

Encounters Across Borders

The Changing Visions
of Spanish Modernism, 1890–1930

Mary Lee Bretz



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Modernism and Its Borders

THE "OTHER" IN PRACTICE AND THEORY

Twentieth-Century Heirs to the Black Legend

There is yet another phenomenon highly characteristic in some cases of degeneracy, in others of hysteria. This is the formation of close groups or schools uncompromisingly exclusive to outsiders, observable today in literature and art. Healthy artists or authors, in possession of minds in a condition of well-regulated equilibrium, will never think of grouping themselves into an association, which may at pleasure be termed a sect or band; of devising a catechism, of binding themselves to definite aesthetic dogmas, and of entering the lists for these with the fanatical intolerance of Spanish inquisitors. (Nordau 1968, 29)

Ruskin is one of the most turbid and fallacious minds, and one of the most powerful masters of style, of the present century. To the service of the most wildly eccentric thoughts he brings the acerbity of a bigot and the deep sentiment of Morel's "emotionalists." His mental temperament is that of the first Spanish Grand Inquisitors. He is the Torquemada of aesthetics. He would liefest burn alive the critic who disagrees with him, or the dull Philistine who passes by works of art without a feeling of devout awe. (Nordau 1968, 77)

Esto (Murcia)¹ ya no es España. Es el Oriente. En Argelia misma no he sentido tan intensa la sensación africana. Es el Oriente con sus cipreses, con sus casas bajas, con sus minaretes, con su cielo de incendio. Los moros están ocultos tras aquellas montañas, dispuestos a reconquistar su ciudad. Oíd . . . Es el muezín. (Lorrain 1905?, 125)

[This (Murcia) is no longer Spain. It is the Orient. Not even in Algeria have I felt so intensely the African feeling. It is the Orient, with its cypress trees, its low houses with their minarets, its flaming sky. The moors are hidden behind those mountains, ready to reconquer the city. Listen . . . It is the muezzin.]

Cameron, a British man who has spent eighteen months in Spain, is about to leave *"the Black Country"* when his sister requests that he guide her and her new husband on a trip through Andalusia, a land populated by *"affable barbarians,"* existing in a *"lawless state."* The trio journeys inland to an ancient town. *"A strong illusion of the Orient, extreme antiquity and dreamlike stillness marked the place."* While exploring the local church, the travelers find themselves locked inside and witness the sacrifice of a woman, who is buried alive in a ceremony attended by a long procession of monks. The victim wears a white linen robe with her face uncovered during the initial ceremony, but veiled for the final burial. After escaping to the nearest Consulate, Cameron and his sister report the crime but are informed that Spanish law works poorly at best. *"And this was not a civil matter, where the wheels might often, certainly be oiled. The wheel ecclesiastic was more intractable."*

"He asked if we were leaving Spain immediately. We said, 'Perhaps in a few days.' 'Take my advice,' said he, 'and make it a few hours.'"

"We did." (Mew 1981, 146–59. Synopsis of *"A White Night"* with quotations from the original)

Date: September 14, 1994

To: International Atomic Energy Agency Attendees in Seville, Spain

Subject: Travel to Spain Awareness

As a cautionary measure, please note the attached article.

COLOMBIAN MUGGERS USE HYPNOTIC DRUG

White powder causes victims to hallucinate, lose memory

By Chris Torchia, Associated Press

Bogota, Colombia—All Juan Carlos Cuervo was planning to do when he stepped out on a recent night was grab a beer. He was found three days later, wandering about his neighborhood in a zombie-like state and robbed of all his money—a victim in a bizarre crime wave in which thieves use a powerful drug as a weapon.

Thousands of people have been robbed or raped in the past two decades after being slipped the drug scopolamine, known as *"burundanga"* on the street, prompting a U.S. State Department warning to travelers to Colombia.

"The drug renders the person disoriented and powerless to resist the criminal's orders," the State Department says in a travel advisory.

Although the plant from which *burundanga* comes is found in many parts of the world, including the Andes Mountains, its use as a weapon is uniquely Colombian.

Attacks have been reported in Spain and Panama, but even in those incidents it's suspected Colombians were involved.

Interoffice memorandum. Princeton Plasma

THE PRECEDING QUOTATIONS ARE DRAWN FROM FOUR DISTINCT text-types and originate in different countries and periods of the twentieth century: literary criticism, travel literature, fiction of the early decade, and an interoffice memorandum from the 1990s. However, all share a vision of Spain as *"other,"* sometimes an exoticized object of desire, but more often, a sinister, alien stimulus of fear and disquiet. Nordau's famous study incorporates several gratuitous allusions to the Spanish Inquisition while describing the decadents that, in his view, threaten European culture. The reference to Torquemada follows a discussion of the Romantic movement in Germany, France, and England, with no mention of Spain. Spain appears only in the negative reference to Ruskin as the Torquemada of aesthetes; she surfaces exclusively as the outsider, the negative of all the text posits as healthy and worthy. Echoes of the *"black legend"* and the vision of Spain as fanatical, dark, and violent linger subtextually in Nordau's *Degeneration* and surface in many other works of the period. Jean Lorrain conjures up a less threatening image of Spain while reenforcing the traditional view that *"Europe begins at the Pyrenees."* Centuries of Moorish, Jewish, and Christian mixing in a multicultural Spain produce fear of her racial difference and lingering doubts among continental writers as to her membership in the European community. For Lorrain, remnants of African culture produce excitement and a taste of the exotic without leaving Europe's safety, but in an era of racial typing and Eurocentrism, this image of Spain has significant negative effects.

Charlotte Mew's short story combines attributes present in Nordau and Lorrain. The specter of a fanatical, inquisitorial Catholic Spain combines with evocations of a culture of human sacrifice deep in the heartland of a country that could easily be taken for interior Africa, Aztec Mexico, or Inca Peru. Whereas Nordau evokes memories of a relatively distant past, with echoes in the present, *"A White Night,"* written in 1903, places the action in 1876, thus representing a modern Spain that has barely changed since the days of Torquemada. The narrator's allusions to Spain as *"the Black Country"* and the covering of the sacrificial victim in a white robe summon images of North Africa and Muslim chador. In every aspect, Spain appears as a dark, savage land, that shares more with a feared Muslim, Aztec, or barbaric other than with British culture. The interoffice memorandum continues negative stereotypes of Spain. The news item contains

nals may have used scopolamine there, but this tangential reference suffices to prompt a warning to a group of presumably well-traveled, well-educated physicists who are to attend a conference in Seville. It is interesting that the AP writer prefers the term "burundanga," with African roots and connotations, over the scientific "scopolamine" and the leap from reports of criminal activity in Colombia and possible incidents in Spain to a general warning of danger in Seville suggests the conflation of Spain and Latin America into a violent, menacing stranger.

Theories of Alterity

The homogenizing sweep of the opening epigraphs brings Spain, Africa, and South America under a single rubric of feared, dangerous other and represents the traditional xenophobic approach to alterity. Lorrain's rapture in the face of an exoticized Spain reflects a contrasting xenophilic vision, in which dissatisfaction with the hegemonic culture, in this case European rationalism and bourgeois control, expresses itself through the idealized portrait of an Arab-Hispanic culture that embodies values and customs perceived as lacking in the dominant society. Despite apparent differences, as Angelika Bammer argues, "-philic" exaltation and "-phobic" rejection share a refusal to enter into a relation with the other (1995, 50–51), and as Todorov remarks in a slightly different context, both depend for their continued existence on a lack of knowledge of and a blindness to differences within the culture under consideration (1993, 265). Knowledge reveals similarities as well as differences between self and other and disallows the totalizing vision of a dreaded foreigner as well as the idealization of a wondrously different outsider. A consideration of alterity is central to the contemporary disciplines of anthropology, philosophy, history, and literary studies, all of which struggle to sort out the problematic relation between the inquiring subject and the object of investigation. The danger is ever that in describing what lies outside, the viewing subject unintentionally, but inevitably imposes his or her values, ideology, or identity on the other: "How to know alterity—what is beyond the Self or the Same—without reducing it by assimilation," as Mark Millington states the dilemma (1995, 24). This puzzle proves particularly vexing in light of the traditional Western propensity to impose its values on other cultures, a process in which Spain participates but of which she is also a victim, both a member of a

colonizing European expansion and also an excluded other of dubious cultural and racial purity.

Zygmunt Bauman studies the transition from pre-modern divisions of "friend" and "enemy" to modern nation states that include within their borders groups previously viewed as the enemy. The drive to unite this new collectivity led nations and empires to impose their religion, language and political and economic systems on others now residing within (1991, 54–69). This assimilation negates the value of the minority culture, actively erasing its difference. Voices opposing the imposition of Eurocentric views surface early in the process of imperial expansion that begins in the early modern period and continues to the present. Todorov traces French dissident opinion in *On Human Diversity* and within the Hispanic world, Bartolomé de las Casas and the Jesuit defenders of the Guaraní peoples of colonial Paraguay challenge hegemonic values. Today's discussions of relations with the other continue to wrestle with the ethical issues arising from cross-cultural communication. Contemporary cultural and post-colonial criticism still struggles with the dangers of phobic rejection, phobic appropriation, or philic assimilation in a world in which encounters between cultures have become the norm. The uneven power relations that often mark cross-cultural meetings has led postcolonial critics like Gayatri Spivak to emphasize the persistent muting of the subaltern in relation to the hegemonic speaker (1998). The philosopher Emmanuel Levinas devoted his life to the study of this problem and coincides with Todorov and others in viewing culture as on-going, in-process, and heterogeneous and also in emphasizing engagement with the other, but Levinas frames his discussion in terms of an ethical relationship that recognizes the "otherness of the other." In contrast to approaches that seek to define other cultures or subjects, aspiring to knowledge about the other, Levinas proposes dialogue, an on-going encounter that involves ethical commitment and privileges the act of "saying" over the final product of the stated word. "Saying" involves a fluid relationship that does not stabilize, neither appropriates nor allows appropriation, but persists in a dynamic social relation that transcends knowledge: "The *Saying* is not exhausted in the giving of meaning as it inscribes itself—fable—in the Said. It is communication not reducible to the phenomenon of the *truth-that-unites*: it is a non-indifference to the other person, capable of ethical significance to which the statement itself of the Said is subordinate" (1993, 142).

Bernhard Waldenfels theorizes a similar relation with alterity, suggesting that the other be seen as an entity that evokes a response rather than an object of study to be defined. In the encounter, the subject develops a new answer that arises from the intersubjective/intercultural meeting, a "between" that constitutes neither self nor other but rather creates what neither possessed prior to the dialogue (1995, 43).

Spanish writers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries anticipate current discussions of alterity and cross-cultural communication in their varied responses to the peculiar historical conditions that mark Spanish national development as the first post-imperial European nation. Located in a cultural, geographic, historical, and racial "in-between," Spain stands in an uneasy relationship with a hegemonic, imperialistic Europe. The loss of her last major colonies in 1898, the proximity of Africa, the many centuries of racial/ethnic mixing in the period of Arab-Jewish-Christian co-presence, the residues of Arab culture in the peninsula, among other marks of difference, distance Spain from a Europe intent on constructing a self-image as racially pure and culturally distinct from the African, Asian, and Middle Eastern areas just recently brought under imperial control. On the other hand, Spain has her own long history of conquest and colonization, in which Eurocentric values and views served to justify territorial, economic, and cultural expansion. Both the recipient of a xenophobic European gaze and the agent of xenophobic appropriation in Latin America and to a lesser degree, in Africa, Spain's reconsideration of intercultural relations as she moves from imperial to post-imperial status encompasses all aspects of her external and internal history. The reexamination of intersubjectivity and interculturality and the exploration of new forms of encounter constitutes the central aspiration of Spanish cultural production of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, with considerable advances in the theorization of cross-cultural communication. The persistent "othering" of Spain has impeded the inclusion of the Spanish modernist exploration within studies of European and global modernism and remnants of an imperial, xenophobic Spanish ideology have similarly obstructed the mapping from within of connections between the Spanish culture of the period and the rest of Europe and the world. *Encounters Across Borders* attempts to break through external and internal forces that have constructed artificial barriers between Spanish and international modernism and to forge productive links between Spanish

theorizations of alterity and contemporary concerns regarding the encounter with the other.

Spanish Modernism: Exclusion from Without and Isolation from Within

The traditional European vision of Spain as alien or exotic has impacted many different fields, including the study of contemporary literary history and culture. In recent decades, literary critics and theorists have moved increasingly towards a vision of culture that cuts across traditional national borders and places cultural production within a global context. Postcolonial studies and theories of modernism and postmodernism reflect an interest in exploring commonalities that transcend the local and specific. Both within and in opposition to this trend, scholars have cautioned against the inappropriate imposition of criteria derived from one or several national cultures on others that have followed a slightly or radically different course. In the study of global or international modernism,² a recurring tension emerges between the desire to construct an overarching definition that applies to multiple literatures and the recognition of the danger of this impetus. Others reject global definitions out of a reluctance to accept certain literatures as equal in value or importance. Peter Brooker explicitly articulates this view in *Modernism/Postmodernism*: "There is plainly more than one modernism, and not all modernisms are equal" (1992, 1). As a result of this hierarchization of modernisms, in combination with the traditional exclusion of Spain from analyses of European culture, studies of global modernism invariably overlook the development of a rich modernist literature within the Hispanic world. Major works published during the recent explosion of interest in modernism and postmodernism typically deny any relation between Spanish or Spanish American *modernismo* and international modernism, dismissing late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Spanish/Spanish American culture as either alien or inferior in relation to developments occurring in other parts of the globe. The phobic exclusion of Spain accompanies philic assimilation in persistent references to the writings of the Spanish José Ortega y Gasset, whom many scholars cite as a theorist of modernism, even as they deny the existence of such a movement within his country of origin and residence. Neither approach allows for a dialogic

ernism and the other national modernisms that develop during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Responsibility for the exclusion of Spanish culture from considerations of global modernism also lies within Spain and a significant branch of Spanish tradition that works to isolate the nation from outside contacts and influences. Fear of the other and desire for cultural uniformity have traditionally marked movements of national consolidation and in Spain's case, a strong impulse for religious, racial, and linguistic homogeneity has surfaced at various historical junctures in opposition to a countervailing current that celebrates religious tolerance, racial and cultural diversity, and linguistic pluralism. The early decades of the twentieth century witness the increasing authority of a defense of heterogeneity, which collides with forces favoring centralism and homogeneity in the period of the Spanish Civil War. The Franco victory of 1939 imposes a single voice and perspective and redefines national culture according to an inward-looking, xenophobic vision. During the post Civil War period, Francoist scholars struggle to recuperate the great writers of early twentieth-century Spain as part of an unbroken heritage, and to this end, they divide Spanish culture of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries into two discrete movements, the so-called "Generation of 1898" (corresponding to the patriarchal, Castilian tradition that they esteem) and *modernismo* (representing a disparaged reaching out to international currents).

Early resistance to this Manichean division of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Spanish literature appeared in studies by Juan Ramón Jiménez, Federico de Onís, and Ricardo Gullón and has received increasing support in recent years. John Butt, Richard Cardwell, and E. Inman Fox, among others, have argued that the traditional classification misrepresents the writers and falsifies the literary history of the period. At a conference held in Valladolid in October 1996, the participants signed a manifesto specifically rejecting the use of the term "Generation of 1898" as fossilized and inaccurate (Mainer and Gracia 1998, 177). Within opponents to traditional critical paradigms, a small number has begun to argue for the need to view Spanish literature of the period within the context of international modernism.³ Such an enterprise offers exciting opportunities to break through the critical borders that have artificially isolated Spain from cultural developments occurring in the rest of the world during this period, but it also requires both a sensitivity to the specificity of the Spanish context and a clear notion of current

definitions of international modernism. In part in response to the proliferation of studies on post-modernism, and in part as a result of significant revisions of the concepts of gender, nation, subjectivity, and textuality, the understanding of modernism has undergone considerable transformation in recent years. Spanish cultural developments of late nineteenth and early twentieth century at times anticipate, at times coincide with, and at times lag behind cultural manifestations occurring in other countries and regions. While some characteristics attributed by recent theorists to international modernism mirror traits that have traditionally or more recently been ascribed to Spanish cultural production of the period, others bear only a tangential relationship or differ considerably. Recognizing the need to respect Spanish cultural specificity, I also feel strongly that the rich body of theory and criticism appearing on global modernism in recent years offers valuable insights that both enhance our understanding of Spanish culture during this period and provide a useful perspective from which to reconsider the traditional division of the period into two opposing cultural camps. The present study aims to explore the relations of Spanish and international modernism, seeking out the "in-between" posited by Waldenfelds as the site of intersubjective, intercultural communication.

Building on traditional and recent criticism within Spanish literary studies, I will place it in dialogue with theory and criticism produced in response to non-Spanish literature in areas such as theories of gender, nation, subjectivity, space, time, and textuality. While examining the ways in which Spanish modernism presents a unique response to the changes and challenges of the early twentieth century, I will also seek to show how it shares and in many ways anticipates cultural expressions that have come to define global modernism and post-modernism. As I move from global and European theories of modernism and other subjects to a consideration of Spanish culture, I hope also to open avenues of communication that travel in the other direction. The ignorance of Spanish modernism and contemporary Spanish culture in studies of international modernism produces an incomplete portrait and erases voices that could considerably enrich and expand current views of our shared cultural histories and horizons.

In the present study, I use the term "modernism" in a broader sense than has traditionally occurred in Spanish criticism, recuperating the breadth of meaning it enjoyed at the turn of the century when initially employed to encompass the entire field of

Spanish literature of the day under a single rubric. In keeping with studies published in the 1900s and the decades preceding the Spanish Civil War and in contrast with later analyses by Franco scholars or contemporary critics who consciously or unconsciously continue the Franco legacy, I include writers and texts traditionally designated as "*noventayochista*" under the broader, more global "modernism." Chronological limits to cultural periods elude absolute precision and unanimous acceptance and the dates ascribed to both "modernismo" and the so-called "Generation of 1898" have varied widely. There is some consensus regarding the beginnings of the movements, generally set in the late 1880s or early 1890s. The closing dates have created much more debate, ranging from a death-knell for modernism in 1907, from those who wish to dispense with it quickly to make way for generational theories of Spanish literature, to the 1950s in Juan Ramón Jiménez's epochal definition. In this study, I will focus on the period from 1890 to 1930, including works produced in this period, but excluding writers whose major corpus appears in the 1920s and later. I choose these limits in part to reduce the study to manageable dimensions, but also because the relationship between modernism and the vanguardist literature of the 1920s continues to puzzle critics and is even more problematic in the case of Spain, where vanguardist writers have received less attention and the historical and cultural panorama takes on considerable complexity as the country progresses towards civil war.

Changing Visions of the Other in Spanish Modernism

One of the salient and over-looked characteristics of Spanish cultural production during the period under consideration relates to the relationship between self and other. A confluence of different factors—political, demographic, historical, scientific, psychological—converge in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Spain to instigate a reevaluation of intercultural and intersubjective relations. This process takes place in a variety of frameworks, all interrelated with none taking precedence over the others. In the impossibility of presenting them simultaneously, I will introduce them in a sequence that neither reflects their order of appearance on the cultural stage nor their level of importance. Anticipating the inevitable loss of the remaining Spanish colonies, late nineteenth century Spanish writers and intellectuals begin to rethink Spain's role in the current global order and as a consequence, also reassess the historical develop-

ment of the nation and how it came to the present moment. This involves a consideration of the role of religion, race, empire, tradition, and the nature of history itself. As E. Inman Fox argues in *La invención de España* (1997), Spanish modernism breaks with traditional versions of Spanish history and constructs a different narrative that questions the continuity with the past, explicitly confronting the problem of history as textuality.

Building on the work of Inman Fox, Vicente Cachó Viu, and others who have traced the rejection of traditional Spanish historiography in the writers of the period, I will examine how the review of the past entails a reconsideration of relations between Spain and a variety of others. Previous criticism of the period has failed to emphasize the importance of the rejection of empire in the texts produced during these years and of the concomitant reevaluation of relations with Latin America, Africa, and a Europe that finds its current self-definition in imperial domination. The reexamination of international relations in the (re)definition of nation accompanies a reconsideration of the various groups that played a significant role within the geographic borders of what has come to be modern Spain: Arabs, Jews, and linguistic minorities within the peninsula. European theories of race serve as a backdrop and often a foil as Spanish modernists consider the nation's complex racial history and current and future relations with Europe, Africa, and Latin America in an increasingly complex international arena. New perceptions of time and memory affect both the vision of nation and the individual subject. In the context of Spanish social development, relations among the bourgeoisie, aristocracy, and lower classes, both urban and rural, also require reassessment. The interaction of city and country and of individual subjects and rapidly changing surroundings, in spaces ranging from the subatomic to the galactic, figures prominently in the ongoing examination of shifting interactions of self and other. A growing distrust of reason and an openness to irrational processes and the subconscious produce a different vision of the self, often sundering a previously stable subjectivity into one or more selves that now interact as others. Changing roles of women and views of sexuality require renegotiations of traditional gender relations and disrupt the belief in clearly delineated gender differences. The changing relation of self and other also expresses itself in visions of textuality, language, and the reader. A destabilized world sees an increase in irony and ambiguity that transforms traditional interactions of author, narrator, and reader, as well as inherited visions of self and other.

Encounters Across Borders traces the transformation of self and other in these various domains, and the completed analysis provides a definition of Spanish modernism. Writers, artists, and texts covered in the study originate in all areas of Spain, including Catalonia. The term Spanish modernism refers to the country in which it develops, rather than the language in which it originates. I will avoid references to the multiple "-isms" that constitute micro-movements within the period unless they prove useful to clarify a particular point. The late Galdós, Pardo Bazán and at least partially Clarín, Palacio Valdés, and other writers traditionally classified as realist or naturalist will appear here as transitional or fully modernist writers according to characteristics exhibited by their works written after 1890. Baroja, Unamuno, Concha Espina, Dicenta, Ortega y Gasset, Miró and others producing during these years will also be considered within the general rubric of "modernism." This does not deny realist, naturalist, symbolist, decadentist, surrealist, or existentialist elements in the writers or texts studied, but rather seeks to avoid carving the Spanish literature of the period into multiple, discrete subsets. The aim is to demonstrate some of the shared values, strategies, aspirations, and innovations that transcend gender, class, geographic, and linguistic borders, tracing productive encounters between various areas within Spain and between Spain and other Spanish and non-Spanish speaking regions of the world. Before turning to the discussion of these multiple encounters across borders, however, it is necessary to review the development of a critical and theoretical literature that has moved slowly from exclusionary to inclusionary definitions of the period. Both within studies of global modernism and those of Spanish culture from 1890 to 1930, recent redefinitions open the way to a productive dialogue across formerly unsurmountable borders.

MODERNISM IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

Towards a Truly Global Modernism

The term "modernismo" was used to describe late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Spanish American and Spanish literature as early as the 1880s, about the same time that it enjoyed a more fleeting currency in France and the term "Die Moderne"

modernism in English literary studies by almost three decades and the generalized use of the term by three-quarters of a century. From the start, the definition of "modernism" was hotly debated, taking on various meanings as it evolved in different regional or national contexts. Students of modernism openly recognize the term's complexity and many recent studies underscore the idiosyncratic rhythms of development that characterize the distinctive modernisms, all of which reveal a contradictory mixture of progressive and traditionalist impulses.⁴ Notwithstanding this tolerance of diversity and increasing arguments for an inclusive consideration of the period to incorporate multiple nationalities, races, and linguistic minorities, Hispanic modernism somehow remains outside acceptable limits. Astradur Eysteinsson points out that the majority of studies, although arguing for modernism's international character, limit their selection of texts to one specific national literature. He signals Bradbury and McFarlane's *Modernism: A Guide to European Literature 1890-1930* as an important exception, with its inclusion of diverse literatures (1990, 89) and in his own *The Concept of Modernism*, he cites examples from Britain, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, North America, and Russia. However, neither Eysteinsson nor Bradbury-McFarlane include Spanish or Spanish American literatures. On the contrary, in Eysteinsson's very first footnote, he explicitly excludes Hispanic "modernismo" as alien to his concept of modernism (1990, 1).⁵

The omission in *Modernism: A Guide to European Literature* is even more startling. The 34 studies in the volume cover artists or writers from Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, England, France, Italy, Norway, Germany, Ireland, Poland, Russia, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States. No Spanish writer warrants attention in the text itself, although three appear in the appended "100 Brief Biographies" (Juan Ramón Jiménez, Federico García Lorca, and Miguel de Unamuno). Pablo Picasso's name appears in several articles, typically inserted between Braque and Matisse and subsumed under the category of French. At least one essay identifies him as a young French painter (Bradbury-McFarlane 1978, 274)!⁶ The lengthy Chronology of Events incorporates additional information but here and in the Brief Biographies, Spanish entries display glaring errors: Juan Ramón Jiménez appears as Jiminez (598), accents are lacking on numerous titles [*prologo* for *prólogo* (602), *tia* for *tía* (603), *poesia* for *poesía* (624), *pedagogia* for *pedagogía* (638)] and author's

Lorca appears as Federico Garcia Lorca and his famous play acquires the new title of *La casa de Bernada Alba* (627). Unamuno, the Greek and Latin scholar, would probably chuckle to see his *La agonía del cristianismo* remitted to its classical roots as *La agonía del Christianismo* (638), but would likely respond less indulgently to the transformation of his study of surely the greatest narrative of male bonding to a feminized romance in the rebaptized *Vida de don Quijote y Sancha* (587). The ignorance of things Spanish stands out in this extraordinarily rich study of modernism and its manifestations in other literatures.

Monique Chefdor opens *Modernism: Challenges and Perspectives* with a recognition of the "semantic confusion" created by the term, but then goes on to state that "Only the Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian traditions are saved from such ambiguities, since in their case *modernismo* designates clearly delineated movements" (1986, 2). This alleged consensus within Hispanic criticism might come as a surprise to Spanish and Spanish American critics who have engaged in continual debate regarding the origins, nature, and extent of "modernismo." From the very beginning, Hispanic modernism provoked considerable argument, not solely from those who opposed the movement as dangerous and subversive, but also from those who welcomed it with a desire to channel it for their own purposes. The history of the debate follows the same general outline that occurs in studies of international and, in particular, Anglo-European modernism. In broad terms, studies of English modernism initially associate it with decadence and end-of-century crisis, as in the 1908 publication *Modernism and Romance* by R. A. Scott-James. A shift occurs in the next 20 years, exemplified by T. S. Eliot and his definition of art as a means of ordering the chaos of the world and by Laura Riding and Robert Graves's *A Survey of Modernist Poetry* (1927). As Eysteinsson remarks, the formalist/New Critical perspective dominates literary studies through the 1950s and continues to play a significant role even later, privileging a reading of modernist texts as autonomous, formally harmonious, and ahistorical. With the appearance of feminist and post-structuralist theories of the 1970s and 1980s, a new critical paradigm seeks out the silences and contradictions within all texts, modernist or not, and revises inherited interpretations. The theorizing of post-modernism contributes significantly to a reevaluation of modernism, as attempts to define the latter period necessitate reconsideration of the former.

The evolution of the semantics of Spanish modernism follows a culturally specific time-line, at certain points lagging behind, at others anticipating developments that occur in other countries. Peculiar local, regional, economic, political, and cultural phenomena inflect Spanish modernism in unique ways, while other forces bind it indissolubly to the general European and American trajectory. It is not to be expected that specialists in Anglo-European or global modernism control the peculiarities of Hispanic modernism nor even that they familiarize themselves with the overall outline; however, the rush to exclude and the facility with which Spain and Spanish-speaking nations of the Caribbean and Central and South America are both coalesced into a single unit and frozen in time reflects an elimination of ambivalence and internal complexity only possible through a "phobic" othering of Hispanic culture and identity. In that modernism is defined as the "art of modernization" (Bradbury 1978, 27) and the mode by which artists respond to the changes occurring in late modern society, the exclusion of the Hispanic world implies that it has yet to undergo modernization or that it produced no worthwhile response.⁷

As theorists of the relationship between self and other have articulated, the process of distancing and differentiation facilitates the belief that local values have universal validity. English modernism is modernism, perhaps explaining why it normally appears with a capital "M," and European modernism as defined with the exclusion of Spain is European modernism, since Europe begins at the Pyrenees. One of the great theorists of international/European modernism, cited consistently in studies devoted to the topic, is the Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset. Through the process of assimilation, Ortega y Gasset becomes the explicator of a European modernist canon that excludes Spanish writers and culture. Assimilation erases difference and subsumes the alien within the world of the self; the realm of the other becomes one with that of the observing subject. Some twelve pages after declaring that Spanish and Spanish American "modernismo" do not warrant inclusion in his study, Eysteinsson cites Ortega's theory of the dehumanization of art as a primary example of formalist interpretations of modernism (1990, 14). References to Ortega as a leading proponent of this vision of modernism appear in at least five essays in the Bradbury-McFarlane collection and three texts in the Chefdor-Quinones-Wachtel study.⁸ The persistent recourse to Ortega as

an expert on modernism in studies that exclude, deny, or devalue Hispanic modernism raises the question of how a major theorist of the movement arose in a nation with no equivalent cultural development.

While some might argue that Ortega is not considered a *modernista* within traditional Spanish criticism, it bears repeating that the term *modernismo*, like modernism, evolves over time and even synchronically carries multiple, contradictory significations. It is also worth noting that Ortega never uses the term "modernism" in his writings on dehumanization in literature and this lack of lexical concordance has not impeded his recuperation for the cause of a formalist theorization of European modernism. Ortega y Gasset plays a considerable role in the development of early twentieth century Spanish literature, with direct connections to *modernismo*, as traditionally considered, and to the so-called "Generation of 1898." He collaborates in the early *modernista* journal *Helios*, and publishes a reasonably favorable review of Ramón del Valle-Inclán's quintessentially *modernista* text, *Sonata de estío* in *La Lectura* in 1904 (1965, 1: 20–26). On the other hand, he also writes a scathing review of *La corte de los poetas*, a 1907 *modernista* anthology (1965, 1:49–52). Many of his contemporaries figure prominently among those designated *modernistas*, such as Ramón Pérez de Ayala and Gabriel Miró, and his links to the group are multiple and well-known.⁹ Ortega's theory of art and literature develops in dialogue with these writers and out of a desire to channel Spanish culture in specific directions. The appropriation of his perspective, to use his own term, while simultaneously ignoring the culture from which it issues, strips his vision of ambiguity and silences the voices of those with whom it enters into exchange. In some cases, the decontextualization of Ortega leads to serious misreadings of his work or produces a rather limited reading of modernism. Cut loose from his moorings in his own national culture and inserted within a discussion of a European modernism that excludes Hispanism, Ortega y Gasset easily becomes the assimilated other, whose difference and ties to difference disappear so completely that no one questions for a moment the invocation of a Spanish authority while simultaneously denying the existence in Spain of the cultural phenomenon on which he holds forth. A similar process occurs with Pablo Picasso, who has come to represent international modernism, but whose identification with Spain typically recedes in favor of his French residency.

Despite the exclusion of Spain and Latin America from virtually all important studies on international modernism, current theoretical and critical trends in the field open the way for a more productive dialogue with traditional and contemporary criticism of the period within Hispanic literary studies. Recent publications by Art Berman, Marianne DeKoven, Astradur Eysteinsson, Rita Felski, and Richard Sheppard distinguish multiple, contradictory currents within modernism and reject formalist attempts to strip it of subversive, transgressive aspects. In consonance with the field of cultural studies, these critics insist on relating formal changes to the broader socio-historical context and repudiate comparisons with postmodernism that fall into facile, reductionist polarizations of a conservative, formalist modernism in contrast with an oppositional, counter-cultural postmodernism. The emphasis on interrelations between artistic form and social context provides an important link to and corrective of current and previous studies of what was traditionally designated in Hispanic criticism as the formalist *modernismo* and the more socially, politically engaged "Generation of 1898." Both formal and ideological shifts co-exist and interact in modernism, in a complex dynamic that critics continue to explore and define. Eysteinsson's vision of modernism as a distinct sociosymbolic system that remains permanently outside of and in opposition to mainstream culture offers a very useful explanation for certain aspects of Spanish modernism as do Berman's definition of modernism as the union of irreconcilable differences and DeKoven's insistence on paradox, collage, irony, and a resistance to resolution and stability. Rita Felski's repeated observation that specific features in modernism are both repressive and liberating, dissident and conformist, helps to comprehend and reconcile many of the opposing views of the Spanish literature of the period. Richard Sheppard's definition of modernism as "a heterogeneous range of responses to a global process of modernization" (1993, 7) aptly describes the multifaceted reactions to the modern condition found in Hispanic texts of the period. Furthermore, his passing reference to the metaphor of two sides of the same spinning coin in his discussion of the modernist vision of the human subject (23) easily applies to all aspects of modernism, in which alternating possibilities coexist within the same author and the same text.

Contributions to the understanding of alterity by Todorov, Levinas, Waldenfels, and postcolonial studies facilitate analysis

of the multiple encounters with the other that constitute Spanish modernism. They also provide guidance in avoiding the pitfalls of appropriation or rejection in order to construct a dialogic exchange that fosters acceptance and allows diversity, without precluding judgement or erasing conflict. If a study of a period wishes to claim any validity, it must possess some explanatory power that applies generally to the various cultural expressions produced therein. This clearly represents a departure from Francoist visions of Spanish culture of late nineteenth and early twentieth century and their continuing echoes in what Richard A. Cardwell has labeled "confrontational criticism" (1998b, 173). Many critics trace the origins of this tradition back to the early part of the twentieth century, and specifically to studies published in 1913 by Manuel Machado and José Martínez Ruiz (Azorín).¹⁰ However, Machado and Azorín in large part continue an on-going discussion that dates back to the 1880s and a reading of their studies as fostering a modernist-Generation of 1898 cultural divide misrepresents the complexity of their argument and the inclusive definition of modernism that arises in the earliest discussions and continues for some three decades. In order to trace the early categorization of modernism as a richly nuanced cultural movement and its very early association with tolerance for difference and encounters across established borders, it is imperative to return to early writings on the subject and to strip away as far as possible the imposition of nationalist and isolationist ideologies.

Regional Rivalries and National Tensions: Catalanian and Spanish American Modernism and National Spanish Culture

In Spain, the first use of the term "modernism" apparently dates from 1884 in a manifesto accompanying the publication of the Barcelona magazine *L'Avenç*. During the next two decades and under the rubric of modernism, Catalan writers, artists, and intellectuals develop a mode of thinking and writing that questions inherited values in the areas of religion, politics, and aesthetics. Catalan modernism¹¹ does not develop harmoniously and monolithically, but rather incorporates several different forms: a socially progressive group associated with *L'Avenç* and the anarchist Jaume Brossa, a more strictly literary group, with aestheticist tendencies under the leadership of Santiago Rusiñol, and in an intermediate position, the poet/journalist Joan Maragall. Maragall accents Nietzschean exaltation of will, but fears

radical social action while also repudiating what he perceives as pessimism and lack of vitality in the Rusiñol camp. For Vicente Cacho Viu and Oriol Bohigas, the architecture of Antoni Gaudí represents yet another expression of modernism. As this synopsis reveals, attempts at classification quickly break down into a multiplication of subgroups and exceptions, representing the heterogeneity of responses to modernity that Richard Sheppard considers the hallmark of international modernism.

Scholars of Catalan modernism trace its development from the 1880s to 1901, when it is succeeded by *noucentisme*, an officially sponsored movement with institutional bases that Terry describes as both "a continuation and a reduction" of antecedent modernism (1995, 57). Traditional criticism of Spanish literature rarely considered Catalan modernism when discussing Spanish culture of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, while scholars of Catalan modernism insist not only on its precedence with regard to its Castilian counterpart, but also its difference. Although the context of Catalan modernism and *noucentisme* manifests certain peculiarities that provide interesting contrasts with Castilian modernism, the similarities and contacts between the two movements are considerable, as José-Carlos Mainer has indicated (1988, 140). Although Cacho Viu insists on a chronological asymmetry between Barcelona and Madrid, he also sees certain similarities in the appearance of new cultural groups and leaders (1997, 35). In both cases, younger thinkers and artists reject the politics and values of Restoration Spain and attempt to redefine regional and national identity. While this takes place within a drive for regional autonomy and revival in Catalonia, artists and intellectuals in both regions share an overall repudiation of the traditional vision of a Catholic, imperial, and centralized government. Similarly, the coexistence of a socially committed progressive impulse alongside and sometimes within a drive for aesthetic renovation and autonomy provides a significant link. Scholars of Catalan literature often point to a more optimistic trust in possibilities for change in comparison with Castilian pessimism and sense of loss after the defeat during the Spanish-American War, but this divergence is based on a traditional and questionable limitation of Castilian literature of the period to a rather small set of authors and to a restricted reading of a limited number of their works. Furthermore, the existence of numerous interconnections between Catalan and Castilian artists and intellectuals of the period calls into ques-

ments that surface at this time in these two Iberian cultural centers.

From the early work of Guillermo Díaz-Plaja to the more recent studies of Giovanni Allegra, Geoffrey Ribbans, Vicente Cacho Vñu, Carlos Salañ, and EduardoValenti Fiol, critics have pointed to the cultural interactions between Catalonia and France and Catalonia and Castile. Catalan geographic and economic contacts with France facilitate the circulation of ideas from abroad. European writers considered key to the introduction of early modernist thought appear frequently in the Barcelona of the 1880s and 1890s. Josep Jordà translates Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People* and Barcelona theater-goers receive the translation with enthusiasm. Cipriano Montoliu introduces Ruskin's social ideas, the Catalan musicologist Joaquim Marsillach publishes the first study of Wagner and first mentions Nietzsche in his 1878 *Ricardo Wagner*; the magazine *Juventut* becomes the official promulgator of Wagner in Spain and also introduces D'Annunzio, while Joan Maragall produces the first full-length study of Nietzsche for *L'Avenç*. *La Ilustración Ibérica*, published in Barcelona from 1882 to 1900, introduces readers to the Pre-Raphaelites and works by or about Renan, Tolstoy, Ibsen, Maeterlinck, and Barrès appear in *L'Avenç*. The economic strength of Barcelona's bourgeoisie and their openness to innovation further the rich modernist architectural production of Antoni Gaudí, Lluís Domènech i Montaner and others. Santiago Rusiñol, painter, poet, and playwright with lengthy residencies in France, establishes *Cau Ferrat* in Sitges, a modernist center that sponsors numerous *Festes modernistes*. The 1893 festival includes the first representation of a work by Maeterlinck in Spain, and the 1894 festival fosters a revival of interest in El Greco, with a public procession to celebrate the installation in *Cau Ferrat* of two of his paintings that Rusiñol purchased in Paris.

Catalan modernism quickly becomes a focus of attention for Spanish-speaking writers. Emilia Pardo Bazán visits *Cau Ferrat* and writes admiringly of the unconventional atmosphere, the all-night vigil to witness the sunrise, and the commitment to aesthetic renovation (n. d., 263-69). Ganivet stops at Sitges and praises the group's energy, which he finds unparalleled in Spain, and defends the mix of local, national, and international influences for the creation of a new art: "Y la impresión clara que de todo se desprende es que el *Cau* intenta dar un nuevo impulso a nuestro arte, utilizando los procedimientos de las nuevas varias

tendencias que por todas partes desputan, y apoyando los pies para hacer ese esfuerzo en lo más genuinamente español: en el misticismo" [And the clear impression that all this imparts is that the *Cau* hopes to give a new impulse to our art, using techniques of the diverse new tendencies that are surfacing in many places and, in order to undertake this effort, anchoring both feet in what is most authentically Spanish: in mysticism] (1943 II: 737). In his visit to Spain in 1898, Rubén Darío stops both in Madrid and Barcelona and writes in 1899 that only in Catalonia did he encounter any real modernism (1901?, 311).¹²

Exposure to Catalan modernism also takes place through personal friendships, shared residencies in Paris, and multiple collaborations in journals.¹³ *La Vida Galante*, a publication that emphasizes the erotic and challenges traditional gender relations, first appears in Barcelona in 1898 and then moves to Madrid in 1900. *El Nuevo Mercurio* has a truly international flavor. Printed in Barcelona with a national distribution, it is directed by the Guatemalan Enrique Gómez Carrillo, who resides in France. Important Catalan modernists contribute to Madrid-based journals that scholars have identified as the voice of Castilian modernism: Rusiñol and Angel Guimerà write for *Germinal* and *Vida Nueva* and *La Vida Literaria* publishes poems by Jacinto Verdaguer and Angel Guimerà as well as a translation of Joan Coromina's *Las prisiones imaginarias*, the prison memoirs of one of numerous anarchists arrested in the wake of an 1896 bombing of a Corpus Christi parade. The scandal created by the arbitrary arrests and torture of suspects in what comes to be known as the Montjuich case, so named for the infamous prison in which the accused are held, brings together Catalan and Castilian intellectuals in common commitment to change and legal fairness. The short-lived modernist journal *Helios* (1903-1904), with contributions from most of the young Castilian writers, including Juan Ramón Jiménez, Gregorio Martínez Sierra, Ramón Pérez de Ayala, and José Ortega y Gasset, pays special attention to Catalan literature and includes contributions by Rusiñol, José Carner, Joan Maragall, and Verdaguer. At least two important journals founded in Madrid during the early years of the twentieth century take as their title a Castilian version of a name previously used in Catalan modernist publications: *Renacimiento* (1907), directed by Gregorio Martínez Sierra, corresponds to the Catalan *La Renaixensa*, where the modernist architect Domènech i Montaner had published the

(1901–1902) echoes its Catalan predecessor *Juventut* and carries forward its sense of novelty and impulse for renewal. Pablo Picasso creates the fleeting *Arte Joven* after a trip to Paris with the writer Pío Baroja and his artist brother Ricardo and brings ideas from *Juventut*, where he had contacts (McDermott 1993, 238). In *Alma Española*, the Catalan Maragall, and articles by the Catalan Unamuno, the Valencian Vicente Blasco Ibáñez and writers from other regions collaborate in 1904 on a series of articles on the regional spirit. *Renacimiento* devotes considerable space to Catalan writers, dedicating an entire issue to Maragall in collaboration with the Catalan critic José Yxart, a second volume to Rusiñol with comments by Maragall, and articles by the Catalan writers Eugenio d'Ors, Víctor Català (Catarina Albert I Paradís), and Gabriel Alomar. Maragall and Unamuno develop a close and enduring friendship, with frequent correspondence and exchange of ideas and Gregorio and his wife and co-author María Martínez Sierra collaborate with and translate Santiago Rusiñol. Works by d'Ors, a representative of modernism and then *noucentisme*, appear in Catalan and Castilian and he publishes in *La Lectura*, *La República de las Letras*, and *Renacimiento*.

The frequent contacts between leading figures of Catalan modernism and *noucentisme* and Castilian modernism/*noventayochismo* as well as their similarities in origins, influences, and general contours challenge attempts to separate them into two discrete cultural phenomena. Writers and intellectuals working in Madrid see Catalan modernism as a hopeful opening to a new way of thinking and writing and avidly seek to introduce it to the rest of the country, as stated by the editors of the Madrid-based *Vida Nueva* in 1898: "Barcelona tiene iniciativas, energías, entusiasmo, virilidad, y de allí nos vendrá la vida nueva, ya que en Madrid no se piensa sino en hacer política, hablar de la mar y acudir a los toros" [Barcelona has initiative, energy, enthusiasm, virility, and new life will come to us from there, since in Madrid it doesn't occur to anyone to think except about politics, or to talk except about the sea or to go to the bullfights].¹⁴ José María Llanas Aguilaniedo also welcomes Catalan modernism as a sign of progress and presents Catalan writers as models, praising their work ethic, hunger for new ideas, and openness to foreign experiences through travel and reading (1991, 63). While Ribbens (1993, 10) sees decreasing communication between Catalonia and Madrid with the arrival of *noucentisme*, the period from the early 1890s through at least 1907 witnesses continuous dialogue. The borders between Catalan and Castilian culture of

early twentieth century prove to be productively porous, with Catalan modernism providing an impetus and a model for a national cultural renovation.

The relations between Spain and Latin America show a similarly enriching encounter, with various stages and nuances. Rubén Darío's 1888 publication of *Azul* represents for many the inauguration of Latin American modernism and it attracted immediate attention from the well-known Spanish novelist-critic Juan Valera. Valera's ambiguous response typifies that of many established Restoration writers and relates to his campaign to discredit naturalism, his anxieties regarding its socially revolutionary elements, and his desire for a less politicized literature. As a result, the review praises the non-didactic thrust of Darío's work and emphasizes its aesthetic purpose. However, the enthusiasm is tempered by discomfort at the loss of religious faith, the accompanying pessimism, and their direct connection to social instability. Valera very directly queries how to control the hungry, ignorant masses without the checks provided by religion (1888, 222) and in a clear expression of his fear, he censures the final, blasphemous verses of "Anagke" that he inserts to give Spanish readers a sense of Darío's poetry. The review also confesses discomfort at the perceptible French influence in *Azul* and suggests that Darío open himself to English, German, Italian, and perhaps even Spanish sources. Fear of a socially and politically transgressive current in modernist literature produces a gallophobic reaction in many conservative and moderate Spaniards. In a previous study on naturalism and its reception in Spain, I traced the complex interplay of fear of social revolution, sexual liberation, and women's emancipation¹⁵ and these same concerns inform the critical reception of modernism by a number of established writers. Leopoldo Alas (Clarín) targets both the sexual license and dependency on French literature, language, and thought. In one text he refers to Darío's "galicismos internos" [internal Gallicisms] (1893a, 222) and in another he plays with the sexual connotation of the color green in Spanish culture to state his opposition to "cosillas afrancesadas, melancólicamente verdes . . . , desnudeces alicaídas" [little Frenchified things, gloomily green . . . , depressed nudities] (Fernández Almagro 1943, 57–58).

Darío's early comments on his relations with Spain and Spanish literature should be read in the context of his interactions with older, established Spanish writers. During his first visit in 1892, he meets Valera, Menéndez y Pelayo, Pardo Bazán as well

as the younger Salvador Rueda. In a second trip in 1899, he comes to know Catalan modernists and declares his affinity with them in contrast to the sterile Castilian literary world of the Restoration. He also insists that Latin American modernism predates its Catalan equivalent and represents a rejection of Castilian literature (1901?, 315). By 1904, however, Darío notes a change in Spain and undergoes a shift in his own position. He states now that the energy characteristic of Barcelona has spread to the rest of the peninsula and insists on a common purpose in Spain and Latin America, joined in opposition to the United States (1917, 16). Subsequent critics, citing either Darío's early or later comments, have argued for a commonality of purpose or a cultural separation between Spanish and Latin American modernism. In his 1934 anthology of modernist poetry, Federico de Onís enthusiastically recognizes Darío's contribution to Spanish literary history and advocates an inclusive, epochal definition of modernism (1961, xv). Juan Ramón Jiménez expresses a similar view in 1953, linking Hispanic modernism to theological, scientific, and literary movements and affirming its continued vitality (1962, 50). Even more significantly, Jiménez openly accepts the circuitous route that modernism took from France to Latin America and then Spain and stresses its repudiation of racial, national, and gender borders. His description of Darío as very Indian and very dark, a composite of diverse races (74–77), reflects his validation of the once colonized other.¹⁶

An opposing critical tradition defends the existence of a clear division between Latin American and peninsular modernism. Its members come from both sides of the Atlantic and although they share a desire to establish the autonomy and superiority of one literary tradition over the other, the implications of their argument vary according to geographical origin. Many Latin Americans and Latin Americanists seize on Darío's initial declaration of independence from Castilian literary tradition and define Spanish American modernism as the moment when the former colonies find their own voice and artistic expression. The performative strength of this position, given the urgency of the creation of a Latin American post-colonial identity, as well as the recognition of the undeniable cultural contributions of such writers as Darío, Martí, and Rodó, to name only a few, prompt a sympathetic response to this line of thought. However, the construction of a Latin American cultural identity sometimes leads to simplistic and misleading descriptions of the Spanish culture in opposition to which it defines itself. The decadent cultural waste land

that Darío observes in the aftermath of 1898 becomes for some Latin Americanists a primary trait of Spanish culture for the last quarter of the nineteenth century, or for the entire century, and the absence of major poets in the 1890s leads to blanket statements about the dearth of creative spirit when Galdós, Clarín, and Pardo Bazán are producing extraordinary works.¹⁷ Other studies posit a stolid, homogeneous Spanish public that reacts with shock at Darío's postcolonial language and vision. In contrast to a monochromatic, single-voiced metropolis, Iris Zavala describes a cultural milieu in which the ex-colonies celebrate plurality and openness (1992, 56). While the impulse toward national redefinition manifests itself in different forms in the former colonies than in the former seat of power, neither Spain nor the Latin American nations respond with uniform acceptance or rejection of Darío or modernism. Opposition comes from the older generation, a complaisant bourgeoisie, the church, and other established powers while acceptance is found primarily, on both sides of the Atlantic, in a younger generation that sees the need for new ways of viewing and expressing the self, the nation, and the social and physical landscape.

In Spain, those who insist on a solid border separating Latin American and peninsular modernism fall into similarly simplistic arguments, with imperialist echoes that make their statements even more problematic. Pedro Salinas's now famous "El problema del modernismo en España, o un conflicto entre dos espíritus" (1938) specifically denies the contention that with modernism, America reversed history and conquered Spain. The study rejects the notion that former colonies could provide leadership to the erstwhile colonizers. To head off such arguments, Salinas theorizes the existence of two distinct groups: Latin American modernists with a purely formal, poetic renovation; and Spanish writers, with an analytical, profound, virile, and nationalist preoccupation (1949, 13–25). The impact that Salinas's text has had on subsequent studies cannot be overstated.¹⁸ It represents a significant break with previous Spanish criticism on the nature and development of modernism and in suggesting an impermeable border between Spanish and Latin American modernism and the "Generation of 1898," it erases the ongoing redefinition of Spanish-Latin American relations taking place on both sides of the Atlantic through dialogue and exchange. Latin American modernism is not the primary focus of this study, but it stands in a dialogic relation to peninsular modernism and a deeper understanding of the

the other. As in the case of Catalan and Castilian modernism, Latin American and peninsular modernism manifest peculiarities unique to each and within Latin America, the pace and extent of modernism varies according to country and region. However, their differences do not negate nor even outweigh their affinities and to ignore their connections to each other and to the global modernism with which they share common origins and general traits repudiates the internationalist, cosmopolitan, and humanitarian goals that stand along side their individual, regional, and national aspirations. While a significant body of recent Spanish criticism has lamented the legacy of the Francoist division of early twentieth-century Spanish culture in two opposing movements and some studies have traced the origins of this tradition to the Salinas essay, the extent to which Salinas and his successors violently reshaped the definition of the goals and nature of Spanish culture of late nineteenth and early twentieth century has not been fully recognized. A review of early studies of Spanish modernism reveals the distorted lens through which later critics viewed the period and which continues all too frequently to condition contemporary critical studies.

Early Definitions of Spanish Modernism: 1894–1913

The term modernism appears in the Madrid press in the early 1890s to designate a new mode of expression and thought that stood in contrast to Restoration values and realist literature. The somewhat earlier appearance of the term in Catalonia and Latin America undoubtedly encouraged its adoption and contributed to its polemical reception. From the outset, the word became a site of conflict between competing sectors of Spanish society, exemplifying not only the Gramscian vision of culture as a struggle for hegemony (Gramsci, 1992), but also the Bakhtinian concept of the word as a primary location of ideological contest (1986, 94). John Butt has accurately pointed out that during the early years of its circulation, modernism has a fluid meaning (1993, 51). Proponents of the movement represent diverse ideological positions, from radical anarchist to moderate Republican. Virtually all envision the intellectual and artist as key figures in the construction of a new culture; their differences consist not so much in the opposition between socially committed and escapist art or between ideas and their elegant expression, as later critics would have it, but rather in different conceptions of how best to transform contemporary society. A review of the literature on modern-

ism published between 1898 and 1913 reveals an on-going dialogue between advocates of various paths to social and cultural renewal and often the same speaker occupies multiple positions depending on personal evolution and, more importantly, on the interlocutor(s) and previous and anticipated responses.¹⁹ The following discussion identifies 10 basic positions that are repeatedly articulated in early studies on modernism. They are neither stable nor discrete and persistently reflect the co-presence of contradictory goals and methods.

1. Modernism Breaks with the National Past Through International Connections

Proponents of this view emphasize both the disavowal of Restoration and pre-Restoration Spain and the link with non-Spanish writers, whether European or American. Journal titles that underscore newness, youth, and discontinuity (*Juventud*, *Germinal*, *Vida Nueva*, and *Renacimiento*) reflect this tenet as do declarations by Azorín, Valle-Inclán, and González Blanco that their generation is iconoclastic²⁰ and statements by Baroja and Valle-Inclán that to destroy is to create.²¹

2. Modernism Retains a Link with the Past, Combining National Traditions and International Sources

This perspective recognizes a certain continuity with the past, but allows for selective identification of key figures and events from the national tradition, infusing them with new meaning in light of concepts introduced by European and Latin American writers and thinkers. Some critics identify the recuperation of the past as a late event in Spanish modernism and chide writers such as Manuel Machado and Azorín for a softening of progressive modernism in their acknowledgment of a connection to tradition. To the contrary, the affirmation of continuity appears early in discussions of modernism and has multiple, sometimes contradictory motives. It responds, on the one hand, to accusations of cultural treason from traditionalists who invoke hyper-nationalist discourse to discredit their opponents. It also seeks to reclaim or reevaluate figures and events in order to recuperate progressive energies from the past and wrest nationalist discourse from traditional, anti-modernist forces. Writing in response to *Gente Vieja's* public competition to define modernism in

1902, both Pascual Ruiz Enríquez and Manuel Cidróñ argue that it does not really oppose the past, while also insisting on its potential for social regeneration. Ruiz Enríquez sees it as lacking clear form, but possessing educational value and productive energy (3–4). Cidróñ initially affirms its ties to tradition and later clarifies that he refers to the glorious legacy of the French Revolution, the quintessential break with the past (5–6).

Around these same dates, Jacinto Benavente produces a one-act play entitled *Modernismo*, which deconstructs the boundaries between tradition and innovation, past and present. Subtitled “Nuevos moldes,” it links with Azorín’s “Somos iconoclastas” in suggesting a break with literary ancestors. However, the text recasts this idea, arguing that it seeks to widen rather than break molds. It insists on returning to more remote antecedents, such as Greek tragedy, Shakespeare, or classical Spanish drama. The minimization of intrigue and emphasis on character that typifies the new theater espoused by Benavente contrasts with one-dimensional characters, improbable plot development, and violent emotions of more recent introduction—that is, Echegaray—that the speaker argues do not truly belong to the national literary heritage (1945, 1:431–36). The repudiation of recent definitions of tradition and attempt to construct an alternative version of the past lies at the heart of much modernist discourse. As Inman Fox demonstrates, the struggle to define the limits and character of Spanish history and identity commences well before the debates on modernism, coursing through the nineteenth century in polemics between the conservative Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo and liberal adherents of Krausism and the Institución Libre de Enseñanza (1997). It hardly seems necessary to reiterate that this conflict continues throughout the twentieth century and that history, tradition, and the past are everywhere sites of contention with fluid, shifting contours. In the context of Spanish modernism, this view of culture has not always prevailed, with the unfortunate result that scholars interpret affirmations of links to tradition as wholehearted acceptance of inherited values, failing to see the transgressive underpinnings of a redefined tradition with new purposes.

3. Modernism is Individualistic and Anarchistic

Although related to the repudiation of the past and apparently opposed to the continuation of tradition, this feature of modernism contains contradictory impulses that have been read alter-

natively as progressive or reactionary. Early advocates of an individualistic, anarchistic modernism include José Deleito y Piñuelo in *Gente Vieja* (1902)²² and Ramón Pérez de Ayala in *Helios* (1903a). Deleito y Piñuelo notes a disdain for authority and coexistence of multiple literary currents including symbolism, decadentism, and eroticism. His references to Oscar Wilde and symbolist idealism place him in close proximity to definitions of modernism that later critics identify as aestheticist and antagonistic to socially committed art, but the article persistently identifies modernism with social change and argues that art provides the impetus for transformation: “. . . en el mundo de la belleza la piqueta, demoledora de lo construido, puede penetrar más libremente que en la prosaica vida real, cuyos elementos ofrecen solidísima cohesión” [In the world of beauty the pickaxe, destroyer of constructed objects, can penetrate more freely than in prosaic life, where elements present extremely solid cohesion] (1–2).

Pérez de Ayala addresses both the anarchic nature of modernism and its relation to social and political commitment. “La aldea lejana: Con motivo de la aldea perdida,” offers a subjective response to Armando Palacio Valdés’s novel about their shared Asturian homeland. The speaker defends subjective criticism as a logical consequence of his repudiation of absolute definitions of beauty and his belief that writers may construct their own individual aesthetic. He further states that many artistic tendencies exist in contemporary literature, all marked by a spirit of aesthetic anarchism (1903a, 5–14). “Liras o lanzas” (1903b) continues to emphasize the pursuit of individual definitions of truth and beauty, which for the speaker reside in poetry. The insistence on the value of poetry and the title’s polarization of lyrics and lances has led some critics to read the text as an early affirmation of a modernism that privileges art for art’s sake over social concern (1973, 75). However, textual ambiguities and a strong repudiation of militarism call such a reading into question. The speaker refutes the thesis of Alvaro de Albornoz’s book *No lirás, lanzas* that poetry is useless and the solution to national problems lies in direct social combat, symbolized by the lances of the title. In presenting his argument, Pérez de Ayala adopts the posture of a *bon vivant* who has abandoned all concern for the proletariat in favor of champagne and Cuban cigars. He defends poetry as the milk of the great nourishing udder that has nursed the best, most select members of humanity. The odd combination of earthy metaphor and exaltation of artistic elite introduces an initial gap in the declarations of aristocratic posture that widens

in subsequent paragraphs. The speaker reacts strongly to the violent connotations of "lances," declaring that the evangelical fervor of Tolstoi constitutes a fundamental feature of his formation, but then in a sudden about-face, he confesses his admiration for Napoleon.

The text speaker then turns to his duty in the context of Spanish national decadence, quoting Miguel de Unamuno's admonishment that to best serve the nation, citizens should search for profound and eternal qualities that are least connected to the present and national culture. He then remits the reader to Krause's second commandment, which prefigures Unamuno's advice in advocating love of humanity and the universal over the individual and local. Within this context of a progressive tradition, the speaker closes with an attack on militarism and nationalist values: "Lanzas ¿para qué? ¿Para que perduren atávicas preocupaciones de raza e inhumanas fronteras políticas? El clásico ha dicho mi patria es el cielo. Yo, un poco romántico con el romanticismo otoñal de las edades que sacudan, digo: 'Mi patria es la tierra. Más que patria, mi madre; mi Dios; madre de todos, Dios de la humanidad'" [Lances, for what purpose? So that atavistic racial concerns and inhuman political frontiers can continue? The classical writer said my country is the heavens. Somewhat romantic, with the autumnal romanticism of declining ages, I say: 'My country is the earth. More than country, my mother; my God; mother of all, God of humanity'] (1903b, 520). On the heels of the recent war with Cuba and the militarist rhetoric it provoked and in the face of traditional associations of Spain and empire, Pérez de Ayala's stakes out a social and political position that remains well outside the ivory tower enclosure in which later critics seek to imprison both this particular text and modernism in general. The allusion to his preference for Cuban cigars acquires a different meaning, beyond the egotistical pleasure seeker, suggesting the abandonment of war-time animosities and the renewal of contacts with the former colony and military enemy.

The insistence on the anarchistic quality of Spanish modernism continues throughout the decade and beyond. Gómez-Lobo reiterates it in 1908 and Manuel Machado in *La guerra literaria* in 1913. Many writers follow the refusal of Baroja and Unamuno to be identified with a particular school or movement, rejecting the imposition of homogeneity and the validity of grand narratives, to use Lyotard's term.²³ Pérez de Ayala's denial of absolute truth or beauty exemplifies another aspect of this attitude. Some

modernists focus on moral issues, others emphasize the social, and still others the aesthetic, but each questions inherited values and forcefully expresses a spirit of independence. The refusal to accept a coalescence under a single, univocal rubric persistently reaffirms modernism's originary transgressive, heterogeneous impetus.

4. Modernism Has Practical, Social Objectives

Many writers on Spanish modernism during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries emphasize an essential social component, sometimes in combination with and at times in opposition to an individualist current. Ernesto Bark propounds the need for a practical modernism and includes in the modernist agenda a general elevation of the Spanish cultural level through university extension programs, night schools, and a repudiation of militarist, nationalist ambitions (1901, 8, 86). Bark quotes the doctor and medical researcher Santiago Ramón y Cajal to emphasize the conjoining of science and art in this new national project, a combination that reappears even more strikingly in Camilo Bargiela's *Luciérnagas*. This collection of stories challenges traditional visions of honor and love, using decadentist effects, surprise endings, and psychological analysis. The title and many of the stories reveal sensibilities, themes, and characters associated with aestheticist, *arte por el arte* tendencies, but the incorporated essay, "Modernistas y anticuados" insists on a broad, social definition. The text closes with the separation of the contemporary cultural field into two distinct camps, but they do not coincide with a formalist modernism and socially committed "Generation of 1898" later identified by literary historians. Rather, they place modernism in a broadly defined opposition to antiquated tradition, inclusive of all contemporary artistic and scientific currents: "... *modernistas*, que significa tanto como espíritus expansivos abiertos a todas las corrientes científicas y artísticas, y otros varones que yo llamo *anticuados*, por no denominar con adjetivo más fuerte y gráfico" [... *modernists*, which means the same as expansive spirits open to all scientific and artistic currents, and others who I call *antiquated*, so as not to resort to a stronger and more graphic adjective] (1900, ii). Rafael Altamira echoes similar sentiments in "El patriotismo y la universalidad" (1898) as do Gómez-Lobo (1908) and Manuel Ugarte (1908).

5. Modernism Is Anti-Materialist and Anti-determinist

The rejection of Restoration Spain and the influence of contemporary European thought contribute jointly to the modernist renunciation of a positivist, materialist legacy. While many tenets, values, and discursive strands from the previous period, such as racial, biological, and geographic determinism, survive in modernist discourse, they interweave with principles, values, and language drawn from competing systems that question the universal validity and even relative veracity of the positivist vision. Two distinct elements stand out in anti-materialist modernism: the disdain for commodification, industrialism, and a mass culture that vulgarizes art and creativity; and the disavowal of a philosophy incapable of explaining either humanity's spiritual, irrational component, or, equally important, its potential for change. The anti-industrialist thrust may express itself in a distaste for cities, crowds, or a modernization that intrudes between the individual and nature, beauty, and art. Eduardo Chavarri, the winner of *Gente Vieja's* contest for the best essay on modernism, writes that the new movement reacts not so much against naturalism as against utilitarianism and a world dominated by the cult of the stomach. He laments the displacement of traditional popular poetry by the "chulapismo" and "flamenquismo" of the street-smart, cheeky, lower-class men connected to bull-fighting, flamenco dancing, and the underworld. The city threatens popular culture and all forms of poetry: "El canto popular libre, impregnado de naturaleza, va enmudeciendo en las ciudades, las casas de seis pisos impiden ver el centelleo de las estrellas, y los alambres de teléfono no dejan a la mirada perderse en la profundidad azul; el piano callejero mata la musa popular. ¡Estamos en pleno industrialismo!" [Popular music, permeated with nature, is fading in the cities, six-story houses make it impossible to see the twinkling of stars, and the telephone wires don't allow the gaze to lose itself in the blue heavens. The street piano is killing the popular muse. We are in full industrialization!] (1902, 1-2). In the face of this new threat, Chavarri welcomes an incipient art form that resists commodification. Privileging the unique, or Benjamin's "auratic," contains its own risks, as Chavarri himself recognizes. The impulse for the "new" easily leads to a superficial imitation of novel forms, which paradoxically fall back into the mass-produced artifacts against which modernism arose in the first place. Many modernists con-

demn imitations of their innovations. Antonio Machado's famous verse "mas no amo los afeites de la actual cosmética" [but I've no great love for the latest in cosmetics]²⁴ ("Retrato," 1951, 731) and Rubén Darío's even earlier repudiation of cheap imitations (1901?, 325) reflect this antipathy toward reproduction. Rather than interpret such statements as a rejection of modernism, as many critics have done, they may be viewed as a continuation of the originary impulse towards authentic and individual artistic creation.²⁵

Nietzschean emphasis on the will and irrational aspects of humanity, Charcot, Madame Blavatsky, and pre-Freudian and Freudian explorers of the unconscious as well as Oriental philosophies and religions gain currency at the turn of the century and posit realms of human experience that nineteenth century positivism fails to explicate. Proponents of sexual, racial, and class equality further contribute to a reexamination and eventual repudiation of philosophical and scientific determinism. Deleito y Piñuelo (1902) observes a return to idealism in reaction to triumphant matter and an interest in those elements of nature that remain invisible or inaccessible to the ordinary observer. From symbolism, modernism derives the aspiration to discover the soul or essence of things, which it combines with other artistic and cultural movements. Deleito y Piñuelo and Gonzalo Guasp (1902) both refer to a need to recover a sense of wonder before nature, to defamiliarize the automatic responses that modern observers have assimilated. The return to pre-classical periods, medieval spiritualism, the Orient, and primitive worlds answers this need and facilitates the recovery of a sense of mystery:

Los hombres, con el transcurso de los siglos, se han familiarizado exageradamente con la naturaleza, no causando el espectáculo del Cosmos la impresión que en las primeras generaciones producía. Por esto, el artista simbolista encuentra en la fábula antigua el eterno misterio; solamente entre el artista primitivo, inventor de la fábula, y el actual existe una diferencia: el primero expresaba espontáneamente su visión de las cosas impregnadas del misterio; el segundo tiene que reconstruir en el espíritu moderno una facultad perdida, el sentido del misterio, para lo cual ha de perturbar las costumbres inveteradas del lector. (Guasp, 1902, 2-3)

[Humanity, with the passage of the centuries, has become overly familiar with nature, so that the spectacle of the Cosmos no longer causes the impression that it produced in the first generations. For

this reason, the symbolist artist finds eternal mystery in the ancient fable; however between the primitive writer, the inventor of the fable, and his contemporary there exists a difference: the former spontaneously expressed his vision of the mystery that permeated all things; the latter has to reconstruct in the modern spirit a lost faculty, the sense of mystery, to which end he has to disturb the inveterate customs of the reader.]

Guasp closes his sensitive study of the challenge to the modernist writer with a discussion of Taine and the determining power of the milieu. In defiance of determinism, he argues that modernists are not the creations of their surroundings, but rather creators of a new world. The arrogation of artistic agency in opposition to a limiting determinism constitutes an important element of antimaterialist modernism, introduces a note of optimism all too often ignored by critics, and has significant implications for theories of language and style.

6. Modernism Requires a New Language to Express a New Vision

Toward the end of Guasp's discussion of the defamiliarizing impetus of modernism, he alludes to the use of daring syntactical innovations and renovated expressions to jolt the bourgeois reader into new habits of seeing and understanding. Chavarrí (1902), writing also in *Gente Vieja*, echoes the same opinion, as does Pompeyo Gener in the prologue to *Leyendas de amor*, where he writes of the need to open the reader to new horizons, to free the spirit and expand the heart (1902b, 11). The magazine *Helios* (1903) opens with a declaration of the intimate relationship between the new word and the new spirit in a statement signed by Pedro González Blanco, Juan Ram6n Jiménez, Gregorio Martínez Sierra, Carlos Navarro Lamarca, and Ramón Pérez de Ayala. The emphasis on language has received ample attention from critics who seek to cleave these writers into two distinct groups and associate modernism with expression and style at the expense of content. However, the conjunction of word and spirit in *Helios* and the repeated allusions to battle in the introductory section of the magazine suggest a more complex relationship between form and content.

The writers do self-identify as champions of Beauty, but immediately declare that they wage battles not just of word, but also of spirit: "Y hemos aquí, paladines de nuestra muy amada Belleza,

prontos a reñir cien batallas de verbo y espíritu" [And here we are, paladins of our beloved Beauty, quick to wage a hundred battles of word and of spirit.] ("Génesis", 1903, 3). They also affirm that freedom serves as the publication's standard and the wide-range of articles and contributors confirms an open, inclusive agenda. Often described as the quintessential modernist journal, in the sense of Ivory Tower preoccupation with form and disincarnation to social engagement, *Helios*, in fact, includes a repeating feature called "Fémina," devoted to women's issues and partially from a feminist perspective, as well as numerous articles on such contemporary political issues as socialism, racism in the United States, and the construction of the Panama Canal. Contributions range from texts by the Alvarez Quintero brothers, with their interest in popular Andalusian culture, to excerpts from Angel Ganivet's letters, poems by Manuel Machado, Salvador Rueda, and Juan Ramón Jiménez and articles and stories by the iconoclastic Alejandro Sawa and the classical Juan Valera, not to mention Azorín, Unamuno, Pérez de Ayala, and others. *Helios*, alongside other modernist journals and artistic manifestoes, resists limiting definitions of beauty, language, and spirit in favor of an open and tolerant vision.

7. The Modernist Artist Is a Professional, with the Status and Responsibilities of Other Professionals

The importance of art as a force for social transformation and the recognition of language as a reflection and producer of social change accompanies a redefinition of the artist as a professional, with specialized training and duties. Martínez Sierra insists that literature is labor and that for the first time in history, his generation does not subordinate art to political or journalistic ends (1904, 3, 15). Once again, this defense of the artist easily inspires accusations of elitism and escapism and both contemporary and subsequent critics have taken up the charge. Unamuno thundered against those he saw slipping into an unhealthy exaltation of art and warned Antonio Machado and others that artists should love life, hate art, and reject a professionalization that impedes a broad, cross disciplinary approach to the human experience (1903, 46-50). Maeztu also wrote disparagingly of those he feared were retreating from social awareness to the refined world of art (1903). However, before presuming the aestheticist impetus of these statements, it is helpful to view them in the

context of other articles that appear during these years. In "Arte y utilidad," Azorín compares writers' work to that of field hands and other laborers and includes all in the common enterprise of the construction of a new nation. Although at times acknowledging the existence of writers who adhere to an aestheticist vision of art, he minimizes the difference between the two groups, comparing their little ivory tower with his own plain, tile-roofed house. Both look outward from a place of observation and the use of the diminutive brings the tower to the same level as the house. More importantly, he joins Chavarri, Deleito y Piñuelo and Guasp in acknowledging that the most seemingly aestheticist art has a marvelous utility in that it brings people together, refining the sensibilities of the masses and preparing a new social consciousness (1904a, 4). Azorín erases differences even as he identifies them, ever resistant to homogenizing, totalizing systems.

Manuel de Guindos reiterates the parallel of the literary and factory worker, insisting that just as writers fight the privileged class in the world of literature, the proletariat struggles against the bourgeoisie in the socio-economic realm (1902, 3-4). In this same context, it is useful to return to Unamuno's admonition to Antonio Machado. A rereading of the text reveals a dialogic quality that underscores the relativity of his position and the acknowledgment and validation of the other.²⁶ "Vida y arte" (1903) has complex origins in a tripartite communication among Unamuno, Antonio Machado, and his brother Manuel. The text addresses Antonio and responds to his letter regarding a conversation that Unamuno had undertaken with Manuel about Antonio's poetry. Unamuno quotes Antonio's discussion of his two years in Paris and his statement that the French agree with each other even when in disagreement in contrast to Spaniards, who argue even when in agreement. Unamuno suggests that they leave the French to their ways and work at finding themselves, thus validating the Spanish propensity for dissent and tacitly validating Machado's stance, a position he reiterates towards the end of the article, when he advises Machado to create his own aesthetic. The structure of the text, with multiple voices interweaving in on-going dialogue, sanctions the process of verbal and ideological exchange and encourages a dynamic interaction between self and other, whether as fellow writers and intellectuals or as writers looking inward to define their role and purpose. The original, monologic admonition against excessive aestheticism gives way to a defense of plural trajectories based on individual needs and collective discussion.

8. Modernism Threatens the Stability of Contemporary Social Structures

As indicated in the treatment of the modernist relation to tradition and social commitment and of the development of a new language to foster new social visions and values, many of those writing on modernism at the turn of the century welcome and encourage its revolutionary force. Others who espouse modernism respond with trepidation to its more radical elements, but the definitions of which traits represent dangerous extremes vary and at times contradict each other. Writing in *La Lectura*, Eduardo Sanz y Escartín advocates a humanitarian, democratic anarchism that he associates with Tolstoi, while harshly criticizing an antisocial, selfish anarchism that ignores the principle of solidarity (1902, 169). Sanz links this second, abhorrent anarchism with decadentist art forms, *arte por el arte*, and aristocratic snobbery, the same traits that later criticism associates with escapist indifference to social change. In the same journal, Adolfo Posada (1901) expresses his fear of violence and class warfare, but Posada's culprits are Marx and Zola and his preferred models are Tolstoi, coincident with Sanz, and also Ruskin, whom Sanz condemns. Posada sees Ruskin's interiority and mysticism as an antidote to revolution. Here the text speaker espouses modernism as a substitute for naturalism's social violence and revolutionary tendencies and advocates the same inward-looking, individualist aestheticism that Sanz fears for its disruptive qualities. Both writers sympathize with social change while seeking to control its pace and extent and both identify aspects of modernism that foster transformation and others that threaten social stability. However, they disagree fundamentally on which elements of the new cultural landscape best advance their respective agendas and which represent alarming features. The contradictory responses to decadentism and *arte por el arte* serve as a reminder of the complex character of turn-of-the-century cultural expression and problematize its facile designation as formalist and socially and politically unimportant by later critics.

9. Decadentism and Pessimism Threaten the Progressive Energies of Modernism

The multi-faceted response to decadentist currents within early modernism includes a fear by many that it will weaken the radical impulse of the movement by fostering pessimism and

inaction. The end-of-century mania that swept Europe poses an even greater danger in Spain, where the loss of the last major colonies could easily convey a sense of ending and closure. In the face of persistent references to extinction and degeneration, modernists call for renewal and emphasize vitality and optimism in an effort to combat national and individual abulia.²⁷ Writing in 1898 on "El patriotismo y la universalidad," Rafael Altamira identifies two essential conditions for national regeneration: a renewed sense of confidence in Spain's propensity for progress and in her history; and an avoidance of a resurrection of past values and institutions. The contradictory coalescence of a call for change and a defense of the past, albeit qualified, stems from fear of a national loss of will. A blanket rejection of the national past risks collective paralysis and a self-image as degenerate and incapable of positive, constructive action defeats all efforts for national transformation (258). A similar argument characterizes Pompeyo Giner's *Literaturas malsanas: Estudios de patología literaria contemporánea* (1894). Giner attacks quietist, mystical tendencies of contemporary literature, which he sees as dangerously akin to hegemonic bourgeois, Catholic forces. Undeniably racist, classist, and sexist, Giner also represents a radical Republican point of view, exalting a Western tradition of revolution and its affirmation of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness over Eastern nihilism and self-annihilation (323). Altamira never mentions "modernism," but refers positively to modern developments and calls for leadership from the younger generation, both coded allusions to the movement. Giner specifically mentions modernism, but insists it is a misnomer when applied to decadentists, mystics, and symbolists: "El nombre modernistas les está mal aplicado" [The name modernist is incorrectly applied to them] (231). More appropriately, they are traditionalists, Catholics, and atavists.

The emphasis on action, energy, vitality, and other affirmative values appears constantly in proponents of modernism in *Gente Vieja*, *Alma Española*, *La Lectura* and Manuel Ugarte's 1908 study. The link between antipessimism and new forms, new themes, and a new interest in aesthetics also surfaces in an author not normally associated with modernism and certainly not with a formalist modernism, but who early critics include as a contributor to modernist journals and name as a member of the group. The lead article of the first issue of *Alma Española*, entitled "Soñemos, alma, soñemos" is authored by Benito Pérez

Galdós, more typically identified with realism and his own brand of naturalism. In this essay, however, a regenerationist spirit combines with a call for national introspection. As in the Altamira essay, the speaker calls for a dual relationship with the past, respect for admirable aspects of tradition and rejection of asceticism, self-flagellation, and religious and social traditions that encourage passivity or abnegation. Of even greater interest, the text urges the creation of a new landscape, through technological irrigation and spiritual/artistic redefinition. The echoes of Joaquín Costa's demands for a new national water policy combine with a modernist insistence on the importance of beauty: "Preciso es desecantar el viejo terreno, dándole con las aguas corrientes, la frescura, amenidad y alegría de la juventud: preciso es vivificar la tierra, dándole sangre y alma y vistiéndole de las naturales galas de la agricultura" [It is necessary to set the old land free, giving it freshness, grace, and youthful joy with running water: it is necessary to revivify the earth, giving it blood and soul and dressing it with the natural fineries of agriculture] (1903, 1-2). The combination of a practical, technical lexicon with a poetic vocabulary reveals the confluence of these two modernist impulses, both placed in the service of an activist agenda and a rejection of pessimism and abulia.²⁸ Cultivation of an optimistic energy that fosters a desire to live and look forward surfaces repeatedly in Gregorio Martínez Sierra, whose essay "De cómo el arte en esta tierra no acierta a reír" represents a continuation of Galdós's calls for grace and joy. Martínez Sierra criticizes the heavy satires typically published in the journal *Gerónimo* and complains that Spaniards, unlike the British and Germans, don't know how to laugh. He argues that laughter expands the heart, duplicating the language of Pompeyo Giner's previously cited prologue to *Leyendas de amor* and further suggests that laughter may well provide the national pedagogy so necessary to transform the country: "Tal vez riendo se nos ensanche el corazón, tal vez pensemos, merced a la risa, que la vida es hermosa, y tal vez caigamos en la cuenta de que para vivirla hay que desahogarse. . . . Acaso el buen humor de que tan necesidades andamos, sea la gran pedagogía nacional." [Perhaps laughing will expand our hearts, perhaps, thanks to laughter, we will think that life is beautiful and perhaps we will realize that in order to live it we have to shake off our laziness. . . . Maybe the good humor that we need so terribly is the great national pedagogy] (1903a, 312).

10. Modernism Is Syncretic, Purposely Promoting the Coexistence of Opposites

Early writers on modernism posit a definition that embraces the simultaneous presence of elements traditionally viewed as oppositional and mutually exclusive. Rather than construe this as a confusion as to the "true" nature of modernism, as some subsequent critics have asserted, it constitutes a persistent rejection of the dichotomous thinking that modernists associate with Restoration culture. Deleito y Piñuelo characterizes the movement as the harmonization of opposites, the ideal and real, the trivial and exalted, faith and doubt, hope and despair, dawn and dusk, decadence and vitality, sentimentalism and cruelty, irony and candor (1902, 1-2). Antonio de Monasterio specifically attacks a bipolar vision of art that opposes Christian and pagan or romantic and classical and characterizes modernism as a fusion of different genres (1903, 5-7). The perception of modernism by its original proponents as a syncretic movement explains the tolerance within early modernist journals of writers of many different literary and political orientations. It also accounts for resistance to efforts to homogenize and limit the complexity of the diverse writers, schools, and tendencies. The easy acceptance of hybrid products and the advocacy of concepts that defy traditional hierarchies and dichotomies provoke the ire of early opponents to modernism and continue to unsettle critics who desire a return to clear, definable categories. Early antagonists target such perceived excesses as extravagant language, bizarre characters, outrageous plots, or the lack of support for the military, but some of their most virulent attacks address the breakdown of traditional borders, whether political, geographic, sexual, literary, or linguistic.

The defense of Castilian Spanish from foreign contacts and opposition to Basques and Catalans who seek to authorize the use of their languages informs a good deal of anti-modernist literature. In an attempt to validate Castilian over other national languages, the Jesuit, Juan Mir y Noguera, formulates a curious linguistic history in which Castilian, like Basque and unlike Catalan, predates Latin. He criticizes the Royal Academy and writers of the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries who have contaminated Spanish with lexical and syntactic corruptions of French origin but in his view, the worst "galiparla" of all is modernism (1908, cxv). The satirical journal *Gedeón* contains many examples of linguistic nationalism. One vignette describes

a frustrated visit to Andalusia by the Catalan Santiago Rusiñol, who wants to participate in a traditional Andalusian *juerga*, but meets with rejection by the locals, who take him for a foreigner. The narrator approves and embellishes, with a comment that equates Catalanian and modernist with outsider: "Y tenían razón los andaluces: todo esto del modernismo yo no sé lo que será, pero a español no me huele" [And the Andalusians were right: all this modernism stuff, I don't know what it means, but it sure doesn't smell Spanish] ("De Ojeo," 1897). Antonio Balbín de Unquera finds particularly distasteful the image of Spain as mosaic, and attacks attempts to revivify the Basque language (1901, 8). Within the Spanish language, antimodernist voices oppose the incorporation of words and expressions from Latin America. Fray Candil (Emilio Bobadilla) explodes in indignation at the belief that Castilian needs renovating in order to meet the challenges posed by modernity and attacks those from the other side of the ocean who seek to impose "ese guiriguay galo argentino" [that Galo Argentinian gibberish] (1903, 10). The transnational, trans-linguistic character of Castilian modernism, with influences from France, Latin America, and Catalonia, proves extremely threatening to those who envision a unitary, centrist, xenophobic national identity. The old polarities—Castile versus France, empire versus and over colonies, center versus and over periphery—must be defended against those who seek to establish contacts and communication across these borders. Curiously, the accusations launched by the original opponents of modernism have been assimilated by later critics and used against modernist writers themselves.

Modernism also provokes rebukes for violating gender and genre divisions. The new women's clothing styles, with straight lines and layers that minimize feminine contours, generates derision in Juan García-Goyena (1901, 641-48) and José Jackson-Veyán lampoons the breakdown of traditional gender roles in a long satiric poem:

La moda con sus patrones
nos convierte en mamarrachos,
¡Parecen hembras los machos,
Y las mujeres, varones!
A la esposa, débil ser,
no presta ayuda el marido.
¡Hoy va el esposo cogido
del brazo de su mujer!
Si al mal no ponemos tasa

la ruina será completa,
y pronto haremos calceta
los caballeros en casa.
. . . Bueno que quieran borrar
usos, costumbres y nombres;
Pero dejar de ser hombres ¿ . . . ?
¡¡Hombre, eso es mucho dejar!!

(Jackson-Veyán, 1900)

[Fashion with her dictates
is making a real mess,
Men now seem like women
And women seem like men!
Husbands no longer help
their no longer fragile mates,
Today the husband walks
protected by his wife!
If we don't stop this soon,
the fall will be complete,
and shortly we men will be
left knitting in the home.
. . . Fine that they want to erase
habits, customs, and names:
But to stop being a man?
Brother, that's a lot to give up !!]

Vicente Colorado's poem introduces accusations of homosexuality, sex changes, and altars to Sodom (1903, 7). Many texts ridicule innovations in literary and artistic taste. Jackson-Veyán mocks the abolition of action and plot complications in narrative and theater and the replacement of the paintbrush by subjective impression. The crossing of music and poetry produces outrage in Francisco Vidal y Careta, who also attacks the presence of prose in contemporary drama. It is worth noting that Vidal y Careta associates such artistic license with an absence of civilization, as could only occur in the heart of Africa, thus connecting opposition to modernism with Eurocentric traditions and empire building. Like Jackson-Veyán, he detests the use of the impressionist short brush stroke and nostalgically invokes the delicate drawing technique and purity of line of earlier movements (1902, 7-8).

The horror of the abolition of the line or border that separates one object from another resurfaces in multiple texts that oppose modernism, in the context of visual arts or with reference to philosophy, language, gender, and other categories. It relates to the strong belief of anti-modernists in one universal truth, a sin-

gle concept of beauty or virtue. Antonio de Valmala exemplifies this stance and reveals its complicity with an imperialist, racist, and sexist ideology. *Los voceros del modernismo* (1908) is his second attack on the new movement, following his earlier *Ripios colombianos* (1906), a title that exposes his anti-Latin American bias with the multiple denotations of *ripios* as material garbage and empty verbiage. Throughout his study, Valmala identifies the place of origin of each modernist he refutes, emphasizing their non-Castilian roots: Unamuno is Basque, Gómez Carrillo is Guatemalan, resides in Paris, and publishes his *Nuevo Mercurio* in Barcelona, Manuel Ugarte is Argentinean. Valmala dismisses Latin American writers as overly passionate, rhetorical, and sexual ("sicalípticos"), invoking the eroticization of the other that characterizes historical visions of indigenous Africans and Americans. He also echoes many previous writers in his treatment of Emilia Pardo Bazán, claiming to respect her right to speak on modernism, but warning her of the danger a woman of her stature risks in entering into discussions of risqué topics. Valmala surpasses his predecessors with a not-so-subtle reference to the perils of rape facing a woman who consorts with indecent company: ". . . siempre es peligroso para una dama aventurar especies en un asunto tan shocking de suyo, y muy expuesto por ende a que los chicos nuevos las fuerzan a sus antojos y caprichos" [. . . it is always dangerous for a lady to venture opinions in matters that are in and of themselves so shocking, and very exposed, therefore, to the possibility that the new boys force them at their whim and fancy] (1908, 7). The ambiguous use of the object pronoun "las," which can refer to opinions as well as to a pluralized "ladies," indirectly invokes the specter of rape as an instrument of control of women and their bodies. Valmala specifically refutes Pardo Bazán's contention that humanity and its perception of beauty changes over time. He insists it always and everywhere remains the same, in Spain or Peru, and delivers a long panegyric of the classical Spanish language as noble, chivalrous, virile, the language of hymns and odes, warriors and conquerors, and finally, the most appropriate language in which to address God (99). Valmala consistently situates modernism and its proponents outside and in opposition to essentialized, eternal Spanish (i.e., Castilian) qualities and values, which include conquest, masculinity, and religion at the top of the hierarchy.

Anti-modernist shock and horror surfaces often in the face of the proponents' advocacy of multiple, concurrent visions of

beauty, truth, and virtue. Emilio Ferrari, in his acceptance speech to the Spanish Royal Academy in 1905, once more denounces the threat of multiple, competing voices to artistic and social harmony. Opposition to a pluralist, syncretic vision of modernism also inserts itself in the critical literature that develops in the twenties and later. The division of the literature of the period into two discrete movements, a brief and escapist modernism in contrast to a more authentically Spanish, profound, masculine "Generation of 1898," bears a much closer relation to the dichotomous thinking of the early opponents of modernism than to those who wrote in its favor during the 1890s and 1900s. The shift from an earlier inclusive, dialogic discussion of modernism to a subsequent closed and limiting definition that strives to wall out contact with the other deviates fundamentally from the original orientation. The same open and fluid definition continues in the studies by Manuel Machado and Azorín that appear in published form in 1913. Critics have read Machado's "La guerra literaria" as the foundational text of the tradition that equates modernism with formalism, ahistoricism, and escapism²⁹ and have attacked Azorín's articles as the invention of the myth of the "Generation of 1898," a separate inward-looking, Spanish literary movement that stands in opposition to modernism.³⁰ Scholars have impugned both writers with ignoble, self-serving motivations, accusing them of trying to distance themselves from youthful radicalism and redefine their early writings to conform with current conservative social and political positions and aspirations. However, both texts carry forward the vision presented in earlier definitions of the period, with emphasis on attributes that have considerable importance to the present study.

Manuel Machado and Azorín: The Continuation of a New Tradition

Manuel Machado's "La guerra literaria" opens with an affirmation of discontinuous subjectivity that anticipates contemporary definitions of the self. The speaker compares life to an unstructured, unbound book as contrasted with a well-planned novel and states that the essence of his character lies in its mutability and propensity for contradiction (1981, 93-95). He also boasts of his use of gallicisms and refusal to accept a purist vision of language. The text identifies the appearance of a new group of writers that surfaced on the heels of the Spanish American War and that initially sought to demolish old forms and ideas by means of

concepts and literary currents brought from Europe via Latin America. The new poetics attempted to shake the public from their complaisant acceptance of traditional sounds, ideas, and habits. The text speaker refers to Alejandro Sawa, Benavente, Valle-Inclán, Rubén Darío, Baroja, Azorín, Juan Ramón Jiménez, José Ortega y Gasset, Santiago Rusiñol, and Unamuno as the leading modernist writers and emphasizes a generalized transformation of the cultural landscape from poetry to novel, criticism to painting and philosophy. This vision of modernism clearly extends beyond a purely formalist definition and the range of authors included evidently continues earlier definitions rather than preludes later divisions into modernist versus "Generation of 1898" writers. Attention then shifts to modernist poetry, defined in this instance as a purely formal revolution that touches both external and internal art forms. With respect to content, anarchy prevailed. Modernism is not a school but rather, through its insistence on individual freedom, the end of all schools. It introduces new modes of perception and then disappears as a movement as individual poets establish their own personalities and their own voices.

"La guerra literaria" opens with harsh criticism of liberals and Republicans and closes with derisive comments on the ruling parties and political opposition. These statements, in conjunction with the definition of modernist poetry as a purely formal revolution, have led critics to characterize the text, and in particular the section "Los poetas de hoy," as Manuel Machado's repudiation of socio-political transgression in favor of a conservative ideology designed to curry official favor on the eve of his marriage. However, many of the ideas expressed in "La guerra literaria" appear previously in Machado's response to *El Nuevo Mercurio's* 1907 survey on the meaning of modernism (337-40), and consequently bear no relation to aspirations for a job or social acceptance on the occasion of his wedding some three years later. Furthermore, the 1907 study and its reworking in the 1913 "La guerra literaria" reiterate earlier definitions of modernism that merit further attention and commentary. The exaltation of personal mutability may represent, on the one hand, a justification of a shift towards a more conservative position (Celma Valera and Blasco Pascual, 1981, 34), but also continues early modernist emphasis on a syncretic selfhood. The condemnation of liberals and Republicans may confirm a political turn to the right, but simultaneously restates long-standing disgust with Restoration politics, electoral corruption, and the arranged exchange of

he probably had Semitic blood and if not, then he still manifested Semitic characteristics. The rhythm of affirmation followed by expressions of doubt or subverting qualifiers frustrates attempts to construct a coherent racial theory.

In part 4 of the novel, Iturriz and Hurtado argue the relative merits of diverse philosophical systems. Iturriz continues to praise British culture, maintaining consistency with his role in *La ciudad de la niebla*, while Hurtado defends German thought. Andrés tends toward abstraction and Kantian idealism, finding consolation in the idea that the world ends with us and that time and space do not exist outside of individual consciousness. Iturriz wants a more empirical solution and dismisses his nephew's ideas as pure fantasy. Not surprisingly, Andrés associates German philosophy with the Aryan race and argues that northern, Aryan models will prevail in the future. Iturriz's correlation of race and philosophical system follows a more circuitous path. He links pragmatism to Semitic thought and believes that traditional Semitic predominance will continue. Iturriz incorporates Jewish, Christian, and Muslim peoples under the Semitic rubric and, unlike many contemporaries who link Greek to German and Aryan culture, he associates it with the Semites. The famous discussion of the tree of life and knowledge of the novel's title associates Aryans with science and Greeks and Semites with life. The former sought knowledge even if it brought pessimism and despair, whereas the Greco-Semitic tradition consistently chooses life, optimism, opportunism over knowledge.

The shifting terms of the debate, from Iberian versus Semitic to British versus German to Aryan versus Semitic, take another turn when Iturriz, the defender of British and Semitic pragmatism, suggests as a possible answer to the contemporary malaise a new international organization modeled after Ignatius of Loyola's Jesuit order. This vaguely defined organization would allow only Iberians, with the exclusion of the Semitic-Christian spirit that Iturriz previously championed. A final crossing of positions occurs in the discussion regarding procreation. Iturriz, the erstwhile defender of the tree of life and Semitic traditions, adopts an antivitalist position, arguing that the mere possibility of producing an unhealthy child should suffice to dissuade potential parents. Andrés, the normally dispassionate observer and abstract thinker who privileges the tree of knowledge, argues that unhealthy parents often produce normal children. His desire to marry Lulú and enter the rhythm of life leads him to abandon his former stance. Andrés and Iturriz recognize their

inconsistency and comment on their shift of positions: "Me choca en un antiintelectualista como usted esa actitud tan de intelectual—dijo Andrés. —A mí también me choca en un intelectual como tú esa actitud de hombre de mundo" [Such an intellectual attitude in an anti-intellectual like you surprises me—Andrés said. —The man of the world attitude in an intellectual like you also surprises me] (1968?, 562).

The changing positions and terms of the discussion also characterize discussions of race in *El mundo es así*. Once again, consideration of the topic unfolds by way of extended dialogue between two characters with different views. In conversation with Sacha Velasco, Arcelu cites articles published by Iturriz that theorize two ethnic and moral Spanish types, the Iberian and Semitic. Sacha responds to Ignacio's theories with bemused skepticism, pointing out the contradictions in his argument. Ignacio moves arbitrarily from one set of terms to another. From attacks on the Semitic Spanish character he changes to a dismissal of all Mediterranean peoples, introducing yet another theory posited by an unnamed anthropologist who divides European peoples into two castes: the Alpine, descendants from the gorilla, and the Mediterranean, originating in the chimpanzee. The mixing and sliding of terms as well as the comical exaggeration of nineteenth-century anthropological and racial categories in conjunction with Sacha's repeated incredulity confound attempts to construct a consistent theory of race in this or other Barojan texts. Presented through Sacha's mediation as she transcribes her experiences in her diary, Arcelu's theories receive a final ironic classification as amusing pastimes (1967, 448).

Throughout Barojan narratives, the reader encounters opposing views on European ethnic and racial categories that undergo continual transformation and exaggeration, sometimes within a given text and single character. The theories consistently appear in a dialogic structure with characters mutually invalidating the other's point of view. The shifting terms of the debate and the transformation of such culturally accepted classifications as Iberian and Semitic or German and Latin to the more questionable Alpine versus Mediterranean and finally, the absurd gorilla versus chimpanzee, not only suggests inconclusive, unresolvable differences of opinion, but also delegitimizes the entire question as arbitrary and subjective.³⁸ The repudiation of absolute or relatively stable European racial types denies the uniqueness of Europeans and by implication, rejects claims to European superiority. Baroja's criticism of European imperialism and the

imposition of European institutions in Africa and his general skepticism regarding grand narratives and absolute answers lead him to view Europe as both a promise and a threat, a necessary ally in the modernization of Spain and a danger to her future development. In his essays as in his novels, the speaker and authorial presence behind the voice refuse to adopt a stable position. "Europeización" (1917) rejects traditionalist desires to isolate Spain from European currents, but also refuses calls for wholesale adoption of European culture. In science and areas of philosophy that deal with universal truths, Spain should enthusiastically embark on a program of modernization and assimilation, but in art and ethics, she should develop her own directions. Once again, the negative model of French, British, Dutch, Belgian, and North American colonial abuses inspires a desire to stake out a new ethical terrain (1946-48, 5:96-98). This future Spain will link up not with Europe but Africa. "El tipo psicológico español" (1917) posits this future alliance as does *César o nada*, in which César happily accepts the Dumas dictum that Europe begins at the Pyrenees and advocates a new ideological empire by which Spain may spread a vision that contrasts with the European model (1967, 158). Whether the individual reader takes César's aspirations for a Spanish-African transnational entity seriously or not, the identification of Spain with Africa in opposition to Eurocentrism reappears often in Baroja, notwithstanding his ostensibly racist attitudes. Not only does he seek to open Spain to European culture but also to open European culture to various outsiders who offer alternative visions and values. *Juventud, egolatría* (1917) articulates this view:

Yo, a veces, creo que los Alpes y los Pirineos son lo único europeo que hay en Europa. Por encima de ellos me parece ver el Asia; por abajo, el Africa.

En el navarro ribereño, como en el catalán y como en el genovés, se empieza a notar el africano; en el galo del centro de Francia, como en el austríaco, comienza a aparecer el chino.

Yo, agarrado a los Pirineos y con un injerto de los Alpes, me siento archieuropeo. (OC 5:159)

[At times, I think that the Alps and the Pyrenees are the only European property that exists in Europe.

In the coastal Navarrese as in the Catalan and the Genoese, one begins to see the African; in the Gaul in central France, as in the Austrian, the Chinese begins to appear.

Clinging to the Pyrenees with an Alpine graft, I feel super-European.]

The association of Basque, Navarrese, and Genoese peoples with Africa breaks with traditional efforts to depict northern Spain and Italy as pure and untouched by the Moorish-African contacts that marked the Southern areas of these countries. The linking of Northern Europe with Asia similarly breaks down continental borders and redefines Europe as a heterogeneous culture with integral connections to what traditional Spanish and European writers and Ortega y Gasset aspire to construct as alien and external. The defense of African and Asian civilizations as equal or superior to European culture occurs throughout Spanish modernist writing in connection with the rejection of racial theories and imperialism. Rafael Altamira forcefully rejects claims of European superiority over African and Asian cultures as unscientific rubbish (1976, 53) in 1902, and decries the use of flimsy suppositions regarding race to whip up patriotic fervor during World War I (1917, 32). Pompeyo Gener at times reveals a strongly Eurocentric, racist attitude that links Catalonia with a superior Aryan, northern European sector. However, in *Historia de la literatura* he persistently signals the confluence of East and West in the development of European literature and argues the superiority of Asian culture over backward, medieval Europe. In contrast with those who begrudgingly recognize past Asian grandeur but deny continued importance in the contemporary period, the text speaker stresses that Asian culture remains strong through the modern period, as evident in the vigor of contemporary Japan. Gener emphasizes the Omayyad and Abbasid dynasties that ruled Baghdad and Córdoba and points to their cultivation of science and art in contrast to religious fanatics within both Muslim and Christian medieval worlds (1902a, 254-55). Although he praises Aryan cultures, in which he includes Germanic, Greek, Celtic, and other northern European peoples, he clearly seeks to validate Semitic civilizations, such as the Egyptian and Arabic. Writing in *Helios*, Angel Guerra imagines the future return of Arab culture as a welcome response to a decadent Spain and his fantasy of rebuilt mosques openly impugn traditional Catholicism as a cause of national decline ("Fuera de España: Retazos").

Probably the most famous proponent of Spanish national regeneration through renewed links with Africa is Miguel de Una-

ful young woman who lives near the tracks and a second later she disappears from their consciousness (16). Significantly, this observation follows comments on the role of the modern writer in producing a progressive spirit in the reading public. The rapidity of time and quick succession of images relates to a hoped for social transformation. The Martínez Sierras' poem "La linterna mágica," from the collection *La corte de los poetas* (1907), describes early film projection and the succession of images that cascade before a rapt children's audience: Little Red Ridinghood, a clown, battling horsemen, Pierrot and Columбина, a princess who turns into a butterfly to escape a monster, and more. The poem contrasts the construction of multiple imaginary worlds that rapidly supersede each other with the cold, unchanging luminous circle that shines on the white background at the beginning and end of the performance, positively valorizing speed and change in contrast with dull stability and single perspective.

Manuel Machado's *Apolo. Teatro pictórico* (1911) offers an adult variant of the magic lantern, leading the reader through a world tour of art museums. A series of sonnets describes Botticelli's *Allegory of Spring* of the Uffizzi Gallery, Leonardo da Vinci's *Monna Lisa* of the Louvre, Titian's *Carlos V* of the Prado, among many others. The collection reflects a modern experience of travel, with the quick tour through various galleries, and also the new perception of time as discontinuous, memory as fallacious, and history as amenable to revision. The individual poems follow a rough chronology, but arbitrarily break the order in placing Rembrandt (1606–1669) and Zurbarán (1598–1663?) before El Greco (1541–1614). The allusion to Rembrandt's *Anatomy Lesson* does not clarify whether it refers to *The Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp* of 1632 or the 1656 *Anatomical Lesson of Dr. Joan Deyman* and could well be a composite of the two paintings, an intrahistorical reconstruction of the underlying features rather than the specific dates, locations, and surface details. Persin (1997, 36), among others, has pointed out Manuel Machado's tendency to meld details from different paintings or simply invent a detail that appears in no known model in his ekphrastic recreations. The sonnet "La infanta Margarita" also exemplifies this trait (1922, 2:93–94). Velázquez's name appears above the title, clearly situating the reader before his painting of the Hapsburg princess, but not indicating whether it is the 1653 portrait of the two-year-old princess or the 1655–56 painting of a slightly older *infanta*, both of which hang in the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum, or the portrait of the same period

that hangs in the Louvre. Other contenders include the famous grouping of the princess and her maids of honor of the 1656 *Las meninas* on display in the Prado of Madrid, the 1659 painting of the adolescent princess of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, or the Prado portrait of the princess standing alone and holding a transparent handkerchief, dating from Velázquez's last years and completed by his disciple and son-in-law Martínez del Mazo.

The mention in the first quartet of underskirt staves that seem to imprison the pale princess rule out the early portrait of the two year old and the depiction of the rich handkerchief of the second quartet would seem to point to the Velázquez-del Mazo Prado portrait, but reference to a small pink bow that only barely pins back her blonde hair remits the reader to either the 1655–56 portrait of the Kunsthistorisches Museum or to *Las meninas*, in both of which the *infanta* is painted with a small, pink hair bow. In contrast, the Velázquez-del Mazo portrait of a more mature princess has a large reddish hair ornament that holds her hair more definitively in a stylized coiffure. Machado's sonnet, like the Velázquez-del Mazo portrait, represents a collaborative effort that rejects the tyranny of history, the authority of the master, and the obsession with an unchanging truth and chooses instead to create a synthesis that joins the scattered remnants of the *infanta's* life, her portraits at distinct ages now housed in museums throughout Europe, into a new and not necessarily permanent version.² This playful representation of the old masters in the pictorial theater of *Apolo* undermines the auratic quality of art in favor of an irreverent stance that welcomes the trappings of modernity, a more public access to art across geographical and national borders, and the transgressive possibilities that this allows. "La canción del presente" from *El mal poema* (1909) reiterates the exaltation of the present and abjures the search for a lasting, universal truth. This is not the traditional *carpe diem*, but rather a modern version, in which hatred and love succeed each other in a vertiginous and continual swirl: "... siempre dura poco / lo que quiero y lo que no ..." [... what I want and what I don't want / never lasts long ...] (1923, 4:31). The use of ellipsis, a signature device in Manuel Machado's poetry, signals the expectation and acceptance of a change that rewrites, reverses, or erases the present affirmation and allows for a non-causal, non-progressive link between one moment and its successor.

Pío Baroja shares in this exultation of change and impermanence, which marks his first novel and continues throughout his

works with changing emphasis and inflection, but invariable presence. *Las aventuras, inventos y mixtificaciones de Silvestre Paradox* (1901) presents the story of the eccentric Silvestre Paradox, whose name invokes modernist attributes of freedom, independence, and contradiction. An eminently modern anti-hero, the middle-aged Silvestre, unmarried and always on the verge of economic disaster, has traveled the world, growing up in northern Spain and then tracing a nomadic trail through Paris, Egypt, Russia, and finally Madrid. The novel includes constant references to modernity: the telegraph, Salvation Army, Zulu war, Livingstone's African exploration, trains, sewing machines, and a concurrent interest in science and occultism. The mix of disparate values and interests in combination with the speed with which they succeed each other and with which Silvestre moves geographically and philosophically through diverse zones lead him to believe that each day is a new life (1946-48, 2:39). The novel echoes Silvestre's peripatetic and rapid movements, interrupting stories to pursue a tangential narrative, introducing characters and then abandoning them without explanation, or decelerating the brisk pace with intervals of stasis. In consonance with Manuel Machado's celebration of the moment and emotional mutability, Silvestre shifts rapidly from anger to benevolence, animosity to acceptance. After his servant Pelayo points out the moral depravity that characterizes bohemian Madrid, Silvestre explodes in fury, but when he reaches home, his anger turns to irony and singing happily, he lies down and falls asleep (111). The same emotional reversal occurs in his relationship with Juan Pérez del Corral, whose antics amuse and also annoy Silvestre, but whose request for assistance when ill awakens a compassion and generosity normally reserved for close friends. With the speed that characterizes modern life and introduces possibilities for rapid personal and social change, Silvestre recovers from indignation at the social disregard for Pérez del Corral's death and also at his servant's robbery of his money and valuables. In the novel's final paragraphs, he and his partner depart to build an electric factory near Valencia and as they leave Madrid, they lean out the train window to shout their enthusiasm for yet another new project (150). The train and electric factory both invoke modernity, which advances hand in hand with a rapid succession of emotions, a continual recovery of the joy of the present, and the possibilities for becoming other than convention and tradition dictate.

The prologue to *La dama errante* (1908) includes an autobio-

graphical statement in which Baroja self-identifies as more Dionysian than Apollonian, a lover of action and drama. Toward the end of the prefatory comments, he links this characterization with a modern preference for the ephemeral: "Somos los hombres del día gentes enamoradas del momento que pasa, de lo fugaz, de lo transitorio, y la perdurabilidad o no de nuestra obra nos preocupa poco, tan poco, que casi no nos preocupa nada" [We individuals of today are enamored of the passing, fleeting, and transitory moment, and the durability or lack of durability of our work concerns us little, so little, that it hardly concerns us at all] (1946-48, 2:232). In a visual metaphor that links with Manuel Machado's rejection of the old masters, the Barojan speaker states that his text does not seek to paint a picture for exhibition in museums, but rather a less authoritative, more transient impressionist cloth. The narrative action of *La dama errante* reflects the valorization of the ephemeral. Based on the anarchist bombing of the wedding procession of Alfonso XIII and Victoria Eugenia of Battenberg, it unfolds with ample use of newspaper reportage to increase the sense of rapid access to and disappearance from the public eye that occurs in contemporary culture. In a subtle enactment of the short-lived public memory, the text never names the king or his bride and the anarchist Morral becomes Nilo Brull. In the prologue, the Barojan speaker states that Brull is a composite of a variety of anarchist figures, further erasing the identity of this momentarily (in)famous figure. The premise that in the modern world the central figures of today's headlines will shortly recede into oblivion structures the narrative plot. Brull's casual contact with Dr. Enrique Aracil casts suspicion on the latter's involvement in the attack and as a result, he and his daughter María must flee Madrid and Spain until the notoriety subsides. The sense of a rapidly receding past and consistent change marks the text. Iturriz, the ubiquitous commentator of Barojan novels, remarks on recent transformations that separate modern Madrid from the city of his youth and have affected both such superficial aspects as the removal of gambling houses and more substantive features, as the shift toward a generalized skepticism. Iturriz believes a skeptical rejection of the status quo may well result in significant changes in the constitution of the nation and its future course (263).

As María and her father travel through the countryside, an accelerated modern temporality enters into contact with traditional rhythms. Rural life exhibits several different experiences of time: an unchanging tradition, a slow but perceptible variation

of established patterns, and the intrusion of a modern, rapid pace. Horse-drawn carriages carrying villagers to neighboring festivals, gypsy groups on mangy mules, and families consisting only of women left behind when the men emigrate to America reflect a world in which time leaves no apparent trace. The old woman who owns an inn where the Aracils spend a night enunciates a vision of life as unremitting suffering that invokes medieval asceticism (1946–48, 2:292). An aged farmer speaks with a vocabulary and syntax so unfamiliar to the modern ear that María and her father keep asking him questions to try to better understand his language (291). However, evidence of more modern contacts surfaces even in the decrepit country inn, where a lithograph depicts the death in 1813 of the Polish nationalist hero Józef Antoni Poniatowski. References to the nineteenth-century program of auctioning church and communal lands and its negative effects on rural populations reveal that the poverty of the countryside is not rooted in some temporally distant event, but has more recent causes. As in Azorín, the “intrahistorical” past has its own internal history and changes over time.

María and other characters comment on the intersection of these distinct experiences of temporality. After observing a rustic celebration in a country hermitage and the toothless, hairy, rural participants, María and a more educated farmer remark that they feel they are living in the Bronze Age. María finds it hard to believe that trains, telegraph lines, and electric lights exist nearby (1946–48, 2:306). In this mix of temporal rhythms, many different stories and modes of narrating are possible. No single narrative sequence issues inevitably from the preceding events; rather, a variety of endings prove equally plausible. Iturrioz, the reporter Tom Gray, and María's cousin Venancio try to imagine the various options available to María and her father as they flee the country and they construct different hypothetical narratives according to whether the Aracils left by train, automobile, horse, or on foot. The present moment contains a range of possibilities that contrast with predictable, unchanging narratives of the past. The thrill of modernity and possibilities for change rapidly displace María's memories of her voyage through the Spanish countryside. On the train and then the ocean liner that takes her to London, she senses the power of civilization and looks forward to this new phase of her life. While María's father feels exhausted by the voyage and unable to energetically look to the future, María manifests a youthful optimism and excitement at the possibilities that await her.

La ciudad de la niebla (1909) narrates María's attempts to establish herself as a modern working woman in London. Typically modernist in the rejection of monolithic views of reality, Baroja mutes the optimism of the final pages of the preceding novel with a multi-perspectivist vision. The challenges of life as a single working woman in London overwhelm María and she ultimately determines to return to Madrid and marry Venancio. However, her reconnection with the past does not imply reentry into the unchanging zone of traditional time but rather, a resumption of a more slowly but still evolving temporality in which she retains a relation of similarity and difference with the past. In London, she meets women of many nationalities who succeed in a more complete break with the past and in creating an altered selfhood and modern life for themselves. Her own marriage, which the text describes in a brief final chapter entitled “Epílogo feliz, casi triste” [Happy, almost sad, epilogue], joins her with an unconventional man who provides his daughters with a scientific education free from the constraints of traditional religious, female schooling. In the next to last chapter, the narrator introduces yet one more indication of faith in the inevitability of change in a modern conception of humanity. Intercalated in a chapter entitled “Raza cansada” [Tired race], the section called “Renacimiento de la esperanza” [Renaissance of hope] describes the perpetual turning of the coin from despair to hope, apathy to activity, tradition to change, similarity to alterity (1946–48, 2:441).

The belief in the persistence of change connects with another modern feature of Barojan considerations of temporality and evolution. Both *César o nada* and *El árbol de la ciencia* make reference to theories of evolution that support an organism's capacity for rapid change. César cites experiments by Hugo de Vries that demonstrate rapid, drastic change in certain vegetable species and he refers to the neoDarwinist contention that species do not evolve gradually, but rather suddenly and with permanent, beneficial results (1967, 244–45).³ This scientific principle confirms César's belief in action and movement as the essence of life and underpins his commitment to social change (42–44). Andrés Hurtado in *El árbol de la ciencia* refers to Haeckel and his theory that each embryo retraces the entire evolutionary history of the species. Haeckel's views presume the rapid change of an organism, which maps evolutionary changes as they occur and reproduces them in the embryonic form of the next generation. César's discussion of this concept unfolds in dialogue with his friend

Alzugaray, just as Andrés's occur in conversation with his uncle Iturriz. In both cases, affirmation of possibilities for rapid change meets with challenges from the respective interlocutors and faces assertions of the immutability or painfully slow transformation of biological and social organization. The presence of this opposition does not refute the profession of belief in swift social change but rather, alternates with it in the rapid succession of multiple and contradictory tenets that coexist in modernism.

Neither María Aracil's personal retreat from the struggle for individual and collective change nor that of César Moncada or Andrés Hurtado represent a permanent, unchangeable concession to stasis. In each case, the text leaves open the possibility for some future recuperation of the initial energies: the discussion of the perpetual renewal of hope in the final pages of *La ciudad de la niebla*, the indeterminate ending of *César o nada*, with no definitive indication of whether the protagonist has been assassinated, and the doctor's comment in the closing lines of *El árbol de la ciencia* that despite Andrés's suicide, he somehow represents a harbinger of things to come (1968?, 398). The rapidity with which Barojan texts switch from a defense of change to lamentations of stagnation and then back to energetic declarations of a belief in the dynamic essence of life in itself represents a thoroughly modern understanding of the impermanence and profound relativism of truth statements. Change constitutes a fundamental feature of modernity and studies of the period that focus exclusively on stasis or view these writers as retreating into a nostalgic evocation of the past ignore and ultimately silence a significant and productive aspect of their work. The acceptance of rapid change accompanies an increasing emphasis on chance over causality, temporal jumps over succession, alterity over similarity, and a growing sense of liberation from such seemingly inescapable cycles as day and night, the seasons of the year, and the biological clock.

MULTIPLE CLOCKS:

DAYS, SEASONS, AGES, AND LIGHT YEARS

Stephen Kern describes the imposition of standard time and the 1884 establishment of Greenwich Mean Time as a response to the introduction of rail travel and the need for a uniform gauge to create meaningful schedules and facilitate movement across long

distances. Prior to that date, Germany had five different time zones and a traveler from Washington to San Francisco had to reset his watch over two hundred times during the course of the trip (1983, 12). Ironically, the move to standardize time called attention to the arbitrary nature of its measure and other technological advances further underscored the subjective nature of traditional methods for designating temporality. Such seemingly objective standards as day and night proved less and less stable as electric lighting supplanted a setting sun and extended working hours well beyond traditional quitting time. The need for clocks grows precisely because human activity no longer depends on solar time and schedules are increasingly variable. Advances in psychology bring a consciousness that chronological and psychological age do not always coincide and the increasing emphasis on childhood in the formation of the adult inspires new interest in the different phases of life. Bergson's theorization of time as becoming and belief that memories of the past must be brought together in a complex network in order to "create" the present and future (1911a, 211) not only highlights a dynamic relationship between past, present, and future, but also posits the remembered past as a unit, a synchronic web that carries forward feelings and thoughts of previous periods of life to link them with the present and future. Connections between past and present no longer take a linear form, but rather that of a tangle of threads that join with other intermeshed bundles of memories without regard to temporal continuity. In a different vein, the 1881 Michelson-Morley experiment establishes a constant velocity for light, irrespective of the medium through which it passes, and other probings into light and its travel across space allow for heady new speculations about the relative time of light's emission in comparison with its reception at a given location. Einstein's theory of relativity adds further fuel to a sense of multiple clocks and to the repudiation of traditional conceptions of time as always and everywhere the same. The common thread that unites these diverse areas consists in the growing recognition that the experience of time varies considerably according to location in space, psychological state, and relations between self and other(s). The acceptance of multiple clocks produces responses ranging from anxiety to excitement, hope to fear, often coexisting within the same writer.

The disjunction between solar and personal, stellar and terrestrial times receives early treatment in Spanish modernism. Many artists find liberation from centuries of dependance on the

sun's rotation an exciting contribution to a general sense that time-honored rules no longer hold sway. Benavente marvels in his poem "La tienda de flores" at the presence of tropical plants and exotic vegetation in a Madrid florist and stops to see spring flower in mid-winter, thanks to advances in hot house techniques. Baroja signals both the drawbacks and possibilities of the disjunction between solar and social time in his trilogy *La lucha por la vida*. The opening pages of *La busca* (1903) comically signal the existence of multiple clocks in early twentieth-century Madrid, moving from the description of a clock striking twelve in the first sentence to the mention of a small watch marking eleven strokes in the next paragraph and finally, to a church bell ringing only once (1946-48, 1:257). The narrator laments his inability to verify which time piece gives the correct hour, confessing his lack of control in the new realm of plural temporalities. The second chapter describes the inversion of solar time in the protagonist's boarding house, with absolute darkness prevailing during the day and dimly illuminated surroundings at night. The disorder of urban life connoted by these temporal variants and transpositions carries with it suffering and economic exploitation, but also freedom and social mobility. Manuel, the rural transplant who explores the varied sectors of Madrid, represents a new kind of *flâneur*, not a strolling adult, male observer, but a child who directly suffers the effects of urban misery while simultaneously learning to negotiate its apparent lawlessness. Over the course of the trilogy, he finds openings through which to discover and then realize his aspirations to become other than his rural past might have dictated.⁴ At the end of *La busca*, he divides city dwellers into two groups, those that circulate in the night and those that work in the day, equating the former with vice, pleasure, and darkness and the latter with work, fatigue, and sunlight (373). In contrast to Manuel's rigid separation of these two worlds, the trilogy continually deconstructs his polarities in a modernist rejection of dichotomous categorization, including those as seemingly natural as day and night. The road workers who repair the Puerta del Sol and the bakers with whom Manuel labors are active at night while ragmen begin their work before dawn. These laborers intersect with prostitutes, pimps, and middle-class pleasure seekers who also inhabit the streets at night.

The second volume of the series explores an even more heterogeneous society in which rules of social stratification and temporal order no longer prevail. *Mala hierba* (1904) traces Manuel's entry to the underground world of gambling and also the world of

typesetting. His social horizons expand to include bohemian artists, upwardly mobile lower and middle-class schemers, downwardly mobile nobility, lesbians, prostitutes, Jewish typesetters, repatriated Cubans, and Spanish American war veterans. Both gambling and printing activities take place at night and this modern exploitation of nocturnal hours is made possible by the gas factory that looms in the background throughout the second part of the novel. Manuel can see it from his boarding house (1946-48, 1:432), he passes it in his meanderings through the city (453), and it serves as a backdrop on several occasions in the final chapter. In *Mala hierba*, the existence of the new temporality and heterogeneous social world that it produces confuses and overwhelms Manuel, who remains torn between the pull of a stable work and home life and the temptations of the street. At the end of the novel, he finds solace in yet another time and space that becomes increasingly attractive and imaginable in the modern world. Contemplating the stars, he entertains the possibility of other infinitely varied and exciting worlds, without hatred, policemen, judges, soldiers, government, and authority (507).

Manuel's momentary anger at society does not represent a final or permanent stance. Like other Barojan creations, he changes with the rapidity that characterizes modern life. In *Aurora roja* (1904), the trilogy's final work, he turns his attention from dreams of other worlds to the creation of a space for himself within the modern Spanish city. His anarchist leanings now shift to a more skeptical detachment and individual ambition that contrast with his brother Juan's radical politics. These two visions join with others, such as Roberto Hastings's exaltation of Darwinian struggle, to form a complex ideological mapping of early twentieth-century urban ideology. The play of light and darkness, day and night, has a less evident role in this novel, but the rich diversity of life styles that modern lighting allows and the social mobility that comes from a more fluid socio-economic situation continue to receive emphasis. In this network of varied cultures, no single language, value, or ideology takes precedence. Well before Ortega y Gasset's famous theorization of perspectivism in *Meditaciones del Quijote* (1914), Baroja advocates the adoption of cascading, revolving viewpoints in order to capture the complexity of modern culture. Juan's sculpture of la Salvadora meta-artistically reflects the novelistic vision; viewed from one side it appears happy, while from the other it communicates sadness (1946-48, 1:535). The Madrid of the trilogy has the same effect. It is sordid, immoral, callous, with appalling slums

and corrupt officials, but it also offers freedom, dynamism, and openness to change, to becoming other and joining with others. The series celebrates the city's linguistic diversity as reflecting the speakers' diverse social, regional, and national origins. The cultural wealth of modern Madrid also expresses itself in musical variety, with French anarchist songs, hurdy-gurdy imitations of classical tunes, delicate waltzes of music boxes, tangos, and Cuban melodies praising the island and the independence movement.

Women characters range from the bourgeois, delicate Kate to the self-sufficient, industrious working-class Salvadora to the once proud, now prostituted la Justa. The series eschews grand narratives and instead interweaves many individual stories, none providing a totalizing solution but each offering a partial answer. Juan's anarchism proves idealistic and unworkable, but his commitment and ideals clearly affect his brother and his views of social justice are ultimately internalized by la Salvadora, who joins Manuel and Juan in their political discussions toward the end of *Aurora roja* (1946–48, 1:633) and aggressively acts to prevent an insistent priest from delivering last rights against Juan's will. Juan believes his efforts to educate a group of beggars and prostitutes has produced no effect, yet when he dies, the Philippine prostitute who imperturbably accepted her pimp's abuse breaks down in tears. Manuel's individual narrative takes him from street life to ownership of a small printing business and marriage to la Salvadora. None of the stories offer global solutions, but all signify the possibilities for change that mark modern society, structured according to an inverted temporality in which the solar cycle no longer determines human activity.

In this remapping of human development, discontinuity displaces chronology and alongside the inexorable succession of clock time, asynchronous reconnections with specific past moments or feelings suggest possibilities for rewriting the present and the future. A loosening of the tyranny of chronology proves especially appealing to Spanish modernists, who feel that for cultural and historical reasons, they have been deprived of childhood and youth. Baroja writes of the inability to experience childhood in Spain in *La dama errante* (1946–48, 2:232) and Pérez de Ayala's Alberto Díaz de Guzmán blames Jesuit education for stealing his boyhood in *La pata de la raposa* (1964–66, 1:433). Born in a moment of national decline, in a bourgeois Catholic culture that privileges order over spontaneity, repressed sexuality over a healthy regard for the body, they feel old before their

time. Antonio Machado paints an aged poetic persona in *Solledades* (1907), when he has not yet reached his mid-thirties. In order to recuperate the child's voice and resurrect a never-lived childhood, these authors reject the ordered bourgeois life of their day. Baroja's fascination with the "youthful" world of the circus and carnivals is shared by Pérez de Ayala, who introduces the seductive figure of the strongman in *Tinieblas en las cumbres* and has the adult Alberto Díaz de Guzmán join the circus in *La pata de la raposa*. The bohemian life style of Manuel Machado, Alejandro Sawa, Valle-Inclán, and others represents a refusal to follow expected trajectories toward adulthood and social conformity.

Antonio Machado's participation in the bohemian worlds of Madrid and Paris and his late marriage to a young, almost childish, bride reflect his desire to establish an idiosyncratic time line and delay entry into adulthood, but it is his poetry that most fully and profoundly reveals his exploration of multiple temporalities and their liberating effects for individual and collective selves.⁵ He expresses his disdain for the artificial manipulation of solar time for economic gain in "A un naranjo y a un limonero vistos en una tienda de plantas y flores," decrying the shriveled fruit and dwarfed trees that result from transplanting Andalusian citrus trees to a Castilian flower shop (1917, 76). However, the poet finds rich human and poetic capital in a changed conceptualization of the relationship between psychological and biological age and of memory as a bundle of images, sensations, and emotions open to ever new configurations. Machado's poetry continually contrasts various temporalities and while recognizing the inexorable march forward toward death as constitutive of human experience, it also explores temporal leaps and reconnections that allow for the creative assimilation of one's own prior experiences into the present and future as well as the integration and recreation of the past experiences of others. His poetic experimentation aims to transcend traditional clocks—solar, seasonal, biological, and mechanical—and allow for the sharing of experience and sensibility across time. A variety of poems explicate the relation between a lost boyhood and its present and future recuperation. "Acaso . . ." presents a poetic speaker lost in dream and discovering spring's arrival for the first time in a symbolic representation of never-experienced youth. The first three quartets describe the fresh splendor and fertility of the season. The remaining verses explore the relationship between multiple clocks and poetic communication:

dium," of Baroja's *Vidas sombrías* (1900), relates the story of a first-person narrator and his friend Román who come to believe that Román's sister Angeles possesses evil powers. When the narrator takes a picture of his friend's family, he snaps two different shots in immediate succession and on developing the plates, he and Román discover a black smudge above Angeles's head. Later, printing the copies, they perceive a woman's shadow in the first picture and in the second, the shadow seems to whisper in Angeles's ear. Not only do the plates reveal a figure that was invisible to the eye that focussed the camera and that transforms from one state to another in the brief instant it took to snap the second picture, but the figure escapes the limits of the photographic plate and prints and appears to the narrator in the mirror of his entryway. Mirrors and photos do not just reflect an identical likeness in mimetic reproduction, but project alternative images that stand alongside and in opposition to the framed object in a shifting relationship of self and other. The interest in forms invisible to the human eye that materialize in film negatives and in a problematized reality prefigures Cortázar's later meditations in "Las babas del diablo" (1959).

The preoccupation with frames and their dissolution also surfaces in *La lucha por la vida*. *La busca* (1903) describes Manuel's discovery of his cousin Leandro's death through a series of mediated accounts. He first overhears old women relating a crime that just occurred and as he approaches to learn more, discovers from a friend that Leandro killed his girl friend Milagros and then committed suicide. Continuing toward the scene of the tragedy, Manuel hears yet another version—that Leandro had killed Milagros when she left him for another man. When Manuel visits the clinic to view the two corpses, he observes the scene through a window in a final representation of a modern mediated reality that remains simultaneously within and beyond his grasp. The window frames the image of the two bodies and the respective grieving families as in a picture. The reader observes Manuel, who stands outside and studies the scene within, removed but also touched by the sight. His divided subjectivity, as spectator and participant, is mirrored in the complicated relationships of the individuals in the room. The space enclosed by the window frame divides evenly down the middle, with two distinct groups surrounding the corpses of the former lovers. The separation of the two clusters of antagonistic relatives is emphasized by the mutual look of hatred of the two mothers as they leave the room. However, the narrative reveals the fissures in this clear demar-

cation in the introduction of a painting within the painting that dissolves any sense of stable borders. Manuel learns that the examining doctor had discovered a picture of Leandro in a locket hanging from Milagros's neck. The face in the locket replicates in small scale the body lying on the other side of the room and in a dizzying process of interior duplication, the scene communicates the unfathomable mystery of human relations and the continual unraveling of seemingly stable locations. Manuel fails to comprehend the varied, contradictory vignettes, bewildered by the conflicting, incomplete messages they communicate. His confusion increases as he compares the sorrow of his aunt and uncle with a group of girls singing in the street and tries to reconcile the loss of life with the children's vitality. Manuel's youth and inexperience in part explain his inability to come to terms with the rapidly succeeding images and transgression of borders, but his disorientation also represents a characteristic response to the modern experience and the simultaneity of opposing emotions and values within a single space, here graphically represented by the traversing of interior and exterior boundaries.

A more mature Manuel witnesses the death of his cousin Vidal in *Mala hierba* (1904) and again the narrative underscores the instability of borders and the mediation of reality through others. His mental and visual processing of the event unfolds gradually through a number of filters. Manuel, Vidal, and friends have gathered at an outdoor café. Vidal excuses himself and shortly, Manuel and others hear a scream they do not initially attribute to Vidal. In the distance they see two men fighting and from the silhouetted hat recognize Vidal as one of the combatants. As if viewing a movie, the witnesses watch as the two men pull apart, Vidal falls, and his rival makes a series of movements that seem to be knife thrusts. When Manuel and his friends reach the spot, Manuel again watches as others examine the body, turn it over, and declare Vidal dead. Manuel views the body in horror, but more importantly, he fixes on Vidal's open eyes and on the late afternoon sky reflected in them. The depiction of the eyes as a surface that reflects images lying outside or only peripherally in the field of vision transforms the scene into a series of frames within frames, pictures within pictures. Manuel's experience of his cousin's death occurs through multiple mediations that provide varied viewing positions and continuously refigure the observed events and the viewer's responses.

Antonio Machado also uses reflective surfaces to open enclosed spaces to the outside and contrast the confining sense of en-

clearly in *La aldea perdida* (1903), which describes the rural Asturias of Palacio Valdés's youth that the arrival of mining has largely destroyed. The narrative longs for a return to what is described as a lost Arcadia and depicts the "invading" miners as barbarous and alien.

"Intermedio del editor," one of several short stories in *Papeles del doctor Angélico* (1910), narrates the intervention of the narrator and his friend Jiménez to save a child from a beating by her stepfather, who as a rag collector represents one of the lowliest of workers. The text alternates between a xenophilic representation of the victim, who clasps the narrator's legs in a physical symbolization of their spiritual and moral affinity, and a xenophobic depiction of the stepfather, whose brutality toward the step-daughter recurs in his savage, perhaps fatal beating of a young neighbor who had testified on the girl's behalf. Mediation of the events through a middle-class focalization distances the depiction of lower-class experience, which further recedes when Jiménez and the narrator enter into a long philosophical discussion on the nature of good and evil. The beatings serve as a pretext for an abstract meditation that refutes Schopenhauer, Leibnitz, Buddhism, and Darwinism in order to return to the Christian values of faith and love. Although the final paragraphs, describing the ragman's arrest for the beating of the neighbor and the cries of the distraught boy's mother, challenge the facile acceptance of Christian doctrine, the narrator struggles to impose an overriding message of faith and resignation.

Vicente Blasco Ibáñez's radical political position distances him from Clarín and Palacio Valdés, but his depiction of the rural and urban lower classes similarly emphasizes their difference from the middle-class subject. In keeping with his largely naturalist outlook and literary technique, Blasco Ibáñez portrays an instinctive lower-class behavior. In comparison, the better educated middle-class characters have a more complex motivation. His novels typically segregate these worlds, with only occasional encounters between the classes. *La barraca* (1898) presents conflict between the farmers of the Valencian countryside and the poor family from outside the area that tries to eke out a living in the abandoned lands of an imprisoned local dissident. Animosity to the outsider characterizes this world, which lives isolated from external influences and contacts, governed by tradition and instinctive love of the land. This culture remains locked in the past, hostile to change and intolerant of the other, who may suffer the same class and economic exploitation but is hated and ultimately

driven out as an alien invader.⁷ *Cañas y barro* (1902) introduces some evidence of change in the Valencian wetlands, owing to the commercial ambitions of the tavern owner and several characters' desires for material wealth over subsistence farming. However, sexual instinct and egotism retain equal if not greater motivating force in determining behavior and the novel closes with no possibility for change, in a total repudiation of capitalism and modernity as well as a bleak portrayal of traditional rural life and the lower class.

Blasco Ibáñez's narratives of urban life similarly render the lower classes as distinct and separated from middle-class experience and subjectivity. *La horda* (1905) bears considerable similarities with Baroja's *La busca*, but differs specifically in the absence of the cultural and class diversity that characterizes Baroja's modernist vision of Madrid. *La horda's* focus falls exclusively on the working class or unemployed and the title underscores the homogeneity of underclass representatives. The women share an inherited anemia that erases physical differences except for a brief moment of youthful vitality. The two most memorable characters are Isidoro Maltrana, whose university education endows him with middle-class culture, and the anarchistic El Mosco, whose defiance distinguishes him from his anonymous, resigned neighbors. The urban lower class of Blasco Ibáñez's novels remains largely locked in the passive stance of victims who lack the knowledge or energy to act and whose separation from the rest of the population dooms them to submission. The texts display no faith in the lower-class ability to change its destiny. When characters express a will to change, as when Isidoro promises to access a better life for his son in the final pages, it comes late and with little evidence of potential realization.

The phobic representation of the lower classes also characterizes the theory of elites developed in conjunction with that of modern subjectivity by José Ortega y Gasset in *La rebelión de las masas* (1930). Ortega's definition of modernity coincides in certain aspects with studies such as Anthony Giddens's late twentieth century analysis of the modern condition. Both refer to the process of globalization by which individuals from various parts of the world come into increased contact⁸ and also observe a break with the past in a modern world in which individuals create a personal trajectory on the basis of choices.⁹ However, while theorists like Giddens or Paul Smith assume that the construction of self allows for multiple trajectories and offers emancipatory possibilities,¹⁰ Ortega divides modern subjectivity into

biographical writings, and often toys with his reading public regarding the discovery of a real self behind the speaking I. The speaker of the first chapter of *Las inquietudes de Shanti Andía* (1911) writes that reading his own experiences on paper made him feel that they had been written by someone else, and he became transformed from narrator to reader (1946-48, 2:997). "Confidencias de un hombre de pluma" of the 1904 *El tablado de Arlequín* takes this notion one step further, opening with a first person speaker-writer that, in combination with the title, leads the reader to conflate author and text speaker and assume an autobiographical discourse. A footnote in the second paragraph discloses that the speaking subject is the son of Silvestre Paradox, Baroja's doubly invented character with distinct traits and presentation in two different works, *Aventuras, inventos y mixtificaciones de Silvestre Paradox* (1901) and *Paradox, rey* (1906), who here takes on yet a third persona, in that he is now revealed to have a son and presumably, a wife. Baroja's previous use of S. Paradox as pseudonym further confuses the relationship between author, text speaker, and literary character, as does the interweaving in the hybrid essay-story of autobiographical information—in accusations of poor syntax such as Ortega y Gasset had criticized in "Ideas sobre Pío Baroja"—and fictional details in the references to an uncle and senator named Carlos Eduardo Pérez de los Pasados, conde de la Fumarada del Campo. Toward the end of the text, the speaker reveals that he totally invented the historical data he has presented, with a final destabilizing sweep that erases the borders between a real and invented self.

A similar erasure of borders that signals a destabilized, comically presented authorial subject occurs in *Las aventuras, inventos y mixtificaciones de Silvestre Paradox*, where Baroja makes a cameo appearance as Doctor Labarta, owner of a bakery and aspiring writer who reads his work to Silvestre and others during a Christmas Eve dinner. Author becomes character and writer becomes text in a dizzying *mise en abîme*. To further complicate and diminish the figure of the artist, the narrator pokes fun at the gloomy vision conveyed in Labarta's writing and its evident contrast with the doctor's healthy, happy demeanor. Julio Camba inverts conventional visions of authorial subjectivity in "El destierro," published in *El cuento semanal* in 1907, when the first person narrator interrupts the apparently fictional materials with the announcement that he is not only the

author of the text but more importantly, its protagonist. Furthermore, he asserts that he already appeared as a character in a Baroja novel on which he later wrote a critical review, thus establishing his triple role as author, character, and critic and converting Baroja from author to character in the text presently in the reader's hands. A similar play of identities occurs with Baroja's appearance as a character in Azorín's *Las confesiones de un pequeño filósofo* and Martínez Ruiz's shedding of his given name for that of one of his characters. Throughout modernist texts, these and related strategies continue a generalized questioning of traditional authorial subjectivity and of the authority of the writer over and independent from his text.

Modernist writers frequently flaunt their lack of authority with self-disparaging comments and representations that alternate with self-aggrandizing poses. Picasso's self-portraits in two drawings incorporate this stance and reveal its links to the modernist frustration with having arrived late to a rich cultural heritage in which any aspiration to originality seems doomed to failure. Picasso expresses his desire for and confidence in his artistic powers and innovative creativity as well as his sense of belatedness and imitative repetition through intertextual allusion to well-known predecessors. His several reworkings of Velázquez's *Las meninas* show the artist in various sizes, enormously overshadowing the other figures in his August 17, 1957 oil painting, but smaller than his easel and similar in size to the other figures and to his predecessor in his September 18, 1957 painting. The Cubist remake of the Velázquez painting exposes the incredible difference between the two works, with the resulting revelation of Picasso's originality while also underscoring his debt to the past in selection of topic and configuration of the subjects. Picasso's 1901 reworking of Manet's *Olympia* both parodies the model, as Sander Gilman points out in "Black Bodies, White Bodies," and the artist himself, who appears naked and humbled in a self-portrait that communicates his enslavement to his desire for the black prostitute and to his artistic predecessor, whose painting continues to impose itself despite Picasso's alterations.

The Barojan narrator continually signals his lack of control by calling attention to his incomplete knowledge of his characters and narrative, and making fun of his artistic pretensions, as in *La busca* (1946-48, 1:257, 277), or calling attention to the ephemeral quality of his work, as in *La dama errante* (2:232).

Numerous Baroja characters disparage art, negating its value in the modern world. José Ignacio Arcelu of *El mundo es así* (1912) holds this view (1967, 426–27), as does César Moncada of the 1910 *César o nada* (1967, 115–18). Benavente mocks traditional definitions of art in his designation of the circus as a modern artistic form in *La noche del sábado* (1903) and oscillates between exaltation of art and a recognition of its diminished role in the modern era in *Amor de artista* (1892). Ricardo Gil's reference to his collection of poems as a humble music box, which he explicitly contrasts with traditional metaphorical representations of poetry as arrogant lyre, communicates his acceptance of a diminished role for art and the artist, as does Pérez de Ayala's more shocking comparison of art and prostitution in *Troteras y danzaderas* (1913). In conversation with the prostitute Verónica, Alberto Díaz de Guzmán completely destroys any notion of the exalted artist: "Tú haces hombres, como se dice; yo hago literatura, artículos, libros. Si la gente no nos paga o no nos acepta, nos quedamos sin comer. Tu vendes placer a tu modo; yo, al mío; los dos, a costa de la vida. En muy pocos años serás una vieja asquerosa, si antes no te mueres podrida; yo me habré vuelto idiota, si antes no muero agotado" [You do men, as they say; I do literature, articles, books. If people don't pay us or don't accept us, we are left to go hungry. You sell pleasure in your way; I in mine, both at the cost of our lives. In a few years you will be a disgusting old hag, if you don't die diseased before then; I will have become an idiot, if I don't die sooner of exhaustion] (1964–66, 1:556). The comments evidently reflect a bitterness at the modern disregard for art, but they also signal the aspiration for tolerance noted by José Ramón González García as a central concern of Pérez de Ayala's aesthetic (1992, 52). The incorporation of the perspective of the lower-class woman considerably enhances the range of vision available to the novelist and as the fictional Amaranto argues in *Belarmino y Apolonio*, the novelist must abandon the one-eyed vision of the cyclops, with its obvious association with the nineteenth-century definition of self and artist, for a multi-perspectival approach (1989, 91–93), including women and lower-class experiences and views.

The contradictory combination of an aspiration for a democratization of art and a fear of the effects of commodification marks many modernist works. Valle-Inclán's exaltation of the artist in his 1916 *La lámpara maravillosa* (1974, 575) accompanies his self-description as a face with one hundred masks. These various masks succeed each other in his works, moving from the styliza-

tion of the popular and aristocratic in the *Sonatas* (1901–5) to his exaltation of popular art forms and discourse in *Los cuernos de don Friolera* (1921). The two discourses interweave in his 1914 *Farsa infantil de la cabeza del dragón*, where the intersection of the modern world with traditional literary forms such as the fairy tale produces a hybrid form that alternately mocks and approves new and inherited linguistic and generic patterns. The Martínez Sierras alternate between a vision of an exalted art that stands above science and other forms of modern knowledge and a definition of creativity as work, a dual stance reflected in the title *El poema del trabajo* (1899). Emilia Pardo Bazán presents a similarly contradictory view of art and artist in *La Quimera* (1905), which confronts the young painter Silvio Lago and the older female composer Minia. While Silvio exalts art above all things and disparages wealth in favor of fame, in a view he explicitly links to anarchism, Minia praises the medieval aesthetic of collective composition and a more socialist, egalitarian aesthetic (1909, 50–54).

Santiago Rusiñol consistently assails the commodification of art in *Desde el molino* (1894) and nostalgically evokes a classical Greek civilization that he defines as made by and for art in "La oración del domingo." Among the most bitterly anti-feminist of modernists, he derides women painters with a language and hostility reminiscent of Clarín and other Restoration writers. By contrast, his depiction of the rural and urban lower classes reveals a faith in the spontaneity and talent of these previously marginalized individuals, who often prove successful in resisting modern efforts at social control and conformity. The titles of the undated *Pájaros de barro* and *El pueblo gris* reflect his melding of commonplace themes, places, and characters with a rejection of commodification in an aesthetic that conjoins a democratizing impulse with a vision of art and the artist as privileged sites of resistance and transgression.

Galdós's increased interest and faith in the lower classes as the source of national and individual reconstruction accompanies his abandonment of a never rigidly enforced omniscient narration and a move towards dialogue and the acknowledgment of incomplete authorial control. The prologue to *El abuelo* (1897) explicitly states that the author's word has less efficacy than the direct expression of the characters (8). In *Misericordia* (1897), he openly relinquishes his control of the narrative, adopting a neutral stance with respect to the benefit or disadvantage of Antónito's drawing of a high lottery number and avoidance of mili-

communitarian possession of natural resources and economic production parallel a rejection of private property and ownership in the realm of artistic creation. Ricardo Velázquez Bosco denies the existence of originality in art and ridicules critics who judge artists on this basis ("La originalidad en el arte" 305). Unamuno refutes the ownership of words and ideas in his 1910 *Soliloquios y conversaciones*, (1958, 4:551), and he and other modernists revise inherited notions of plagiarism and individual creation. The borders between texts and authorial property become increasingly vague as writers simultaneously publish their textualizations of shared experiences and make no pretense to a single, stable authorized view of the events. Ciro Bayo, Pío Baroja, and his brother Ricardo travel together through the Castilian countryside in a trip that appears in narrative form in Bayo's *El peregrino entretenido* (1910) and Baroja's *La dama errante* (1908), with striking similarities amid many differences. The fragmented nature of both texts, the somber descriptions of the countryside, the backdrop of the panic after the anarchist Morral's attempt to assassinate the king and his new bride, and the introduction of adventures that never materialize join the two texts in a sort of dialogic authorship.

Llanas Aguilaniedo and José María and Bernaldo de Queirós cite Baroja's "La patología del golfo" (1899), as well as Galdós's *Misericordia* (1897), as sources in *La mala vida de Madrid* (1901), and Baroja evidently draws from the Llanas Aguilaniedo and Queirós sociological study in *La busca* (1904). The borrowings across textual lines here erase the borders between literary and sociological study, placing Baroja, Galdós, and Llanas Aguilaniedo in a relation of collaboration in the analysis of the Madrid poor. The famous description of the funeral of the young girl from Toledo in Baroja's *Camino de perfección* (1902), and Azorín's *Diario de un enfermo* (1901) and *La voluntad* (1902) calls attention to the duplication and openly defies traditional notions of textual property. The same effect occurs in the fictional retelling of the death of Alejandro Sawa, which appears in Baroja's *El árbol de la ciencia* (1911), and later in Valle-Inclán's *Luces de Bohemia* (1920). It is also worth pointing out that Valle-Inclán's famous phrase "Viva la bagatela" [Long live triviality!], inserted in *Sonata de invierno* (1905), had previously appeared in Baroja's *El mayorazgo de Labraz* (1903) as the synthesis of the philosophy of the eccentric Englishman Bothwell, who in turn cites Swift (sic) as his source. The presumed misspelling of Jonathan Swift could easily represent a typographical error or a Barojan erasure

of originary authority, underscoring the absence of ownership of ideas.

Azorín and Valle-Inclán often recycle their own work, leaving the reader with the sensation of having read the same material before and openly challenging textual and authorial borders. Revised episodes and characters from the *Sonatas* reappear in *El marqués de Bradomin*, and a similar process occurs in the re-making of the 1899 *Cenizas* in the 1908 *El yermo de las almas*. Azorín's recycling of the Toledo funeral scene in two different narratives and his reworking of the story of the knight from *El Lazarillo de Tormes* first in "Un hidalgo" in the 1905 *Los pueblos*; and then in "Lo fatal" in *Castilla* (1912) reflect the widespread practice of erasing authorial and textual property lines. Azorín's constant reinterpretation of classical Spanish texts has a similar motivation and effect. The same abolition of borders characterizes Valle-Inclán's echo of Darío's "Año lírico" in the *Sonatas*. Antonio Machado openly acknowledges his debt to Unamuno in his "Poema de un día," but even this recognition of Unamuno's originality admixes respect and humor to diminish the exalted figure of the teacher to a more equal partner in dialogue. The rhyming of Unamuno's name with *tuno*, the Spanish word for "rogue" or "scamp," significantly levels the power relations between master and disciple: "Este Bergson es un tuno; ¿verdad maestro Unamuno?" [This Bergson is a rascal, / wouldn't you say Master Unamuno?]⁴ (1917, 202).

Antonio's collaborative work with Manuel in the production of theater further challenges notions of individual authorship and continues a tradition of co-authoring in popular theatrical production. The playwright Carlos Arniches (1866–1943) wrote seventy-seven works with co-authors in comparison with only twenty-two original works, of which fifteen were one-act plays (Berenguer 1988, 220). I have insisted throughout this study that Gregorio Martínez Sierra was in fact María and Gregorio and their collaborative efforts often extended to include Santiago Rusiñol, as in the jointly authored *Vida y dulzura* (1907). The Alvarez Quintero brothers together author some two hundred plays in the early decades of the twentieth century. Stephen Kern mentions the 1911 exercise in which Picasso and Georges Braque work side by side to produce *Ma Jolie* and *Le Portugais*, two individually titled but almost identical works (1983, 196).

In the light of this flagrant display of collaborative artistic production, the intertextual references to Antonio Machado's poetry in Manuel Machado's "La guerra literaria" take on addi-