against a blanket condemnation, he maintains that "we would not be acting ethically, however, if we did not expose the cultural fakes and the human zoos for what they are" (273-4). When there is such ambiguity around what constitutes a "cultural fake" and at what point a real culture sees itself converted into a "human zoo," designating their condemnation as an ethical imperative seems a tall order indeed. Nestor García Canclini warns, apparently only half joking, "Como los banderines que indican cuán peligroso es el mar, deberían de existir señales que alertan a los turistas respecto de los antropólogos. El desprecio antropológico por los veraneantes puede ser rabioso" (García Canclini "El turista").

Davydd Greenwood in his research conducted in the 1970s is representative of the "protective" strain in anthropological assessments of tourism when he argues that a municipal proposal to hold a tiny Basque town's traditional festival twice in the same day, in order to allow more tourists to see it, spelled the irreversible demise of the festival and the permanent severing of the festival from its historical significance to the town. Protests Greenwood, "I do not doubt that they ultimately will have to pay them [the locals in period dress], just as the gypsies are paid to dance and sing and the symphony orchestra is paid to make music" (Greenwood 178). Tellingly, however, Greenwood´s article is amended in the 1989 reprint by an Epilogue of four and a half pages—fully half the length of the original article—conceding that the original article was "an expression of both anger and concern" (181), and suggesting new directions

for tourism theory while conceding that strict condemnation of tourism would be short-sighted:

> To speak unproblematically of "traditional" culture is not permissible. All cultures continually change. What is traditional in a culture is largely a matter of internal polemic as groups within a society struggle for hegemony, and a matter of external judgment when the anthropologist constitutes a particular image of a culture as its "true" form (Greenwood 183).

Again the goal of the anthropologist—to seek out a culture's "true" essence—seems starkly similar to the goal of the tourist who wants to go where the "locals" go, to see the most "authentic" flamenco show, etc. Nuñez cites Erving Goffman's characterization of the tourist-host relationship as "dramaturgical," contingent upon preparation and orchestration for both the tourist and the host (271). In the film comedies studied in this chapter, we see repeated examples of Spaniards "performing" their culture for foreign tourists in a manner that inevitably seems ridiculous and false, not least, one presumes, to the intended Spanish audience. The characters' parodical assertions regarding what is "typical Spanish" suggest that the most iconic or stereotypical images associated with Spain are the least accurate. However, on occasions in which it is the local "selling" a cliché to a foreigner who may be entirely ignorant of the stereotype and thus had no expectations for it, the perpetuation of inaccurate stereotypes seems like something of a two-way street. In either case, the relationship of a host culture to its most iconic symbols is closely intertwined with debates about "real" cultural identity and a culture's true "essence."

Dean MacCannell with his 1976 book *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* shifted the emphasis from seemingly invaded host populations to the motivations for international tourism itself. MacCannell has been extremely

influential in introducing discussions of semiotics and modernity into tourism theory, and his demonstration that the position of the tourist involves more complexity than the simple pillaging of culture from helpless "natives" continues to be instrumental to scholarly work on tourism. In tourism theory today, however, there seems to be an overemphasis on the tourist's search for "authenticity," as if the tourism equation could be neatly translated into the first-world tourist's search for the "real" culture believed to be somehow fossilized in the third world. While the "authenticity" draw has been historically important, particularly in the post-industrial era, there is an enormous tourism sector that relegates local culture to the periphery, if not outright shunning it. The sun-sex-and-sand tourist is pursuing a carnivalesque inversion of the everyday in a more beautiful setting, not a true escape into another culture. Britain is more fun, seems the tacit agreement, if it takes place in Ibiza or Ayia Napa. While there is a tendency to view the beach package tour as an antiquated product of the 1960s and 1970s, the coastline continues to dominate the tourism industry in Spain: "the 'sun-and-beach' product accounts for a market share of 74% of the trips to Spain made by Europeans, whereas products such as animal, nature, business, rural, health or sports tourism, do not reach, in combination, 25% (Esteban 1996: 257)" (Monfort Mir and Ivars Baidal 24). The high concentration of foreign tourists in coastal areas seems to confirm the importance of the beach for Spanish tourism. According to the Institute for Tourism Studies (IET), part of the Spanish Ministry of Industry, Tourism and Commerce, the United Kingdom was the largest source of foreign tourism to Spain in 2006, sending 16.2 million visitors or 27.7% of the total; the Canary and Balearic Islands were the most popular destinations, with 40% of tourists from the

United Kingdom going to one of the two archipelagos. The next largest source of foreign tourism, Germany, also sent more tourists to the Canary and Balearic Islands than anywhere else (IET 4).

For other examples of tourism in Spain that do not depend on the "exotic," we might also consider nontraditional forms of tourism, which have more to do with the tourist's country of origin than the destination country, such as widespread international travel facilitating attendance at soccer matches that the traveler watches on a weekly basis at the stadium or in his local pub. García Canclini calls this phenomenon "viajar como rutina," citing British sociologist Chris Rojek, who states: "El ocio no es la antítesis de la vida cotidiana…sino su continuación dramatizada o espectacular. Lejos de ser una reacción contra las rutinas de la vida, el ocio implica a menudo la intensificación y extensión de esas rutinas" (Rojek qtd. in García Canclini "El turista"). Though the numbers of travelers to sporting events are counted in tourism figures, as are many types of travel that would by any definition be considered business-related, this experience clearly resembles more closely a celebration of the home country (and the routines of home) than an exploration of the destination. One ethnographic case study of a group of Scottish "ravers" on a weeklong package holiday to a Spanish beach town concluded that the primary, perhaps even the only goal of such nightclub-oriented vacationers was to enhance their normal activities, not to experience new things. "Simply put," the study authors conclude,

> the ecstasy-using holidaymaker has no wish to suspend "ordinary" behaviour, but simply to extend a normal weekend's fun to a full week's fun. Not just a Saturday night and a Sunday morning, but a Sunday morning right through to the next Saturday night. Not only do they seek to follow the "ordinary" but

> also they consciously pursue these amusements with groups of people they already know and who share the common appreciation of simple pleasures. As opposed to the "romantic" outward-looking solitary gaze of the post-tourist (Urry, 1990: 46), these ravers collectively look inward. They were at a "resort," not a "destination" (Ferguson, 1992: 22). When they took photographs (which wasn't often), it was to take pictures of each other—often doing silly things (Furzana Khan et al 223).

Though this group of ravers' emphasis on intoxicants and nightlife could not be characterized as representative of all beach-resort tourists, it is undoubtedly an important factor for an important proportion of them. More remarkable in this instance, however, is the direct assessment by the study's authors of their subjects' self-absorption and indifference to their surroundings. Extensive interviews with the participants yield no mention of the local surroundings except for discussions of the relative ease of obtaining drugs and the cost of alcohol in relation to bottled water. The Spanish films discussed later in this chapter derive much of their humor from the Spaniards' assumptions that the tourists are interested in "authentic" Spanish culture, when in fact the tourists in the films seem largely indifferent, buying *castañuelas* or *banderillas* almost as an afterthought to sunbathing. Even these token souvenirs would likely seem irrelevant to the Scottish ravers' moveable feast.

García Canclini and many others have investigated MacCannell´s depiction of the tourist as the embodiment of the modern subject, what Justin Crumbaugh has called a "hermeneutical blueprint for the study of culture in the modern world" (Crumbaugh 72). MacCannell's seminal study has been influential in encouraging inquiry into the mindset and motivation of the tourist, rather than a simple condemnation of the tourist's pillage of native cultures, as many anthropologists argued. MacCannell's analysis of tourist spaces and the manufactured experiences

there is thorough and nuanced. However, he expresses more alarm at the falseness of touristic experiences than more cynical critics might today, as well as an optimistic faith in the authenticity of "intellectual" interests:

> The touristic experience that comes out of the tourist setting is based on inauthenticity and as such it is superficial when compared with careful study. It is morally inferior to mere experience. A mere experience may be mystified, but a touristic experience is always mystified. The lie contained in the touristic experience, moreover, presents itself as a truthful revelation, as the vehicle that carries the onlooker behind false fronts into reality. The idea here is that a false back is more insidious and dangerous than a false front, or an inauthentic demystification of social life is not merely a lie but a superlie, the kind that drips with insincerity (MacCannell 102-3).

MacCannell's persistent distinction between the "intellectual attitude" and the tourist approach is accompanied by an insistence that within tourist infrastructure, every interaction is manufactured and nothing is spontaneous. Extreme examples of self-referential tourist locations "thereby upset certain of their sensitive visitors: restaurants are decorated like ranch kitchens; bellboys assume and use false, foreign first names; hotel rooms are made to appear like peasant cottages" (103). MacCannell also cites instances of tourists who demonstrate an ironic awareness of this "false front" and seem even to accept it as inevitable. The problem with MacCannell's insistence on the inauthenticity of the tourist experience, and with the many others that have followed in its footsteps, is that it assigns a set of fixed characteristics to "real" local cultures insomuch as it declares unequivocally that these characteristics are obliterated by the tourist setting. Is there no place for a "real" hotel receptionist, then, in Spain prior to the advent of mass tourism? The assumption that there can be no authenticity in the tourist-host interaction implies that members of the host culture become automatons in the presence of tourists, that their own personalities and

customs become invisible, if not obliterated. The denial of the host's subjectivity (or its relegation to faceless, pitiable victim status) is a blind spot pervading most if not all of the criticism on tourism today.

The example MacCannell cites of a tourist who expects and accepts the "false front" he describes is emblematic of the assumptions inherent in one-sided critiques of the tourist space:

> The account of a trip to Tangier from which the following is excerpted was given by a writer who clearly expected the false backwardness she found there and is relaxed about relating it: 'A young Arab pulled a chair up to our table. He had rugs to sell, but we insisted we were not interested. He unrolled his entire collection and spread them out on the ground. He wouldn't leave. I could see beneath his robes that he was wearing well-tailored navy blue slacks and a baby blue cashmere sweater' (MacCannell 104).

MacCannell's dismay at this tourist's "relaxed" attitude toward what he and the tourist herself see as a fake show for tourists is less remarkable than their unproblematized shared assumptions on what "a young Arab" should *really* look like, as well as the implication that an Arab who fails to fulfill their expectations is somehow a fraud. Somewhat remarkably, MacCannell actually aligns himself with the tourist to express outrage that she has been somehow swindled by locals who break their end of a tacit agreement that they should look and act like "real" locals. MacCannell seems to accept the same fixed views on "authentic" local culture as the tourists he criticizes, with the difference that he sees authentic local culture as a sort of Eurydice that is more elusive as one's desire to grasp it increases. MacCannell and the tourist he cites agree that "real" Arab rug sellers don't wear cashmere sweaters, in what is a much more short-sighted analysis than that of the tourists who acknowledge and accept the performative element of the spectacle in which they are participating.

While tourism theory today accepts vertiginous change among the local population in tourism destinations, and many critics view globalization as connecting culture (particularly youth culture) almost universally, the cynicism regarding "fake" shows for tourists that MacCannell expressed is more widespread than ever.

The desire to experience the most "authentic" aspects of a local culture that MacCannell attributes to the tourist is seen throughout the nineteenth century in Spain, when European Romantics traveled there seeking picturesque encounters with peasants, Gypsies, and swashbucklers. Significantly, the appeal of Spain for these travelers was closely linked not only to a desire to experience "authentic" Spain, but also to the conviction that Spain *itself* was somehow more authentic than Great Britain, France, Germany, or the United States. Often in tandem with contemptuous assessments of Spanish backwardness, these early tourists saw Spain as a repository for timeless values that in their home countries were being eliminated by industrialization. Charnon-Deutsch describes the role of nineteenth-century Spain in the European imaginary as that of a happy alternative to the hustle and bustle of everyday life in industrialized cities. Spain was "a dream world where time could be slowed, life savored to its fullest, and the disturbances and hypocrisy of the modern, 'civilized' world of large European capitals avoided" (Charnon-Deutsch *The Spanish Gypsy* 59). Even in the nineteenth century, Spain's appeal as a destination depended largely on its perceived cultural difference. This would begin to change, however, as Spanish tourism infrastructure exploded in the second half of the twentieth century and entire landscapes were transformed forever. In 1959 the Spanish government launched a Stabilization Plan promoting a greater degree of openness to the outside

world in order to foster economic modernization; tourism was a key component of the plan. An unorganized, uncoordinated pattern of development resulted in an increasingly homogenized tourist infrastructure, particularly in coastal areas (Monfort Mir and Ivars Baidal 18-19). Francisco Franco's active promotion of tourism as a growth industry in Spain and the planned expansion of tourism resulted in a much more commercial, high-volume tourism that was concentrated on the coasts in self-contained resorts. Tourists' interactions with locals were increasingly on tourist turf, as hotels catering to package holidays created spaces in which locals appeared primarily in service positions. The notorious election of the slogan "Spain is Different" seems ironic in retrospect, more a nod to past perceptions than a characterization of a new era in which "difference" would be increasingly managed and controlled.

As all-inclusive tourist resorts in Spain underwent exponential growth and began hosting package tourists on a massive scale in ever more concentrated areas, their appeal became increasingly more generic. A tourist from Britain or Sweden could vacation in Spain for no reason other than its beaches, particularly since the infrastructure in place to cater to his or her needs was increasingly oriented toward common denominators in, for example, food and drink—such as the proliferation of the "full English breakfast" in cafés and bars boasting "the perfect pint." British journalist Giles Tremlett refers to the British vacation community on the Costa del Sol as "Blackpool on the Med" (Tremlett 108). This phenomenon is pervasive and global, if widely criticized; many travelers to Europe may express shock and horror, but may still be likely to visit, the McDonald's in front of the Louvre/Prado/Piccadily

Circus/Red Square. We could interpret this phenomenon as an increasing ambivalence toward the unadulterated "back region" that MacCannell posits as the tourist's ultimate goal. A fantasy of a meaningful encounter with local culture may persist, but the expectation that this encounter be palatable and controlled prevails. For students at a summer study abroad program I coordinate in Cádiz, the trip objective is immersion in Spanish culture and integration into a Spanish host family. However, the frequently-cited favorite moments on the trip, for many students, are those spent in beach discos with other American students. The local atmosphere and music are appreciated, as is the occasional dance with an attractive local teenager, but a poorly-understood *piropo* from a Spanish male can inspire outrage and anger among the Americans, who expect such elements to be controlled on what for many of them is understood as a managed experience. On these occasions the students suddenly clamor for "supervision" by program staff—a supervision they usually attempt to evade. What they are seeking is not adult supervision, but rather greater control of their environment by those who function essentially as tour guides. Spanish culture is wonderful, seems to go the logic, but it needs to know when to "stop."

We can see the preference for local *color* over actual local *culture* throughout the history of tourism in Spain, but with the advent of the coastal package holiday, even the local color recedes into the background. How can this increasing tendency for tourists to bypass local culture in favor of local resources such as picturesque coastline (or even simply cheap hotel rooms) be reconciled with the locals' self-exploitative performance of culture hinted at by Greenwood? The two movements arise in totally different situations, but theorists tend to classify one or the other as

inevitable, even irreversible, so the coexistence of these two opposite tendencies serves as an important reminder of the contingent, situational nature of tourist-host interactions. In the case of a tourist's lack of interest in local culture, the connection (or lack thereof) between tourist and host cultures operates outside the dichotomy of authentic/artificial and thus deconstructs some continuing mythologies regarding utopian (or dystopian) tourist equations. This is clearly true of the previously mentioned case study of the Scottish ravers on vacation in Spain, in which contact with Spaniards was confined to front desk staff in hotels and drug dealers in nightclubs (Furzana Khan et al. 225).

The intersection of the two models of contact zone—indifference on the part of tourists toward local culture versus the fetishistic overvaluation of elements of local life considered "authentic"—is exaggerated to the point of parody in the films to be discussed here. The would-be performance of "typical" Spanish culture by enterprising Spanish protagonists is met with only lukewarm interest on the part of tourists, who are more concerned with drinking and sunbathing. The absurdity of blindly catering to tourist interests is highlighted by this disjunction of place. By "playing" Spaniard through old-fashioned channels associated with local color, the protagonists seem oriented more toward a nineteenth-century tourist. The *suecas* and *inglesas* of the Costa del Sol, it would seem, are interested in only one interaction with Spanish culture, that being the conquest of Spanish males. Their giggling references to *caballeros españoles* that equate stereotypical images with fetishistic sex appeal draws an ironic parallel with tourism in general: the search for token elements in a local culture in the name of authenticity necessarily results in the

assignment of added value to something that before simply existed. These films form a critique of both the tourists who search for caricatures instead of people, and the locals who are willing to benefit. All the films, however, reject a simplistic assessment of blame. Instead of villains, the films have buffoons. The exchanges that take place in the touristic contact zone may be exploitative, profitable, speculative, perverted, or dreamlike—but they are all ridiculous. That this critique is usually harsher toward Spaniards than foreigners is indicative of the intimate specificity of satire in the films. The Swedes and Americans may simply be crazy, the films seem to say, but the Spaniards should know better. Through my analysis of tourism films in this chapter, I hope to provide some much-needed specificity in which even the most critical portrayals of mass tourism in Spain maintain an awareness of the host subjects as distinct personalities rather than faceless victims. The reaction of Spaniards to tourism in these films is as varied as the characters themselves, and ranges from resentment and bewilderment to self-serving elements such as speculation and seduction. The films satirize their protagonists' interactions with tourists, but direct their sharpest irony at the Spaniards, not the tourists, thus foregrounding the Spanish protagonists' individuality; it is the tourists who are interchangeable, not the hotel staff. By analyzing the range of "host" characters in these films and their unique interactions with tourists and the tourist industry, I hope to deconstruct the patronizing fixity that would-be reivindicationists apply to host cultures in tourism theory.

The move in the mid-twentieth century toward a fully developed tourist industry willing to absorb foreign expectations, even create them, is hinted at in

Berlanga's 1953 classic *Bienvenido, Mr. Marshall*. The absurdity of decorating a Castilian village in Andalusian garb to emphasize the village's "Spanish" appeal, and of hiding signs of poverty in an attempt to obtain funds to alleviate that poverty, serve as integral parts of the film's humor, but also as cautionary tales against investing too heavily in the exchange of "culture" for foreign capital: the Americans breeze through the village by car without stopping, much less allocating funds. Pedro Lazaga's 1968 film *El turismo es un gran invento* reinterprets Berlanga's story of reinventing a pueblo in explicitly touristic terms: a provincial mountain town in Aragón decides together that the solution to the mass exodus of young people is the rejuvenation of the town through the promotion of tourism. Rather than promote their own resources, including, perhaps, tranquility and natural beauty (a strategy country towns are now pursuing with increasing success, with the term *turismo rural* being used to describe a rapidly developing sector of the tourist industry), the village decides to construct a beach and model their renovations on the Costa del Sol. The preparations require some carefully undertaken field research, of course, what one reviewer sums up as "La boina llega a la playa" ("Dabadaba Films & Stars"). The film's visual contrasting of the bright beach debauchery enjoyed by the town's emissaries in Marbella with the drab grey of the gossipy mountain village—where a letter from out of town brings activity to a screeching halt—is yet another commentary on the irrelevance of the tourist locale to the life of the average Spaniard, as attractive as the economic benefits might seem. By highlighting the absurdity of modeling tourism in a small Aragonese village on large coastal resorts, *El turismo es un gran invento* reflects the development in the 1960s of a tourist industry willing to engage with preexisting

foreign expectations of Spain, to promote them, and even to contribute to their creation.

The *turismo rural* initiatives mentioned above form a strategy of increasing popularity in the Spanish tourist industry today, largely because it is more sustainable, being less destructive of the landscape than the tourism of large resorts. It also caters to the changing expectations of the tourist. Málaga English-language newspaper *Costa del Sol News* cites a Spanish government report indicating that coastal tourism built around the beach holiday is on the decline as tourists become increasingly sophisticated and demand more substance than a passive beach holiday, not to mention "the availability of this type of holiday in cheaper locations." Summarizes the article, "The report states that new tourists seeking a different type of experience are the impetus behind the growth in rural and cultural tourism…Research and Markets believes the modern tourist in Spain is not looking just for a typical package holiday at the cheapest price but rather an experience that includes all sorts of additional activities. This, they say, can be seen in the significant increases in alternative holidays such as city breaks and rural or activity breaks" ("Local News"). *Turismo rural* considers nature part of the local patrimony, and thus (ostensibly) preserves it with the same zeal that coastal resorts once erected skyscraper condominiums. The assumption is also that a different sort of visitor chooses to tour isolated villages: a visitor more respectful of local culture and more interested in its historical significance or present uniqueness. A May 2005 article in the *Guardian* newspaper notes a shift in Spain's approach to tourism marketing toward the upper end of the scale, noting that culturally oriented tourism and luxury rural tourism are

lower-volume, higher-profit-margin tourist sectors than the all-inclusive resort, which in any case is increasingly available elsewhere for much lower prices. The assumption is that rural tourism attracts a "superior" (or more financially well-off, or more culturally sophisticated) sort of tourist, the antithesis of the lout who spends a week on a package tour. The article quotes one Spanish woman who says "For foreigners, Spain is a country for cheap holidays. When I see British holidaymakers, I see trouble. They're just looking to get drunk and have easy sex" (Fuchs "The Aim of Spain"). A tourist who was genuinely interested in the local culture would seem to be far preferable to an indifferent tourist who avoided local food and music and sought out businesses catering to foreign tourists. The potential pitfalls of "respectful" tourism may be obvious, however, as they bring us full circle: a tourist motivated by a hunger to absorb a fetishized local culture is more likely to fall into MacCannell's model of the tourist demanding access past the "false fronts" or even "false backs" of the tourist infrastructure. Greenwood's alarm at a Basque town's altering of longstanding traditions in order to cater to tourists—reducing their traditions to the marketable "culture by the pound"—would seem unjustified if translated to a beach town of cookie-cutter resorts, where local culture would seem more in danger of obliteration than of penetration by foreigners.

In between the culture-vulture "respectful" tourist and the "disrespectful" package tourist lies a middle ground about which very little non-quantitative research has been conducted, the second-home or permanent-resident tourist. These property-owners incorporate elements of other types of tourism, but have settled in an area in order to live their lives, enjoying a better climate or lower cost of living, perhaps, but

having evolved behind the rushed "holiday" mentality, and no longer considering themselves outsiders. Locals may see these permanent residents as having less outsider status than tourists simply passing through, as some degree of assimilation into the rhythm of daily life is almost inevitable. However, despite this sort of resident-tourist's best intentions, they have a potentially greater impact on local culture in the long term, as in the case of Mallorca, where entire parts of the island are German-speaking. British enclaves in Málaga produce local English-language newspapers that make it possible not only to follow the news in English, but to call a British plumber, join a British amateur soccer league or sign your children up for a British playgroup. Tremlett cites an experience on an elevator in a hotel in which a recorded voice announced each floor first in standard British English, then in *non-native Spanish*, as if there had been no Spaniards around to record it (Tremlett 100). In such cases the proportions of the expatriate infrastructure suggest a neocolonial aesthetic, in which the hosts are more like "natives" whose presence is tolerated but whose culture is seen as incidental to the region's appeal. (A September 2007 headline in the English-language *Costa del Sol News*, "Europe's first tourists sought Nerja sunshine," seems either smug or self-mocking as it self-identifies with prehistoric Northern European migrants whose traces were found in the caves of Nerja in Southern Spain ("Europe's first tourists"). Perhaps some tourists, like some hosts, know the value of a clever myth of origins). The ways in which these parallel foreign communities affect the Spanish population in the areas in question have been almost totally ignored by researchers on tourism in Spain, with the exception of Jacqueline Waldren's book *Insiders and Outsiders: Paradise and Reality in*

Mallorca. Waldren paints a picture of an attempted, if incomplete, assimilation on the part of the Germans in Mallorca that is in many ways incomparable to the Brits' voluntary self-separation on the Costa del Sol. Films like *Carry on Abroad* (1972) portraying Spain as a crumbling third-world disaster, and vulgar British parlance referring to Spaniards as "donkey beaters" are indicative of a surviving, if perhaps not widespread, sense that Spanish culture is at the very least disorganized and inefficient, and at most, backward and inferior. The continued reclamations for control of Gibraltar by both Spain and Britain evoke wider regional issues of neocolonialism and suggest that the assimilation (or lack thereof) by permanent British settlers into Spanish society is closely linked to broader issues of national identity, borders, and travel.

My analysis is not meant as a defense of tourism, nor as an indictment of tourism as a destroyer of culture, and much less an appeal for the preservation of "authentic" Spanish cultural values. Rather, my aim is to demonstrate how the described tourist situation in Spain and selected filmic representations of the 1960s and 70s depict how the contact zone of the tourist resort sparks a revisiting of longstanding insecurities or ambiguities regarding Spanish identity. Rather than pushing an uncomplicated society into an identity crisis—the model in which tourism somehow destroys a perfect balance—the contact zone in these tourism-focused comedies presents foreign tourists in the 1960s and 1970s as simply a catalyst for the revisitation of longstanding questions of Spanish identity in relation to the outside world. I use the term "contact zone" referring to Mary Louise Pratt's concept of the antagonistic power struggle between native and visitor in a variety of contexts that

constitute "social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination—like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today" (Pratt 4). Pratt's contact zones are sites of violence (literal or figurative) and conflict, but also of mutual influence, what she terms "transculturation" (6), in which not only do settlers transform the culture of the natives, but in which settler culture is in turn influenced by contact with native populations, and unique behaviors and customs arise in the contact zone, as in Pratt's example of the emergence of native speakers of creole (*ibid*).[18] As discussed previously, neocolonial theory is increasingly being applied to tourism, and wields relevant analytic tools for an investigation of tourism's impacts such as the consumption and control of resources, as well as the transformation of local landscapes and social structures. In discussing Spain during the 1960s, analyzing the tourist resort as a contact zone is particularly relevant given the historical moment in which Spain was emerging from two decades of self-imposed, conservative economical, political and social isolation and experienced the sudden close encounter with "liberated" Europeans as a sudden confrontation with modernity. The transculturation Pratt outlines is certainly applicable to the resort contact zone, though generally one-sided: the local in a tourist zone experiences the

[18] Edward Bruner has also forwarded the term "touristic borderzone" as "a performative space within which tourists and locals meet," referring not only to Pratt's contact zone but also to "the Third Space described by Homi Bhabha (1994), and the Tex-Mex border theory developed by Gloria Anzaldúa (1987), Coco Fusco (1995), and Guillermo Gómez-Peña (1996)" (Bruner 232). This term is helpful, but not applicable to the contact zone of the tourist resort as I describe it, as Bruner's "touristic borderzones" are described exclusively in Third World or developing areas in which the tourists travel in organized guided tours, and spontaneous interaction with locals outside of purely tourist locations is next to impossible because all communication is mediated. Despite the sharp differentiations between tourists and locals in the context of the beach resort, the considerable degree of spatial overlap between subjects in a fixed location over several days (the pool deck, bars, the beach, the marketplace, hotel rooms) allows for the possibility of human interactions which, even when superficial, might depart from the authenticity/ local "customs" bent of highly organized tours involving continuous changes of location.

tourist influx perennially and witnesses the potential transformation of his home over time, while the tourist spends a week or two at his or her destination (often at several removes from the local culture, as we have seen) and then returns home. The films discussed here draw a large proportion of their humor from the tourist-host encounter in the contact zone, but the local Spaniards seem to absorb little to nothing of the culture of the tourists. The considerable influence the tourists *do* wield on the locals is that of raising Spanish self-awareness; by "consuming" Spanish culture or the Spanish landscape as an outsider, the tourist raises the Spanish characters' consciousness of their Spanish identity. Spaniards make frequent comments on "Europe" in the films, but always with reference to Spain's essential difference from it. Ostensibly about the comic encounter between Spaniards and foreigners, the films are ultimately about Spain itself, with foreigners a catalyst for awareness of "Spanishness". The symbolic roles played by "Spain" and "Europe" are revisited because of tourism, but are presented as long-established. The reactivation or exacerbation of existing questions of identity shades the local-tourist interaction in Spain, not vice versa; there is no idyllic "pre-tourist" era. The stereotypes relating to both Spaniards and foreigners are such well-trodden clichés that they seem not the product of a sudden culture clash, but rather the latest manifestation of an established dialogue. I emphasize the protagonism afforded to the Spaniards in these comedies—even when a heavily neurotic protagonism— and valorize the Spanish role in the contact zone more than do simplistic analyses in which Spaniards are portrayed as passively being invaded and abused. Finally, I analyze the ways in which the Spanish encounter with modernity in the form of the foreign tourist is portrayed in an

ultimately conservative light, in which care is taken to restore the order threatened by foreign visitors or to corral foreign influence into the realm of the aesthetic, jealously protecting the integrity of Spanish values even while mocking these same values.

3.2 "Tenemos un defecto": the Black Legend, the *Boom Turístico* and Spanish Masculinity

In this section I look at cinematic representations of Spanish characters in exaggerated, comic personal crisis due to the destabilizing effects of the influx of foreigners through the tourist boom of the 1960s and early 1970s. These films anticipate the cultural period known as the *destape* or "uncovering," which anticipated the *transición* from dictatorship to democracy by aggressively promoting the (previously) scandalous, particularly in the realm of sexuality. Films that a decade before would have been censored for decency now put skin on the big screen with an almost desperate gusto. Journalist and critic Matías Antolín wrote in 1977 that

> Sí, ha aparecido la comercialización del erotismo. La sociedad de consumo, que necesita crear cada vez más necesidades para producir y vender más, se ha apoderado de esta sexualización latente en nuestro mundo para estimularla, anunciarla y explotarla. Nos mete por los ojos los símbolos sexuales y así nos hemos metido en este consumo desproporcionado y acentuado en los países que hemos padecido tanto ¨hambre¨ y el apetito está desbocado (Antolín 38).

The thirst for titillation reflected in *destape* films is often displaced off of the Spaniard and onto temptations from outside. The onscreen message that "foreign" is synonymous with "scandalous" reflects tensions around the sense that there was a sudden, intense face-to-face encounter with the "modern" other in the tourist resort. Combined with the drastic transformation of the landscape and lifestyle in resort areas undergoing rapid development, the inundation of foreigners provided a concrete factor on which to pin responsibility for the vertiginous changes that were revolutionizing Spanish society from many angles, not least from within. The reactions of the characters in the films discussed here to the sudden assault of modernity in the form of *lo verde* (and its representative, the foreign tourist) range

from moral outrage to pragmatic appreciation to fetishized sexual obsession, sometimes all at once. As the Franco regime's turn toward international tourism as a growth industry opened up an isolated Spain to millions of visitors, most from European countries with radically different social climates than that of Spain at the time, the foreign tourist was both catalyst for and evidence of Spain's economic modernization on a literal level and, more symbolically, embodied the relaxation of Francoist social control and the increasing experimentation with the more liberal moral standards sweeping the rest of Europe along with the Sexual Revolution. Here it may be useful to return to Pratt's concept of the contact zone and the complexities of social change during a local population's sudden encounter with "invading others." The host Spaniard can seek out or resist the changes represented by the foreign tourist, but the changes are already at work from within Spain. The three films discussed here demonstrate the tourist-host interaction not as its own agent for change, but rather as a catalyst for the characters' confrontation with their own desires, fears, even neuroses—all of these portrayed as essentially Spanish, much more so than the *castañuelas* or *banderillas* sold to tourists. Barry Jordan and Rikki Morgan-Tamosunas view this phenomenon as an integral part of the genre. For them, the sex comedy in Spain is inherently wrapped up in insecurities regarding masculinity and national identity. They point out that the themes of the "shamefully vulgar" films "have frequently been linked to stereotypical notions of national identity, at the core of which has been a particularly vulnerable sense of male virility and identity;" the *destape* "mercilessly satirized (but always reinforced) the Iberian male ego" (64). The challenges tourism poses to the precariously balanced *machismo*

of these protagonists, specifically in the contact zone of the beach resort, reflect larger tensions surrounding Spain's headlong plunge into modernity by way of sex and commercialization. After previous generations had struggled with the specter of supposedly being different from other Europeans, and after decades of defiant isolation, Spain's doors were being reopened. The qualities that supposedly made Spain "different" were being exploited to its advantage, as in the past, but this time with an intuitive sense that the foreign "capital" left by tourists might entail dramatic cultural and social changes that extended beyond profits. Vilarós describes the influx of the "foreign' into Spain through tourism as a threat to the regime that was perceived and resisted with a crackdown on cultural exposure to outside cultures through increased censorship. "El auge de la industria turística en la España de los sesenta que introdujo en el merado tanto divisas como intercambio de cuerpos, ideas y modos," she argues, was matched by a gradual relaxation of "la férrea censura de los medios de comunicación impulsada en 1963 por el entonces ministro de Información y Turismo, Manuel Fraga Iribarne, y directamente relacionada con la entrada de turistas en España" (Vilarós 17). Thus as the growth of tourism resulted in a rapid increase in face-to-face interactions between Spaniards and foreigners, the Spanish attitudes toward other European cultures with their positive ("modern") and negative ("immoral") connotations became a source of increasing uncertainty. The continuous commentary of the Spanish protagonists in these comedies on this exciting and disquieting situation reflects a larger national ambivalence toward Spain's long-awaited modernization that finally seemed to be knocking at the door.

The used of the term *modernity* to refer to the emergence of Spain from decades of isolation is common in literature on the topic, and links the *destape* period to larger discourses about so-called Spanish difference or backwardness—discourses of critical importance for my analysis of Spanish identity in these films. However, I want to clarify my use of the term *modernity*. The very nature of the contact zone in mass tourism is one of de-signification, of the endangerment of fixed meanings that are definitive of postmodernity. The films dealt with here are saturated with the aggressive de-signification of traditional objects; mass-produced "folkloric" items are repeatedly sold, often with cursory assertions about their "authenticity" and often given as gifts to help in the seduction of foreign tourists. There is an enormous disconnect between the "real" experience of the Spaniards and the tourists' parallel "manufactured" experience, yet the unreal space of the resort is a sort of vortex by which even Spanish service employees on its periphery are contaminated, seduced, or else made cynical profiteers. The films themselves mimic the sensory overload of postmodernity through a constant barrage of images in montage style (beaches, bikinis, sunburns, skyscrapers, construction, and, above all, the anonymity and interchangeability of bodies). One montage shot in *El turismo es un gran invento* shows several European flags (including the Spanish) flying over a beach lifeguard station. All are bleached by the sun and tattered as to be barely recognizable; whatever motivation led them to be erected seems to have disappeared at the hour of maintaining them, and they seem more an affront to their respective nations than a show of respect. What these films are confronting is modernity deprived of any

possible logic, a burgeoning postmodernity that aggressively defies attempts to make sense of it.

The three films I will be focusing on here announce their subject matter in their titles alone: *Amor a la española* (Fernando Merino, 1967), *El turismo es un gran invento* (Pedro Lazaga, 1968), and *Lo verde empieza en los Pirineos* (Vicente Escrivá, 1973). All three present a (positively or negatively) fetishized foreign female on the tourist scene as a destabilizing threat to a surprising range of Spanish social systems: macho pride, family integrity, traditional morality, gender roles, "safe" differentiation between upright Spaniards and libertine foreigners, and even the very survival of traditional Spanish pueblos in the interior, far from tourist resorts. Though they share a great deal of her superficial characteristics, these destabilizing female figures (with the exception of the "Buby Girls" in *El turismo es un gran invento*) are a far cry from the stock figure of the sexually available, "liberated" *sueca*. These films go to great lengths to challenge the Spanish characters' (and, ostensibly, viewers') expectations of the foreigners' essential difference from the Spaniards on issues of morality and sexual propriety. In fact, in *Lo verde empieza en los Pirineos*, the entire equation of Spanish male/*sueca* tourist is reversed when the Spanish men go looking for miniskirts and soft-core pornography on the French Riviera. Crossing the Pyrenees to France was viewed as traversing not only a political frontier but also a moral one, and the "pilgrimage" of Spaniards to Biarritz is even mocked in *Lo verde* when the would-be cutting-edge protagonists must compete with entire tour buses of elderly Spaniards for admission to porn films. The French Riviera thus functions as a contact zone in which the Spaniards actively seek and consume the "scandalous"

sexual experiences they are denied (at least officially) on their own turf.[19] In *Lo verde*, the men's unexpectedly frank interactions with "forward" French women in bars and cabarets initially seems to highlight the sharp differences in sexual and romantic mores between Spain and France, even within such a short geographical distance, and suggests that here in France the men may finally have the fabled no-strings-attached sex intertextually associated within the film with other films like *Last Tango in Paris*. However, given the protagonists' (and perhaps viewers') expectations within this sexually permissive context of encountering provocative French maids and sexually adventurous, "liberated" sex partners, in this case the men's expectations are turned on their heads as they instead encounter a morally upright Spanish housekeeper and must suffer the shock of seeing their own Spanish wives don "modern" provocative outfits to taunt their hypocritical husbands. Indeed, there is a clear reference to the vertiginous changes then at work within Spain: the men go to France to experience sex and, by extension, modernity, but it seems everyone else in Spain is "already there"—literally, and perhaps symbolically as well.

The inversion of the *destape* film's typical host/guest roles in *Lo verde*, in which Spanish men search for modernity's titillation not passively on their own shores but actively, abroad, is reflective of a larger collapse of strict differentiation between invaded Spaniard and invading tourist. In fact, the films ultimately perform an inversion of this dichotomy. The pathological, often parodically self-destructive drive of the Spanish men in these films to pursue foreign women for self-gratification

[19] For more extensive studies on the relationship of sex and tourism, see Chris Ryan's "Sex tourism: paradigms of confusion?" and Simon Carter's "Sex in the tourist city: the development of commercial sex as part of the provision of tourist services," both in *Tourism and Sex: Culture, Commerce, and Coercion*, edited by Stephen Clift and Simon Carter (London: Pinter, 2000).

is humorously but explicitly linked to the Black Legend and the influence of the *macho ibérico* in the Spanish male psyche. Much of the films' lowbrow humor arises from the abortive attempts of these contemporary men to fill the shoes of a seductive Don Juan stereotype that the sudden proximity of available foreign women has reawakened. However, the emphasis on the contrast between these men's sudden compulsive skirt-chasing and their straitlaced regular lives suggests that the encounter with foreign women catalyzes a perennial "problem" of the Spanish man that was perhaps buried in history but never overcome. These Spanish male characters become concerned, even obsessed, with the morality, loyalty, and purity of the very foreign women who are initially presented as interchangeable sexual objects. The drive to domesticate them into "Spanish" propriety becomes a drive to reconcile the seduction of modernity with the films' ultimately conservative themes of the supremacy of the nuclear family and its larger counterpart, the suffocating ancestral *pueblo*. Seen at the level of the Spanish nation's negotiation of local/family and foreign/industry, these films are ultimately about Spain and its own attempts to find a place in modernity.

The opening credits of *Lo verde empieza en los Pirineos* are preceded by a short sequence that begins with an ancient Roman scene and the grandiose narration: "Hermanos celtibéricos, en el siglo primero antes de Jesucristo, el historiador Radio Septimio escribió esto sobre los españoles: 'Homo hispánicus terribilis defectus. Cachondus perdidus." After a live-action shot of medieval standard-bearers blowing their horns as if to herald a formal proclamation, the cartoon jumps to a scene of Columbus-era Spanish conquistadores coming ashore in the New World, with giggling bikini-clad native women waving Spanish flags and chirping greetings in

English along with the repetition of the Spanish word "¡Oro! ¡Oro!" Another cut jumps forward a few years with baroque music and costumes evoking Cortés, with one Spaniard saying to the other, "Marqués, le entrego la llave del apartamento de Angelines. Sea discreto." The voiceover narration continues, "El historiador Radio Septimio estaba en lo cierto. Nuestras gentes tenían un defecto terrible." Then we cut to a live-action sequence of Spanish explorers on horseback singing "Tenemos un defecto, que nos gustan las gachís" as they chase naked native women who are squealing in delighted protest. The shot freezes on the Spaniards closing in on the native women and the caption "José Luis López Vázquez en *Lo verde empieza en los Pirineos*" begins the opening credits.

The use in *Lo verde empieza en los Pirineos* of an opening cartoon to preview the characters' sexual proclivities echoes that of *Amor a la española*, in which caricaturesque Spaniards with thick mustaches and somber black clothing ogle a tall, curvy blonde in a red bikini. The Spanish men are portrayed as fish chasing the mermaid-like woman in an ocean that hints at the tourist resort in Torremolinos where the film takes place. In the closing credits, after the Spanish protagonist Paco has won over the *sueca* Ingrid, the jealous onlookers are transformed into brooding crows glowering from above at a happy couple representing Paco and Ingrid. The contrast between the breezy *sueca* and the overly serious Spaniards (among whom are some matronly-looking, black-clad females) illustrates themes in the film similar to those of *Lo verde empieza en los Pirineos*: Spanish men as out of touch with the contemporary sexual climate, and whose years of repression interfere with their attempts at seduction even when the opportunity arises. *Amor a la española* presents

the "problem" as a male one, and provides female examples of the "proper" way to handle the tourist influx and obtain maximum benefits without compromising one's own dignity. The portrayals of the comic challenges facing the male protagonists in *Lo verde, Amor a la española* and *El turismo es un gran invento* represent the foreign tourist as a galvanizing force throwing the protagonists' weaknesses into sharp relief. All three films present the tourist boom as a catalyst for the reopening of timeworn insecurities about Spanish identity. However, in each case, the encounter with "modern" European values ends in a reaffirmation of existing social structures. Marriage wins out over free love, and traditional values are reinforced in narratives that are ultimately more reassuring than challenging.

Lo verde's introductory sequence is independent of the film's plot, but its satirical portrayal of Spanish men's "defect" sets the stage for the film's narrative by portraying Spanish male desire as not only inherently pathological, but also historically determined. Commenting on *Lo verde*, Matías Antolín takes a dig at the film's quality while emphasizing its portrayal (all too familiar in the *destape* period) of Spanish sexuality (and perhaps sexuality in general) as *enfermizo* and neurotic:

> Oportunista filme que podría haber servido—en otras manos—para dejar constancia de las vergonzosas romerías—cara al exterior—que nos obliga a hacer nuestra Madre Patria, al declararnos, con su NO a la 'ola erótica', enfermos mentales, subnormales en potencia, pocos lúcidos de cerebro e incapaces de presenciar—en España—una película con 'carne' fresca sin que nuestro libido se desmadre. El señor Vicente Escrivá nos ha fabricado un homenaje a todos los que atravesamos la 'linea de la represión' (Antolín 39).

The old French saying "Africa begins at the Pyrenees" is tweaked in the film's title to suggest in exactly which ways Spain ostensibly remains so different from Europe. Images of Spanish men marveling at bikinis and miniskirts are standard fare in

destape films—very often, shots mimicking the male gaze serve a voyeuristic purpose as well—and this sort of humor seems logical when we consider the clash between 1960s Spain, a society emerging from extremely repressive social regulations, and a freewheeling Europe in which youth culture was exploding and rebellion against the "establishment" dominated not only the political realm, but also the areas of aesthetics and fashion.

Lo verde is saturated with jokes on censorship from beginning to end, mocking the almost paranoid hyperawareness of sexuality that censorship begets as well as the harebrained schemes the characters pursue in order to access forbidden material. The film opens, perhaps surprisingly, with a clear (if comical) indictment of institutionalized sexist indoctrination. The first shot places protagonist Serafín in a psychologist's office complaining of romantic difficulties. In a parody of Freudian analysis, Serafín explains to the psychoanalyst how when he was a child, his father (who wears an official uniform) caught him watching a young girl urinate and flew into a rage thinking his son was having lustful thoughts. We see a flashback (with José Luis López Vázquez playing the father) in which the father drags Serafín through the Toledo streets to the Duque de Lerma museum and shows him Ribera's painting of *La mujer barbuda.* This is what Serafín should see when he looks at women, rages the father, pointing at the woman's full beard juxtaposed with her exposed breast. The incident becomes a formative trauma for Serafín, who now as a bachelor in his forties still mentally superimposes beards on the faces of attractive women. Marsha Kinder describes the scene as representative of "the patriarchal solution of repressing the son's desire (by similarly distorting how woman is

represented and perceived)" and argues that the move "is presented as typical of Spanish culture, a solution that was extended to cinema by Francoist censors" (Kinder 232). The sexist rhetoric characteristic of the repression of healthy sexuality is emphasized by the psychoanalyst's verdict on Serafín's predicament. Serafín has become unduly afraid of women, the psychologist claims, and needs to reclaim his masculine privilege. Most importantly, he needs to reaffirm to himself that "El hombre es el rey de la creación." When a woman makes Serafín nervous, he should remind himself repeatedly that women "are inferior beings." He chooses "Filomatic" as an antidote to be invoked when he sees a beard appear on an attractive woman.

When Serafín attempts to try out his new coping strategies, it becomes clear that trading in his "deviant" sexuality for "normal" sexual expression is going to be a thankless task in a town in which any expression of sexuality is met with disapproval. On the street, when Serafín looks in a window at a woman brushing her hair, the woman slams the window shut with an outraged proclamation of "¡sucio!" He tries again with a woman in a black mantilla, and although his antidote "Filomatic" effectively removes the beard he sees on the woman's face, the woman panics and yells into a doorway, "¡María! ¡María! ¡Un sátiro! ¡Socorro!" The men's pilgrimage to the other side of the Pyrenees is set up as the swing of a pendulum, a foray into a forbidden world of sexuality, a foray as exaggerated as the repression that begat it. The word *europeo* is repeated constantly in the film, constructing Europe as an eroticized wonderland, the antithesis of a Spain portrayed as prudish and ignorant. France is exalted by Pepe, a suave friend of Serafín's who has returned to Toledo, as a paradise of blow-up dolls (¡"Es como una gachí de verdad!") and pornography so

colorful as to include not only a scene of a woman in a bathtub with a crocodile, but also "700 mujeres desnudas dentro de una iglesia," a sacrilege of exhilarating proportions. To Pepe's assertion that when propositioned, French woman always say yes, Serafín interrupts: "O sea, que son unas zorras." Pepe replies emphatically, "No, señor. Que son naturales, europeas…"[20] Despite his sexual curiosity, the provincial Serafín perceives virtue in terms of Francoist Catholic virtue, and the sexual availability attributed to women in France seems as distasteful to him as it is exciting. The cosmopolitan Pepe has formed another set of standards by reinterpreting the traditional dichotomy of Spanish *atraso* and European modernity, defending promiscuity (real or imagined) as evidence of a cultural progressiveness supposedly absent in Spain.

Antolín jokingly refers to the men's narrative decision to "ir a pacer al verde pasto francés, un 'verde' que tendríamos que 'pacerle' aquí" [en España] (39). In a way, this is what happens. As exaggerated as the titillation the men seek in France may be, the ironic reality is that Biarritz in the film is full of Spaniards. After numerous declarations on the drive from Spain that "¡Estamos a las puertas de Europa!" and "¡Ya estamos en Europa!" the men are shocked to see Spanish license plates lining the streets. When Manolo shouts a *piropo* at a pedestrian he assumes to be French, the woman's boyfriend shoots back, "¡Tu padre!" In a nightclub, French women who talk with the men make up names for them, exclaiming, "Oh, españoles.

[20] This favorable view of European female sexuality is reproduced in Carlos Iglesias's 2006 film *Un Franco, 14 pesetas*, in which married Spanish men working in Switzerland in the 1960s take comfort in the friendship of sexually available local women. In contrast to the usual portrayal in films of the era, the recent film depicts the European women as honest, dignified, and caring, able to understand the men in ways their Spanish wives cannot. This sharp revision of contemporary filmic depictions of European women and sexual liberation demonstrates the dramatic changes Spanish society has undergone in the last thirty years.

Tú Pepe, tú Manolo." Serafín's attempts to clarify which one of them is Manolo fall on deaf ears; the men are interchangeable to the women, part of an endless wave of Spanish men all looking for the same thing.

This weary familiarity with the routine of sex tourism among Spanish males is echoed by Paula, a beautiful, brunette *española* working as a maid in the men's hotel. As Serafín dresses to go out, she surprises him with a frank prediction that he will try to bring a woman back to his room. All Spanish men come looking for sex, she asserts, especially "después del *Último tango*" (referring to Bernardo Bertolucci's 1972 film starring Marlon Brando, which caused a scandal upon its release due to its graphic sex scenes). Serafín openly leers at Paula as she turns down his bed, and the other men marvel at his luck when they come to pick him up for dinner, speaking Spanish openly in front of Paula until they realize she isn´t the saucy French maid of their fantasies. Carmen Martín Gaite in *Usos amorosos de la postguerra española* emphasizes the association of domestic servants in the postwar period with immoral behavior, especially when they were working far from home (Martín Gaite 103). Paula in *Lo verde*, a housekeeper who went to work on her own in a place like Biarritz—not to help her family, but in order to save money and open her own shop in Segovia—must have evoked much of the same expectations in an early 1970s film audience as a blonde tourist on the beach would have: sexual availability and moral weakness. The characters in the film certainly see her this way at first. However, Paula turns out to be a paragon of virtue who shuns the late nights and crazy dancing of Biarritz. As the predictable romance develops between Paula and Serafín, he overcomes his complex and can kiss her without imagining her with a beard. The

solution to his problems was not casual sex with *francesas*, it turns out, but true love with a upright Spanish woman whose moral character is immune to the transgressions around her. The "restoration" of Spanish values within the ostensibly corrupted contact zone is completed with the surprise arrival of the wives of Manolo and Román, whose suspicions that the men aren't really attending professional conventions are confirmed. The women dress up in revealing clothing and evoke catcalls from their own husbands, who react with outrage when they realize it is their own wives they are whistling at. This confusion highlights the performative nature of the unfettered sexuality so aggressively coded as modern and European in the film. The women are independent and strong-willed, but these qualities are directed only at drawing their husbands back into the marital fold. The reunion of Manolo and Román with their wives is mirrored by the union of Serafín and Paula, which quite improbably seems to be what Paula was waiting for. Even in Biarritz, the ostensibly Spanish values of decency and domesticity triumph. The message is an ultimately conservative one: even in the face of temptation from vertiginous change, traditional moral virtue is the "true" Spanish path.

Lo verde presents a topical image of incorrigibly lustful Spanish men while at the same time satirizing practices of censorship and repression which serve more to enhance the appeal of "naughty" material than to protect the vulnerable Spanish subject from it. While there are references to official government policy, it is the social application of sexual shame that is the truly effective weapon, and the controlling figures in the film occupy the private sphere, especially the family, as seen with Serafín's father and also with his Tía Fermina, a disapproving mother-hen

figure who reminds him that “las juergas te sientan fatal.” Francoist sexual repression was perpetuated not only in an official or state-sanctioned capacity (as with the Sección Femenina), but also in the private sphere through moral education in the family. The notion that social control, particularly in the realm of sexuality, was exercised in the family independently of official policy (and thus more entrenched) is reiterated in *Lo verde empieza en los Pirineos* by the film’s frequent references to the relaxation of official regulations and the advent of change, patchy though it might have been. Spain itself was already besieged by moral corruption; Tía Fermina warns Serafín that Madrid is a dangerous place due to the invasion of “mujeres malas” and “americanos.” The erotic pilgrimage of the men from Toledo to Biarritz is the converse journey of that undertaken by the wave of tourists that were entering Spain, to whom was attributed an insatiable sexual appetite (discussed below in relation to *Amor a la Española*). When Serafín receives a topless pinup postcard in the mail, it is passed around the local café to a mix of outrage and fascination, but the postcard´s very presence is indicative of a relaxation of official control, as is the camera’s generous provision of voyeuristic shots of the postcard for the film’s audience. There are other references in the film to censorship surviving within the family, even when government standards are becoming less stringent. Serafín’s friend Manolo goes with his wife to see one of the soft-core films just beginning to reach Spanish cinemas. *Lo verde* is interspliced with shots of the film seen by Manolo and his wife: a woman’s legs moving erotically on a bed and poking playfully at a hanging birdcage. Manolo’s wife volunteers to help him clean his steamed-up glasses and intentionally takes a long time doing so, keeping Manolo from seeing the erotic images on the screen. An

infuriated Manolo insists that she dictate the action. Frustrated with her dry descriptions, he demands, "¿y esos pajaritos?" With a straight face she replies "unas vistas de Cuenca," to which Manolo explodes "Ya lo han cortado. ¡Lo de siempre!" There is a sharp ironic contrast between the woman's amused manipulation of her husband—and perhaps a jealous desire to limit his viewing of erotic material—and Manolo's own exasperated familiarity with information control, whoever the perpetrator.

What distinguishes *Lo verde*'s treatment of Francoist repression from that of other sex comedies of the period is how it takes what could be interpreted as a highly contingent historical moment and extrapolates it onto the broader realm of national character. Things have been "this way" at least since Spain was consolidated as a nation, as the opening sequence implies; the insatiable sexual appetite of the slack-jawed men in the film is not merely a reaction to Francoist repression, but a return to a "natural" state against which Francoism was fighting a losing battle. The silent agreement that men had certain "corrupt" urges that were incompatible with the realm of "decent" premarital courtship pervades even the most moralizing texts, attributing to men a vice against which they were helpless but from which reputable Spanish women were immune. The acknowledgment of men's supposed *defecto* went along with an acceptance of what could be called escape valves. Helen Graham portrays prostitution as a logical symptom of a "culturally conducive climate": "Prostitution thrived on the rigid gender roles and sexual Manichaeism/oppression which underpinned the state's efforts to stabilize itself on the basis of the closed family unit" (Graham 191). Martín Gaite writes that these houses of prostitution were "lupanares,

tan tolerados que se llamaban ‘casas de tolerancia.’" To these houses "se atribuía una función de desahogo necesario en favor de la integridad virginal de las condesas ana-marías" (104). When men were seen as so strictly governed by "natural" urges and women so carefully schooled in virtue, this "función de desahogo" was seen as a necessary evil. Given how "decent" Spanish women were still so restricted by social demands of purity and reputation, the ostensibly "easy" foreign woman that became proverbial through the advent of tourism in the 1960s seems evocative of the maids, secretaries, and working class widows to whom was attributed a willingness to trade sexual favors for preferred treatment or financial assistance, while more privileged women had the luxury of virtue (Martín Gaite 101-3). *Putas* need not be *extranjeras*, but *extranjeras* were seen as quite likely *putas*.

When foreign women arrived in Spain with money to spend, it was Spanish men who were faced with a paradox: an "easy" woman who wasn't always so easy. The parallel between the tourist service industry and prostitution is made explicit in *Amor a la española*, and provides a counterpoint to *Lo verde´*s portrayal of Spanish men as thwarted Don Juans. In both films the host/tourist contact zone holds the promise of sexual delights forbidden in everyday Spanish life. the Spanish men, whether in the tourist or host role, come crashing back to earth and embrace "real" Spanish values—a conservative message that, even at its most neurotic and overblown, Spanish culture is preferable to the loose morals of "progressive" foreign cultures which may seem tempting but remain ultimately unsatisfying.

Amor a la española (released in Argentina in 1968 under the title *Una sueca entre nosotros*) contains a constant stream of throwaway generalizations about

different cultures, with Spaniards targeted as much as or more than foreigners. “Éstas [las extranjeras] no son las que dicen que dejes de molestar,” marvels one Spanish man. “Éstas te dicen que molestes!” In another scene, madrileños in a bowling alley speculate on the nationality of a blonde stranger as they would a breed of dog:

> -A ver qué española anda así.
> -¡Con esa libertad! Debe ser inglesa.
> -A mi me suena sueca o alemana.
> -Puede que sí.
> -Las inglesas son más estiladas.
> -¿Las inglesas estiladas?
> -¿Qué sabréis vosotros?

Generalizations abound in the film regarding foreign women’s insatiable sexual appetites, along with many characters who confirm these generalizations. These caricaturesque foreign women are more often middle-aged and matronly than tall and beautiful, however, and there are repeated implications that their money is responsible for their romantic liaisons in a clear suggestion that “selling” one’s country to foreign visitors is tantamount to prostitution. The main female character in *Amor*, however, defies easy stereotyping in all but her physical appearance. The tall, blonde, and beautiful Swedish tourist Ingrid initially disappoints Paco (José Luis López Vázquez), a sleazy Iberia ticket agent, failing to live up his party-girl expectations when she orders a glass of milk every time he offers her a drink. Her expected sexual availability is also truncated by her assumptions that his attempts to seduce her are actually the sincere attempts of a true gentleman to help her with her travel plans. In an ironic replacement of Paco’s stereotyping of her with her own stereotyping of Paco, she interprets all of his ingratiating actions as those of a true “*caballero español*.” Though initially he provides her with vocabulary words like

galante with which to praise him, he soon realizes that his plan has backfired. He has indeed charmed her, but not in the way that will obtain the results he desired.

Though initially seeing Ingrid as merely a one-night-stand, Paco falls for her combination of innocent character and almost oblivious doe-eyed sensuality—the sexual appeal and accessibility of the foreign woman without the associated moral corruption. The combination allows Paco to express his sexual desires without sullying "decent" Spanish women, while at the same time asserting traditional courtship and marriage with a *sueca* whose own decency and morality is repeatedly tested and confirmed—the two halves of the Francoist model of sexuality. Paco follows Ingrid to a resort hotel in Torremolinos, where he becomes a caricature of the jealous Mediterranean male and decides her virtue must be too good to be true. Despite a test of their love in which Paco temporarily falls prey to false rumors about Ingrid, Ingrid´s virtuous nature is ultimately confirmed and the two marry (Paco's virtue, not surprisingly, is apparently irrelevant). This is not the only example in these films of a happy-marriage resolution joining a Spaniard and a foreigner, as will be explored below. However, with her selflessness, sexual purity, patience, and unquestioning loyalty, Ingrid comes to seem in this film more like the ideal product of the Falange's *Sección Femenina* than a wild child of the Sexual Revolution. Despite her stereotypically foreign appearance (blonde with blue eyes, she towers several inches above all the men in the film), she replaces Paco's temptations from abroad with a reaffirmation of the virtues of his *madre tierra*. In this, Ingrid echoes Paula in *Lo verde empieza en los Pirineos*. One Spanish and the other foreign, both characters are presented as objects of desire whose appearance suggests they will

fulfill the protagonists' fantasies of uncomplicated sexual availability. Both women turn out to be virtuous and morally upright, however, and their wholesome natures charm the protagonists far more successfully than the easy conquests they had originally sought. These characters serve to divert the Spanish men's more "deviant" desires onto marriage-worthy love objects that reinforce traditional social values, reflecting the films' ultimately conservative message.

Paco's temporary suspicions regarding Ingrid's possible status as a "loose" woman are the result of the exaggerated boasting of another Spaniard at the hotel, Patricio (Alfredo Landa), whose failed attempts to seduce Ingrid epitomize the Spanish would-be seducer of the *destape* film. Landa himself was famous for such roles, which Antolín mocks in a reference to the 1970 film *No desearás al vecino del quinto* with the phrase "El quinto no desearás un 'Landa': celoso, bajito, reprimido, y español" (39). Coinciding with this image, which by this point could be considered a *domestic* stereotype (or at least stock character) of the Spaniard angling for "liberated" foreign women at the beach, Landa's character Patricio also exploits iconic stereotypes more tailored for consumption by outsiders, including Gypsies, bullfighting, flamenco, gallant *caballeros*, or any combination thereof. In a scene in a tourist shop, Patricio approaches Ingrid by donning a bullfighter's cap and trying to explain to her the importance of *castañuelas* in Spanish culture. Though initially he demonstrates different rhythms and seems to be sincere, his performance quickly turns more toward parody when the entire shop full of customers turns to watch his fevered playing as he shouts a confused summary: "La castañuela es muy española. El siglo quince, los Reyes Católicos, 'tanto monta, monta tanto!'" After

accompanying Ingrid to the door of her hotel room, assuming she will invite him in, Patricio is courteously thanked and bade goodnight. Just before she closes the door, Patricio reminds her to take the souvenir *he*, in an ironic inversion of the bid for foreign capital, has bought for *her*. As he hands over a large pair of *banderillas* which she graciously accepts before closing the door in his face, he is handing over the last vestiges of his manhood in no uncertain terms.

In contrast to Patricio, Paco seems to be ultimately successful in his seduction for "being himself" with Ingrid, a comforting message to the Spanish male viewer that nothing could be as compelling as one's own intrinsic charm. A dialogue between a male waiter and waitress at the pool of the Hotel Tritón exemplifies the uncertainty both sexes hold about the influence of foreigners on their opposite-sex compatriots in such a sexualized environment as the bikini-dominated beach. The waitress teases the waiter Rafa that it seems like all foreign women want to come to Spain to sample "nuestros tesoros." Rafa, who is pursued day and night by ravenous middle-aged British and American women, assures the waitress he actually prefers the "producto nacional." *Amor a la española* is particularly remarkable for this persistent, direct exploration of where Spaniards fit into the new scene of resort tourism. As pragmatic beneficiaries? As nannies for rich families? As reluctant gigolos? As would-be womanizers? A conversation between an older waiter, Dimas, and the popular but weary Rafa reveals the difference of opinion amongst the Spaniards. Dimas has previously said he wished the *boom turístico* had hit while he was younger and could benefit from wealthy lady patrons like Rafa does. On the suggestion that he not serve an alcoholic tourist so much vodka, Rafa explodes:

"Ojalá pudiera yo hacer que cambiasen la moral los extranjeros. Sobre todo las extranjeras. Que ésas…." Dimas protests that "¡Ésas son tu pan de mañana!" to which Rafa replies, "Qué pan más amargo, Dimas." This scene exemplifies two opposing views on tourism, that of pragmatic acceptance and conservative rejection of outside contamination. The viewpoints defy generational or class categorization, and are arguably both held simultaneously in many cases. The irony that Rafa, the tourists´most outspoken critic, is the one regularly sleeping with tourists for money illustrates the moral ambiguity of the touristic contact zone, particularly in a setting of such rapid social change as the Spain of 1966.

As asserted previously, Paco and Ingrid are not the only example in the film of a happy-marriage resolution in which Spaniard and foreigner reject libertine "European" behavior for a proper courtship. Also staying at the resort is a cheeky Spanish nanny who lectures her French employer on childrearing and drives a hard bargain with her compatriots on prices for bullfight tickets. She becomes an unwitting caretaker for a rich, alcoholic British tourist, and her ability to cure him instantly with a little tough talk and elbow grease not only contrasts with the haplessness of the Spanish men around her, but also suggests that, if anything, it is the Europeans who have the most to gain from a greater relationship with Spain. The revelation that the British tourist actually comes from British-controlled Rhodesia highlights the colonial overtones of his presence, which the nanny seems to sense as she angrily resists his initial advances, insisting that she is no easy conquest. She is quickly won over by the Rhodesian, however, and the ensuing marriage promises to be profitable in both love and money. Thus she forms the counterpoint to Paco's

selection of a partner who is both virtuous and a sex object: she marries rich without selling her soul. Both relationships provide a model for tourist-host interaction in the contact zone of the resort: obtain the most benefit (sexual or financial) with the least moral compromise. Their successes imply that the failures of Rafa and Patricio are nothing more than cautionary tales, and some Spaniards can indeed reap the benefits of tourism without compromising their ideals. The film's message about Spanish identity in the tourist contact zone is one of reassurance. The Spanish male *can* emerge triumphant from the indignities of foreign inundation. Spain *can* benefit from the seduction of foreign capital while maintaining its high moral standards—but it must do everything possible to assure that it does not fall prey to easy temptation. Although *Amor a la española*, like other comedies of the era, emphasizes the advent of the new, it ultimately reaffirms the old and warns against irrational exuberance.

Amor a la española's measured acceptance of tourism—it is acceptable to the extent that it can coexist with traditional Spanish values even as it brings new prosperity and even love—embodies the message of many tourism-themed film comedies of the era. The comic exploitation of Spanish male insecurities in the films, particularly regarding the pressure to live up to *Don Juan* stereotypes as suave seducers unintimidated by foreign women with more confidence and experience, serves as a symbolic reference to Spain itself as it began to emerge from the cocoon of Francoist censorship and repression in the late 1960s. The films mock the more superficial symbols of "typical Spain" in the tourist context, such as *banderillas* and *castañuelas*, but at the same time reveal a keen awareness that Spanish tourism in the second half of the twentieth century was moving away from the exotic *España de*

pandereta and toward a new sort of contact zone for which the role of Spaniards in relation to foreign tourists (indeed, even their degree of *interest* for them) was still being defined. The apparently indispensable jokes about Spanish men's pathological reaction to contact with sexually liberated foreign females become more and more significant, as we see the consistent assertion in the films that despite some token happy endings, the majority of Spanish men are not yet ready for such contact, if they ever will be. The model for successful relationships in the tourism contact zone, then, becomes one in which the love object is in fact actually Spanish, able to maintain her virtue even when surrounded by sin (*Lo verde empieza en los Pirineos*) or when the foreign love object conclusively proves that she holds a sexual propriety worthy of the most well-brought-up Spanish girl (not to mention unlimited patience with her Spanish lover as he jealously doubts her every move). While the reaffirmation of traditional Spanish values regarding love and the family may be seen as positive, there goes with it the implication that Spanish men cannot successfully function in the modern world without the traditional balances on their conduct, such as patient wives to deal with irrational jealousy and domestication in happy marriages to control their all-consuming libido. Thus wrapped up in the traditional Spanish values ultimately celebrated in the films is an essentialist view of a backward Spanish male character that is reaffirmed rather than softened. Even in the context of these salacious films about sexual adventures, films that were themselves watched with the expectation of titillating sexual content, the message is that with regard to the influx of foreign culture and capital, and with it so-called European modernity, Spanish viewers ought to be careful what they wish for. This message emerges largely from examples of

Spaniards who are not equipped to deal with the tourist contact zone, rather than from foreigners presented as corrupting influences, thus reinforcing my thesis that representations of Spain that deconstruct superficial stereotypes often reconfirm or reassert even more all-encompassing (and more restrictive) conceptualizations of Spanish identity.

Conclusion

Myths of Difference and the Future in Spain: New Realities and the Eclipse of Fantasy

Here I have been arguing that contemporary Spanish culture is characterized, in part, by its tendency to represent itself as having evolved beyond simplistic ideas of Spanish "difference." I signal this phenomenon not to imply that Spain has *not* evolved out of previous domestic and foreign characterizations of Spain as backward, non-European, or exotic, but rather to point out the very fact that these constructions of "difference" are presented as irrelevant solely because of an *evolution* on Spain's part, not because the constructions themselves were innately unfounded. As I argued in relation to Teresa Vilarós's work on the Transition in Chapter One, the celebrated emergence of Spain from cultural isolation into a globalized European community in the post-Franco era engendered a transference in historical memory, in which the demise of the Franco regime came to symbolize the relegation of all non-European characterizations of Spain safely into the past, even those predating the Franco regime by centuries. This transference runs the risk of passively reaffirming even the most baseless expressions of cultural essentialism, because it fixes them in Spain's past rather than removing them from the equation altogether. If Spain represents itself as having broken free of (or graduated from, or divorced) its own history, this in turn makes all positive valorations of even *contemporary* Spain potential validations of *past* essentialist representations of Spanish culture. There are copious assertions in popular discourse that Spain today is unlike romanticized or exoticized representations of Spain in the past, but there is little motivation for Spain to actively

work at deconstructing inaccurate representations themselves if contemporary Spain can emancipate itself from such representations on purely chronological grounds.

In his book mentioned in Chapter One, José María Beneyto argues that in reading great Spanish thinkers of the twentieth century, "lo primero que cobra relieve respecto a nuestra situación es la actual *fetichización negativa*—como si se tratara de un sesgo antidemocrático—en torno a la palabra España" (14). Today Spain is arguably viewed more favorably than ever before, by both Spaniards and foreigners, but the word itself seems something of an abstraction, more relevant to the past than the present. Often, a narrow focus on "Spain" evokes an outdated image of a backward country at the margins of Europe that has little to do with the contemporary nation to which it refers. In certain contexts, the abstract idea of "Spain" is perceived as evoking nationalism or even neofascism, particularly in conjunction with the Spanish flag. Franco's nationalist promotion of a conformist, *castizo* Spanish population under a banner of militant patriotism is undoubtedly at least partly responsible for these perceptions. One reason that representations of a monolithic, homogenous state are increasingly problematic is that they are seen as willfully disregarding distinct regional identities in Catalonia, the Basque Country, and Galicia. Ever more frequently, these non-state national identities interact directly with other nations in Europe and beyond. The large number of direct flights to cities like Barcelona, Seville, and Santiago de Compostela from major European cities (and some U.S. ones, in the case of Barcelona) are bypassing not only Barajas Airport in Madrid, but also, in a symbolic sense, the very concept of arriving in "Spain." This phenomenon has been covered extensively in other region-specific contexts, but here

it is relevant for the ramifications it has on the already-slippery designation "Spanish." *Kilómetro cero* is becoming destabilized, and with it the self-evident (though also constructed) idea of a coherent Spanish "national" culture. Harrington argues that "each of the four primary movements of national identity within the Spanish state (Castilian, Basque, Galician, and Catalan) have been deeply and fundamentally imbued with the logic of historical essentialism," and contrasts Castilian nationalism (and, by extension, movements of centrist Peninsular patriotism) with the other three main nationalisms in Spain for being less willing than they to engage in a debate about its own essentialism, relying instead on "the language of state prerogative" and "pseudo-progressivism" (Harrington 110). We can see this contrast in professional soccer, to take one example. Real Madrid (historically associated with Franco) is seen not only as a local team from Madrid, but also as a team for all corners of the nation. F.C. Barcelona, on the other hand, is almost universally viewed (in addition to its proud team history) as a proxy for Catalan patriotism, and after important victories the team pays homage to the Virgin at Montserrat outside the city, a clear signal that the team represents more than the matches it plays. The nationwide anticipation around any Real Madrid-F.C. Barcelona matchup suggests that the two teams' rivalry represents more than sports to Spaniards in other areas as well. A more recent example of the center-periphery tensions still visible in relation to identity in Spain is the controversy over the invitation of Catalonia (rather than Spain as a whole) to the Frankfurt Book Fair in October 2007. Originally Catalonia nominated only Catalan-language authors to the Fair, but later capitulated to protests from the rest of Spain and ultimately included

some Catalan writers who wrote in Castilian, causing some Catalan writers to boycott the Fair. Despite the controversy, the combined expenditures of the state and regional governments on promoting the Catalan presence at the Fair was the largest ever recorded, at $16.7 million (Keeley “A Catalan Tale”). The initial selection of only Catalan-language writers offended some, as the later inclusion of writers in Castilian offended others, but the considerable funding the Spanish government committed to promoting the Catalan presence at the Fair reveals the continuing interest of the central government in claiming *all* of the Spanish state as its cultural (not merely political) patrimony.

The flourishing of regional identities is only one of a host of factors destabilizing the sense of Spain as a cohesive cultural unit with a shared Spanish identity; not least of these destabilizing factors are those affecting the entire planet, such as commercialization, globalization, and the mass proliferation of information technology. Nevertheless, the dispersal of traditional communities across the globe and the magnification of a general sense of disconnection from “authentic” lived experiences may make the pseudo-Oriental fantasies still associated with Spain more appealing than ever. We need hardly ask if visions of Oriental, primitive Spain can coexist with an entirely different Spanish reality, because they always have: Spanish reality never truly mirrored either the Romantic or the Black Legend portrayals directed at it, and such a wide array of stereotypes could never have all applied with equal accuracy to all of Spain at all times. This indisputable fact is obscured by the tendencies I have discussed throughout my chapters of Spain to either internalize a sense of difference and promote it as part of Spain’s “authentic” soul, or to conceive

of Spanish cultural identity in purely chronological terms and declare essentialist notions of Spanish identity as "over" (and thus irrelevant) rather than fundamentally unfounded or arbitrary. I believe in the possibility of engaging with Spanish cultural identity in ways that neither relegate past portrayals of Spain to historical irrelevance nor actively promote Spanish difference in ways irrelevant to real life. A map for such a middle ground has yet to be formally drawn, but I see such a middle ground in practice in, to take one example, the spoken discourse of young Andalusians today for whom *toros* and flamenco are equal parts everyday reality and fodder for self-mocking irony, able to serve simultaneously as cultural patrimony and source of kitsch. Pop groups like the Delincuentes and El Combolinga, that seamlessly fuse flamenco beats with rap, rock, and heavy metal, or the current "rumbatón" genre that fuses flamenco pop with reggaetón from Puerto Rico are the embodiment of such a practice.[21] This performative engagement with cultural difference echoes the neo-country or neo-Southern practice among youth in the Southern United States, in which the essentialist cultural icons that have traditionally been associated with the abjection of the South (and its own, well-deserved black legends) for the rest of the nation are increasingly reappropriated and reclaimed in such small (but significant) details as gourmet comfort food, rockabilly fashion, and the revival of country crossover figures such as Johnny Cash. Pop culture performance is beyond the scope of the present project, but I believe it will be an important element of future

[21] In another example of regional identities acting internationally outside the umbrella of the Spanish state, in the music video for the song "Andaluces disparando cante," which he describes as "reggaetón aflamencao," Huelva native Sergio Contreras plants an Andalusian flag in the center of a circle of Latin American flags on a beach; the Spanish flag is nowhere to be seen.

evolutions of Spanish identity and the persistence and reworking of difference in Spanish cultural memory.

In *El furgón de cola* Goytisolo tells of a foreign friend who worried, after a trip to Spain, that progress in Spain might mean losing what made it so special. The question she puts to Goytisolo is "¿es posible transformar la sociedad sin modificar, al mismo tiempo, las 'virtudes' características del pueblo? Mi amiga temía, a lo que parece, por el futuro del 'alma' popular. A juzgar por sus palabras, el pueblo de su país había perdido la suya y era muy consolador para ella poder viajar por España [...] creo que le repuse que los españoles pagábamos muy caro este consuelo" (Goytisolo *El furgón* 17). The audible sarcasm in Goytisolo's narrative reflects his firm conviction that the wellbeing and future of Spain were more important than any romanticized past. You can take our "authentic" culture and local color, he says; we'll take tomorrow.

Goytisolo directs his critique of his friend's shortsighted view back at himself in an account of a trip he took driving around Andalusia, when he finds himself so wrapped up in the beautiful landscape that he forgets the desperate poverty of the people living there. He describes the moment in which he realizes his blindness as a jolting epiphany that reflects the practice of all too many visitors to Spain: "[M]e detuve a beber un vaso de vino en un ventorro y dije: 'Es el país más hermoso del mundo." El dueño trajinaba al otro lado del mostrador y me miró enarcando las cejas. Su voz resueña todavía en mis oídos cuando repuso: 'Para nosotros, señor, es un país maldito'." For Goytisolo this is a revelation of how disconnected he has been from the reality in his own nation: "Como los millones de turistas extranjeros que

visitan anualmente nuestro país le había hablado en términos de arrobo estético. Su respuesta centraba la cuestión en el terreno justo. Lo que yo juzgaba bello, él lo llamaba, simplemente, pobre. Lo que me parecía pintoresco para él era, tan sólo, anacrónico" (Goytisolo *El furgón* 189). If a Spaniard can fall prey to this momentary confusion of reality with the picturesque, even the most admiring tourist can lose sight of the forest for the trees. This applies to essentialist approaches to Spanish identity on the whole: even the most positive generalizations displace real experience into the realm of fantasy, and history into the realm of legend. Romantic Spain, Black-Legend Spain, sunny Spain, exotic Spain—all these incarnations remain in the Spanish and foreign imaginaries. To relegate them to history would be to disregard their status as myths, as outside reality and thus outside time. They cannot disappear, but they must be recognized for the myths they are. Today's Spanish identities are multiple, complex, and most importantly, always evolving. Foreign conceptualizations of Spanish culture and Spanish engagement with them will have to evolve as well.

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