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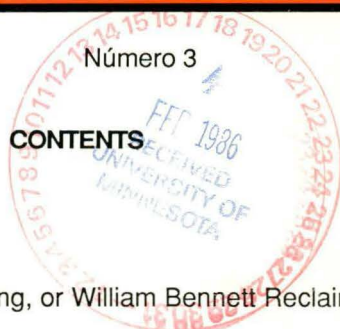
IDEOLOGIES & LITERATURE

Nueva época, Volumen I

Número 3

Otoño 1985

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NOTA EDITORIAL

Sabido es que los caminos de la interpretación histórica no son de ínsula, que más bien lo son de encrucijada. Por ello, y más a menudo de lo que quisiéramos, nos obligan a hacer altos para tomar aliento, retrazar lo andado, y asumir las marcas del suspenso y la interrogación que se dibujan renovadamente en los mapas de la cultura y el conocimiento. Estamos en uno de esos puntos, y ello nos ha dictado la necesidad de dar un nuevo dinamismo a nuestra publicación ampliando la base operacional y el contingente de nuestros colaboradores. Así lo indicaba la nota editorial que encabezaba el Volumen I de la Nueva Epoca. Los convenios establecidos por el Departamento de Español y Portugués y el Instituto de Ideologías y Literatura de la Universidad de Minnesota con el Departamento de Teoría de la Literatura y el Instituto de Cine y Radio-Televisión de la Universidad de Valencia no sólo permitirán una renovación de las problemáticas del hispanismo sino que, al mismo tiempo, dejarán ver bajo una luz nueva los términos de investigación bajo los que suele considerarse tanto el mundo de habla hispana como el de lengua portuguesa.

La década de 1970 y el primer lustro de los años de 1980 han sido el escenario de profundos cambios políticos y sociales no sólo en la totalidad de la península sino también en el Africa lusófona y en la América Latina de habla española y portuguesa. La reinstauración de la democracia en España puso sobre el tapete la cuestión de las nacionalidades. El idioma del colonizador se cuestiona y revalora entre las naciones más nuevas de la familia lingüística ibérica, las lusófonas Guinea-Bissau, Cabo Verde, Angola y Mozambique. Tanto el Brasil, en la América latina, como el Portugal, de la vieja Europa, abren paso a la democratización. Hacia 1975 culmina un proceso de aparente desafección democrática en la América Hispana que deja a las tres cuartas partes del continente bajo las zarpas de la dictadura militar. Sólo en los últimos años el Uruguay y la Argentina empiezan a curarse las heridas; sin embargo, la amenaza de tiranía se cierne doble Bolivia y el Perú, una vez más. Una revolución

socialista rejuvenece a Nicaragua. La más estabilizada Cuba busca definir su cultura casi en los términos que lo hicieron los intelectuales de la generación posterior a la independencia hispanoamericana hacia 1840. No todo ha sido sorpresivo, algo pudo predecirse; pero el hecho de una acumulación histórica que parece absorber con signos de semejanza y relación las esferas de habla hispana y portuguesa, la configuración de una "iberorromania" cultural en el último tercio del siglo XX, era inesperado.

Frente a estos fenómenos surge una pregunta que exige respuesta. ¿Podemos seguir leyendo, desde 1980, los textos de nuestra cultura del mismo modo como lo hacíamos en 1960 cuando un sector de Africa era portugués; cuando España se podía, con abuso, identificar con la lengua castellana; cuando sólo Cuba iniciaba un proceso que la separaba de la relativa homogeneidad de la América latina, vacilante entre las dictaduras y las democracias nominales? Creemos que no. No sólo nos enfrentamos ante una comunidad mayor que es necesario definir; también nos hallamos ante la necesidad de una relectura de las fuentes de nuestra historiografía, de una nueva asunción de los monumentos de nuestra cultura, y de una visión infinitamente más compleja del acontecer cultural en el mundo lingüístico hispano-portugués. *Ideologies & Literature* se halla dispuesta a enfrentar este desafío que, a su vez, motiva nuestra segunda época, contando ahora con la muy valiosa participación del equipo de la Universidad de Valencia.

RESUMEN

La controversia suscitada en 1984 por la famosa novela de George Orwell y la publicación de "To Reclaim a Legacy" por el secretario de educación norteamericano William Bennett, forman la base para este análisis de las dimensiones políticas de la práctica de la lectura. La función de prescriptor de modos de lectura que asume el secretario lo convierten, asimismo, en diseñador de conductas políticas. Ello no puede sino llevar a reflexionar sobre la participación de las instituciones sociales y gubernamentales norteamericanas en procesos políticos y geopolíticos que sobrepasan las fronteras de la nación.

**ON THE POLITICS OF READING, OR WILLIAM
BENNETT
RECLAIMS GEORGE ORWELL**

RONALD W. SOUSA
(University of Minnesota)

for Andy and Elizabeth

It was, of course, a truly unique happening; we don't get fated years too often. *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (henceforth, I think fittingly, *NEF*) calendars, editorials, articles, books, conferences, courses--hundreds of them. And allusions by the score: in 1984 everyone called anyone he or she disagreed with "Orwellian." (This is not to say that the adjective is meaningless; one would, however, have hoped for more cogent usage than 1984 brought.) Here in Minnesota there was even a conference on the novel, and its reading and heritage, funded by the Humanities Commission, that led to a series of community book discussions throughout the state moderated by humanists who had previously attended the conference. In short, 1984 saw a *NEF* for every function and every point of view, most of them presented, with some sage verbal pirouette, as *the NEF*, which everyone else had misunderstood. I should confess that I was a willing, indeed quite enthralled, follower of it all, not having participated in a fated year before. I taught a course, attended the aforementioned conference (and several other *NEF* events), led book discussions in the village where I live, followed the publications nationwide, and so on.

Seen in retrospect, last year's *NEF*ism manifested two major modes of America's relating to Orwell's text, modes sometimes working in concert, sometimes quite independently. The first I shall call the attempt to sanitize, to make fit in the USA of 1984. That gesture involved a continuous verbal assuring--just general assuring--that *NEF* was somehow wrong, its "warning" had not come

true, that the book was somehow "O.K." because it had been disarmed by reality. Literally scores of beginning- and end-of year newspaper editorials took that tack, as did a number of T.V. commentaries as well. It might be pointed out that more than a few analysts of public language have suggested that, by historical comparison, many of the aforementioned media--especially major-network T.V. news--have for some time now reached a state that can be equated to the model of social language profiled in *NEF*: through "happy news," status-quo editorializing, and self-promotion at the expense of content. It is, according to that line of analysis, a kind of censorship according to the commercial structure; in America, "land of consensus," debate and conflict don't "sell," unless they are so sensationalized as to be emptied of much significant semantic content. My other favorite examples of sanitization were the musical review "Or's Well That Ends Well" and the Signet "Commemorative Edition" of *NEF*, complete with gold seal on its cover (Good Housekeeping? 99 44/100% pure?). It dawned on me part way through this wave of *NEF* sanitization that the old Cold War book that we had had interpreted for us in the 1950's, in conflation with *Animal Farm*, as a denunciation of the horrors of Russian Communism was now revealing the flip side that many of us had felt there all along: "not here, not in the land of the whole, unfettered 'individual' human being." (Needless to say, the Cold War reading, which has *now* become the flip side, is still there too; indeed, traces of it will become apparent as I continue.) In sum, *NEF* had become a battleground for interpretation in 1984, and in many cases the first interpretive gesture was one of *ante-factum* sanitization.

The second gesture was all-out struggle for interpretive predominance in *NEF* reading. To be sure, partisan debate at the various academic conferences and in publications that came out during the year was only to be expected. The vehemence of the exchanges, however, was indicative of the stakes: sanitization or traditionalization (the latter being insistence that *NEF* can be correctly interpreted in only one way--a way to be created by an uneasy mixture of paraphrastic and old-fashioned New Critical reading methods, usually leavened with some variety of sanitization) versus a set of oppositionist stances, either resistant

to sanitization and traditionalization or themselves involved in various reinterpetive methods.

A clash in connection with the conference here in Minnesota produced the most interesting instance of such struggle of which I am aware. In the conference's aftermath, one of the participants, a Professor A. M. Eckstein, published an editorial (*The Chronicle of Higher Education*, Oct. 17, 1984, p. 72) labelling the proceedings "sloppy," "imprecise thinking," "misappropriation" of "the vision" of *NEF*, "motivated by . . . politics" and attacking some of the analytical methods employed ("incomprehensible semiotics"). He ended his diatribe, in good *NEFish* fashion, with *his* ("Cold War") reading of *NEF* ("it draws its inspiration mostly from Stalin's U.S.S.R.") and the predictable *NEFish* rhetorical flourish: "distortion of literature and the arts in the service of politics is hardly a new phenomenon . . . It is one of the aspects of our age that most disturbed George Orwell." (I might observe here for the record that I didn't find the conference remarkable in any light.) Eckstein is a historian from the University of Maryland. (Curiously, I seem to have come in contact with a number of conservative historians in connection with *NEF*, all bent on traditionalizing Orwell--one, I swear, in order to carry out that traditionalization, even wrote his own "Orwell" on the subject of the possibility of writing "objective history").

Now Eckstein's editorial was itself ingenuous, patently representing a traditionalistic line of reading genuinely shocked at not seeing itself as the only one on the landscape. It seemed to me virtually a parody of the discourse of William Bennett, then Director of the National Endowment for the Humanities--ironically, an indirect co-sponsoring agency of the conference itself. Indeed, when I first read Eckstein's editorial--and being in one of my cynical moods at the time--I mused to myself that the writer was probably up for a program directorship at the Endowment. As matters turned out, Eckstein's editorial was taken up by columnist Jonathan Yardley who used it as the basis for a denunciatory article ("Academically Abused," *The Washington Post*, Oct. 22, 1984, p. C2). Thence a series of events (as I, a bystander, understand them): 1. the phones at the N.E.H. began ringing about the "expending of public money for such purposes," 2. the N.E.H. contacted the Minnesota Humanities Commission in what was perceived by some there as a threat against funding (a reasonable reaction, since it was felt in several state

Humanities Commissions that the Bennett N.E.H. practiced a policy of funding cuts to those states whose projects it found politically unacceptable), 3. the Minnesota Humanities Commission initiated a letter-writing campaign to discredit Eckstein, 4. the Commission received a second phone call from the N.E.H. applauding the letter-writing campaign and urging its continuation in order that such influence as Eckstein's be discredited (between 2. and 4., it might be noted, Mr. Bennett began his eventually-successful campaign to be nominated Secretary of Education), 5. Eckstein, perhaps seeing that he had been hung out to dry, was last seen defending himself quite well in published letter-writing.

Now, many of the potential approaches to the matter completely aside, the entire process demonstrates the institutional interrelations and stakes involved with interpretation of *NEF* (to be seen now as only as a uniquely-prominent case in point in the year 1984). Mr. Bennett (also a historian, by the way) is, of course,--abetted by conservative columnist George Will--the author of the "five-foot shelf of books" theory of humanistic education and of a number of pronouncements, published over the past few years, against the pernicious influence on analysis of culture of, among other matters, social thought, ideological criticism, psychology, and "French theory" (i.e., Eckstein's "incomprehensible semiotics"). Bennett's most recent major pronouncement, "To Reclaim a Legacy" (the text is printed in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, Nov. 28, 1984, pp. 16-21) in essence builds a critique of American educational practice and sets forth a proposal for its reform grounded in that position. "To Reclaim a Legacy" has been widely both praised and condemned in print in the few months since it has been made public, the sides breaking down--very much as with the battle over *NEF* in 1984--according to whether one sees culture and tradition (read, as first premise, "*Western Culture and Tradition*" presumed to be paradigmatically universal) as more or less uniform and their interpretation as unproblematic for all "right-thinking" individuals, as do Bennett, Eckstein, Will, Yardley, and others, or whether one sees it as heterogeneous and its interpretation varying according to the interpreter's location in time, location in geographical space, location within the formations of his or her society, even his or her his-ness or her-ness. (Incidentally my vote for best book on *NEF* in 1984 goes to Daphne Patai's *The Orwell*

Mystique [University of Massachusetts Press], a feminist reinterpretation of Orwell which, in Bennettian terminology, would be "marginal" and "tendentious.")

The point of all this is that the very struggle over *NEF* in 1984, in which many of the traditionalists participated vigorously (to say the least), ironizes their own position on the subject. Not only was the meaning of *NEF* fought over viciously in 1984, but the political stakes bound up with the struggles in relation to that unique confluence of book and year were very much profiled in the process. (The true complexity to which such a congruency of interpretive mode and political goals could attain being emphasized by what would seem to have been Mr. Bennett's attempt to hide the overtly political dimensions of his participation in the process, to the point of disavowing his followership, in order to play a critically-neutral Pontius Pilate before Congress). The struggle over interpretation of *NEF* in 1984 demonstrates for us that interpretation of culture is an activity with political correlates of one sort or another and that "traditions" are not homogeneous, timeless, and somehow "neutral" cultural constructs that work within nuclear "individuals" but rather, like the societies in which they are produced, heterogeneous, evolving, ideologically-motivated (and, as our *NEF* lesson shows, ideologically-propagated) ones that are participated in differently by different groups of people. (In my view this does not lead to total cultural relativism, nor to the conclusion that a cultural artifact has no authority in its own interpretation, but the arguments are much too long to be rehearsed here.) What was most especially dramatized was precisely that the claim, advanced by such as Bennett and Eckstein, of "value-free" "correct" readings of cultural artifacts is in fact a very "value-loaded" first ploy--consciously understood as such or not by its perpetrators--in what is a totally political posturing. Mr. Bennett's project involving the five-foot shelf of master works of Western culture, with, as "To Reclaim a Legacy" makes very clear, the traditionalistic camp's pre-designated mode of reading (grounded in the liberal humanist notion that the "reading" of somehow-pre-designated "great works" is somehow abstractly good for the [{"individual's"}] soul) thereto attached, represents, then, in this context, a cultural politics. It is a politics of de-historicization and homogenization aimed at interpretive practice and its dissemination through criticism and teaching.

Moreover, its primary historical target is the very development, since the mid-1960's, of a range of critical stances, most of them decidedly anti-"traditional" (in the limited sense in which I use the term in this writing)--a development in which this journal has played a modest though definite role. For such as Bennett and his cohorts, the perspectivism that that development bespeaks is of course discomfiting, for the wish that their "reading" be accepted as universal is therein destroyed. The gesture of "reclamation" that Bennett's title proclaims is, then, revealed as one that is hardly "neutral" but instead is freighted with many highly doubtful premises about culture in general and American cultural history in particular. Moreover, the report's articulation of the specific premises of cultural homogeneity and immanent meaning bespeaks the attitude of hegemonic class discourse endeavoring to maintain/reattain (i.e., "reclaim") its social ascendancy.

The implications of this situation should be looked at carefully, for they involve aspects of the working-space of the American intellectual--and have an international impact as well. First of all, the entire matter raises questions, both general and particular, about the articulation between the institutions of society on the one hand and research, education, even propagated modes of reading on the other. The fact that Mr. Bennett's pronouncements must, at minimum, be taken seriously by American educational curriculum developers and administrators suffices to illustrate the issue in immediate terms. But the questions raised go far beyond the immediate. Aside from its categorical scope, its pure blatancy, and its peculiar reactionarism, is his stance not in fact similar, in broad functional terms, to what preceded it? Is there not always a "cultural politics" of some degree of cohesiveness at work in society? And isn't it always promulgated through some structure of social dominance, albeit, perhaps, usually a more complex and pluralistic one than our traditionalists seem to wish? All those questions can be answered in the affirmative, though some argumentatively so.

And it should be observed too that there is an international--perhaps it might better be termed "geopolitical"--aspect to the question. What is being "decided" in Bennett's proposal is, among other matters, how "we" will read "others"--"others" in time, in space, in point of cultural base. Bennett's mode of reading, grounded

as it is in a specific notion of immanent meaning, would have "us" turn "them" into "us" as we read--and tell them so in the process. The implications, both internally and internationally, are powerful. (Note that for rhetoric's sake, I here accede, momentarily, to the proposition that there is some broad-based, self-identical "us"; in fact, the same mode of reading attempts to enforce that sense as well.) "We" are, then, told that the world is really at its core homogeneous and patterned after "our" own consciousness. (We are simultaneously told the opposite in other areas, such as those of quality and legitimacy, but the issue is too broad to be touched on here.) "We" are therefore authorized to read in ways that are guaranteed beforehand to reject cultural diversity and deny any specificity to cultures other than our own--and to propagate that interpretation of experience. Another term for this practice is cultural imperialism--and let us not forget that the "we"--"they" dichotomy is internal as well as international.

An appropriate intellectual reaction, and one that would provide the basis for political counteraction of such projects as Mr. Bennett's, would be for those who study literature in specific and culture in general to dedicate more work to the institutional dimensions of cultural production, now usually treated quite abstractly and schematically. I suspect such studies would have the immediate effect of making such blanket propositions as Mr. Bennett's much less tenable.

Most social scientists--even many conservative ones--see societies as heterogeneous and dynamic, and social relations and their interpretation as therefore involved in process. Why, then, should those of us who attempt to interpret cultural artifacts, the most obvious mediators of social relations, accept analytical models grounded in immanent meanings and cultural master codes? It is the equivalent, methodologically speaking (and the analogy need not be left only in the realm of the methodological), of asking a historian to write a history of the U.S. using as analytical paradigm the doctrine of manifest destiny. Moreover, the intellectual argument for that doubtful program has in effect been contradicted by its partisans themselves in their participation in the *NEFism* of 1984.

May, 1985

RESUMEN

Se plantea que el poema de Rafael Landívar, *Rusticatio mexicana*, publicado en 1782, es una anomalía en la literatura hispanoamericana tanto por su lugar de publicación en Italia--donde este jesuita guatemalteco vivió el exilio de la Compañía--como por el hecho de haber sido escrito en latín. Ante esta anomalía, la crítica literaria existente ha manifestado una incertidumbre en el tratamiento del poema: se acepta la calidad de su poesía, pero se la concibe como un caso aislado, de escasa relevancia en la cultura hispanoamericana de la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII. Discrepando con este juicio, John Browning afirma que, si se confronta el poema con el contexto intelectual de su época, éste aparece como una importante obra de historia natural y una significativa propuesta de reforma política. La obra de Landívar debe ser entendida sólo en parte como la expresión de nostalgia de un exiliado por su terruño; pero, además, es preciso considerar dos aspectos centrales: su propuesta sobre la diversificación de la economía, propuesta que hacían muchos centroamericanos de la época, y su severa crítica de la representación científica de América hecha por Buffon, De Pauw y otros, quienes presentaban el continente americano como una región malsana, poblada de seres degenerados. Landívar llamó la atención de los criollos guatemaltecos sobre la vastedad de los recursos naturales de la región, cuya explotación traería importantes cambios sociales y políticos. *Rusticatio* pertenece al corpus literario jesuita de los años 1780 que brotó de la inquietud y descontento criollos en los años finales del siglo XVIII, y que contribuyó a las independencias futuras.

**RAFAEL LANDIVAR'S RUSTICATIO
MEXICANA:
NATURAL HISTORY AND POLITICAL
SUBVERSION¹**

JOHN BROWNING
(McMaster University)

Rafael Landívar's poem *Rusticatio Mexicana*, published in 1782, is something of an anomaly among Spanish American works of literature. In the first place it was composed and published in Italy, where the Guatemalan Jesuit spent his exile, and in the second place it was written entirely in Latin, running to over 5,300 lines of verse.² Confronted with this anomaly, critics appear to be somewhat uncomfortable, uncertain of quite how to treat the poem. They agree that it is a fine piece of Latin poetry, but they tend to view it as an isolated phenomenon, hardly relevant to Spanish American culture in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Miguel Batllorí, in *La cultura hispano-italiana de los jesuitas expulsos*,³ makes only passing references to what he calls "la virgiliana *Rusticatio mexicana*" (p.46). On two occasions, using exactly the same wording, he directs the reader to Pedro Henríquez Ureña who extols the vivid authenticity of Landívar's descriptions of Mexican and Guatemalan rural scenes.⁴ All critics, indeed, agree on the beauty and charm of Landívar's landscapes. Some refer to his obvious superiority to Bernardo de Balbuena and to Andrés Bello; some detect echoes of Vergil, Ovid, Theocritus and others.⁵ But most commentators see the *Rusticatio Mexicana* as little more than the outpouring of the melancholy exile yearning for the lakes, waterfalls and fertile valleys of the homeland to which he will probably never return. The nostalgic element in the *Rusticatio* is important, of course, but it is only one of several aspects to be considered if one is to give the poem its due.

Comparatively few critics have attempted to relate the poem to the intellectual climate in which it appeared, to see it as perhaps an expression of Spanish American and Jesuitical sentiment and thought. Mariano Picón Salas refers to the writings of Landívar's "compañeros de destierro" and says that the *Rusticatio*, too, "ofrece el palpitante indicio de un nacionalismo que ya despierta," but he leaves it at that.⁶ Graciela Nemes, in a brief article entitled "Rafael Landívar and Poetic Echoes of the Enlightenment," sees Landívar as the product of a progressive Jesuitical training, an empiricist, who in Bologna "enjoyed the company of many illustrious exiles devoted to writing about their beloved America."⁷ But Nemes does not tell us precisely why numerous illustrious exiles were writing about their beloved America. She refers to Francisco Javier Clavijero, author of the *Storia antica del Messico* (1780), but she establishes no ideological link between him and Landívar, or indeed, between Landívar and any other Jesuit exile.

It seems to me important to place Landívar in his intellectual context in order to do full justice to him and to the *Rusticatio Mexicana*. When this is done, the poem emerges as far more than a stream of nostalgic effusion; it is clearly an important work of natural history and a significant political statement.

II

The 1780's saw an impressive outpouring of works by Jesuit exiles in Italy. Of importance to us here are those Jesuits particularly interested in the natural history of the New World, and one such scholar was José Jolís. Towards the end of the decade Jolís recalled his twelve years spent in the remote Gran Chaco region between modern-day Paraguay and Bolivia, and he decided to turn his extensive collection of notes into a book very largely in response to the "unflattering pictures which certain authors paint of that entire continent."⁸ The authors who have particularly riled Jolís are the Frenchman, Buffon, and more especially his Dutch sympathizer, Cornelius de Pauw, neither of whom had visited America. Buffon, selecting his sources with care, had claimed that the New World was an excessively humid place, an environment

inimical to the healthy development of most living things, mammals and human beings in particular.⁹ Buffon's prestige was immense, and his view of America gained wide acceptance in Europe.¹⁰ De Pauw took Buffon's arguments somewhat farther. Buffon had hoped that intelligent Europeans could clear forests and drain marshes and make the continent healthy. De Pauw, who was opposed to emigration, saw no such prospects. He claimed that everything imported into the New World degenerated markedly within a generation or two. Livestock grew smaller and feebler. Human beings waxed sickly, and Creoles, he claimed, were intellectually very inferior to Europeans: they were stupid and incapable of retaining what they were taught.¹¹

Small wonder that Jolís, who had observed and studied the New World at first hand, should react indignantly and attempt to set the record straight. His *Saggio sulla storia naturale del Gran Chaco* is a painstaking description of Paraguay's rivers, lakes and climate. "A country of so temperate and benign a climate, bathed by frequent rains, watered by great rivers, and blessed with lakes and springs, could not be anything but fertile and abundant," wrote Jolís, clearly rebutting Buffon's contention that the American climate constituted an unhealthy environment (*Saggio*, p.92). Jolís's Chaco teems with wildlife. He tells us of its jaguars, cougars, wolves, foxes, moles, rabbits, chinchillas, skunks, anteaters, armadillos, wild pigs, deer, goats, birds, reptiles, snakes, insects and fish (pp.158-386). He provides an account also of the native peoples, among whom the Abipones have particularly impressed him. "The robustness and strength of the Abipones, well-built and solid in all their limbs, is extraordinary," he writes. "For the most part they are taller not only than the Indians of Paraguay and Peru and of the western parts of the Chaco, but they are also taller than the Europeans. They have a reputation for being quite warlike, and they are, and are therefore much feared by the Spaniards along these frontiers... (p.455)

So much then, for the cowardly, crouching savage to be found everywhere in America, according to de Pauw. Other former Jesuits had consistently attacked and demolished de Pauw earlier in the 1780's. Juan Ignacio Molina's defense of Chile appeared in 1782 and clearly owed its existence in large part to de Pauw. "My readers, to whom signor Pauw's *Ricerche filosofiche sopra gli Americani* are known, will be quite surprised to find an American country being

described differently from the way [de Pauw] would have people believe all parts of that vast continent are," announces Molina at the outset. "But what can I do?" he continues. "Should I betray the truth. . .?" (p.12) Clearly he should not. The truth, scientific accuracy, were among the objectives for which these ex-Jesuits were striving, and the truth they wanted to tell about their native lands was something they had established through their own careful observations. "From my early youth I devoted myself to observing the riches of Nature and to learning about past events," says Molina (p.7). A little later he adds: "I have seen and observed constantly that which I say. Not content with my own judgment, I have consulted impartial writers, worthy of respect for their knowledge, who have been [to America], and they endorse all my observations and give irrefutable support to everything I write" (p.12). This approach, Molina notes, is in sharp contrast to that of de Pauw, who had never been to America and who had not read widely about the continent.

Molina describes Chile's geography, climate, rivers, lakes, soil, minerals, vegetation, mammals and fish. Animals imported from Europe have prospered and multiplied, he insists, as indeed have the descendants of Europeans. He recalls one Antonio Boza who died at the age of 106, having sired twenty-six children.¹² "I have known among those same Creoles whom M. Pauw would like to condemn to a brief existence old people of 104, 107 and 115 years," says Molina. "My paternal grandfather and my great-grandfather, both Creoles, survived in good health, the one to the age of ninety-five and the other to ninety-six. These examples are also very common among the Indians of the country" (p.333).

Francisco Javier Clavijero was perhaps the doyen of these Jesuit writers. His *Storia antica del Messico* was published in Cesena in 1780 and comprised four volumes. The first deals with the mountains, volcanoes, trees, flowers, fruits, quadrupeds, reptiles, fish, insects and people of Mexico. The second and third paint a flattering picture of pre-Columbian Mexico and a less than flattering picture of the Spanish conquest. The fourth volume is a methodical rejection of all European anti-Americanist theories on the New World, but in particular those of de Pauw, whose "mostruoso ritratto" (p.7) is challenged and demolished in every chapter. "I protest to . . . de Pauw and to all Europe," writes the angry Clavijero,

"that the minds of the Americans are capable of all the sciences, including the most abstract; and that if serious attention were paid to their education . . . among the Americans would be seen philosophers, mathematicians and theologians who could take their places with the most famous of Europe" (pp.190-91). This anger of Clavijero is shared by Molina and by Jolí's and by many of their American contemporaries, both at home and in exile. It reflected a rising tide of protest against European disdain and ignorance of America, and an intensifying chauvinism on the part of Creoles, determined to show that the New World and its peoples were every bit as good as the Old World and its inhabitants.

Landívar's *Rusticatio Mexicana* appeared in its expanded form two years after Clavijero's history of Mexico, in the same year as Molina's study on Chile, and seven years before Jolí's work on Paraguay. Clavijero, Molina and Jolí published in Italian; Landívar in Latin verse. But essentially the spirit and the content of the *Rusticatio* are the same as those of the other works mentioned. "I relate those things which I have seen and those that have been told to me by eyewitnesses, entirely trustworthy, however," announces Landívar at the outset. "Besides, I have been careful to confirm the more unusual things written on the authority of eyewitnesses," he adds, in words reminiscent of Molina's.¹³ There are descriptions everywhere of the springs, streams, rivers and lakes of Guatemala and Mexico. Throughout the poem Landívar stresses the immense variety and exuberance of the region's wildlife. Beavers, hummingbirds, porcupines, monkeys, alligators, wild boars, coyotes, eagles and many others pass before us in colorful and exotic procession. Time and again Landívar shows us robust, admirable Indians, and praises the civilization and achievements of the Aztec empire.

It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that Landívar wrote for the same reasons that Clavijero, Molina, Jolí and others wrote: to combat the widespread belief that America was an unhealthy continent, peopled by squalid savages and stupid Creoles, and to present a detailed, accurate, scientific picture of the New World which would enlighten Europeans and Americans alike. If we place the *Rusticatio* in this ideological context, it becomes evident that at every turn Landívar is presenting material which will refute the theories of the offending European naturalists. The charming descriptions of the waters of Guatemala and Mexico are more than

eighteenth-century echoes of a Renaissance of Vergilian *locus amoenus*. When Landívar says, for example:

This lake fills its vast bed with fresh waters, gathering them quietly through underground channels and from tiny unnamed streams and clear rivers which flow across the grassy plains. . . (p.167)

he is rejecting, on the basis of his own direct observation, the belief, widely held since the time of Bacon and much exploited by Buffon, that America was an excessively damp place, too damp to support a healthy and healthful vegetation. Buffon had contended that the forests were too vast and dense and kept out the sunlight and warmth which might improve the condition of the creatures within.¹⁴ Oliver Goldsmith, much influenced by Buffon, had written in 1769 of

Those matted woods where birds forget to sing
and silent bats in drowsy clusters cling;¹⁵

Almost in direct response, it would seem, Landívar describes dense forests but adds:

Moreover [the lakeshore] hides so many birds in its shady wood that the reechoing forest resounds with soft melody. There the winged companies bedecked in many colors joyously make their way on bright-colored wings through the clear sky, filling the air with music and causing the shore to ring with their sweet songs. (p.171)

De Pauw had dwelt at length on the feebleness of the American Indians. The males were effeminate, capable of producing milk in the same way that women did, he claimed. They were apathetic, cowardly, base, idle, and vindictive. The Jesuits, a number of whom would have had some Indian blood, were not prepared to let such statements pass unchallenged, and all of the authors mentioned here take pains to portray the Indian in the most favorable light possible. Far from being a cretinous savage, Landívar's Indian is the "crafty

Indian," the "wily Indian," the cunning hunter (p.174). The Indians are a people of ingenuity, an "illustrious people" who erected in Tenochtitlán "majestic temples to the gods, and palaces for their kings, and castles and homes" (p.169). Landívar's Indian is sturdy and resilient, the opposite of the cowardly weakling of de Pauw's imagination. Describing the care and vigilance necessary for the cultivation of the nopal cactus, Landívar observes:

The Indian people . . . taught to endure hardships are not easily daunted by the cold rains, nor do they dread Phoebus when he brandishes his bright red lamp. Thus unperturbed, they bear all things that might be feared--the moon and sun, the rains, and cold and heat. (p.197)

De Pauw had maintained that animals brought to America from elsewhere had deteriorated with each generation. They had become smaller and their flesh tougher. Proof of this, he claimed, was the fact that beef was hard to chew in Santo Domingo.¹⁶ Landívar repeatedly defends the imported species. Most impressive of these was the stallion:

Over the golden plains, cushioned with grass, the fiery animal gently shakes the ground as he gallops along, his tail raised high and neck arched, while . . . the mane falls loosely over his neck and back and ears. (p.245)

And as if to squash de Pauw's frequent aspersions upon the reproductive capacity of animals brought from outside, Landívar adds:

As he roams over the delightful field, he attentively brings along in the rear a closely united column of white mares.

The humble chicken, too, had prospered in the New World. Introduced by the Spaniards, now

. . . clucking hens are heard everywhere in the cities,
on the ranches, in the hamlets, and about the huts of
the poor. (p.275)

"A stupid insensitivity constitutes the basis of the character of all Americans," said de Pauw.¹⁷ They were incapable of following instructions, unable to concentrate, and at sea when faced with abstract ideas.¹⁸ Clavijero had countered such notions at length in his *Storia antica*.¹⁹ Landívar's contribution to the polemic was to select a number of Mexican writers and to mention briefly, either in footnotes or in the text, some of their achievements. The reader is thus introduced to the "devout [Juan] Carnero, on fire with divine love," who "bewailed . . . the terrible stripes of Christ," in the poem *Passio Domini*. We meet, too, the "illustrious [Diego José] Abad," Francisco Javier Alegre, "skilled in Apollo's art," who translated Homer's *Iliad* and added a work of his own entitled the *Alexandriad*, and the "celebrated comic poet Alarcón," amongst numerous others (p.172). Perhaps the most noteworthy was "Joanna"--Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz--who was so far from being stupid and insensitive that when she sang

the water stopped flowing, and the birds suddenly
interrupted their flight and for a long time held
themselves suspended silently in the air, and rocks
were seen to move as a result of the sweet-sounding
melody. (p.172)

Not only does the *Rusticatio* show that de Pauw and others were wrong about America, it occasionally claims that in certain respects the New World is superior to the Old. Describing, for instance, the area in Guatemala known as Pedro Mártir, Landívar devotes 158 lines to a deep gorge whose awesome dimensions can only be appreciated when one descends by ladder to the floor of the canyon and gazes upwards. Here is something the Old World cannot match:

In no such way did the twelve kings, beside the fertile
banks of the Nile's rich waters, once build their
famous palaces, monuments of their exalted pride,
yearning to perpetuate their illustrious names with a

dozen memorials and to extend their glory forever, as
has bountiful nature adorned this marvelous cave.
(p.189)

At the conclusion of this passage Landívar returns to this point that this natural phenomenon has no equal anywhere else in the world:

Let the peoples of Egypt keep silent about their green
fields enriched by the waters of the bountiful Nile,
and let the ancient world keep silent concerning its
idly-heralded seven wonders. This valley surpasses in
beauty all wonders . . . (p.192)

There are other, similar, references. In the Gulf of Nicoya, on the Pacific coast of Central America, is found a shell-fish which provides a purple dye "such as the shores of Tyre never produced" (pp.198-99); the river Chalco in Mexico contains such wonders that, says Landívar, "Let all the water deities be silent concerning their fountains, and let fair fame extol only the Mexican waters . . ." (pp.168-69).

I would suggest that we now have sufficient evidence to show that the *Rusticatio Mexicana* is more than an isolated poem full of nostalgic recollections of Guatemalan and Mexican rural scenes; it is also a painstaking work of natural history, designed to combat widespread European misconceptions about America, and to be ranked ideologically with other works on the flora, fauna, peoples and history of the New World written by other exiled Jesuits in Italy during the 1780's. Clavijero and Molina wrote in Italian and tended to be more vehement and polemical in their presentation of their subject matter. Landívar wrote in Latin in order that educated readers throughout Europe, from Rome to Edinburgh and Stockholm, would understand him, and he wrote in verse, partly, no doubt, for the sheer challenge and enjoyment of it, and partly perhaps to make his message more palatable and digestible than it would have been in dry Latin prose.

But Landívar must have intended his poem to do more than enlighten European readers. All the Jesuits wrote with a Spanish American readership in mind which they may have considered to be more important in the long run than their European public. Clavijero announced at the very beginning of the *Storia* that his intention was partly "to serve as best I might my fatherland and nation," and it seems only reasonable to suppose that Landívar hoped to make something of an impact in his native Guatemala and perhaps elsewhere.²⁰

He was born in 1731 in Santiago de los Caballeros, the capital of the kingdom of Guatemala, which at the time embraced the territory stretching from what is now the Mexican state of Chiapas down to the southern frontier of Costa Rica. His father had come at an early age from Navarre, had married into a distinguished local family, and through hard work, native ability and good connections, had grown rich. His was a success story repeated many times in Central America over much of the eighteenth century. From Navarre or the Basque Provinces, attracted by the booming indigo trade, came José de Vidaurre, Simón Larrazábal, Martín Barrundia, Juan Bautista de Irisarri, Juan Fermín de Aycinena and others, many of whom prospered, changing as they did so the economy, the society, the attitudes and expectations of the colony. A new elite emerged composed partly of aggressive, pragmatic merchants and money-lenders who in time came to dominate not only trade but also production, both agricultural and mineral, in Guatemala.

The Guatemala of Landívar's adolescence and early adulthood was a far cry from the sleepy backwater it had been fifty years before. There was a growing demand in Europe for Guatemalan indigo, much of which was of exceptionally high quality. This lucrative trade, centered in El Salvador, stimulated commerce throughout Central America. In Nicaragua and Costa Rica cattle production expanded as did wheat and corn production in highland Guatemala. The textile industry in Oaxaca grew, and more silver was mined in Honduras to provide coin for the burgeoning economy.²¹ Suddenly Guatemala was

propelled onto the stage of international commerce, fortunes were made and family empires founded.

Pleasing though this new prosperity doubtless was to those who were benefitting from it, the more perceptive and enlightened members of the elite would have been aware of the fact that this prosperity was precarious as long as it rested primarily upon indigo. Shipping disruptions caused by war and plagues of locusts were but two of the hazards which threatened the industry. The need to diversify, to find other exportable products, was becoming increasingly evident to Guatemala's leaders. The colony had vast potential, it was felt, but it was sadly underdeveloped. The archbishop of Guatemala, Cayetano Francos y Monroy, wrote in 1784, two years after the publication of the *Rusticatio*, that the colony was "uno de los mejores y más ricos terrenos, con todas aquellas proporciones que en pocas partes se hallarán más ventajosas para hacerlo verdaderamente magnífico y brillante..."²² Francos was writing in support of a bid to establish a *Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País* for Guatemala, for such a body, it was thought, would bring together the talent and resources which would give the colony the development it needed. A *Sociedad* did not officially come into being until 1796, however, and by that time the Guatemalan economy had deteriorated alarmingly--inflation and a sharp drop in indigo profits being partly to blame.²³ Diversification of the economy was now a more urgent need.

In Trujillo, Honduras, the secretary of the local *Sociedad*, Juan Ortiz de Letona, addressed the membership in April 1798 and commented: "La experiencia nos enseña, señores, que campea la fertilidad en el suelo de Trujillo. Apenas habrá semilla que depositada en la tierra deje de producir con lozanía." But Ortiz was painfully aware of the dramatic contrast between his province's potential and its actual condition. He observed that Honduras produced gold, silver, copper, mercury, cacao, sugar, wheat, corn, cotton, indigo, a variety of exotic woods, pitch, cattle, horses, tobacco, silk, gums and resins, and yet, "a pesar de estas ricas producciones [esta provincia] está inculta por la mayor parte, despoblada, y presenta el cuadro de la más lastimosa miseria." Ortiz felt that much could be done to stimulate at least the production and export of cotton, cacao and sugar. "Nuestra situación local," he continued, "y la natural feracidad del terreno producirán sin duda las

mayores ventajas al comercio si se fomentan los tres expresados ramos."²⁴

It is worth noting here that despite the fact that the Guatemala was able to produce all the items listed by Ortiz, the colony was in the absurd position of having to import a large number of the most basic commodities, among them, salt, pepper, olive oil, rice, sugar, string, rope, wax, thread, pins, scissors, knives, mirrors, combs, paper, shoes, vinegar and beer, to say nothing of luxury goods such as china, glassware, silk stockings, hats, wine, handkerchiefs and ground coffee.²⁵ These were shipped usually to the Honduran ports of Trujillo or Omoa from Cadiz, often via Havana, and the exporters, having no official competition, were able to ask virtually any price they chose, often accepting payment in indigo on which they were able to fix a price that was highly favorable to themselves. Consumers of Guatemala were thus at the mercy of outsiders. If they did not accept the price offered for their indigo, they went without numerous staples. Not surprisingly, smuggling was widespread.

A lack of adequate navigational channels and port facilities was a major obstacle to the development of the colony. Ortiz referred to this problem, and in Guatemala, Juan Bautista de Irisarri stressed vigorously and eloquently the need for satisfactory ports on the Salvador coast in order to stimulate the production of cacao, cotton, sugar and coffee. Irisarri, who had come from Navarre in the 1770's was a down-to-earth and energetic businessman, as his brief of 1798 to the Consulado de Comercio shows:

Desengañémonos, señores, que mientras los inmensos, hermosos y fértiles terrenos baldíos de que estamos en posesión no suden, haciendo que den de sí crecidas cosechas de cacaos, algodones, azúcares, cafés, etc. etc., y el comerciante ingenioso no les proporcione salida fuera del reino por la Mar del Sur, no sólo no mejorará de suerte Guatemala, sino que irá de mal en peor.²⁶

Irisarri was a regular contributor to the *Gazeta de Guatemala*, writing mainly under the pseudonym of *Chirimía*. Anticipating a collapse of the indigo market in Europe, he wrote:

Sin ningún ramo de extracción ¿qué esperanza nos queda de que le entre alguna plata a este miserable reino? ¿Cómo, o de qué manera se podrá sostener sin padecer un trastorno general? ¿Qué individuo, qué cuerpo ... dejará de ser comprendido en esta catástrofe universal? (*Gazeta*, IV, 148, 17 March 1800, 185.)

Francos y Monroy, Ortiz de Letona and Irisarri were representative of the more enlightened Central American attitudes of their time. All were keenly aware of the potential of the colony, all were frustrated to some extent by the failure to develop its riches.

If, then, Landívar, son of a successful businessman from Navarre and a member of the new colonial aristocracy, describes at length in the *Rusticatio Mexicana* the cultivation of indigo and sugar, the mining of silver and gold, the extraction of cochineal and purple dyes, the raising of cattle, horses, sheep, goats and pigs, I would suggest that he does so not simply from nostalgia, but because, like many of his fellow Guatemalans, he was aware of the colony's resources and potential, and also aware of the dangers of a monolithic economy and anxious for the development of other marketable commodities.

At the end of the poem Landívar pens some of the most significant lines in the entire work. Addressing specifically young readers, he says:

Learn to esteem highly your fertile lands, to search out and determine with care the riches of the field and the matchless blessings of heaven. Let another, like the beasts, go with unseeing eye through the fields gilded by the golden sunlight, and let him indolently waste his time in play. But you, on the contrary, who have great keenness of mind, abandon old ideas and adopt the new, and with a high resolve to uncover the mysteries of nature, bring into the search the full vigor of your mind, and with joyful work uncover your treasures. (p.309)

This exhortation, then, is addressed to the next generation of Guatemalans, and to those members of it who have keen, critical and imaginative minds. They are to study carefully and scientifically their native land; they are to explore its potential and bring the country into a new age of prosperity. Others may cling to their "old ideas" and be content with the status quo; the next leaders of Guatemala will have a different attitude and will effect great changes. The references to "old" and "new" ideas are somewhat enigmatic, and it is hard to know precisely what Landívar had in mind. Perhaps it was his intention that these references be vague and merely suggestive; too clear a statement could have been imprudent and might have attracted unwelcome attention.

The editor of the colony's newspaper, the *Gazeta de Guatemala*, Ignacio Beteta, published a lengthy article entitled "Comercio." In the second instalment he suddenly launches into a harangue of his readers which shows how strongly he feels about Guatemala's unrealized potential, and which is strikingly reminiscent of Landívar's words just quoted:

¡Guatemalenses! Recorred conmigo esos fértiles países que no sois dignos de habitar, pues no sabéis estimarlos. ¡Qué inmensa copia de riquezas presenta por todas partes a nuestros ojos la Naturaleza liberal!
(*Gazeta*, I, 9, 10 April 1797, 68.)

Only the previous week Beteta had referred to Landívar, including him in a list of outstanding Guatemalans. "De este docto ex-jesuita Guatemalense," he writes, "sólo hemos visto un poema latino intitulado *Rusticatio Mexicana* impreso en Bolonia en 1782" (*Gazeta* I, 8, 3 April 1797, 62). It is tempting to think that the stirring words quoted above were inspired directly by Beteta's reading of Landívar. But whether Beteta had studied the poem or not, it is clear that he and Landívar were kindred spirits where their love of Guatemala and their desire for its development were concerned. Beteta concluded his article on commerce with an optimistic look at the future, seeing probably a vision similar to Landívar's:

... todo nos da un auspicio favorable, todo nos hace concebir la esperanza lisonjera de que algún día este

país ofrecerá al mundo el espectáculo raro, pero agradable, de la riqueza y de la felicidad, sostenida por la agricultura, por las artes, y por el Comercio. (*Gazeta*, I, 9, 10 April 1797, 68)

Trade was a major concern of the *Gazeta*. There had to be freedom of trade. Campomanes in Spain had said that trade "dimana del derecho natural y de gentes,"²⁷ and such thinking found enthusiastic support among certain elements in the New World. A contributor to the *Gazeta*, who signed himself the "Imparcial y Buen Patriota," called for "un comercio libre, franco, y protegido en lo largo de las costas del Sur y Norte" (III, 104, 13 May 1799, 30) as one of the desiderata for the transformation of the colony.²⁸

Emotionally and ideologically, then, Landívar belongs with that group of Guatemalans who, in the closing years of the eighteenth century, grieved over the plight of the colony and pressed for reforms. But the reforms envisioned would have involved diversification of the economy, the development of port facilities, and freedom of trade--changes which would have served to weaken Spain's hold on the region. The development of port facilities would have made trade with the colony more attractive to a greater number of exporters. This would have broken the monopoly of the Cadiz merchants who hitherto had been able to charge as much as they wanted for the merchandise brought in, and to pay as little as they wanted for the indigo taken out. Adequate ports would have provided convenient routes out of the country for products other than indigo, the economy would have been diversified and trade expanded. Free trade and protected shipping would have made it possible for Central Americans to do more business with South America and perhaps establish links with English-speaking America, too. Local industries would have had a chance to develop, and this would have reduced Guatemala's disproportionate reliance on imports.

In brief, the reforms implicit in the *Rusticatio* would have allowed Guatemala a degree of independence. Such a development, of course, would have been anathema to Spain, whose policy in the eighteenth century was to strengthen its control over America. As a result, therefore, Madrid did nothing to encourage port development, forbade free trade, and in 1800 closed down the *Sociedad Económica*.

Landívar must have been aware of the implications of urging his younger readers to uncover their treasures and to work for a more prosperous Guatemala. A more prosperous Guatemala would have been a more independent Guatemala, and such independence would have weakened the imperial structure. The *Rusticatio* should be viewed, therefore, not only as a work of natural history, but as an important political statement as well.

Perhaps Landívar merely sought extensive reforms in Spain's American empire. Perhaps he sought, in his way, the destruction of that empire. What is certain is that he had good reason to be hostile towards a system which had exiled him for an indefinite period, and he was constantly in the company of other Jesuits, in the same predicament as he, and their conversations could well have intensified their common resentment.²⁹ Certainly the Spanish government was nervous of Jesuit machinations against it. Clear evidence of this nervousness is the fact that Clavijero's *Storia antica* could not appear in Spanish translation because of what was felt to be its Mexican chauvinism.³⁰ Spain had good reason to be nervous, of course. The Peruvian Jesuit, Juan Pablo Viscardo, worked hard to persuade the British government to support a Creole uprising against Spain, and Juan José Godoy from Chile was similarly radical. Other Jesuits, Juan Ignacio Molina, for example, gladly gave their support to the struggle for independence once hostilities began, and were therefore presumably sympathetic to the idea of American emancipation before 1808.³¹ Landívar may, or may not, have been a Viscardo sympathizer, but there is every reason to suppose that he would have shed no tears over the collapse of Spanish rule in the New World.

In September 1810, with almost all the Iberian Peninsula under the control of Napoleon, the island of León, hard by Cadiz, was the site of a gathering without precedent in the history of the Spanish-speaking world. The General and Extraordinary Cortes of Spain met, convening over 100 deputies in whose eyes gleamed the prospect of the new, enlightened, Liberal Spain which would come to be once the invader had been ousted. Guatemala's representative to the Cortes, Antonio Larrazábal (another descendant of Basque or Navarrese immigrants) had been dispatched to put the Central American case. His brief embodied rather more than 100 articles. Among these were calls for a diversification of the economy to avoid the hazards

of a one-crop system; the supremacy of agriculture in the economy was acknowledged; it was recognized that the wealth of a nation or province lay in its land, its products, its animals, its equipment and its people's expertise. Trade should be far freer, so that Americans could obtain from elsewhere the items Spain was unable to supply.³²

Some thirty years after the publication of the *Rusticatio* the sentiments and principles which it embodied remained central to the thinking of enlightened and progressive Central Americans. This is not to imply that Larrazábal and the other Guatemalans who drafted the proposals presented in Cadiz in 1810 fell asleep at night reciting lines from the *Rusticatio*, but rather to show that the poem as a political statement is in every way representative of enlightened Spanish American thought at the dawn of the nineteenth century.

The *Rusticatio Mexicana* is perhaps not a call to revolution, but it is certainly more than a nostalgic evocation of the charms of rural Central America, a weak echo of the *Georgics*. The melancholy yearnings of the exile infuse an emotional intensity into what were almost certainly the poem's major functions: to challenge scientifically the picture of the New World propagated by Buffon, de Pauw and others, and to draw the attention of Creole readers to their untapped resources, which once developed, would transform Guatemala and precipitate far-reaching social and political changes. The *Rusticatio* belongs to that body of Jesuit literature of the 1780's which emerged from and contributed to the Creole restlessness and discontent of the last years of the eighteenth century. Landívar, like many of his fellow Jesuits, endeavored to paint an accurate picture of the New World, and in so doing, he helped to fan the flames of nationalism in the American colonies and to pave the way for independence.

NOTES

¹This article is a much expanded version of a paper given in San Francisco in April 1980 at the meeting of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies in a session entitled "Tradition and Innovation in Eighteenth-Century Spanish America."

²This work had a considerably shorter predecessor which was published in 1781 and consists of 3,425 lines. Possibly with the encouragement of fellow Jesuits, Landívar decided to expand the earlier poem and announced in its concluding lines a more extensive undertaking in the near future.

³Madrid: Gredos, 1966.

⁴*Las corrientes literarias en la América hispánica* (México, Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1964), p.85.

⁵José Mata Gavidia, for example, in his introduction to the facsimile edition of the *Rusticatio* (Guatemala 1954), and Graydon W. Regenos in his introduction to his English translation of the poem published in *Philological and Documentary Studies*, I, 5 (1948).

⁶*De la conquista a la independencia* (México, Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1965), p.193.

⁷In *The Ibero-American Enlightenment*, ed. A. Owen Aldridge (Urbana, Chicago, London: University of Illinois Press, 1971), p.305.

⁸*Saggio sulla storia naturale del Gran Chaco* (Faenza 1789), pp.3-4. Translations from Italian and French are my own.

⁹*Oeuvres complètes* (Paris: Baudoin Frères, 1826), XV, *Animaux carnassiers*, pp.429-30 and 443-46.

¹⁰For more on the spread of Buffon's ideas on this topic, see my article "Cornelius de Pauw and Exiled Jesuits: the Development of Nationalism in Spanish America" in *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 10, 4 (Spring 1978), 289-307.

¹¹*Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains* (Berlin 1768-69), I, 28; II, 156.

¹²He gives no information on the fate of Mrs. Boza.

¹³I shall be referring throughout to the English translation by Graydon W. Regenos, published in *Philological and Documentary Studies*, I, 5 (1948), 162-309. This quotation is from page 165.

¹⁴Buffon, I, 13.

¹⁵*The Deserted Village* in *Collected Works*, ed. Arthur Friedman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), V, 245.

¹⁶De Pauw, I, 13.

¹⁷II, 154.

¹⁸p. 158.

¹⁹Clavijero, I, 119-20; IV, 178-91.

²⁰It is important to stress here that Landívar considered himself thoroughly Guatemalan, despite what the title of the poem may suggest. He entitled it *Rusticatio Mexicana* because "I realize that it is customary in Europe to call the whole of New Spain, Mexico, without taking into account the different countries," he writes (p.165). There can be no doubt that his attention and affection are directed primarily towards Guatemala. "Hail, dear mother-city, fair

Guatemala, hail--joy of my life, its fountain and source," he writes at the outset (p.163). No such paeans are addressed to Mexico.

²¹See Miles Wortman, *Government and Society in Central America, 1680-1840* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), p.126.

²²"Carta del arzobispo de Guatemala, D. Cayetano Francos y Monroy a su Majestad Carlos III, informándole sobre asuntos de su arquidiócesis," *Antropología e historia de Guatemala*, VIII (June 1956), 9.

²³Caracas had begun to export high-quality indigo, and the British had developed an efficient indigo industry in Bengal in the 1780's. For more details, see Wortman, pp.184-89.

²⁴Reported in the *Gazeta de Guatemala*, II, 76, 25 August 1798, 226. The members of the Guatemalan elite were not unanimous on the question of the diversification of the economy. Those who supported the *Sociedad Económica* favored diversification; many merchants, however, primarily those who belonged to the *Consulado de Comercio*, failed to appreciate the need for it. See Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr., *Class Privilege and Economic Development: the Consulado de Comercio of Guatemala, 1793-1871* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1966), pp.112-13.

²⁵*Gazeta*, II, 61, 14 May 1798, 109 and 111, and II, 86, 5 November 1798, 299-300.

²⁶Archivo General de Centroamérica, A1.2, legajo 169, expediente 3421, fol. 20a.

²⁷Quoted by Ricardo Krebs Wilckens, *El pensamiento histórico, político y económico del Conde de Campomanes* (Santiago: Universidad de Chile, 1960), p.172.

²⁸The other desiderata comprised an easing of restrictions by Spain on the colonial economy, protection for shipping, and the development of adequate port facilities similar to those for which Irisarri had been campaigning.

²⁹In Bologna he lived in a house with thirteen other exiled Jesuits, among them Clavijero. See Charles E. Ronan, S. J. *Francisco Javier Clavigero, S. J. (1731-1787), Figure of the Mexican Enlightenment: His Life and Works* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1977), p. 94.

³⁰See Charles E. Ronan, S. J., "Clavigero: the Fate of a Manuscript," *The Americas*, xxvii, 2, (October 1970), 118.

³¹See Simon Collier, *The Ideas and Politics of Chilean Independence, 1808-1833* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), p.34.

³²See Mario Rodríguez, *The Cádiz Experiment in Central America, 1808 to 1826* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1978), pp.47-52.

RESUMEN

Héctor Calderón propone una lectura social y política de la novela de José Donoso en que, mediante una apoyatura en el psicoanálisis, examina la forma en que se da la representación de las imágenes de lo masculino y lo femenino como formas ideológicas de reproducción del poder oligárquico en Latinoamérica. Esta ideología es la del falogocentrismo, que se presenta como visión consciente, no distorsionada, invariable y nombrable de la supremacía masculina y la sujeción femenina. La novela es concebida como representación de una rivalidad sexual, generacional y de relaciones de clase que produce una serie de oposiciones entre los discursos del padre y de la madre: lo masculino/lo femenino; amo/esclavo; dominio/servidumbre; oligarquía/campesinado; escritura/oralidad; historia/mito; cultura/naturaleza. Las subtramas, las narraciones orales de un discurso precapitalista y preindividualista contadas por los sirvientes de las familias patriarcales oligárquicas son esenciales para el desarrollo de la trama principal y gradualmente se apoderan de la imaginación del narrador. Esta estrategia narrativa debe ser leída, se propone, como una recodificación del conflicto entre el impulso falogocéntrico de autoconservación y la destructiva urgencia castradora, oposición que se homologa con la lucha entre diferentes estratos sociolingüísticos y discursos de clase antagonistas.

**IDEOLOGY AND SEXUALITY, MALE AND FEMALE
IN
EL OBSCENO PAJARO DE LA NOCHE**

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Perhaps José Donoso's most important contribution to recent Spanish American literature has been his sustained interest in social formations and representations of male and female images as these impinge upon individual sexual identity. The intersection of transindividual thought systems, social organizations, and personal identity has been for Donoso, as well as for other writers, the individual family structure with its generational and sexual conflicts. These conflicts play a particularly crucial role in *El obsceno pájaro de la noche*, a book that summarizes what is up to now the first major phase of his fiction.¹ In this book generational and sexual rivalries produce a series of structural oppositions between the discourse of the father and the discourse of the mother: not only male/female, but also master/slave, dominance/subservience, oligarchy/peasantry, writing/orality, history/myth, and culture/nature. These themes seem to me wholly consistent with the paradigms of thought that emerged out of the cultural and ideological revolutions of the sixties decade. The underlying or latent relationship that connects these oppositions is Donoso's critique of what, in the wake of Derridean Post-Structuralism, can be described as phallogocentrism. Simply stated, the ideology of phallogocentrism is the conscious, undistorted, invariant, and nameable vision of male firstness and its corollary female secondariness.²

For recent European feminist criticism it is the ideology of patriarchy within the family that socializes individuals along the hazardous road to "normal" sexual identities with their respective

anxieties, drives, and desires.³ The relationship between the two central male figures in Donoso's book, the writer-narrator Humberto Peñaloza and the aristocrat Jerónimo de Azcoitia, can serve as an example of how culture is reproduced, how the passage of time from generation to generation is legitimated according to the laws of the father. The events leading up to Humberto's first meeting with Jerónimo will give dynamic shaping to his choice of a career as a scribe, confidant, and slave to Jerónimo. We can approach the union of these characters both socially and psychologically, for the emergence of Humberto's male ego, the first "I" of the narrative, is motivated by his refusal to remain a member of the nameless middle class and his desire to be a writer, which is to say, to have a name and a clearly defined public image, to be someone like the upper-class gentleman Jerónimo de Azcoitia.⁴

A name, the linguistic signifier and also the symbol of someone's personal and socially recognizable identity, figures prominently in Humberto's life story. Humberto's career is determined by an overbearing father who through an intense hatred for his own working-class origins aspires to *criollo* gentility through his only son. Through his father's preaching Humberto knew that as a child is born it is already given a patronymic, the name of the father, a gender role to play, and assigned a position within the social hierarchy. Although the Peñaloza family includes a mother and sister, they are marginal nameless figures; they are in effect identityless, a reflection of their inferiorized position within the family. Though Humberto Peñaloza, Sr., is the father and ruler within his family, as a member of the middle class he is powerless, a nobody within society. Thus the future writer must make his way through a world that is sharply divided into two sexes and into class structures of dominance and subordination. The symbolic resolution of these cultural and social contradictions gives Donoso's text its violent and fragmentary structure.

The phantasies and obsessions with which the elder Peñaloza inflicts his namesake bear witness to a class conscious ideology that equates an individual identity with power and property. To possess an identity is to be a member of the oligarchy. The head of the family felt the Peñaloza name to reflect his own plotless origins--confined to the oral repetitions of legends and popular traditions--among the masses as opposed to the aristocracy who

possessed the discourses, logocentric writing and history, and the power to confer upon themselves an unquestioned identity. Humberto Peñaloza, Sr., was aware that he and his family were social outsiders, and as such, would never appear in the newspapers and magazines as did the ruling patriarchal families whose lives were important enough to narrate, to form a recognizable plot, because they had identifiable origins and their personal destinies were intertwined with the nation's political and economic affairs.

It is now possible to begin to understand the ideological implications of the structural oppositions between oligarchy and peasantry, writing and orality, history and myth. Bakhtin's definition of the dialogical as a heterogeneous, pluralistic, and subversive cultural event--the carnival or festival--in which discourses essentially oppositional and antagonistic to dominance find their expression seems to me applicable to Donoso's text.⁵ The subversive repetitions, inversions, and condensations of motifs taken from Chilean oral traditions such as the child-witch, the yellow bitch, the *chonchón*, and the *imbunche* make it impossible for Humberto's writing to reach narrative closure in the form of a book.⁶ The pre-Oedipal mother, the witch Peta Ponce, and the marginal women of the Casa de Ejercicios Espirituales de la Encarnación, who are all the guardians and transmitters of the popular traditions of peasant culture and the remnants of pre-Columbian collective life, disrupt the linear development of Humberto's chronicle of the Azcoitías and destroy the conceptual apparatus of written discourse that unites language with individual identity.

For the elder Peñaloza, the alienation between being a nobody and a someone was reinforced by the erroneous interpretation of the absolute correspondence between signifier and signified, image and reality. It was through the medium of the printed page, fashionable magazines and newspapers, that names and lives were united into an existence that could not be doubted. These news media images and accounts come to life for the young Humberto in his first encounter with don Jerónimo de Azcoitía. Humberto (in his other self, Mudito) recalls this event:

De pronto mi padre me dio un tirón de la mano. Yo seguí la dirección de esa mirada suya a la que uní la mía. Por la vereda avanzaba entre el gentío alegre de

esa mañana un hombre alto, fornido pero gracioso, de cabello muy rubio, de mirada airosa encubierta por algo que yo interpreté como un elegante desdén, vestido como jamás soñé que ningún hombre osara vestir; todo gris muy claro, perla, paloma, humo, zapatos alargados, polainas de gamuza, y unos guantes ni grises ni cáscara ni amarillos ni blancos, piel pura suavísima, casi viva. Llevaba los anteojos de carrera terciados al pecho, un guante puesto y el otro empuñado. (104)

What the reader is witness to is the transition of culture through what Freud describes as an Oedipal moment important for the fashioning of the male ego. Humberto stands in awe of Jerónimo's fashionable aesthetic perfection: the Apollonian image of the complete gentleman that stands out amidst the early morning crowd. Jerónimo has blond (pale) hair and blue eyes; he is tall and strong but graceful; elegantly dressed yet virile. The adolescent Humberto is being initiated into society, for he is constructing a super-ego or ego-ideal, a perceived image to match his own literary dream world and the heir to his original lived relationship with his father.⁷

Now the emergence of the writer's identity depends not on what appears to be a conscious image of reality, a clear vision of the truth or *logos*, but what is in effect false consciousness, an imaginary identification explained by Humberto's own Oedipal delusions and Jerónimo's outward appearance. For Lacan, following Freud's topography of the psyche, the emergence of the self, the ego, is seen as an imaginary stage which the subject undergoes through psychological development.⁸ In what Lacan terms the mirror stage, the child's ego is first invented by an identification with an other, an image or Gestalt more perfect than itself, which the child appropriates as its own. The child, as does Humberto, narcissistically captivated by the image of its specular counterpart anticipates a bodily unity which it objectively lacks. The absolute demand of desire--by necessity doomed to future alienation--is evident as Humberto wants to flee his own body and unite with what he lacks: meaning, identity, and power. Humberto narrates:

Entonces, al mirarlo a usted, don Jerónimo, un boquete de hambre se abrió en mí y por él quise huir de mi propio cuerpo enclenque para incorporarme al cuerpo de ese hombre que iba pasando, ser parte suya aunque no fuera más que su sombra, incorporarme a él, . . . para apropiarme de todo lo suyo, porte, color, seguridad para mirarlo todo sin miedo porque no necesitaba nada, no sólo lo tenía todo, sino que era todo. Yo en cambio, no era nada ni nadie, eso me había enseñado la tenaz nostalgia de mi padre. El pronunciaba su nombre: Jerónimo de Azcoitia. (105)

As is well known, after this scene of nomination and identification the faithful scribe will lose himself in the image of Jerónimo, writing for him a fictional biography, granting him a spiritual stature that reality had not conferred upon him. Because what gives rise to Humberto's hunger for Jerónimo is a desire in inverse proportion to his own meaninglessness, he will find himself like other members of society, through anxiety, repression, and dependency, in a master/slave dialectic with Jerónimo.

The fixing of the individual male ego carries with it broader phylogenetic considerations. Humberto's and his father's yearning for unity with Jerónimo is exemplary of a desire for paternal order. This order assumes the form of a phallic reckoning, a symbolic castration in the recognition of a greater masculine power that assures the respect of hierarchical institutions. We can thus approach Jerónimo de Azcoitia as the symbolic father of patriarchy or the access to ideological and social determinations that lessen generational rivalries and insure the secondariness of women.⁹ For feminist criticism, the law of the father is the oldest ideology; it informs the passage from nature to culture and the subordinate position of women from primitive organizations to class society. "The symbolic father," writes Juliet Mitchell, "is the law that institutes and constitutes human society, culture in the fullest sense of the term, the law of order which is to be counfounded with language and which structures all human societies, which makes them, in fact human."¹⁰ Similarly for Freud, the symbol of the father through the transformation of the Oedipal conflict into the ego-ideal is the necessary condition for the evolution of collective

institutions, religious and cultural prohibitions as well as the formation of the individual self; as the child leaves his or her family group and emerges within society on the other side of the authority of the biological father, the office of father is carried on by masters and others in authority, their power being vested in an ego-ideal.¹¹

Donoso is explicit about the symbolic interpretations that should be drawn from Jerónimo as the phallogocenter. That he is both master and symbolic father, the embodiment of the male principle necessary for the reproduction of collective institutions, is apparent from his name which from the Greek *Hieronimos* means holy name. It is derivative from (1) hierarch, *hierarches*, the keeper of sacred things, the leader of a religious group, and (2) hierarchy, *hierarchia*, the power or rule of the hierarch. Thus by combining modern and Greek meanings, Jerónimo is the high point of a social pyramid, a member of a privileged or priestly caste that officiates in initiatory rites or cults. To be sure, both Humberto Peñaloza, Sr., and Jerónimo, the hierarchs, officiate in Humberto's introduction into the male-centered world. But Jerónimo's name also reminds us of the Christian invocation of the name-of-the-father. The parallel is explained by the early Church fathers' ideological appropriation of the Greek *logos*, the word, name, or utterance as reflective of spirit or thought.¹² According to the Gospel of John, God the Father's understanding engenders Christ as the incarnate *logos*. This logocentric interpretation of the word made flesh is repeated in the scene of nomination when Humberto's father utters the patriarch's name as Humberto bestows upon Jerónimo the absolutes of spiritual presence and authority. The son as the embodiment of the spiritual presence of the father is re-enacted when Humberto and Jerónimo separate, when Humberto becomes the caretaker for Jerónimo's conceived world in la Rinconada. Jerónimo states that Humberto will be the symbol of authority, that he is to be conceived by the residents of la Rinconada as Jerónimo incarnate living among them (236). These father-son parallels are reinforced by the events that take place in the Azcoitías' chaplaincy where the old female servants dwell, la Casa de Ejercicios *Espirituales* de la *Encarnación* [italics mine]. Through a primitive narrative magic conceived by the women, Humberto as Mudito participates in two major events of Christian ritual: he is miraculously reborn as the male savior to be sacrificed later at the hands of Peta Ponce.

But Jerónimo is also the sexual father possessor of the symbol of power necessary for ego identification, the phallus.¹³ Although the surname Azcoitia is an obvious reference to the Basque landlords of Chile's midsection, Donoso separates its two semantic components. There are four characters the Four Aces, los Cuatro Ases; these are duplicated by four other aces in authority, Clemente de Azcoitia, the Priest Azócar, the Doctor Azula, and the Senator Jerónimo de Azcoitia [emphasis mine]. The other semantic component reminds us of the physical act of copulation, *coitus*. In this allegorical interpretation I want to emphasize Jerónimo less as a physical entity and more as a function, as a symbol of a phallogocentric culture. Thus his social and political power is matched by his enormous member. And Humberto's anxiety-ridden identity is formed by his desire to be in the position of the father and possess the phallus necessary for the reproduction of patriarchy. The revenge of the phallic mother, the peasant witch Peta Ponce, against the Azcoitias and Humberto can be understood through social transgression against phallogocentric laws. As *caciques*, the Azcoitias had absolute sexual rights over all the peasant females within their territory. This law affirmed the secondariness of women and also the authority of the upper-class male over his peasants. Humberto explains Peta's subversiveness as the result of an anonymous Azcoitia bastard. Her lineage can be traced back to the love between a peasant male and an Azcoitia female, a revolutionary event that violated the caste and sexual relationships of Spanish American colonial feudalism.

Donoso's most interesting commentary on the Oedipal triangle, the apparent underpinning of the text, involves the strategically foregrounded chapters 14, 15, 16, when in obeisance to his master Humberto must help to reproduce the male-centered view of things within the make-believe world of la Rinconada. Midway through the book, the birth of Jerónimo's monstrously disfigured son, Boy, presents master and slave with a laboratory situation, a unique opportunity to play God and create a world solely for Boy's benefit. This mirror-like distortion but nonetheless accurate view of the real world, what I refer to as a degraded phallogocentric utopia, reveals the underlying principles necessary for the perpetuation of male egocentrism from classical antiquity to the mass-media culture of the fifties and sixties.

As we recall, la Rinconada is a forever-summer garden of earthly delights, a present-day pastoral of parks, putting greens, tennis courts, and swimming pools where the disfigured residents read *Vogue* magazine, smoke Marlboro cigarettes, listen to rock music on their transoceanics, and walk around in their t-shirts that depict modern-day male and female images, Che Guevara, Superman, and Marilyn Monroe. The objects of the real world that have found their way into the make-believe world of la Rinconada highlight an interesting interrelationship between these worlds: both are artificial constructions. These objects are material products of a culture industry that have a bearing on social formations since they also project images that are consumed by society. They thus show up the dual nature of ideology as ideational and as a material signifying practice.¹⁴ These images projected are not just the end of an economic process, for as they are consumed they are the work of signification that can reinforce the dominant ideology. This is the case with Humberto's father and his relationship to the news media. The images of Superman--the strong, protective, honest male--and Marilyn Monroe--the weak, fragile, sex symbol--are particularly interesting since they refer back to the allied sexual ideologies of domesticity and romance. They are a commentary on the opening chapters of the book, on the adolescent prostitute Iris Mateluna's relationship to Gigante, the giant *papier-mâché* head and obvious phallic symbol. Through the illusions produced by Walt Disney comic books and the Corín Tellado romance magazines, the disturbed Iris is seduced into transforming herself into the sex symbol Gina so that she may be taken care of by the father figure Gigante. The hyperbolic rendering of the teenager's relationship to males--the upper-class gentlemen, diplomats, generals, academicians, priests, landowners, lawyers, and senators who ceremoniously put on the giant head to have sexual intercourse with Gina--should be read as symbolic of women's position within the male hierarchy (96).

As in Jerónimo's world, a series of concentric circles of elites and servants surrounds Boy whose name is obviously archetypal. According to Jerónimo's and Humberto's designs, the elite of monsters was to teach Boy that he was the beginning, middle, and end of a cosmogony created especially for him. In this enchanted land, Boy was to believe that his gaze was the measure of all things:

objects came into being as his eyes discovered them and ceased to exist when he stopped looking at them. And as for his sexual drives, no rules would limit his satisfaction; all the women would have to submit to Boy's advances.

Amidst this world, Boy would find his sexual identity in masculine and feminine images taken from classical mythology. As the biological father had ordained, the future adolescent Boy would recognize his own perfection, which is to say his ego-ideal, in the nude statue of Apollo with a hunchbacked body, gargoyle nose and jaw, asymmetrical ears, harelip, disproportionate arms, and a huge dangling member. And Boy's sexual drives would be aroused by the equally monstrous statues of Diana and Venus. The chaotic and satiric projection of Apollo is obvious since the traditional version of him as the radiant sun god, the image of manly youth and beauty recalls Humberto's original aesthetic vision of Jerónimo. Now Donoso must be aware that before this idealized, golden-haired son of Zeus became the physical or material representation of the Hellenic spirit he had undergone ideological modification. According to historical interpretation and existing statues, Apollo is the pre-Greek borrowing of a solar god from Asia who replaced earth goddess cults of earlier Minoan and Mycenaean civilizations.¹⁵ Thus Greek culture reaches its symbolic Oedipal phase through the repression of a symbolic mother, and Apollo as the oracle of Delphi becomes the *logos*, the god of light and truth from whose lips no false word ever falls.¹⁶ It is interesting to add here, that Freud found it useful to explain his own masculine inadequacies and theoretical difficulties with the pre-Oedipal phase of mother-infant attachments in terms of the Minoan-Mycenaean pre-history that had been altered by the Greek superstructure.¹⁷

I have found Freud's archaeological metaphor useful for unearthing the latent feminist content of Donoso's book. In each case where an adolescent reaches a major turning point in sexual identification the biological mother is absent. She plays no significant role in the versions of the oral tale of girl witch, in Humberto's identification with Jerónimo, in Iris Mateluna's romantic phantasies, nor in Boy's identification with Apollo. However, the return of the repressed through the symbolic mother begins to work upon the two central male figures by the process which Freud describes as condensation. It is a process by which a single element

of the manifest dream can be reread to stand for a whole series of latent dream-thoughts as though it were a combined allusion to all of them.¹⁸ Now the one image that seems to unite all the women in Donoso's text, that stands in opposition to the masculine principle, is Apollo's twin sister.

Against the heliocentric vision of manhood, Donoso opposes the various reincarnations that the moon goddess Diana can assume. In the heavens she is Phoebe or Selene, Luna in Latin. On earth she is Artemis or Diana represented as a young woman with a dog (this recalls Humberto's phantasy as Iris Mateluna's dog). She is a huntress, an agricultural deity, a personification of fecundity. As Hecate she is the goddess of the underworld, of the dark of the moon, associated with witchcraft. To researchers, Diana, in her many guises, is one of the forms that the primitive belief in the Great Earth Mother, the symbol of fecundity, assumed after the advent of masculine solar deities.¹⁹ For the original pre-Hispanic inhabitants of Chile, the Araucanian Indians--from whom Donoso derives the tales of the *chonchón*, an evil spirit represented as a huge human head, and the *imbunche*, a male child that is sacrificed by witches in occult rituals--the only beneficent deity was the moon goddess. Unlike their more advanced neighbors to the north, the Incas, the Araucanians had no cult of the sun.²⁰

Various female characters whose actions lead to the inversions of male over female and the corresponding signifying chain of structural oppositions are symbolic mothers under the aegis of the moon goddess. For example, Humberto as Mudito confesses his sins of narcissism to Madre Benita, the holy mother. Iris Mateluna's lunacy, her hysterical nightly dancing to rock music should be conceived as ritualistic. And Peta Ponce, the peasant sorceress, should be interpreted as the reincarnation of Hecate. And through a strange turn of events both Iris and Peta become Humberto's symbolic mothers. In *la Casa* in a ritual re-enactment Iris performs the role of the virgin mother and Humberto, as the *imbunche*, is substituted for the miraculous savior. It is important to add that in a scene of rage against Humberto's sexual advances, Iris castrates her only child. Humberto envisions Iris as the mythological rainbow, as the only hope for survival, and she answers him by removing the symbol of his male ego (510-11). This scene is foreshadowed in an early chapter when Iris, as Gina, dances over the pieces of the

chonchón, the torn *papier-mâché* head of the Disney character, Gigante, as a revenge against her sexual and economic exploitation. And of course, Peta, the pre-Oedipal mother, returns from centuries of repression to destroy Humberto and erase his narrative voice from the text. To emphasize the feminist revenge against male ego narcissism, the symbolic father, Jerónimo, drowns himself in his own image in the pool by the statue of Diana.

Other subversive effects are worked upon the writer-narrator Humberto by the dialogical discourse of the female storytellers. Humberto cannot complete his chronicle of the Azcoitias because Peta's voices confuse and distort his thoughts before they reach the sheet of paper. The transformation of the failed writer into Mudito, the deaf-mute janitor of la Casa, is exemplary of the triumph of orality: he loses the ability to utter and hear his name, the social and personal sign of his ego identity (274). Although the reader may believe that Humberto/Mudito is the ideal Jamesian center of consciousness, the intelligence that guides the reader's understanding by making necessary connections in the plot, she or he realizes that the plot is slowly being taken away from the narrator's control by the women in la Casa. The gossip, hearsay, superstitions, and anonymous oral tales of the women always repeated in different and distorted versions impinge upon Humberto/Mudito's mind and nullify his attempts at unity and rational inquiry by drawing him into the multiple narrative transformations of the text. The subplots, the oral tales of pre-capitalist, pre-individualistic discourse that are told by the collective servants (the women act in groups and their speech carries no individual characteristics) of the patriarchal families, become through the narrator's imagination essential to the unfolding of the mainplot, and eventually take over the writer's narrative. These narrative strategies should be read at various levels: they can be recoded psychologically as the conflict between a phallogocentric impulse for self-preservation and a castrating urge for destructiveness and socially as the struggle between different socio-linguistic strata and class discourses antagonistic toward each other.

In conclusion, let me state that this allegorical reading of *El obsceno pájaro de la noche* is neither psychological nor mythical but social and political. The various symbolic relationships that I have coalesced into the male and female opposition are informed by

Donoso's obvious interest in the structural analysis of myth.²¹ There are major interpretive patterns in Donoso's book that are Lévi-Straussian of which the most important are his interest in South American Indian myth as an oppositional system of belief to Western rationality and his view of logocentric writing as a "deceitful supplement" to the oral tradition.²² But more importantly for Lévi-Strauss, as is well known, myths are not merely an aesthetic or a narrative, they are also ideological, or symbolic of the laws that govern the kinship or structural relationships of a culture.²³ For both Lévi-Strauss and recent feminist criticism, the structure that unites all societies is the inferiorized position of women.²⁴ Approaching narrative as a socially symbolic act allows Donoso to pursue through different but coexistent historical moments--pre-Columbian collectivity, colonial feudalism, to class society of the sixties--the interpretation of various marginal, popular, and literary narratives--from the orality of myths and folktales, gossip and superstitious beliefs, to fashionable magazines and newspaper accounts, Spanish language romance magazines, and Disney comic books, to autobiography or confession, chronicle, and even *criollista* novel. In each case one can read through the latent symbolic relations among father, mother, son, and daughter to reveal the ideological master code, patriarchy, that governs the descent of culture. The complicitous relationship between Humberto and Jerónimo served as a centerpiece, for the Azcoitías as the feudal lords represent the colonization of the New World by the West (here Jerónimo's ties to Christ and Apollo are crucial), the historical moment out of which emerged the structures of dominance: patriarchal institutions and a hereditary aristocracy. Thus, we should ultimately read the ending of the book, as a symbolic resolution, a wishing away of real social divisions within Spanish American culture.

NOTES

¹José Donoso, *El obsceno pájaro de la noche* (Barcelona: Editorial Seix Barral, S. A., 1970). Subsequent page references will be given within parenthesis in the text.

²For more on phallogocentrism, see Jacques Derrida, *Spurs: Nietzsche's Styles*, trans. Barbara Harlow (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), p. 97, and Derrida and Christie V. McDonald, "Interview: Choreographies," *Diacritics* 12, no. 2 (1982), p. 69. There are similarities between Donoso's view of textuality as always proliferating meanings that are disruptive of phallogocentric writing and Derrida's view of language as dissemination, as castration of phallic authority that makes a text possible. See Gayatri C. Spivak's Translator's Preface to Derrida's *Of Grammatology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), pp. 1xv-1xvi.

³See Juliet Mitchell, *Psychoanalysis and Feminism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), pp. 16-17.

⁴Like other writers of the "Boom," Donoso has been influenced by Claude Lévi-Strauss. Donoso's interpretation of the institution of writing is Lévi-Straussian in the sense that it is not the purveyor of Western rationality but the enslaver of people. It can facilitate and consolidate a system of hierarchies. See Claude Lévi-Strauss, "A Writing Lesson," in *Tristes Tropiques*, trans. John Russell (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1961), pp. 290-93.

⁵For more on the carnivalesque and the festival as expressions of folk or popular discourse, see Mikhail Bakhtin's *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Helene Iswolsky (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1969), especially pp. 1-36. For more on the dialogical, see Bakhtin's *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, trans. R. W. Rostel (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Ardis, 1973), pp. 150-69. I am indebted to Fredric Jameson's interpretation of Bakhtin's concept of the dialogical. See his

Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), pp. 84-88.

⁶These Chilean motifs are verifiable in various collections: Julio Vicuña Cifuentes, *Mitos y supersticiones: estudios del folk-lore chileno recogidos de la tradición oral*, 3d ed. (Santiago, Chile: Editorial Nascimento, 1947) and Octavio Müller Leiva, *Baraja de Chile* (Santiago, Chile: Zig-Zag, S. A., 1946) and *Folklore chileno*, 2nd ed. (Santiago, Chile: Ediciones Platur, 1962).

⁷See Sigmund Freud, "The Ego and the Id" (1923), in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. James Strachey (London: Hogarth Press, 1953-74), 19, 28-39.

⁸Jacques Lacan, "The Mirror Stage as Formative of the Function of the 'I' as Revealed in Psychoanalytic Experience," in *Ecrits: A Selection*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: W. W. Norton & Company Inc., 1977), pp. 1-7.

⁹Mitchell, p. xvi.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 391.

¹¹Freud, "The Ego and the Id," p. 37.

¹²For an interesting interpretation of the *logos* in Western thought as it develops from Greek conceptuality and Judeo-Christian thought, see Granville C. Henry, Jr., *Logos: Mathematics and Christian Theology* (London: Associated University Presses, 1976), especially the Chapters "Word and Wisdom" and "God and Soul as Unchanging."

¹³The phallus has a figurative representation in many cultures as the symbol of masculine potency, fecundity, and authority. This is the case, as we shall see below, with the representation of Apollo. For Freud, of course, the phallic stage of development is a crucial point for sexual differentiation; the presence or absence of the phallus determines masculine or feminine egos, respectively. For Lacan, the phallus is the 'signifier of desire' that opens up a gap or

lack in the subject out of which will arise the wish to be in the position of the father. These formulations shed light on Humberto's scene of desire. However, we should not neglect the social aspects of his phantasy of the ideal "I" or self, for it is through the family structure that subjects are constructed and socialized to take their positions as dominant or subservient, male or female, as is the case with the class and caste system of Latin America. For an analysis of the role of the phallus in psychoanalysis, see J. Laplanche and J. B. Pontalis, *The Language of Psycho-Analysis*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1973), pp. 312-14.

¹⁴For more on these aspects of mass-media culture as productive of both images and ideology, see John Hill, "Ideology, Economy and the British Cinema," in *Ideology and Cultural Production*, ed. Michèle Barrett, et al. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979), pp. 114-16.

¹⁵See Mary Hamilton Swindler, *Cretan Elements in the Cults and Ritual of Apollo* (Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, 1913), pp. 65-69. A more recent psychoanalytic study has reread the myth of Apollo as the son who kills the mother. See Helene Deutsch, *A Psychoanalytic Study of the Myth of Dionysus and Apollo: Two Variants of the Son-Mother Relationship* (New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1969).

¹⁶See Edith Hamilton, *Mythology* (New York: Mentor Books, 1940), p.30.

¹⁷Freud, "Female Sexuality" (1931), *Standard Edition*, 21, 226.

¹⁸Freud, "An Outline of Psycho-Analysis" (1940), *Standard Edition*, 23, 167-68.

¹⁹For a study tracing the relations of witchcraft to the Great Earth Mother and Diana, see T. C. Lethbridge, *Witches: Investigating an Ancient Religion* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962).

²⁰*Larousse Encyclopedia of Mythology* (New York: Prometheus Press, 1959), p. 453. In his Introduction to this volume, Robert Graves retraces the pattern of the repression of the moon goddess

with the advent of solar cults and patriarchy in several mythological traditions.

²¹The key text is Claude Lévi-Strauss, "The Structural Study of Myth," *Structural Anthropology*, vol. 1, trans. C. Jacobson and B. G. Schoepf (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1963), pp. 206-31.

²²See Lévi-Strauss, "A Writing Lesson," *Tristes Tropiques*, pp. 290-93. The term "deceitful supplement" is inspired by Derrida's reading of Rousseau and Lévi-Strauss in *Of Grammatology*, pp. 114-40.

²³See Lévi-Strauss, "The Problem of Incest," in *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*, trans. J. H. Bell and J. R. von Sturmer (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969). I am indebted to Fredric Jameson's interpretation of myth as socially symbolic narrative. See his reading of Lévi-Strauss in his *Political Unconscious*, pp. 77-81.

²⁴See Juliet Mitchell, "Patriarchy, Kinship and Women as Exchange Objects" and "The Oedipus Complex and Patriarchal Society" in *Psychoanalysis and Feminism*, pp. 370-81. Also see Annette Kuhn, "Structures of Patriarchy and Capital in the Family," in *Feminism and Materialism: Women and Modes of Production*, ed. A. Kuhn and A. M. Wolpe (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), pp. 42-67.

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ABSTRACT

The author surveys the problem of language planning in the multilingual nation of Peru. Pointing out that the problems of language hierarchy stem from colonial times and have undergone a long, complex trajectory, he presents a schematic history of the tensions between the dominant Castilian and the marginalized Quechua, Aymara, and other Indian languages. The author examines the close relationship between language community, social cohesion, and national consciousness, highlights socio-economic bases for past- and present-language practices, and profiles the consequences of their continuation. In the last part of the paper, the language reforms undertaken since the 1968 Revolution are analyzed.



EL PLANEAMIENTO LINGÜÍSTICO EN EL PERU: Antecedentes de la Oficialización del Quechua del 1975

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Al contemplar el planeamiento lingüístico en el Perú, convendría empezar con las siguientes dos citas--muy distintas de índole, por supuesto--pero representativas del conflicto socio-político implícito en este tema. La primera proviene de una conversación que tuvo el distinguido lingüista peruano, Alberto Escobar, con algún funcionario anónimo del Ministerio de Educación. Este decía: "a los indios hay que darles un lavado de cabeza para que se olviden del quechua". La otra viene siendo parte del documento oficial de la ley N° 21156 que promovió la oficialización de la lengua quechua en 1975:

Que la lengua quechua constituye un legado ancestral de la cultura peruana, cuya esencia debe ser preservada por el Estado y es actualmente el medio natural de comunicación de gran parte de nuestro pueblo; . . .

Que es una obligación moral del Gobierno Revolucionario, rescatar nuestro idioma nativo, como medio esencial para lograr la unificación nacional;

Pese a nuestras propias inclinaciones políticas--sean cuales fueren--ambas citas aspiran a una unificación nacional en el Perú de modo sincero pero difieren radicalmente en la concepción de las vías que hay que seguir para lograrlo. Aun más importante es destacar

que estas sobredichas actitudes hacia un sector de la sociedad peruana que podría llamarse "marginado" tienen su origen en la época colonial y una herencia que sigue siendo hasta ahora una infranqueable barrera para el desarrollo socio-político de la nación peruana.

Al comparar estas dos actitudes, notamos que ni "el centro" ni "el margen" de la sociedad juegan el mismo papel para el porvenir del país. Aquí se trazará en breve la historia y el fondo del planeamiento lingüístico en el Perú haciendo hincapié en los últimos años; o sea, los resultados de la oficialización del quechua del 1975 y la "de facto" desoficialización que tuvo lugar en 1979 con la adopción de la nueva constitución.

No debe extrañarnos que la presente problemática en torno al status del quechua corresponde a una serie de antecedentes socio-políticos que han persistido en el Perú desde los primeros momentos de la conquista, como veremos más adelante. Lo que sí puede sorprendernos es que no ha sido siempre el quechua ni la única ni la más importante lengua indígena en esta región. El multilingüismo de ahora continúa con lo que ha sido siempre la norma histórica en esta zona andina. Los Incas, oriundos de la región del lago de Titicaca, originalmente hablaban el puquina, una lengua sin relación alguna con el quechua (Hardman, 1984: 144). Tras una expansión migratoria al valle del Cuzco, adoptaron la lengua aru o jaqi de donde se derivan las lenguas aimara, jacaru, y cauqui. En aquel entonces el aimara servía como lengua franca para el imperio Huari localizado cerca de Ayacucho y de máxima influencia entre el siglo IX al siglo XII. Con la expansión del Imperio incaico, se ensancharon los límites de esta lengua oficial--el aimara--mientras el puquina siguió siendo lengua de uso interno y ceremonial entre los Incas nobles. Cien años antes de la llegada de los españoles, Tupac Inca Yupanqui (el abuelo de Atahualpa), casándose con una mujer chinchana procedente de la poderosa economía marítima de los pueblos de la costa, promovió el cambio lingüístico a la lengua chinchay--el dialecto más prestigioso del quechua de aquel momento. Al iniciar el siglo XVI, la ciudad del Cuzco mantenía una sociedad trilingüe donde se hablaba puquina, aimara y quechua chinchano. Como resultado de una corte y burocracia aimara-hablante, el quechua del Cuzco adquirió ciertas características del consonantismo glotalizado de aquella lengua. Sin embargo, el quechua cuzqueño no gozaba del mismo prestigio que la

variedad chinchana. Irónicamente, los conquistadores consideraron el habla cuzqueña la forma más "pura" del quechua--quizás por la influencia cultural tan grande de la misma capital incaica--y la difundieron aun más de lo que los Incas habían hecho durante todos los años de su Imperio. Esta expansión colonial del quechua perjudicó--claro está--el status y la extensión de la población aimara-hablante, de la cual todavía existen hoy en día unos 332,595 monolingües aimaras en el Perú y mucho más en Bolivia (Briggs, 1982). Lógicamente, el puquina se extinguió con la destrucción de la familia real o los mismos hablantes se dejaron absorber por otros pueblos en su mayor parte aimara-hablantes. Hoy se sigue hablando otros dialectos del quechua; hay seis dialectos principales (Escobar, 1982).

Aceptando ciertas diferencias debidas a la propia experiencia andina, se podría caracterizar la coyuntura socio-cultural al comienzo de la etapa colonial de la misma manera en que Shirley Brice Heath (1972: 1) analizó la correspondiente situación en México: "The conquistadors walked into a solution and made it a problem." Es decir, en gran medida la unidad política--por frágil que fuera en aquel entonces--ya giraba en torno de la organización incaica y el uso de la lengua quechua que servía de una nueva lengua franca sin dejar de respetar el multilingüismo perenne a la región andina (Bendezú, 1982). Si los españoles hubieran efectuado la colonización del Perú en *todas sus fases y con toda la población* por medio del quechua imperial que estaba en vías de estandarización, se podría haber evitado el marasmo lingüístico que todavía ayuda a mantener marginado a más de un tercio de la actual población peruana.¹ Pero al cortar la aspiración panandina del Imperio incaico, se rompió el marco de las lenguas generales--el quechua, el aimara, y el puquina--dando plena libertad a las tendencias localistas y separatistas naturales a esta región andina (Escobar, 1972: 20-21).

Por supuesto hay importantes diferencias entre el caso mexicano y el peruano. No sólo tenía el nahuatl una extensión geográfica mayor y más antigua y sólida en términos políticos que el quechua sino también una establecida tradición literaria de muy alta calidad y sutileza estilística--como luego reconocerán los cronistas--que no existía en el quechua, lengua de uso oral con excepción del sistema del Quipu. No obstante, el interés y la capacidad para aprender las lenguas indígenas--y hasta escribir gramática para

ellas--no faltaban por parte de los religiosos entrenados en España bajo la reforma humanista del Cardinal Cisneros (Heath, 1972: 180). Se supone que se podría haber establecido un alfabeto estándar para el quechua siempre contando con el apoyo institucional para iniciar tal proyecto.

Otra solución no menos eficaz y quizás más atractiva para los españoles podría haber surgido de una verdadera política lingüística de castellanización global. Tal fue el claro intento de la corona española bajo Carlos V pero nunca se llevó a cabo como estuvo planeado. Desde la Reconquista y el régimen de los Reyes Católicos, se había asociado el avance del catolicismo con el mismo proceso de castellanización, "el instrumento perfecto del imperio". Carlos V no era menos consciente de este vínculo como muestra su decreto-ley del 1550 dirigido a todas las colonias de las indias:

Habiendo hecho particular exámen sobre si aun en la mas perfecta lengua de los indios se pueden esplicar bien, y con propiedad los misterios de nuestra Santa Fé catolica, se ha reconocido, que no es posible sin cometer grandes disonancias, é imperfecciones, y aunque están fundadas cátedras, donde sean enseñados los sacerdotes, que hubieren de doctrinar á los indios, no es remedio bastante, por ser mucha la variedad de lenguas. Y habiéndo resuelto, que convendrá introducir la castellana, ordenamos, que á los indios se les pongan maestros, que enseñen á los que voluntariamente la quisieren aprender, como les sea de menos molestia, y sin costa: y ha parecido, que esto podían hacer bien los sacristanes, como en las aldeas de estos reinos enseñan a leer, y escribir y la doctrina cristiana. (*Recopilaciones de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias*: libro VI, tit. I, ley XVIII)

También se inauguró un sistema de reducciones--agrupaciones forzadas de los indios--para complementar la realización de esta visión evangélica de la corona española:

Con mucho cuidado, y particular atencion se ha procurado siempre interponer los medios mas

convenientes para que los indios sean instruidos en la Santa Fé Católica, y ley evangelica, y olvidando los errores de sus antiguos ritos, y ceremonias, vivan en concierto, y policia; y para que esto se ejecutase con mejor acierto, . . . que los indios fuesen reducidos a pueblos, y no viviesen divididos, y separados por las sierras, y montes, privandose de todo beneficio espiritual, y temporal . . . y mandado á los vireyes, presidentes, y gobernadores, que con mucha templanza y moderacion ejecutasen la reduccion, poblacion, y doctrina de los indios con tanta suavidad, y blandura, que sin causar inconvenientes, . . . (libro VI, tít. iii, ley 1)

Encargamos á los arzobispos, y obispos, que en sus distritos ayuden á la poblacion de los naturales, y faciliten las dificultades que se ofrecieren, procurando que hagan lo mismo los curas, ministros de doctrina, y sacerdotes. (libro VI, tít. iii, ley 2)

Su voluntad no fue ejecutada de la manera en que quisiera ni por los administradores coloniales ni por sus sucesores al trono por varias razones. Tanto los encomenderos como los religiosos encargados de las reducciones habían preferido usar las lenguas vernáculas en vez de enseñar el castellano. Estos porque creían que la doctrina cristiana sólo les llegaría a los indios de modo profundo palpándola a través de su propia lengua materna. Además no fiaban en los intérpretes indígenas para poder transmitir la doctrina cristiana fielmente. Desde luego, el acceso a la jerarquía eclesiástica estuvo vedado también a los indígenas. A su vez, este monopolio lingüístico de los sacerdotes criollos les concedía cierto grado de poder y prestigio frente a los curas seculares recién llegados de la metrópoli; en fin, su papel les hacía indispensables en gran medida. Asimismo, los curas seculares y los administradores ya se habían acostumbrado a depender en los traductores indígenas (los llamados *quipu camayos*) y lógicamente no tenían ningún incentivo para iniciar el difícil empeño lingüístico dada la fragmentación de la región. Tampoco hacía falta por parte de los indios aprender español con tal de que siempre existieran esos

mismos intérpretes bilingües. Una élite local, los curacas, también disfrutaba de una posición social equivalente a los viejos jefes de tributo del Imperio incaico. Y los mismos encomenderos aprendían lo necesario en quechua para poder dirigir los asuntos cotidianos de comercio a preferencia de que sus siervos se castellanizaran--de nuevo, por el miedo de perder su privilegiada posición económica y social. Semejante política de segregación mantuvo al español como la lengua de prestigio y poder, condenando a los indios a una posición marginada e inferior para que siempre hubiera una humilde clase de mano de obra. La situación es aun más irónica considerando que Carlos V quería proteger sobre todo las poblaciones indígenas precisamente por medio de las reducciones a que no se contagiaran con los vicios importados del viejo continente. Aquellos indígenas que de todos modos llegaron a aprender el castellano se les denominaban como "ladinos"--es decir, "mañosos"--que viene siendo el mismo término aplicado a los moros que aprendieron castellano (y los judíos que ya lo hablaba). El desprecio implícito en este término lingüístico es bastante obvio: indica una persona ni admitida por su propia comunidad indígena ni por la sociedad dominante.

Así que la retención de una mayor parte de la organización y personal incaico junto con estos mencionados intereses encontrados por todas las estratificaciones de la sociedad colonial, ayudaron a que las instrucciones de Carlos V nunca se pusieron en práctica. En términos lingüísticos, Hardman (en prensa) resume los efectos de la manera siguiente:

The Spaniards, like the Incas with Jaqi before them, began a far more thorough implantation of what is today known as Cuzco quechua, or simply quechua, than had been ever accomplished by the Incas. . . . The priests proselytized in quechua. Landholders, in spite of orders to the contrary, feared knowledge of Spanish on the part of the serfs and thus learned quechua themselves--in some cases thus obligating people who spoke other languages to abandon these in favor of quechua. Spanish was a privileged language of the ruling class.

Felipe II también se preocupó bastante por la cuestión evangélica de los indios pero al contrario de su padre, Carlos V, creyó que "la inteligencia de la lengua general de los indios es el medio más necesario para la explicación y enseñanza de la doctrina cristiana . . ." (RLI, Lib.I, tít. xxii, ley 46). En 1565 contradujo el decreto de 1550 de su padre ordenando que ". . . los sacerdotes, clérigos ó religiosos que fueren de estos nuestros reinos á los de las Indias, . . ., no sean admitidos sino supieren la lengua general, en que han de administrar. . ." (RLI, Lib. I, tít. vi, ley 30). A pesar de la opinión y las advertencias contrarias presentadas por el Consejo de las Indias, Felipe II se negó hacer obligatorio el aprendizaje del castellano durante su reino.

Esta política se perpetuó hasta mediados del siglo XVII cuando Felipe IV intentó volver a las metas establecidas por los Reyes Católicos y luego Carlos V, las cuales siempre relacionaban la expansión de la fe católica con la de la lengua castellana.

Rogamos y encargamos á los arzobispos y obispos que provean y den orden en sus diócesis que los curas y doctrineros de indios, usando de los medios mas suaves, dispongan y encaminen que á todos los indios sea enseñada la lengua española, y en ella la doctrina cristiana, para que se hagan mas capaces de los misterios de nuestra santa fé católica, aprovechen para su salvacion, y consigan otras utilidades en su gobierno y modo de vivir. (Lib. I, tít, xiii, ley 5)

Desde aquel momento, la corona española no brindaría ningún apoyo oficial al quechua. Pero tampoco proporcionó la infraestructura necesaria para apoyar una política integracionista de castellanización. Carlos II fortaleció la pauta ya iniciada por Felipe IV con cuatro decretos adicionales en cinco años obligando la implementación y la enseñanza del castellano por parte de las instituciones religiosas de las colonias. En gran parte se ignoró abiertamente la nueva política de la corona. Por fin, Carlos III trató de acabar con el asunto por medio del Edicto XV del 1770 en que mandó: (a) el fin del uso de intérpretes, (b) la eliminación de la competencia entre los religiosos criollos y peninsulares, (c) y la creación y abertura de más oportunidades educacionales. Pero la

estructura de la sociedad ya estaba firmamente determinada a través de más de dos siglos. Para la mayor parte de las comunidades indígenas rurales ya hacía mucho tiempo que el español representaba una lengua inaccesible cuyo uso estaba relegado a lo absolutamente necesario para tramitar los asuntos administrativos o judiciales. En efecto, se había creado dos sociedades en el Perú: una urbana hispano-hablante y otra rural, serrana, marginada, y mayormente quechua-hablante sin acceso a las vías de movilidad social ni a las del poder. Paradójicamente, el edicto de Carlos III exacerbó esta línea divisoria. La sublevación de Tupac Amaru del 1780 terminó en la tajante prohibición del quechua en la enseñanza y lo estigmatizó política y socialmente. Los intelectuales de esta época al borde de la independencia se interesaban mucho más por lo que pasaba en Europa. Bajo tales circunstancias, el español se utilizó como otra barrera para olvidarse totalmente de la problemática indígena y la correspondiente cuestión lingüística.

Teniendo presente este trasfondo, se puede entender por qué no se ha cambiado apenas la posición de los quechua-hablantes hasta el momento actual. Ha habido fuertes intereses por parte de muchos para que este sector de la nación siga marginado en relación con el centro en términos económicos, políticos y sociales. El poco planeamiento lingüístico que existía durante la época colonial o bien representaba una segregación forzada o una asimilación igualmente impuesta pero sin que los mismos habitantes se identificaran con la nueva organización socio-política. Tampoco se desarrolló una política consistente que hubiera ayudado proveer las mismas oportunidades a este sector marginado. La lengua--como es siempre símbolo multifacético de la identidad personal, social, regional y nacional--viene siendo un fiel reflejo de la integración o la desintegración de la sociedad. En el caso peruano realmente hay dos lenguas: la del poder (el castellano) y la de los desposeídos (cualquier otra lengua indígena). Entonces la lengua, que es la cosa más arraigada del carácter de un individuo, se convierte, por una parte, en un mecanismo para negarle el acceso a los recursos de la nación y, por otra, en un elemento que inhibe el consenso de legitimidad política en el contexto nacional y la lealtad a la ideología de la nación en el contexto personal (cf. Kelman, 1971). De ahí el peligro de desintegración política. Como observa el conocido crítico peruano, Julio Ortega, "Es la legitimidad de la existencia

social la que no ha sido fundada históricamente entre nosotros (1979: 193). En verdad, sólo falta echar un vistazo a los editoriales de los diarios peruanos para darse cuenta que la formación de una conciencia nacional sigue siendo un tema y una preocupación muy discutida en el Perú de hoy.

En la segunda mitad de este siglo, se ha notado un creciente proceso demográfico de castellanización. Según las cifras de los censos de los años 40, 61 y 72 la población monolingüe quechua se ha disminuido de un 31% al 16% al 11%, respectivamente (Escobar, 1975). Esto implica que el número de monolingües hispanohablantes y bilingües ha aumentado.² Escobar (1975) calcula que en el año 1975 había unos 6 a 8 millones de bilingües--de mayor o menor grado de proficiencia--en un país de 16 millones. Este hecho podría ser interpretado como una clara señal de una tendencia integracionista en el Perú. No obstante, otras regiones del país como Apurímac, Ayacucho, Ancash, Huánuco--donde el grado de bilingüismo es sumamente bajo--desmienten cualquier conclusión rápida y optimista (Escobar, 1975; Chang-Rodríguez, 1982). Aunque en términos globales es posible que se vaya a establecer un monolingüismo en castellano a la larga, la población quechua-hablante sigue creciendo en números absolutos (Briggs, 1982: 181). Además, no se sabe si se puede interpretar el grado de bilingüismo indicado por estas cifras como un verdadero testimonio de la integración socio-política del país. Por desgracia, un bilingüismo marcado por los rasgos lingüísticos del quechua o un bilingüismo incipiente correspondiente al proceso de "cholificación"--otro término peyorativo como el de "ladino"--ambos siguen siendo objeto de desprecio y marginación por parte de la población monolingüe hispanohablante como indica la frase condenatoria "hablar motoso".

¿Cuál ha sido, pues, la respuesta del gobierno revolucionario del 1968 hasta el presente, frente a la sobredicha situación lingüística en el Perú? Empezando con la reforma educacional del 1972, se encaminó el primer paso con una serie de programas bilingües. Por medio de esta reforma educativa se articuló una nueva política de castellanización general para toda la población peruana pero respetando la diversidad lingüística y fomentando la revalorización de las lenguas y culturas no hispánicas. Ya existían antecedentes: los convenios que se habían establecido con el Instituto de Lingüística del Verano y otros programas como el patrocinado por el

Centro de Investigación de Lingüística Aplicada de la Universidad de San Marcos, o el de la Unidad Regional de Educación Bilingüe fomentado por USAID en consulta con Cornell University (cf. Hornberger, 1981; Larson & Davis, 1981; Briggs, 1982, para una descripción más pormenorizada).

No todos los programas bilingües establecidos antes o después de la reforma del 72 compartían ni los mismos métodos ni las mismas finalidades. En general, o abogaban por la salvación de la lengua indígena o la salvación del niño (Spolsky, 1974); es decir, a lo largo del proceso educativo de la castellanización proponían o bien manter el quechua al lado del español o bien efectuar la transición completa al castellano usando el quechua sólo como un puente intermedio. Aquellos programas que sostenían el mantenimiento del quechua--es decir, el plurilingüismo--ponían énfasis en la alfabetización primero en la lengua quechua, alegando que así no sólo se facilita el aprendizaje de la lectura del castellano más tarde sino que también se produce una nueva evaluación positiva de su propia lengua. Sin embargo, no es siempre fácil convencer a los padres que sus hijos deben aprender a leer primero en quechua, a causa de la difundida y equivocada creencia que esto retardaría la alfabetización en el español, la lengua del poder (Weber & Solá, 1980: 297; Wölck, 1972).

Cabe mencionar aquí la experiencia canadiense que nos ha mostrado que la alfabetización primero en la lengua de menor prestigio produce un bilingüismo "aditivo" o aumentativo y no "transitorio". Lambert (1978) ha comprobado repetidas veces que un bilingüismo aditivo hasta mejora los resultados en las pruebas verbales y no verbales de inteligencia. Asevera que el bilingüismo le presta al niño más flexibilidad en su capacidad de conceptualización. Recomienda que:

... in bilingual communities where differential prestige is accorded to the languages and to the ethnolinguistic groups involved, then attention should be placed by both linguistic groups on the development of skills in the language more likely to be overlooked. (1978: 226)

Sin embargo, Lambert insiste en recordarnos que sus conclusiones son válidas sólo para aquellos países donde las dos lenguas disfrutaban

algún valor social en su propio contorno de la sociedad. Por eso aprender otro idioma le daría al niño una segunda lengua pertinente a su desarrollo social y su correspondiente capacidad lingüística para poder funcionar mejor en todo contexto social.

Pero a diferencia del caso canadiense, aprender el quechua, por ser una lengua tan desprestigiada difícilmente podría interesarle al hispano-hablante a pesar de jactarse de la misma como parte de una gran herencia cultural de la nación. Se trata, pues, de una cuestión de actitudes y lealtades lingüísticas por parte de ambos, los quechua-hablantes y los hispano-hablantes. Como informa Escobar (1972), los mismos quechua-hablantes estiman a veces que el castellano es mejor. En uno de los únicos estudios serios sobre las actitudes hacia el quechua frente al español, Wölck (1973) nota que el quechua está estigmatizado en el ámbito público, pero también muestra cierto carácter positivo en términos afectivos, es decir, en el ámbito familiar para mostrar solidaridad. De todos modos, este juicio favorable disminuye de manera que el informante sea más dominante en sólo el español.

En general, faltan más estudios sobre las actitudes hacia el quechua vis-á-vis el castellano para juzgar si la técnica de la alfabetización primero en quechua contribuirá al mantenimiento de la misma a través del proceso de castellanización. En gran medida si el que habla quechua sigue siendo identificado con una condición de marginación económica y social, no se mantendrá pese a todos los esfuerzos de los programas bilingües. O sea, el status del quechua no puede ser transformado en algo positivo exclusivamente por medio de las políticas intra-escolares sino que requiere una transformación de las estructuras socio-políticas que venimos analizando en este presente estudio.

Este hecho fundamental lo reconocieron los que promulgaron la ley de oficialización del quechua en el 75. Escobar, miembro de la Comisión de Alto Nivel encargada de la implementación de la ley N° 21156, opina que: "El objetivo, pues, era promover una nueva dinámica, un nuevo régimen de interacción social y cultural entre los grupos tradicionalmente dominantes y los tradicionalmente dominados" (1982: 101). En términos concretos, la ley: a) reconoció el quechua al igual que el castellano como lengua oficial; b) mandó la enseñanza del quechua *en todos los niveles* a partir del 77; c) y mandó la adopción del quechua en acciones judiciales cuando fuera

necesario a partir del 77. El Ministerio de Educación tenía la responsabilidad de proveer todos los materiales necesitados para el cumplimiento de la ley.

Dejando al lado la cuestión si era factible en el primer lugar implementar semejante ley en tan poco tiempo tomando en cuenta la falta de los recursos económicos y humanos, el contenido de la ley de oficialización no proscribió nada en cuanto a un dominio esencial para la aceptación de cualquier lengua donde sea: el del trabajo.³ Valdría la pena comparar por un momento la ley N° 21156 con el decreto-ley N° 101 de la provincia de Québec de 1977. Antes del 1970 y a pesar de una mayoría franco-hablante (80% de la población en Québec) el inglés siguió siendo la lengua del poder, del ascenso social y, más importante, del trabajo. Tras una serie de decretos que instalaron el francés como la lengua oficial, hubo un cambio en la legislación que antes se preocupaba con la educación y que después del 74 empezó a definir detalladamente los contextos sociales en donde el francés tenía que ser empleado: en las compañías de utilidades, en las corporaciones, en los intercambios comerciales, para citar algunos ejemplos (cf. Daoust-Blais, 1982). No cabe duda que hay grandes diferencias entre la situación del Canadá y el Perú, las cuales no vamos a analizar aquí. Los avances conseguidos en Québec tampoco son producto de la última década sino una lucha de casi cuatro siglos.

Sin embargo, la falta de provisiones referentes al status del quechua en el ámbito comercial es significativo. El antropólogo peruano, Enrique Mayer, acierta cuando dice que "La integración depende fundamentalmente de la forma cómo está articulado el grupo indígena al sistema económico y social de la nación. Aún castellanizadas, las personas pueden seguir siendo campesinos e indígenas marginados" (1980: 276). El mero hecho de declarar que las dos lenguas serán igualmente oficiales no quiere decir que lo son en términos de prestigio dentro de la misma sociedad. Los comentarios del científico político, Herbert Kelman, son bastante pertinentes para este caso aunque él no se refería específicamente al Perú:

I am afraid that a concentration by central authorities on the direct manipulation of sentimental attachments may serve as a substitute for the work

they should be doing at the instrumental level and as a cover for failures to create adequate socio-economic institutions and to provide meaningful roles for all segments of the society. (1971: 38)

Sospechamos que esta descripción de Kelman se pueda aplicar en el caso de la ley N° 21156 aunque no fuera la intención original de los proponentes. Veamos a continuación algunas reacciones por parte de varios lingüistas acerca de la ley de oficialización.

Rodolfo Carrón-Palomino, director del Centro de Investigación de Lingüística Aplicada de la Universidad de San Marcos y miembro de la misma Comisión de Alto Nivel, resume los efectos de la ley de la siguiente manera:

Dicho decreto, si bien coherente con los principios reformistas del gobierno, no fue sino una medida demagógica destinada a buscar la simpatía de los quechua-hablantes para con el gobierno.

Lanzada sorpresivamente, a espaldas de los intereses directos de la masa quecha-hablante, paternalistamente, la medida reeditaba una vez más el indigenismo exotista de la oligarquía tradicional. . . . (1980: 12)

. . . hace pensar a los sectores de la clase dominante tradicional que la alternativa lingüística peruana se resolverá únicamente a través del uso exclusivo del castellano. (1980: 14)

Eugenio Chang-Rodríguez, lingüista y observador de la situación peruana, respalda el análisis de Carrón-Palomino a base de 100 entrevistas que llevó a cabo con maestros de Lima, Callao, Miraflores, Cajamarca, Huaraz, y Ayacucho. En su mayor parte, los maestros opinaban que la ley de oficialización estaba demasiado politizada para poder realizar sus objetivos.

During July and August 1978 and June and July 1980 I interviewed 33 university professors, 33 high school

teachers, and 34 elementary teachers in Lima, Callao, Miraflores, Cajamarca, Huaraz, and Ayacucho. Of those interviewed, 80% expressed disappointment at the plan's [decreto-ley N° 21156] results, . . . This percentage of those interviewed were convinced that there was no sense in using language planning as a glottopolitical mechanism for partisan proselytization, instead of as a genuine educational project leading to the unification of the Spanish-speaking and Quechua-speaking population in cultural contact. Their responses confirmed my suspicion that the decreed planning had the purpose of manipulating public opinion just a few months before the eventual overthrow of the regime. (1982: 183-185)

Incluso el mismo Alberto Escobar, participante y proponente de la ley de oficialización, tuvo que admitir "que la complejidad de su implementación y las demoras normales hicieron necesario encontrar otras soluciones a los problemas de los grupos bilingües y monolingües que quiere decir en efecto que esta medida tiende a reforzar el papel del castellano como la única lengua común" (1981: 57). Irónicamente, el efecto global de la ley de oficialización repitió el mismo resultado producido por el Edicto XV de Carlos III: el de subrayar aún más la línea divisoria entre lo que es el centro y el margen.

La reacción contra la nueva ley por parte de la mayoría hispanohablante fue intensa y quizás provocó la caída de régimen del General Velasco el 29 de agosto del mismo año cuando Francisco Morales Bermúdez tomó el mando del gobierno revolucionario. Es curioso notar que después de haber visto numerosos artículos en los periódicos sobre la oficialización del quechua entre junio a agosto del 75, ya después de agosto apenas aparecían (*El Comercio*, junio a diciembre de 1975). Sin hacer ninguna denuncia pública de la ley N° 21156, el nuevo régimen no le prestó la atención debida para lograr cualquiera de los objetivos declarados (Escobar, 1982: 102). A su sazón, el artículo 83 de la nueva constitución promulgada el 12 de julio de 1979 restauró de nuevo el castellano como única lengua oficial del país atenuando las intenciones originales de la ley N° 21156.

El castellano es el idioma oficial de la República. También son de uso oficial el quechua y el aimara en las zonas y la forma que la ley establece. Las demás lenguas aborígenes integran asimismo el patrimonio cultural de la nación. (La Nueva Constitución Política del Perú, 1979:f 21)

El Art. 83 era una versión corregida de Art. 71 previamente presentado en la Asamblea Constituyente en el cual se les había negado a las lenguas vernáculas el status de uso oficial. Hubo protestas políticas lo cual motivó la revisión en su sobredicha forma actual (Rojas, 1982: 147-153).

Desde un punto de vista, la oficialización del quechua no cumplió con su objetivo de concederle a la lengua quechua una igualdad social a la par con la castellana. Por otro lado, obviamente puso en claro la polémica lingüística con todas sus consecuencias socio-políticas. Con el decreto-ley N° 21156, Velasco intentaba concientizar a la población mayoritaria hispano-hablante y en ese sentido formó parte de una filosofía "revolucionaria" en el contexto peruano. Visto desde esta perspectiva, todavía es temprano para juzgar los efectos del dicho decreto-ley.

En lo que se refiere al planeamiento lingüístico en el Perú, parece claro que no ha habido una dirección consistente a todo momento en su historia. Más patente debe ser que el problema no se trata exclusivamente de la lengua sino de las estructuras mismas de la sociedad. Hasta que la región donde se encuentra la mayor concentración de la población quechua no tenga una base independiente en el sentido de poder económico--lo cual concede el poder político--la lengua quechua seguirá siendo tan marginada como el mismo sector indígena. Por otro lado, dejar sin ser incorporado a un sector de la nación es arriesgar graves consecuencias políticas para el futuro desarrollo del país. Es un verdadero dilema con el cual se enfrenta el Perú hoy en día: por una parte, reconocer y orgullecerse de la herencia cultural indígena y, por otra, negar el elemento lingüístico entrañablemente conectado con ella. Los sociolingüistas, por más astutos que sean, nunca serán capaces de sugerir una solución para este problema cuando el verdadero conflicto se trata de las actitudes propias a los del centro: es decir,

¿será el castellano la única entrada válida para ingresar al centro?
En el contexto de un país que siempre ha sido pluricultural y plurilingüe en su mayoría, una contestación afirmativa garantiza, pues, la inevitable y triste dicotomía: el margen frente al centro.

NOTAS

¹Esta cifra viene del censo peruano del 1972 donde entre 11,337,194 de peruanos de más de 5 años de edad 3.5 millones indicaron algún idioma indígena como su lengua materna. Escobar (1975b: 62) informa que de 16 millones de peruanos de 1975, aproximadamente 6-8 millones hablan Quechua--es decir, 47% de la población. No menos de 1,600,000 eran monolingües quechuas. El diario, *El Comercio* (24-vii-75: 2) indicó que 11 millones de peruanos hablan el quechua: 4 millones de monolingües y 7 millones de bilingües. Es obvio que hay que tomar todas estas cifras como aproximaciones no más.

²En una reseña de la tesis doctoral de Sarah Mayer, Wölck (1977) informa que Lima ha experimentado un crecimiento tremendo. Desde 1940 al 1977 Lima se ha expandido de unos 500,000 a unos 4 millones de habitantes--principalmente debido a la migración procedentes de la sierra, la zona de los quechuas (cf. Escobar, 1976). Esta gente en su mayoría vive en asentamientos localizados en las fueras de Lima. La encuesta de actitudes lingüísticas que llevó a cabo Mayer en estas comunidades marginadas muestra un marcado cambio de un monolingüismo quechua a un creciente bilingüismo y monolingüismo castellano.

³Al promulgar la ley de oficialización todavía no se había concordado ni la estandarización del alfabeto quechua (véase: *El Comercio* 16-vii-75: 2; y 28-vi-75: 2). Considerando bien estos factores, hubiera sido imposible cumplir la labor lingüística estipulada por las fechas de la ley.

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RESUMEN

La autora analiza el desarrollo de la novela picaresca en relación con el transfondo político y social de España durante el período de los Austrias. Su hipótesis de trabajo busca establecer los puntos de contacto entre un género aparentemente crítico hacia las evidentes desigualdades económicas y sociales, existentes entre la nobleza y un pueblo cada vez más empobrecido y sin trabajo, y su utilización como arma ideológica por la clase dominante. Esta, según la autora, habría apoyado decididamente un género que sublima los problemas reales, disolviéndolos en un universo explícitamente burlesco y literario. El progresivo desvío del modelo original propuesto por **Lazarillo de Tormes** hacia novelas cuyos protagonistas son soldados (**La vida del soldado español Miguel de Castro**, **La vida del capitán Alonso de Contreras**, **Vida y hechos de Estebanillo González, hombre de buen humor**, etc.) mostraría cómo el discurso ideológico que guía el género, pese a su aparente carácter popular, proviene de una aristocracia que, empujando a las capas sociales más bajas a alistarse en el ejército, como única salida a su miseria, conseguía abortar las posibles revueltas internas. Si **Estebanillo González** concluye históricamente el género a mediados del siglo XVII, ello no se debería tanto al agotamiento del modelo narrativo, cuanto a razones estrictamente sociales: los problemas reales en la España de Felipe IV, tras la guerra de los Treinta años, son ya tan evidentes que la función ideológica de la picaresca, como encubridora de la situación, mediante el escapismo de la burla y la parodia, no tiene ya viabilidad alguna.

THE PICARESQUE AS DISCOURSE OF POVERTY

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The critical view of a Spain in moral and economic decline has come to be accepted by present-day critics and readers as the main focus of the picaresque genre, exposed as that society is in a new form of discourse, refreshingly "realistic", both in style and in its depiction of the unprivileged third estate as its leading protagonist.¹ While addressing the literary need for a responsible counter-genre to the idealistic and elitist literature of the late 15th and early 16th centuries, the picaresque records the historical events that ultimately lead to Spain's decline in the 17th century. Unlike its predecessors, this new genre is taken to embody a normative literature, one that should be read as social critique signaling the excesses of the social institutions of its day.² Yet the proliferation and popularity enjoyed by the genre during its own time point to an acceptance of the *status quo* by the contemporaneous reader, rather than to a rejection of the socio-historical conditions described.

The picaresque certainly must be considered as having had a different impact on its 17th century reading public, yet little attention has been paid to this issue. The immediate success of the genre indicates that the picaresque fulfilled a need of the reader and offered a means of resolving the social problems presented in the texts. There has been some attempt to define this public: Claudio Guillén has assumed that the contemporaneous reader shared the modern interpretation of the picaresque as social critique and considers the reader to be ideologically in accord with the authors of the *Lazarillo* and *Guzmán de Alfarache*--what he calls "the discontented middle class."³ On Guillén's own count of twenty-five editions of the first half of the *Guzmán* (and nine of the *Lazarillo*), it

seems unlikely that the no less than fifty thousand copies published would be obtained only by those disagreeing with the system. The reading public of the 16th and 17th centuries had increased considerably when compared to that of the Middle Ages, but it was still by far comprised of the aristocracy. Maxime Chevalier has categorized the reading groups by social rank: clerics, nobles, professionals such as doctors, lawyers, architects and public officials, merchants, and a small percentage of tradesmen.⁴ Besides the limitations imposed by social rank and education, the cost of the texts had to be taken into account. The picaresque formed part of what Chevalier designates as literature of entertainment; to its largely aristocratic readership, the humble protagonist of the *Lazarillo* must have appeared as an intruder upon the literary scene, belonging to an infrahumanity which they despised.⁵

Paradoxically, although the picaresque speaks to the concerns of an otherwise silent and alienated minority, since it comprises part of a literature of entertainment for the ruling classes its antiheroes are displaced from their historical grounding to the risible category of literary clowns. While the irony of the picaresque marks the ambiguity of the message and accounts for the multiplicity of interpretations generated by the genre, for the contemporaneous reader, the deprecative humor with which it treats the *pícaro* isolates him from any sympathetic reading of his social condition. Since the literary decorum of the times relegated the lower classes to the function of comic relief, as in the case of the *graciosos* of the Spanish *Comedia*, the *pícaro's* unsuccessful attempts at imitating the nobility and his very real concern in keeping body and soul together only serve as the sources of grotesque jokes. Any compassion which might be evoked by the sufferings of Lazarillo is dispelled by Lázaro's ridiculous posturing and debased sense of honor at the end. And both *Guzmán* and the *Buscón* receive their just deserts for their inept impersonations of noble swains. Thus, the subversive potential of the texts as social commentary is diluted by their emphasis on the comedic aspects of the *pícaro*, with the discourse becoming part of the ruling ideology instead of a disclaimer against it.

Indeed, the picaresque's formal characterization of the unprivileged (as opposed to the other two legally recognized privileged groups comprising the social hierarchy, the nobility and

the clergy) as literary *personae* to be laughed at and ultimately rejected as undesirable elements of society works with the aristocratic attitude to further desensitize the reader so as to block any attempt to solve the social issue of poverty. The social threat constituted by the poor is displaced from its historical reality to the literary arena of a jokebook. Rather than fulfilling a much-needed function as social criticism, the picaresque takes up the problems of the poor only to ridicule them, offering instead as a means of escape from deprivation either conversion to society's twisted concept of honor, or the dangerous career of a soldier.

This is not to deny the picaresque its value as an expression of the particular concerns of each individual author. As recent criticism has noted, the *Lazarillo's* anonymous author is most likely a *converso* or Erasmian who deplors the corruption of the clergy, while the *Buscón* documents Quevedo's outrage at the breakdown of the rigid social hierarchy that had maintained his aristocratic forebears in power. Despite the two authors' differing social and religious backgrounds, Mateo Alemán's *Guzmán de Alfarache* and Vicente Espinel's *Marcos de Obregón* attempt to transcend social prejudice and arrive at true Christian piety and honor. Because Marcos incarnates the virtues of the good squire, this last novel has been considered an anti-picaresque narrative.⁶ However, even though modern criticism has privileged the critical intent of the authors, at least one perceptive study takes the *Lazarillo's* and the *Guzmán's* "realism" as coincident with the prevailing ideology:

Desde perspectivas críticas progresistas ha solidado verse la novela picaresca, tanto el *Lazarillo* como el *Guzmán*, como fundamentalmente crítica de los valores establecidos de las clases dominantes del "Siglo de Oro": el que el pícaro vea la sociedad toda desde su posición *lumpen*, desde abajo, sería así la clave de su *realismo* desmitificador. Lo que haya de verdad en ello no excluye que la ideología dominante en el *Guzmán* sea un rechazo de la vida *toda*; su "realismo", por tanto, coincide con lo más cerril y dogmático de una ideología que luchaba ferozmente contra todo cambio. Lázaro termina su autobiografía arrimándose "a los buenos", que son los que mandan; en

el *Guzmán*, con absoluta claridad, la ideología antihumanista y degradante emana toda y desde el poder mismo de "los buenos".⁷

Whether the *pícaro* repents or not, his antisocial character is usually viewed to be motivated by his own spiritual failures. Exemplifying post-Tridentine doctrine, his free will allows him the choice between morality and sin. His moral downfall is thus an individual act against God for which he is held accountable. In his alienation, the *pícaro* also transgresses human law: early on, Cervantes associated the *pícaro* with the criminal in the Ginés de Pasamonte episode of the *Quixote*, and recently the genre has been compared to the criminal biographies of the day.⁸ The literary *pícaro* is further removed from the collective conscience of the reading public by the individualism ascribed to him. Not only is he a figure of scorn and ridicule to the aristocratic reader in his ineffectual efforts to better himself, but because he chooses to do so through immoral means, he is morally contemptible as well. By laying the blame for the *pícaro*'s humiliations and physical sufferings on the literary figure himself as a result of his moral choices, the text releases the reader from any social or moral responsibility towards the character, displacing the latter from his connection to society to the fictive world of literature.

Yet the social dimensions of the picaresque cannot be contained within the text. The origins of the genre are rooted in the history of Castile--it is only because of the historical events of the 16th century that the *pícaro*, as historical figure and literary *persona*, comes to exist at all. While figuring in his own right as a literary construct in the text, the *pícaro* remains bloodbrother to the Spanish peasant who is accosted by the historical realities of Imperial Spain. Famine, plague, war and his own "*mala fortuna*" collude with a social system that only wishes to exploit him. The *pícaro* is the end result of a combination of tragic circumstances, natural and political, which he cannot control and to which he reacts out of a desperate need for survival.

To understand more fully the development of the genre, one must have an awareness of the economic and social conditions imposed on the unprivileged. The economic conditions of the early 16th century have been attributed to the stagnation of Castilian agriculture,

inflation which outpaced the price of farm products, and the multitude of regulations intended to ensure lower prices but which only served to curtail production even more.⁹ In addition to the vicissitudes of the agricultural system, the unprivileged had to labor under the heavy taxation imposed by the Crown to support its military enterprises. Although the Church contributed revenues and the *alcabala* tax and customs duties generated some income from the nobility, after 1523 Charles V established as permanent subsidy the *servicio*, a tax that became an additional burden on the unprivileged *pecheros*, or taxpayers. As J. H. Elliott remarks, "within Castile the burden was borne by those classes least capable of bearing it."¹⁰ And while the *servicio* directly penalized the unprivileged, it must be remembered that all taxation affected the poor most heavily, as it took a disproportionately larger part of their income. Economists have also attributed "the miserable condition of the greater part of the Castilian countryside to the social structure, the distribution of the land, the system of cultivation, the abuses of the larger landowners ... [and] the recurrent series of epidemics, droughts and famines."¹¹ As conditions worsened, the ever-increasing numbers of destitutes migrated from countryside to the urban areas, creating for the first time a marginalized subgroup whose alienation represented a threat to the well-being of the privileged classes.

Not coincidentally, it is also at this precise moment that the *comunero* revolts occur throughout the townships in Castile. Initially considered a response by traditionalist nobles against the European policies of the young Hapsburg emperor, the revolts have been assigned more complex causes and construed by modern historians as a defense by such disparate social groups as *conversos*, the urban bourgeoisie, the lesser nobility, and the rural peasants against the aristocracy and the establishment of an absolute monarchy.¹² In the 16th century, however, since the goals of the *comuneros* included more fiscal equality between privileged and unprivileged, and participation by the latter in municipal affairs, the revolts were viewed by an uneasy nobility as taking on a populist cause and encouraging rebellion. Much of the historiography of the period reflects the perspective of the aristocracy used at the time as propaganda against the *comuneros*:

Persecución de la nobleza, programa igualitario . . . dictadura popular y robos: he ahí cuatro rasgos que la historiografía del siglo XVI puso empeño en remarcar. La intención era clara: hacer cobrar un santo temor a cualquier tipo de agitación política en que el pueblo pudiera ser el protagonista.¹³

At the same time, some attempts were made to alleviate the sufferings of the disenfranchised. The humanist and reformer Juan Luis Vives, who considered the *comunero* revolts a rebellion of the people against the nobility, was understandably interested in succoring the poor and blamed the unequal distribution of wealth on the social system:

We in our wickedness have appropriated what a generous Nature gave to us in common. The things she openly laid forth we have enclosed and hidden away by means of doors, walls, locks, iron, arms, and finally laws. Thus our greed has brought want and hunger into the abundance of Nature, and poverty into the riches of God.¹⁴

Throughout the Middle Ages, the Church and the rich had had the exclusive obligation to relieve poverty. With the problem of unemployment growing more acute, however, there was a need for a systematized approach. The Spanish *Cortes* had complained five times between 1523 and 1534 of the quantities of beggars and vagrants over-running Castile.¹⁵ Although the state was eventually to attempt a solution, by the end of the century it was evident that nothing could be done to halt the privation manifest across the country. Fernand Braudel's graphic description of the Spanish landscape during the reign of Philip II gives vivid testimony to the failure of the vagrancy laws passed in an effort to contain criminality:

Vagrants cluttered the roads, stopping at every town; students breaking bounds and forsaking their tutors to join the swelling ranks of *picardía*, adventurers of every hue, beggars and cutpurses.¹⁶

To the nobility in power, the unprivileged poor's potential for social discord and violence was not the only menace to ward off. The continuous threat under which Spain lived--externally from the Turks and her European enemies and internally from those whom she perceived to be her religious and cultural antagonists--as her power extended from her borders to encompass much of Europe and the New World, created an atmosphere of hatred and suspicion that pervaded all treatment of minority groups.¹⁷ The statutes of *limpieza de sangre* restricted *conversos* from holding secular and religious office, while the *moriscos* were subjected to sufficient injustices and persecutions as to motivate several rebellions. The most important, the Granada rebellion of the Alpujarras, fueled the fears of a Moslem invasion and resulted in their expulsion from Granada to Castile.¹⁸

The morisco rebellion is significant, not only because it demonstrates the fears that the ruling classes had against a particular minority, but also because it serves to illustrate the military weakness of the area. According to Braudel, "the rebellion had been taken seriously from the start because the south of Spain had been inconsiderately deprived of manpower by [the Duke of] Alva's expedition . . . here more than anywhere else recruitment had been heavy."¹⁹ The issue of conscription, at a time when Spain needed to maintain heavy armies and a naval force at such distant posts as the Netherlands and the Mediterranean basin, represented another source of repression against the unprivileged. Although Philip II could not levy taxes or troops at will, his bureaucracy, formed by royal councils and their subcommittees, was empowered to contribute troops whenever necessary, and Castile especially had been the source of finances and men for the Imperial armies since Charles V.²⁰

By the end of the 16th century, Spain's resources had been drastically reduced, and not even the revenues from the Indies could support the war effort's spiralling debts. In fact, these same revenues, which had increased rapidly during Philip II's reign, were in actuality much less than the amounts extorted from Castilian *pecheros*.²¹ Like the finances needed to maintain the armies, manpower had become a scarce commodity, in part due to the natural hardships of the times:

The conditions of general war in western Europe, which hampered supply and forced up prices, aggravated the internal problems of sharp increases in taxation and inflation. By 1599, when a potent virus of bubonic plague arrived in Spain, successive years of malnutrition had reduced the physiological resistance of the unprivileged masses to a low ebb . . . The final aggregate death-toll of subsistence crises and disease was 600,000 in a population of less than 6 million--literally a decimation.²²

And Spain's demographic decline was to continue on to the middle of the 17th century, as the country tried desperately to maintain and defend its European hegemony.

The relative peace with which the 17th century began--and which allowed Philip III the time and manpower to carry out the expulsion decree against the *moriscos* from 1609 to 1614--was but a brief respite between wars. Although the beginning of the Thirty Years' War seemed to promise Spain a quick victory, by 1629 a series of military maneuvers against the Spanish in Flanders and Milan irrevocably weakened their position. The debacle of the Mantuan war in particular underscored Spain's inability to rely on her military strength. Efforts to recruit, exemplified by Olivares' Union of Arms program calling for the pooling of fully-equipped soldiers from each Spanish province, finally ended in the depopulation of these provinces, especially Castile.²³ In 1640, the English Ambassador in Madrid commented:

[they are] taking tradesmen out of their shops and husbandmen from the plough, the most of them such as leave young women and children unprovided, which would cause general disconsolation but that they hope the business will be short, wherein they may be deceived. Nor will it secure these men from being sent to Italy in case they could be spared her, for I hear the Marquis of Leganes's army [in Milan] is much diminished, and that the kingdom of Naples is so

exhausted as it grows unable to furnish any more men.²⁴

The internal battles waged from 1640 on in Catalonia, Portugal, and Andalusia, in large part due to the continued demands for monetary support and manpower as Spain struggled vainly to maintain her groundhold on the European front, contributed greatly to the erosion of the people's will, and nowhere is the hopelessness and disillusion more apparent than in the literature of the period. The alienation of a society sacrificed to Imperial policies which it could no longer support was reflected in the Baroque. Despite the significant differences among authors, the recurrent underlying theme present in all is the estrangement of the works from their historical reality--a conscious distancing effected either aesthetically, thematically, or temporally.

In its exaggerated realism, the picaresque anticipates the despair of the 17th century. Quevedo's *Buscón*, with its language of constant creation and destruction, evokes the tension of what has been termed the "unstable equilibrium" of the Baroque.²⁵ But while other genres react to history in their evasion from it, the picaresque must draw directly from its social origins--even the *pícaro's* alienation stems from his confrontation with history: his own life as history, which he sets down autobiographically; and that of his contextual world. As literature, the picaresque cannot be read outside the context of its own history; in its difference, it too confronts the social ground which gives it form.

From his lowly and dubious origins, the literary *pícaro* emerges as an archetype conflating the worst characteristics attributable by the Spanish aristocracy. Recalling the historical struggles of the nobility against the unprivileged, the picaresque registers the paranoia felt toward those of impure blood and of the lower classes. As this discourse of poverty proliferated, appropriated as it was by the ruling classes, it displaced the social reality of the unprivileged from one of pressing need to the safe distance of a caricature--one to be laughed at and not dealt with, yet one all the while that constantly reminded the aristocratic reader of his own hidden fears. The *pícaro* thus assumed the role of scapegoat to the ruling classes, embodying all the ills of an increasingly impotent and frustrated

society, and paralleling in his own misfortunes and adventures the economic and moral decline of the country.

In the development of the *pícaro* as a literary type, we can observe a gradual change in his attitude towards society that reflects some of that society's concerns. From the *Lazarillo* whose sole desire is to remain in the good graces of the archpriest so he may live comfortably in town, to the mercenary soldier *Estebanillo González* who is not averse to turning his back on Spain and fighting with the enemy when it suits him, the *pícaro's* original desire to belong to an enclosed, hierarchical society is supplanted by his need to survive at all costs in a world in total chaos, offering loyalty to none. An analogous situation unfolded in real life: as the necessities of war devastated the economy, the peasant and his urban counterpart could no longer count on an honest means of local subsistence. Vagrancy and brigandage offered a solution, but as the war effort escalated, induction to military service provided an alternative. Clearly, to the inducted, the latter solution was not much of an improvement over the former. Although few statistics are available on the numbers of army defectors, mutinies and desertion were common occurrences. As early as 1560, the Spanish garrisons on the presidios of the African coast were decimated by epidemics of desertion to the Turks, who offered both money and work.²⁶

Yet from the 1590's through the Thirty Years' War, the Imperial armies and navies enjoyed an increase in manpower:

Spain's military establishment was exceptionally healthy during the opening campaigns of the war. Madrid was in control of four operational field armies, in Flanders, the Rhineland, central Europe and Italy, each around the optimum size of the period (20,000), in addition to twice as many garrison troops. Moreover, a virtually new navy had been created since about 1617, some fifty galleons being built, fitted and manned for service in the *armada del mar oceano*, not to mention other auxiliary squadrons such as that of Dunkirk. All in all, there seems little reason to doubt Philip IV's boast in 1626, that the monarchy had no less than 300,000 men under arms.²⁷

The historian R. A. Stradling speculates that, by increasing unemployment, the economic depression prior to the Thirty Years' War actually helped the war effort, at least in the short term, in that it released a larger number of men for military service.²⁸ This hypothesis tends to be somewhat circular, since the wars previously waged were also one of the causes of the depression, and the consequences of military expansion--more taxation and conscription--resulted in higher inflation and even less employment in the provinces. In fact, as Braudel has mentioned, the returning soldiers, either no longer physically fit for service or gone AWOL, helped to increase the numbers of vagrants in the countryside.

The picaresque genre reports the relation of poverty and war as one of interdependence. To the *pícaro*, the genre had always issued a clear political message--that he had better heed the needs of society and serve its interests if he was to survive at all. During the 17th century, it was obvious that these needs included the manpower required for the Imperial armies. While the individual picaresque texts may be an indictment of the system, the discourse of the genre now assumes the propagandistic tones of the Imperial military ideology, as it offers the disenfranchised an opportunity to serve the Crown as soldiers as an alternative to their poverty. The nobility, perilously close to losing their immunity from service, could only approve of a discourse that would send the poor to war, resolving at the same time the problems of unemployment and delinquency at home.²⁹

The life of the *pícaro* gives way to the exploits of the soldier as more and more narratives move from the picaresque escapades of impoverished youths in Spanish urban settings to their military adventures across the breadth of the country's dominions. The titles of these narratives reflect the transition which occurs from approximately 1604 with the appearance of *La vida y trabajos de Jerónimo de Pasamonte*, *La vida del soldado español Miguel de Castro*, *La vida del capitán Alonso de Contreras*, on to 1646, with the publication of the last representative of the Spanish picaresque, *La vida y hechos de Estebanillo González, hombre de buen humor*. The later narratives differ significantly from the conventional picaresque mode in that, unlike the episodic nature of the models, they strive to present a historically accurate account of a soldier's

life by structuring the narrative on the developing occurrences of the Thirty Years' War. Although the individual episodes may be taken as random events, in the larger context of war they appear continuous and build up to a particular climax. The effect is one of historical veracity: the contemporaneous reader is always aware that the theater of action is the European battleground of the recent war and that the participants, many still alive when the texts were written, are historical figures. Estebanillo plays against the picaresque convention when he warns the reader that his life is not imaginary like the *pícaro's*: "la fingida de Guzmán de Alfarache, ni la fabulosa de Lazarillo de Tormes, ni la supuesta del Caballero de la Tenaza, sino una relación verdadera."³⁰

The reflective nature of the picaresque has also been eliminated. The separation between writer and protagonist which provided an ironic, double perspective on the hypocritical values of society is merged into a single driving will to survive and obtain what the soldier/author most desires--wealth and social status. Unlike the picaresque canon of *Lazarillo*, the *Guzmán*, and the *Buscón*, in which irony (and in the case of the *Guzmán*, conversion) marked the discontinuity of the narration and engendered the text as confession, these later narratives offer no repentance or crisis.³¹ There is no moral downfall because the authors do not aspire to any moral redemption in their message. The soldiers do not question the values of society--from the beginning, they are inseparable from them. The texts' historicity lends credence to the message implied in their narrative--that the life of a soldier, despite the risks and dangers, offers more of an option than the poverty and despair of the provinces.

The lives of Alonso de Contreras and Estebanillo González measure the distance the picaresque has covered from its first point of departure in the *Lazarillo*. Contreras' narrative in particular deviates from the model in that it avoids the puns, double meanings, asides, and visual imagery typical of the polysemic language of the picaresque. Written in straightforward and unlettered style, the text lacks the rhetorical sententiousness of a *Buscón* or a *Guzmán de Alfarache* that creates the tension of "*burlas*" and "*veras*" and opens the texts to a variety of interpretations--the ironical self-contradiction by which the modern reader gains insight to the author's critical intent. The text instead gathers momentum by

narrating in factual and unemotional terms Contreras' violent confrontations with Moors, Turks, and Spaniards alike, relating a history of intrigues and dangers that shocks the reader by its contempt for the value of human life. While it departs from some of the conventions of the picaresque, it nevertheless speaks to the *pícaro*, even when it opposes some of the picaresque's characteristics.³² Contreras' early adventures could just as well have led him into a typical *pícaro*'s life. He flees from Madrid, where he had stabbed a playmate, and serves first as cook's helper then as soldier in Flanders, Malta, Gibraltar, Rome, the Greek islands, and even Puerto Rico. His goals are achieved and his efforts rewarded when he is finally inducted into the Order of the Knights of Malta for his "notable deeds and exploits."³³

Contreras' success as a soldier is not to be repeated in the misadventures of Estebanillo González. Portrayed as an opportunistic coward who twice deserts the Imperial armies and enters the Duke of Piccolomini's service as a paid buffoon to escape military service, González exemplifies the degradation of Hapsburg Spain in the figure of a *pícaro* without honor or hope, whose autobiography is written not to justify his past or serve as *caveat* to others, as previous picaresques had purported, but solely for monetary gain. Unlike *La vida del capitán Alonso de Contreras*, González's narrative rejects the military as any possible solution to a *pícaro*'s life, and opts instead for a servant's uniform. In his perceptive article on the picaresque, Nicholas Spadaccini comments on Estebanillo's behavior:

While he was fully conscious that a servant's costume (*librea*) was nothing but a symbol of bondage, a garment of slavery . . . he believed then, and continues to hold now, at the moment of narration, that he had no alternative but to accept the uniform. . . . The *pícaro*'s social situation is thus expressed unequivocally; any type of employment was preferable to idleness, which often meant starvation, or, at best, being forced to join an army. Playing the role of a clown, however humiliating or degrading, was a way of surviving the hardships of war, especially those

inflicted on the common soldier who was often tricked or bullied into joining infantry regiments.³⁴

Yet surely for the contemporaneous reader, who had little interest in Estebanillo's personal welfare, his donning a servant's uniform is a disappointing reversal of Contreras' military ambitions. Estebanillo's decision to gain further from his *buen humor*, which had already rescued him from military service, by offering his life story to his benefactor for a desired retirement in Naples, amounts to a double sell-out: in exchanging his autobiography for a price, the *pícaro* duplicates his selling himself to the Duke as buffoon, and the text becomes the reification of his materialistic philosophy.

By incorporating several messages within the text, *Estebanillo González* retains the ambiguity and irony inherent to the conventional picaresque genre. Referring to the text's language, Spadaccini quotes Bakhtin's statement that a text has a "plurality of discourses" whose polyphony "cannot be reduced to the class participation of the authors."³⁵ In placing the narrative within its historical context, he attributes two discourses to the text: the literal denotation, or "*burlas*", provoking the reader's mirth; and the "*veras*", or underlying social criticism, which to him is also evident at the literal level:

I submit that the literal sense of the text shows conclusively that, beyond the obligatory jests (*burlas*) imposed on the clown by his role as laughter-maker, his account is laden deliberately with surprising truths (*veras*).³⁶

Spadaccini quite rightly views the text as an indictment of the system, as the text renders the darkest portrait that the picaresque was to draw of a society in chaos:

Through a *pícaro*-buffoon's mask the anonymous author portrays the common man's anguish, the result of the latter's inability to influence the course of politics and social life. . . . If Estebanillo is alienated from Spain's causes it is because he has no faith in its institutions--especially the Church and the Monarchy-

-and he is skeptical of its highly stratified social system.³⁷

Estebanillo's alienation, then, is also the author's--yet Spadaccini has already pointed out that the text assumes more than the author's voice.

In its polyphony, *Estebanillo González* gives expression to more than "*burlas*" and "*veras*", that is, to a comic discourse and one of social concern. The comic discourse itself has a dual purpose: while making the reader laugh at the soldier's craven antics, it directs the reader's attention toward the *pícaro*'s cowardly self-interest in abandoning the Imperialist cause. Clearly, Estebanillo's interests are at odds with the reader's; the latter being quite willing to partake vicariously of the former's military exploits, as long as he remains in the service. Through Spadaccini's fine reading, the text's social criticism is perceptible to the modern reader, but even though this particular discourse is now expected of the genre, there is a reticence about the text that suggests the futility of the author's enterprise. Spadaccini has remarked upon the verse prologue's "concern for the communication of a serious message" in its lines "de parte de Dios te pido/ amigo lector, que leas/ hasta el fin aquestas burlas/ pues van mezcladas con veras" as proof that "there appear weighty commentaries on contemporary history and social life."³⁸ However, there is hardly a text in Medieval and Golden Age literature that does not submit some version of *prodesse et delectare* as protection from censorship. In the narrative, Estebanillo shies away from moral commentary, so quickly proffered in earlier picaresque narratives:

Aquí me hacen cosquillas mil cosas que pudiera decir, tocantes a lo que pueden las dádivas y a lo que mueve el interés, y lo presto que se convencen los interesados, y los daños que resultan por ellos, y las penas que merecen; pero como es fruta de otro banasto y no perteneciente a Estebanillo, no doy voces, porque sé que sería darlas en desierto. Apliquéme de suerte a trabajar, cebado en la ganancia . . .³⁹

Estebanillo views his role as narrator not to comment, but to relate. In his edition of the text, Juan Millé y Giménez notes the lack of social satire, and attributes it to the uselessness of pointing out what was already so visible to the public: "Los males de España se habían manifestado demasiado y estaban ya a la vista de todos. No había mérito en señalarlos, ni tampoco esperanza de que pudiese sanarlo ningún remedio."⁴⁰ Rather than offering a cure for society's ills, *Estebanillo González* reflects them in the persona of the *pícaro*. In its reserve, the *pícaro*'s language marks the hopelessness of his situation, even while the polysemy of the text allows for social critique to be decoded from its literary discourse.

If the text's polyphony incorporates a comic discourse--the misadventures of a buffoon written as jest for the ruling classes--and one of social commentary in its connotation of the Empire's moral bankruptcy, it also participates in a discourse formed beyond the individual text by the proliferation and consumption of the picaresque as a genre. The picaresque's popularity domesticates its subversive nature, and the reading public's rejection of the harsh realities faced by an ever-increasing poor as it consumes more and more picaresque novels detailing these realities, discloses yet another example of collusion between literature and ideology. This discourse of poverty chronicles the social history of the marginalized substratum of *pícaros* all the while ridiculing their plight and colluding with the system by ultimately absorbing them into the Imperial war machine as an acceptable alternative to their destitution.

Both strategies permit the contemporaneous reader a release from moral and social responsibility. The *pícaro*'s portrayal as comic archetype and as incipient criminal, deservedly put upon for his antisocial behavior, ensures his anonymity by separating his fictional self from his social reality, and it is this fictionalization as a literary nobody that distances the reader and desensitizes him to the historical problem of the marginalized poor. Socially, the *pícaro* is depicted as an alienated being who does not conform to society's norm; his punishment for this is banishment from society --his redemption is to be in the sacrificing of his own values for those of the ruling class. The literary solution offered by this discourse arises from a historical problem: the *pícaro* redeems himself by accepting society's ideology and filling its need for

military manpower. Both the message and the narrative proper come full circle when we remember that Lazarillo's father, as an escape from criminal justice, joins a military expedition.⁴¹

As the deeds of the *pícaro* become the travails of the soldier, the discourse accommodates the reading public and isolates it from the hardships of war by positing them as fictionalized adventures. Yet the origins of the picaresque are too deeply rooted in the social and economic conditions of 16th and 17th century Spain to be denied by the discourse's converting its antiheroes into fictive clowns. As the last representative of the picaresque, it is significant that Estebanillo González ultimately fails both as *pícaro* and as soldier, and instead opts for selling his voice to the highest bidder. Yet Estebanillo's failure is not the genre's--its multiplicity of voices cannot be reduced to serving the interests of the aristocratic reader. Instead, the genre ceases to exist at the end of the war, when the increment of beggars and brigands is at its highest, and only when its social commentary is repeated and made painfully manifest in the streets, where the reader can no longer ignore the social reality around him. The aristocratic subversion of the picaresque as solely a discourse of poverty distancing the reader from its actuality, fails in its attempt to relegate to literary fiction what had been the historical source of the genre's creation.

NOTES

I would like to thank my colleague, Dayle Scidenspinner-Núñez, for her comments on an earlier version of this article.

¹For a definition of picaresque genre, I rely on Claudio Guillén's "Toward a Definition of the Picaresque", in his *Literature as System: Essays toward the Theory of Literary History* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1971) 71-206. I would point out, however, that the genre has proven as Protean as its heroes; as he makes clear in his essay, Guillén does not hold to a strict definition, and is aware that there may be disagreement as to his choice of essential characteristics for the genre.

²Joseph V. Ricapito's essay "Société et ambiance historique dans la critique du roman Picaresque Espagnol" published in *Actes de la Table Ronde Internationale du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique: Picaresque Espagnole*, Collection du Centre d'Etudes Sociocritiques (Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry, 1974) 9-29, reviews the varying critical opinions expressed from a sociological perspective. His statement on the *Buscón* that "l'oeuvre et son contenu social peuvent se prêter à des interpretations diverses et contradictoires, ce qui souligne la complexité baroque" and that "la présentation de la réalité sociale, politique ou historique peut être dans certains cas mimétique, dans d'autres hyperboliques" is applicable to all picaresque novels of the 17th century. Ricapito, 28.

³Guillén, 144.

⁴Maxime Chevalier, *Lectura y lectores en la España de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid: Ediciones Turner, 1976) 20. Chevalier contradicts Guillén's statement: "En cambio parece ser que los mercaderes, la clase propiamente burguesa de la España del Siglo de Oro, no manifiesta gran interés por la literatura de ficción" (27). He summarizes the contemporaneous readership as follows:

-la fracción culta de los hidalgos y caballeros, principalmente de estos últimos;
-parte de los letrados, catedráticos e "intelectuales";
-la fracción del clero que reúne las tres condiciones siguientes: suficientes recursos económicos, curiosidad intelectual, interés por la ficción literaria..
-parte de los criados de grandes familias, hombres cultos que tienen aficiones literarias y pueden aprovechar la posibilidad de tomar libros prestados de las bibliotecas de sus amos.
(29-30)

⁵Chevalier, 176.

⁶Cf. Harry Sieber, *The Picaresque*, The Critical Idiom, No. 33, General Editor John D. Jump (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1977), 33, and Marcel Bataillon, *Picaros y picaresca: La pícaro Justina* (Madrid: Taurus Ediciones, S.A., 1969) 209.

⁷Carlos Blanco Aguinaga, Julio Rodríguez Puértolas, and Iris M. Zavala, *Historia social de la Literatura española*, I (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1979) 308.

⁸Anthony Zahareas, "El género picaresco y las autobiografías de criminales," *La picaresca: orígenes, textos y estructuras*, *Actas del I Congreso Internacional sobre la Picaresca organizado por el Patronato "Arcipreste de Hita*," dirección Manuel Criado del Val Madrid: (Fundación Universitaria Española, 1979) 79-111.

⁹Marjorie Grice-Hutchinson, *Early Economic Thought in Spain, 1177-1740* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1978) 127.

¹⁰*Imperial Spain, 1469-1716* (New York: A Meridian Book NAL, 1977) 204.

¹¹Grice-Hutchinson, 130-131.

¹²Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *El Antiguo Régimen: los Reyes Católicos y los Austrias* (Madrid, 1973; rpt. Madrid: Alianza Universidad, 1981) 246-247.

¹³Juan Ignacio Gutiérrez Nieto, *Las comunidades como movimiento antiseñorial (La formación del bando realista en la guerra civil castellana de 1520-1521)* (Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 1973) 42.

¹⁴Cited in Grice-Hutchinson, 132.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 131.

¹⁶Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. Siân Reynolds (New York: Harper Colophon Books, Harper & Row, Publishers, 1973) II, 740. Braudel points out that "to expel the poor from one place was merely to drive them to another" and that "soon the problem of the poor had progressed beyond the narrow confines of the unsympathetic towns, reaching nation-wide and European dimensions Throughout Europe, too densely populated for its resources and no longer riding a wave of economic growth, even in Turkey, the trend was towards the pauperization of considerable masses of people in desperate need of daily bread. This was the humanity which was about to plunge into the horrors of the Thirty Years' War. . . ." (742-743)

¹⁷R. A. Stradling, *Europe and the Decline of Spain: A Study of the Spanish System, 1580-1720* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1981) 30, for a description of the dimensions of the Philippine monarchy. For the treatment of the different minority groups in Spain, see Domínguez Ortiz, chapter 9, "Los elementos sociales exteriores al sistema", 175-193.

¹⁸Domínguez Ortiz, 301, and Braudel, II, 1065 ff. As to the reality of a Moorish invasion aided by the *moriscos*, Braudel comments: "Madrid was well aware of the contacts between the Moriscos and the rest of the Moslem world. . . . The request for military aid had been made to the Turks by the Morisco envoys, as well as on behalf of the kings of Morocco, Fez, and 'three or four

others of Barbary'. This news coincided with reports reaching Madrid almost simultaneously that the Sharif was preparing a military expedition against the *presidios* in Morocco; taken together they engendered fears that a concerted Moslem invasion of Spain was about to take place." II, 2066.

¹⁹Braudel, II, 1061.

²⁰Domínguez Ortiz, 298.

²¹John Lynch, *Empire and Absolutism: 1516-1598*, Vol. I of *Spain Under the Hapsburgs*, 2nd ed. (1964; rpt. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981) 136-137.

²²Stradling, 34.

²³Olivares's plan was for each province to maintain an auxiliary force as follows:

<u>Region</u>	<u>Fully equipped men (in thousands)</u>
Castile	44
Catalonia	16
Portugal	16
Naples	16
Flanders	12
Aragón	10
Milan	8
Valencia	6
Sicily	6
The Islands	6
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 140

Stradling adds "Local resistance was, of course, fierce and unrelenting. The figures stipulated may have been unrealistic, as much for Castile itself as in the much more celebrated case of Catalonia. . . . On balance, the question of the numbers envisaged as performing 'national service' was less critical than that of the local

financial effort demanded by their support. . . . For this reason, in his search for regular recruits, Olivares was obliged to turn to the nobility as well as to the regional authorities." Stradling, 96.

²⁴According to Stradling, "it may not be too wide of the mark to guess that over 100,000 military personnel were conscripted from greater Castile in the fifteen years 1628-43. . . . In 1637, a subcommittee of the Council of War regarded as simply impossible a royal requisition for a fresh levy of 6,000 men in Castile, an indication of the prevailing levels of depopulation and disruption." Stradling, 97-98.

²⁵Carlos Blanco Aguinaga, et al., 335.

²⁶Braudel, II, 800.

²⁷Stradling, 62.

²⁸*Ibid.*

²⁹Stradling notes that a partial solution to the problem of depopulation was "to encroach upon the legal immunities of the great nobility and their vassals. . . . In 1634, for instance, the immensely wealthy Duke of Medina Sidonia was obliged to raise and maintain 3,000 men for service within the peninsula, and the less eminent were imposed upon *pro rata*." Stradling, 98.

³⁰*La vida de Estebanillo González, hombre de buen humor, compuesta por él mismo*, ed. Juan Millé y Giménez, (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S. A. 1956) I, 45.

³¹Guzmán's repentance, whether real or fictive, functions as a structural device to separate the author/narrator from the protagonist. Cf. Sieber, 18-19 and *Joan Arias, Guzmán de Alfarache: The Unrepentant Narrator* (London: Tamesis Books Ltd., 1977).

³²Contreras, for instance, stresses his honest, old Christian heritage: "Fueron mis padres cristianos viejos, sin raza de moros, ni judíos, ni penitenciados por el Santo Oficio. . . . Fueron pobres y

vivieron casados como lo manda la Santa Madre Iglesia veinticuatro años en los cuales tuvieron dieciséis hijos." *Alonso de Contreras: Vida, nacimiento, padres y crianza del capitán Alonso de Contreras*, ed Fernando Reigosa (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1967) 51-52.

³³Recently, Beverly S. Jacobs has argued convincingly that Contreras' life narrative is motivated by his disillusionment at the social and military rejections he encountered due to his low caste and class standing. However, despite the social restraints imposed on him, Contreras does manage to achieve considerable success as soldier. "Social Provocation and Self-Justification in the 'Vida' of Captian Alonso de Contreras," *Hispanic Review*, 51, No. 3 (1983), 303-319.

³⁴"Imperial Spain and the Secularization of the Picaresque Novel," *Ideologies & Literature*, 1, No. 1 (Dec., 1976-Jan., 1977), 59.

³⁵Spadaccini, 61.

³⁶*Ibid.*, 60.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 61.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 60.

³⁹*Estebanillo González*, I, 165.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, "Prólogo," 19.

⁴¹"En este tiempo se hizo cierta armada contra moros, entre los cuales fué mi padre, que a la sazón estaua desterrado por el desastre ya dicho, con cargo de azemilero de vn cauallero que allá fué. Y con su señor, como leal criado, fenesció su vida." *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus fortunas y adversidades*, ed. Julio Cejador y Frauca (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S.A., 1969) 67-68.

RESUMEN

O'Connor propone que Santiago Ramón y Cajal voluntariamente limitó la circulación de sus cuentos con el objeto de no provocar una censura de influyentes sectores conservadores que pudieran haber obstaculizado el financiamiento de sus proyectos científicos y el progreso científico español, en general. Ramón y Cajal había alcanzado notoriedad pública con el Prix de Moscou que se le concediera en 1900 por su trabajo científico, con la Medalla de Oro Helmholtz de 1905 y con el Premio Nobel que compartiera en 1906 con su colega italiano Golgi. En 1905 publicó sus *Cuentos de vacaciones (narraciones pseudo-científicas)*, que correspondieron al interés intelectual de la época por divulgar el impacto filosófico del progreso científico y tecnológico. Sin embargo, Ramón y Cajal sólo hizo conocida esta edición entre sus amigos. En 1917 explicó que esta medida se debió a su falta de originalidad y las deficiencias de su estilo. Por el contrario, O'Connor arguye que esta autocensura se debió a que el autor temía que su ideario socialista, librepensador y crítico de la enseñanza femenina y religiosa como formas reaccionarias pudieran poner en peligro tanto su carrera científica como el financiamiento de sus investigaciones, puesto que, desde 1901, tenía nexos con el Instituto de Investigaciones Biológicas, entidad estatal que le proporcionaba laboratorios, personal docente y subsidios. Este aspecto ha sido soslayado por los autores que han tratado la obra de Ramón y Cajal, tales como Joaquín Iriarte, S. J. (1952); Santiago Loren (1954); Pedro Lain Entralgo (1962); Helene Tzitsikas (1965); Ballester Escalas (1965) y Rubén Benítez (1979).

SCIENCE, LITERATURE AND SELF-CENSORSHIP:
RAMON Y CAJAL'S
CUENTOS DE VACACIONES (1905)

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...si después de veinticuatro años de estudiar encarnizadamente el órgano del pensamiento en el hombre y los animales no he conquistado todavía el derecho a discurrir con alguna independencia sobre aquellas cuestiones filosóficas íntimamente relacionadas con mis propios descubrimientos, ¡pues me he lucido! ¡Estaría bueno que todavía en pleno siglo XX, tuviéramos que emigrar para escribir y renunciáramos al español y a los españoles!

Cajal (1901)

Scientists throughout the nineteenth century attempted to inform non-scientists about basic research, technological advances, and the philosophical implications of recent discoveries. Despite its unpretentious title, Santiago Ramón y Cajal's *Cuentos de vacaciones* (*narraciones pseudo-científicas*), published in 1905, constituted one such attempt. The fact--seldom remarked upon--that Cajal's narratives were not generally circulated, precluded their having had any wide-spread impact on contemporaries. Yet, if *the Cuentos de vacaciones* did not contribute scientifically-oriented ideas and interpretations to the mainstream of Spanish thought at the time, they do pose questions whose answers reveal much about that period. Why, to ask the obvious one, did Cajal limit the circulation of the *Cuentos* by offering copies only to friends? Cajal's explanation, put forward in 1917, was that his work (most of it

drafted in the mid-eighties) was marred by a lack of originality and deficiencies of style. Cognizant of its defects, he did not "dare" offer it for sale to the public: "Me limité a regalar algunos ejemplares a los amigos de cuya bondadosa indulgencia estaba bien seguro."¹ While Cajal's disclaimer was doubtless true as far as it went, I shall argue here that an even more pressing reason for this action had to do with his perception that the anti-religious, anti-establishment content of some of his narratives would prove deeply offensive to an unsympathetic and ill-prepared public. And, further, that he feared unfavorable reaction to the *Cuentos* might prove detrimental both to his career and to the hopes he held for advancing Spanish science.

The implications of Cajal's action involve questions concerning the scientist which are by now all too familiar: his responsibility to educate a public tenaciously holding on to received ideas; and his responsibility to himself in weighing the consequences for his career of his perceived heterodoxy. Cajal's acute self-consciousness as the only well-known representative of Spanish science as well as his ties (since 1901) to the government-sponsored and financed Instituto de Investigaciones Biológicas with its ramifications of laboratories, teaching staff, scholarship-granting bodies and, in time, the Instituto Cajal, unquestionably acted as a brake on the public expression of thoughts that might have put him seriously at odds with his time and place.²

Well-publicized events such as the controversy between Virchow and Haeckel in 1877 had served to remind scientists everywhere of the possibility of conflict with modern states committed to maintain the authority of political and religious institutions. Virchow implied that since science represented a rather weak force amidst the more powerful forces of Church and State, its successful development required the observation of certain restrictions. In given instances it would be preferable for scientists to keep silent in order not to jeopardize the very existence of their disciplines. Scientists of Cajal's generation were well aware that Haeckel's subsequent defense of the freedom to teach the truth regardless of limitations the state or church might attempt to impose, had had potentially harmful consequences for his professional career.³ Like a number of his colleagues elsewhere who were neither independently wealthy like Darwin or shielded by a powerful patron

as was Haeckel and who were, in one way or another, dependent on state institutions, Cajal often found himself in situations which demanded discretion and compromise.

Ramón y Cajal was the only Spanish scientist of international stature who, like his European and American counterparts, tried to reach a broad audience of readers. But while Ernst Haeckel, T. H. Huxley, Louis Agassiz, J. B. S. Haldane and others are remembered as having related biology to religion, philosophy, sociology and politics for the enlightenment of the general, cultivated reader, Cajal is typically remembered as having written his non-technical works to inculcate a patriotic urge in Spanish youth to do science for the good--indeed, for the survival--of the country.⁴ None of Cajal's books or essays constitute a sustained, formal attempt to apply the principles, truths or insights he had gleaned from biology to other fields of knowledge.⁵ Yet, such books were plainly in demand and Cajal was as well-equipped to write them as were his foreign colleagues. Furthermore, at least as a young researcher, Cajal had granted the possibility of a "filosofía biológica," tentative as it would necessarily have to be.⁶

Among the factors that account for Cajal's not having produced works of this kind, the most fundamental relates to a habit of mind while another--at issue here--hinges on the fate of his one literary attempt (the *Cuentos de vacaciones*) at dealing with a variety of ethical problems raised by biological discoveries and interpretations. By conviction, Cajal was averse to entertaining or imposing hypotheses or theories. For purposes of research, Cajal urged caution regarding the use of hypotheses even as provisional starting points for observation and experiment. In his words, "[...] si, por azares de la suerte, nos vemos compelidos a forjar hipótesis, procuremos al menos no creer demasiado en ellas."⁷ Cajal lived, moreover, through a period of discoveries in science which made him especially conscious of the shifting sands on which much of the systematizing "filosofía biológica" of his time was built. However, in his youth his fascination with biological discoveries and their relevance to philosophy had led him to write a popular, even "poetic" account of the cell theory, for example, and its relation to the concept of personal identity.⁸ By the mid-eighties he tried his hand at introducing biological material into the literary form for which he was best suited by temperament and which also accorded well

with his reluctance to impose hypotheses on the changing data discovered by science.

In the *Cuentos de vacaciones* Cajal combined his knowledge of scientific advances--such as the experimental uses of hypnosis--with his satirical bent in order to explore the ethical implications of such advances. The result, in several stories, has reminded at least one reader of Voltaire's tales.⁹ There is a refreshing absence of sentimentality, a swift movement toward unforeseen though inevitable and often outrageous consequences. The satirical method Cajal employed was not only provocative and entertaining; it permitted him to attack and undermine while relieving him of any obligation to construct alternatives. Unfortunately, the circumstances preventing general distribution of the *Cuentos de vacaciones* had a dampening effect on Cajal's future use of this promising vehicle for stimulating thought about biology, ethics and religion in the general reading public.

While Cajal was circumspect in print about the unheralded appearance of his tales, unquestionably he would have preferred a broader public for his ideas. Other scientists or writers with scientific leanings had only recently achieved considerable success in various literary forms. Although there is no proof that Cajal read H. G. Wells' *Time Machine* (1895) or the *Island of Dr. Moreau* (1896) when they first appeared, it is likely that he became aware of them soon enough--perhaps through contacts he had made in England where he delivered the 1894 Croonian Lecture. In 1917, recalling his earliest scientific fantasies published in 1883, Cajal referred to himself as a predecessor of Wells: "Adelantándose en muchos años a las tan decantadas fantasías de Wells, daba yo por misión fundamental de la evolución la eternidad de la vida [i.e., the survival of germ plasm down through generations] y la conquista intelectual y material del Cosmos... ¡Excusez du peu!"¹⁰ To mention a still more recent example, in France the biologist Félix Le Dantec, whom Cajal often cited, had published his *Le Conflit. Entretiens philosophiques* in 1901. This volume was already in its fourth edition by 1905. It may not have been entirely coincidental that Cajal's "El hombre natural y el hombre artificial" (composed more recently according to the author than his other tales) had the same organizing device as that used by Le Dantec. In *Le Conflit* and in Cajal's story two acquaintances, one a materialist and unbeliever, the other a devout

Christian, meet after the passage of many years. What follows in Le Dantec's narrative is a series of discussions on topics such as geology, animal intelligence, death, matter and spirit, and so on. Cajal was principally concerned with showing the effects of two different kinds of education (religious and scientific) on his interlocutors who also, in the course of conversation, discuss controversial matters. Setting aside differences in style and literary ability between Wells, Le Dantec and Cajal, it seems fair to assume that the latter at first believed the times to be propitious in Spain as well for thought-provoking, scientifically-oriented narratives, only to realize by 1905 that he was mistaken.

The first reference to the limits imposed on the circulation of the *Cuentos* appears to be the account provided by Cajal in the second volume of his autobiography, published in 1917. Relating the events of the year 1905, he wrote:

Para ser completo, debiera todavía mencionar aquí cierto librito, de sabor literario, aparecido en 1905 con el título de *Cuentos de vacaciones*, y firmado con el pseudónimo *Dr. Bacteria*. Trátase de cinco narraciones, a modo de *causeries* pseudo-filosóficas, donde con poca novedad y desmañado estilo se plantean y resuelven algunos problemas de ética social. Conocedor de los defectos de la citada obrita, no osé ponerla a la venta. Me limité a regalar algunos ejemplares a los amigos de cuya bondadosa indulgencia estaba bien seguro. Si, [sic] dispongo alguna vez, [sic] del vagar indispensable, quizás reimprima y ofrezca al público el citado libro, previamente expurgado de empalagosos lirismos y de no pocas máculas de pensamiento y de estilo.¹¹

B. Malo de Poveda, in a 1922 article on Cajal, confirmed the latter's account when he referred to "[...] su libro *Cuentos de vacaciones*, que con el pseudónimo de "Doctor Bacteria" publicó hace años y sólo ha circulado entre amigos y devotos del gran maestro [...]."¹²

By 1935 with the appearance of César Juarros' book on Cajal, the account was significantly altered: "A don Santiago gustábale escribir sobre materias no técnicas. Singularmente en los últimos

años. Pruébanlo cuatro libros inéditos. Donde incrustó más propósito literario fue en *Cuentos de vacaciones*.

Descontento de ellos, retiró la edición.

¿Por qué no tuvo éxito este libro ni aun ante el propio autor? [...] *Los cuentos del doctor Bacteria* [sic] no agradaron al público ni a quien los escribiera: por exceso de timidez."¹³ For all practical purposes, Juarros seemed to regard the *Cuentos de vacaciones* as an unpublished book, yet he did not write that it circulated only among friends: he did state that it was withdrawn after publication having pleased neither the author nor the public.

In 1949, García Durán Muñoz, building perhaps on the version offered by Juarros, affirmed or seems to have affirmed in some oddly strung-out prose, that the *Cuentos* were briefly available to the public, if only to be looked at or perused but not purchased:

Sabido es que estos "Cuentos," puestos un día o mejor, expuestos al juicio del público, fueron rapidísimamente recogidos por su autor, pudiendo afirmarse que no salieron, de hecho, a la venta, limitándose a regalar algún que otro ejemplar, enviando el resto a las librerías, sin que estuvieran más que días al alcance del público, ya que la edición fue retirada por don Santiago, quien parecía con este modo de proceder, no autorizar con su nombre--ya glorioso--la que él tachaba de engendro de juventud que si por un instante de debilidad aparecieron en los escaparates, fueron por serena meditación rectificada en el ligero impulso de su publicación. [sic]¹⁴

Further on (p. 45), Durán Muñoz added the assertion that "[...] don Santiago tanto se avergonzó de este escrito, que retiró y deshizo la edición."

If we accept García Durán Muñoz' version, we must believe that upon publication of his *Cuentos*, Cajal was suddenly seized with remorse and forthwith resolved to withhold his book from sale. Cajal's account, on the other hand, had referred to a deliberate decision, taken in advance, to limit the publication's distribution to friends.

Were further support needed for Cajal's account, there is a telling change in the language of the published version of his "Advertencia Preliminar" to the 1905 edition which tends to confirm his recollection of events surrounding the publication of the *Cuentos*. He explained there that he had written a collection of twelve apologues or semi-philosophical and pseudo-scientific narratives in 1885 or 1886. He did not venture to publish them then, first, because of the extravagant ideas they contained, and second, because of the "flojedad" and "desaliño" of his prose but:

Hoy, alentado por el benévolo juicio de algunos insignes profesionales de la literatura, me lanzo a publicarlos, no sin retocar algo su forma y modernizar un tanto los datos científicos en que se fundan.

Si el *público docto* [my italic] gusta de estas bagatelas literarias, a la serie actual seguirá otra hasta completar la docena de cuentos; si, por el contrario, y es de presumir, mis sermoneos científicos y trasnochados lirismos no hallan gracia a sus ojos, el resto de estas composiciones dormirá el sueño de los engendros malogrados, que debe ser harto más profundo que el llamado *sueño del olvido*.¹⁵

In the first unpublished version of the "Advertencia..." to the *Cuentos*, Cajal had written: "Algo he modernizado un tanto los temas o ideas científicas a que se refieren, y ahí van en súplica de la indulgencia del lector. Si el dictamen del *público* [my italic] le fuera favorable, o al menos no excesivamente adverso, seguirá otro tomo con narraciones todavía más estrambóticas."¹⁶ Since it is unlikely that the insertion of the word *docto* after *público* in the final version of the "Advertencia..." was meant to be ironical--Cajal was never patronizing--its presence may further reflect his studied decision in 1905 to limit the book to friends whose education would enable them to judge it dispassionately.

Gregorio Marañón's study, *Cajal, su tiempo y el nuestro* (1951), was the last to pass on the notion that Cajal had withdrawn his tales from circulation: "Los *Cuentos de vacaciones* los retiró él mismo de la circulación y de la lista de sus obras, dando con ello ejemplo de que era tan certero crítico de su obra como de la obra de

los demás."¹⁷ Marañón's assertion that Cajal took the *Cuentos* off the list of his publications is inaccurate. And, in effect, there is no evidence for his or Juarros' or Durán Muñoz' assertion that Cajal *withdrew* his tales at the time of or shortly after publication.

Writers who have subsequently concerned themselves with Cajal, such as Joaquín Iriarte, S. J. (1952), Santiago Loren (1954), Pedro Laín Entralgo (1962), Helene Tzitsikas (1965), Ballester Escalas (1967), and Rubén Benítez (1979) have omitted mention either of a withdrawal or of the limited circulation of the *Cuentos de vacaciones*.¹⁸ It is noteworthy that Tzitsikas' stated intention in examining the literary works of Cajal--to study "[...] estas obras como contribución de Santiago Ramón y Cajal a la regeneración de España [...]"--did not record the fact that these tales were not widely available.¹⁹ Nor did Eugenio Colomer's essay: "El pensamiento novecentista (1890-1936)," make note of the fact that the *Cuentos* were not well-known in Spanish intellectual or literary circles at that time.²⁰

Evidence for the conclusion that Cajal restricted the *Cuentos* to friends for fear of provoking harmful controversy may be found, first of all, in a passage drawn from Cajal himself. While the final version of the "Advertencia Preliminar" to the 1905 *Cuentos* presented the tales as the diversion of a work-weary scientist, and the scientific information and scientific theses they contained as "más o menos estimables y vulgares," the unpublished version of the "Advertencia..." referred to above, plainly stated the author's awareness of the controversial nature of some of his ideas. Cajal had written:

Por seguro tengo que mis lectores deplorarán que semejantes cuentos, cuyas tendencias no pueden ser más contrarias ni más antipáticas al común sentir de las gentes, se salvaran de la quema; pero yo me he preguntado: ¿tenemos derecho a destruir el fruto, por amargo y desanimador que sea, del trabajo humano? De la almendra amarga saca la industria el ácido cianhídrico, que si es veneno mortal, resulta a cierta dosis medicina [...] A la legua verá el lector que [illegible word] defectos. ¡No ha de tenerlos, si se los veo yo, que soy su padre! Sí, señor, que los tiene y

grandes. Falta de cultura literaria suficiente [illegible word] en el empleo del idioma, mezquindad del léxico, inocencia y candor en las descripciones, falta de interés en las soluciones y, para acabar de echarlo a perder, amargas filosóficas tendencias, que toda la grey tan respetable como tolerante y cariñosa de críticos y literatos al uso llamarán [illegible work...]²¹

Cajal went on to remark: "[...] reconociendo de buen grado no sólo que podía haber corregido alguno de los defectos anotados; no lo hacemos, porque el hombre joven es otro hombre, y no quiero yo quitarle las ilusiones, ingenuidades y tendencias que tenía de [illegible] ideas y sentimientos de los demás, y segundo, porque hallo en el relato de ese otro yo, junto a inexperiencias y ñoñeces de niño, un calor de juventud, un optimismo y una generosidad de alma que para sí los quisiera el yo actual, descarnado y escéptico, que escribe este prólogo." (p. 45).

In 1949 when he published the above passages, García Durán Muñoz drew special attention to the words contained in the final paragraph to the effect that Cajal did not revise the tales because "el hombre joven es otro hombre," then concluded:

Con esta declaración parece dar a entender que se desentiende de lo escrito en su juventud, cuyas ideas modificó cambiándolas la vida, que no en balde han transcurrido veinte años desde que fueron escritos estos "Cuentos" hasta su publicación como libro. Pero esta misma observación parece confirmar que cuando escribió los "Cuentos"--tendría treinta o treinta y cinco años--él sentía y pensaba, como reflejan los personajes, lo que nos impulsa a ocuparnos de ello y estudiarlo, aun a sabiendas de que don Santiago tanto se avergonzó de este escrito, que retiró y deshizo la edición.²²

In 1960, Durán Muñoz and F. Alonso Burón interpreted the same passage somewhat differently. Durán Muñoz had earlier contended that Cajal's "withdrawal" of the 1905 edition was proof that he

rejected the ideology of his youth. In 1960, the two biographers wrote that the same fear of controversy which lay behind Cajal's decision not to publish his narratives in the mid-eighties played a rôle in his decision to publish only five of the original twelve in 1905. They still believed--or at least argued--that Cajal repudiated the anti-religious, anti-establishment ideas contained in the *Cuentos* but they were willing to grant that in 1905 Cajal had entertained fears concerning their reception on political grounds.²³

The unpublished "Advertencia..." commented on above is not dated. It is not possible to ascertain whether it was written before or after 1901 when Cajal mused in a letter to Dr. Enrique Suñer as to whether or not he should expose himself to controversy. The projected books he referred to below did not include the *Cuentos*, but the prospect of provoking the animus of the public or of the guardians of its institutions hovered over those narratives as well as over the books he described. Cajal wrote:

[...] claro es que no puedo garantizar, para lo futuro, una ortodoxia pulcrísima; y si Dios me da salud bastante para acabar algunos libros filosóficos que tengo pergeñados, me veré arrastrado acaso a sostener más de una tesis arriesgada confinante con el escepticismo y nominalismo exagerado, ya con el positivismo crítico, ya con el evolucionismo interpretado acaso con alguna novedad. Entre descarrilar alguna vez y no caminar ni poco ni mucho, que es lo que en España pasa, la elección no es dudosa.

Por otra parte, si después de veinticuatro años de estudiar encarnizadamente el órgano del pensamiento en el hombre y los animales no he conquistado todavía el derecho a discurrir con alguna independencia sobre aquellas cuestiones filosóficas íntimamente relacionadas con mis propios descubrimientos, ¡pues me he lucido! ¡Estaría bueno que todavía en pleno siglo XX, tuviéramos que emigrar para escribir y renunciáramos al español y a los españoles!²⁴

By 1901, when he wrote to Suñer, Cajal had already become the object of considerable coverage in the press. He had received the

Prix de Moscou in 1900. In 1905 he was awarded the prestigious Helmholtz Gold Medal. The following year he shared the Nobel Prize in biology with his Italian colleague, Golgi. And it was in 1905 that Cajal brought out his tales--though intended for a few readers only--as well as a prologue to Dr. Enrique Lluria's *La Evolución Super-Orgánica* in which Cajal made a public declaration of socialist sympathies. The prologue was commented on in the press. Abroad, a reviewer for the Buenos Aires *La Protesta* summed up Cajal's position which was in accord with Lluria's:

El remedio a esa decadencia que hace que la humanidad oscile entre la plétora y la miseria, entre el suicidio por la hartura y la muerte por consunción, el doctor Cajal lo indica en una frase valiente y atrevida, que es una divisa hermosísima en su atrevido revolucionarismo y a la que no dejarán de hacerle ascos los impotentes y los necios, pero que debe de ser reivindicada por los infatigables trabajadores de una humanidad mejor: *La tierra para todos, las energías naturales para todos, el talento para todos.* 'Urge, pues--continúa el doctor Cajal,--reintegrar en las leyes de la evolución, devolver el capital, secuestrado en provecho de unos pocos, al acervo común de la colectividad.'²⁵

The tendency of newspaper commentators to defer to Cajal as a famous scientist is notable. Cajal's "poderoso entendimiento" served to consecrate Lluria's concepts according to a writer in Barcelona's *El Liberal*; the very fact that Cajal chose to write a prologue for Lluria testified to the merit and originality of the latter's arguments according to the reviewer for *El Imparcial* in Madrid.²⁶ There may have been some truth in Durán Muñoz' and Alonso Burón's remark that at the height of his fame Cajal's reputation provided a measure of protection from any prospective opposition.²⁷ But if, as it appears, Cajal's prestige shielded him when he expressed pro-socialist sentiments in 1905, that aspect of his thought was forgotten in time or disregarded. In 1922 Malo de Poveda knew of no "declaración solemne" of socialism on Cajal's part.²⁸ The socialism professed by Cajal's spokesman, Jaime, in "El

hombre natural y el hombre artificial" was unfamiliar to the general public. No mention of Cajal's prologue to Lluria's book in connection with socialism was included in Durán Muñoz' and Alonso Burón's carefully-documented 1960 biography.

By about 1915, evidence for Cajal's apprehensiveness over controversy may be deduced from various excisions he made from the 1901 edition of his autobiography for re-issuing in 1917. As his biographers Durán Muñoz and Alonso Burón noted, some passages expressive of "[...] deducciones filosófico-religiosas sólo aparecen en la primera edición de sus *Recuerdos de mi vida*, ya que en las posteriores han sido modificadas cuando no suprimidas, como ocurre con el párrafo últimamente transcrito, que fue totalmente eliminado por él mismo."²⁹

The above-mentioned biographers believed that Cajal deleted certain passages because he no longer interpreted the facts or events that had originally given rise to certain un-Christian reflections as he had done in his youth. If that were so, he ought also to have suppressed his well-known account of the lightning bolt that hit his school-house, felled a priest and led him to question the benevolence and power of the Creator. It appears rather to have been a question of reducing the amount of material that chronicled his loss of faith. He would have been exposed to serious charges of intellectual dishonesty had he suppressed such material entirely.

At about the same time--in 1918--Antón del Olmet and Torres Bernal published a book on Cajal. The two men had previously solicited the author's views on religion. His response clearly evoked the particular circumstances that had led him to assume a public posture of ideological decorum, at least regarding religion:

Harto transparentes aparecen mis ideas religiosas en mis libros. No conviene, sin embargo, tratar de esto, no por mí, sino por las Corporaciones de que formo parte, alguna de las cuales, como la Junta de Pensiones, ha sido tratada de atea, cuando en realidad dominan en ella los católicos. Por lo demás, jamás me acordé de las tendencias filosóficas o religiosas de nadie al proponer pensiones o adjudicar becas de trabajo. Allí donde estoy hago labor patriótica y cultural. Y pues los católicos forman la mayoría del

país, de entre ellos escoge la Junta sus candidatos y profesores. La menor parcialidad que yo advirtiera en la Junta provocaría automáticamente mi dimisión. Y hasta ahora, debo confesar que no sorprendí el menor indicio de semejante vicio, que despojaría a la citada institución de su carácter de *nacional*.³⁰

Cajal pleaded a similar responsibility to institutional expectations in a letter to Pío Baroja. Alluding to the discourse he had originally delivered before the Real Academia de Ciencias in Madrid in 1897 (published later as *Reglas y Consejos*), he wrote:

¿Es que se enfada porque no revelé yo allí ideas disolventes?

¡Pero, hombre de Dios! ¿Cuándo ha visto usted que eso se puede hacer en un discurso académico y ante compañeros, todos o casi todos fervientemente católicos?

De proceder como usted desea, el discurso no se hubiera escrito, o me lo habrían devuelto, y la causa del nacionalismo nada habría ganado.³¹

Unlike Baroja, Antón del Olmet and Torres Bernal approved of Cajal's decision to assume a public persona different from his private one. After presenting his comments on his duties at the Junta de Pensiones quoted above, they characterized his stance on religion as follows: "[...] sólo esto nos dice D. Santiago. Pero creemos que lo ha dicho todo. Sabio profundísimo, buzo de la materia, esclavizador de la célula nerviosa, tiene su pensamiento personal del más allá. Mas, indulgente y culto, respeta las ideas religiosas de todos y sabe que es católica la mayoría del país en que nació y en el que vive."³²

In 1922 Malo de Poveda took the same tack as Olmet and Bernal. Cajal's unorthodoxy was alluded to gingerly so as to appease the desire for acknowledgment of his genuine convictions on the part of fellow non-believers without offending overmuch his enemies. Malo de Poveda wrote:

No se nos oculta lo difícil y aun peligroso que es estudiar a Ramón y Cajal en sus aspectos sociológico, religioso y político; pero después de leerle y releerle, de meditar lo por él escrito... y de poner a contribución cuantos datos pudimos utilizar al efecto para formar juicio exacto de su personalidad en los mencionados aspectos, nos creemos y confesamos con derecho a tener una opinión y aun a emitirla, si bien con las naturales reservas a que la discreción obliga al abordar materias de índole asaz delicada, sobre todo habida en cuenta la estrechez de criterio de ciertas gentes.

Por lo demás, si Ramón y Cajal no ha hecho, que sepamos, en ninguna parte declaración solemne de racionalista, de socialista ni de libre pensador, es lo cierto, y no hay para qué ocultarlo, que en fuerza de leerle cree uno saber, sin peligro de error, cómo piensa el sabio histólogo en tales materias.³³

Malo de Poveda's remarks provide the last allusion to the potentially disruptive force of Cajal's ideas, whether political, social or religious. The image of Cajal as the eminent scientist who lent prestige and gravity to the cause of Spanish regenerationists or, more broadly, to Spanish patriotism through his bracing counsel to the young became the familiar one. Cajal's image as a spokesman for "ideas disolventes"--the one Baroja should like to have seen emerge--was, from the public's point of view, ill-defined at best and rather quickly eclipsed.

Cajal's earliest decision to circumscribe his efforts toward preparing Spaniards for a totally different, scientific orientation was probably taken when he resolved not to publish the original narratives he wrote in the mid-eighties. That decision was confirmed when he limited the circulation of the *Cuentos de vacaciones* in 1905. Later non-scientific works such as the *Charlas de café* or the collection, *La mujer*, which he permitted Margarita Nelken to make selections for and write a prologue to, demonstrate that Cajal never abandoned his wish to reach a wider public. Once again Cajal's spokesman, Jaime, in "El hombre natural y el hombre

artificial" seems to have expressed Cajal's position succinctly and with a characteristic touch of ironic self-dramatization:

Empresa titánica es combatir preocupaciones y desmantalar cabezas obstinadamente orientadas hacia una estrella ha tiempo eclipsada en el cielo de la razón, pero a cuyo influjo se forjaron grandes intereses y se crearon poderosísimas instituciones. Arrojado de sus últimos baluartes, mi candoroso rendentorismo acabó por persuadirse--ya era hora--de que este bajo mundo, apenas preparado para la filosofía, no está maduro para la justicia, y de que, a despecho de las más elocuentes y generosas progagandas, réstannos todavía unos cuantos siglos de egoísta individualismo y de parasitismo a todo trapo. ¿Qué vale la acción de un hombre, por grandes que sean su abnegación y poder, para transformar la psicología colectiva?

Fuerza era, pues, si no quería esterilizar por completo mi vida, cambiar resueltamente de rumbo. [...] Claro es que tan ambiciosos anhelos sólo en la ciencia podían hallar plena satisfacción. Y a la tarea científica me di con la paciencia del benedictino y la entereza y ardor de los héroes de la voluntad.³⁴

The way in which critics judged the *Cuentos* after Cajal's death when their re-publication made them accessible to the public followed a pattern discernible during his life-time. Whether in favor of his ideas or opposed to them, critics failed to examine those ideas either from a historical point of view or with regard to their intrinsic merit or interest. Cajal's professional status as a scientist alone determined the way in which the *Cuentos* were viewed. This does not mean that his insights as a biologist were taken into account along with the other factors being assessed. Rather, it means that Cajal was viewed primarily as a scientist who had ventured into fields outside his own. Those who agreed, for example, with his view of contemporary women as playing out the role of ignorant perpetuators of a religion that prevented progress, or with his stand on the necessity of abolishing all religious

education (in opposition to the position of liberals who would allow private, religious instruction), invoked his prestige as a scientist in order to lend solidity to his ideological positions.³⁵ Those opposed to his ideas argued that scientists were too narrowly focused on their own special disciplines to have valid opinions or judgements on other matters.³⁶ A commonly shared view held that scientists are dangerously naive about the value of their own work and its significance for culture in general. So, for example, Marañón claimed that Cajal believed science was the panacea for all ills. Clearly, a scientist who believed that science alone justified optimism for the future, was not a man whose judgements whether on science, politics or religion could be trusted.³⁷ Marañón and others who presented Cajal as a candid believer in inevitable scientific progress ignored Cajal's presentation of the scientist, Max V. Forschung, in "A secreto agravio..." In the "Advertencia..." to the *Cuentos de vacaciones*, Cajal wrote that in his characterization of Forschung he wanted to "[...] exponer algunos rasgos salientes de la curiosa psicología de los sabios, esencialmente amoral y profundamente egotista (hay excepciones, naturalmente)..."³⁸ Similarly, critics who saw Cajal as another deluded victim of "cientifismo" ignored statements such as the following, published in 1915 in the *Semanario Español*:

Vaya por delante la declaración de que yo tengo muy pobre idea del hombre y de su civilización. Para mí, la raza humana sólo ha creado dos valores dignos de estima: la ciencia y el arte. En lo demás continúa siendo el último animal de presa aparecido. Y como habrá de perseverar irremediabilmente en su condición de animal de malos instintos, conjeturo que, cualquiera que sea el resultado de la monstruosa lucha, cambiarán muy poco las normas ideales y morales de la humanidad.³⁹

Cajal's understanding of the uses to which science could be put never weakened his conviction that our supreme duty and pleasure lies in the study of nature.

In general, commentators have failed to do more than praise, condemn or, occasionally, summarize the content of the *Cuentos de*

vacaciones. Subsequent studies could usefully distinguish between ideas expressed in these tales which could have been shared by many *regeneracionistas* in 1905 and ideas that only Cajal in his capacity as a biologist could have presented as he did. The anti-religious, anti-institutional ideas which have elicited most of the favorable and unfavorable comment belong to the first category. A professional scientific background was not prerequisite either to the formulation or to the acceptance of such ideas.

One idea that Cajal as scientist introduced into the *Cuentos* and which has provoked little comment is his prediction of the crucial power of suggestion. Iriarte saw "El fabricante de honradez" (where this idea is presented) from one possible point of view--as an insight into the origin of evil.⁴⁰ The story is also perhaps the earliest instance in Spanish literature in which the possibilities inherent in hypnotism are suggested. Earlier stories such as Leopoldo Alas' "Superchería" (1889-90), concentrated on the psychological exploration of the unique bond between hypnotist and subject--and on the debunking of hypnosis insofar as it claimed scientific validity. Cajal clearly saw the implications of suggestion as applied to a whole population. As J. B. S. Haldane wrote in 1924: "[...] anyone who has seen even a single example of the power of hypnotism and suggestion must realize that the face of the world and the possibilities of existence will be totally altered when we can control their application, as has been possible, for example, with drugs which were once regarded as equally magical."⁴¹ It was this kind of perception that Cajal as a scientist was able to have, but, as it turned out, not one he shared with many of his contemporaries.

NOTES

¹Santiago Ramón y Cajal, *Recuerdos de mi vida*, II (Madrid: Imprenta y Librería de Moya, 1917), p. 572. Subsequent citations from the *Recuerdos de mi vida* refer to this edition.

²Information on Cajal's connections with the Instituto de Investigaciones Biológicas may be found in *El pensamiento vivo de Cajal*. Presentado por Felipe Jiménez de Asúa. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, S. A., 1941), p. 87, and in García Durán Muñoz and Francisco Alonso Burón, *Ramón y Cajal. I. Vida y Obra* (Zaragoza: Institución "Fernando el Católico," 1960), p. 367.

³See Erwin H. Ackerknecht, *Rudolf Virchow. Doctor. Statesman. Anthropologist*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1953), pp. 201-202. For Haeckel's difficulties at Jena with opponents of his ideas, see Wilhelm Bölsche, *Haeckel. His Life and Work* (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Co., 1906), pp. 253-255. For Haeckel's reply to Virchow, see Ernst Haeckel, *Freedom in Science and Teaching*. With a Prefatory Note by T. H. Huxley, F. R. S. (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1879).

⁴Cajal's *Reglas y consejos*, first published in 1898, is a comprehensive guide instructing the young scientist in the methodology of science and of life as the scientist should live it. Azorín characterized it as one of those fundamental books that forge a country's ideology and contribute to its social and literary evolution. ("Un libro de Ramón y Cajal," *O.C.*, XI [Madrid: Rafael Caro Reggio, 1921], p. 69). Cajal's autobiography, *Recuerdos de mi vida*, the first volume of which appeared in 1901 and the second in 1917, is significant on many counts, but Cajal himself intended the second volume, in particular, to provide a model for young scientists to emulate. The *Charlas de café* (1920) and *El mundo visto a los ochenta años* (1934) are, respectively, a collection of *pensées* and a meditation on old age. Some of Cajal's other non-scientific works and prologues to the works of others are discussed below.

⁵For example, the prologue Cajal wrote for Marcos Zapata's *Poesías* (Madrid: Fernando Fe, 1905), was a short, deliberately tentative discussion of the artistic personality in relation to Cajal's experimental work with hypnosis in 1886-87. Similarly, Cajal's prologue to Dr. Enrique Lluria's *Evolución Super-Orgánica* (Madrid: Librería de Fernando Fe, Barcelona: Librería Española, 1905), presented the claims of biological determinism as opposed to a willed cultural evolution briefly and inconclusively. It is possible to identify the attraction Cajal felt at one point for biological determinism, at another, for a modified version of it, but Cajal nowhere made a definitive statement of his position on this question. He never felt that biologists knew enough to be dogmatic on this score--or on many others.

⁶*Recuerdos de mi vida*, II, pp. 228-229. Significantly, when Cajal urged Letamendi to finish the latter's *El positivismo absoluto* (a work combining biology and philosophy), Letamendi had exclaimed: "¡Ah! si yo viviera en Francia o en Inglaterra!... Poco me quiere usted cuando desea verme, en las postrimerías de la vida y atormentado por cruel enfermedad, a vueltas con anatemas y excomuniones episcopales." Letamendi's public orthodoxy was known by his friends to mask a profound and radical agnosticism according to Cajal. (*Loc. cit.*)

⁷*Recuerdos de mi vida*, II, p. 312. See also the *maestro's* advice to the young Jaime in "El hombre natural y el hombre artificial" in *Cuentos de vacaciones* (Madrid: Imprenta de Fortanet, 1905), p. 282: "La Naturaleza y la lógica aconsejan de consuno este orden en la adquisición de los conocimientos: primero los hechos, es decir, el registro de las percepciones según las relaciones con que llegaron a la conciencia; luego las leyes generales empíricas; en último término las hipótesis y teorías." (Subsequent citations from the *Cuentos de vacaciones* refer to the above-mentioned edition). In practice, Cajal seemed to have begun, as most scientists do, with a hypothesis. The waste of time he had occasionally experienced by holding on to weak hypotheses led to his warnings against them. (*Recuerdos*, II, pp. 311-312).

⁸*Recuerdos*, II, pp. 58-59.

⁹R. Ballester Escalas, *Santiago Ramón y Cajal* (Barcelona: Ediciones Toray, 1967), p. 175. The author pointed to anti-clericalism, the use of preposterous names (Don Deogracias Carcabuey) to indicate particular affiliations, and the presence of sympathetic young protagonists as reminiscent of Voltaire's tales.

¹⁰*Recuerdos*, II, p. 64.

¹¹*Recuerdos*, II, p. 572.

¹²B. Malo de Poveda, "El doctor Santiago Ramón y Cajal considerado como literato, psicólogo, sociólogo y político," *Nuestro Tiempo*, XXII (1922), p. 107. Cajal's use of the pseudonym "Doctor Bacteria," the same one he had used to sign a set of articles published in Valencia and Zaragoza in the early eighties (see *Recuerdos*, II, p. 56), was surely never intended to conceal his identity. If the *Cuentos* had been distributed to the public the identity of their very famous author would soon have become known. In this connection it may be noted that in late 1906 Emilia Pardo Bazán, in her regular column for *La Ilustración Artística*, wrote that people admired Cajal unquestioningly: they had no grounds for judging him as a *literato* or as an artist and his inaccessibility as a scientist removed him from criticism. Pardo Bazán, who kept abreast of recent books, seemed not to know of the *Cuentos de vacaciones*. (*La Ilustración Artística* [Barcelona: 19 Nov., 1906], p. 746). Azorín's 1921 comment on *Reglas y Consejos*, "Antetodo, hemos de hacer constar el placer que causa el ver a un hombre que, por sus trabajos, parecería ajeno al arte de la prosa, escribiendo en un estilo verdaderamente literario, un estilo, claro, preciso, limpio, ameno, insinuante," again appears to reveal ignorance of the *Cuentos* since Azorín would likely have referred to them to reinforce his evaluation of Cajal's literary style. ("Un libro de Ramón y Cajal," p. 70).

¹³César Juarros, *Ramón y Cajal; vida y milagros de un sabio* (Madrid: Ediciones Nuestra Raza, 1935), pp. 165-166. The timidity Juarros referred to is an allusion to Cajal's use of scientific

terminology, his reluctance to break away from his special discipline.

¹⁴García Durán Muñoz, *Del sentimiento e idea política en don Santiago Ramón y Cajal* (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1948), pp. 41-42. See also G. Durán Muñoz and Francisco Alonso Burón, *Ramón y Cajal. I. Vida y Obra* (Zaragoza: Institución "Fernando el Católico," 1960), p. 144.

¹⁵*Cuentos de vacaciones*, pp. v-vi.

¹⁶Quoted by Durán Muñoz, *Del sentimiento e idea política en Santiago Ramón y Cajal*, p. 44.

¹⁷Gregorio Marañón, *Cajal, su tiempo y el nuestro* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1951), p. 86.

¹⁸Joaquín Iriarte, S. J., "El sentido filosófico de Cajal y su visión del mundo," *Razón y Fe*, 145 (1952), pp. 119-134; Santiago Loren, *Cajal. Historia de un hombre* (Barcelona: Editorial Aedos, 1954); Pedro Laín Entralgo, *España como problema* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1962); Helene Tzitsikas, *Santiago Ramón y Cajal. Obra literaria* (México: Colección Studium, 1965); R. Ballester Escalas, *Santiago Ramón y Cajal* (Barcelona: Ediciones Toray, 1967); Rubén Benítez, "La novela científica en España: Ramón y Cajal y el Conde de Gimeno," *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos*. Río Piedras, Puerto Rico. VI (1979), pp. 25-39.

¹⁹Tzitsikas, p. 6.

²⁰Colomer's essay is in *Historia general de las literaturas hispánicas* (Barcelona: Editorial Vergara, 1973), VI, pp. 239-338.

²¹Quoted by Durán Muñoz, *Del sentimiento...*, p. 44.

²²Durán Muñoz, *Del sentimiento...*, p. 45.

²³*Ramón y Cajal. I. Vida y Obra*, p. 144: "La primera pregunta que se nos ofrece es la de cómo no osó publicarlos en alguna revista

valenciana cuando los escribía, pareciéndonos que, más que por miedo a su valor literario, debió influir el temor a las tesis sustentadas. Ser revolucionario en ciencias es posible, porque el hecho puede confirmar las ideas, pero serlo en política puede acarrear graves disgustos cuando se tiene el temperamento de D. Santiago y se ha de luchar con la costumbre; ya decía él: *la tradición impuesta en la niñez es algo así como un casco de acero que, al modo de ciertos vendajes cefálicos de los salvajes, impide el desarrollo del cerebro y del pensamiento original.*

Este temor a pecar de revolucionario político, a acarrear enemigos y disgustos que enervaran sus ideas, robándole tiempo a su tarea científica, fue la causa de que los doce cuentos escritos en Valencia no alcanzaron vida con la imprenta hasta muchos años después, y sólo cinco fueron publicados."

²⁴Quoted in *Ramón y Cajal. I. Vida y obra*, pp. 457-458.

²⁵J. M. y P., *La Protesta* (Buenos Aires, 21 mayo, 1905). Quoted in Enrique Lluria y Despau, *Evolución Super-Orgánica*, p. xl.

²⁶Lluria, *Evolución...*, pp. xviii; xiv.

²⁷*Ramón y Cajal. I. Vida y Obra*, p. 144: "[...] se lanza a darlos [los cuentos] a luz cuando ya el prestigio de su firma los respaldaba..."

²⁸"El doctor Santiago Ramón y Cajal considerado como..." p. 133. Malo de Poveda did know of Cajal's pro-socialist position. See below, note 33.

²⁹*Ramón y Cajal. I. Vida y Obra*, p. 403. The excised passage: "Recuerdo que, cuando me contaron las tretas de que el cuco se vale para criar su prole (tretas que pude comprobar personalmente), sentí una impresión de disgusto. Fue ésta la primera incongruencia del orden natural que llegó a mi noticia, y quedé un tanto desencantado del orden admirable de la Creación al considerar que el mal, que yo creía ser cosa exclusivamente humana, tenía ya su raíz en la más baja animalidad." (*Loc. cit.*)

³⁰Luis Antón del Olmet and José de Torres Bernal, *Cajal; historia íntima y resumen científico del español más ilustre de su época* (Madrid: J. Pueyo, 1918), p. 324.

³¹"Cajal responde a Pío Baroja," *Índice*, núm. 51 (1952), pp. 1, 6.

³²Antón del Olmet and Torres Bernal, *Cajal; historia íntima...*, p. 324.

³³Malo de Poveda, p. 113.

³⁴*Cuentos de vacaciones*, pp. 327-328.

³⁵C. f. Malo de Poveda, pp. 106-107, who argued that scientists were especially well-equipped to deal with psychology, sociology and government.

³⁶C. f. Ballester Escalas, *Santiago Ramón y Cajal*, pp. 174-175: "En su tiempo, el "cientifismo" deformaba a todos los profesores y más particularmente a los de la Facultad de Ciencias; los biólogos se consideraban autorizados a meterse en cuestiones de filosofía, y en cambio, hubiesen protestado, justamente indignados, si algún filósofo se hubiese atrevido a dar su parecer sobre la teoría reticular del tejido nervioso, o sobre la independencia morfológica de la neurona, sin haber mirado por un microscopio en su vida. Cajal no había creado estas injusticias de método, esta "aceptación de Facultades" (como en los jueces venales hay "aceptación de personas") y no fue culpa suya si el ambiente inconsecuente del ochocientos actuó sobre él."

³⁷Marañón, pp. 24-26.

³⁸*Cuentos de vacaciones*, p. vii.

³⁹Quoted in *Ramón y Cajal. I. Vida y Obra*, p. 355. The article from which the above passage was drawn, "Vaticinio de 1915. En torno a la guerra," expressed opinions that decidedly supported biological determinism and were therefore pessimistic as regards the future of mankind.

40Iriarte, "El sentido filosófico de Cajal...," p. 130.

41J. B. S. Haldane. *Daedalus, or Science and the Future* (London: Kegan Paul, 1924), p. 75.

ABSTRACT

The author's thesis is that theater and theatrical history can profitably be studied at a new level of representation--that of the small group. His paper--composed of a series of fragmentary propositions--undertakes to clear ground in this regard for one such small group, namely, the family, which, he observes, has represented a sociological phenomenon and problem for state apparatus widely explored in drama. He therefore deals with aspects of the representation of the family from classical Theater to Classical-Modern (especially, Spanish *Siglo de Oro*), and bourgeois theaters. Dealt with are the representation of the internal dynamics of the family and its external relations, the inner relationship between family factors and such other elements as social class, and, as well, the question of the relationships between a literary representation and sociological study of family dynamics. This contribution highlights differences in the representation of the family over time and advances proposals for various modes of further study.

LOS GRUPOS PEQUEÑOS EN LA FICCION DRAMATICA: LA FAMILIA

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INTRODUCCION

La crítica literaria se ocupa de lo que ocurre en un drama entre, por ejemplo, un padre y un hijo, mientras que lo que podríamos llamar, en terminología hipotética brechtiana, la "crítica épica" se ocupa de los procesos sociales presentes en esa relación. Del mismo modo, el "crítico épico", como lo hizo Brecht en su dramaturgia y más explícitamente en su *Kleines Organon für das Theater*, puede presentar su crítica del drama de forma estilísticamente fragmentaria.

El estudio de los grupos incide en muchos campos del saber. Incide en la psicología social, la sociología, la psiquiatría, las ciencias políticas, la psicología industrial, la antropología y la psicología clínica. Nosotros proponemos que el teatro sea estudiado ahora desde la perspectiva de los grupos pequeños.

El análisis de una obra de teatro desde la perspectiva de los grupos pequeños es trascendente al marco de la obra en cuanto que nos hace conscientes a los críticos literarios de la existencia de los grupos pequeños reales, pero es inmanente a ella en cuanto que hace a los sociólogos conscientes de la obra dramática como una entidad de grupos pequeños.

Lo insólito del teatro, desde la perspectiva de los grupos pequeños, es que crea un novísimo grupo en cada obra y que este grupo se autoanaliza y se autodetermina, creando al mismo tiempo su propia e intransferible dinámica y construyendo un sistema social ficticio enteramente original. Más insólito aún es que este pequeño grupo sea totalmente diferente de los cuatro o cinco mil millones

que un sociólogo calculaba existían en la humanidad en 1967 y, no obstante, sea igual a todos ellos desde una teoría de grupos.¹

No debemos interesarnos por el estudio de los procesos sociales implícitos en la obra dramática para aclarar dichos procesos--lo cual es deber de las ciencias sociales--, sino para aclarar la obra, lo cual es deber nuestro.

Puede afirmarse sin temor a equivocaciones que el grupo dramático pequeño de más importancia en la tradición teatral de Occidente es la familia.

LA FAMILIA

La problemática familiar ha existido siempre, pero si no la cristalizaba el drama se debía a que dicha problemática estaba todavía sin sancionar por una clase.

La problemática familiar de, por ejemplo, el teatro español antiguo se debatía entre dos polos: la norma y la transgresión. La situación dramática la originaba la transgresión y se resolvía volviéndola a la norma. La venganza fue a menudo el medio instrumental para volver la transgresión a su marco normativo.

El hijo ilegítimo y el niño abandonado fueron acercamientos a la problemática familiar. Pero la transgresión se encauzaba muchas veces hacia la norma: se reconocía al uno y se rescataba al otro.

La familia como grupo radicalmente conflictivo no apareció hasta cierto momento de la historia del teatro. Cuando aparecía, aparecía en la pareja, es decir, en la unidad grupal mínima y de ello que las interrelaciones familiares en el teatro fueran mínimas y reducida su problemática. Los abuelos, los tíos y los hijos apenas existían y de aquí que no existiera un cuadro de interrelaciones complejo.

La familia del teatro burgués es un sistema estabilizado. Lo verdaderamente teatral lo constituye el elemento desestabilizador, que el autor burgués acababa estabilizando más pronto o más tarde en la obra.

En incontables casos los elementos desestabilizadores ocurren antes de la constitución de la pareja en matrimonio. Una vez que éste se constituye concluye la comedia y con ella la posible problemática familiar.

El mito de la "fuerza de la sangre" no era nada más que eso: un mito. Con él se pretendía, usando presupuestos científicos falsos, reintegrar a un sistema coherente la realidad familiar que el mismo sistema había creado.

Los grupos familiares presentan en el teatro, como en la vida, tres tipos de problemática: prematrimonial, matrimonial y posmatrimonial.

En el teatro de Occidente el sororato debe de ser relativamente raro: un hombre se casa con la hermana de su esposa. Mucho más raro, por ser más tabú, debe de ser el levirato: un hombre se casa con la esposa de su hermano.

La burguesía exalta el concepto de familia porque en ella se proyecta su ansia de dominio social, puesto que a través de la familia se controla el poder ideológico. Esta afirmación, evidentemente poco original, puede aplicarse a la historia del teatro en busca de corroboración, lo cual produce resultados altamente halagüeños.

Al crear la burguesía industrial todo un sistema ideológico, moral y económico alrededor de la familia, la problemática tuvo que estallar, puesto que dicho sistema estaba repleto de elementos contradictorios y artificiales.

Dudamos que la crítica literaria de Occidente pueda aportar a la Antropología material dramático suficiente en que estén cristalizadas la poliandria, la poliandria fraterna, la poliginia sororal e incluso la poliginia. El teatro sólo dramatiza la problemática de su entorno.

La diada, desde la perspectiva del grupo familiar, adquiere estas polarizaciones: padre/madre, padre/hijo, padre/hija, madre/hijo, madre/hija, hermano/hermana, hermano/hermano y hermana/hermana. Un gran número de grupos familiares dramáticos puede reducirse a una de esas polarizaciones, aunque algunas son mucho más frecuentes que otras.

En el grupo familiar de cuatro miembros, cuyas posibles dualidades hemos establecido, las modalidades de su interrelación son básicamente dos: modalidad de antagonismo y modalidad de identidad.

En la modalidad de antagonismo deben incluirse la infidelidad, la patriapotestalidad y el cainismo, entre muchos otros posibles

motivos. La fidelidad, la fuerza de la sangre e incluso el incesto serían ejemplos de la modalidad de identidad.

Aunque a veces las relaciones madre/hija pueden ser antagónicas--en el caso, por ejemplo, de la matriapotestalidad--, no es infrecuente en la fabulación el que, a fin de preservar el arquetipo de la maternidad intacto, a la madre la haya desplazado una figura simbólica alternativa, como es la madrastra.

La dramaturgia ha sido tradicionalmente monocigótica: los gemelos son del mismo sexo (varones por lo general) y prácticamente idénticos. De este "error" de la naturaleza nacería una variante de la "comedia de errores".

Hay, sin embargo, una dramaturgia dicigótica: los hermanos, del mismo o de diferente sexo, parecidos o no, provienen de dos óvulos distintos. Si son de sexo diferente, la situación dramática es bien conocida: antes de consumar el incesto, se efectúa la anagnórisis.

El arte camina por lo general al paso de la ciencia, y a veces, como ocurre en la ciencia ficción, delante de ella. Sin embargo, a veces va detrás. ¿Saben los dramaturgos que se han dado casos de mellizos de la misma madre, pero de padre diferente? No desdeñemos, sin embargo, la intuición del artista, pues en el *Anfitrión* de Plauto se da esta insólita historia de mellizos: Alcmena da a luz a dos hijos, uno engendrado por su esposo y otro por Júpiter.

Al autor dramático antiguo le interesaba la separación y el reencuentro de dos hermanos gemelos, pero no las diferencias morales, culturales e intelectuales nacidas durante la separación. Cuando el hombre supo que el medio social influye en la personalidad, entonces sí incorporó el teatro esta problemática.

Los antiguos creían que la importancia de la herencia biológica era muy superior a la del medio y de aquí que el niño noble abandonado se acabara reintegrando a su estado original. No importa que la ciencia sea falsa, lo importante es que la ciencia sirva para reinsertar en el grupo las relaciones sociales normativas.

Algunos de los obstáculos que la sociedad imponía a la pareja, y que los dramaturgos han visto desde siempre, podían ser la diferencia de edad, de religión o de raza, la desigualdad social o la consanguinidad.

En un cierto tipo de teatro, el amor salvaba todos los obstáculos sociales; en este respecto la pareja era el grupo mínimo

revolucionario pues se oponía a los valores integristas de la ideología familiar. Pese a ello, muchas veces la carrera de obstáculos terminaba en la meta matrimonial, con lo que se probaba la reinsertión de la desviación en la axiología (=Wertwissenschaft) de la conformidad. Esto ha ocurrido mucho en la tradición dramática española.

Los problemas familiares profundos, con alguna que otra excepción, no los tocaba--por razones complejas--el teatro del Siglo de Oro español: la viudez, el caninismo, el incesto, la rebelión filial, la lucha por la herencia, la figura de la madrastra, la impotencia o la orfandad, por ejemplo.

El creciente desarrollo económico, industrial, tecnológico y político de la burguesía coexiste con una serie de problemas sociales de los que la familia es el receptáculo último, y junto a la familia, el teatro.

La amante es una figura representativa, en los márgenes mismas del campo familiar, de la desviación que alienta en todo grupo, y al mismo tiempo figura necesaria para salvaguardar la integridad del grupo.

La historia bíblica de Abrahán e Isaias contiene uno de los motivos más insólitos de la problemática familiar: el conflicto que siente el padre al ser ordenado por Dios a matar al hijo favorito. Todo se resuelve, sin embargo, en un juego teológico, pues el ángel mensajero suspende la espada de Abrahán cuando éste se dispone a descargarla; todo ha sido una prueba de lealtad, como, por ejemplo, explica el comentador al final de la pieza *Abraham and Isaac*, del siglo XV inglés.

La problemática de la familia real es, por lo general, una problemática de Estado: sucesión, morganatismo, enlaces de dos Casas, derechos de las hembras y regencia, por ejemplo.

En la mayoría de los grupos dramáticos familiares, los esquemas de relación son, como hemos dicho, básicamente binarios. Si el esquema de relación es ternario, el tercer miembro puede ser una figura adventicia: la amante, la suegra o la nuera (o sus equivalentes masculinos). El mismo esquema ternario se ha de ver en la rivalidad entre hermanos y entre padres e hijos por un hombre o una mujer.

La problemática familiar según la ha expresado la dramaturgia ha tenido un fin utilitario, además del artístico: le ha servido a la

sociedad, no sólo de fuente informativa, sino también de fuente formativa, pues casi sin excepción el concepto de familia--monogamia, célula económica, autoridad, socialización--permanecía intacto tras el horror y la barbarie que los personajes nos mostraban.

La diversidad dramática del grupo familiar es mucha debido a la diversidad de su problemática, a las variables aritméticas de las relaciones entre los miembros--especialmente si a ellos se unen los miembros consanguíneos y políticos no pertenecientes al grupo celular--y, sobre todo, a la evolución histórica de la problemática familiar causada por las transformaciones de la ideología.

Cuando un miembro del grupo trata de extender su universo individual, el grupo puede sentirse amenazado, y de aquí que la diferencia de raza, de religión, de edad, de cultura y de estado económico o social entre un miembro del grupo y un no miembro hayan cumplido una función tan significativa en la dramaturgia familiar de nuestras sociedades amenazadas.

El teatro histórico es doblemente histórico: por una parte cuenta una historia del pasado (vector paleohistórico), por otra cuenta en latencia una historia del presente (vector neohistórico). ¿Qué tabú es el que se saca a la superficie y al mismo tiempo se oculta? Sería fácil responder: el tabú político. Pero también podrían existir otros tabúes soterrados; por ejemplo, los tabúes familiares.

En la problemática familiar dramática muchas situaciones pueden ser reducidas a la desviación: a) biológica, si se trata de la frigidez, la esterilidad o la impotencia; b) ritual, si se efectúa una reversión de funciones, como las que representan la *mulier vir* o el *vir mulier*; c) jerárquica, si se prefiere al primogénito o al benjamín, o se reduce a un miembro al papel de cenicienta; d) deprivatoria, si se recurre al abandono o a la ilegitimidad; e) internalizada, si el marido es tahir, mujeriego o alcohólico, la mujer, vana, desobediente, charlatana o dilapidadora, y los hijos, rebeldes o calaveras. Con todo, las desviaciones tabúes por excelencia fueron, como era de esperar, las más sociales, o por mejor decir, las más antisociales: el adulterio, el incesto y el parricidio.²

La seducción ha sido uno de los motivos más persistentes en la literatura. Si la realizaba un hombre, fuera éste un monarca, un monje o un ciudadano cualquiera, se exaltaba la castidad de la mujer; si la realizaba ésta, se ponía de relieve su maldad. En los casos en

que la efectuaba la mujer cumplía una función social suplementaria, pues además se pretendía salvaguardar los ideales del monacato, de la monarquía o de la buena ciudadanía. A veces se pretendía salvaguardar la integridad de la familia si la seducción se efectuaba dentro de ella. A los valores sociales, éticos e institucionales que se intentaban preservar (entre los que la castidad era el valor supremo), se unían los expresados por el sacrificio que la negación a la seducción requería y el castigo que merecía el culpable.

La literatura proletaria del siglo XIX vio en la seducción otra función social: la de mostrar otra modalidad de la agresión de la clase burguesa contra la clase proletaria, pues en la seducción de la obrera quedaba bien claro que la familia estaba subordinada a las relaciones de clase.

Los viudos y viudas, y los solteros y solteras, tuvieron que aparecer relativamente tarde en el teatro, cuando la sociedad tomó conciencia de la familia como unidad de producción social. No fue ya la castidad el núcleo de las preocupaciones, sino el carácter social de la castidad, que ahora era una forma de marginación en cuanto que era improductiva, tanto si era voluntaria como impuesta, pasajera o permanente. Esta desvalorización moral de la castidad tuvo su contrapartida literaria en un nuevo personaje, además de los nombrados: el sacerdote, por ejemplo, que no sólo era infiel a su voto, sino que a causa de su infracción colgaba los hábitos.

El teatro decimonónico vio la incidencia en la familia de mayordomos, secretarios, institutrices, ayas y consejeros espirituales, en cuyas interrelaciones grupales el autor dramático descubrió una nueva problemática. La vida familiar privada de estos nuevos personajes fue dejada a un lado muchas veces, sin embargo, por la dramaturgia.

La entrada de la nodriza en el teatro se hizo al mismo tiempo que la mujer trabajadora abandonaba su papel de madre real a causa de la desintegración laboral de la familia proletaria realizada por la burguesía industrial. Con la nodriza entró también la madre idealizada de la familia burguesa, que ahora se ocupaba de conducir los asuntos de la casa y de mandar en los criados, y la cual era indefectiblemente hacendosa, fiel a su esposo y de moral intachable, pero que no tenía tiempo para la lactancia.

Lo mismo que la vida familiar no modela a la sociedad, sino ésta a aquélla, tampoco la sociedad es modelada por la problemática

familiar sobre que versan los dramaturgos, sino ésta por aquélla. Cuando el artista trató de imponer sus propios modelos, su gran victoria artística sólo pudo equipararse a su gran derrota social.

La muerte, por su universalidad, quizá haya sido en la historia del teatro el incidente de variabilidad más persistente y fuerte, y ello también en la estructura familiar, a la cual transformaba permitiendo la entrada de personajes nuevos como la madrastra, el padrastro, los abuelos, el tutor y la nodriza, o de personajes alterados, como la *mater familias*, el *filius pater* y la *filia mater*, y de motivos como la orfandad, la herencia y las relaciones madre/yerno (por muerte de la hija), padre/nuera (por muerte del hijo) y hermano/cuñada (por muerte del hermano). Como decía Bauleo de la familia: "Esta se recorta como una relación eternizada, en la cual los sujetos siempre estarán en igual vinculación, y la modificación está proporcionada por la muerte, pues ella es la que permite que los roles se alteren, o que otro sujeto ocupe un lugar."³

Una investigación histórica del teatro daría probablemente como resultado el hecho de que la mujer, cuando ha sido presentada como heroína, lo ha hecho a través de la única institución en la que la sociedad le había reservado un papel: la familia. Cuando no sea así, y desde luego no lo es en muchos de los más conocidos ejemplos, se vería que su protagonismo se detentó a través de instituciones, como la realeza, que trascendían con mucho la potencialidad social de la mujer. Lisístratas ha habido pocas en el teatro.

El hecho de que la familia, en cuanto grupo dramático, sea el más persistente en la historia del teatro, puede deberse a que, a pesar de la evolución sufrida por dicho grupo y no obstante su diversidad en diferentes culturas, éste ha sido, entre todos los grupos humanos, el que ha gozado, en términos relativos, de más autonomía y equilibrio, aparte de ser, naturalmente, el más próximo a la experiencia del artista.

Es un hecho innegable que, con la excepción del teatro moderno, la obra teatral casi nunca presenta a la mujer inserta en la producción material familiar y ni siquiera al hombre en la producción material socializada. ¿Es que los hombres y las mujeres no han trabajado siempre? Trabajaban, pero la cultura la hacían quienes no trabajaban, así como quienes la hacían para éstos. La problemática de la vida laboral, doméstica o socializada, pasó inadvertida durante siglos.

El incesto de Edipo o el parricidio que cometen éste, Orestes o Medea no indican en absoluto una problemática familiar en Grecia, sino una visión trágica del hombre respecto a si mismo. En cambio, un drama como *La malquerida*, de Benavente, no contiene una visión trágica del hombre respecto a si mismo, pero sí contiene una visión de la problemática familiar a través del incesto y el parricidio. Si la problemática familiar existió siempre, ¿cómo es que la familia no se vio como problemática hasta muy tarde?

Del mismo modo, la Yerma de García Lorca representa en última instancia el problema de la esterilidad, pero no así la Hermione de la *Andrómaca* de Eurípides, que encarna, no la esterilidad propiamente dicha, sino los celos y el odio contra la fertilidad de Andrómaca. Nos parece que la conquista de la subjetividad hecha por el capitalismo, y la creación de la psicología como ciencia de la subjetividad, explicarían el énfasis diverso dado a los problemas familiares por parte de los antiguos y de los modernos dramaturgos.⁴

Los dramaturgos no han explorado, que sepamos, algunas de las relaciones familiares, y esta ausencia, al menos en el teatro que gravita hacia el psicoanálisis, no deja de ser extraña; por ejemplo, el contacto sexual entre hermanastro y hermanastra y el homosexualismo entre miembros del grupo familiar; este último caso es prácticamente inexistente, de hecho, incluso en la literatura pornográfica. Agreguemos que tampoco el lesbianismo exofamiliar fue un tema caro a los dramaturgos.

La clase trabajadora duplicaba en la familia su función de clase, que era la de laborar, mientras que la clase burguesa se servía de la familia para la perpetuación de la propiedad, que era su función de clase. Sería verdaderamente insólito que los grupos dramáticos familiares, sean los burgueses o los proletarios, no reflejaran esta diferenciación, como sería asimismo insólito que bajo el feudalismo no reflejara el teatro obviamente una concepción feudal de la familia. A la vista de estas afirmaciones tan poco polémicas, habrá que considerar estéril el análisis que se haga del grupo dramático familiar restringiéndolo a los aspectos meramente sociológicos externos, pues el crítico sociólogo que así lo hiciera quedaría automáticamente desociologizado.

Cuando la familia se individualiza en un grupo pequeño único, autónomo e inmanente, diferenciado de los demás, materialmente originado por la posesión privada de su propiedad, entonces es

cuando aflora a la conciencia individual la problemática familiar, y de aquí a la cultura, el arte y la ciencia burgueses.

Si muchos hombres y mujeres se casaban por intereses económicos a fin de extender la propiedad privada que la burguesía había otorgado a la familia, era lógico que la satisfacción de la sexualidad se buscara en la prostituta y la de la emocionalidad en la amante, relación esta última que con frecuencia generaba el hijo ilegítimo. De aquí la cada vez más frecuente aparición de estas figuras, nada nuevas desde luego, en los grupos del teatro burgués.

El hijo calavera, figura bien conocida en la literatura, representaba el gusto por la sensualidad y la libertad que la burguesía había heredado de la aristocracia, pero al mismo tiempo servía de figura contranormativa de la devoción por el trabajo, la productividad y la ciudadanía que la propia burguesía había proyectado en la familia.

Las enormes diferencias existentes entre, por ejemplo, el tratamiento que de la familia hacen el teatro español del Siglo de Oro y el inglés de la misma época no pueden explicarse a base de una tradición literaria diferente o de unas influencias foráneas distintas. Como nadie ha estudiado, que sepamos, la estructura familiar en ambos teatros comparativamente, no sabemos a qué atribuir esas diferencias, aunque es razonable pensar que ellas vendrían explicadas por la actitud severa que los contrarreformistas españoles adoptaban ante la familia (a la que miraban como una institución más ideal que la soltería civil pero menos ideal que la soltería sacra) y la actitud mundana, materialista y productiva que adoptaban los ingleses reformistas.

Sin embargo, en la narrativa medieval española encontramos incestos, parricidios, adulterios y canibalismo, además de crueldad entre padres e hijos, y esposos que comparten la esposa con el huésped.

La tía, que ocupa el lugar de los padres a causa de la muerte de éstos, ennoblece a la vez tanto su soltería al adoptar un papel materno cuanto su civismo al erigirse en cuidadora de la orfandad, pero no es infrecuente en el teatro el que asimismo encubra la figura de la celestina, a la que instala en el centro mismo de la vida familiar.

No debemos dejarnos distraer por la contribución formal que haga la obra de teatro, pues, por ejemplo, la pieza de Pirandello, *Sei*

personaggi in cerca d'autore, es mucho más que un ejemplo del contraste entre realidad y ficción representado por la técnica del teatro dentro del teatro. Pirandello, en efecto, toca en su obra, en una síntesis a la que quizá sólo se pueda igualar *The revenger's tragedy* (ca. 1607) de Cyril Tourneur o Thomas Middleton, la siguiente problemática familiar: abandono de la esposa, conflicto entre padres e hijos, relaciones entre hermanos y hermanastros, ilegitimidad, prostitución, viudez, orfandad, adulterio, suicidio, incesto y parricidio.

Otra aclaración sobre la familia en el teatro clásico. No es que el teatro de los griegos (siempre nos referimos al del apogeo de la tragedia) no tratara la problemática familiar; de hecho, ningún otro teatro específico la ha tratado con más profundidad ni en más cuantía ni con más variedad. Lo que sucede es que no se proponía tratarla como tal, que es lo que hizo el teatro griego posterior y el de la modernidad, sino servirse de ella para iluminar la condición humana, socializar los mitos y establecer las relaciones del hombre con su destino.

El rapto, que no ha sido infrecuente en el teatro, representa la violencia--legítima o no--que un individuo, y a veces un grupo, ejerce sobre un individuo perteneciente a otro grupo y, en consecuencia, sobre el grupo entero. Sin embargo, el rapto no viola, sino que confirma--como escribió Levi-Strauss--la ley de la reciprocidad social.⁵

El teatro moderno--digamos, desde el Renacimiento en adelante--trató subrepticamente la problemática familiar profundamente antinormativa de dos formas diferentes: una, reinterpretando el teatro clásico; otra, dramatizando hechos históricos. Hay que decir que también el teatro moderno supo crear una problemática familiar autónoma. Es asombroso, no obstante, contemplar la cuantía y perseverancia (hasta hoy) de las dos primeras fuentes de inspiración en contraste con la relativa escasez--históricamente decreciente, por supuesto--de la tercera.

No deja de ser paradójico que la violencia, que es el factor desequilibrador más poderoso del grupo, aparezca con tanta frecuencia en el teatro y en especial en el grupo familiar. ¿Por qué es ello paradójico? Porque nada establece mejor el equilibrio que define a todo grupo que su potencialidad de desequilibrio.⁶

Puede decirse sin temor a cometer un grave error que en el teatro la siguiente ha sido una de las clases de venganza más frecuentes: la efectuada por un miembro sobre otro miembro de la misma familia a causa de una violencia efectuada por éste sobre un tercer miembro. La venganza intrafamiliar es un ejemplo excelente en el teatro de lo que sin duda ha sido siempre una realidad social.

El que la pareja haya encontrado tantos impedimentos para realizar su felicidad se debe simplemente al hecho de que la felicidad no es un objetivo social. Había que ejercer toda la presión de las estructuras sociales sobre la pareja para que ésta mantuviera intactos los ideales de clase o religión, o defendiera el sistema de la propiedad, o no mancillara la autoridad.

Cuando la figura del padre en el teatro se nos aparece imponiendo sus criterios sobre las relaciones sociales de los hijos antes del matrimonio, lo que en realidad impone es su criterio sobre la elección de cónyuge, al que prefiere que sea de igual raza o religión o clase o cultura o riqueza que la de sus hijos.

Johann Jakob Bachofen en *Das Mutterrecht* (1861) usa, al parecer, numerosos pasajes de la literatura clásica para fundamentar sus conclusiones acerca del origen y evolución de la familia. De su interpretación, por ejemplo, de la *Oresteia* de Esquilo dice Engels: "Esta interpretación nueva y absolutamente correcta de la *Oresteia* es uno de los pasajes mejores y más hermosos de todo el libro."⁷ El principio metodológico usado por Bachofen y elogiado por Engels nos parece a nosotros perfectamente válido todavía.

He aquí un ejemplo reciente. Dos estudiosos analizan cuatro cuentos de la colección *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (1819) de los hermanos Grimm y de ellos nos dicen: "Su contenido revela una inteligencia social relativamente sofisticada capaz de identificar las conexiones entre el sistema estatal, el reclutamiento militar, la familia privada y la sociedad."⁸ ¿Por qué no se ha de hacer lo mismo con el texto dramático si se hace con material folclórico?

Afirma George C. Homans acerca de la relación tío/sobrino: "En el desarrollo de nuestro propio sistema de parentesco desde la familia campesina medieval hasta la familia urbana moderna, la relación hermano de la madre e hijo de la hermana [con el sobrino y tío, respectivamente] ha evolucionado del mismo modo que otras relaciones del sistema han evolucionado."⁹ Nosotros proponemos-- con la autoridad que nos presta la precedencia de críticos literarios

eminentes--que el grupo dramático pequeño, del que la familia es sólo una modalidad, sea estudiado a la luz de las evoluciones histórico-sociales.

El propio Homans, con un método poco común entre sociólogos, usa algunos textos literarios para documentar la estrecha relación entre tío y sobrino que debió de existir en la Europa medieval, como hoy existe todavía en algunas comunidades 'primitivas', y a este efecto se refiere a la *Chanson de Roland*, al *Beowulf* y al *Troilus and Criseyde* de Chaucer, entre otros textos.

Si existiera un teatro de labradores pobres en, por ejemplo, el Siglo de Oro español, no existiría en él la figura del padre autócrata controlador del matrimonio de los hijos, puesto que el labrador pobre ni posee cultura ni posee riqueza ni pretende perpetuar su clase social. Es de esperar, por tanto, que los labradores pobres que existan en el teatro del Siglo de Oro se preocupen de encontrar para sus hijas esposos que no sean ni mahometanos ni judíos.

La rebelión del hijo contra el padre, o del nieto contra el abuelo, es un conflicto intrafamiliar autónomo, pero también puede ser una manifestación en el microuniverso de la familia de la rebelión contra la autoridad expresada en ciertos movimientos sociales. La historia testimonia el crecimiento de éstos a partir de la revolución industrial, mientras que la sociología testimonia un correspondiente decrecimiento del poder patriarcal desde entonces.¹⁰ Sería absurdo pensar que la literatura haya desatendido tanto la historia como la sociología.

El matrimonio, que en muchos textos literarios es la recompensa de que finalmente goza la pareja, es muchas veces, en otros textos, el castigo que recibe el hombre a causa del rapto o la violación que ha efectuado, lo que sin duda muestra que la función del castigo es eminentemente social, que la felicidad del individuo importa un bledo y que lo decisivo es preservar la estructura familiar.

Si a la viuda le concede la ley el derecho a la propiedad de su marido en ciertas culturas o en ciertos momentos históricos, podemos estar seguros de encontrar esta figura social como personaje de importancia en la literatura de esa cultura o de esos momentos históricos.

Cuando un crítico afirma que se ha escrito poco sobre un tema, puede ocurrir una de dos: o que muestre la ignorancia ajena o que muestre la propia. A riesgo de mostrar nuestra ignorancia, creemos

que se puede afirmar que se ha escrito muy poco sobre la familia en la literatura y algo más, pero también muy poco, sobre la familia en la obra de ciertos escritores (Wolfe, Hardy y Kafka, entre algunos más). En el teatro de Lorca, por ejemplo, este tema tan fundamental está prácticamente inexplorado.

El hijo bastardo aparece como problemático especialmente en el teatro que retrata a la nobleza o a la alta burguesía, a pesar de que la ilegitimidad ha sido mucho menos frecuente en estas clases que en las clases bajas. ¿Por qué ocurre así? ¿Por qué el teatro no presenta al bastardo de estas clases? La respuesta es sencilla: el padre de la clase alta ponía en riesgo (además de su reputación moral, su prestigio y su nombre) las expectativas acerca de la transmisión de su propiedad, mientras que el padre de clase baja no arriesgaba nada.¹¹ El dramaturgo, al elegir el conflicto--se encontrara en el estrato social en que se encontrara--, hacía una obra de arte, pero también hacía una afirmación sociológica.

Si el mayorazgo recibía en herencia toda la propiedad, o si ésta se dividía en porciones pequeñas entre todos los hijos, tanto un caso como otro podía originar la emigración a tierras lejanas de los hijos de ninguna o escasa propiedad, lo cual explicaría--con otras razones similares que los demógrafos podrían aclarar--la presencia del personaje indiano en la literatura española, y especialmente en dos momentos: el Siglo de Oro y el final del XIX.

Del mismo modo, esos solterones y solteronas que cada vez con más frecuencia aparecen en la literatura decimonónica ¿de qué tradición literaria provienen? Probablemente de ninguna y sí quizás del mismo hecho social recién apuntado: la partición de la herencia, que dejaba a los hermanos menores económicamente inermes para establecer su propia familia.

Tavuchis y Goode afirman que los estudiosos de la familia han dejado a un lado el estudio de las relaciones entre hermanos, habiendo concentrado su atención en las relaciones esposo/esposa y padres/hijos. Esta afirmación, que suponemos exacta puesto que la hacen ellos que son sociólogos de la familia, viene seguida de otra que pudiera ser inexacta: la literatura no retrata apenas tampoco esa relación.¹² Hay que elogiar, no obstante, el esfuerzo realizado por ambos sociólogos en su antología de la familia en la literatura, que ahora espera otro semejante por parte de los críticos literarios.

La presencia de dos hermanos en la obra dramática ha servido muchas veces para indicar la polarización existente en el juego de fuerzas intrafamiliar. Por ejemplo, en *Old Fortunatus* (1599), de Thomas Decker, Andelocia representa la mundanidad y Ampedo la virtud, y en *The Orphan* (1680), de Thomas Otway, la conciencia escrupulosa está representada por Polydore y la carente de escrúpulos por Castalio. Pueden mostrar estas polarizaciones tensiones más débiles, como la clásica de Marta y María en los Evangelios, o la de la fealdad y la belleza encarnada en las hermanas de *The Old Wives' Tale* (ca. 1593), de George Peale.

Si la nodriza es situada en la estructura de las relaciones familiares, una situación dramática tendrá que aparecer más pronto o más tarde: las relaciones entre los hermanos de lactancia, cual ocurre, verbigracia, en la obra de Alfred de Musset, *On ne Badine pas Avec l'Amour* (1834), en la que Rosette, que es campesina y *soeur de lait* de Camille, que es de origen noble, se reparten el amor de Perdican.

La problemática familiar causada por dificultades económicas no aparece con fuerza en el teatro hasta el siglo XIX.

A partir del siglo XVIII es cuando verdaderamente comienza a surgir en el teatro la problemática familiar y ello porque, entre otras razones de tipo sociohistórico, el drama descubre el potencial artístico que poseen todos los seres humanos, y no sólo los de rango elevado, así como el valor de la circunstancia inmediata vivida diariamente por el hombre.

Al iniciarse la liberación intelectual de la mujer, era lógico que más pronto o más tarde el esposo se encontrara con el siguiente problema: ella era superior a él artística o científicamente, y es por ello que este conflicto apareció, aunque raramente, en el teatro, como también era lógico que al final de la obra la mujer sacrificara su intelecto a la paz conyugal.

Una de las relaciones intrafamiliares más extrañas puede ser, como atrás dijimos, la de tío/sobrino y es quizá por ello una de las pocas que--como las más obvias del incesto, el adulterio y el parricidio--ha llamado la atención de los críticos literarios, como lo demuestra el estudio de W. O. Farnworth de las canciones de gesta francesas y el de C. H. Bell sobre la épica alemana medieval.¹³ Muchas otras relaciones intrafamiliares menos llamativas, pero no menos interesantes, están aun por estudiar.

El mayordomo que traía noticias a la sala de estar donde se exploraba la desintegración de la familia no sólo servía de recurso técnico para sustituir la violencia de la realidad exterior por medio de una comunicación impersonal, sino que también establecía el vínculo con los procesos sociales exteriores que explicaban la desintegración del pequeño grupo familiar.

Si es cierto que el autor teatral expresa de algún modo la visión de la clase social a la que pertenece, tanto más cierto será que el autor teatral expresa la visión de los grupos sociales pequeños a los que pertenece, en especial la del más fundamental de todos: la familia.

¿Qué clase de dramaturgia se nos echa encima con los niños probeta de hoy en día, las madres arrendadas, los hijos adoptados, el ciudadano de corazón artificial y el muerto legalmente vivo?

Una observación final. Los sociólogos y psicólogos sociales nos ponen sobre aviso acerca del peligro de someter el estudio científico de los grupos al dominio del poder, como a menudo hacen los psicólogos industriales y militares. Nosotros los humanistas debemos combatir ese riesgo. Nuestros análisis realizados a través de la literatura deben servir para comprender, clarificar y desmontar los mecanismos del poder ejercido por el grupo sobre el individuo y por la sociedad sobre el grupo.

NOTES

¹Theodore M. Mills, *The Sociology of Small Groups* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1967), 2.

²Para el concepto de 'desviación' puede leerse con mucho provecho la colección de trabajos recogidos por Ronald A. Farrell y Victoria Lynn Swigert bajo el título de *Social Deviance* (Philadelphia, 1975), así como su libro *Deviance and Social Control* (Glenview, Ill., 1982).

³Armando Bauleo, *Contrainstitución y grupos* (Madrid, 1977), 96.

⁴Véase Eli Zaretsky, *Capitalism, the Family and Personal Life* (New York, 1973), *passim*.

⁵"The Principle of Reciprocity", en Lewis A. Coser y Bernard Rosenberg, *Sociological Theory: A Book of Readings* (New York, 1981), 61-72.

⁶*Cf.* Robert A. Dentler y Kai T. Erikson, "The Functions of Deviance in Groups", *Social Problems* 7 (1959), 98-107.

⁷*The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (Moscow, 1920), 15.

⁸Peter Taylor y Hermann Rebel, "Hessian Peasant Women, their Families and the Draft: A Social-Historical Interpretation of Four Tales from the Grimm Collection", *Journal of Family History* 6 (1981), 374-8.

⁹*The Human Group* (New York, 1950), 255.

¹⁰*Vide* Fred Weinstein y Gerald M. Platt, *The Wish to be Free: Society, Psyche and Value Change* (Berkeley, Cal., 1969), *passim*.

¹¹Véase el trabajo de Rose Laub Coser y Lewis A. Coser, "The Principle of Legitimacy and its Patterned Infringement in Social Revolutions", en la edición (de la primera) de *The Family. Its Structures and Functions* (New York, 1974), 95.

¹²Nicholas Tavuchis y William J. Goode, *The Family through Literature* (New York, 1975), 252-4.

¹³El del primero se titula *Uncle and Nephew in the Old French Chansons de Geste* (New York, 1913); el del segundo, *The Sister's Son in the Medieval German Epic*, *University of California Publications in Modern Philology* 10, no. 2 (1922), 67-182.

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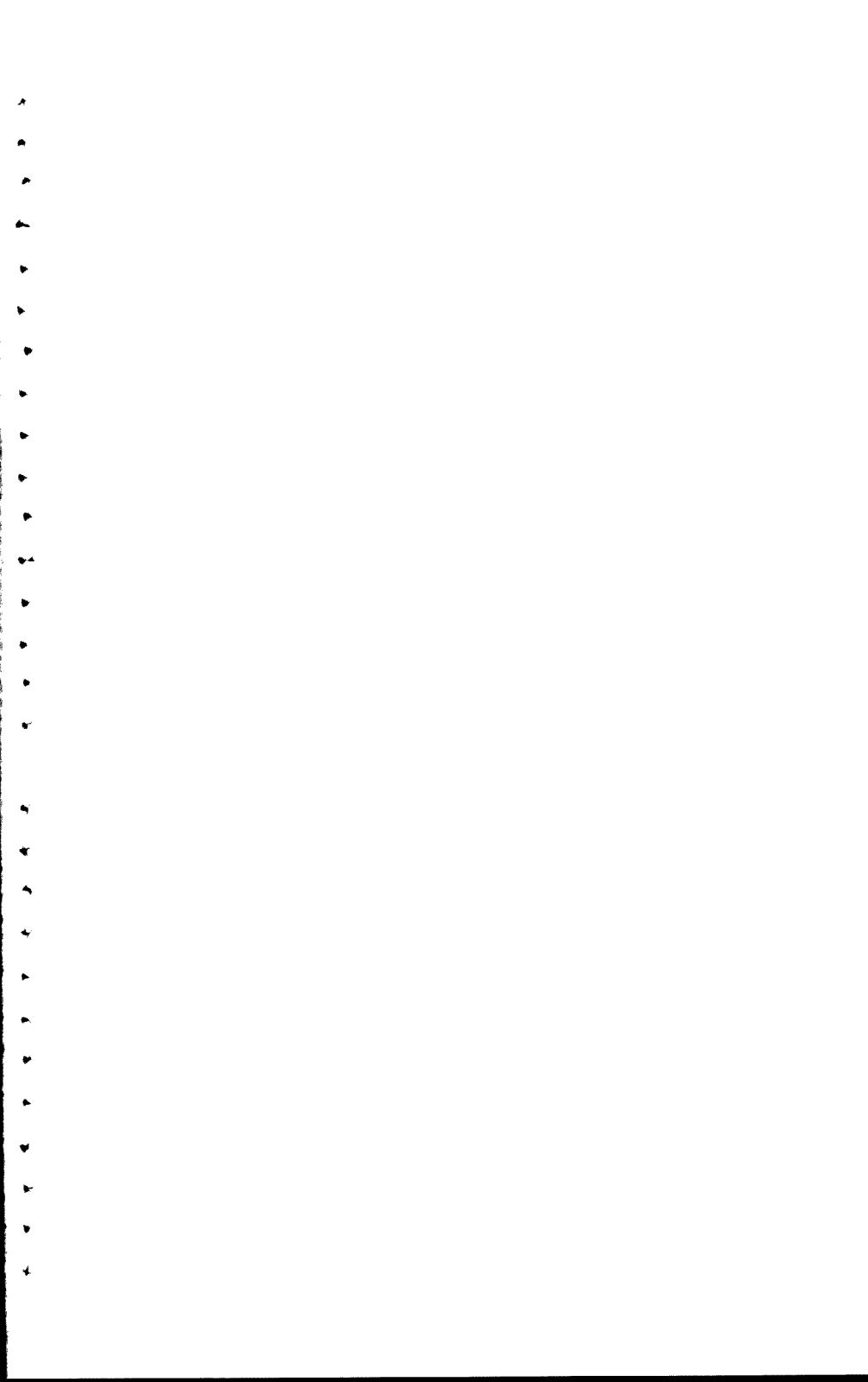
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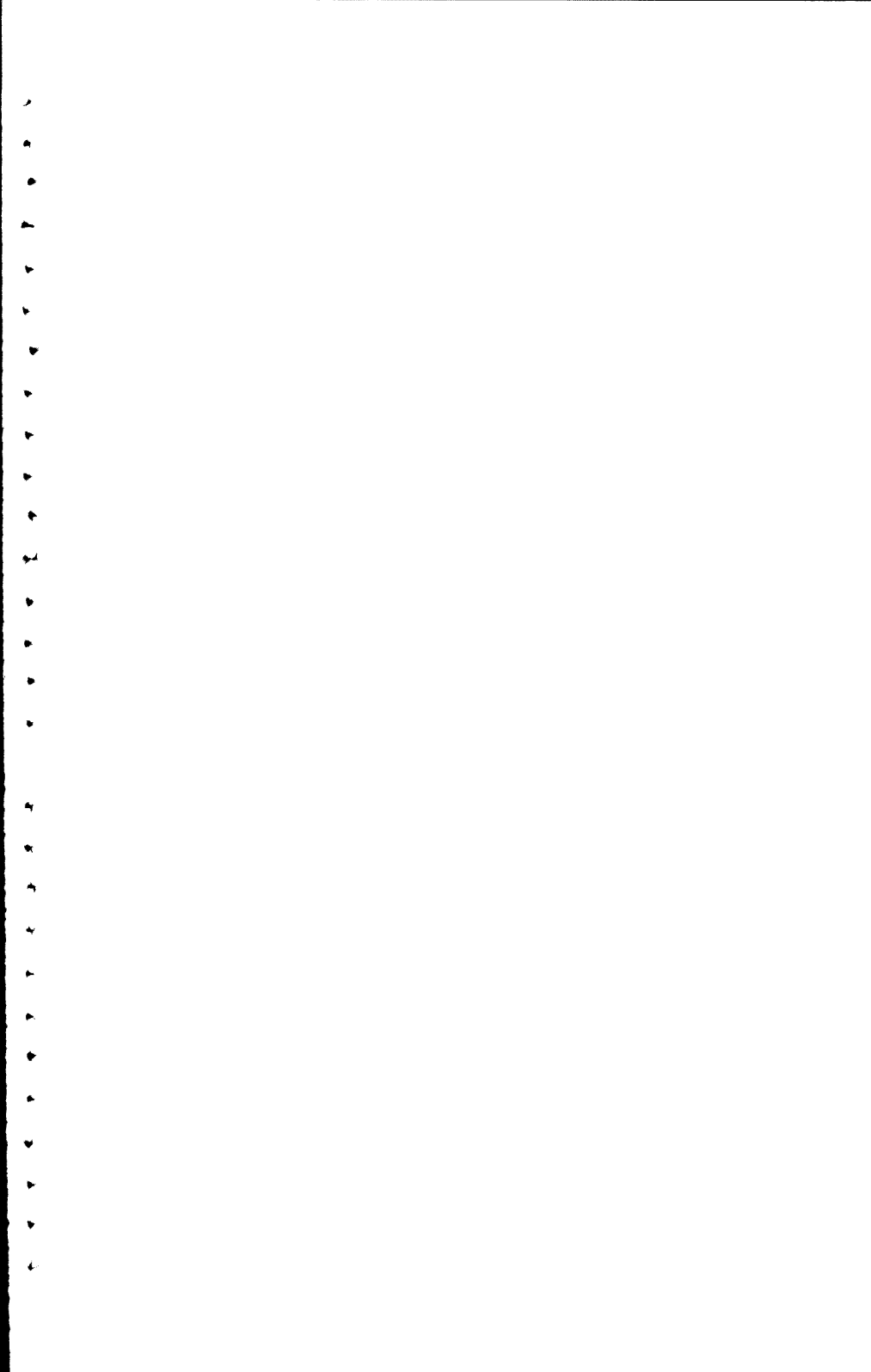
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