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Sara Lindsey Reuben

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Abstract

Urban space has increasingly become a topic that has spawned intellectual debate across academic disciplines. In Spain, the cityscape, from the nineteenth century onward, has provided a pivotal backdrop for understanding the configuration of social networks represented in cultural production. At the same time, the city has always been a foundational site of contention: while communities gathered and formed in the realm of the urban center, spaces that consequently settled in the periphery breached deeper notions of exclusion. One of the most depicted spaces of such exclusion has been the urban home. *A Return to the Oikos: The Transformation of the Home in Modern Spain* considers cultural production of the mid-nineteenth through mid-twentieth century in Spain that analyzes the home as the exception to the visible domain of politics and labor and, simultaneously, the condition of the production of these categories. This four- chapter study argues that figures such as the mother, the prostitute, the unemployed hetero-normative male, the housekeeper, and the cook bring to bear the invisible functions of capitalist production and national construction that permit and maintain the bourgeois home and material culture in modern Spain. *A Return to the Oikos* historically transverses the Revolution of 1868, la Gloriosa, the Restoration (1875-1923), Primo de Rivera's regime (1923-1930), the Second Republic (1931-1939), The Civil War (1936-1939), and the isolating years of hunger under the Francoist dictatorship. In doing so, it posits that the home space and the domesticated figures that maintain this space are central and critical components to the possibilities of urbanization, modernization, and ideological shifts, specifically in the Spanish national imaginary from the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century. Through analysis of their representation in literature and film, *A Return to the Oikos* places the home at the center of a general social conflict in the larger period of Spanish modernization as deeply intercalated in economic and political fabric.

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A RETURN TO THE *OIKOS*: THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE HOME IN MODERN SPAIN

Lindsey Reuben Muñoz

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Supervisor of Dissertation

Ignacio Javier López

Professor of Spanish

Graduate Group Chairperson

Ericka Beckman, Graduate Chair in Hispanic Studies

Dissertation Committee

Ignacio Javier López, Professor of Spanish

Luis Moreno-Caballud, Associate Professor Romance Languages

Ericka Beckman, Associate Professor of Romance Languages

Elena Cueto-Asín, Associate Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures

A RETURN TO THE OIKOS: THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE HOME IN
MODERN SPAIN

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ABSTRACT

A RETURN TO THE OIKOS: THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE HOME IN MODERN SPAIN

Lindsey Reuben Muñoz

Ignacio Javier López

Urban space has increasingly become a topic that has spawned intellectual debate across academic disciplines. In Spain, the cityscape, from the nineteenth century onward, has provided a pivotal backdrop for understanding the configuration of social networks represented in cultural production. At the same time, the city has always been a foundational site of contention: while communities gathered and formed in the realm of the urban center, spaces that consequently settled in the periphery breached deeper notions of exclusion. One of the most depicted spaces of such exclusion has been the urban home. *A Return to the Oikos: The Transformation of the Home in Modern Spain* considers cultural production of the mid-nineteenth through mid-twentieth century in Spain that analyzes the home as the exception to the visible domain of politics and labor and, simultaneously, the condition of the production of these categories. This four-chapter study argues that figures such as the mother, the prostitute, the unemployed hetero-normative male, the housekeeper, and the cook bring to bear the invisible functions of capitalist production and national construction that permit and maintain the bourgeois home and material culture in modern Spain. *A Return to the Oikos* historically transverses the Revolution of 1868, *la Gloriosa*, the Restoration (1875-1923), Primo de Rivera's regime (1923-1930), the Second Republic (1931-1939), The Civil War (1936-

1939), and the isolating years of hunger under the Francoist dictatorship. In doing so, it posits that the home space and the domesticated figures that maintain this space are central and critical components to the possibilities of urbanization, modernization, and ideological shifts, specifically in the Spanish national imaginary from the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century. Through analysis of their representation in literature and film, *A Return to the Oikos* places the home at the center of a general social conflict in the larger period of Spanish modernization as deeply intercalated in economic and political fabric.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	iii
ABSTRACT.....	v
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 1: REMEMBERING THE HOME: NOSTALGIA AND INTERIORITY IN NINETEENTH CENTURY SPAIN.....	36
CHAPTER 2: BEYOND DOMESTICITY: FEMALE LIBERATION FROM THE INSIDE OUT.....	96
CHAPTER 3: FROM THE CONTOURS OF PROGRESS TOWARD THE DICTATORSHIP: SHADOW WORK IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY SPANISH HOME.....	156
CHAPTER 4: A WOMAN'S SPACE? MASCULINITY AND NIHILISM IN THE HOME IN CARMEN LAFORET'S <i>NADA</i>	205
EPILOGUE: EXCLUSIVE INCLUSION: DOMESTICITY AND THE TURN TO THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY SPANISH HOME.....	251
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	269

INTRODUCTION

Before my dissertation on the home in Spain became a political intervention in the field of Hispanism, my interest in the public and private divide was always very personal. I grew up in a home where my father, a medical doctor, worked long hours outside of the house and my mother, a stay-at-home mom, did not make any money.¹ While my father was at work for twelve hours, six days a week, my mother was at home in charge of grocery lists, bills, homework, chores, scheduling, cleaning, and cooking. Every night of my life, my mother, in spite of two difficult children running around the house, managed to cook a warm meal and put it on the table at dinnertime. As far back as I can remember family meals were as normalized in my life as TV was for most children.

As my reader can imagine, I lived a charmed childhood, and my mother and my father, to this day, compose the strongest union that I know. Some often say they envy our familial bond. A big reason for this, I believe, is that neither parent ever placed rifts between my father's employment and my mother's "unemployment." My brother and I were always taught to respect our mother and to honor her endless efforts to be a mother. My father's earned money was my family's money and my mother's unpaid labor was ours to share. Needless to say, as I was growing up, my mother and father were equal in my and my brother's eyes. We lived in a home where money did not weigh heavier than caretaking. Looking back, my family was the quintessential capitalist family, but in

¹ An obvious commentary regarding this anecdote would be that my father made enough money for our family to live a comfortable life. Class divide is something I take up in my dissertation to some degree, although it is not what most informs my research. Rather, my research is interested in formal aspects of ways of life that function to maintain class boundaries but that transcend the latter nonetheless.

being so, they unknowingly valued and performed ways of life that problematized the very structure and premise of the divide between public and private, and work and home that capitalism inevitably imposes onto all structures of life.

My first memory of thinking of my stay-at-home mother as inferior to workingwomen was in elementary school, when I was in the fourth grade. I attended a public school in Queens where most students qualified for free school lunches. My mother always packed me a homemade sandwich, nothing special, but still, made by her, fresh, that very morning. This one particular day, in the cafeteria, I ate my lunch like I always did, surrounded by classmates that, for the most part, were eating the semblance of food prepared by the public school cafeteria.² As I took a bite into my sandwich, a classmate asked the lunch supervisor, Mrs. Schwartz, why I was eating different food. Everyone, or at least in my memory, most everyone at my table stopped what they were doing and looked over at me and my food, as ten-year-olds would do, and the supervisor replied to the curious little girl: "Oh honey, Lindsey's mom doesn't work so she has all the time in the world to make her lunch because she's got nothing else to do." She then grabbed my chin and jokingly mocked, "Isn't that right? All the time in the world and nothing else to do. Lord knows if I didn't watch you kids make a giant mess all day, I'd be eating like a queen too."

Mrs. Schwartz was far from the last person who would comment on the endless time that my mother had at her disposal. Over the years these jeers have come from

² Since Michelle Obama began her Let's Move! Campaign in 2010 during her time as The First Lady, a so-called war was waged against public school cafeteria lunches in the United States. After all, her campaign was pertinent given that, obesity rates in children had sky rocketed since the 1980's. Spain too faces a contemporary obesity epidemic today since home care has been erased further and further from the needs of global capitalism. I bring this side-note up here in my introduction given that although a healthy food culture is not part of my study as of now, it does inform my interests and has value for understanding the consequences of the economic crisis in Spain today.

friends, colleagues, and jealous family members who look down at my mother's unemployment as weak, spoiled, princess-like, etc. and many times they aren't always negative. From certain people, they come from a place of entitlement. "Who wouldn't want to be a princess?" friends of mine from college joked. If they could, they would quit their jobs, or quit grad school, and become stay-at-home moms, like my mother, in order to have "all of the time in the world and nothing else to do."

The following pages of this dissertation project were born, in part, to debunk the unfounded, unfair, and undignified myth that women who do not work have "all of the time in the world and nothing else to do." On the contrary, in the four chapters that compose my project titled *A Return to the Oikos: The Transformation of the Home in Modern Spain*, I posit that the home space and the domesticated figures that maintain this space are central and critical components to the possibilities of urbanization, modernization, and ideological shifts, specifically in the Spanish national imaginary from the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century.

I focus on Spain, aside from the obvious reason of it being my area of study, because it is a country that has developed into its current socio-political context through a process of modernization that is undeniably unique to the peninsula, in comparison to its Northern European neighbors. Taking this into account, my research is informed by the fissures in conventional understandings of the process of modernity that heavily favor the social formation of work as the single most bearer and marker of equality. As follows, I track the home in canonical and non-canonical literary and filmic texts, as a highly performative space that enunciates the very work, subjectivities and social formations that produce more visible and preferred characterizations of Spanish

modernization, such as labor, production, and equality. In this light, instead of repeating the tried trajectory of creating a binary between the privacy of the home and the publicity of the workplace in city, I locate the home beyond gendered stereotypes, in a thoroughly embedded framework within the public construction of the Spanish national imaginary.

Although the home space is a site of reflection for trans-historical Peninsular scholarship in terms of its poetic, material, and transgressive possibilities, specifically for female bourgeois subjects, the critique of the public/private divide composes a much larger part of late twentieth century and twenty-first century cultural production and criticism than it does for the prior centuries.³ Feminist, economist, and critic of capitalism Amaia Orozco, for example, has put into question what she refers to as la *vida vivible* in contemporary Spain. By asking, "¿qué es la *vida vivible*, la vida que merece la pena ser vivida?" (1), she points to a collective responsibility that must be put into place in order to guarantee that the conditions for the possibility of a sustainable life.

The question that she presents in her 2012 article, "De vidas vivibles y producción imposible," is an age-old philosophical query that has plagued thinkers for centuries, yet historically contextualized becomes specifically relevant to the twenty-first century Spanish context. Orozco reminds her reader that capital is generated in concordance with the production of material goods. Because of this, acts of production only exist in order to maintain themselves. Money is valued as the single measure for wealth and happiness, blurring the capitalized concept of "the good life" with a viable life that is the norm of society, not the exception. In this sense, the concept of production is an imagined

³ Refer to pages 12-13 of this introduction for an explanation of the research written on the home's poetic, transgressive and material possibilities in the nineteenth and early twentieth century in Spain.

concept, a fantasy, unlike its binary, reproduction: “La producción no existe, es una fantasía antropocéntrica que tiene una única forma de mantenerse: disponer de un medio fantasma de acumular esa supuesta riqueza creada, el dinero” (14). At the heart of conceptualizing production as fantasy, for Orozco, is that the very nature of reproduction alongside the sustainability of life is deemed irrelevant.

In writing her critique of the unsustainable evolution of capitalism, Orozco situates her scholarship in Spain of the twenty-first century in order to understand the key factors that generated the Spanish crisis, which she divides into dichotomies such as production vs. reproduction, desire vs. need, and masculine vs. feminine. As Isidro López and Emmanuel Rodríguez attend to from a historical perspective, these are dichotomies that began to evolve farther and farther apart during the second half of the Francoist dictatorship into the years of the transition to democracy in 1975 and beyond.

While the first half of Franco's regime relied heavily on the dictatorship's imagined construct of family, upon entering the International Monetary Fund, the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, the World Bank, and the subsequent Spanish “Stabilization Plan,” Spain rapidly evolved into a global economic player whose success was based on investment, emigration and tourism. Nigel Towson suggests that upwards of 4.5 million workers moved from the countryside to the city during the 1960s alone and settled around urban centers such as Barcelona and Madrid (142). Physically far enough from the promotion of tourism, these neighboring constructions were built solely to raise the indexes of production. Consequently, reproduction and care, manipulated at first to promote the dictatorship's regime plan were then erased from the national imaginary in the name of capital accrual. Films such Fernando León de

Aranoa's *Princesas* (2005), León de Aranoa's *Amador* (2010) and written texts such as Javier Pérez Andújar's *Paseos con mi madre* (2011), Silvia Nanclares' *El Sur: Instrucciones del uso* (2011), and Nanclares' more recent *Quién quiere ser madre* (2017), for example, speak to the rift that exists in contemporary times between acts of care and acts of production.

Yet, as I unfold in my dissertation, the grave polemic of the crisis of care is a problem that easily transcends national and historical boundaries. In fact, two of the theorists that inform my dissertation, Silvia Federici and Ivan Illich, write and have written about polemics that have had major global implications since the advent of capitalism, making my dissertation both an intervention in the field of Hispanism as well as one that enters into an undeniable global debate on the crisis of care and intimacy. Federici has been writing on the inorganic divide between public and private since the 1970s when she and other radical feminists such as Selma James, Brigitte Galtier, and Mariarosa Dalla Costa, formed the International Wages for Housework campaign that sought to uncover the grave contradictions that lie at the heart of the spread of global capitalism, unpaid housework being a principle one. For Federici, care and natural bodily functions, two of the basic human necessities of human life, have been contrived as inferior to progress since the advent of capitalism in Western Europe; the female body has endured the brunt of the burden:

The body has been for women in capitalist society what the factory has been for male waged workers: the primary ground of their exploitations and resistance, as the female body has been appropriated by the state and men and forced to function as a means for the reproduction and accumulation of labor. (16)

Time and time again, the European ruling class' strategic violent expropriation of the feudal commons in early capitalist societies waged a war against the female body, an argument that irrevocably disputes the tale that the transition from feudalism to capitalism was natural or inevitable. This research brilliantly weaves together the components of this process, compellingly arguing that just as the land would be objectified or valued primarily in terms of its exploitability for the purpose of primitive accumulation, then, so too would the bodies of women through abusive, paternalistic patriarchy, as can be seen through the blame and bloody terror of the witch hunts. In fact, for Federici, the spiraling amplification of violence against women traced to witch-hunting is one of the first political common grounds in the creation of the European nation-states. As follows, with the unfolding and establishment of capitalism, the female body continued to experience evolved forms of exploitation and subjugation to economic accrual that can be tied to their biological abilities to reproduce.⁴ In time, reproduction fell so deeply into the shadow of labor that feminine nature was erased from the construction of public spaces. Consequently, care work that has always been typically done in the home and that begins within the mother's body was eschewed even further from the public sphere. Federici's work serves as a historical reminder that processes of urbanization and modernization cannot begin to be understood without recurring to the manipulation, use, and abuse of women's physical bodies as well as the binary of domestic care and public waged-labor.

⁴ Birth control is an important example of modern-day manipulation that capitalist societies impose upon the female body in order to create and maintain a growing workforce, under the semblance of female independence.

Ivan Illich too was interested in the fundamental disappearance of care from modernized societies, or societies undergoing the processes of modernization. In his understudied book *Shadow Work* (1980), Illich describes shadow work as the fundamental bifurcation of work that is implicit in the industrial mode of production. This other side of being occupied that he refers to is "the unpaid work which an industrial society demands as a necessary complement to the production of goods and services." (100). It is labor done from beyond the realm of the public sphere that, in Illich's terms, "ravages subsistence" (100). In other words, shadow work can be understood as simply the housework done from the interiority of the home, work mainly performed by women, that consists of all of the modern activities connected with but not limited to shopping, cooking, cleaning, scheduling, and paying bills. It includes the stress of forced consumption, "the tedious and regimented surrender" to the needs of the public realm of labor, compliance with bureaucrats, and the preparation for work that hides under the guise of 'family life' " (100). It is work, as Illich explains, that is often difficult to identify or to define but is as time consuming as waged labor in the sphere of public work. It is also, more importantly, the work that feeds the formal economy's needs, not the needs of social subsistence. It is underpaid invisible labor, or unpaid labor, in the case of the housewife, that provide the conditions for wages to be paid in the public sphere. Shadow work, then, can be understood as a bondage to the ever-changing needs of the processes of modernization seen from outside the space of the home. While wage labor is performed through an application and qualification process of initiation, shadow work is delegated through birth or diagnosis as female from behind closed doors (100).

Illich explains that what the advent of capitalism and its metonymic processes of modernization consider to be the successful position of labor, is a rupture from the position the wage-laborer held during the Middle Ages:

What today stands for work, namely wage labor, was a badge of misery all through the Middle Ages. It stood in clear opposition to at least three other types of toil: the activities of the household by which most people subsisted, quite marginal to any money economy; the trades of people who made shoes, barbered or cut stones; the various forms of beggary by which people lived on what others shared with them.... medieval society's structural design excluded unemployment and destitution. (102)

In medieval times, throughout Western Europe, the dependence on wage labor was tied to the understanding that the worker did not have a home where he could contribute within the household. Paradoxical to modern thought, begging was considered to be the right of man where working in the public sphere was not (103). It was in the modern era that "an unprecedented economic division of the sexes, an unprecedented economic conception of the family [and] an unprecedented antagonism between the domestic and public spheres made wage work into a necessary adjunct of life" (107).

In this same vein, Marx too critiqued the transformation of the divide between public labor and work done from within the space of the home:

The labour of women and children was, therefore, the first thing sought for by capitalists who used machinery. That mighty substitute for labour and labourers was forthwith changed into a means for increasing the number of wage-labourers by enrolling, under the direct sway of capital, every member of the workman's

family, without distinction of age or sex. Compulsory work for the capitalist usurped the place, not only of the children's play, but also of free labour at home within moderate limits for the support of the family. (394-5)

In Spain, although capitalism arrived as an afterthought through uneven processes of modernization, the nineteenth century paved the way for the domestication of women and their enclosure behind the walls of the home, as well as the invisibilization of women's tasks and chores that metonymically continued the structure that had, for centuries, allowed for the domestication of farm animals (Illich 107). While liberalism advanced by French thought in Spain opened doors toward the modernizing changes in the peninsula, concepts of subsistence and care were abandoned in favor of unwaged gendered work in the home. The housewife was a status born from degradation and economic dependence. This is what Illich calls, "the bourgeois war on subsistence." In the early twentieth century, the feminist movements in Spain, just as they unfolded in the rest of the Western world, will continue to be a war on subsistence in the name of freedom as work. In this sense, questions of motherhood and care that lie at the forefront of contemporary Spanish criticism today have eschewed the interests of nineteenth and twentieth century scholars who, although have taken to the rather complicated separation of public and private in the rapidly changing Spanish landscape and political scape of these time periods, do not breach the uncomfortable shifts that occur in the home in the name of progress and modernity.

Before I continue, it is worth noting that my research does not wish to in any way go against the strides gained by Women's Liberation movements. On the contrary, in discussing radical feminist thought in regards to a time when the home was considered

akin to enslavement by traditionalists and progressives alike, a greater understanding of Spain's entrance into modernity and consequently into capitalism becomes an important line of thinking in order to study certain social formations that continue to impact the country today.

The majority of the critical work on the interior space of the home in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries mainly considers American and northern-European narrative and focuses on the structural changes faced by women emerging to the public realm (Marilyn Chandler, Liana F. Piehler, Kristen Belgum, and Judith Flanders). In a wider context that also focuses on the nature of interiority, one of the most important texts that will spearhead recent studies on the Western home and the enslavement of the bourgeois woman is *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* (1979) by Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar. This widely read text heavily criticizes the domestic ideal in authorship where the pen is read as the metaphorical penis which simultaneously inscribes two incapacitating and stereotypical images of the female subject---angel of the hearth and monster--while erasing feminine possibility from authorship.

In the Peninsular context, recent studies by Noël Valis and Estela Vieira have translated the topic of the interior of the home specifically to the Spanish domain. In doing so, they have highlighted the rhetorical function of the interior space, or a poetics of space in line with Gaston Bachelard's phenomenological reading in *Poetics of Space*, to understand nuances of bourgeois life in the novels addressed. That is, in Bachelard's notion of poetics of space, the home renders visible a recuperation of the past through spaces that are concealed from the inside the structure of the house. These spaces lend

themselves to a Jungian understanding of human intimacy as the aesthetics of the hidden "houses" within the house--drawers, boxes, chests, closets, etc--reveal an interior poetic that adheres by the shape and the movement of the image, shielding all that is exterior to these forms. At the same time, the exterior is what dictates the way that "the house furnishes us" (3). The studies theoretically based on Bachelard's work fixate on the economic trends in the public sphere that subsequently illuminate interior architecture, privacy and life that goes beyond the political; the house that Bachelard refers to as "our corner of the world," (4) where our memories are housed and our desires coo us back to its center. For Bachelard, one can go as far as to conceive the structure as well as the emotional territory that the house provides not only as the epicenter of maternal care but also as the place of birth origin: "When we dream of the house we were born in, in the utmost depths of reverie, we participate in this original warmth, in this well-tempered matter of the material paradise" (7). The Peninsular studies that highlight Bachelard's interior maternal illustrations as physically and emotionally inscribed in nineteenth century literary character either paint the woman as an *ángel del hogar* or showcase the female subject as transgressive in her desire, sexuality, and privacy, isolating her into an enclosed but subversive world of poetic interiority.

Noël Valis' 2002 book *The Culture of cursilería* argues that *cursilería*, followed by camp and kitsch, is emblematic of the Spanish middle class from the nineteenth century until present times. This is important, for Valis' intervention, to understand how the Spanish middle class responded to the relative historical changes brought about by modernity through cultural attitudes, practices, and production. The home space, for Valis, is painted as part of the periphery, alongside the backwardness of the countryside.

It is also deemed as an overarching feminine space that lends itself toward transgressive behavior against the public sphere. Seen specifically as a Spanish problem, Valis notes: Modernists like Valle-Inclán and Llanas Agulaniedo and vanguardists like Gómez de la Serna and Lorca end up aestheticizing *cursilería* as feminine space of home. Home and feminine are, in truth, variations on a theme, the theme of local life, which has been the consistently prevailing form of social habitus in Spanish society until recently. (24)

These various themes, as Valis continues, speak to an inevitable nostalgia or a yearning for the home, where the home, although peripheric in nature, offers a space of retreat and a site of restoration (27). The conceptualization of the home as a feminized, dated space, and as "intimately and irresistibly linked to the phenomenon of nostalgia," (244) is repeated in later Peninsular studies that too locate the home as a site of interiority and transgressivity. In her more recent *Interiors and Narratives: A spatial poetics of Machado de Assis, Eça de Queirós, and Leopoldo Alas* (2012), Estela Viera too reveals the house as a site of nostalgia and in doing so, in line with critical works by Sergio Beser, Jacqueline C. Nanfito, Harriert Turner, and Dale Pratt, points to the nuanced possibilities of understanding narrative through interiority. At the heart of her study is the axiom that "the subjective search for an inner life associated with modernist writing originates in the private interior as a space of retreat for both female and male characters" (224). In this poetically incited world, the innate details of architecture and materiality of things are significant in our understanding of the exterior world and its historical moment. Ultimately, what both Valis' and Viera's studies have in common is a fixation on the economic trends in the public sphere that illuminate interior architecture and poetic expression of life in their studied novels.

Also pertinent to my work is Akiko Tsuchiya's intervention that approaches the home from a gendered perspective in which she discusses the instability of masculinity in the nineteenth century. In her focus on Clarín's *El único hijo*, Tsuchiya's analysis questions notions of gender normativity in men in *fin de siglo* Spain. While her research proposes an interesting and necessary twist to the gender question that mainly showcases the female subject, her method of reading the loss of masculinity through desire and feminine transgression is cast as solely a problem of the bourgeois sphere where deviance is presented as a welcomed trope.

Inserting my dissertation in dialogue with these studies, I propose a historical and theoretical intervention regarding the transformative space of the Spanish home that departs from the traditional Spanish *casona* that Pedro Antonio de Alarcón recognizes as a relic of the past: "La Casa, aquella mansión tan sagrada para el patriarca antiguo, para el ciudadano romano, para el señor feudal, para el árabe; la Casa, arca santa de los penates, templo de la hospitalidad, tronco de la raza, altar de la familia, ha desaparecido completamente en las capitales modernas" (1675). The historical periods that frame my study are composed of diverse cultural and literary movements from which questions regarding the disappearance of the traditional and sacred space of respite and retreat arise. For example: How does a culture of domesticity marginalize the subjects who permit the functionality of this very space? As we begin to question the universality of *el hogar* as a feminine space, which nuanced and marginalized subjectivities are made visible? How does the emergence of the modern home evade capitalist structures of labor? Can we understand the advancement of technology, industrialization and consumption as propelled by as well as very deeply enmeshed within the space of the

home? These overarching questions exemplify the polemic of the home that *A Return to the Oikos* addresses.

The historical period that frames my dissertation begins with the popular Revolution of 1854 and concludes in the first half of the Francoist dictatorship, otherwise known as the Spanish autarky. In approaching Spain's first nineteenth century revolution as my point of departure, I propose that the politicization of proletarian rural labor interests in the Spanish national context coincides with the development of urban ideals of domesticity as a consequence of the process of progress in Spain during this time. In other words, my research is informed by the changes born from national recognition of popular and working classes' needs that coincide with both rise of the bourgeois home and the merge of family life into the realm of modern consumerism (Cruz 53).

A Return to the Oikos also considers the emergence of a literate public that Spain will experience circa 1857: a steep rise from a mere 6% literacy rate to a startling 22% in such a brief period of time.⁵ Overall, I argue that the mid-nineteenth century as a turning point that transforms the home beyond its traditional representations. As Jesús Cruz states in his study on Spanish homes in the nineteenth century in *The Rise of the Middle-Class Culture in Nineteenth-Century Spain*, it is this historical moment that coincides with "greater emphasis on the functionality of domestic space, an increased concern with hygiene, and new technical and industrial innovations [that] intended to make domestic life more comfortable" (65). This turn toward the utilitarian domestic marks the conceptualization and the construction of the modern home that my project addresses.

⁵ I wish to thank Ignacio J. López for this insightful statistic.

In staging *A Return to the Oikos* beginning with the Progressive Biennium of 1854-1856, I approach issues dealing with the home that develop and are transformed over the next near-one-hundred years. Subsequently, my project dialogues with cultural production that transverses the Revolution of 1868, *la Gloriosa*, the Restoration (1875-1923), Primo de Rivera's regime (1923-1930), the Second Republic (1931-1939), The Civil War (1936-1939), and the isolating years of hunger under the Francoist dictatorship. For the purposes of this dissertation, I conclude my historical intervention with the autarkic regime in 1942 since my third and fourth chapters lay out the period leading up to the civil war as pertinent for our understanding the transformation of the home during the oppressive hunger years that form the first half of Franco's regime. Throughout my dissertation, I am interested in thinking how the space of the home reveals ties both promoting or resisting ideological or governmental design and desire.

In this sense, Walter Benjamin's fragmentary notetaking of *The Arcade Project*, has been essential to my theoretical understanding of the home as a space of force that becomes a stronghold in itself. In his reflection, Benjamin refers to the physical spaces of the interiority of the bourgeois home more than he does about the people living in them. For Benjamin, the space itself is personified in a phantasmagorical almost animalistic production or show: "Nineteenth century domestic interior. The space itself--puts on, like an alluring creature, the costumes of moods" (216). The structural edification of the lifeless spaces of the bourgeois home become very much performative as these references conjure images that span non-organic life--dwelling as a velvet-lined compass--to the diversity of the animal kingdom--dwelling as a shell; dwelling as a spider's web; dwelling as a mother's womb (221)--to the surrealism of the oniric state--

dwelling as "stimulus to intoxication and dream" (216). The bourgeois space, then, exists *a priori* to the inhabitants whose bodies are manipulated and limited by the nature of the abode's construction. Consequently, the consideration of dwelling becomes so extreme for Benjamin that it almost seems that those that dwell have mutated to confront and abide by the severe conditions that the home structure has provided for, so much so that they must remain inside the structure with no future of escape. The outer frame of the home acts as an impenetrable shield that protects its warrior-like inhabitants from the wretchedness and paltriness of the outside world. Benjamin goes as far as to define the verb "to dwell" as a transitive verb: "as in the notion of "indwelt spaces"; herewith an indication of the frenetic topicality concealed in a habitual behavior. It has to do with fashioning a shell for ourselves" [14,5] (221).

Benjamin marks a clear divide between dwelling as a nineteenth century phenomenon for the bourgeois family and that for the impoverished dweller in inciting Marx: "The savage in his cave...feels...at home there...But the basement apartment of the poor man is a hostile dwelling, 'an alien, restraining power, which gives itself up to him only insofar as he gives up to his blood and sweat' " (223-224). For Benjamin, the all-encompassing notion of "the dwelling" reveals satanic underpinnings both for the wealthy dweller and for the poor one but the poor's dwellings are prisons instead of fortresses as well as the foundation of the rich man's "satanic contentment" (216). Interestingly, for Benjamin, the poor dweller's place of rest resides at the very center of yet another power conflict that unveils itself in the nineteenth century through an obscuring of power relations. That is, as more sustained forms of a power dialectic become blurred in the face of rent culture and its symbiotic relationship between renter

and rentee establish itself as the future norm, the bourgeois home is a stage where a "mascarade of styles" (218) unfolds in haste in an attempt to redirect the power complex.

Informed by Benjamin, *A Return to the Oikos* therefore distances itself from isolating gazes through which the house has been analyzed. In an effort to depart from the highly poetized Spanish *fin de siglo* home, the ensuing study addresses examples of literary and cultural production spanning from the mid-nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century in Spain that place the home at the center of a general social conflict in the larger period of Spanish modernization. In discussing this space as one that is deeply intercalated in economic and political thresholds, I return to an ancient concept, that of the *oikos*, to bring to bear the fissures that are made visible in theorizing the urban habitats as "intimate", "curial", "poetic", "nostalgic", "or feminine".

While my dissertation has been informed by a plethora of scholars both from the Peninsularist field and beyond, there are certain scholars to whom *A Return to the Oikos* is indebted. The *ángel del hogar*, for example, has been fleshed out extensively by Bridget Aldaraca, Jo Labanyi, Susan Kirkpatrick, and Michelle Geoffrion-Vinci as an ideological figure whose subjectivity promotes notions of domesticity through her constructed femininity. At the heart of the conception of this figure is an implicit "naturalness" of femininity that is simultaneously considered inherent to the woman's biology while ironically something taught or imposed by the countless conduct manuals on domestic cultivation that debut at the beginning of the nineteenth century (Aldaraca 32). These conduct manuals neatly coincide with the Romantic liberal expression in Spain. In *Don Álvaro o la fuerza del sino* (1835), for example-- the early nineteenth century Spanish play that perhaps most embodies the torment and tragic symbols of the

artistic movement--, the most prominent objective of Don Álvaro is to maintain his father's name alive. Yet, his mother, an Incan princess who is a prime romantic character in her upmost singularity, is considered to be worth much less than the father in the eyes of the son and resides far from the spotlight in the actual drama. In fact, as Jo Labanyi suggests regarding this early nineteenth century piece, "the paternal order is one in which women, if they exist at all, are of inferior status and at the same time idealized" (17). In other words, what is idealized in this female character, even more than her exoticness, is her femininity. The movement toward understanding the feminine as inherent to the female subject coincides with the individualistic society that began to penetrate Spain in the 1830s.

In approaching the topic of domesticity, the aforementioned critics have offered nuanced perspectives that have informed my research on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Labanyi approaches the intersections between gender and modernity in the nineteenth century; Geoffrion-Vinci studies women, home, and loss in Rosalía de Castro's feminist poetry; Kirkpatrick presents scholarship with a compelling re-reading of modernist texts written by women at the beginning of the twentieth century as a rethinking of the predominantly masculine Spanish canon. Furthermore, Aldaraca enhances recent Peninsular scholarship on the space of the home with her definition of the world of domesticity as incarcerating (57). As she points out, as early as 1863, women are considered to aspire to receive such a "sweet slavery" in order to aid in man's seeking of independence (58). However, while spiritual and moral emancipation as well as transgression and interior self become, to a greater extent, topics of scholarly debate

at that time, anti-feminist sentiment that continued to defend the moral deficiency of the woman based on her inferiority and her capacity to imitate continued to prevail as well.

The nineteenth century is not the first historical moment to denote the inferiority of women to men through cultural imagination. In fact, much of the rhetoric surrounding domesticity in the nineteenth century is born from the religious literature of the Counter Reformation (Cruz 57). Fray Luis de León's *La perfecta casada* (1583), for example, points to a moral hierarchy of economies both inside and outside the home space that place the wife as the "custodian and judicious administrator" of the "inherited patrimony of her marriage partner" (Aldaraca 34). Without connections to the production of wealth, women, according to Fray Luis, were expected to conserve it: "...la mujer, que por ser de natural flaco y frío es inclinada al sossiego y a la escasez, y es buena para guardar" (León 22). Women in particular made good keepers of the wealth from within the household economy given their fragility, which Fray Luis considered to be a moral weakness. This book was written long before capitalism established itself as the center of social economies but in this pre-capitalist agrarian society, the wife's position seems to foreshadow that of the nineteenth century *ángel* in so much as the perfect wife's role in the conservation of the household economy is considered to be an important move toward protecting household wealth: "...y con tenerla a ella por guarda y por beneficiadora de lo cogido, tiene riqueza bastante" (22). The woman, as we see, is already being confined behind the walls of the home.

Yet, unlike the *ángel del hogar*, Fray Luis' perfect wife was not considered to be the spiritual keeper of the home space but the "administrator of a large estate with powerful if limited authority over the household servants and slaves" (Aldaraca 39).

Despite this major difference, the concept of the industrious housewife of the nineteenth century through the domestication of the Spanish home, in many ways, was an appropriation of these ideals of the Old Regime. Domestic fiction, journalism, and Costumbrist literature will contribute to the national imagination of the home space but with the years following *La Gloriosa*, national perspectives of social configurations including the home will be put into perspective.

Along these lines, my work is indebted to Ignacio Javier López's prolific scholarship on the Restoration period in Spain as well as to his criticism on the changing face of the Spanish landscape at the end of the twentieth century. Specifically, his interest in the fall of the aristocratic home and the rise of rent culture in urban centers is central to my own investigation. Furthermore, Jesús Cruz's sociological perspective on the changes that the home undergoes with the rise of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of urban culture in Spain is equally as important to my research. Mary Nash and Christine Arkininstall offer critical feminist approaches to reading the early twentieth century through the dictatorship in Spain that have aided my work. Roberta Johnson's research on the legality of domesticity from the end of the nineteenth century through Francoism as well as Helen Graham's scholarship on the role of women under the Francoist dictatorship is too criticism to which I am deeply indebted.

At this juncture, it is worth pausing to understand how the conceptual frame of the *oikos* opens to a nuanced way of reading the nineteenth and twentieth century Spanish home as a central component of the maintenance of the expanding city space. Of the various studies that approach the concept of *oikos* in regards to the *polis*, both ancient and modern, Nicole Loraux's scholarship and Hannah Arendt's theoretical recasting of

the concept inform my study. Where Loraux narrows her gaze toward the inconceivability of the conception of passion in the city-state as well as toward the concept of *páthos* as the catalyst for civic regulations throughout human existence, Arendt presses toward the misrepresentations of the Greek concept *oikos*, in the Latinized dominion. Both approaches coincide in their understanding of the term's original significance in Greek thought under which a direct binary exists between the human capacity for political organization and the natural association of the family whose center is the home (*oikia*).

Loraux problematizes the polemic of citizenship through the act of inhabiting (*oikêsis*) a specific space claiming that for Aristotle, the *oikêsis* of the Metic or slave could not be taken into account if we are to think of inhabitance as citizenship. As Aristotle made clear in *Politics*, these marginalized subjects had no defining space in the political domain in ancient Athens (xi). Rather, they "resided" or "domiciled" in the space of the home (*Born of the Earth* 62) where the domestic economy was composed of the relations between slave-master and slave, husband and wife, mother and children, and art and finance (Aristotle xi). The slave's role was equivalent to that of an animal due to his inability to possess reason (xii). If it is in the home where the slave was considered an "animate instrument or assistant in the sphere of action" (xi), the citizen would have been defined as the subject that is formed in the private sphere in order to succeed in the public sphere; a non-subject sent away from the home to become a soldier (*Mothers in Mourning* 13). Arendt expands upon this polemic by uncovering the meaning of the word "private" as the "private state of private," or, to put it in simplified terms, a space or a state of being deprived of something. In her words: "The man who

lived only a private life, who like the slave was not permitted to enter the public realm, or like the barbarian had chosen not to establish such a realm, was not fully human" (38). Yet, as Arendt notes, Western thought has ceased to understand the term "private" as "deprivation" mainly because the private sphere has found its modern significance through the birth of the needs of modern individualism (28). Furthermore, the very heart of the realm of the private, or of the *oikos*, is understood in modern culture due to an age-old mis-translation and re-appropriation of this Greek term into Latin. Its adaption into Roman-Christian thought has remained at the base of Western cultures' understanding of the household and political domain. That is, with the advent of modernity emerges the new concept of the social, a notion that moves beyond the political/household dichotomy but that has been misappropriated and mis-equated with the political realm (28).

For both Loraux and Arendt, there exists a direct correlation between public and political, which forms the binary between itself and the household-as-private, but the term social cannot be defined by either category, public or private. Therefore, the social becomes the liminal space under which civic boundaries dissolve. Inasmuch as Arendt sees a direct correlation between the emergence of the social and its political form in the nation-state (28), I address the social as it unfolds in the home, that is, the very space that historically existed as a retainer or as a buffer for what Loraux describes as the unconceivable seeping of *páthos* into the *polis*. In the case of my dissertation, the *polis* is represented both by the modernized urban landscape of Spain as well as through the omnipresence of ideological national discourses that also find their way into the home, both rural and urban.

In re-appropriating the Greek notion of the *oikos* as my theoretical point of departure, I refer to the house as the site of production and "shadow work" that condition the possibility of social capital and general productivity in the public sphere. I believe that the cultural production of the mid-nineteenth through mid-twentieth century in Spain reveals the house, or the space represented by the *oikos*, as an exception to the visible domain of politics and labor and, at the same time, the condition of the production of these categories in the public sphere. If previous studies on the interior space of the home of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century in Spain predominantly reflect upon the growing capitalist production of commodities, where fascination with material culture becomes a fetishism (Vieira 2), I bring to bear the invisible functions of capitalist production and national construction that permit the existence of the bourgeois home and said material culture in modern Spain. A rethinking of the Greek concept of the *oikos* allows for my theoretical departure and radicalization of this space.

Likewise, Giorgio Agamben's concept of *stasis* has been crucial for my understanding of ways in which politics seep into the intimacy of the home beyond an allegorical interpretation. It illuminates the aftermath of the public confrontation that unfolds in the private sphere. Although the concept of the private space, or the *oikos*, is a space of deprivation, of inhumanity, or of barbarism, as Agamben notes, "L'*oikos* è essenzialmente ambivalente: esso è, da una parte, un fattore di divisione e di conflitti, dall'altra è il paradigma che permette la riconciliazione di ciò che ha diviso" as well

(18).⁶ The home space can be considered an ambivalent space inasmuch as it functions simultaneously as a place of rest and retreat from the post-war city as well as a platform for the conflicts and divisions inherent in war time. It is, in effect, the very platform that gives light to the impossibility of the end of war as a means of life. The contenders, as Agamben suggests, are the family members living together inside the home space: "In quanto la guerra civile è connaturata alla famiglia - è, cioè, *oikeios polemos*, <<guerra in casa>> (16).⁷ If times of peace are the times that bind the family members by blood, then times of war perpetually superimpose the first. As Nicole Loraux reads this space, it is "simultaneously partisanship, faction, sedition (10).

The historical period that frames my research generates a diversified breadth of literary, artistic and filmic works that take place in the space of the home and that reveal the subtle but deep conflict that Agamben refers to. After all, it is during this period that many of Spain's most famous literary homes are created in their intricate web of social struggles. In Galdós' *Fortunata y Jacinta* (1887) we can refer to several of these spaces: Fortunata's home above the infamous stairwell where she encounters Juanito Santa Cruz for the first time; Maxi Rubín's home where we meet his industrious aunt as well as the transgressive Papitos; the decadent home of the Santa Cruz and so forth. Clarín's creation of *La Regenta* bestows the reading public with Ana Ozores' home that will make Vetusta an infamous town. One cannot overlook Federico García Lorca's *La Casa de Bernarda Alba* or Carmen Laforet's house on Aribau Street in *Nada* that have fostered

⁶ All translations are my own. Translation: The *oikos* is essentially ambivalent: that is, on the one hand, it is a factor in conflict and separation, but on the other, the paradigm that allows for the reconciliation of that what has been divided.

⁷ Translation: Given that the civil war is inherent in the family, it is then an *oikeios polemos*, <<war in the home>>.

a plethora of critical thinking focused on female subjectivity, emancipation, and its affects. Perhaps more conceptual is the space of the home in José Camilo Cela's *La familia de Pascual Duarte* as deeply entrenched in an omnipresent political and ideological manipulation. My dissertation wishes to rethink some of these canonical works as well as lesser-known works that converge in their portrayal of the home as a space that is highly linked to the political and economic transformations between the mid-nineteenth through the mid-twentieth centuries.

A Return to the Oikos is divided into four chapters in which I analyze various texts produced during the historical frame between 1854 and 1942. Always keeping in mind that cultural production allows for our understanding of social relations, these chapters intend to uncover social realities in the interior space of the nineteenth and twentieth century Spanish literary and filmic home in Spain that predominantly reflect upon the growing capitalist production of commodities and the novel fascination with material culture that characterize bourgeois culture and society in Spain but that have also been obfuscated by scholarship.

My first chapter, "Remembering the Home: Nostalgia and Interiority in Nineteenth Century Spain," studies interior space simultaneously as a point of origin and a point of departure; a lost ideal in a world that was moving away from the nuclear family at the center of the home space and the testimony of an evolution that will come to define the modern world. The problems that these pages set out to address refer to the literary representation of the Spanish home during the pivotal years in which Spain was not only progressing toward vertiginous modern transformations but literature was beginning to be understood as an integral player in the modernizing project of Spain's

national and cultural imaginary. Concretely, I strive to know: while domesticity swiftly blanketed the ideal of the home during the second half of the nineteenth century, what can the home of times passed, the *gran casona* nostalgically ridden with domesticated natural spaces and communal scenes, provide for our understanding of the cultural imaginary of post-revolutionary nineteenth century Spain? What do the idyllic, circadian rhythmic scenes conjured from inside the space of the home evoke for an imagined modern national construction given that nostalgia implies a conflict with the past and present? What are the fissures in the liberal notion of progress that the space of the home is able to unveil?

In an attempt to shed light on certain answers to these overarching questions, I first turn to two canonical texts written in the second half of the nineteenth century: *La familia de Alvarada* (1856) by Fernán Caballero and *El sombrero de tres picos* (1874) by Pedro Antonio de Alarcón. Both texts offer separate accounts of the space of the home that will bring to bear nostalgic conceptions of interiority prior to the inexorable establishment of nineteenth century domestic culture. In positioning these narratives as a recuperation of the past during two diverging historical moments that foreshadowed a future bourgeois order, these novels render nostalgic visions of Spain from within the home. Written decades after 1808--the year that scholarship considers to bring about Spain's modern awakening--*La familia de Alvarada* and *El sombrero de tres picos* use this same early nineteenth century year as a point of departure to portray the shadows of Napoleon's pact with Godoy and the subsequent physical and cultural pollination from France. The works that I have chosen, whose authors have been shunned by modern and contemporary scholars alike for their reactionary positioning on the wrong side of the

Spanish revolutionary cause, paint crucial renditions of the home that illustrate fissures in the dichotomizing processes of tradition and modernity. At the same time, they can be seen as texts that enter into the contemporary discussion of, or obsession with, the rebirth of the national novel in Spain.

Parting from these analyses, I am interested in uncovering the transformations that occur inside and outside of the aristocratic home that lead to its supposed "demise" in favor of an urban more transient bourgeois order of the late nineteenth century. In doing so, I conclude by turning to *Don Gonzalo González de la Gonzalera* (1879) by José María de Pereda in order to question the very essence of what scholarship has understood as the "demise," "destruction" and the "moral decay" (Aldaraca 26) of the grand *casona*. I reconsider the formation of a bourgeois domestic ideal that praises the *ángel del hogar* in conceptualizing the family. If the Spanish *casona*, in its aristocratic apogee, represented tradition, roots and continuity (López 246), and was a space that was visualized as being the very "pilar" of the community (246), its use-value was deeply entrenched in established and repeated traditions (247), then, I ask, what becomes of it and those that reside in the home once this space undergoes its modernizing transformation in the nineteenth century? At the same time, what remains of the *casona* in both its ideological reaches and metonymical association of roots and continuity (246) through the passage of time? By modernization of the home I refer to the establishment of rent culture, transient living, the vertiginous changing pace of time, and, of course, modernizing domestic and national discourses that will dictate the varying uses of public and private space in *fin de siglo* Spain. In commenting *Don Gonzalo González de la Gonzalera*, I posit that the ideal of the household of the Old Regime comes to be

represented through a nostalgic vision of a lost cyclical time that provokes a dialectical clash between the Old Regime and the liberal cause.

In analyzing all three of these works, I focus on the Greek concept of the *oikos* to offer a nuanced understanding of the space of the home that goes beyond the vigorously studied notion of domesticity. Whereas the concept of interiority that takes the stage in the mid-nineteenth century in Spain as the domestic interior of the bourgeois home tends to gravitate toward tropes of home, family, warmth, comfort, refuge, intimacy, privacy, and are most always in the onus of the female, I recur to notions of interiority that, in speaking directly to their recent historical past, unearth conceptualizations of the inner space of the home that are very much tied to and not removed from the outer political world.

My second chapter, "Beyond Domesticity: Female Liberation From the Inside Out," inserts itself in dialogue with recent peninsular scholarship in order to offer a diverging view of the home space that departs from the blanketing concept of domesticity and contrarian sentiments that place capital and economy at the center of a greater progressive turn in Spain in the early twentieth century. By broadly highlighting iterations of domesticity and transgressive femininity in important nineteenth century texts, with emphasis on *Fortunata y Jacinta* (1887) and *Gloria* (1877) by Benito Pérez Galdós, I turn to Miguel de Unamuno's *La Tía Tula* (1927) and Rosa Chacel's first novel, *Estación. Ida y Vuelta* (1930). I do so in order to introduce frameworks of the home of the early twentieth century that can be understood beyond the domestic as well as beyond feminine deviance. Instead of referring to the spatial liberation of the woman into the public sphere of work, I destabilize the patriarchal connotations at the heart of

domesticity by inverting the home into a plausible space of freedom that in itself cannot be understood through scholarship's iterations of the *ángel del hogar* or *dama del hogar*. At the same time, I don't wish to disregard such iterations but rather offer a diverse line of thinking the home that both complements and challenges them.

In this sense, this chapter wishes to show that modernity, often illustrated as synonymous with a universalizing identitarian logic "reveals on closer examination a multiplicity of voices and perspectives that cannot be easily synthesized into a single, unified ideology or world view" (Felski 8). In defining the critical underpinnings of domesticity in tandem with the historical components that allowed for such a culture to take hold within the urbanization of the Spanish city, I show that domesticity cannot be the only concept under which the home space is defined at this time. At the heart of this chapter is the essential supposition that the home must begin to be understood not as much of a space of retreat, intimacy or poetic interiority. Rather, I portray it as a malleable space that opens to the discussion of a modern conceptualization of the *oikos* that will help facilitate a deeper understanding of the necessary but persistently obfuscated or blurred correlation that exists between the public and the private spheres for the realization of progress, development, and nation building.

In my third chapter, "From the Contours of Progress Toward the Dictatorship: Shadow Work in the Twentieth Century Spanish Home," I rethink the function of the home during the first half of the twentieth century in order to uncover the various ways in which the home space existed as an unconditional site for invisible labor outside the public frame of exploitation. This work, or "shadow work," a term borrowed from Ivan Illich's thought, speaks to the underappreciated toil performed by subjects that are not

compensated, which is paradoxically necessary for economic progress. In looking at various iterations of shadow work in Spain, these pages strive to conceive the Francoist vision of the perfect housewife, not as a figure created by rupturing with the past, but as one that becomes an overt and conscious iteration of the domestic laborer position shunned by *la nueva mujer* of the twentieth century. By closely reading Carmen de Burgos' *La flor de la playa* (1920), I look at iterations of shadow work that evolve into symptoms of the modern woman. These symptoms translate into a reality under the Francoist regime, as seen through the 1951 film, *Surcos*, by José Antonio Nieves Conde. Nieves Conde was far from being considered a feminist, but his highly acclaimed and critiqued work uncovers a feminist leaning.

In creating a dialogue between consecutive historical moments, I focus on the impressions of the works realized in the home in conjunction with the mapping of the social that unfolds in the realist and melodramatic texts. I also look at the upkeep of the bourgeois home as depicted in the framing of the two. I claim that the short story and film depict the maintenance of the home as it interjects and veers away from the diverse processes of modernization and nation formation. Given the moralistic didacticism of the melodramatic short story by Burgos, and the tension that exists in the socio-mimetic fiction of realism displayed in Conde Nieve's pivotal film, these texts highlight the tenuous continuation of the home as an incarcerating space for women and men through its subtle transformations throughout the given historical periods.

Through the establishment of bourgeois urban culture in Spain, the home becomes deeply separated from the public sphere. In recurring to the strides that women's liberation movements throughout the twentieth century forged for a future toward a

culture of equality for men and women in the public sphere of work, labor, and production, I propose that the maintenance of life itself was left out of the concept of equality. While women garnered education, labor skills, and careers, and even when these steps towards progress are rescinded during the Francoist dictatorship, I argue that the home space continuously functioned as the condition for order and success in the public sphere, but was consistently deemed as a non-space from the diverse angles of production, women's liberation movements, fascism, as well as Marxist thought. It is a space that was considered separate from the reaches of production, yet the very site of the condition of the possibility of production.

By proposing a connecting arch between the pre-Franco era and the dictatorship, I am not arguing in favor of a direct linear continuation of the function of the home between them. On the contrary, I posit that the home space does undergo a more visible albeit negative transformation with regards to its female caretakers during the Francoist regime. Yet what I am suggesting is that this transformation that highlights women as the pious, pure, and demure angels of the hearth produces a function of society that had shifted to include lower classes as their angels visible. In simple terms, the invisible home that was the center or the bearer of the formal public economy, through Francoist ideology becomes a visible site of oppression for women. In this sense, the function of the home throughout the twentieth century upholds the original Marxist critique that the home space was the first victim of capitalism's progressive desire. It is, in the case of Spain, the first victim of Francoism as well.

My fourth and final chapter, "A Woman's Space? Masculinity and Nihilism in the Home in Carmen Laforet's *Nada*", parts from the axiom that the home as allegory has

been a prevalent trope in cultural production, long employed to understand the social state of the nation throughout modern times. In doing so, it focuses predominately on Carmen Laforet's *Nada*, a canonical rendering of the home space under the Francoist dictatorship. Since its publication, *Nada* has received wide critical reception that has mainly focused on female subjectivity, emancipation, and affects. Likewise, most contributions that have approached Laforet have privileged the role of female characters in the novel. The thesis of this chapter displaces this focus by reading *Nada* through the experiences of male characters that cohabit different sites within the house and space of Aribau. Although I do not seek to disregard the centrality and aporias of affectual crisis at work in female experience within the narrative fabric of the novel, I contend that by closely examining the drives of male characters such as Román or Juan, the reader comes to understand a broader and more complex picture of post-civil war Spain as driven by precariousness and traversed by the imagination of hunger and poverty.

In rendering both Juan and Román, the two most obvious vile and violent perpetrators of the novel, as victims themselves to a much larger dynamic of cultural imagination, I wish to uncover the space of the home as one that challenges national discourses but that, at the same time, victimizes those that unwillingly unravel cultural imaginaries under which both men and women are interpolated by an "ideal" place and purpose in society. In this light, I propose to understand the house on Aribau as a performative space that defies the Francoist imaginary and by doing so, brings to bear questions of domestic victimization that speak to larger precepts and limitations of community.

Through this analysis it becomes evident that space is fundamental in *Nada*, in the way in which we understand the implications of the home and its relationship to those that traverse it. The home is where the majority of social conflicts unfold, where past and present conflate, and where times of war and peace become blurred. Furthermore, it is in the space of the home that the function of economy becomes a relevant tool to understand the problems of poverty, money, and hunger as the very elements that propel and inform the passionate and violent effects of the novels, specifically those masculine figures that transgress the national turn toward order and work in the public sphere. The precarious lives of Andrea's two uncles impart their destructive habits as primordial responses to the inability to perform their masculinity as imagined by the political sphere. Yet their transgressive ways serve as a response to the national discourse. It is through their art, on the one hand, that their own expression is created beyond the reason of the dictatorship and those characters that represent it.

On the other hand, if this novel possesses the capacity to be read in different registers, then the home on Aribau's metaphorical symbolism of the oppressed under Francoism also serves as a conceptual space of nihilism that wishes to negate all forms of authority in a moment of *stasis*--a political paralysis, or civil war, that suspends its own functions (Agamben, *Stasis*, 18)--while simultaneously opening to a critique that lies outside the political space of norms, language, and social spaces. By further following the Nietzschean concept of political nihilism, I understand the house on Aribau Street and the masculine dysfunction within its walls to symbolize a rebellious destruction of the image of the family institution at the heart of the Francoist national discourse. If, in its formation, the state had proposed the rigid familial social structure

and social values that can be visualized through Ena's picture-perfect family, then the grotesque existence of the family on Aribau allegorically symbolizes a parody of the totalitarian Spanish state. It is through the near esperpentic, or hyperbolic, gestures of Juan and Ramón that locate the home as a site of warfare, even beyond the close of the Civil War. In doing so, the house on Aribau is presented as a point of melding between public and private; between the political and the non-political; between peace and war. It is a space that sheds light on the problematic nature of the modern community, as based on a constitutive debt that, according to Roberto Esposito, originates in every form of the community (4).

As my introduction suggests, *A Return to the Oikos* makes a critical intervention regarding the political nature of the home space during a historical era that has eschewed this type of scholarly attention. In doing so, it was born from the need to address the fissures that remain in the recent scholarship that understands the Spanish home as an intimate, feminine, or *cursi* space. In distancing my research from such typical categories that also tend to lead toward a poetics of space, I dialogue with critical questions, which, although not solely pertinent to this historical and geographical frame, address relevant polemics regarding it. These problems, in turn, foster radicalized visions of understanding the formation of the Spanish nation beyond a bourgeois construction but, at the same time, are revealed from inside the bourgeois home. I leave my reader with these four chapters which I aim help to rethink the fundamental divide between public and private at the heart of the processes of modernization inherent to the particular case of Spain, its urbanization, and the various ideological shifts that occur in the late nineteenth through mid-twentieth century.

CHAPTER 1: Remembering The Home: Nostalgia and Interiority in Nineteenth Century Spain

Seven people, working together to sew a ripped sail do so gleefully under the morning sun in Joaquín Sorolla y Bastida's painting, *Cosiendo la vela* (1896). Gathered around the ruffled off-white cloth that softly ebbs and flows into the menders' hands, the subjects work in communal fashion to repair the tear. Surrounded by luscious green potted plants on the one side and thriving orange blossom trees on the other, the companions have serenely surrendered to the chore at hand. One of the five women, with a headscarf draped across her as if to shade herself from the intensity of the sun, casts a contagious smile to the woman directly to her right who, engrossed by the soothing repetitions of her stitches, seems content to not be fully engaged in the same delight. The woman to the left of the first examines the cloth meticulously as she and a plain-clothed man ponder their next steps. Two other women calmly sew while a worker, wearing a straw hat that blocks the sun from his forehead, intently observes.

The content of the painting, in many ways, evokes Sorolla's landscape paintings that depict the tranquility of Spanish ocean towns, detailed in bright colors through impressionist brush strokes. Yet, what is intriguing about *Cosiendo la vela*, more than its actual content, is its form. Unlike an endless breadth of blue ocean or green field that frame many of the Valencian painter's landscape paintings, *Cosiendo la vela* reveals interiority. The viewer, gazing into the organization of the enclosed space, immediately becomes part of the communal mending process through his or her position in the forefront of the scene. This observatory perspective reflects an exclusive community

ethic from within the inclusive interior space. Yet, what removes the viewer from the rest of the menders is, in fact, his or her location directly across from the front door, half ajar, on the opposite end of the canvas. Peering out, the viewer perceives a vague impression of the countryside whose green meadows, lush from the potent Spanish sunrays, are transformed into a sea of golden oscillations. Any hint of civilization beyond this indoor space where the sail is tended to can only be conceived, through the partially opened door, in faded sketches that trace a cluster of urban buildings nestled between trees far on the horizon.

The separation between the interior bliss and the distant urban sprawl speaks to a specific appeal that impacted the art market of late nineteenth century Spain, just as Sorolla's paintings of seascapes did. While the poetic of the sea, like many natural spaces beyond the city's reach, offered solace in the face of the vertiginous changes imposed on the Spanish landscape by modernity,⁸ the interior space provided respite for the publicly imposed norms of the bourgeois cultural sphere that preached pragmatism, seriousness and order.⁹ As the bourgeois subject established himself through a relation with things, he was also defined by the nostalgic notion that his true interiority had been undone under the pressure and influence of accumulation, much of which, from inside the home, was dedicated to conjuring the past. Reflecting, the spectator would have been overcome

⁸ The way that Sorolla represented the sea space, however, contrasted greatly to other artistic or literary creators of his time. Rubén Darío who spearheaded the modernist poetry movement in Spain vehemently rejected the socio-economic realities inherent in the burgeoning of modernity in *finde siglo* Spain. In fact, the modernist poets developed a unique poetic style that would caustically criticize the industrial and consumerist workings of modernity. If for Darío, the vastness of the ocean was a space that diametrically opposed the material culture and utility of the bourgeoisie--a space of metaphysical and existential reflection--, then for Sorolla, the ocean was a canvas that spoke to *el gusto burgués*, or, in other words, it offered him the possibility to capitalize on an esthetic that loyally propelled the market economy of art.

⁹ On the conceptual understanding of the bourgeoisie as a class that sprouts on notions of seriousness, desire and utility see Franco Moretti's *The Bourgeois: Between History and Literature* (2013).

by the impossibility of returning both in temporality and in space; even if such a possibility of return existed, this nostalgia for an ideal of interior and communal values would have offered the viewer a referent for what his or her present had become. It would have given him or her a definition upon which to continue to press forward, outward into the vertiginous changes of progress, while allowing his or her desire to yearn for a legendary or even supernatural mystique of a past concept of time. Effectively, Sorolla's style cannot be fully grasped without understanding the desires and tastes of the bourgeois class' reality through the floating signifier of "comfort" that delineated the parameters of a burgeoning consumer culture (Moretti 4).¹⁰

David Flitter suggests that Romantic historicism provided nineteenth century Spain with a nostalgic perspective of the past, evoking an ideal incarnation of a time when consumerism did not lie at the forefront of Spanish society and when tradition reigned (8); when the cyclical tempo of life, whose repetition and rhythm that abound in nature, were at the heart of domestic spaces.¹¹ Home life was guided by cyclical time because it belonged to greater concepts of duration: the cycle of life, work, and order. Progress as a concept was not epistemologically understood. By the end of the nineteenth century, from the inside the home, the tick-tock of the clock's metronome

¹⁰ *Cosiendo la vela* is one of hundreds of paintings that Sorolla will create that will evoke a nostalgic gaze unto an idyllically represented past which in turn, will contrast vehemently with the obsession of progressive literary fiction and the visual arts that wished to represent the current moment. It has been well documented that in the late nineteenth century, canonical realist writers such as Benito Pérez Galdós, Leopoldo Alas and Emilia Pardo Bazán, and to an even deeper extent lesser known literary figures such as Eduardo López Bago, Alejandro Sawa, Remigio Vega Armentero, and Enrique Sánchez Seña claimed to be in search of a scientific "truth" of sorts that, following Zola's naturalism, strove to unveil, as Akiko Tsuchiya posits "the most sordid aspects of human existence" (4).

¹¹ The Romantic writers across Europe specifically looked back to the long period between the fall of Rome and the Golden Age. In Spain, the Romantic explosion between 1834 and 1837 relied heavily on folklore and legends from this time (Flitter 9).

only softened by the daily clanking of pots and pans at meal times, would have provoked an antagonistic desire divided between the novelties, disruptions and disturbances of the industrial external tempo of life whose linear cadence trudged forward into the unknown, and the mundane comfort of repeating motions.¹² Throughout the long nineteenth century in Spain, as industrialization and economic vitality brought about social change, as social mobility became the center of urban life, and as the hustle and bustle of urbanity blanketed the center of social mobility, nostalgic paraphernalia and historical object-filled homes morphed into the norm within bourgeois order, speaking to a dialectic version of history where the object fixes and freezes the Old Regime outside of rational memory. That is, the interiority of the late nineteenth century home offered a haven for modern bourgeois families to come together, day after day, to maintain a semblance of tranquility, measured in circadian rhythms of nature, as portrayed in Sorolla's works.¹³

Similar to the form of Sorolla's *Cosiendo la vela*, the interiority that I study in this chapter is simultaneously a space of origin and a point of departure; an ideal lost in a world moving away from the center of the home space as the heart of order and community. Thinking the home of the past evokes a time lost, whose reality renders complete impenetrability to the reader of modern times. Yet, the reader at the end of the nineteenth century, enveloped in the whirling unknown of his or her moment, would seek out the shadows and contours of an interior space in hopes of reaching stillness,

¹² For a comprehensive understanding of this repetitive motion, see Stephen Jay Gould's *Times Arrow/Times Cycle: Myth and Metaphor in the Discovery of Geological Time*.

¹³ For a detailed understanding of the antagonistic dialectic that exists between cyclical and linear time, see Lefebvre, Henri. *Rythmanalysis: Space, Time, and Everyday Life*, specifically page 76.

although, he or she will find such quietude impossible to achieve.

The questions, then, that pique my attention, refer to the literary representation of the Spanish home during the pivotal years in which Spain was not only progressing toward vertiginous modern transformations but literature was beginning to be understood as an integral player in the modernizing project of Spain's national and cultural imaginary. Concretely, I strive to know the following: while domesticity swiftly blanketed the ideal of the home during the second half of the nineteenth century, what can the home of times passed, the *gran casona* nostalgically ridden with domesticated natural spaces and communal scenes, provide for our understanding of the cultural imaginary of post-revolutionary nineteenth century Spain? What do the idyllic, circadian rhythms conjured from inside the space of the home evoke for an imagined modern national construction given that nostalgia implies a conflict with the past and present? What are the fissures in the liberal notion of progress that the space of the home is able to unveil?

In an attempt to shed light on these overarching questions, I first turn to two canonical texts written in the second half of the nineteenth century: *La familia de Alvareda* (1856) by Fernán Caballero¹⁴ and *El sombrero de tres picos* (1874) by Pedro Antonio de Alarcón. Both texts, written during the *longue durée* establishment of nineteenth century domestic culture, offer two separate accounts of the space of the home that bring to bear nostalgic conceptions of interiority. In reading these narratives as a recuperation of the past during diverging historical moments that both foreshadowed

¹⁴ Fernán Caballero, the literary pseudonym for Cecilia Bohl, is the name that I will use to refer to the author from here on out.

a future bourgeois order, both novels render nostalgic visions of imagining Spain from within the home. Written decades after 1808--the year that scholarship considers to behold the beginning of Spain's modern awakening (Viñes Millet 9) --these texts will use this same early nineteenth century year as a point of departure to reveal fissures in the cultural pollination of France's liberal project.¹⁵ The works that I have chosen, whose authors have been shunned by modern and contemporary scholars alike for their reactionary positioning on what can be considered to be the wrong side of the Spanish revolutionary cause, paint crucial renditions of the home that question the dichotomizing processes of tradition and modernity that cultural critics have consistently instilled in the historical imagining of the nineteenth century social strata. At the same time, they can be seen as texts that enter into the contemporary discussion of, or obsession with, the rebirth of the national novel in Spain.

Parting from these analyses, I am interested in uncovering the transformations that occur inside and outside of the aristocratic home that lead to its supposed "demise" in favor of an urban more transient bourgeois order of the late nineteenth century, and in doing so, I conclude by turning to *Don Gonzalo González de la Gonzalera* (1879) by José María de Pereda in order to question the very essence of what scholarship has understood as the "demise", "destruction" and the "moral decay" (Aldaraca 26) of the grand *casona* as I begin to reconsider the formation of a bourgeois domestic ideal that praises the *ángel del hogar* in conceptualizing the family. If the Spanish *casona*, in its aristocratic apogee, represented tradition, roots and continuity (López, *La novela*

¹⁵ I'd like to clarify here that the purpose of this chapter is not to go against the French revolutionary project, nor to question its arrival to Spain. Rather, I wish to expose how the home space was left out of the concept of progress and forward thinking during this time of change.

ideológica 246), if it were a space that was visualized as being the very "pilar" of the community in which it stood (246), and if its use-value was deeply entrenched in established and repeated traditions (247), then, I ask, what becomes of the home and those that reside in the home once this space undergoes its modernizing transformation in the nineteenth century? At the same time, what remains of the *casona* in both its ideological reaches and metonymical association of roots and continuity (246) through the passage of time? By "modernization of the home" I refer to the establishment of rent culture, of transient living, such as *casas de huéspedes*, the vertiginous changing pace of time, and, of course, modernizing domestic and national discourses that will dictate the varying uses of public and private space in *fin de siglo* Spain. In making reference to *Don Gonzalo González de la Gonzalera*, I posit that the ideal of the household of the Old Regime comes to be represented through a nostalgic vision of a lost cyclical time that provokes a dialectical clash between the Old Regime and the liberal cause.

In analyzing all three of these works, I focus on the Greek concept of the *oikos* to offer a nuanced understanding of the space of the home that goes beyond the vigorously studied notion of domesticity in nineteenth century Spain. Whereas the concept of domesticity that takes the stage in the mid-nineteenth century in the interior of the bourgeois home tends to gravitate toward tropes of home, family warmth, comfort, refuge, safety, intimacy, privacy, and tradition, and are most always in the onus of the female and outside the realm of the political, I intend to unearth notions of interiority that, in reaching toward their recent historical past, kindle conceptions of the inner space of the home that are very much tied to and not removed from the outer political world but that move beyond ideology. At the heart of this chapter is the underlying supposition

that the early nineteenth century home, nostalgically reconstructed in narration, can be understood not as a space of poetic interiority in the onus of a publically weak and delicate (but otherwise subversive) female figure; rather, in opening toward a nuanced conceptualization of the *oikos*, as theorized by Nicole Loraux and Hannah Arendt, I recur to a space that houses images of strong-willed and matriarchal characters. In doing so, I uncover a *loci* of tensions between past and present, specifically those that spark an *a priori* femininity, in which fundamental contradictions within the establishment of the bourgeoisie home in Spain must be understood.

Thinking the nineteenth century home prior to the incorporation of domesticity is uncommon. Rather, studies by Bridget A. Aldaraca, Alda Blanco, Jo Labanyi, Noel Valis, and Susan Kirkpatrick have extensively fleshed out the concept of *ángel del hogar* as an ideological figure whose subjectivity promotes notions of domesticity through her constructed femininity. At the heart of the conception of this figure is an implicit alleged "naturalness" of femininity that, as Noël Valis points out, was simultaneously considered inherent to the woman's biology while ironically being something taught or imposed by the countless conduct manuals on domestic cultivation that debuted at the beginning of the nineteenth century (32).¹⁶ The dissemination of these conduct manuals neatly coincided with the Romantic liberal expression in Spain. In *Don Álvaro o la fuerza del sino* (1835), for example--the early nineteenth century Spanish play that perhaps most embodies the torment and tragic symbols of the artistic movement--, the most prominent objective of Don Álvaro is to keep his father's name alive. Yet, his mother, an Incan princess who is a prime romantic character in her upmost singularity, is considered to be

¹⁶ For an extensive study on these manuals, see Cruz chapter 6.

worth much less than the father in the eyes of the son and resides far from the spotlight in the actual drama. In fact, as Jo Labanyi suggests, "the paternal order is one in which women, if they exist at all, are of inferior status and at the same time idealized" (17). Even more than her exoticness, what is idealized in this female character is her femininity. The movement toward understanding the feminine as inherent to the female subject coincides with the individualistic society that began to penetrate Spain in the 1830's, as a consequence of contact with French liberal ideals.¹⁷

At this historical juncture, the concept of the home and community in Spain had already undergone drastic changes. As individualism established itself in Spain, technology, industrialization and consumerism transformed the home into a space of utility and comfort (Cruz 55). Yet, within the bourgeois sphere, certain ideals of the aristocratic home notably remained at the pillar of the home base, creating an easy and long-cited metaphor for the home as nation in a capitalistic world. As Jesús Cruz notes in "Home from the Inside," "The home was a haven, fostering practices of privacy, individuality and intimacy. Attention to domestic life became a manifestation of respect to the main principles of the bourgeois spirit, with ordered domestic life being the very foundation of social order" (53).

The idea of the home as a space of intimacy and interiority but subsequently as

¹⁷ Civic rights as championed by Liberalism presuppose a universalization of equality without being attentive to the material conditions that make equality possible. In this sense, I argue that Liberalism coming from the moment of the French Revolution is an incomplete project to the extent that universalizes the subject, while subordinating the other's subject for its potential realization towards freedom. For an early critique of the public dominion of rights of Liberalism, see the debate Wollstonecraft-Burke in Daniel O'Neill's *Democracy and Savagery*. Also, see Judith Shklar's analysis of the limits and values of Rosseunian freedom in *Men and Citizens*.

the very foundation of social order will be reflected in Spain in the years to come through constructions of domesticity. From Fernán Caballero's publication of *La gaviota* (1849), for the following fifty some-odd years, a trend in Spanish literature will be born that will wish to define and represent a nuanced morality based on the concept of the woman as angel. It will attempt to establish direct significations of an ideal of femininity and convert the literary woman into the *ángel del hogar*, a conception that will, in many cases (but not all) transcend social class.¹⁸ Narratives of domesticity will not only be realized by bourgeois authors but will aide in the creation of a reading class that will use this concept in the name of its own legitimacy. In this sense, domesticity will be converted into a discursive mode that generates subgenres of prescriptive fiction, inclining themselves toward female readers from the middle class and tracing norms for the private and public behavior of women.

The most well cited examples of this in nineteenth century Spanish literature is Galdós' *Fortunata y Jacinta* and Clarín's *La Regenta*. Through the narration of two of the most unforgettable female protagonists, these novels expose an ideal of individualism juxtaposed with that of the *ángel del hogar*, shattering the earlier ethic of community and neighborly camaraderie. Contrary to how Joaquín Sorolla's colorful canvases, whose *loci amoeni* tend to evoke fun-loving and carefree euphoria of costal towns or idyllic green spaces where the subjects portrayed work and live together in communal harmony, the loneliness and individual personas of these late nineteenth century literary creations erase the *ethos* of the Old Regime with notions of linear

¹⁸ As I will argue in the following chapters, the female figures that are excluded from the bourgeois notion of *ángel del hogar* form part of the invisibilized labor of the same homes where the perfect domestic housewife is extolled.

progress. While Sorolla paints an order outside of time, Galdós and Clarín write about movement that blindly but steadily creeps forward toward the unknown, in detailing the social strata of the present.

None of this is to say that notions of domesticity were new to Spain with the rocky take-off of secular values within the peninsula. On the contrary, as Cruz notes, visions of a virtuous and harmonious domestic life have always lied at the heart of Catholic doctrine; indeed the wife was considered the central figure expected to realize such an ideal long before the progressive turn of the nineteenth century marked change: Catholicism has always prioritized the home. In the Catholic tradition, virtue is in marriage and in the effort of the couple, especially the wife, to maintain a harmonious domestic life. In Spain, this responsibility has been promulgated actively since the sixteenth century with a variety of popular texts such as Fray Luis de León's book, *La perfecta casada*. (54)

This earlier religious literature highlights what could be considered a precursor to the nineteenth century concept of domesticity reinforced by *fin de siglo* thinkers such as San Antonio M. Claret, confessor of Queen Isabel II, and Severo Catalina del Amo, politician and writer, who interpret the inner space of the home as a place of safety and refuge. There, the virtues of Christianity were practiced as removed from the outside world that, as Cruz states, was "full of dangers and temptations--especially for women" (54-55).¹⁹ While the concept of the home as refuge did not fully disappear, the nineteenth century paves the way for a nuanced conceptualization of domesticity where love and sexuality began to play an impressionable role on partnerships (56). As time

¹⁹ For a more thorough analysis of the prior terms of the domestic space, see the second chapter of my dissertation.

moves forward, marriages began to transform into an institution based more on love than on familial commitment and responsibility. Affection translated into a foreseer of happiness, welfare, and continuity of the family, not only between husband and wife but between parents, children, and extended family members as well (56).

While newly founded liberal codes were being consolidated as part of Spanish cultural values, stressing notions of individualism, family, and productive citizenship, the woman's role in the maintenance of the city space evolved into an objectified existence in which the debasement of the feminine was reflected in notions of progress (Labanyi 14). Consequently, the concept of the *ángel del hogar* in the interior space of the home was a necessary pillar at the base of the liberal society. Generally speaking, the majority of the foundational critical work on interiority in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries primarily considers American and northern-European narrative and focuses on the structural changes faced by women emerging to the public realm (Marilyn Chandler, Liana F. Piehler, Kristen Belgum, Judith Flanders). More recent studies by Bridget A. Aldaraca, Noël Valis, Akiko Tsuchiya, Alda Blanco, and Estela Vieira have translated the notion of the interior of the home specifically to the Spanish archive. Much of this scholarship has highlighted the rhetorical function of the interior space in the Spanish home. Specifically, notions of a poetics of space in line with Gaston Bachelard's phenomenological study of images of intimacy have been employed to understand bourgeois life in nineteenth century literary works addressed.

For Bachelard, the establishment of the domestic space occurs in tandem with the non-static creaks and moans of the very structure of the bourgeois home. The home renders visible a recuperation of the past through spaces that are concealed inside the

structure of the abode. These spaces lend themselves to a Jungian understanding of human intimacy as hidden "houses" within the house--drawers, boxes, chests, closets, etc., and reveal an interior poetic that adheres by the shape and the movement of the image, shielding all that is exterior to these forms. At the same time, the exterior is what dictates the way that "the house furnishes us" (3). Peninsular scholarship that appropriates Bachelard's thought fixates on the economic trends in the public sphere that subsequently illuminate interior architecture, privacy and life that goes beyond the political; the house for them is what Bachelard refers to as "our corner of the world" (4), where memories are housed and desires coo its inhabitants back to its center. For Bachelard, one can go as far as to conceive the structure as well as emotional territory that the house provides not only as the epicenter of maternal care but also as the place of birth: "When we dream of the house we were born in, in the upmost depths of reverie, we participate in this original warmth, in this well-tempered matter of the material paradise" (7). The studies that highlight Bachelard's interior maternal illustrations as physically and emotionally inscribed in nineteenth century Spanish literary characters either paint the woman as an *angel* or showcase the female subject as transgressive in her desire, sexuality, and privacy, isolating her into an enclosed but subversive world behind walls and closed doors.

The dialectical relationship between subject and architectural structure of the home also lies at the center of Walter Benjamin's conceptualization of interior spaces. Best read in the fragmentary note taking of *The Arcade Project*, Benjamin refers to the physical spaces of the interiority of the bourgeois home more than he does about the people living in them. For Benjamin, the space itself is personified in a phantasmagorical

almost animalistic production or show: "Nineteenth century domestic interior. The space itself--puts on, like an alluring creature, the costumes of moods" (216). In this sense, the structural edification of the lifeless spaces of the bourgeois home become very much performative as these references conjure images that span non-organic life--dwelling as a velvet-lined compass--to the diversity of the animal kingdom--dwelling as a shell; dwelling as a spider's web; dwelling as a mother's womb (221)-- to the surrealism of the oniric state--dwelling as "stimulus to intoxication and dream" (216). The bourgeois space, then, exists *a priori* to the inhabitants whose bodies are manipulated and limited by the nature of the abode's construction. Consequently, the consideration of dwelling becomes so extreme for Benjamin that it almost seems that those that dwell must mutate to confront and abide by the severe conditions that the home structure has provided for. They must remain inside the structure with no future of escape. The outer frame of the home acts as an impenetrable shield that protects its warrior-like inhabitants from the wretchedness and paltriness of the outside world. Benjamin goes as far as to define the verb "to dwell" as a transitive verb: "as in the notion of "indwelt spaces"; herewith an indication of the frenetic topicality concealed in a habitual behavior. It has to do with fashioning a shell for ourselves" ([14,5] 221).

Unlike Bachelard, Benjamin marks a clear divide between dwelling as a nineteenth century phenomenon for the bourgeois family and that for the impoverished dweller in inciting Marx: "The savage in his cave...feels...at home there...But the basement apartment of the poor man is a hostile dwelling, 'an alien, restraining power, which gives itself up to him only insofar as he gives up to his blood and sweat' " (223-224). For Benjamin, the all-encompassing notion of "the dwelling" illuminates satanic

underpinnings both for the wealthy dweller and for the poor one but the poor's living quarters are prisons instead of fortresses as well as the foundation of the rich man's "satanic contentment" (216). The poor dweller's place of rest resides at the very center of yet another power conflict that reveals itself in the nineteenth century. As the power dialectic inherent in the relationship between renter and owner establishes itself as an urban norm, the bourgeois home is a stage where a "masquerade of styles" (218) unfolds in haste in an attempt to redirect the power.

With the urbanization of the Spanish home toward the end of the nineteenth century, a dichotomous ethos of public vs. private cemented into the national cultural imaginary fastened the home far from the public sphere, despite its spatial proximity to it, speaking to the Benjaminian notion of the home as shell. The very walls of the home were conceived as the impenetrable boundary that separated the intimate from the civil; the familial matters from the civic ones; the *oikos* from the *polis*. In Spain, the home-centered culture of domesticity became a perfect instrument for the construction of bourgeois group identity that intricately opposed itself from the works of the city but at the same time, ironically became an important piece upon which the construction of the city space depended.

If previous studies on the interior space of the home of the mid to late nineteenth century in Spain predominantly reflect a growing capitalist production of commodities and the novel fascination with material culture and fetishism that paves way for a burgeoning notion of domesticity, then the possibilities of national construction that later condition bourgeois establishment and materiality in modern Spain must also be conceived from the home. A rethinking of the Greek concept of the *oikos* allows for a

nuanced theoretical departure and radicalization of what this space entails. Of the various studies, that approach the concept of *oikos* in regards to the *polis*, both ancient and modern, Nicole Loraux's scholarship and Hannah Arendt's theoretical recasting of the concept offer possibilities of reconceptualizing the Spanish home at the center of the greater polemic of nation building and render visible the fissures inherent in the public/private dichotomization of the city space and the home space throughout the nineteenth century. The term *oikos* has transformed over time in its cultural and linguistic appropriation. As Loraux conveys to her reader, the Greek verb *oikeô* was adopted by the Athenians who understood it to underscore the unique identity of the autochthones, those exceptional subjects whose ontological beings were highly interconnected with the soil that witnessed their birth: "they were the same people, generation after generation, alone of all humankind, they inhabited the land in which they were born" (*Of the Earth* 62). This idyllic vision of communal living with the *oikos* at its center is altered by the need to share the land with "others, strangers, imperfect citizens" (62). The arrival of otherness to the land would force the autochthones to be content with 'inhabiting' their land differently from the rest (62).

Without losing its underlying significance of inhabitance, the concept of the *oikos* has evolved over time and through diverse cultural gazes. Loraux recognizes this evolution as she problematizes the polemic of citizenship through the act of inhabiting (*oikêsis*) a specific space. In doing so, she claims that for Aristotle, the *oikêsis* of the slave, barbarian, or woman could not be taken into account in the concept of inhabitance as citizenship. As Aristotle made clear in his *Politics*, marginalized subjects had no defining space in the political domain in ancient Athens (xi). Rather, they "resided" or

"domiciled" in the space of the home (Loraux, *Born of the Earth* 62) where the domestic economy was composed of the relations between slave-master and slave; husband and wife; mother and children; art and finance (Aristotle xi). It was at this point that notions of progress, production, and change were conceived in masculine terms while permanent and cyclical life was feminine. The city was a demarcation that formed at the limits of the *oikos*: mourning, loss, affect, and passion could not contaminate the civic life or the operation of political institutions that were considered to be excessive for the serious nature of the *polis*. Yet, the Greek consideration and cultural extension of the *oikos* is not the only construction that has prevailed in modern Western cultures. As Loraux states, the *oikos* translated into Roman terms differentiates greatly from the Greek concept since in the first, the public and the private spheres become blurred. To demonstrate this difference, Loraux exemplifies the case of the mother in mourning:

From Greek cities to Rome, we cannot emphasize enough that they differ in all respects in their behavior toward mothers in mourning: mourning is strictly contained in the sphere of close family ties for Greek women, and thus subjected to many restrictions, while women's mourning in Rome is limited but recognized in its private sense, and always liable to become a public display by part of the city....on the Greek side there exists a contentious relation between the *oikos* and the city, while in Rome, the family is the essential basis of civic life. (*Mothers in Mourning* 34)

The figure of the mother in mourning reveals two diverse conceptions of the notions of public and private, as the above quote of Loraux suggests. The first conveys a deep divide between the public and private that mirrors the culture of *curstileria* in nineteenth

century Spain. This culture, as Noël Valis explains, dichotomized accumulation of credit, financial speculation, credit societies and foreign investment as the onus of the public spheres of labor and work in Spain in the 1850's and 1860's (25). It is through the dynamic that played out between these economic realities of the public sphere that produced cultural capital but it was inside the space of the home that this new phenomenon of the nineteenth century was fostered and expressed. Just like in ancient times, the Spanish home was simultaneously and contrarily deemed as an exception to the visible domain of politics and labor as well as the condition of the production of these categories in the public sphere. The domestic realm was directly correlated to the feminine and although dependent upon the public creation of cultural and economic capital, was considered to be separate given that feminine affect must be expressed in the privacy of the home.

Yet the second conception of the notion of public and private, that of the Roman's cultural appropriation of the term *oikos*, is one that allows for a melding of public and private affairs, as understood through the mother in mourning whose plight is undertaken and spread amongst the city space. After all, as Loraux points out, the word *matrona* first and foremost was a legal term that implied the "quasi-official" signification of the married woman in direct relation to the *civitas*, or the law (*Mothers in Mourning* 31). Arendt also theorizes the notion of privacy in *The Human Condition* approaching the meaning from its ancient Greek significance as the "private state of private", a space or a state of being deprived of something. She then addresses the Roman appropriation of the word to consider the notion of the social. In ancient Greece, in Arendt's words: "The man who lived only a private life, who like the slave was not permitted to enter the

public realm, or like the barbarian had chosen not to establish such a realm, was not fully human" (38). Yet, as Arendt notes, Western thought has ceased to understand the term "private" as "deprivation" mainly because the private sphere has found its modern significance through the birth of the needs of modern individualism (28).

I would argue, though, that the very base of the *ángel del hogar* is a state of deprivation of power insomuch that this female figure is not welcomed to participate in the *polis*.²⁰ Contrarily, remnants of the Roman cultural structure of the *oikos* has parallels with the mid-nineteenth century literary representations of the home, as evidenced in Fernán Caballero's *La familia de Alvareda* (1856). That is, when looking closely at the familial relations present in this important but forgotten mid-century novel, the reader is confronted with the juxtaposition of the mother's duty as both the home keeper and matriarch, and the gatekeeper of the Old Regime.

In the novel, the *polis*, represented by the threatened idyllic landscape of a Southern Andalusian town is defended by the mother, Ana, through the power that she maintains over her children. As she loses the grip of this stronghold, she becomes deprived of her ideological command and retreats further and further back into the contours of her home. Although the future privacy of the bourgeois home will lend itself toward conceptions of desire, intimacy, and transgression, and the transcendental nature of the middle class home will also invoke problems of sanitation, hygiene and discomfort, I argue that these evocations also refer to a sense of deprivation that is gained with the loss of the aristocratic home structure in Southern Spain. The traditional home constituted an organic social dimension where emotion and affect were equally as

²⁰ My understanding of *ángel* here differs from, say, Gabriela in Alarcón's *El escándalo*, who seeks refuge from the public life in the privacy of the convent, making her retreat an autonomous move toward solitude.

important as order, community and law. Yet, the home deemed as private property in the way that liberalism will usurp the meaning is not the same privacy that the sense of community and peacefulness that Sorolla's *Cosiendo la vela* or, as I will demonstrate *La familia de Alvareda*, refer to.

The yearning for a territorial belonging is evident in the poetic narrative fabric of Caballero's novel and in a parallel fashion, in the life of the author as well. In his 1961 *Ensayo de justificación*, José F. Montesinos enthusiastically presses the need to return to Fernán Caballero's oeuvre: "¡Hay que ver las cosas que con pretensión semejante se han escrito sobre ella!--Ni menos un estudio claro que permita inscribir sus ciertos logros--excesos, modestos--en el ámbito de su época. Fernán Caballero siempre ha tenido mala suerte con biógrafos y críticos" (VIII). Over fifty years later, many would say that Montesinos is right. Some consider Cecilia Böhl de Faber, better known by her pseudonym, Fernán Caballero, to be a precursor to the realist writers of the nineteenth century, although, as José Álvarez Junco and other critics have posited, defining her as an important writer from the perspective of the modern-day reader is a stretch (387). After all, Caballero was not a typical novelist in the realist sense of awakening consciences and passions in her characters. In place of complicated figures, she preferred humble, religious, and civilized subjects. In this sense, as recent critics have eagerly suggested, her works, although important to the Spanish literary canon, lack in the way of quality. In fact, as Álvarez Junco also points out, her books that have afforded her fame--*La gaviota*, *La familia de Alvareda* and *Clemencia* --have all been analyzed as *novelas de costumbres*: painteresque, folkloric and, above all, essentialist (389).

There is no doubt that Caballero stands out from other female writers of her time,

not only because her works remain wholly uninviting for the twenty-first century reader but rather because of the glaring contradictions that she offered to the literary world. Daughter of bibliophile and German national naturalized in Cádiz, Juan Nicolás Böhl Von Faber, who helped spearhead the Romanticism movement in Spain, Caballero inherited what will be part of this strong Spanish literary tradition (Kirkpatrick 248). At the same time, as a woman of the world who grew up reading the French romantics, Caballero found herself more inclined toward French literary realms, politics and thought (Montesinos 4). Curiously, as Susan Kirkpatrick conveys, although Caballero was the very first woman writer to publish in the Romantic press in Spain, she vehemently opposed women's participation in literary production (244). As female authors, such as Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda and Carolina Coronado pioneered a place for the woman writer in an ever-expanding world of domesticity, Caballero ideologically struggled to establish her position as a writer in a world where gender superiority reigned supreme. This was an obstacle that she also contradictorily blamed on both the natural selection of the sexes as well as on *el sexo fuerte* who, according to her, imagined and established the general opinion that the literary and domestic spheres were incompatible (245).

Even more contradictory in Caballero's persona is something that seemingly changed from one day to the next. From the moment the paper *El Artista*, published a story she had recently written, "La madre, o el combate de Trafalgar", Caballero fervently responded, as if she were a child in a fit of rage, relaying that it was her mother who had sent the manuscript to the journal without her consent. She made it clear that she never wanted her work to be published again. Adhering to this desire, years later and

shortly before *La gaviota* was published, she wrote the first of many correspondences with Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch, poet and researcher and civil servant at the National Library of Madrid, who was personally in charge of Caballero's own library and of bringing her to Madrid (*Cecilia Böhl de Faber* 52). In her letter, she begged of him to keep her name a secret:

Así en mi amargo desengaño, escribo a V. para sublicarle por Dios, se sirva recoger dicha novela. -- Yo se lo encargaría a otro amigo para no molestar a V. -- Pero tocamos el inconveniente que no quiero que *nadie nadie* sepa que yo he escrito ni un renglón. --No puede V. pensar a qué punto esto me ha herido! y como esta pena más, sobre tantas otras me ha abatido, --me doy lástima a mí misma! (73).

It is clear that when it came to her own writing, Caballero felt a deep-seeded fear of being exposed as both a female writer and the author of published works, presenting her desire to maintain an aura of normalcy and order in a patriarchal society. However, upon becoming a prolific writer in 1848, publishing four novels in one year, the societal stigma that separated women from the literary domain had been somewhat lifted. As Kirkpatrick notes, Caballero's practice as a writer deeply contradicted her portrayal of gender normalcy in her published work (246). This last point is where I would like to begin my own analysis of Fernán Caballero, who to many, doesn't deserve to be taken down and dusted off from the deepest and darkest of archives.

As an important side note, it behooves us to pause at the very notion of *costumbrismo* to understand where such negative connotations against the literary genre come from in the first place. In critical examination of the rebirth of Spanish literature as

a project of the nineteenth century, Costumbrist writings are perceived to be part of the antiquated and non-modern past. A schism is born between the post-counterreformation considered to be a wasteland for literature and the end of the nineteenth century, conceived to be epistemological platform of renewal. At a time when Spanish society saw the rise of the newspaper as the principal mode of communication, which subsequently led to the establishment of an analytical reading culture, society as a whole began to reflect on itself. As *costumbrismo* typically denotes a *cursi* and simplistic writing style that resides in the shadows of the more learned realist literature of the final decades of the nineteenth century, Herrero offers a synthesized understanding of the subgenre that provides insight into Caballero's writing style.

In broad terms, *el costumbrismo literario* details the ways of life of various characters or that of a single character, highlighting modes of collectivity, of rituals and of social habits (343). It is a writing style that can be analyzed as closely tied to Spanish romanticism that dominated the literary scene in the first half of the XIX century.²¹ More important than the psychological development of a single character, *el costumbrismo* is interested in seeking out underlying patterns of life and customs of a broader group of people. It is of no surprise then that this subgenre gains impetus amongst a popular reading public with the birth of the newspaper in the eighteenth century. As Herrero states, "por su propia naturaleza la prensa, frente al cuento, la novela, el poema, etc., se ocupa preferentemente de acontecimientos sociales contemporáneos que afectan e

²¹ This is especially true in journalism whose literary space reflected, as Herrero reminds us, two important trends of early nineteenth century Spain: the profound nationalistic sentiment and, unable to be divorced from the first, the spiritual search that was produced by the Napoleonic wars and the social transformations that followed (433).

interesan a la colectividad" (343). As ideals of individuality swiftly entered into the Spanish cultural imaginary, the collective life, although still far from obsolete, became a source for national documentation and reflection.

Borrowing on the scholarship of José F. Montesinos, Herrero takes the various overlapping definitions of *costumbrismo* to be understood as the sub-literary genre that provided a space for a testimony of the Spanish transition from the old regime into modernity: "del hondo cambio sufrido por la nación entre los días del antiguo régimen y el tormentoso período de la primera guerra civil" (345). For both Montesinos and Herrero, it is evident that as the burgeoning bourgeois class installed itself as the pillar of society in the XVIII century, the reader too became a transformative player in the evolution of the social. As the reading public grew in numbers, society took on a reflexive turn that produced, in Herrero's words, " 'la costumbre' de una identidad y de una difusión superiores a las que había tenido anteriormente" (345).

Fernán Caballero would have taken literary growth to be a positive and important accessory to understanding that cultural identity is deeply imbedded in a collective vision. The rise in literacy circa 1857 witnessed a steep incline from a mere 6% literacy rate to a startling 22% in a brief period of time and the idea of the nation, then, became a vision of more than just an elite few.²² Upon writing *La familia de Alvareda*, Caballero believed in the existence of nations as permanent and unchanging entities so long as the nation that she referred to hailed from a tangible cultural past. When it came to change in Caballero's opinion, for a country without history, as she would have considered any country in the Americas to be, it only made sense to adopt a new national persona, one

²² See Rueda, Hernanz, Germán. "Demografía y sociedad (1797-1877)". Paredes, Javier. *Historia contemporánea de España* (1808-1939). Barcelona: Ariel Historia, 1996. 33-35.

that was not born in the territory where it would establish itself. Yet, for a territory such as Spain, the idea of searching for an identity outside the national imaginary was nonsense, for Caballero, and could never even be considered patriotism, let alone rational thinking or, to put it plainly, good taste. In the same way that Caballero conceived the Spanish nation to be non-transformable, the home was reinstated in her literature as the reflection of her desired rigidity. But as will be detailed over the course of this chapter, the home in *La familia de Alvareda* is the space where the author's feared political change ends up occurring.

Briefly, if one were to attempt to summarize *La familia de Alvareda*, it makes sense to refer to the book as one that highlights timelessness and mourns the trajectory of a loss. This first of Caballero's longer novels, opens in the idyllic setting of the Andalusian countryside, in the town of *Las Dos Hermanas*, where an idealization of the natural landscape allows for a romantic vibe to penetrate the narrative fabric. Beginning with a rural *locus amoenus*, adorned with olive groves and uninhabited *casas solariegas*, the narrative sets the stage for the subsequent events that allow for a more popular essence of Spanishness to emerge, one that diverges from the urban realm of civilization and highlights the simplemindedness of its characters. Similar to Velázquez' *retratos* of country folk, such as his "Young Peasant Girl" (1645-1650), the characters of *La familia de Alvareda* are sincere in their simplicity. Furthermore, the romantic movements of Northern Europe and Spain celebrated an image of The Iberian Peninsula that rejected modernity and it is in this vein that the opening words of *La familia de Alvareda* wish to reimagine Spain:

Siguiendo la curva que forman las viejas murallas de Sevilla, ciñéndola cual faja

de piedra, al dejar a la derecha el río y las Delicias, se encuentra la puerta de San Fernando. Desde esa puerta se extiende en línea recta sobre la llanura, hasta la base del cerro llamado Buena-Vista, un camino que pasa sobre un puente de piedra el riachuelo Tagarte, y sube la cuesta bastante pendiente del cerro, en cuya cima se hallan las ruinas de una capilla. (145)

These circumvented directional instructions that open the novel offer various conflated images in order to set the stage for the narrative scenes that will subsequently unfold. If the door that the reader must pass through in order to enter into the enclosed village where the house of the Alvareda family resides speaks to an interiority that can only be reached by moving away from urbanity, change, and progress, then the ruins of the chapel inside the door evoke "una herencia del gran rey Fernando III" (146), an overt commemoration of the union of the crowns of Castile and León secured by the medieval king of Castile. While the river metaphorically recurs to the heart of all civilization and life, the chapel in ruins stands as a reminder that history cannot be erased; the old walls surrounding this scene serve as a reiteration of the very presence of history as concretely permanent.

Just as the momentum of the narration begs for the reader to follow its curves and bends, the subsequent halting of this movement begs for the narrator to hone in on the interiority of the village: "Hallaréis...en los patios de las casas, flores, y a sus puertas robustas y alegres chiquillos, más numerosas aun que las flores; hallaréis la suave paz del campo, que se forma del silencio y de la soledad, una atmósfera de Edén, un cielo de paraíso" (148). Similar to the potted plants painted by Sorolla in the interior patio of the home, the flowers here described by the narrative voice are at the heart of the

Andalusian home, imploring to be tended to, speaking of a cyclical existence of the maintenance of life in the home space as well as to an ethic of work and care outside the realm of labor and primitive accumulation. The narrator of *La familia de Alvareda* details our path through the door that encloses us and whisks us away into a world far from the urbanity that Galdós will take up in his literary masterpieces some years later. In Caballero's creation, the world is surrounded by flowers, olive groves, and *naranjos*; it is a natural landscape that represents traditional Andalusia.

The symbolic weight of the literary rendering of the orange blossom tree in this distant land offers a deeper understanding of how Spanish Costumbrist literature was very much intertwined in a social quest for discovering and recasting identity during a time of great identitarian confusion (Herrero 348). The reasoning behind this is primarily historical: While the French invasion was arguably the most transformative event that occurred in Spain in the early nineteenth century, the majority of the Spanish people revolted against Joseph Bonaparte's arrival and the later would prove to be more relentless than originally suspected, since Napoleon sent in more troops over the course of six years.²³ Furthermore, as Spain began to lose its colonial grip to the wars of independence and fell deeper into an economic downturn as a result, Costumbrist literature allowed for a massive contemplation of identity on a national scale. In *La familia de Alvareda*, the rural home, shaded by this ancient and resilient and autochthonous tree represents the perseverance of traditions and dwellings within this reflection: "¡El naranjo, ese gran señor, ese hijo predilecto del suelo de Andalucía, al que

²³ See José Luis Villacañas Berlanga's *Historia del poder político en España* (2015) for a comprehensive reading on the transformative events of the Napoleonic invasion.

se le hace la vida tan dulce y tan larga!" (147).

The novel begins with an image of the *naranjo*, as it flourishes under its preferred arid and sunny conditions of the Southern Spanish clime, its branches expanding in its reaches from one generation to the next; its constant growth slow but unfaltering. Yet, this idyllic scenery wanes by the end of the novel as quite a different image is made present: the tree, the organic center of the Spanish communal home has dried out, having endured a slow death due to lack of necessary care. The notion of loss that is at the heart of *La familia de Alvareda* is captured through this very image of death. Parallel to this image are the historical changes brought about by the wars of independence and the installation of liberal thought into the Spanish imaginary. The death of the tree reveals the mortality of the ancestral house in peril.

Caballero's ideological stance that she portrays in the literary folds of this novel are made apparent by referring to the metaphor of the *naranjo* captured early on in this work. Not only does the tree's outer appearance--that goes from flourishingly abundant to bleakly scarce--represent the end of the traditional family structure that Caballero so defends. Rather, the conception of the organic tree as emblematic of the social structure of the family can be seen as diametrically opposed to the abstract, mechanical and fictitious representation of life considered part of French contamination by Romantic writers (Herrero 348). The tree, analogous to the home, is destroyed by the winds of change. The problematic sparked by this transformation of Spanish society, despised at the heart of the Caballero's ideological position, is explained by Herrero:

Tras [el conflicto entre las concepciones mecánica y orgánica de la sociedad] se escondía la gran oposición de la historia moderna: las fuerzas del absolutismo, que al

mantener la visión de la sociedad como un organismo que se desarrolla lentamente, luchaban por el mantenimiento de su autoridad, por su propia supervivencia; y las fuerzas de la naciente burguesía que, en nombre del liberalismo democrático, aspiraban a remplazar a la monarquía y la aristocracia en el ejercicio del poder. Y ambas reclamaban su autoridad de fuentes distintas. (350)

La familia de Alvareda inscribes a foreshadowing of the decline of the aristocratic home through a very subtle moment that occurs early on in the narrative between two of the protagonists, Perico and Ventura. Staged surrounded by an emblematic Spanish backdrop of olive groves, the two young men cross paths as they both return to their town from the fields. After exchanging small talk, Perico, the son of Ana Alvareda, insinuates a tinge of jealousy that his future brother-in-law, Ventura, will be allowed to marry his sister, Elvira. Ventura probes Perico's melancholic jealousy: "¿quién o qué cosa se podría oponer a que te casases tú?", to which Perico responds "La voluntad de mi madre" (147). For Perico, marriage is not an act of freewill but one of strong familial ties with public implications. The novel evolves by detailing the destiny of its characters, land, and community while the French invade this idyllic paradisiacal town in southern Andalusia. At the same time that the plot thickens and the characters develop, so does a historical narration, allegorized by key metaphors and personification. Key to understanding this development is the role of the mother in the home space since she cannot be classified as *el ángel del hogar* but as a matriarch in a position of historical permanence.

The evolution of the nineteenth century witnessed the development of the married woman as a trope that will be studied under a subversive gaze, and the home as a space

that became increasingly more functional as issues of hygiene and new technical innovations cemented the notion of comfort. But the portrayal of Perico's mother early on in *La familia de Alvareda* contrasts deeply with the image of the domestic housewife. The narrative immediately introduces us to Ana, Perico's mother, the force that binds together her Catholic nuclear family; the keeper of traditions and the bearer of the holy path to a life of freedom and redemption. Ana Alvareda has lived without her husband for three years, widowed by Juan Alvareda, a man whose lineage could be traced back to the battles of the *Reconquista*. As the reader becomes acquainted with her, it becomes clear that through his death, she does not lose status amongst the members of her community:

...era una mujer distinguida en su esfera, y lo hubiese sido igualmente en otra más elevada. Criada por su hermano, que era cura, su entendimiento era culto, su carácter grave, sus maneras dignas, su virtud instintiva. Estos méritos, unidos a su posición acomodada, le daban una superioridad real sobre todos los que la rodeaban, que admitía sin abusar de ella. (150)

As the reader is informed of the impact of Ana's position in her family, it is also made evident that her important status as matriarch exists due to her taming of her children. In her case, Ana has two children, Perico and Elvira, both who are yearning to wed and form their own family. Although Ana is pleased with Elvira's decision to marry Ventura, she scoffs at Perico's decision to marry Rita, a niece of hers, and a daughter of the feeble María, her deceased cousin's wife. Rita, although related by blood, causes Ana great fear. Her "carácter violento, sus impresiones fogosas, y su corazón frío" that contrasted with her "...cara, extraordinariamente bonita, y seductoramente expresiva, picante, viva,

sonrosada y burlona" (152), not only epitomize the very opposite of her own daughter Elvira's feeble demeanor but also embodies the class of woman that Caballero deeply believed to be the opposite of a good daughter in the patriarchal order (Kirkpatrick 245).²⁴

Ana's capacity to sniff out evil occurs in the public sphere of the town but the space of the home is her realm of material potentiality. The adornments of her home are her tools of the trade. In this sense, the interiority of the home constitutes a contingency of social extension: it is the space that conditions the possibility of order in the public sphere:

La casa de la familia de Perico era espaciosa y estaba primorosamente blanqueada por dentro y por fuera; a cada lado de la puerta tenía apoyando en la pared un banco de cal y canto. En la casa-puerta pendía un farol ante una imagen del Señor, que se hallaba colocada sobre el portón, según lo exige la católica costumbre de hacer preceder a todo un pensamiento religioso, y ponerlo todo bajo un santo patrocinio. En medio del espacioso patio se alzaba frondoso sobre su robusto y pulido tronco, un enorme naranjo. Un arriate circular protegía su base como una coraza. Desde infinidad de generaciones había sido este hermoso árbol un manantial de goces para esta familia (148).

The house, though described in detail as a space of interiority, does not lend itself to domestic comfort. Unlike the ostentatiously adorned homes that will appear as the century progresses, Ana's home is described as a stark space, colored and perfumed only

²⁴ For an interesting Freudian reading of Caballero's relationship with her father, see Susan Kirkpatrick's chapter "Denying the Self: Cecilia Böhl and *la gaviota*" in her book *Las románticas: Women Writers and Subjectivity in Spain, 1835-1850*.

by the towering orange blossom tree. In its austereness, it symbolizes the suspension of progress and the return to tradition. The image of *el naranjo*, as we know it, evokes a sensation of collective and organic peacefulness that has been passed down through generations. As Herrero suggests, "el árbol representa efectivamente una tradición que pasa de padres a hijos; pero no cualquier tradición sino la tradición católica" (347).

The tree's death, however, forebodes the first warning sign that the home is in danger. This occurs when Perico, following the advice of Ventura, gives his mother an ultimatum from inside the home that he will either marry his long-time love, Rita, or go off to war to defend his country: "--Madre, dijo el muchacho exasperado; está visto que habéis de oponer siempre una barrera a todos mis deseos. Entrabais mi voluntad, y ahora queréis sujetar mi brazo...." (151). Ana, shocked at her son's disobedience as she has only been used to opposite treatment, locks herself in her bedroom as to hide her tears from him. In the end, Perico marries Rita but the defiance that he displays in the beginning metaphorically speaks to the changes that do not only occur in this small Southern Spanish town but also in the wider national imaginary as politics shift with the transformations brought in by contact with enlightened ideas of liberal progress from the North. One of these changes will be the loss of matriarchal agency as the mother of the household loses credibility in the home over her children or, figuratively speaking, the future of her country.

Perico's bout of defiance does not only hurt his mother's person but threatens to overrun the firmly grounded paradisiacal home space that he has lived in up until this moment of vice. As the *matrona* that once reined both the family and civic issues, Ana is now stripped of this position as she backs farther and farther into the contours of her

home, becoming more domesticated and less visible until her presence turns into that of an angelic shadow--*el ángel del hogar*. In fact, Ana's daughter, Elvira, whose mousy features, timid demeanor, and frail skeleton figuratively and literally represent the future matriarchy of the Alvareda family, points to the transformation that the Alvareda woman figure will undergo as she descends deeper and deeper into the realm of the private.

While navigating through the metaphors of nature and tranquil life, the reader of *La familia de Alvareda* is presented with a fairy-tale like representation of a yearning for a historical moment that Reinhart Koselleck unfolds as the base of all modern political Western debates: that of the loss of the absolute state. For Koselleck, in order to expound upon the political significance of the Enlightenment, one must look no further than the structure of the Absolutist State to understand why it became the first "true victim" of the great Revolution (5). Of course, one must not dehistoricize the reaches of *La familia de Alvareda* in an attempt to try to place it at the center of a greater European crisis when really, as historians such as Nigel Townson, Javier Paredes and Guy Thomas have suggested, the historical processes of development that Spain encountered during its modernization process cannot be critically examined as anything but uneven with its Northern European neighbors.

Yet, as Iris M. Zavala has argued, the literary oeuvre of Fernán Caballero was written between 1848-1854, during the years of moderate government under Isabel II. The year 1848 bore witness to an aborted democratic revolution that concluded with the banishment of some of the more promising leaders of burgeoning republicanism. This liberal setback subsequently spurred a series of popular mutinies that pervaded Madrid, foreshadowing the cosmopolitan development that would unfold upon the city in the

decades to come. These small but influential uprisings also sparked a nascent literary interest of political scope whose divided ideological inclinations only deepened the inherent issues at the heart of the early nineteenth century Carlist and progressive divide. As these two politically polar stances intensified and transformed toward the middle of the century, Zavala suggests that Caballero's literature represents a return to order, more than offering political propaganda--a mourning for the first true victim of the Revolution. In her words: "Frente al espíritu renovador de los escritores de folletines, Fernán Caballero representa la ley del orden: la literatura comprometida con el Trono y el Altar. Su obra surge como una especie de polémica novelesca contra los excesos de demócratas y progresistas" (124).

In a more superficial reading of Caballero's work, one can argue that *La familia de Alvareda*, just as *La Gaviota* does, plainly and simply provides for a demarcation of that what is good--virtue, religion, and traditionalism-- and that what is bad--social materialism and individual ambition at the base of the bourgeois liberal project. This Romantic gesture is, of course, at the heart of *La familia de Alvareda*. Yet, what becomes clear is that this novel's importance lies beyond one single author's political tendencies. Rather, *La familia de Alvareda* functions as a precursor to the ideological novel in its strong defense of a traditional Spain as she witnessed the demise of the monarch that she considered to be victim. The strong position of the home at the center of a larger conflict that *La familia de Alvareda* seeks to foreshadow political novels and their ideological imprints that will prolifically surface nearly twenty years later. After all, scholars of Fernán Caballero, such as Herrero and Kirkpatrick, have attested to the important mark that her oeuvre made on the direction of the Spanish literary trends of

the end of the century (Kirkpatrick 249) and Montesinos argues that she would have been a great participant in the advent of the European novel (249). Through the backdrop of the home space, the narrative fabric of *La familia de Alvareda* marks the fissures in the historical schism between the Old Regime and the material latent bourgeois culture.

Of course, there has been little doubt casted on the reactionary positioning of Fernán Caballero and her oeuvre since nostalgia in the nineteenth century is generally equated with conservative thought. Yet, for authors such as Pedro Antonio Alarcón, a concrete political perception cannot necessarily be discerned given that his political inclinations shifted over time. In fact, as James Fernández has smartly argued, from the beginning, Alarcón's well-known and circulated novel, *El sombrero de tres picos*, takes an ambivalent stance regarding the Old Regime. At the same time that the narrative evokes a certain and common "nostalgia for the good old days", it is juxtaposed with ironic renditions of what the good old days were (238). It makes sense, then, that *El sombrero*, published in 1874, was introduced into a literary world that too was saturated with political uncertainty. Intellectuals that had previously leaned toward the left were pushed farther toward the right after the peasant mutinies and uprisings from the prior decades that culminated in the popular excesses of *La Gloriosa*. Subsequently, literary topics quickly shifted to highlight questions of modernity, progress, past and future.

Yet, a different kind of ambivalence can be addressed regarding Alarcón's political inclinations. As Ignacio Javier López has suggested, the idea that Alarcón was an ultraconservative writer through and through who abandoned his youthful intentions by deceiving the liberating spirit born in the mid century is fatally deterministic and has contaminated scholarship's understanding of the author. It also only attends to his later

years as a writer, ignoring all that came before the 1868 revolutionary failure that compromised both liberals and conservatives alike (López, "Itinerario político" 196). Even just speaking of "Alarcón the fiction writer" is too short cited given that his earlier years of writing were dedicated strictly to journalism. As López's scholarship establishes, between the years of 1854-1858, Alarcón's interest in documenting politics through journalism as well as his faithful service to O'Donnell's political leadership strongly impacted the author's literary trajectory (195). After all, even if Alarcón had wished to become a full-time writer in these formative years in which he sided with the liberal cause, he would have faced a precarious future, laden with misery and penury given that writers did not yet enjoy professional autonomy.

Nonetheless, Alarcón's earlier years marked him with a deep appreciation for the artistic realm of poetry, a world that he considered to be piteous under the regulations of the bourgeoisie. For the young writer, the bourgeois class lacked an appreciation for the arts given that writers had no choice but to sell their artistic liberties to newspapers in order to survive (202). In fact, when Alarcón began to write *El sombrero de tres picos*, he felt jaded about his place in the working world as a fictional writer yet at the same time, celebrated the newly established freedom that writers gained through their remunerated position as artistic purveyors of political ideology (202).

Early scholarship on *El sombrero de tres picos* sees this novel as an anomaly during a time when fervent ideologies guided cultural expression. In his prologue to the 1920 version of Alarcón's book, Luis Alfonso suggests that Alarcón, upon publishing his brief novel steeped in the adopted Eastern popular tradition of storytelling, wished to create a tale that would appeal to all Spaniards, or even take hold beyond the national

borders of the peninsula, unlike Fernán Caballero's novels that aimed to reinforce national precepts. In this sense, *El sombrero*²⁵ became the novel par excellence that nineteenth century and early twentieth century criticism elevated above the obvious allegorizing and political commentary that the literature prior to the emergence of *las novelas de tesis* portrayed.²⁶ *El sombrero* came to be considered Alarcón's attempt to rejuvenate Spanish literature; to unearth literary forms, tropes, and style, such as *el entremés*, *la comedia*, *el romance*, and *la picaresca*, away from a political casting.

A century later, criticism of this short novel composed of thirty-six chapters will continue to place it in the same vein of autochthonous Spanish literature, although, as Fernández informs his reader: "The basic story of *El sombrero de tres picos* does emerge from the pan-European folk-tradition and an ancestor of the tale can be found in a book translated into Castilian from Arabic in the thirteenth century (235). The brief chapters of Alarcón's *El sombrero* detail the tranquil and idyllic life of *tío Lucas*, *un molinero*, and his wife, *la seña Frasquita* and places their home in the center of their paradisiacal existence. The narration, saturated in humor and irony, has been compared to the *Quixote*: The ekphrastic descriptions of *la molinera*'s physical beauty are reminiscent of renditions of *Dulcinea*, as she exudes an ideal aesthetic from Spain's Golden Age. When subsequently describing her husband, however, the humor employed in the narration to detail his plainness is akin to the stoutness of *Sancho Panza*. Looks aside, the fairy-tale portrayal of these partners deepens in the account of the true love and commitment that they share with one another, despite their polar opposite appearances.

²⁵ From here on out, I will vacillate between *El sombrero* and *El sombrero de los tres picos*.

²⁶ For a brief understanding of *las novelas de tesis*, see page 89 of this chapter.

Of course, the idyllic life that husband and wife enjoy together cannot last forever and their bubble is burst under the foolishness of the town's *corregidor*. Like most of the men who have laid eyes on *tío* Lucas' wife, the town's judicial official has fallen smitten. After many an attempt to spend time alone with his cherished prize, he devises a plan to whisk away *tío* Lucas for the night for what would appear to be official business in order to be alone with *la seña* Frasquita. Yet, the millers' love for one another and suspicion of the strange turn of events that disrupt their domestic tranquility spark a wild goose chase for the truth that, in the events that unfold in the interim, taint the happy couples' marital paradise, permanently frustrating their easy and orderly commitment to one another. When a series of coincidences and errors lead *tío* Lucas to believe that his wife has cheated on him with the ungodly *corregidor*, the distraught husband, maddened by the unsightly turn of events, disguises himself in the official's clothing that he finds on his floor, heads straight to the *corregidor*'s home and bursts into his wife's bedroom chamber, who is in bed, sleeping. The room is dark, so in her husband's clothing, *tío* Lucas doesn't unveil his true identity, allowing the reader to only imagine what follows once the fake *corregidor* is in bed with the wife.

In spite of the blatant and non-discreet allusions to the sexual innuendos and explicit carnal lusting that occur in the passages of this short book, as Fernández reminds his reader, Alarcón's variation of earlier popular renditions of the tale is much "cleaner" and less risqué than those whose intertextuality play out strongly in *El sombrero*. Not only does a double adultery scandal take place in the folktale upon which this book is based, but some versions even hint at a more libertine *ménage à quatre*. (245). This blatant diversion has led scholars to analyze Alarcón's political motives. Quite different

from the surface readings of the novel that early criticism suggested about the apolitical nature of *El sombrero*, Ignacio Javier López and Vicente Gaos have pointed to the ideological underpinnings that this text addresses. Unlike Fernán Caballero's unequivocal yearning for a fictionalized past, Alarcón does not only rely on nostalgia as the tool used to promote his political opinions: In *El sombrero*, a sharp critique of the Old Regime mixed with a nostalgic rendering of the interiority of the rural sphere reveals a humoristic approach that uncovers the tragedy inherent in uncertain winds of change. Also dissimilar to Caballero, whose radically reactionary position seeps through the metaphorically tinged narration of *La familia de Alvareda*, Alarcón's traditionalism is overshadowed by his ambivalence to a more reactionary cause.

In other words, *El sombrero* exposes that Alarcón's earlier progressive stance was not necessarily erased by his reprobating ideological move toward the conservative right at a time when the popular left became unruly in his eyes.²⁷ On the contrary, by imposing the importance of order on his narrative fabric, *El sombrero* offers a cautionary tale against the act of blindly celebrating social change. In doing so, it suggests the home holds the possibility of order and love that is threatened by the urbanization of this space. Diametrically opposing the rural life to life in the city, *El sombrero* unveils a deep critique of the loss of a cyclical understanding of time that once fomented communal existence: The imminent linear conception of time becomes contingent upon the very erasure of the past.

²⁷ As Ignacio J. López underscores, we cannot talk about the same youthful and radically leftist Alarcón that in 1854, when Caballero is defending reactionary traditionalism, writes *El látigo*, in favor of popular sovereignty if we are discussing the Alarcón that defends slavery in the name of imperialism and the sugar cane industry in Cuba in *El Diario de la Marina*. We certainly cannot compare this Alarcón to the Alarcón that will become the spokesperson of *unionismo*, leadered by Leopoldo O'Donnell. (López, *Pedro A. de Alarcón* 14).

El sombrero takes place, as the first chapter will allude to, in 1805. If 1808 is considered the year par excellence in which modernity penetrates the Iberian Peninsula, then a pertinent question lies in the motives behind Alarcón writing a novel in 1874 that regards life during turn of the century. What are the implications of publishing a book based on folklore in the context of the nineteenth century and what is the ideological design inherent in taking literary freedom to clean up, or as Fernández suggests, domesticate the novel? Why avoid the double adultery present in previous folk versions of this tale when it could have been the more compelling part of the modern rendition (236)?

I believe that in spite of Alarcón's reactionary reasoning that will appear beyond 1875 in his publication *El escándolo*, where the popular sectors of society are represented in a jarring carnivalesque fashion, cautioning against liberal individuality and the loss of spiritual acceptance, *El sombrero* offers a space to critically reflect upon political life and authority.²⁸ Aside from placing a strong emphasis on a return to order, Alarcón is not supporting a nostalgic rendition of the Old Regime. Quite on the contrary, through the humoristic portrayal of the character *el corregidor* and his plan to violate the unwritten codes of love between an astute couple, the law and politics of the Old Regime are painted in a negative light. Unlike his contemporaries, the author from Guadix did

²⁸ In the 1830s, Donoso Cortés emerged as the quintessential counter-revolutionary diplomat and anti-liberal intellectual in Spain. His thinking evolved in light of the consolidation of the inter-state European modernization, and he feared a deficit of political authority in the stealth consolidation of liberalism that would lead to anarchy and un-governability. In his most important work, *Ensayo sobre el catolicismo, liberalismo y el socialismo* (1843), he forcefully chooses the commissarial dictatorial form of government over what he considered the paralyzing parliamentary consciousness of liberalism.

not see a sharp schism between the past and the future in Spain and unlike his more liberal intellectual counterparts, was wary of the later.

El sombrero de tres picos evokes a certain timelessness of the past and juxtaposes it with the threatening shadow of modernity. While the initial narration alludes to the transformations occurring throughout Europe, it becomes clear that although this novel too is about change, it will focus on the singularity of the peculiarities that paved the way for Spain's uneven process of becoming modern. After all, the first opening paragraph alludes to the beginning of the undoing of Spanish political stability:

"Comenzaba este largo siglo, que ya va de vencida. No se sabe fijamente el año: sólo consta que era después del de 4 y antes del de 8" (57). Without advocating for a return to the "good-ol' days," paradise as the timelessness of the past is conjured as something lost forever.

What convincingly separates Alarcón's vision of the past from Fernán Caballero's is, in part, the ironic use of humor that is portrayed in his narrative style. Similar to the way in which Francisco Goya pictorially rendered his subversive representation of Carlos IV nearly a century prior, Alarcón depicts the townspeople that continue to live as they always have in an unnamed town in Andalusia as no less than buffoons:

En Andalucía, por ejemplo (pues precisamente aconteció en una ciudad de Andalucía lo que vais a oír), las personas de *suposición* continuaban levantándose muy temprano; yendo a la Catedral a *misa de prima*, aunque no fuese *día de precepto*...¡Dichosísimo tiempo aquel en que nuestra tierra seguía en quieta y pacífica posesión de todas las telarañas, de todo el polvo, de toda la polilla, de todos los respetos, de todas las creencias, de todas las tradiciones, de todos los

usos y de todos los abusos santificados por los siglos! (59)

Unlike Caballero who venerates these traditions in *La familia de Alvareda*, Alarcón denounces them with wit, in an ironic tone, yet this sense of humor serves a more serious purpose: it makes visible some of the same traditions whose terribly long existence would have rendered them invisible to the awakening of modern history. In detailing the reality of the times in this sleepy town, the narration recurs to the imminent changes in and beyond the nation. The repetition and cyclical nature of the townspeople stand in stark opposition to the unbridled processes of progressive evolution. The conflict between organic and technological conceptions of society exists in great tension.

As historians such as Jordi Solé-Tura, Gabriel Tortella and Jordi Nadal suggested in the mid twentieth century, the capitalist mode of production struggled to become the dominant force next to the semi-feudal structures in the Spanish rural sphere (Townson 5). While Spain languished behind its Northern neighbors, Alarcón's narration provides a glimpse into the criticism of this problematic:

Por lo demás, nuestros mayores seguían viviendo a la antigua española, sumamente despacio, apegados a sus rancias costumbres, en paz y en gracia de Dios, con su Inquisición y sus frailes, con su pintoresca desigualdad ante la ley, con sus privilegios, fueros, y exenciones personales, con su carencia de toda libertad municipal o política, gobernados simultáneamente por insignes obispos y poderosos corregidores (58)

Alarcón chooses not to fantasize or exoticize what appears to be a political commentary on the Old Regime. Instead, he shuns the very motions of elevating this historical reality to something that it was not. As the nineteenth century unfolded, the aristocratic regime

of Spain found itself embodied in a deep crisis of signification, where economic precariousness due to the chronic debt of the *casas señoriales* cast a shadow on the image of the good ol' days that reactionary writers such as Caballero wished to extol.

At the same time, it would be erroneous to analyze *El sombrero* without detecting a more fragmented sense of nostalgia within its narrative fabric. If Arcadio López-Casanova divides Alarcón's 1874 masterpiece into a dichotomy of space between the *molino* and the city space, I would argue that the narration also offers a compartmentalization of the various domains of life that the novel will touch on: the overarching monarchy--"Reinaba pues, todavía en España don Carlos IV de Bourbon" (57)--, the more tangible whereabouts of the everyday people, and an idealized, edenic space of the *molino* where *tío* Luis and Frasquita will present possibility of the home beyond the ordinary in the shadow of more transient urban living. It is through the description of the *molino*, that Alarcón's nostalgia is uncovered. Written during a reoccurring political crisis, by offering a glimpse into one particular space that would lend itself toward organic social structuring, the narration exposes a critical consideration that challenges the blind march toward progress inherent in the democratic liberalism of the burgeoning bourgeoisie:

En aquel tiempo, pues, había cerca de la ciudad de *** un famoso molino harinero (que ya no existe), situado como a un cuarto de legua de la población, entre el pie de suave colina poblada de guindos y cerezos y una fertilísima huerta que servía de margen (y algunas veces de lecho) al titular intermitente río. (61)

In a similar fashion to the house of the Alvareda family, the reader's initial introduction to *el molino* occurs following the tortuous twists and turns of the narration. It is posed as

a retreat from the city space, a place of peace where one could relax, basking in the afternoon sun. This movement away from the urban seems to not only be configured spatially. It guides the reader back to another time, when favors and bartering were as good as gold and the tools of the countryside had more value than coins. This is reflective of the world of the *señoríos*, and modes of production that are long gone must be explained to the young reader. At a time where the town center offered a cyclical sense of life, the mill at the heart of the country home of *tío* Lucas and la *señá* Frasquita could propel this world in circles. The *molino*, then, serves as an integral metaphor for this constant and consistent renewal of energy and life while the debts of the *casas señoriales*, the looming Wars of Independence in the Americas, and the threat of the French invasion stood taller than olive trees that paint the countryside of Granada. It offers a utopian vision of the home space before the invasion of capital as well as one of the factors that conditioned and limited the presence of Spanish identity during the Old Regime (Álvarez Junco 95). As the narration paints a simplistic yet full life in the house of this couple, it evokes an imagined community anterior to the beginning of the long nineteenth century. This time passed is precisely one that precedes nation building.²⁹

When the reader is introduced to la *señá* Frasquita, in the chapter titled "Una mujer vista por fuera", the rendition of the matriarch of the home is described almost as in an ekphrastic rendition, educing images of ideal femininity and metaphoric animal comparisons that reigned through the golden ages of Spain:

Esta obra...se denominaba <<la *señá* Frasquita>>. Empiezo por responderos de que le *señá* Frasquita, legítima esposa del *tío* Lucas, era una mujer de bien, y de

²⁹ See Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (1983).

que así lo sabían todos los ilustres visitantes del molino..... <<Es un hermoso animal>>, solía decir el virtuosísimo prelado. <<Es una estatua de la antigüedad helénica>>, observaba un abogado muy erudito, académico correspondiente de la Historia. <<Es la propia estampa de Eva>>, prorrumpía el prior de los franciscanos. <<Es una real moza>>, exclamaba el coronel de milicias. <<Es una sierpe, una sirena, ¡un demonio!>>, añadía el corregidor. <<Pero es una buena mujer, es un ángel, es una criatura, es una chiquilla de cuatro años>>, acaban por decir todos, al regresar del molino atiborrados de uvas o de nueces, en busca de sus téticos y metódicos hogares. (65)

At first, *la seña* Frasquita is revealed as a creation of men, a nostalgic and continuous construction and deconstruction of femininity configured through the eyes of the opposite sex. Hailing from Navarra, her otherness is exposed even further in that she stands out from the typical woman from Andalucía. Yet, once the narration describes both *tío* Lucas and *la seña* Frasquita harmoniously together, a different nostalgic vision of femininity comes into play; one that paints her with agency and *el molino* as a space of order where women and men divide chores by equal weight, even though they are gendered:

Contribuía mucho a ello que la seña Frasquita, la pulcra, hacendosa, fuerte y saludable navarra, sabía [quería] y podía guisar, coser, bordar, barrer, hacer dulce, lavar, planchar, blanquear la casa, fregar el cobre, amasar, tejer, hacer media, cantar, bailar, tocar la guitarra y los palillos, jugar a la brisca y al tute, y otras muchísimas cosas cuya relación fuera interminable. Y contribuía no menos al mismo resultado el que el *tío* Lucas sabía, quería, y podía dirigir la molienda,

cultivar el campo, cazar, pescar, trabajar de carpintero, de herrero y de albañil, ayudar a su mujer en todos los quehaceres de la casa, leer, escribir, contar, etc., etc. (71)

Also at a first glance, *la seña* Frasquita's description could have easily been taken from Fray Luis de León's *La perfecta casada* in its dedication of an ideal of a woman in the home, expressed by Solomon and repeated from ancient times by the Church Fathers and other Christian writers and that, in Spain, found its niche in this sixteenth century book (Oñate 141). The following quote from *La perfecta casada* that is published beyond the final session of the Council of Trent in 1563 alludes to a model woman that will reappear in the late nineteenth century, as Fortunata and Ana Ozores in their return to public decorum and obedience:

Como son los hombres para lo público, así las mugeres para el encerramiento: y como es de los hombres el hablar y salir a luz, así dellas el encerrarse y encubrirse. Aun en la Iglesia, adonde la necesidad de la religión las lleva, y el servicio de Dios, quiere S. Pablo que estén cubiertas que apenas los hombres las vean, y consentirá que por su antojo buelen por las plazas y calles, haziendo alarde de sí? Que ha de hazer fuera de su casa, la que no tiene partes ningunas, de las que piden las cosas que fuera della se tratan. (98)

There are, however, subtle details that remove *la seña* Frasquita from the imagined scenario of the sixteenth century and therefore, from the height of the Old Regime. In *El sombrero*, contrary from this woman described by this quote, *la seña* Frasquita is not only rendered publicly visible through the eyes of others but she is deemed as a central figure in the maintenance of the home whose work is necessary and celebrated, defying

the ideal of the woman in *La perfecta casada*. The narration of *El sombrero* illuminates the home space as a grey zone where past ideals of feminine agency are blurred with the future in their nostalgic representation.

Chapter XI, "El bombardero de Pamplona" demonstrates this agency. Knowing that *el corregidor* is coming to the mill to see her and only her, both husband and wife devise a plan to feign that *tío* Lucas is sound asleep. Oblivious to their knowledge of his plan, the judicial official tries in vein to physically approach *la molinera*. She plays along until he attempts to touch her. At this point, as the narration relates: "pero ésta, sin descomponerse, extendió la mano, tocó el pecho de Su Señoría con la pacífica violencia e incontrastable rigidez de la trompa de un elefante, y lo tiró de espaldas con silla y todo" (88). Strong, comical, agency ridden, and powerful are much better adjectives to describe the caricature of the woman in this house than frail, angelic, submissive or docile that are typical modifiers for female descriptions (Aldaraca 26). In this scene, the space of the home becomes the platform for which the woman and her husband can work together to protect her corporal being.

The visibility of household "chores" or "duties" diverges drastically from both a capitalist and a Marxist rendering of work. This can be understood by recurring to a hermeneutical operation of uncovering capitalism's origins and in doing so, by studying the process of accumulation and development, as done by Silvia Federici. In her 2004 book *Caliban and the Witch*, Federici illustrates the inherent role that women play in the reproduction of labor power made invisible in Marxism.³⁰ In direct engagement with

³⁰ In her book *Caliban and the Witch*, Silvia Federici conceives the birth of capitalist societies by analyzing the antinomies of reproduction and production that have stood quietly in the contours of the female body, haunting the development of the working woman. Specifically, she points to the 16th and 17th centuries to

discourses that seek alternatives to capitalism while diverging from the Marxist derivative law of 'primitive accumulation', used to "characterize the historical process upon which the development of capitalist relations was premised" (13), Federici claims that Marx's concept of labor can be deemed useful in so far as it provides *one* common socio-cultural thread that promotes understanding of the advent of capitalism. Primitive accumulation, however, perceived as a foundational means that reveals the principal structural condition for the existence of capitalist societies is flawed, for Federici, given that Marx, in his analysis of the development of commodity production, examines the specific perspective of the "waged male proletariat". Here, the female subject is left out entirely.

El sombrero highlights a feminist ideal of work and labor that forms part of the nostalgic gaze that the narrative fabric imposes upon its reader. Although the work that both *la seña* Frasquita and *tío* Lucas undertake is dichotomized in terms of inside and outside the home space, they both equally contribute to the maintenance of the *hogar*. Not to mention, *tío* Lucas, as the text details, happily aids *la seña* Frasquita with her household chores. The labor in and outside of the home is divided into a communal effort, one that, as time passes toward the end of the century, will dissolve into the hands of invisibilized subjects, as my third chapter demonstrates.

I would argue, however, that the most obfuscated form of feminine labor by capitalism--child bearing and caring-- is not portrayed in this book for no other reason

ground the historical context for her argument that advocates for a closer interrogation of the subordination of women and their ontological makeup to the underlying priority of production during the transition from feudalism to capitalism. During this time, within Western and colonized cultures, the symbiotic relationship between reproduction and production that had been typical of societies based on a "production-for-use" method disappeared, while social relations grew increasingly sexually differentiated. The female body became deeply embed in this new framework and subsequently aided in the early development of capitalism.

other than its symbolic representation.³¹ If *tío* Lucas and *la seña* Frasquita do not have a child, it speaks to the lack of hope for a future that will mirror the image of their idyllic lives. In fact, what can be deemed as the beginning of the end for the peaceful life of *los molineros* initiates its unfolding in Chapter VIII, titled "El hombre del sombrero de tres picos", that opens with an autumnal metaphor: "Eran las dos de una tarde en octubre" (75). The narration introduces the one and only *ilustre señor corregidor* whose presence, at one time, would have inspired admiration and respect. Yet, the narration describes him "formando una especie de espectro del Absolutismo, una especie de sudario del Corregidor, una especie de caricatura retrospectiva de su poder..." (76). He is humorously represented for his opulence and of course, for his *sombrero de tres picos*, a hat that historically will disappear with the Old Regime, as the final chapter of the book alludes, and his character and presence are assailed by the ironic rendition of him.

Not only does the aforementioned scene navigate the reader away from the idyllic *locus amoenus* of the *molino* but it offers literary possibilities that will bemuse writers of Alarcón's time. Leopoldo Alas, for example, wrote the first paragraph of *La Regenta* some decades later in the ever-famous lines that cynically begin the novel by describing Vetusta: "Vetusta, la muy noble y leal ciudad, corte en lejano siglo, hacía la digestión del cocido y de la olla podrida, y descansaba oyendo entre sueños el monótono y familiar zumbido de la campana del coro, que retumbaba allá en lo alto de la esbelta torre en la Santa Basílica" (135-136). Similar to *La Regenta*, the contempt and irony of the antiquated figure of *el corregidor* opens to a nostalgia for unequivocal signs and uncontroversial representation. As the reader will learn, what at first seems to be an

³¹ For a detailed account of childbearing as shadow work, see my second chapter.

innocent if not immature gesture on part of this apparent lawful human being, turns into a grand fiasco that will unravel lawlessness and lust onto a town that, as we have seen, is steeped deep in its traditional monotony. The undoing of life will begin to happen from inside *los molineros'* home and will end in an imposition of norms and values onto this sleepy southern enclave that will place it right into the mouth of modernity.

After many an attempt to be alone with *la seña* Frasquita, a plan that both wife and beloved husband both know about and find extremely humorous, *el corregidor* devises an intricate plan to feign the need for *tío Lucas* to go into the city for legal questioning. Until now, the judicial official's attempts to proclaim his lust and passion for *la navarra* have occurred face to face and during broad daylight. But in the fifteenth chapter, almost midway into the book, he sends Toñuelo, his messenger, to their home after dark on behalf of the law. Pounding on the door right before the loving couple is about to go to sleep, the law enters into the home, for the first time, rupturing the initial *locus amoenus* that the home space provided and blurring the boundaries between home and the city.

On the fateful night, the gulf that was crossed to transcend the politics of the *polis* in the space of the home is lost. This original separation, as Arendt describes is a product of modernity (33): "Without mastering the necessities of life in the household, neither life nor the 'good life' is possible, but politics is never for the sake of life. As far as the members of the *polis* are concerned, household life exists for the sake of the 'good life' in the *polis*" (37). But the 'good life' of the *polis* in *El sombrero*, at the moment that the modern engulfs the utopian enclave of the home is not only a function of the intimate space of the home but is also an embodiment of power. When *tío Lucas* and *la seña*

Frasquita question the messenger about his motives in coming over as late as he does, Toñuelo strikes back with a comment that is impossible to argue: "Yo no temo nada, tío Lucas...Yo soy la justicia" (106). Exhausted, *tío* Lucas leaves but hours later returns home only to find the door ajar. This emblematic moment marks the end of the nostalgia for the home and the reckoning that the intimate space has shifted in its notion of interiority. With the door half open, the hearth is no longer the source of vitality for the community but revealed from within the onus of political power.

As *tío* Lucas tries to uncover the riddle represented by his disorderly house and missing wife, he begins to lose heart that their utopist community based on love and trust had just disintegrated right before his eyes. Furthermore, his worst nightmare comes true when he hears the asthmatic cough of *el corregidor* coming from his own bed. Dumbfounded, disgusted, dismayed and distraught, vengeance soon blankets over his innocent and loving disposition: "colocó toda su ropa en las mismas sillas que ocupaba la del Corregidor; púsose cuantas prendas pertenecían a éste, desde los zapatos de hebilla hasta el sombrero de tres picos" (124). Just as the embodiment of justice had entered into his home earlier that very same night, *tío* Lucas now performs the role of power through his costume. At the same time that this role-playing will almost cost him is credibility with his wife, as he, under the semblance of the judicial official forces an intimate encounter with *la corregidora*. The costume he has scornfully put on also foreshadows the performativity of power that will be part of urban existence as modernity turns down its streets right through the door of its homes.

With the rapid growth of the bourgeois class, society did not only become more aware of what it meant to be a citizen of the *polis* through burgeoning literacy and the

rise of newspapers (Herrero 345). Rather, the advent of the liberal revolutions beginning in 1808, demarcated the public domain of the city as the stage for which men should defend the honor of the *patria*. Those men that did not undertake this role were consequently emasculated by society. In this sense, all men grew to perform power, not just one whose costume would have inherently signified his importance. On the contrary, and as *El sombrero* alludes to at the end, this once-upon-a-time sleepy Southern Spanish town will cease to witness the whereabouts of one single man in power. The *sombrero de los tres picos* is no longer something that anyone would even think of wearing. Now, everyone could be seen wearing a *sombrero de copa*, insinuating the performativity of power of the every day man. *Tío Lucas'* performance at the close of the novel interpolates the theatricality of power that will be the future of men like him.³²

At the same time that citizenship and manhood increasingly go together hand in hand, so does the home space and femininity. Strong-willed women such as *la seña Frasquita* will no longer be venerated as ideal women. In the world of public politics, gender rules will come into play and women will be deemed as inferior; their *natura insuficiente* will be the principal reason of their inferiority or unpreparedness to deal with issues and topics of the public sphere. Akin to the subjects residing in the ancient Greek *oikos*, women will be deemed as unable to bridle their passions and hence, will be banished deep into the space of the home, far removed from the city. The gulf between city space and home space will mutate back into that which defines citizens and non-

³² This would have been particularly pertinent in the year this novel was published since, on the eve of the end of the *sexenio*, the six-year period of political turmoil between 1868 and 1874, Spain had been plagued with various national blunders. The overthrowing of Isabel II was followed by the underlying instability that bore witness to three *coup d'états*, two civil wars, two dictators, two monarchies, one republic with two different platforms, and, in less than one year's time, four different republican presidential candidates (López, *La novela ideológica* 15).

citizens. The home will transform in to the place of rest for the citizen of the *polis*, in Spain's case, just like in ancient Greek times, the man. Yet it will also forge a deep divide between those that "domesticate" in the home space--the woman, child, slave, and barbarian--subjects whose unbridled passions would interfere with *la cività*. Citizenship, like it was fashioned on the eve of the French Revolution, will be confounded to the fraternity, laws, and a strict lack of passion.

In this way, the domestic spaces of Spanish modernity will subordinate the woman to the whims of the man in what will be considered to be a natural phenomenon in order to maintain domestic unity. The nation will be metaphorized as the household where strict regulations will naturalize existing social differences between the man and the woman. Furthermore, modernity and the processes of regulation of the sexes will go hand in hand: Child rearing will be banished to the private sphere and will not be considered a function of the public sphere and labor provided to maintain the home will also not be considered work. At the same time, bourgeois life inside the home space will break with the maintenance of morality and religiosity, transporting family life into the context of modern consumerism. The home will, in a sense, be reconfigured as a sacred domain but no longer in the name of a spiritual yearning; it will now be in the name of capital (Cruz 53). Notions and practices of privacy, individuality, intimacy and interiority will all become functions of the nineteenth century concept of domesticity and domestic life will be, as in the ancient Greek *oikos*, the condition of social order. The modern home will religiously depict a trilogy of elements that establish the bourgeois ideal: social distinction, privacy, and above all, economic maintenance.

At the end of the nineteenth century, yearning for times that precede the

domestication of the home space, as both Fernán Caballero and Pedro Antonio Alarcón do, becomes, in the eyes of progress, treacherous territory. While the liberal revolutions preached modernization, gazing backward in search of standards for the future was considered inherent to reactionary thought. This division sparked a surge in ideological platforms that found their voices through literature. When Leopoldo Alas, in his brief but exuberant essay titled "El libre examen y nuestra literatura presente", spoke of the nineteenth century revival of Spanish literature occurring posterior to the 1868 Revolution (71), he was referring to a moment when Spanish literature began to be read and understood as an integral player in the modernizing project of Spain's national and cultural imaginary. For Clarín and his contemporaries, the six tumultuous years that followed the Revolution, did not only swiftly plague the nation with constant political instability but also gave way to radical literary transformations that, for the first time in Spain, roused a national consciousness capable of spreading and impacting all spheres of social life (Alas 65-67). Of the various possibilities of artistic mediums that existed at the end of the nineteenth century, it is the novel that transformed into a privileged discursive space through which freedom of speech and political thought awakened a national consciousness which in turn, cultivated an aesthetic that symbolically represented contemporary life on the eve of the Restoration period and beyond (72).

In 1875, the surplus of editorial activity that led to the publication of Pedro Antonio de Alarcón's *El escándalo* marked a decisive moment in which the new literary tendency would publically emerge. This register, better referred to as the ideological novel, or the *novela ideológica*, materialized, in great part, as a consequence of the political instability in Spain born from the 1868 revolution that perpetuated current

events as directly correlated to Spain's historical past. In doing so, it allowed for fiction to occupy an intellectual space that it was unable to embody for the centuries prior (López, *La novela ideológica* 14).

There are very few novels that make up this short-lived genre and that began to be published through the concession of the Bourbon monarchy in 1875 and during Cánovas' reign: *El escándalo* (1875) y *El niño de la Bola*, (1880) de Pedro Antonio de Alarcón; *Doña Perfecta* (1876), *Gloria* (1877), *La familia de León Roch* (1879) de Benito Pérez Galdós; *Don Gonzalo González de la Gonzalera* (1879) y *De tal palo, tal astilla* (1880) de José María de Pereda. As Ignacio J. López suggests, this literary form, much more than offering idealized propagandistic banter, wished to think the future of Spain through diverse trending aesthetics such as Krausist thought, Romanticism, Realism, and the transition between the two later (López, *Revolución* loc 123).³³ The genre itself encompasses two ideological fields. The first one wanted to correct the revolutionary inheritance of liberal thought and the second was constructed upon the remaining hope beyond the failure of the revolutionary efforts. In the aftermath of *la Gloriosa*, this second line of thought will strongly speak out against reactionary ideological platforms that permeated the Restoration project (López, *La novela ideológica* 70).

One of the topics that lie at the heart of the literary battleground is that of the nostalgia for the *gran casona*. As López notes, the reactionary voice of this literary

³³ Krausism was a philosophical school that formed in Spain in the middle of the nineteenth century that can be defined in the following terms expressed by Javier López Morilla: "La filosofía krausista no es más que la manifestación visible de un conjunto de inquietudes y aspiraciones que, individuales en su raíz, son, sin embargo, lo bastante representativas de un estado de ánimo general para encontrar eco inmediato en espíritus afines" (9). In broad strokes, the Krausist thinkers were interested in imagining *un hombre nuevo* in tandem with rethinking a progressive future for the divided country. Their intellectual work remained an intellectual project more than a popular practice, although it did disseminate into literary form by the end of the nineteenth century.

genre heavily criticizes the uprooting of the "raíz y continuidad" that once was imagined through the home's strong foundation, centrality in the community, and metonymical ties to a grand imagined past (246). A bitter and wary sentiment toward the modernization of the home can be seen in José María Pereda's *Don Gonzalo González de la Gonzalera*. This reactionary novel blatantly portrays the author's fears of liberalism through the self-destruction of an idyllic community, followed by the fleeing of the defeated and antiquated patriarch to the city. It is a book that faces the most debated topic of this time: religion versus reason. This polemic, amongst others, provoked the author from Polanco to create his novel that is critical of urban and bourgeois progress as a direct response to Galdós' *Doña Perfecta*, that too fleshes out underlying tensions that rest in dichotomies including the countryside and the city; civilization and culture; the past and the present (71).

For Pereda, unlike the sentiment of Galdós, Clarín, or Pardo Bazán, there is much to be recovered in the idyllic landscapes, close-knit patriarchal town units, and literary images from an antiquated, pre-modern and non-universalized Spain. Broadly, in *Don Gonzalo*, the narration opens by situating the reader on an arduous climb up steep, rural path surrounded on one side by a river and the other by a steep mountain, whose peak known as Carrascosa, overlooks the close-knit town of Coteruco. The meandering language takes the reader up the tortuous path, as it does in Caballero's *La familia de Alvareda*, and disembarks in front of three large homes that the narration explains in detail. The first, *de cuatro aguas*, is the typical *casona rica* of Spain at the time,³⁴ built precisely for the wear and tear of the mountains. Its sturdy construction is complimented

³⁴ See Rodrigo Amador de los Ríos, *España y sus monumentos*. Santander: Barcelona, 1891.

by the strict up-keep of the grounds; its detailed care is sharply juxtaposed to that of the second home, a typical *vieja casa solariega*, whose facade has been overrun by the natural course of time: "El segundo edificio, situado al centro, en lo más alto del anfiteatro que forma una gran parte del pueblo, es un caserón solariego, de ennegrecidos y mohosos paredones, con un escudo de armas entre cada dos huecos y sin una sola ventana que bien cierre ni tenga completos los cristales..." (58).

As the narration will continue to portray, the first home was inherited by the protagonist, Don Román and will be the center of the politically imbued story line. Toni Dorca notes that Coteruco functions as a model community (358) and Don Román, in spite of the enemies he had accumulated over the years, firmly upholds his beliefs in his generosity, charitable desires, and unwavering faith in the Catholic Church. The first chapter will detail the hierarchical organization that enables Don Román to maintain the healthy community of Coteruco based on a traditional Spanish value system.

The book unfolds, however, without the idealism familiar to Pereda's prior novels, foreshadowing conflict without resolution.³⁵ Don Román, a man of his small-town ideals, in love with his community, and a strong defender of tradition contrasts the greed and gluttony displayed through Lucas, don Gonzalo and the Rigueltas, in their advocating for progressive change. Don Román's home, once the center of the community, loses its appeal to the tavern. This is a change that inherently brings the traditional, aristocratic community to its end. In the tragic conclusion of *Don Gonzalo*, Don Román must abandon his socio-cultural bubble. He deserts his beloved Coteruco to

³⁵ Dorca underscores that unlike Pereda's *El sabor de la tierruca* (1882), *Sotileza* (1885), *La puchera* (1889), and *Peñas arriba* (1895), the idealism that is typically used to define Pereda's works as defined by Montesinos does not apply to Don Gonzalo beyond the first chapter (359).

move to the nearby urban city, Santander, with his daughter and son-in-law, at a moment where he laments: "Iremos a la ciudad, donde, con otra vida y otras costumbres y, viendo otras caras y otros objetos, tan diversos de los que me han rodeado durante tantos y tan felices años, quizás se vayan curando mis heridas poco a poco"(341). Prior to Pereda's conclusion of the exile of his protagonist, Don Román insists to protect the fragile system that for so long had brought order and harmony to his beloved community. This system, as we will continue to see, differs greatly from the newer and modern ideals inherent in the culture of domesticity and is centered on Don Román's home. Regarding the soon-to-be abandoned social domain of Coteruco, Sarah Sierra suggests:

The rural community thrives only when the inhabitants fulfill their duties to their neighbors as well as to the maintenance of the land or other pertinent social obligations. It is not to say that the community of Coteruco does not suffer from intra-village resentment or frustrations; however, the cultural system in place contributes to alleviating the pressures through ritual catharsis and cleansing. The nightly gatherings in don Román's house serve as a somewhat attenuated ritual experience during profane times that echoes the experiences of the sacred. (136)

As capitalism molded itself into the central component of all aspects of life, the permanence of these nightly gatherings in the home space dissolved into the modern needs of the urban sphere. In many cases, they were displaced into more public realms, such as we see in *Don Gonzalo*, into the tavern. The home as hearth began to reckon with its pertinence to modernity as and Galdós presents it in *Rosalía*, his first manuscript of *Gloria* (1876-1877):

Pocas horas hay más tristes que la del anochecer, sobre todo en Madrid, cuando todos los ruidos callan en el interior de la casa y solo se oye el rumor de fuera, producido por los coches que pasan, el organillo que implora caridad, el pregón de los periódicos, el trompeteo de la murga; cuando el interior de la casa está en completa oscuridad y no se ve más luz que la de la calle.

Although *Rosalía* was published posthumously, this milestone work produced the important *novela de tesis*, *Gloria*, that, as I will describe in my second chapter, not only marked a formal divide between romantic and realist novels but also between the traditional way of life and the secularization of society.

In *Rosalía*, like in *Don Gonzalo*, the home functionally changes from the pillar of community life to a shuttered and untouchable structure. Once the center of relationships and life, *el hogar* has now gone dark, leaving a space where the sacred now requires reinstatement. Of course, the modern-day reader is aware that Pereda's idyllic vision of the pre-domestic home space is too deeply flawed. As Noël Valis argues, the seemingly idyllic narrative descriptions of the rolling hills and mountain towns of Andalusia and Cantabria that are very much a part of Pereda's work are based on the exclusion of realism (*Reading* 11) and I would add that they are based on a taming of the masses. Believing in the correlation between ignorance and bliss, Don Román wishes to keep the people of his town uninformed about the changes of the world: "El mayor bien que al cielo debían aquellos aldeanos que le rodeaban, era su sencilla y honrada ignorancia. Sostenerlos en ella era su principal cuidado" (60-61). In spite of the uneducated pueblo, idyllic scenery and bliss is what is imbued in the first chapter.

Yet to read Caballero, Alarcón, and Pereda only through their ideological

positions is to miss important revelations of the domestic space that resist ideology. As I will argue in the chapters that follow, Spain's entrance into modern times is marked by deep fissures that are propelled by our common understanding of the process of modernity solely through the needs of the workforce. As follows, the home can be conceived as a liminal space that enunciates the very work, subjectivities and social formations that produce and enable these more visible and preferred characterizations of modernization. Caballero and Pereda are not only attempting to maintain a sense of tradition and Alarcón, to instill order back into society. Rather, through their narrative fabrics, as I suggest, the reader can garner that the revolution is marked by fissures that, if not addressed, will continue to only benefit certain sectors of society.

CHAPTER 2: Beyond Domesticity: Female Liberation From the Inside Out

A rare piece published in *Museo de la Familias* in 1845, proposed that the domestic realm, aside from a space of familial intimacy, should also be considered directly tied to the public space of politics: "pues bien, en esa sociedad que nace del seno de la familia, la muger tiene una esfera tan dilatada que no puede menos de ser muy importante su influencia, y así es la verdad (*Museo de las Familias*, III, 1845, 73). This rather progressive vision that celebrates the labor of the mother realized in the domestic space was not the norm for the mid-nineteenth century in Spain, nor will it become the norm, or even close to the norm, until contemporary times.³⁶ The years leading up to the Spanish Restoration period first under Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, whose dictatorial presence thwarted any efforts of progress that the then tired revolutionary stronghold had attempted to achieve, not only disavowed a prominent presence of working class struggles but also that of woman's liberation as well (Álvarez Junco 68). In fact, if the Revolution of 1868 at least sparked solidarity between workers, establishing the new organization, *Federación de Trabajadores de La Región Española* (FTRE), as well as a Spanish branch of the First International that started in London (1864), women's movements remained relatively invisible. While suffragist movements in England and in

³⁶ In Spain, the discussion of domestic wage labor and forms of shadow work has recently become a candid topic after the explosion of the social movements usually identified with 15M that, amongst many lines of debate, heavily criticize the so-called transition to democracy that left behind these central figures and spaces. However, on a more global scale, one could argue that the discussion on other ways of understanding accumulation and flexible forms of exploitation began within the debates around post-Fordism, which sought to provide a historical as well as a theoretical explication for the loss of centrality of the proletariat as the motor for progressive social change. In other words, post-Fordism unveiled the way in which immaterial labor began to spread outside the factory, to other epicenters of the social fabric. For an early theorization of this social transformation, see Mario Tronti's classic *Operai e Capitale* (1979).

the United States developed alongside anti-slavery measures in the mid-century and France celebrated its first International Congress for Womens' Rights in 1878 (Santiago Mulas 34), it wasn't until the end of the nineteenth century that an argument for women's rights began to find a voice that would, some forty years later on the cusp of the Second Republic, become loud enough to make inroads in gender equality (Kirkpatrick 8).³⁷

Throughout the processes of modernization beginning in the nineteenth century and into the twentieth in Spain, the maintenance of the space of the home was characterized by a central social contradiction. On the one hand, the question of the state was studied through a Rousseauian premise on the family as it mimicked the nation as a union of fathers (Aldaraca 55). Yet, while the public and the private were conceived as deeply interwoven on this theoretical level, realistically they played out to be far from that. Progress, social mobility, and liberation became the signifying words of change in the establishment of urban culture and the inherently feminized space of the home contrarily grew to be deeply oppressive, backwards, and incarcerating. Women were perceived to be, without question, the natural, responsible creators of such a space, the *ángeles* that would maintain it without avail. In this light, the collective castration of women into the domestic sphere was done under the guise of spirituality. While the hustle and bustle of urbanization constructed cosmopolitan centers, the home space transformed into a sacred retreat where order, peace, and well-being were negotiated through an economy of rest and recovery dictated by the social values of the rising Spanish bourgeoisie.

³⁷ In fact, in 1878 in Spain, in spite of a daring grassroots movement that supported a limited, though viable, women's franchise and submitted it to the parliament, it wasn't until the early 1890's that feminism permeated larger national debates. Even so, for years beyond this establishment, feminist ideas and arguments were greeted with objection and were consistently dismantled (Biggane 176).

This gendered divide can be seen in literary representation. Briefly, Galdós' *Tormento* (1884) offers an iteration of the domestic ideal envisioned through Amparo, the underprivileged lover of Agustín, a rich businessman in Madrid. Amparo embodies the perfect housewife inasmuch as she finds purpose through virtue. She will do anything to please her lover and has continuously been described by scholarship with markers such as humble, decent, submissive, pure, and homebound. While Emilia Pardo Bazán's two volume novel *Una Cristiana y La Prueba* (1890), has been read by scholarship as the annunciation of the *nueva mujer* in Spain, it also first portrays Carmiña Aldao as the impeccable profile of the *ángel*, in her spiritual elevation of her domestic obligations.

In a turn away from this model, I'd like to focus on a divergent perspective of the figures residing in the home space that departs from the patriarchal understanding of the domestic that too was present in literary production of this historical period, but that has not been studied under this light. Instead of referring to the liberation of the woman as an outward move into the public sphere of work, I intend to contest the patriarchal emphasis at the heart of domesticity by inverting the home into a plausible space of freedom that in itself cannot be understood through figures predicated by the *ángel del hogar*, the *dama del hogar*, or the transgressive housewife. In order to propose my feminist reading on the home space as divergent from that of transgressive femininity in the interiority of the home, I first broadly highlight well-cited iterations of feminine deviance in *Fortunata y Jacinta* (1887) and waning domesticity in *Gloria* (1876) both by Benito Pérez Galdós. I then turn to Unamuno's *La Tía Tula* (1927) and Rosa Chacel's *Estación. Ida y Vuelta* (1930). In doing so, I suggest that these later two works offer nuanced

frameworks of the home of the early twentieth century that can be understood beyond a liberal configuration of the domestic sphere, presenting it as a viable space of women's political participation.

This reading of the home, on the one hand, complements Rita Felski's notion that modernity, often illustrated as synonymous with a universalizing identitarian logic, "reveals on closer examination a multiplicity of voices and perspectives that cannot be easily synthesized into a single, unified ideology or world view" (Felski 8). On the other hand, by defining the critical underpinnings of the domestic space while underlining the historical components that allowed for such an oppressive culture to exist in the name of urbanizing the Spanish city, I show that domesticity is not only destabilized by transgressive feminine characters that eschew the political eye, as Akiko Tsuchiya argues in her influential book, *Marginal Subjects: Gender and Deviance in Fin-de-siècle Spain* (2011), but by feminine characters that situate the home at the center of a visible political conflict. At the heart of this chapter is the essential supposition that the home can be understood not as much of a space of retreat, intimacy or poetic interiority, but rather, as a malleable site that opens to a modern conceptualization of the *oikos*, that which will help facilitate a deeper understanding of the necessary but persistently obfuscated correlation and dependency that exists between the public and the private spheres in the name of progress, development, and nation building.

Beyond the long nineteenth century, deep into the twentieth, throughout the multifaceted transformations that modernization brought to a burgeoning culture of the urban metropolis, women were still considered to hold a "primitive" place in newly imagined social spaces. In "nature" versus "civilized" debates, women were regularly

deemed as unfit for the public and progressive spaces because their proclivity toward hysteria was too much of a threat to civic order (Aldaraca 57). Furthermore, innocence and ignorance remained synonymous with women's "natural nobility," which therefore justified female isolation from the public transformations brought about by the unfolding of modern history (57). The concept of domesticity, then, deviated from the early conceptualization of the normalization process of "protecting" women from the outside world and became established through the revamped social imagination of female subjectivity. Unlike the urban male who was very much tied to a tangible and structured concept of public spaces as mapped movement and progress, the woman's "space" was more of a metaphorical perception of the familial backbone, where signifiers such as the interior room, the covered cottage, or, more vaguely, the home space itself, were imagined as her enclosed territory.

If one were to look toward a poetic origin for the term *ángel del hogar*, one would need seek no further than Victorian poet Coventry Patmore's *The Angel in the House* (1854). This double volume book of poems is a dedication to his wife, who he believed to incarnate the ideal qualities a housewife should possess. As read in "A Wife's Tragedy":

Man must be pleased; but him to please
Is woman's pleasure; down the gulf
Of his condoled necessities
She casts her best, she flings herself.
How often flings for nought, and yokes
Her heart to an icicle or whim,

Whose each impatient word provokes
Another, not from her, but him;
While she, too gentle even to force
His penitence by kind replies,
Waits by, expecting his remorse,
With pardon in her pitying eyes;
And if he once, by shame oppress'd,
A comfortable word confers,
She leans and weeps against his breast,
And seems to think the sin was hers;
Or any eye to see her charms,
At any time, she's still his wife,
Dearly devoted to his arms;
She loves with love that cannot tire;
And when, ah woe, she loves alone,
Through passionate duty love springs higher,
As grass grows taller round a stone. (135-136)

In the depiction of the angel, the poetic gaze places the feminine subject in direct subjugation to the needs of the man, necessarily exuding qualities of submissiveness and passive sweetness. This pious conception of the woman becomes the center of María del Pilar Sinués de Marco's manual *El ángel del hogar: Obra moral y recreativa dedicada a la mujer* (1854) that, amongst other texts she will publish, constructs a viral image in Spain regarding the proper behavior of women in the eyes of men. For Sinués de Marco,

a prolific *costumbrista* writer of the nineteenth century, feminine behavior is symbolized through a golden age aesthetic of beauty and decorum. In her book *Hija, Esposa y Madre; Cartas Dedicadas a la Mujer Acerca de sus Deberes para con la Familia y la Sociedad* (1877), letters between mothers and daughters, daughters and daughters, and mothers and mothers are written and compiled in order to help young women living in their parents' homes cultivate lady-like qualities. In one letter between two young friends, Mérida writes to her confidant, Valentina, in hopes to lift her spirits: "...y nadie como yo ha admirado tu belleza, que es encantadora; tu tez me ha parecido siempre más blanca y delicada que las azucenas, tus azules ojos; dos estrellas; tu cabello negro era la admiración de todas; tu talle el más elegante y esbelto" (23). Female behavior, in this conversation, is not only tied to proper social norms but to outward appearance as well. Always objectified by the gaze that frames them, the female subject is always rendered visible, but never heard.

Yet, the same time, the turn of the century brought heavy winds of change to all spheres of life, as it did in the various women's liberation movements, and began to place feminist demands directly in the realm of economic independence; where the near religiosity of the domestic sphere started to experiment what I would like it refer to as its secularization. This change initially deeply affected upper class women. As women's rights movements spearheaded in literature by writers such as Emilia Pardo Bazán and Rosalía de Castro, and in the public sphere, by revolutionary figures such as Concepción Arenal and the young Hildergart Rodríguez, the female presence in the workforce rapidly expanded. The question of a female identity beyond that of a spiritual keeper of the home space became intertwined with the wide shifts in the national imaginary born

from the new Spanish liberalism and its inherent progressive leanings. Women's rights movements took it upon themselves to unravel the natural connotation of the feminine subject as solely emotional and meek, looking toward rationality to understand the modern woman (Fernández Utrera 513).

By no means was this change in thinking attended to with ease. The historical underpinnings of the women's movement in Spain point to the male sexualized nature of the public sphere and, subsequently, highlight and offer representations of female struggle, power, and transgression in an ongoing battle for liberation. Yet, nonetheless, women's rights movements pushed for individualism that the original shifts born from traditional liberalism did not afford women. Despite the normative pull that the nineteenth century concept of domesticity still maintained, on a popular level, political activism and a strong public presence of women both through their writing and their physical selves quickly became the counter reactive force to the patriarchal authority of domestic domination.

All while the conceptualization of feminine bodies and space began to deviate from the past, women writers of the early twentieth century still grappled with the residual inequality of the domestic space from the nineteenth century. Concepción Arenal, a prominent early twentieth century feminist, critiqued the rhetoric that deemed the woman as inferior to man, suggesting that in spite of the lack of education that enslaved women, true equality between the woman and the man could not be possible (Mulas 37). In fact, in her support for women finding work, she insists that "...sin vacilar, que la mujer más educada, más perfecta, más útil, puede atender más constantemente al cuidado de sus hijos, porque puede estar más tiempo en casa y tener

más vagar" (136). For Arenal, the workforce served women to be better prepared to care for children at home. Furthermore, she believed that women's education must begin in the upper classes in order to set criteria for the lower ones. The woman was essentially meant to work in order to become even more contained and more docile to continue to perform the patriarchal needs linked to a well kept home.

As women entered into the world of work, however, their newly found equivalence to men was based solely on monetary value, deeply intertwining them and their labor with primitive accumulation and not with the needs of the home.³⁸ In other words, as women landed jobs and the workforce shifted to accommodate them, a dichotomy was created between the domestic sphere and the workspace, continuing to grossly interiorize the first as a space of "slavery," weakness, and inequality. The economic shift that favored female employment burdened women with double the work inside and outside of the home. This was not the case for all women, however. Those fortunate enough to be part of the moneyed class would have purposefully maintained their role in the home given that their need to work signaled economic instability and lower class status. In this sense, in the ruins of the aristocratic home, the angel of the hearth transformed into the position of Lady, gifting her equal economic status in the household (Aldaraca 63).

The dynamics of social mobility and economic prominence as seen from both inside and outside the home offer prime textual material for the realist novelists of the late nineteenth century. Particularly, if there has ever been a book written in Spain that

³⁸ For the nexus of gender as structured around the principle of the general equivalent of capitalist abstract labor, see Jean-Joseph Goux's *Symbolic Economies After Marx and Freud* (1973).

delves into the intricacies and problematics of the clash between progress and domesticity, it is, unquestionably, Galdós' *Fortunata y Jacinta*. Famously, in Galdós' masterpiece, Fortunata not only finds refuge from the imposing structures of urbanization of the Spanish city, but also reveals their malleability from inside the home. As Akiko Tsuchiya suggests, "In *Fortunata y Jacinta*, as in many other novels by Galdós, the resistive force of the deviant female body is set against the institutions and mechanisms of the disciplinary society that seek to subject it to constant and generalized surveillance" (57). From behind the walls of the various homes that she traverses, Fortunata questions, through her own subjectivity, the very same bourgeois values that, as Tsuchiya also proposes, are not meant to be doubted. Through her impossible path to domestication, Fortunata brings to bear problematics within the patriarchal hierarchy that wished to normalize and contain her for her beauty and consent while simultaneously marginalize her for her lower economic class. Yet, through her desire, Fortunata is painted as one of the largest threats to the entire social body of Madrid due to her potential to move freely and seduce, and therefore, contaminate social norms (57), the same norms that Doña Lupe de los Pavos, Maxi Rubín's aunt, dedicates her life to maintain.

Doña Lupe rationalizes her position as the tamer of deviant behavior from inside the home and in doing so, becomes the bearer of the domestic economy in the Rubín household in order to perpetrate the social limitations and barriers of the middle class. Both Papitos, the housemaid, and Fortunata are subject to her nagging wrath, though Doña Lupe treats them in different ways. While she never desires for Papitos to fully become domesticated given that her savage and almost animalistic subjectivity makes

her the ideal household servant, Fortunata is the perfect figure upon which Doña Lupe can legitimize her economic power. Fortunata's assimilation into the world of domestic housewives becomes Doña Lupe's main goal:

Tenía que enseñarle todo, modales, lenguaje, conducta [...] Quería doña Lupe que Fortunata se prestase a reconocerla por directora de sus acciones en lo moral y en lo social, y mostraba desde los primeros momentos una severidad no exenta de tolerancia, como cumple a profesores que saben al pelo su obligación (l. 660: 661).

In accordance with the nineteenth century axiom that the female sex was the "natural" keeper of the home, Doña Lupe expects cyclical consistency from Fortunata. As Rita Felksi suggests, repetitive motions and cyclical time were specifically linked to the realm of female care in the space of the home (82). Therefore, as the relationship between Doña Lupe and Fortunata unfolds, if the outside world was a beautifully chaotic map of uncertain and uncharted progress, the home was the exact opposite: a space of reproduction and care solely for the male breadwinners, given that the natural existence of men was based on the embodied repetitiveness of women. If women were considered to have virtue, it would have been that of negation of self, self-denial, renunciation, self-abnegation (Aldaraca 59). Of course, a large part of the narrative brilliance of *Fortunata y Jacinta* lies in the impossibility of the Dulcinea-like protagonist to invert her passion-driven character into the inflation of the ego of her husband, Maxi Rubín and thus, the unfolding of the plot relies on Fortunata's inability to conform. Her arch-nemesis, Jacinta, wife of Fortunata's lover, Juanito Santa Cruz, does desire to fill the social molds that would deem her angelic. Yet she too rescinds the life of the limp, domesticated

woman in her famous final gesture of slamming the door in her husband's face, once she becomes the rightful adopted mother of Fortunata's child.³⁹

Fortunata and Jacinta are two of the various female characters in the novel that problematize the domestic space during a historical moment of recovery. Given that the nineteenth century politics prior to the Restoration of 1875 were tinged with deep conflict, *findelsiglo* Spain found itself recuperating from a long decade of political turmoil and strife. A hundred years of contact with Northern political and philosophical thought disseminated in Spain through the Napoleonic invasion continued to deeply divide national ideals insomuch that it heightened progressive notions of forward thinking while enforcing conservative patterns of insular longing regarding the proper state of the nation. The resistance to the French Revolution in the earlier years of the nineteenth century coupled by the Wars of Independence in the Americas, and direct-action anarchism, helped carve Spain's diverging course from the rest of Europe that it would follow deep into the first decades of the twentieth century (Guy 15-22). The anarchist and labor struggle joined forces at the beginning of the twentieth century through the Federation of Worker's Societies of the Spanish Region, alarming the

³⁹ Galdós was well aware of the inequality that the blanket of domesticity continued to impose on women even if a future of stronger matriarchs would be returning to the social forefront, as Jacinta's and Doña Lupe's character development reveals. Even around the publication of his end-of-the-century masterpiece, his novels offered narrative platforms onto which intricacies of the domestic space were portrayed. In *Tormento* (1884), Galdós narrates the love story between Agustín Caballero, a successful businessman of the times, and Amparo, the lower class female protagonist who embodies what Aldaraca considers to be Dulcinea-like qualities that equated the woman to a more ephemeral position: virtuous, humble, beautiful, calm, and sexually pure (60). Agustín, who spends most of his time away from his first-floor apartment in Madrid speaks to his visibility in public spaces while Amparo's positioning in the home enhances the idealizing rhetoric surrounding the concept of the *ángel del hogar*. Her physical presence in public is frowned upon in the name of the domesticity ideal of the home space as one that provided for social distinction, creature comforts, and overall intimacy. Amparo's "natural" feminine weakness and fragility justified her place in the home, something that she herself honored and condoned.

conservative leaning government all while the Republicans continued to commit themselves to the abolition of the monarchy. As a result, the middle class in Spain was consolidated both economically and politically for a new equilibrium of the social space. Modernity was indeed waking up in Spain.

In this context, Fortunata's character becomes so enthralling because she places the very structure of the bourgeois reader's newly established society in peril. Specifically, her formation and character development menace the very premise of domesticity that provided for the conditions upon which the middle class could create a space for leisure time. Yet, her dignity is not unique to her, as she is far from the first of Galdós' strong feminine characters to bode poorly for the future of female confinement inside the home. From the ideological novels that are born from the failure of the revolution, Galdós' *Gloria* appropriates Isabelian romanticism that lulls Spain away from European Capitalism, exposing the deficiencies of the political, social, and material contours that shape the Spanish small-town mentality. In doing so, it critiques the cultural surrounding domesticity, specifically through the unique character of Gloria.

The novel, *Gloria*, was published in two parts in 1877, creating a narrative palate through which the natural move from Romanticism toward Realism could be achieved. Like many of Galdós' novels, its focal point can be traced to the problem of secularization as it formed part of the collective consciousness and dream of the Spanish nation. In *Gloria*, this is done, in great part, through the character development of Daniel Morton. The tragically heroic protagonist is initially presented in the first part of the book as a unique individual, whose pale yet beautiful features transcend historical moments and evoke nostalgia for times passed. But soon there after, he eerily

foreshadows the imminent transformations that will occur in the sleepy seaside town through the symbolic arrival of modernity. These changes conjure a larger philosophical question steeped deep in Krausian thought regarding the concept of faith (López, *La novela ideológica* 193) but more immediately, they refer to the turn from Gloria's position as a future *ángel del hogar* to her movement toward a modern woman. In other words, the omen of progress embodied in Daniel's subjectivity is experienced by Gloria from inside the home.

The day that Daniel Morton arrives, the lightning strike that causes his shipwreck is observed by Gloria and the poor sexton of the local church, Caifás. The storm already has Gloria on edge, but when she sees the proximity of the lightning ray, she shrieks "Corramos Caifás. Me he quedado muerta. ¡Dios mío qué nerviosa estoy esta noche! Juraría que ese rayo cayó sobre mi casa." (241). This fleeting moment insinuates that Daniel's arrival is not the only change foreshadowed by the ray of lighting. Rather, the transformations that Gloria herself will experience from here on out evolve around her abandoning her domestic self. Prior to Daniel's appearance, Gloria seems to be the perfect daughter that never needs "inquisitorial vigilancia" or chastising by her father: "El atareado padre descansaba tranquilo fiando en la rectitud exquisita y honestidad perfecta de su cuñada doña María del Rosario" (198). Although she is old enough to understand relationships with the other sex, aside from her father, her heart is only filled with love for her tío D. Ángel, an important bishop from a town in Andalucía who "rara vez venía a Madrid" but whose visits to Ficobria affects his niece deeply, as she

considers him to be "una representación de Dios en la tierra" (199).⁴⁰ Gloria's father basks in his daughter's pureness and when explaining to her why she does not respond well to the prospect of marriage to her suitor, Rafael, he reminds her of her innocence:

Una joven que no ha entretenido su edad florida en noviazgos indecentes, ni con necios amoríos del balcón o de tertulia, es el tesoro máspreciado de una honesta familia. Esa joven eres tú. Tu carácter bondadoso, dócil, tu educación cristiana y hábitos humildes; tus pensamientos, que si alguna vez han sido soberbios, después se han sometido al yugo de la autoridad... (217)

Gloria remains contemplative as her father reassures her that her humility and kindness have hindered her ability to imagine a future with Rafael, a man who is not persistent and domineering enough. This patriarchal reasoning is what Rita Felski describes as imposed exclusively on women who through the domination of masculine needs, are not permitted to explore their complex relation to social change (7). As the *ángel del hogar*, Gloria is expected to maintain a docile persona by taking care of the men in her life, whether they are her father or her future husband. However, it is interesting to note that this conversation between father and daughter occurs in the garden between the two homes that belong to the Lantigua family. Both homes are adjoined on the inside and the outside: "Compónese en realidad de dos edificios, el uno viejo y decorado con hiberbólicas piezas heráldicas; nuevo y bonito, y casi artístico, el otro, no menos elegante que las llamadas *villas* o *cottages* en el lenguaje de la moda" (170). As follows, by the time Daniel Morton has been transported into bed to rest after his near-death experience,

⁴⁰ The bishop's geographical whereabouts are important to this novel as they highlight the deep connection between traditional Spain, steeped in Catholic doctrine, and rural spaces not yet contaminated by the technological and secular presence of the modern.

the old home is barely habitable: "...pero la vieja no tenía sino un par de piezas habitables. Lo demás se había destinado a graneros y almacén" (242). It is the new home that Gloria will traverse to happen upon the man that will change her life that, for now remains covered in blankets, resting peacefully after the storm that wrecked his ship.

In other words, the different spaces that consist of the Lantigua estate are highly significant in their symbolism. Both homes are situated together in Ficóbriga, "una villa de marineros y labradores pobres" (169) yet the Lantigua mansion rests beyond the old town, *en la plazoleta*; a "vivienda hecha para el amor egoísta o para las meditaciones del estudio" (171). Far from the modernization of the city, this palace where Gloria passes her days is reminiscent in many ways of José María de Pereda's *Don Gonzalo Gonzalez de la Gonzalera*, that, similar to *Gloria*, situates the reader on an idyllic path up a steep mountain before arriving at Don Román's *casona*. Yet if the gran *casona* is physically described as dilapidated in *Don Gonzalo*, in *Gloria*, the foreboding of the destruction of the home arrives with Daniel.

In fact, even before Daniel's arrival to Ficóbriga, Gloria conjures up a dream of a better future for herself, in the context of her suitor, Rafael, a man with whom Gloria cannot fall in love. In an interior monologue appropriating the *el estilo indirecto libre*, our pious and innocent protagonist ponders the reasoning behind her restlessness in the form of phantasmagoric thoughts that pass through her otherwise cyclical life: "Es una locura...esto que tengo; es una locura pensar en lo que no existe, y desvanecerme y afanare por una persona imaginaria. Fuera, fuera tonterías, ilusiones vagas, diálogos mudos" (223). The fantasies of the imagined stranger first provokes a sense of rejection inside of Gloria whose life, at that moment, rendering a romantic aesthetic, is peaceful

and uneventful. Change would upset the serenity by her father's side, whose comforting protection upholds traditional values. Gloria's happiness has been even further bolstered by the arrival of her uncle the bishop, who, as the third chapter tells us, gifts the joy into her life that a male suitor should bring a young woman of her age: "Gloria no espera un novio sino un obispo" (175). Her life at this present moment is precisely a romanticized and spiritualized glorification of the past encouraged by the Catholic doctrine. If Daniel comes to symbolize faith in a future that diverges from the cyclical tradition marked by the Lantigua family, the bishop embodies the historical past whose stronghold is threatened by Daniel's arrival.⁴¹

In this sense, the narration's portrayal of Gloria's trajectory from bliss to the unknown departs from the past, disguised in the appearance of the bishop and arrives at the uncovering of the phantoms that Daniel's true identity will impose upon the sleepy town. Gloria's break from the past, however, will occur through her embodiment of faith in the future, a future that can only be represented, in true Galdosian form, by the product of the impossible union between the two monotheistic religions, through a newborn son.⁴²

⁴¹ However, the title of chapter XII, "*El otro*", contains a double signification that speaks to the identitarian politics of Spain at the time. As Ignacio J. López has noted, imagining the recuperation of a historical past would have maintained a strong component of Jewish difference in its inscription (*La novela ideológica* 105), a culture that was constructed upon the negation of violence imposed on the Jewish faith in the name of nationality and union. The years following the failure of the revolution will bear witness to elevated debates in intellectual circles regarding the concept of freedom as tied to religion. Daniel's remarkable Jewishness in *Gloria* represents a renewed political interest in the mythical figure of the Jew in order to question the "national essence" that the Old Regime (López, "Introducción" 94). The Jew that was once the enemy is no longer relevant given that he is now iterated through newness and progress. For both liberals and traditionalists, the figure of the Jew contains symbolic power that helped to formulate both liberal and reactionary thought.

⁴² Although love may be thwarted by social circumstances, the presence of the son as both the fruit of the impossible love as well as the symbolic hope of the future will present itself later on in *Fortunata y Jacinta*,

Daniel's arrival to Ficóbriga will not only introduce notions of tolerance in regards to his Jewishness but will underscore the hypocrisy imbedded in this tolerance as well. His difference is presented in the first part, as can be seen through Don Ángel's judgement:

Nuestro señor Morton... podría estar a oscuras de la verdadera luz; pero bien se conoce que no es por falta de ojos. Cuán distinto es de muchos jóvenes de por acá, que diciéndose cristianos católicos y habiendo aprendido la verdadera doctrina, nos muestran en su frivolidad y corrupción moral, almas vacías, almas oscuras, almas sin fe, los sepulcros blanqueados de que nos habló el Señor. (278)

As the bishop's observation alludes, the final decades of the nineteenth century will bear witness to an inexorable crisis within the Catholic Church. Prior to the six tumultuous years following the revolution, the church was already experiencing internal problems between powerful members as well as harsh external critique by the Presbyterian church that, as famously described by Max Webber, supported an innovative religious governance to fit the needs of modern times (4). Moreover, during the first years following the revolution, these debates solidified around the disillusionment with the papal infallibility on both sides. The political position taken in *Gloria* is made clear through Daniel, the only figure capable of problematizing the complacent nature of the Catholic faith, in his symbolic representation of a future that diverges from its grasp.

Yet, the highly romanticized version of Daniel presented in the first book is contradicted in the second book as the reader is confronted with a more down-to-earth Daniel: a human more than a nostalgic fantasy. This Daniel loses himself in tragic

when Fortunata, lying on her death bed, passes her newborn son to Jacinta, a narrative implication that will also symbolically erase the utility of Juanito Santa Cruz.

conversation with Gloria, dancing around the impossibility of their love, as to his sadness and dismay, she lies dying. It is through the formative development that Daniel's character evokes the lukácsian revelation of the novel as that what "seeks, by giving form, to uncover and construct the concealed totality of life" (60). If for Lukács, character building is key to unearthing the fissures and tensions inherent in the epistemological moment that the novel wishes to reveal, then Daniel and Gloria's connection through the impossibility of love not only unveils the tensions that are presented in the clash of the modern and traditional worlds but also the beginning of the end of the spiritual world through the secularization of life. In this sense, Daniel's arrival and consequent doomed relationship with Gloria will mark the end of Ficóbriga's insular existence that is symbolically undone at the end of the first book, where Gloria is strategically depicted in the imagery of the fallen angel, subsequently and inadvertently killing her father:

Gloria tenía en su remordimiento y en su dolor un peso tan grande que cuando la retiraron del lado del enfermo llevándola a su cuarto, no pudo salir de él, no aun moverse. De rodillas, atónita, con los espantados ojos fijos en el suelo, parecía estatua del mármol esculpida para conmemorar un gran desastre o representar la idea de la condenación eterna. (387)

The coldness that oozes from the description of the fallen angel who represents afterlife without the possibility of redemption reveals to the beginning of the transformation of the woman beyond angel at the end of the nineteenth century. Gloria's devastation is overshadowed by her transgression as well as her shedding of her submissive traits. As López notes, in order to have hope in Ficóbriga, the "mapa moral" of Spain, one must

have faith (61), yet Gloria's character transformation reveals that faith rested on the shoulders of the *ángel del hogar*. Her depiction as a fallen angel embodies the secularization of Spain that now pervades the fortress of the home space. Without the *ángel del hogar*, traditional life as Ficóbriga once knew it is part of the past and those that existed because of her submissive care, are rendered obsolete. Typically rendered tragic, Gloria's father's death is just as much symbolic of the inevitability of progress. The woman of the future or the modern woman must rid herself of the man of the past and his desire for a seamless domestic space. She paves the way for reimagining the home, as it will be portrayed in Spanish cultural production, redefined beyond the image of the fallen angel.

As the angel falls out of her submission to the patriarchal social structures, she lands on her two feet in the public eye. To briefly reiterate, the processes of modernization in Spain were contingent upon the intricate utilization of gender difference that formed part of the identity formation project of the public sphere of work in the late nineteenth century. As Jo Labanyi points out: "identity is defined, not by what one is as a person, but by what one represents in public terms. Indeed, the object was to construct citizens as individuals who freely chose to merge their personal identity with the socially proscribed role-models held out to them for imitation, thus maintaining the liberal fiction of the social contract" (*Gender* 386).

While women were seemingly granted more rights in the public sphere, they were still reduced to their "libidinal and inexpressible" demeanor that placed them in direct opposition to men and their rational, independent agency. Emotion was conceived as profane or irrational and its continuous erasure from the public sphere allowed for the

bourgeois processes of normativization to prevail. The impossibility of imagining female identity through its own agency or desire beyond the male oppressive gaze became the very condition upon which production was tied to rational thought. The processes of social change necessarily excluded women from their own overseeing given that the complexity of the establishment of modernity lies, as Rita Felski suggests, in the "vision of Enlightenment as emblematic of a totalizing logic of patriarchal domination" (7). What was not considered rational was deemed as quite the opposite. As Felski proposes earlier in her book:

For every account in the modern era which emphasizes the domination of the masculine qualities of rationalization, productivity, and repression, one can find another text which points--whether approvingly or censoriously--to the feminization of Western society, as evidenced in the passive, hedonistic, and decentered nature of modern subjectivity. (5)

In my first chapter, I argued that a dichotomous understanding of gendered spaces is not born in the modern era in the Western world, although little changes structurally from its original construction. The ancient Greeks, *páthos* was comparable to natural devastation and was avoided at all costs; it was a terrible earthly phenomenon but an inescapable one at that. This axiom led collective organizers to undertake a series of laws and regulations to thwart "unbridled passion" in the city space and the home worked well as a safe depository to remove all such *páthos* from the city (Loraux, *Mothers* 9). It simultaneously provided a space of residual feminine excess and one of inhabiting (*oikêsis*) for the civic participants, the soldiers, and lawmakers. Slaves, who also appeared in the margins of the home were considered domiciled in this residence

(Loraux, *Of the earth* 62). What Felski describes in her melding of signifiers such as "passive" and "decentered" is what Aristotle too considered those that resided outside of the *polis*. They were, these women, slaves, and barbarians, deprived of their own ontological expression (Arendt 27). The concept of *ángel del hogar* became a modern-day reconstruction of the subjects of the *oikos*.

It is almost uncanny then, that a male existentialist writer in Spain, such as Miguel de Unamuno, unknowingly broke with the age-old dichotomy of public/private and masculine/feminine through the protagonist of his novel, *La Tía Tula*. Tula, I propose, discards this social contract completely. Her story told from the home allows her to conceive motherhood as a shield against the patriarchal institutions inscribed in womanhood. Nonetheless, in spite of Unamuno's progressive leanings and his vote for women's suffrage in Spain in 1931, throughout his life and productive development as a thinker and writer, he remained conservative, as per the norm for his time. While his representation of female characters did evolve as women's movements began to permeate the Spanish intellectual scene, Unamuno has rarely been considered in any real way to be a writer of feminist leanings. On the contrary, as Labanyi suggests, his work, more than anything, could be read as a self-inflicted exploration of masculine anxiety ("Masculinity" 11).

Scholarship would agree that as much as his prolific production spanned an arch that saw drastic transformations in women's rights to education, birth control methods, incorporation into the work place, and the implementation of the right to vote, Unamuno is considered to be the most prominent writer and thinker to come from the very masculine leaning Generation of '98. This comes as no surprise, as Kirkpatrick

underscores, since the writers of the Generation of '98 were codified as masculine and those of Spanish modernism, as feminine (10). In fact, for Kirkpatrick, as other scholars including myself suggest, instead of recurring to the exclusion of women's voices from the modernist literary scene, it is more useful to illuminate their undeniable presence in the articulation of the establishment of modernity.

Yet, at the same time, Biggane cautions the reader of Unamuno to jump to conclusions about his conservative feminism: "it is not remarkable that before 1914 the figure of the feminist or modern emancipated woman is absent from Unamuno's fiction and dramatic work" (176). Modern feminism did not permanently seep into intellectual scenes until close to the second decade of the twentieth century. Biggane, in her recent article on gender and sexuality in the work on Unamuno, perhaps, the only extensive article on Unamuno's entire oeuvre written regarding such a debate, reminds her reader that feminism was far from Unamuno's intellectual radar when writing his turn-of-the-century works. Significant female characters in *Paz en la guerra* (1897), *La esfinge* (1898), and *Amor y pedagogía* (1902), for example, are depicted as "demure, deeply Catholic, traditional figures" (176) while women in *Vida de don Quijote y Sancho* (1914) as well as *Paz en la guerra* are also portrayed as prostitutes and maids. As an existential male writer creating his characters, inflicted and self-doubting males permeate Unamuno's earlier work.

On the same token, by the time Unamuno was deported to Fuenteventura in the winter of 1924, he had long established himself as an enemy of Restoration politics. His criticism of the staunch authoritarianism and control of the Restoration regime provoked his removal from his Rectorship at the University of Salamanca in 1914. During the two

decades prior to his exile, Unamuno engaged in some of the most existential writing of his lifetime, publishing *En torno al casticismo* (1895), *Don Quijote y Sancho* (1905), and, what is considered to be his most important philosophical work, *Del sentimiento trágico de la vida* (1912). The first two of these works that culminate in the third bring to bear an expression that Unamuno grew to call his national, quixotic philosophy that was born from the understanding of interpersonal relations, unique selves, and symbiotic imposition: "individuals should endeavor to turn their lives into *obras* through which they can express and create themselves and also impose themselves on those around them, and become irreplaceable for them; in that way, they can invade other people spiritually and also, hopefully, live on inside them" (Roberts 55).⁴³

In the pages that follow, I propose to look at Unamuno's 1921 novel, *La Tía Tula*, a work that I suggest conjures a feminist turn to both the domestic and the civic spheres of life that reflect Unamunian philosophy from both his *Del sentimiento trágico de la vida* and his later *Cómo se hace una novela*. Written at a crossroads for women's liberation in Spain but also a moment of a personal existential crisis for Unamuno in light of his struggle with authority and tradition, I posit that *La Tía Tula* radically transforms the home into a progressive space beyond its time in the portrayal of Tula. Tula, a strong-willed female character that has been considered a medium between previous *ángeles del hogar* depicted by Unamuno prior to 1914 and his later, more emancipated female characters (Biggane 183), opens to a nuanced contemplation of maternal care, reproduction, and spirituality that deviates from the turn toward equality solely through production and secularization in the civil sphere.

⁴³ Translated by Stephen G.H. Roberts, "Exile 1924-1930: Essays, Narrative and Drama. *A Companion to Unamuno*."

Up until now, scholars have addressed Unamuno's work on motherhood but mainly through a masculine and humanist gaze. For example, Julia C. Barnes approaches *San Manuel Bueno, mártir* (1931) beyond typical literary, philosophical, biographical, theological, psychological, class, and socio-historical perspectives in order to join more recent scholarship that has taken to a biographical view regarding Unamuno and his atheist-priest protagonist: "If Don Manuel represents the existential void caused by religious skepticism, and Blasillo – the village idiot – symbolizes equally unsatisfactory blind faith, Ángela appears to be the one character capable of synthesizing faith and doubt, or at least of sustaining them in dynamic opposition" (19). For Barnes, more than Ángela's gender, it is her identity as a spiritual mother that bestows her this heightened possibility. But such a unique quality, Barnes, notes, is contradictory given that while her maternal qualities will allow her to avoid the existential despair of the male characters, her status as an *hombre/homo*, a term that Unamuno employs for thoughtful humans who struggle with life's most arresting questions, pushes her to renounce her maternity in the name of her humanity. By elevating Ángela to Don Manuel and Lázaro, her male thinking counterparts, her maternal qualities are deemed as inferior.

More than twenty years earlier, Alejandro Martínez wrote about the deep gender divide that Unamuno upheld throughout the development of his own philosophy, even when subjected to the progress of the feminist movement. He refers to the more youthful Unamuno, writer and philosopher still predating the gender movements that not only felt a burning sense of inequality toward women but also that of disdain: "La mujer de la época es gorda, blanca, envuelta en telas, dedicada a coser y a tener hijos, de los que apenas superviven la mitad, analfabeta, sucia y embrutecida. Empleada en la crítica y la

maledicencia y en educar a sus hijas en los mismos métodos" (253). Martínez writes that even as Unamuno was confronted with the problematic gender gap that prevailed in literary and intellectual culture, he was never convinced that women and men should seek to forge equality. For Unamuno, one of the products of civilization itself was the masculine construction of social order (254). In line with this thought, as Carlos Longhurst notes, Ricardo Gullón and Frances Wyers see Tula as an inhumane monster and Juan Caraballo, as a typical envious woman (31).

Julia Biggane and to a greater extent Laura Hynes are two scholars that do see potential for reading Unamuno from a feminist or gendered lens and both scholars' perspectives diverge in their reach. For Biggane, although *La Tía Tula* is Unamuno's only text that exhibits potential for a feminist reading, it still cannot be considered a feminist text (184). From her highly philological perspective, Biggane proposes that the years directly preceding and following the First World War will, just like in all spheres of life throughout the greater European continent, marked a divide in the way that Unamuno perceived and created his female characters. Unamuno will bear witness to the changes that women experienced both in the workforce and in educational and legal possibilities (181). At first, his representation of the "new woman," in his fictional works, will not be done in a positive light. Biggane recurs to Unamuno's Eugenia in *Niebla* as "a coldly selfish, manipulative and deceitful figure" that, like many of the female figures that he created, was "monstrous" (181).

The most major difference Between Eugenia and others of his female characters, such as Raquel, in *Dos Madres* (1920) and Carolina in *El marqués de Lumbría* (1920) is that Eugenia's lacks a maternal instinct. On the contrary, both Raquel and Carolina

possess a decisive maternal drive comparable to earlier traditional figures. However, in these later works, their turn toward motherhood precisely marks the cruelty of their characters. In the words of Biggane, it "consumes and indeed annihilates any sense of civic or wide ethical responsibility they may have" (181). For Biggane, as traditional women's roles experience vertiginous changes in the workplace and public sphere, Unamuno's portrayal of women is seen in a drastically negative light. Either that women are portrayed as monstrous because they are unable to detach their quest for motherhood from civic change or, maternity is considered to be the highest form of feminine truth, as revealed by the protagonist in *Raquel*, for example, who turns down a career in favor of adopting a small child.

It is with Unamuno's publication of *La Tía Tula* (1921) that Biggane sees a more progressive shift in Unamuno's portrayal of women. She reads Tula's thirst for motherhood in this novel as the middle ground between the nineteenth century *ángel del hogar*, present in Unamuno's earlier works prior to 1914, and the "cruel and inhuman" figure that is propelled by her maternal urges in order to "protect her own autonomy" in an ever-changing civic world (183). This new fictitious creation, she believes, is not as chained to the concept of the domestic mother as his previous characters but at the same time, is far from an emancipated woman. In line with contemplation regarding the lack of an afterlife in Unamuno's *Del sentimiento trágico de la vida*, Biggane believes that Tula offers a motive in life after Nietzsche, in her steadfast desire to maintain a particular and individualized role in secular society. Therefore, for Biggane, Tula offers a depth of character that Unamuno's female characters did not portray or experience prior to her creation.

For Laura Hynes, however, *La Tía Tula* is a predecessor to radical feminism. From the very title of her compelling article, "*La Tía Tula: Forerunner of Radical Feminism*," Hynes moves beyond Biggane's more conservative outlook and, hence, departs sharply from Gullón's, Carballo's and Wyer's perspectives imbued with a stark masculine gaze, by speaking to the strong feminist potential that this novel conveys. To begin, for Hynes, the protagonist, Tula, embodies Unamuno's theory of characterization read in *Cómo se hace una novela*. In this sense, Tula emanates the "*querer ser*, or the desire to exercise free will" (45) in so much that she eschews temporal and esthetic limitations of her time. This observation makes a great deal of sense given that *Cómo se hace una novela* was written merely three years after *La Tía Tula* while Unamuno was in exile and certain stylistic principles of creation and other thematic novelties that are present in the first were part of a greater trend in Unamuno's writings of the moment.

In recurring to radical feminism in her reading of *La Tía Tula*, Hynes evokes critics such as Shulamith Firestone, Andrea Dworkin, Ann Oakley, Jeffner Allan, and Alison Jagger, who respectively argue that gender is not the only way in which women are defined through difference. Gender is, as Judith Butler famously asserted, nothing more but a construction of domination through an elaborate system conceived through a male gaze. For the aforementioned scholars, the political task at hand in understanding the patriarchal system that created in its quest for domination is precisely finding modes of life that converge in striving to end it (46). One of these dominating structures, as Hyne's underscores, stresses the procreative abilities of women. Since women are biologically the reproducers of the two sexes, the notion of "natural ability" becomes tied with the imposed domestic roles of the female sex (46). In this sense, for Hynes, Tula is

an "early radical feminist," given the protagonist's strong vocal stance against the conventions of the society in which she lives that offer women the choice of residing in the home or in the convent. Basing her analysis heavily on textual content, Hynes fleshes out Tula's position as a character that yearns for control beyond masculine domination. In doing so, she highlights the religious contingencies that bolster Tula's position as she rejects patriarchal Christianity in favor of a woman-centered religion, offering her a distinguished platform upon which she can preach an ulterior motive of maternity beyond the masculine gaze:

Tula aspires to be like the Virgin Mary not only because she represents the ultimate affirmation of motherhood, but also because of her consummate purity. Tula regards the Virgin as the second Eve, who redeemed humanity because she gave us salvation with the birth of Christ. Not only was Mary conceived by the immaculate conception, she managed to be a mother without engaging in sexual relations with men, thereby escaping original sin. (49)⁴⁴

Tula's admiration for the Virgin Mary marks her apart from generic Western conceptions of women seen through Eve's evil defiance of nature. Her desire to be a mother is in itself an act of radical feminism for Hynes given that it bypasses the biological albeit natural reproductive machine that, in enlightened cultures, becomes deeply intertwined in masculine domination. In removing herself from the metonymic association that

⁴⁴ Much scholarship written on this novel focuses on Tula's rejection of patriarchal religion in favor of a woman-centered religion. As Hynes points out, Tula objects to Catholicism because it is ruled by men and at the same time, becoming a nun would be akin to being trapped in marriage given that nuns are the brides of Christ (49). Mary is the only redeeming Catholic icon that helps Tula discover her religious mission in the home.

attaches women to Eve's evil, Tula advocates for a vision of motherhood that greatly diminishes the masculine gaze onto maternal care (50-51).

My critique of *La Tía Tula* takes Hynes' position of radical feminism yet a step further in showing that it is not only a biological reality that Tula wishes to transgress but patriarchal norms implicit in the intricacies tied to the child bearing and child rearing processes as well. Through a spiritual stronghold that she builds through the protection of her sister's children from inside the urban home, Tula consciously conjures the economy of the *oikos*, the ancient political structuring of society that paved the way for the modern domestic space. In doing so, her character brings to bear a harrowing critique on domesticity by conceptualizing the space of the early twentieth century home that moves beyond these terms. At the same time, Tula elevates female biological possibility to be conceived beyond the patriarchal lens of capitalist needs.

La Tía Tula was a work that was years in the making. Almost twenty years prior to publishing one of the few novels of his that portray such a memorable female protagonist, Unamuno wrote to a friend:

Right now I am working on a new novel called *The Aunt*. It's the story of a young woman who turns down various suitors, remaining unmarried to look after her nieces and nephews, the children of her dead sister. She lives with her brother-and-law, whom she rejects as a prospective husband, as she does not want conjugal duties to sully the chaste air breathed within the home by her *sons* and *daughters*. Given that her maternal instinct had already been fulfilled, why would

she feel obliged to lose her virginity? She's a virgin mother. I know of at least one case.⁴⁵

Upon opening this novel, any reader would quickly understand that *La Tía Tula* is much more complex and penetrates fixed structural social norms with a critical stance that goes beyond its own time. It is a novel that highlights the strong, loving bond that two sisters share whom, as the narration unfolds, are highly different. Rosa is a typical, traditionally described woman through her weak frame yet impossibly beautiful appearance. Contrarily, Tula, a name she only allows those that are closest to her call her, and whose given name is Gertrudis, is described through the energetic sparkle in her eyes and her strong presence. From the very beginning, it is clear that Tula has the upper hand in the sisterly relationship and pushes wedlock and children on Rosa, who does not seem to be in any rush to marry. Yet, her sister does marry her suitor, Ramiro, whose character is painted as overly pouty and weak. Very little is given in terms of details about Rosa and Tula's relationship beyond the predicament of marriage and sisterhood aside from their upbringing. Raised by their uncle, an important priest, after being orphaned at a young age, the two girls were left to their own volition. However, the narration makes clear that Tula's uncle always knew that Tula was the smart one; she was different from other girls, and took after her mother who, out of typical feminine character, questioned the uncle's Catholic sermons.

As adults, Tula's vocation in life transforms into a rather bossy position in the household. She convinces her sister, Rosa, and Ramiro that they are in love with one

⁴⁵ Cited in Julia Biggane, Introduction to *La Tía Tula*, ed. Julia Biggane (Oxford: Aris & Phillips Hispanic Classics, 2013), 5; Geoffrey Ribbans, 'El autógrafo de parte de *La tía Tula* y su significado para la evolución de la novela,' in *Volumen-homenaje a Miguel de Unamuno*, ed. D. Gómez Molleda (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca/Casa Museo Unamuno, 1986), 477.

another and that the only possible step after marriage would inevitably be to have a child. As follows, the bewildered couple gives birth three times, but each successive offspring ends up sucking the life out of the little strength Rosa had mustered in the first place. To her husband's dismay, Rosa finally succumbs to her ailments. Her death, mourned by her husband the most, results in Tula becoming the *mother*, an important concept not to be confused with the *stepmother*, as Tula will repeat throughout the story's development. Ramiro spends months sulking in his loneliness but when he is finally ready to move on, he begins to create an uncomfortable atmosphere for Tula who, throughout the narration, rejects any male imposed social relationship that could diminish the purity that she had created for the children in the household. Eventually, Tula discovers that Ramiro has had an affair with the maid, another meekly represented female character in the novel, who she subsequently forces into a marriage with him. They too have children, but soon the maid dies, followed by Ramiro; Tula outlives them both. Yet, at the end Tula does fall ill, finally passing away, leaving behind a legacy seen through her children who will uphold her fundamental way of life.

From the very beginning of the novel, Tula's relations with other characters as well as her own intentions are marked by a strong sense of ambiguity. The very first sentence casts doubt on the purity of the relationship between Ramiro and Rosa, and places Tula in the middle of a confusing dilemma: "Era a Rosa y no a su hermana Gertrudis, que siempre salía de casa con ella, a quien ceñían aquellas ansiosas miradas que le sendereaba Ramiro. O por lo menos, así lo creían ambos, Ramiro y Rosa, al atraerse el uno al otro (46). Tula's ambiguity, at first, could also be understood through a linguistic oppression imposed upon her, a woman, of childbearing age, set to be confined

to the household where her silence would be considered the norm while simultaneously deeming her bereft of citizenship in the public sphere. However, the vague plot twists and developments continue throughout the narration, speaking to a larger manifestation of Tula's behavior as a transgression against patriarchal norms. As it turns out, both the ambiguity with respect to narrative significance as well as Tula's decision-making are conceptually developed to be quite brazen and blunt. If being political implies deciding through words of persuasion, Tula's use of the home space becomes her political stage.

Her meticulously chosen words and candid attitude become emotionally aggressive fortresses against patriarchal norms. Tula is well aware and even cynically jokes about how woman should either strive to reside in the home or in the convent, under the strict legislation and codes of the symbiotic institutions of marriage and the church. In an early conversation with her sister where she quiet fanatically imposes marriage upon her, Tula objects: "Ya sabes que no me guaseo. Parézcenos bien o mal, nuestra carrera es el matrimonio o el convento; tú no tienes vocación de monja; Dios te hizo pare el mundo y el hogar, vamos para madre de familia..." (50). Yet when her sister asks her about her plans of marriage, given her forcefulness upon others, Tula replies, coldly: "A mí déjame" (50). She understands that she cannot revolutionize all women but the household revolution can begin with her.

As the narrative fabric unfolds, Tula's main purpose in life, more than just being a spiritual and virginal mother, is to bring forth a new politics of the home that put into question the separation of the *polis* and the *oikos*. The bridge that divides the rational citizen from the barbaric home residents is, after all, passion, and Tula's main premise through all of her decisions, tasks, and speeches, can be brought back to her push to

dislodge passion from her life. This can be seen through her tumultuous relationship with men. From her influence over Ramiro, to her nonchalant dismissal of Ricardo, Tula attracts men with her unique, powerful personality and drive. For instance, while she worked tirelessly to bring Rosa and Ramiro together, any attempt that Ramiro makes to express his infatuation with Tula herself and his fear about jumping into a marriage with Rosa, Tula won't hear any of it, persistently overriding Ramiro's pathetic attempts to antagonize her. When discussing the urgency for the wedding between him and Rosa, Ramiro pleads:

--Pero, Tula...

--¡Nada te Tula! ¿La quieres, sí o no?

--¿Puedes dudarle, Tula?

--¡Te he dicho que nada de Tula! ¿La quieres? (62)

In their back-and-forth banter, Tula refuses to accept a whiny answer from her soon-to-be-brother in law, who, if it were up to him, would dreamily try to flesh through his differing but equally passionate feelings that he has for both sisters. At the same time, Tula won't stop until she gets what she wants--the conception of her future nieces and nephews--in order to continue to fulfill her greater purpose in life. However, unlike a typical biological mother, in tune with social and biological clocks, Tula impatiently expects to be a mother on her own time. In this sense, she will not be represented in any way by Ramiro, steadfast in her unwillingness to hear him call her by her nickname, Tula. Throughout the novel, when speaking to Ramiro, she insists that he call her Gertrudis, her given name, that merits just as much civic clout as his own.

She does the same thing with her past suitor, Ricardo. In her breakup letter to the dumbfounded man, she uses the caring of her sister's children as an excuse to why she could not marry him, signing the brief note with her full name, Gertrudis. Similar to the way that she speaks to Ramiro, her tone is condescending with Ricardo. In this way, she erases the stereotypical vision of the woman in the home space overrun with emotion, and avoids masculine authority over her own identity. Her actions performed from within the home space are marked by meticulous rationality with the end goal being that of a maternal figure for the children in her family. They are also manifested through extreme vigilance. As her sister lies dying, Tula makes the executive decision to move in with her brother-and-law and his family, to help maintain order in the home. Beyond a place of rest and rejuvenation, the home space is swiftly transformed into a concrete legal sphere.

Maintaining a clear path toward her end goal of consistent vigil in the home is not so easy and Tula knows she must lay down a new set of laws that bypass men almost completely. In this new conceptualization of the home space, the woman's biological possibilities elevate the position of motherhood to even go beyond them. She sees children, not as the future workers of the city space, but as future caregivers and caretakers, an effort on Tula's part that mimics Silvia Federici's critique of the formation of the home space with the unfolding and establishment of capitalism in the Western world. For Federici:

The body has been for women in capitalist society what the factory has been for male waged workers: the primary ground of their exploitations and resistance, as

the female body has been appropriated by the state and men and forced to function as a means for the reproduction and accumulation of labor. (16)

Federici argues that in modern Western civilization, the spiraling amplification of violence against women can be traced to witch-hunting, which she convincingly considers to be one of the first political common grounds in the creation of the European nation-states (11). The witches became targets due to their antithetic lifestyle to the normative domestic existence that expected women to be pleasing to men. With the establishment of capitalism all throughout Western Europe, the female body continued to experience evolved forms of exploitation and subjugation to economic accrual that can be tied to their biological abilities to reproduce. In time, reproduction fell so deeply into the shadow of labor that feminine nature was erased from the construction of future public spaces. Consequently, care work typically done in the home and that begins within the mother's body is eschewed from the public sphere. While Marx, in the nineteenth century, criticized the way in which the land and labor of the land would be objectified and valued primarily in terms of primitive accumulation, and consequently while Marxist criticism would continue to advocate for the rights of the proletarian class, the bodies of women would be silently exploited through capitalism's shadow work.⁴⁶

In turn, in rendering the labor of the caretaker as the single most important position to maintain in this book, Tula's character serves as a historical reminder that the space of the home cannot begin to be understood without recurring to the exploitation of women's physical bodies and the binary that exists between domestic care and public

⁴⁶ Ivan Illich refers to "shadow work" as the "necessary condition for the family wage earner to exist" (2), and considers this work to be a modern phenomenon of work that is not rewarded by wages. As Federici suggests, this work has been done long before women's liberation movements impacted the social sphere and establish itself in tandem with the advent of capitalism in Western Europe. See chapter three of my dissertation for more on shadow work.

waged-labor, evidenced through gendered dichotomies regarding care, progress, identity formations, reproduction, sustainability and value given to all forms of life.

In the throes of bringing up her nieces and nephews that she refers to as her own, Tula refuses to teach the younger girl to sew or to undertake other activities of such domestic caliber. For Tula, in regards to other women not ready to take up her own radical stance in full, work solely lies in the biological processes inherent in the female anatomy, not the gendered social prescriptions imposed upon the female sex: "¿Labores de su sexo?--decía--no, nada de labores de su sexo; el oficio de la mujer es hacer hombres y mujeres, y no vestirlos" (120). However, unlike Hyne's platform that proposes a criticism of the biological abilities of women, I believe that *La Tía Tula* celebrates the feminine nature of the connection between women and children. She elevates the birth of children, socially conceived as domestic labor, in order to consider the birthing process beyond that of patriarchal needs. When she explains to her uncle, "toda mujer nace madre, tío," (74), she is not speaking of such a position in a condescending light but rather, in a spiritual register that breaks with stereotypical and oppressive conditioning of motherhood. This can be seen through her resistance to typical Christian spaces and notions, such as the church, the convent, and marriage itself as well as her attachment to a Marian connotation of religion, where women can look up to another woman to fulfill their spiritual needs. Yet, her spirituality, unlike the imposed conception of the *ángel del hogar*, is created for and by a woman. Tula's position opens to possibilities of understanding women and the space they occupy in the social realm and in doing so, removes herself from the web of gendered representation.

In an effort to uncover the damaging realities that culturally enslave women in the first place, Tula decides that her family needs a vacation in nature in an unnamed mountain village close to the sea. Seemingly, at first, a simple change of air, this last-minute summer vacation ends up marking an important turn in the radicalization of the urban home space for Tula. But this occurs gradually. Once in the countryside and adjusted to the rural way of life, Tula and her family pass their time on aimless strolls through the woods, spending lazy days at the beach, and enjoying deep slumbers to the sound of crickets and to the scent of the fresh country air. Bright and early, to the cooing of a rooster and the horn of the sailors' ships, the vacationers would sleepily rise to repeat the same simplistic rituals over again. Far from the city, nature seems to envelop Tula into an element that initially could be seen as her true spiritual realm; a space where, in tune with nature, she has full control over the emotional state of others. At first, Tula is even able to keep Ramiro's emotions at bay through her stories whose melodic tone mixed with the soft ebb and flow of the ocean's tide: "Gertrudis estaba brizando la pasión de Ramiro para adormecérsela" (128). Far from the progressive noises and shrills of the city space, Tula schemes to have Ramiro fall into a more traditional rhythm of country living; "una vida de familia purísima y campesina" (130). This cyclical rhythm seems to aide Tula in her uncovering of a nostalgic vision of what it meant to be a woman.

Yet, as time goes by, it is the repetition and calmness of the countryside that makes Tula keenly aware of Ramiro's unbridled passions. The more he seeks her out, the more she envelops herself in anything natural that surrounds her--the intangibility of the moon, the mountains, the sea, the sun's warmth. Above all other natural creatures or

phenomena, however, Tula finds the most protection surrounded by her children. "...en cuanto el hombre deslizaba la conversación a senderos de lo por pacto táctico ya vedado de hablar entre ellos, la tía tenía en la boca un <<¡Ramirín!>> o <<¡Rosita!>> o <<¡Elvira!>> (128). Her children, in the calmness of the countryside, ease into the backdrop of nature that the city space does not afford. At the same time, it is this very aspect of her children that makes Tula understand that the country is not an ideal place for her to make her radical mark on womanhood. On the contrary, it is back in the city, where an oversaturation of construction and industry, and where the vertiginous movements of progress foster a strict but unconscious adherence to patriarchal social norms, that her radical stance would be able to articulate a difference. Ramiro mistakes Tula's need to return to the city as her being out of her element but Tula is resolute on recovering urban spaces from the norms of progress: "En la ciudad estaba su convento, su hogar, y en él su celda. Y allí adormecería mejor a su cuñado" (134). It is in the city where she could best appropriate all that she has learned in nature to raise her children in her way.

In their scholarship, both Hynes and Biggane emphasize the embodiment of a female-centered Christianity that Tula sets forth in her evocation of Santa Teresa and the Mother Mary as well as her negation of the normative construction of life spelled out by Christianity. I would add to this compelling argument that Tula understands that it is from within the cloistering realm of the bourgeois dwelling space that true radical work can unfold: where mothers can begin to close the gap between the weighted separation of the home and the city inherent in the capitalistic productive cycle and where children can be understood as a natural process in life that moves away from the appropriation

and exploitation of the female body in the name of the labor force. Tula's goals in motherhood emerge from the very contradictory constructions that play out through notions of the private self as defined through the public sphere where invasive normative forces are imposed upon the home.

Unaware when writing this book, Unamuno created in Tula a character full of possibilities of constructing a nuanced vision of *la nueva mujer*, a subject that embodied social change for women, particularly in the workplace. The concept of *la nueva mujer* was historically conceived through the socio-ideological liberal discourse that spread throughout industrialized Europe during the 1920's, born, in great part from modern concerns regarding equality and difference that pervaded universal feminist thought of the times. In Spain, ideological fervor came into play at an inter-war moment that allowed for the introduction of socialist-leaning debates that too argued in favor of equality of women. As I have laid out, a precept in this argument for the equality of women and men lies in their abilities to participate in the public work sphere. Fernández Utrera notes, "[*La nueva mujer*] se aparta de las demandas políticas del feminismo más intransigente en favor de "un feminismo más femenino," enfatizando la responsabilidad moral y una educación más lógica" (502). In this way, the concept of *la nueva mujer* reveals an identity in favor of creating a normative sphere of public existence. It reveals a liberated *yo* from a national discourse that confines itself to the enlightened signifiers of rationalism and analytical possibilities. Tula's home challenges the spatial limits of liberation for women.

While Unamuno did not realize he had created such a progressive figure, other writers, such as Rosa Chacel, were more subtle in their intentions. Chacel's first book,

Estación. Ida y vuelta (1930), has long been suggested by critics of the twentieth century to lay out an instrumental tactic of fragmentation in order to illuminate social problems that can only be truly seen in light of the “new woman.” Yet, the author herself hints very little as to what she meant to do with her experimental literary piece. One clue that she does relay in her prologue written in 1930 regards the protagonist of the novel: "Aunque no coincide con casi ningún hecho de mi vida, le considero autobiográfico, y aunque él empieza a vivir ahora, es un reflejo de una realidad mía ya lejana" (85). As a woman writer becoming part of the literary avant-garde movement in Spain, Chacel herself experienced unjust discrimination against women for being highly emotionally and therefore unfit for the rational, intellectual debates of the times. In fact, as Susan Larson notes,

If one defines the avant-garde (as Peter Bürger does) as an artistic movement that tries to effect radical change and innovation both in the symbolic field or aesthetic realm *and* in the realm of the social or everyday life, one cannot help but come to the conclusion that aside from Chacel, there are no Spanish avant-garde female novelists. (363)

Universally, the avant-garde was predominantly male. The greater Western European avant-garde scene, typically defined itself through manifestos that too were disseminated through the Spanish literary and artistic scenes. Marinetti's 'Futurist Proclamation to the Spaniards' was translated from Italian to Spanish by Ramón Gómez de la Serna in 1909 and 'The Ultraist Manifesto' was written by Jorge Luis Borges, Guillermo de Torre, Juan Larrea, and Gerardo Diego (361). More autochthonous to Spain was José Ortega y Gasset's *La deshumanización del arte* and his *Ideas sobre la novella* that highly

impacted the Spanish avant-garde novel, placing emphasis on form in response to the content-laden realist novels of the century prior. The new style of writing typically featured young men breaking away from the institutions of bourgeois morality. While the avant-garde poets of the so-called Generation of '27 paid homage to Gongora's depth of language, Ramón Gómez de la Serna, Ernesto Giménez Caballero, Benjamín Jarnés amongst other responded to Mariano José de Larra's *costumbrista* tendencies (366). Although the movement was ridden with critique of bourgeois desire and thought and was conceived as a pan-artistic cry for social change, the discourse of avant-garde literary work was not only gendered with a great proclivity toward masculine voices, but it also perpetrated violence and exclusion against women. Chacel's ambiguity in regards to her first book and her own personal involvement in its development can be seen, then, as its own quiet manifesto in favor of female participation in the public sphere while detaching herself from any emotional investment.

In spite of Chacel's success in separating the form of the novel from emotionally or ideologically imbued content, in confessing that her first novel, a *Bildungsroman* of sorts, was, in truth, an autobiography, she was admitting to how *Estación. Ida y vuelta*'s publication marked an important turning point in her life. Two years after she published the first chapter of her brief three-chapter novel in *La gaceta literaria*, Chacel not only published the entirety of the book in Madrid but also gave birth to her son, Carlos (Mangini 22). The role of the woman in society would have been, at a deeply cellular and intimate level, on Chacel's mind. It was a time in her life of great contemplation and reflection and rightfully coincided with her renegotiation of the definition and construction of femininity that moved beyond structured categorical perceptions fused

with the rationality and vitality that helped forge the awakening of modern times in Spain.

Estación is a fragmented, fleeting novel in which the narrator, a split subject between a nameless *él* and *ella*, navigates the spaces of life. Growing up, *él* falls in love with a girl named Julia, a turn in the narration that marks one possible *ida*, a trip to France, that is interrupted by his necessary *vuelta*, or return to Spain upon discovering that *ella* has given birth to his child. In terms of action, this novel is nearly void, though it takes psychological twists and turns through the predominant *él* and his own internal journey that some scholars believe morph into the author herself (28). Others, such as Elizabeth A. Scarlett, describe the plot through the eyes of *él*, who cannot develop into adulthood because he doesn't outgrow the lure of his childhood home. She also makes the connection between Chacel's preference for the masculine and Unamuno's *novelas existenciales* (202). Yet, years later, in a letter to Ortega y Gasset, Chacel tells of a more coherent narrative capable of jolting the reader of the ephemeral book:

La historia de un estudiante que tiene novia...Viven los dos, en diferentes departamentos de una misma casa, que representa el mundo donde la novela ocurre. La conducta de mi protagonista le obliga a apresurar su casamiento, a dejar la facultad sin terminar el doctorado y a buscarse un destino en un ministerio. Al poco tiempo--absurdamente poco--llegan a otro piso unos forasteros. Son ricos, mundanos, ruidosos; con una cultura un poco turística. Crean un clima en el que se siente lo que la casa tiene de prisión, de limitación. Mi protagonista, inmediatamente, ataca a la nueva vecina pero no llega más que a tomar su ideas, a poseerla en esa forma. Con las nuevas ideas incorporadas, se va

un buen día a París...y ahí vive su fuga, agota, con minuciosidad implacable, todo lo que representa ese acto de irse. Cuando ya lo tiene agotado, vuelve y entonces vive su volver. (Chacel, "Respuesta a Ortega" 98-99)

This almost ludic understanding of *Estación* has been contested and warped by critics of Chacel's work. Utrera Fernández reads *Estación. Ida y Vuelta* as a timely literary document that understands reason as the integrating structural frame of vitality under which female identity and writing can be historically understood (502). Quite contrarily to the masculine vision of the whimsical and dehumanized avant-garde, Chacel's first novel is an experimentation that expands feminine existence to be comprehended in tandem with the philosophical, cultural, and political legacies of modernity in which female roles and identities cannot be contained within "a singular unilinear logic of history" (Felski 8).

Yet, Ortega's philosophical approach had an undeniable lasting impact on the literary-minded authoress, Rosa Chacel, and is well known that her first book was, in great part, a homage to the philosopher's work. It can be read as a literary embodiment of Ortega's philosophy of *la razón vital* (Laurenzi 438) and understood by recurring to Ortega's *Deshumanización del arte*, specifically to the morbid scenario that he phenomenologically describes in it:

Un hombre ilustre agoniza. Su mujer está junto al lecho. Un médico cuenta las pulsaciones del moribundo. En el fondo de la habitación hay otras dos personas: un periodista, que asiste a la escena habitual por razón de su oficio, y un pintor que el azar ha conducido allí. Esposa, médico, periodista y pintor presencian un mismo hecho. Sin embargo, este único y mismo hecho —la agonía de un

hombre— se ofrece a cada uno de ellos con aspecto distinto. Tan distintos son estos aspectos, que apenas si tienen un núcleo común. La diferencia entre lo que es para la mujer transida de dolor y para el pintor que, impasible, mira la escena, es tanta, que casi fuera más exacto decir: la esposa y el pintor presencian dos hechos completamente distintos.⁴⁷

The point of the author, whose disdain for traditional production became emblematic of the Spanish literary sphere of the earliest decades of the twentieth century, is to recognize that this one solitary scenario is seen, felt, and embodied from a variation of perspectives that share a focal point. A man lies dying and is accompanied in the process by his wife, a journalist, a doctor, and a painter whose depth of difference--a spiritual difference--that each perspective offers at the foot of the dying man's bed, speaks to a fragmentation of realities where the authenticity of the perspective of the true reality becomes infinitely impossible to grasp. Ortega playfully asks: “¿Cuál de esas realidades es la verdadera, la auténtica?” The simple answer, he briefly concludes, is to arrive at a logical classification of the types of perspectives are in the room at the foot of the bed; to derive a sense of probability in order to garner the subject who most fits this normative type cast. The wife of the dying man is the closest to embodying the sentiments evoked by the situation while the other attendance will each be removed emotionally by different degrees. The artist, however, is simultaneously the painter of each of these incongruent human emotional spheres, sharing the same physical space, while he freezes the ghastly human emotions into the stillness of his inanimate work. This contrarian

⁴⁷ See Orgeta y Gasset, José. *La deshumanización del arte*. Madrid: Castalia didáctica, 2009.

dynamic is, for Ortega y Gasset, one aspect of the new artist that he virulently refers to in his following points:

Si se analiza el nuevo estilo, se hallan en él ciertas tendencias sumamente conexas entre sí. Tiende: 1, a la deshumanización del arte; 2, a evitar ciertas formas vivas; 3, a hacer que la obra de arte no sea sino obra de arte; 4 a considerar el arte como juego a nada más; 5, a una esencial ironía; 6 a eludir toda falsedad, y por tanto, a una escrupulosa realización. En fin, 7, el arte según los artistas jóvenes, es una cosa sin transcendencia alguna.⁴⁸

In line with his thinking, Chacel was proud of her capacity to set her literary piece free from the sentiments of recent impactful cultural works of modernity.⁴⁹ This liberation, for her, interestingly included an anti-feminist sentiment. Writing during a historical moment of vertiginous change traversed by a burgeoning women's rights movement, Chacel openly shunned emotional feminist literature as a counter-genre forming at the margins of traditional works (Laurenzi 428). In this sense, Chacel's feminism, as Laurenzi also notes, cannot be understood as an outright *manifesto* against patriarchal norms that too pervaded the progressive intellectual movements of the early twentieth century but rather, as part of a wider program that wished to revamp national meaning at all levels. Fernández Utrera suggests that:

La cuestión de la identidad femenina, tal como se plantea en la obra vanguardista de Rosa Chacel, hay que comprenderla en el contexto histórico específico en el

⁴⁸ See Orgeta y Gasset, José. *La deshumanización del arte*. Madrid: Castalia didáctica, 2009.

⁴⁹ By impactful works written on an in tandem with modernity in Spain, I refer to *La Regenta* (1885) by Clarín, *Fortunata y Jacinta* by Galdós (1886-1887), and Rubén Darío's proclamation of modernism, in 1888. These three literary moments mark new forms of social representation with regards to its relationship with technology, industrialization, and urbanization that Chacel wishes to depart from.

que surge, dentro de los parámetros socio-ideológicos marcados por el nuevo liberalismo español de carácter progresista y la búsqueda de una nueva identidad femenina. (513)

In other words, Chacel's philosophy and writing, strongly leaning toward that of her mentor and contemporary Ortega y Gasset, was developing new aesthetic possibilities that she wished to pursue. Part of this novelty revolved around the construction of the modern man through his rootless contours, in a new subjectification that had not been imagined before. Ernesto Jiménez Caballero, Benjamín Jarnes, Ramón Gómez de la Serna, Aleixandre, Rafael Alberti, Federico García Lorca, Valle-Inclán, Picasso, Buñuel, y Dalí, amongst many others all formed part of this pan-artistic movement that wished to move away from the humanizing gaze of traditional realism and more recent modernism, represented in part by Gabriel Miró, Unamuno, and Francisco Ayala (Mangini 14). Similar to Ramón Gómez de la Serna's photographic and literary work, the *yo-narrador* in *Estación. Ida y vuelta* subtly plays with the possibilities of mirrored duplicates, of split selves, in order to trap the variegated essence within a single being. Chacel's narrator does this through a contraption of mirrors through which different notions of reality are captured in part, in an effort to relay a deeper more totalizing female identity, from interior and exterior perspectives, introduced by way of Freud that moves beyond the patriarchal stereotypes of the time (12).⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Recently married to the painter Timoteo Pérez Rubio in 1922, Chacel embarked on a trip to Italy with her husband who had merited a grant to study at the Academia de Roma. The young couple spent six years in Rome, time that would be extremely formative to the development of Chacel's literary career. Aside from her time writing in the confined garden of the Academia de Roma, Chacel was introduced to the Italy dominated by Marinetti and began to read Ortega y Gasset and James Joyce, the two most formative voices of her first novel (Mangini 16-17).

Chacel, as a woman writer, like the handful of intellectual women writers of her time, such as María Zambrano and Concepción Arenal, existed in a world that had just recently witnessed what would be the beginning of the progressive turn for women. After all, it wasn't until 1910 that women were granted the right to enroll in the university and a mere ten years later, only 2% of university students were female. It also wasn't until the proclamation of the Second Republic in 1931 that the percentage of female university students barely inflated to 6% of the population (438). Since women were not openly included in intellectual scenes, the small but prominent presence of who Mangini refers to as "las modernas de Madrid" (22), Maruja Mallo, María Zambrano, and Ernestina de Champourcín, posed enough of a threat in their self-positioning in the public sphere to rile anti-female sentiment within literary circles. More usual than not, intellectual women, such as Chacel, participated in female disparaging discourses.

This can be seen in a debate between Chacel and Georg Simmel, whose philosophical comprehension of gender difference provoked her to publish her article, "Esquema de los problemas prácticos y actuales del amor", in *La Revista de Occidente* in 1931. For Simmel, a German philosopher whose exaltation of the female spirit was of essence for radical feminists, the natural state of women, or their *natur*, has been grossly oppressed by patriarchal demands. Women, he believed, would make infinitely better physicians than men, for example, given their intrinsic inner harmony (92). He considered their natural state, as juxtaposed with men's, to be holistic. Simmel argued that men experience a constant sensation of *becoming*, a state that implies constant linear progress and little room for reflection (88). Contrarily, the greatest achievement in the

Western world, from the perspective of the German philosopher, is the space of the home due to its cyclical nature.

Chacel disagreed, arguing that freedom can only be understood through masculine, linear strokes. For the author, defining a woman's being through sexual difference, or promoting a "feminization of women" is erroneous during historical time of emancipation, "[cuando la mujer] se encuentra en el trance singularísimo de cobrar realidad en su ser consciente ("Esquema," 132). This line of thinking, for Chacel, excludes the woman from a mutual exchange of ideas in the public sphere. Yet, recent scholarship by María Fernández Utrera, Elena Laurenzi, and Susan Kirkpatrick whose goal of compiling a genealogy of feminist writing to juxtapose the predominantly hetero-normative literary trend, points to Chacel as a circumstantial feminist whose break with traditional narrative structures that lend themselves to patriarchal acceptance leads her to possess strong transgressive and feminine underpinning in her writings.

In line with this scholarship, I wish to add another depth of feminist awareness to the lack of narrative structure of Chacel's first book by focusing on the trope of the home and its unfolding in the writing of *Estación. Ida y vuelta*. Unlike the unanimous understanding of Chacel's work as a complete break from the recent past, I posit that it is through the trope of the home space as well as the fragmented protagonist who comes and goes from this space in a series of tension-ridden reflections, that the gap between the past and the present is bridged. In doing so, it places into question the terms of both the historical Spanish avant-garde and the public discourse regarding *la nueva mujer*.⁵¹

⁵¹ Of course, the impact that Ortega y Gasset had on Chacel's first novel cannot be disputed, though the depth in which Chacel's novel truly reckons with the dehumanization that Ortega pursues is not so clearly laid out in scholarship. Where as scholars have almost unanimously read this novel as experimentation with

At the same time, the trope of the home also speaks to the contradiction within the liberal state, a clear residual force of the Old Regime and a predicament under which the woman found herself in decades beyond the turn of the century. It stands as a reminder that the discourse of independence and individualism did not advocate for the freedom and independence of women but rather forcefully pushed them to abide by the social mission in the name of fraternal freedom. In opening with the timeless space, narrated by a fragmented *yo*, the home and the woman are vindicated in an expression of the hybridity between the rational, emotional, male and female self. The female, together with the male, in her coming into androgynous form, upholds multiplicity as an integral part of the feminine essence that speaks out against the stereotypical and mutilated feminine self of the past. Yet, unlike previous scholarship, I read this novel as including other important recuperations of the past in the folds of the narration.

In the opening pages of this short experimental novel, the home is described from the outside. In a near impressionist style for this avant-garde work, the structure is revealed from its unkempt patio, where foreign bamboo plants struggle to survive the harsh and dry heat of the summer. In spite of the tiring image of the patio that overwhelms the reader from the beginning, the scene is strangely reminiscent of Paul Cézanne's *Etude: Paysage à Auvers* (1873) in which a cluster of humble homes is tucked away under lush trees, shaded from the sun, illuminating a green field in the distance. In the turn-of-the-century French painting, the homes are nestled within a stoned wall that separates them from the viewer. The viewer's eye is lured toward the homes in the

cinema, the way, for example, others have read Ramón de la Serna's *Cinelandia*, I posit that the home space from which the novel ephemerally opens the first chapter of the *bildungsroman* represents a direct and unbreakable connection with the recent past.

foreground whose clustering superficially evokes that of a neighborhood. But with further contemplation, the gated stoned community, whose windows bear no image of the inside, conjures further questions regarding its habitability and sustainability.

In *Estación*, the home space too is described in its skeletal detail, with a narrative suspense that tempts the reader with what could lie inside: "No puede nadie suponer que tenga tanto guardado una casa que parece pequeña" (89). The narrator of *Estación*⁵² opens with a description of the desolate patio at the foot of the house, pausing to mention "esos pobres bambúes, plantados en su barril..." (89), exposed to the first and lash harsh rays of the summer sun. The prolific plant, foreign to Spain, in Chacel's narration, reveals a pitiful image of lone greenery dwarfed by the enclosed incarcerating space described as the patio itself. This modern, bare, garden scene stands removed from the welcoming tranquility of Cezanne's exterior homes as it does from the lush greenery that the narration brings us upon in *La Casa de Alvareda* or in Joaquín Sorolla's intimate Valencian *huerta*. The foreign plant, drooping from the intensity of the sun's rays, is a far cry from the *naranjo* that emblematically speaks to the traditional aristocratic Spanish home.

Yet, the exteriority of the house that opens to the sadness of the patio transports the reader to a not-so-distant past carved in the stone-built facade of the rustic terrain: "Nuestros abuelos debieron instalarse para tres o cuatro generaciones, porque nosotros encontramos en ella un amurallamiento ancestral; nos guardamos su llave en el bolsillo como símbolo de propiedad invulnerable. Porque la casa nos ha hecho apasionadamente caseros" (90). The opening of the text offers a traditional glimpse into the home space, a

⁵² From here on out, I will rotate between referring to Chacel's novel in its full name, *Estación. Ida y vuelta* and its shortened name that I have given it, *Estación*.

side of the feminine realm of care that remains pertinent beyond the changes brought about by modernity. It also functions in showing how much the modern world had transformed perspectives and priorities regarding care in a short span of time.

Presenting the house as homage to traditional spaces and materiality metonymically associated with women is a technique that Chacel will continue to use in later works. For a brief example, in an early scene in *Barrio de Maravillas*, the protagonist, Isabel proves her worth as a woman by sewing, while Elena's grandmother intently observes her. One of the grandmother's friends sitting nearby keenly notices that Isabel resembles one of the women from the royal family as seen in a seventeenth century court painting. Isabel doesn't understand the significance of this innocent comment until Elena and her father take Isabel to the Prado Museum, where, upon reflecting on the Baroque representation of young women of the time, begins to perceive her gaze staring back at her, frozen in time, as a mirror image, of herself. For Isabel, as Susan Kirkpatrick suggests, the intimate experience of becoming woman turns to that of being on exhibit: "La ambigua interacción entre ver y ser vista funciona como uno de los ejes de la reconstrucción de Chacel de la valoración en proceso de formación de las niñas" (67).

Feminist critics have long pointed to the patriarchal binary that exists between seeing and being seen, theorized by Adorno and Horkheimer through an association of women with an inexpressive aesthetic of the repressed Other of Western domination (Felski 7). For thinkers such as Rita Felski and Patricia Mills, linking the non-rational to the asymbolic does not allow for independent conceptions of female identity, agency or desire, and renders the possibilities of exploring women's intricate relations to social

change completely excluded from the totalizing vision of the Enlightenment. In turn the private sphere buried under the inanimate objects that make up this space, becomes women's natural habitat, far from the penetration of the male gaze.

Yet, in *Estación. Ida y vuelta*, the home space as solely a feminine space becomes complicated. The narration points to the enticing inside space of the home while pursuing the outside--"la casa tiene una interior extraordinaria" (90)--, insinuating a depth that the exterior space does not immediately expose. As the reader is lured further and further into the interior, the inanimate objects and spaces swiftly become personified: "La escalera, hosca y fría, no acoge bien al visitante" (91). In focusing on the stairway of the home, the narrator addresses the immense power that the stairway holds over him and his other self:

Quando veníamos de clase, charlando por la calle, y al llegar a la escalera se nos cortaba la conversación y echábamos a correr cada uno a nuestro piso...El caso es que corríamos como si viniesen siguiéndonos, y al cerrar nuestras puertas con rápido portazo con conseguíamos la tranquilidad de estar ya defendidos, sino más bien una pesadumbre como de haber dejado a alguien fuera, que sabíamos que había de esperarnos al otro día indefectiblemente. (91)

The fear of stairwell that the young narrator confesses, as if it were a monster enveloping him and his other whole, reflects on a Benjaminian conception of the home as animate: The space itself--puts on, like an alluring creature, the costumes of moods. The self-satisfied burgher should know something of the feeling that the next room might have witnessed the coronation of Charlemagne as well as the assassination of Henri IV, the signing of the Treaty of Verdun as well as the wedding of Otto and Theophano. [12, 6]

Although referring directly to the nineteenth century home, Benjamin's words resonate with the sensations that the personification of this more modern urban space in *Estación*. However, the manners in which this space evokes memories on behalf of the narrator are glaringly different from the nineteenth century grandeur of the bourgeois dwelling. As the narration will continue to tell, the home on this unassuming block of the periphery of Madrid serves as a marker for the modern patterns of the capitalist workday that dichotomize the city with vibrations of progress and the home with a lure of cyclical existence:

Sobre todo, al terminar la tarde, después del ruido de la ciudad, volvemos siempre ilusionados con encontrarla, con llegar a la calle estrecha y que se precipite sobre nosotros el crepúsculo; que tengamos que subir la escalera a ciegas, y en la antesala encontremos la luz encendida; pero dentro en las habitaciones que dan al patio, que nos tenga reservado un poco de su luz, un crepúsculo lento; que nos cuente cómo ha sido el día sobre nuestra cama y sobre nuestra mesa. Porque hasta que se llega a su fondo no se encuentra el encanto de su intimidad." (90).

In revealing a childhood through the perspective of an ambiguous masculine and feminine *yo*, the essence of the narrative voice becomes deeply intertwined with the descriptions of these childhood places, where *él* and *ella* both are reflected through urban spaces, their sounds, and their significance. Their titillating invitation into the extraordinary interior of the walls of the home, then, speaks directly to the multitudes of the *yo*, capable of expressing both interiority and exteriority structured by the ephemeral tinge of the narration.

This can be seen in the fixation on the bamboo plant in the home's exterior. Fernández Utrera suggests that the mere focus on the prolific fauna that offers the reader the first glance upon the house speaks to Chacel's own personal anti-hegelain stance regarding fixed notions of individuality. The image of the tree, for example, "el organismo unitivo," expresses the multiplication of life; or the multiple branches of ways of life, of language, of culture, and of being, to which history has bared witness (514). In *Estación*, the bamboo stalk, one of the quickest growing plants, is strategically placed in a large flowerpot on the patio in order to offer the semblance of domesticity at the entrance to the house. Yet, once bamboo is planted and takes root, it is notorious for being one of the most difficult plants to control. It grows rampantly, spreading like wildfire, creating a nightmare for order and care. Even if the harsh winter freezes its roots, new stalks of this uncontrollable grass will consistently peak through the thawing earth at the very first sign of spring. The narrator's focus on such a fertile yet inexhaustible plant echoes metaphoric imagery of the impossibility of domesticating women inside the home. The flowerpot confines the plant within its surface in the way that the woman has been and continues to be, at the point of this narration, expected to maintain the space of the home, under controlled conditions.⁵³

In *Estación*, however, the symbolic importance of the potted plant addresses how Chacel, through the fragmented narrative voice, offers a renegotiation of feminine

⁵³ In evoking such a metaphorically apt plant, Chacel's narrative voice is also directly responding to recent modernist poetic renditions of the same plant. In "A ti, la única (Quinteto de la luna y el mar)," for example, Argentine modernist poet Leopoldo Lugones arrives at a feminine eroticization of the foreign grass: "Un poco de cielo y un poco de lago/donde pesca estrellas el grácil bambú,/y al fondo del parque, como íntimo halago,/la noche que mira como miras tú". The intimate spaces tantalizingly conjured in this fantasizing poem offers another, if not *machista* vision, of the metonymic female/bamboo connection that leans on an imposing physical approach to captivating the erotic elements of the constructed woman through the male gaze.

construction beyond controlled and maintained boundaries. Like the true bamboo plant, the *yo* is not meant to be domesticated or controlled. As the bare patio further suggests, as women take to the work place, less energy can be spent on the maintenance and upkeep of the traditional garden. While the unkempt greenery can be read as a foreshadowing of the stronghold of the bourgeois order, the prospect of a "hermaphrodite" woman as the narrator speaks to a program of renovation of New Spanish Liberalism. Women's presence outside the home adjusts the moral and the social forces that up until then, had been a product of masculine linear impulses toward progress (Fernández Utrera 514).

Furthermore, the fragmented narrative voice expresses the complications of negotiating a shared interior space:

Porque en el descansillo estábamos bien; podíamos hablar apoyados en la barandilla; pero ya traíamos la mala impresión de haber subido juntos despasadamente, de haber tropezado o habernos empujado, sin haber podido decir una palabra, y nos encontrábamos en el último escalón viendo la inminencia de la despedida, sin saber cómo evitarla...Y o nos mirábamos o nos arrojábamos dos miradas incompatibles. (92)

Él and *ella* walk into the house, proceeding independently of one another as they support themselves on the banister. But the further they ascend the stairs, the more their selves become interwoven. The higher they climb, the further they plunge into the home where specters of their socially-proscribed differences creep out from behind the walls and entangle their ontological beings into one. Yet, negotiating the contours of the home more than pursuing their corporal labyrinth will lead them to occupying different spaces

inside the home, and ultimately, as the second chapter will unfold, *él* abandons *ella* for Julia, the only character named in the novel. As Mangini notes, *él* and *ella* must remain nameless because of their intimate and intrinsic bond: "...hay que tener en cuenta que la fusión <<él-ella>> representa una fusión fenomenológica de la autora con su otro yo: la chica pura es Chacel, al mismo tiempo que él--su intelecto interrogante--es también el de la autora" (43). They both show the process of becoming feminine in a masculine intellectual world.

In *Estación*, modern spaces such as the stairs as well as the *tranvía* are difficult for the fused male and female to negotiate. Both spaces evoke movement, the stairwell upward and the *tranvía* outward. Mathematically, their patterns can be read on a grid of infinite vibrations where origins cannot be traced nor can they be returned to. Yet the possibility of negotiation is conceived on an equal playing field between male and female, where both interiority and exteriority, private space and public space are crossed; what becomes untranslatable for the male interior is fused with that which is untranslatable for the female: their points of difference become intoxicatingly blurred to the point where gender stereotypes are reversed.

One day when arriving home, walking through the peaceful yet bare patio, the *yo* arrives at the stairs, which, that day, happens to portend a bad omen, resulting in *ella's* refusal to climb them. She does not enter into their interior; rejects being subjugated to boundaries or walls, although *él* manages to force her: "Ella, sobre todo, desistía; estaba a punto de echar a correr. Al recordar ahora cómo la sujeté por los brazos, me parece recordar la más violenta discusión que he tenido en mi vida...Yo la miraba sin verla" (93). *Él* can't see *ella* because he can only see himself, the violent discussion appeared

by the realization that he is she and she is he; they are one, impossible to exist one without the other. Both must confront the shadows of modernity, the exclusion from progress, and the exploitation of progress, in the form of domestic incarceration, together.

The overall struggle between the fragmented self opens to another way of conceiving both the interior and exterior space of privacy, as an internal battle, where both sexes are morphed into one, sexless being. Yet Chacel's first novel also reveals a larger problem that the beginning of the twentieth century brought upon women; a problem that continues to pervade all aspects of life in contemporary times: No matter the progress women achieve, they are always confined to their biological burdens of child bearing.

As the narration weaves in and out of the memories that help to reconstruct the childhood of the fragmented self, the *yo* is separated for a period of time, while *él*, infatuated with Julia, goes to France to be with her. This moment occurs in the second of the three chapters, a moment of rebellion for *él*, where *ella* fades from the narrative fabric. The pages that follow delve into existential questions of being and time but are interrupted with a simple telegram: "Niño con felicidad" (156). This rather cryptic message take *él* a few days to process but he soon reveals to the reader that he knew a child would be in his future. While he ponders this life change, alone on walks or at the bar, the narration, once again, evades comment about *ella*, leaving the reader to assume that she is back at home with the child. Although *él* begins his journey to heal the fragmented *yo* and to fuse himself with *ella* once more-- "Claro que desde que decidí la vuelta empecé a volver hacia mí" (149)--, *ella* does not form part of the journey, or at

least the narration doesn't attend to it. It seems that in order for the *yo* to come together again, the outward emotional process is done by *él* only.

Chacel published her first novel around the time she gave birth to her son, Carlos. As a woman negotiating the unequal intricacies of the man's world she was living and writing in, raising a child opened to existential questions of equality. Women, now entering into the work force in large numbers, still were considered to be the bearers of the economy of the household, and the keepers of intimacy. As Chacel's fragment *yo* suggests, male protagonists are extroverted and females, quite the opposite, withdrawn into an interior realm, until they are fused as one. Historically, the introverted female was still considered to exist at odds with social advancement, and thinkers such as Margarita Nelken and Gregorio Marañón spoke out about this polemic at length in Spain at the time. Women were considered, by masculine figures of the avant-garde in Spain to exist, not as part of a totality, but through an insufficiency, (502). Chacel's character, in its fragmented essence, addresses the inherent social dangers of thinking this way from the space of the home.

This way of contemplating gender has universally existed at the heart of Western life. Even through the wave of women's liberation movements that occur throughout the twentieth century, men are still conceived as more public creatures and women, more private. Despite the countless local movements that have promoted universal change dominating the shifts of Western Civilization toward gender equality, women continue to bear the burden of the domestic space while juggling the needs and changes brought about by global capitalism. By recurring to the turn of the century in Spain to show the ways in which looking beyond domesticity can bolster radical thought regarding the

home, questions can be raised and in turn problematics can be drawn that highlight a much deeper condemnation of women as the bearers of desires, worlds, and capitalist structures. The following chapter will delve into these polemics, specifically prior to and during the Francoist regime in Spain, and will study cultural production that unveils the home as deeply intertwined within public space as the bearer of its production and cultural economy.

CHAPTER 3: From the Contours of Progress Toward the Dictatorship: Shadow Work in the Twentieth Century Spanish Home

The establishment of the Second Republic in 1931 opened doors to vast changes that affected both the public and private environs in urban centers and the surrounding areas. Some of the greatest adjustments these years bore witness to can be reduced to the legal transformations that allowed women to gain access to equal political and social rights. With this shift in the law, cultural practices forged epistemological bridging of the gender gap in public spaces. In turn, the urban stage in Spain began to morph into what looked to be a promising future for the equality of women in the workspace.

Even before the proclamation of the Second Republic in 1931, women's rights movements had been advocating for change, pushing for equality for women in the public sphere of work and labor. By the last decade of the nineteenth century, women were achieving gains in access to education, to cultural events, to work, and to political participation for the first time in modern Spanish history. Writers such as Rosario de Acuña, Concepción Arenal, Carmen de Burgos, Amalia Carvia, Amalia Domingo Soler, Ángeles López de Ayala, and Belén Sárraga spearheaded the motion toward female participation in a predominately masculine world. By intersecting inroads in feminism, free-thinking freemasonry, and republicanism, these progressive activists of the Restoration period into the early twentieth century broke the impenetrability of a male-dominated intellectual scene (Arkinstall 2). In doing so, they unknowingly formed a collective identity network throughout Spain of women in the public sphere, by helping narrate the ideal of a cosmopolitan society that would transcend, above all, gender.

The one sector where time did not elapse, however, was the home. In spite of the inroads made by feminist movements to divorce the image of the woman from the nineteenth century *ángel del hogar*, the recasting of the domestic/public divide remained intently focused on the emergence of a public feminist presence in citizenship where the home remained part of the domestic realm, separate from the public space of progress. Similar to the rest of the modernized world, the home was not conceived within the coming into being of gender equality of the cosmopolitan city (Scrivener 96).⁵⁴ In fact, with Spanish cities such as Madrid and Barcelona burgeoning into urban landscapes laden with progress and development, the home space fell deeper into the realm of the nineteenth century, but did so silently. The modernization of the workforce did not displace the nineteenth century bourgeois logic of the private and domestic space of the home that understood the woman both through her invisible labor as a housewife, and through her biological possibilities as a mother.

It is curious then, given that women's progress excluded the functions of the home space from the Restoration era to the Second Republic, subordinating women to new iterations of domestic incarceration, that Peninsular scholarship continues to argue that a main divergence from pre-civil war modern Spain and Franco's Spain is the denouncement of women's equal rights. As Helen Graham suggests, champions of civil rights movements such as Clara Campoamor, Margarita Nelken, and Victoria Kent fought for and obtained "absolute equality with men before the law" during the Second Republic (*The War and its Shadow*, 1). Thus, the Francoist emphasis on the household at the heart of national formation proved to be a major step backwards from the previous

⁵⁴ As Michael Scrivener suggests, gender equality is key to the formation of the cosmopolitan city.

years of progress and inroads for equality for men and women alike.⁵⁵ Although it is incontestable knowledge that the Francoist years propelled a recoiling of women's rights efforts and it would be a futile effort to attempt to prove otherwise, the argument that women had gained full legal rights prior to the civil war is deeply flawed given that the maintenance of the home was not included in the progressive moves toward equal civic representation.⁵⁶ In fact, the so-called transformation of the Spanish home from forward progressive times to backwards Francoist times into what has been deemed as a complete break from progress and modernity is actually a continuum of practices of home care that as I will argue, are presented in the form of shadow work. Where the Constitution was amended to eliminate legal inequalities between sexes, the liminal domestic spaces and their functions eschewed the law and remained atavistic in their evolution, or lack thereof.

In this light, this chapter wishes to rethink the function of the home during the first half of the twentieth century in order to uncover the various ways in which the household existed as an unconditional site for invisible labor outside the public frame of exploitation. This work, or "shadow work," a term borrowed from Ivan Illich's writings on gender equality, can be defined by the underappreciated toil performed by uncompensated subjects, but that is paradoxically necessary for economic progress. In looking at literary and filmic representations of shadow work in Spain, this chapter

⁵⁵ Clara Campoamor stands out in her fight for gender equality. Feminist activist, lawyer, and member of the Radical Party, Campoamor defended universal civic liberties and fought for the removal of unequal laws from the Constitution of the Republic (Nash, "Género y ciudadanía" 246).

⁵⁶ During the Second Republic, for example, in spite of the forward thinking and progress that propelled the public sphere, the home continued to be an ultraconservative space. Although women were legally allowed to vote in 1931, in 1933 they predominately voted for the conservative party showing that the law may have shifted, but mentality did not.

strives to conceive the Francoist vision of the perfect housewife, not as a figure created by rupturing with the past, but rather, as one that becomes an overt and conscious ideal of the domestic laborer suppressed by feminist movements of the twentieth century. By studying Carmen de Burgos' understudied *La flor de la playa* (1920), I will bring to bear iterations of shadow work that evolve into symptoms of what I will later refer to as the triple confinement of the modern woman. These symptoms translate into a visible reality under the Francoist regime, as seen through the 1951 film, *Surcos*, by José Antonio Nieves Conde. Nieves Conde was not a feminist, but his highly acclaimed and critiqued film uncovers a surprising feminist leaning. In the words of T.J. Clark, "intuition must be seen as separate from ideology" (16) and *Surcos* speaks to us through intuitions, of other ways of thinking care that, that the capitalistic drive of Spanish modernization shunned from its imaginary.

In creating a dialogue between the consecutive historical moments that form the early years of the twentieth century in Spain, I focus on the impressions of the works realized from the inside of the home in conjunction with the mapping of the social outside. I claim that both short story and film depict the maintenance of the home as it interjects with the diverse processes of modernization and the blunders of national formation. Given the moralistic didacticism of the melodramatic short story by Burgos and the tension that exists in the socio-mimetic fiction of realism displayed in Conde Nieve's pivotal film, these diverse but relevant texts highlight the tenuous continuation of the home as an incarcerating space for women, as well as men in lower income families, through its subtle transformations throughout the said historical periods. In recurring to the strides that women's liberation movements throughout the twentieth

century forged for a future toward a culture of equality for men and women in the workplace, I propose that the maintenance and care of human life was left out of the legal concept of equality. As women garnered an education, labor skills, and careers, and as these steps towards progress were subsequently rescinded by the Francoist dictatorship, I argue that the home space continuously functioned as the base of order and success in the public sphere, but was consistently deemed as a non-space from the distinct angles of capitalistic production, women's liberation movements, fascism, and as Marxist thought;] It is a space that was considered separated from the reaches of primitive accumulation, yet the very condition of the possibility of production.⁵⁷

By proposing a connecting arch between the pre-Franco era and the dictatorship, I'd like to make clear that I am not arguing in favor of a direct linear continuation of the function of the home between them. On the contrary, I posit that the home undergoes a more visible, albeit restricting, change into the unremunerated position of the female caretaker during the Francoist regime. Yet what I am also suggesting is that, historically, both women's liberation and the Francoist machine privileged upper class women who no longer needed to be the pious, pure, and demure angels of the hearth. Lower-class women were forced to perform many responsibilities of the *ángel del hogar* by necessity to work in the domestic space for meager wages. In turn, the invisible home care that was the center or the bearer of the formal public economy, through Francoist ideology,

⁵⁷ My claim is that we could read in Marx's *Capital* an account of the domestic space as a sphere for labor. However, in the Marxist intellectual and political tradition this has been sidestepped with the intention of positing the centrality of the proletariat as the subject for the inevitability of historical change towards socialism. Marx also confronted the relation between family and domestic sphere in his "Holy Family", written with Fredric Engels.

becomes a visible site of oppression for women. In this sense, the function of the home throughout the twentieth century upholds the original Marxist position that the home was the first victim of capitalism's progressive desire.⁵⁸ It is, in the case of Spain, the first victim of Francoism as well, though the regime's rhetoric will conceive it as the base of the imagined democracy.

Scholarship has regarded the home and its maintenance as one of the principle sites of departures by Franco's Spain from the progressive years of the *fin del siglo* and the early decades of the twentieth century. For Helen Graham, it was from the home that women's equality gained force before the outbreak of the Civil War in 1936. After the war, the construct of the nuclear family appealed to the regime given that it mirrored the state more than it did the diverging forces of society. While the father was meant to be the breadwinner, the mother was the perfect puppet to disseminate national discourse to the future soldiers of the regime--her children: "The regime promoted an 'ideal' image of womanhood as 'eternal', passive, pious, pure, submissive woman-as-mother for whom self-denial was the only road to real fulfillment" (Graham, "Gender and the State" 184). In the decades prior to the establishment of the dictatorship, strides toward equality had indeed made themselves visible. During the First Republic in Spain between 1873 and

⁵⁸ While Marx, in the nineteenth century, critiqued the way in which the land and labor of the land would be objectified and valued primarily in terms of primitive accumulation, and consequently while Marxist criticism would continue to advocate for the rights of the proletarian class, *Capital* does make mention of the divide between public labor and work done from within the space of the home: "The labour of women and children was, therefore, the first thing sought for by capitalists who used machinery. That mighty substitute for labour and labourers was forthwith changed into a means for increasing the number of wage-labourers by enrolling, under the direct sway of capital, every member of the workman's family, without distinction of age or sex. Compulsory work for the capitalist usurped the place, not only of the children's play, but also of free labour at home within moderate limits for the support of the family" (Marx, 394-5).

1874, progressive ideals for the future of the divided nation had begun to intercept women's rights.

In the nineteenth century, the modernization of the female condition was imagined, at first, through possibilities of education. In 1869, Fernando de Castro, a university professor of Krausist thought, announced during a series of conferences regarding the future of Spain, that education for women was "una de las cuestiones capitales que el progreso de la civilización ha traído al debate en las sociedades modernas" (Kirkpatrick 36).⁵⁹ This initial idea sparked a series of institutions that were created with women's education in mind. Although these initial attempts to widen possibilities for women were linked specifically to the modernization of domestic chores, the sphere expanded to include education as well.

One of the major catalysts for pursuing education for women at the end of the nineteenth century had to do with the processes of urbanization and their effects on family structure. Women that needed to work in factories, women who never married, and women from the countryside that came to the city to work could not rely on anyone but themselves to make a modest living. These were the subjects for whom the evolving concept of domesticity did not fit, let alone the *ángel del hogar*. In fact, as Mary Nash suggests, the changes that women initially experienced in the public sphere were deeply linked to the social realm of life more than the political: "se puede argumentar la elaboración de un concepto de ciudadanía diferencial, específico de las mujeres, basado en aspectos sociales y no políticas como la domesticidad, y la identidad cultural

⁵⁹ As Susan Kirkpatrick points out, Castro and his fellow intellectuals played a decisive role in founding the *Escuela de Institutrices*, or the School for Grade School Teachers in 1869, as well as the *Asociación para la Enseñanza de la Mujer* in Madrid in 1871, both which became highly influential in other Spanish cities in the years to come (36-37).

femenina como madre" ("Género y ciudadanía," 248). In other words, while women's roles were changing according to their civic participation, the totality of this transformation was never meant to embrace the political, but to remain within the superfluous register of the political, that cannot be understood through the strict dichotomy of public and private.

As Hannah Arendt explains, the advent of modernity sparked the emergence of a new concept of the social, a notion that moved beyond the political/household dichotomy but that has been misappropriated and mis-equated with the political realm (28). For Arendt, the public and the political are deeply correlated, forming a binary between themselves and the household-as-private, but the term social cannot be defined by either category, public or private. Therefore, in modern life, the social becomes the liminal space under which civic boundaries dissolve:

The distinction between a private and a public sphere of life corresponds to the household and the political realms, which have existed as distinct, separate entities at least since the rise of the ancient city state; but the emergence of the social realm, which is neither private nor public, strictly speaking, is a relatively new phenomenon. (28)

The direct link between the emergence of the social and its political form in the nation-state (28) upsets the construction of the home space as the retainer for the unconceivable seeping of emotion into the city space. Modernity creates the liminal space of the social that allows for the home to act as the extension of the city. In the Spain of the early twentieth century, while the feminist movements throughout urban centers collectively uncoiled the patriarchal domination on the public realm, the home continued to be

conceived in the onus of the woman. In "Mujer del porvenir," Concepción Arenal's suggest that:

La paz doméstica no tiene *ya* los elementos del pasado ni cuenta *todavía* con los del porvenir. Si se respetan los fueros de la justicia, la paz entre seres sensibles y razonables ha de establecerse por la razón y el sentimiento. La mujer educada sentirá y comprenderá mejor, tendrá más elevación para pensar y más delicadeza para sentir, y será con su marido más razonable y más amante. (126)

In a time where the traditional authoritarian patriarchal role was failing progressive-minded women, education became key in shaping the home into a caring and loving environment so that it would reflect the ideal of the city. Philosophical thought and burgeoning feminist and literary movements did not question the position of the woman as the sole caretaker of the home. In fact, she was ignored by activists entirely. Emilia Pardo Bazán, for example, one of the champion proponents of women's rights in Spain understood equality through spaces that required visibility. In 1890, she struck a cord with other writers of her time in her *Mujer española* where she states:

Repito que la distancia social entre los dos sexos es hoy mayor que era en la España antigua, porque el hombre ha ganado derechos y franquicias que la mujer no comparte [...] Cada nueva conquista del hombre en el terreno de las libertades políticas, ahonda el abismo moral que le separa de la mujer, y hace el papel de ésta más pasiva y enigmático. (33)

Through the law, Pardo Bazán understood the gender divide that she, amongst other emerging feminists publicly criticized. This perspective was due, in part, to the glaring uphill legal battles that women were facing in order to arrive at civil justice. The

nineteenth century concept of the *angel del hogar*, or the spiritual keeper of man's comfort that spilled over from the century prior, was upheld through intricate legal binding. In her article titled "Género y ciudadanía," Mary Nash summarizes these antiquated laws that appeared at the end of the nineteenth century:

El propio Estado reguló la exclusión de las mujeres del ejercicio de los derechos políticos y el marco jurídico vigente hizo de la mujer un apéndice periférico del varón. El régimen jurídico reguló la autoridad patriarcal y la subordinación de la mujer y, en especial, la de la mujer casada con respecto a los hombres. (244-245)

This oppression was realized through concrete legislative measure.⁶⁰ In particular, *El Código Civil* of 1889 intensified the subordination of married women to their husbands in the home space, severely punishing women for marital transgression. The gendered amendment regarding the institution of marriage was carried over into the public sphere of work. As Nash notes, women who wished to work or to begin their own business, were considered to be property of their husband and therefore, needed the husband's written consent to do so (245).⁶¹

On the other hand, both Pardo Bazán amongst other feminist writers of her generation were writing against the masculine dominated literary stronghold of the so-called *Generación de 98*. Voices, such as that of Miguel de Unamuno in his *En torno al casticismo* (1895), Ángel Ganivet in his *Idearium español* (1897), and Azorín in his *El alma castellana* (1900) offer iterations of a collective idealized Castille, that, as Roberta

⁶⁰ *El Código Civil* (1889), *El Código Penal* (1870), y *El Código de Comercio* (1885) are the principle laws passed that regulated the public presence of women (245).

⁶¹ This negation of individual subjectivity is precisely what Margarita Nelken, for example, spoke out against in *La condición social de la mujer* (1919).

Johnson notes, extended into the 1920's with Ortega y Gasset's *España invertebrada* (1922). Their gaze upon women also expanded beyond the peninsula. For example, in his travels to Finland, Ganivet dedicated an entire chapter of his *Cartas finlandesas* to the possible statuses a woman could uphold, how they differed from those of Spanish women, and why it was important to write about them in order to understand foreign countries:

Cuando se escribe sobre cualquier país, basta de ordinario hablar del hombre. El hombre es el ser humano en general, varón o hembra, y lo que de él se dice se aplica a los dos sexos. Aquí en Finlandia la regla no es estrictamente aplicable, porque la hembra ha sacado los pies del plato. La *kvinna*, la mujer, es pájaro de cuenta: tiene su personalidad propia y bien marcada, y merece un estudio psicológico aparte. Voy, pues, a escribir varias cartas sobre la mujer, estudiándola de fuera adentro, y principio mi tarea por lo que es más exterior: por el estado social. Hablaré de las solteras, de las casadas, de las viudas y de las divorciadas; de las monjas no puedo hablar, porque no las hay.

This chapter, followed by another titled “Cualidades estéticas de las mujeres en Finlandia,” marks a profound sense of otherness that is imposed upon the metaphysical and ontological subjectivity of the woman. Similarly, for those writers that remained in Spain, women blend in with the plains of Castille, their curves and contours the hills and valleys of the landscape. For example, influenced by a Becquerian poetic intimacy from earlier in the century, Juan Ramón Jiménez writes in his "Río de cristal dormido":

Río de cristal dormido
y encantado; dulce valle,

dulces riberas de álamos
blancos y de verdes sauces...
El valle tiene un ensueño
y un corazón sueña y sabe
dar con su sueño un son triste
de flautas y de cantares.⁶²

This mythical Spain poetically described through a personification of the landscape as in Juan Ramón Jiménez's poem erases female agency from its core, as does much of the literature written by men of this time. By contrast, women writers resisted the historical impulse to personify bodies or turn to the past in order to imagine Spain without traditional constructs, taking a nuanced approach in their depiction of the public/domestic dichotomy of life. As Johnson notes, "many of their narratives are about private relationships that push social boundaries" (172).

Of course, women that did experience a departure from their traditional roles in public spaces were the wives of prominent intellectuals or women that came from the moneyed class. In this sense, feminism at the turn of the century was directly tied to bourgeois activism and was part of a larger problem of class division. As Arendt suggests, "the society of the nation in the modern world is that curiously hybrid realm where private interests assume public significance" (38). While on the one hand, feminism turned away from the antiquated notion that women should accept the role of a wife or a companion, it did not necessarily undo the ties between the woman and the

⁶² This poem can be found in the *poemario*, *Arias tristes* (1903).

home in the name of the underlying interests of the moneyed class. As Aldaraca describes:

The propagandists for the *ángel del hogar* consistently refer to a woman or women without any apparent class distinction. The problems of the working-class-women--whether factory workers or engaged in domestic service-- who are forced to 'abandon their children' are seldom if ever mentioned in the women's and family magazines which are directed to an aspiring bourgeoisie whose principal concern is to draw a sharp line between itself and the lower classes. (64)

In the twentieth century, the increasing division between the upper and lower classes as well as the configuration of abjectness placed upon the lower classes sparked what was arguably the social evolution of the home space, but only for upper class women. The image of the *ángel del hogar* signified a middle-class life for women, where a male figure, such as a husband or a brother would take care of the economic well-being of the woman for the rest of her life, in so much as she would assure that his needs in the home were met. If these material preconditions for the *ángel* allowed for a middle-class life, as class divisions began to establish themselves from the confines of the urban space, a new signification of the position of the wife would emerge: the *dama del hogar*. Given the general lack of opportunities that women had at their disposition in terms of work in the public sphere at the beginning of the twentieth century, the position of the *dama del hogar* cemented the economic divide between women that had to recur to housework and women that did not. Furthermore, this status of wife without the domestic labor duties also fortuitously pointed to the security of the husband's high economic class. As Aldaraca stresses, "...the Lady (*la dama*) cannot work if class status is to be maintained;

it is her position as Lady, not as Angel, which ties her to the economic fortunes of the head of the household" (63).

While women's and family magazines directed to an aspiring bourgeoisie expanded in their reach, and women's issues became a topic of literary consumption, the issue of the class distinction constructed between women that did not need to work and those that did was swept under the table. The homogeneity inherent in the conception of the woman as part of a middle or upper class consequently mapped out the lower-class woman from the notion of feminine. This is the woman that will end up silently and invisibly taking over the work in the home that the *dama*, in her need to exert her class difference, will not do. Where the *ángel* existed to serve the family members closest to her kin, the domestic servant revealed the abject image of housework shunned by women themselves.

Eschewing the work done inside the home by women writers, educators, and wives of prominent intellectuals, was, in fact, a bourgeois phenomenon. It began with the urbanization processes of the first decades of the twentieth century that, in line with the rest of Europe, rapidly discovered new ways of life beyond the old regime.⁶³ In Madrid and Barcelona, activist groups such as *Mujeres libres* founded by Lucía Sánchez Saornil, Dr. Amparo Poch y Gascón, and Mercedes Comaposada, established ideals of independence, both in regards to public presence as well as inner, intimate existence (Arkininstall 2). The journal founded as a result of the participation of this group that too

⁶³ The 1920's as years of urban growth in Spain, were predominantly impacted by greater issues in other parts of Europe (Graham 25). In this sense, the Republic was supported by the popular vote for the main reason that it promoted various reforms in the areas of land, labor and welfare that were imperative for the dissemination of economic power. Along this line, the secularization of public spaces became imperative to the democratic participation in economic power (26).

is called *Mujeres libres*, focused on psychological freedom of women from men. The intimate side of this notion of independence was understood both through sexual liberation as well, in part, through domestic liberation. Both were seen as direct results of capitalism's imposition on the Spanish household. In the words of Dr. Amparo Poch y Gascón: "Todo el armatoste opresivo del capitalismo defiende la monogamia en sus códigos sexuales porque sabe muy bien que solo el derrumbamiento de este puntal poderoso hará la verdadera Revolución. Pareja humana, propiedad privada, capitalismo. He aquí tres principios que se sostienen mutuamente" (4).

These words of Poch and Gascón, aside from underscoring the interwoven design of monogamy in the success of capitalism, also metonymically jump to reflect the ways in which the structure of the social can be seen in two main iterations of progress: the first being that of time and the second, that of freedom. As time begins to take on a linear function in the public sphere, where progress and forward movement propel its evolution, the home's function continues to be that of cyclicity, where housework is adjusted to the repetitive needs of the public sphere of labor, itself tied to the interests of the established bourgeois cultural sphere. Moreover, as capital accumulates in urban centers, it seeks to perpetuate an artificial sensation of freedom through the creation and practice of scheduling and planning. Schedules, in turn, boost maximum efficiency for labor in the public sphere but rely on cyclical time in the home space.

Ivan Illich recurs to the culture of scheduling in his understudied book titled *Shadow Work* (1980) in which shadow work, or the fundamental bifurcation of work that is implicit in the industrial mode of production is described in detail (99). This other side of work is "the unpaid work which an industrial society demands as a necessary

complement to the production of goods and services." (100). It is labor done from beyond the realm of the public sphere that, in Illich's terms, "ravages subsistence" (100). In other words, shadow work can be understood as simply the housework realized from the interiority of the home, work mainly performed by women, that consists of all of the modern activities connected with but not limited to shopping, cooking, cleaning, scheduling, and paying bills. It includes the stress of forced consumption, "the tedious and regimented surrender" to the needs of the public realm of labor, compliance with bureaucrats, "the preparation for work to which one is compelled, and many of the activities usually labeled 'family life' " (100).

In early 20th century Spain, the shadow labor that was in the onus of the middle-class *ángel del hogar* was also appropriated into the marginalized wage labor of the servant of the home, as the *ángel* ascended to the *dama*. This work in general, as Illich explains, is often difficult to identify or to define but is as time consuming as waged labor in the sphere of public work. It is also, more importantly, the work that feeds the formal economy's needs, not the needs of social subsistence. Underpaid invisible labor, or unpaid labor, in the case of the housewife, provides the conditions for wages to be paid in the public sphere. Shadow work, then, can be understood as a bondage to the ever-changing needs of the processes of modernization seen from outside the space of the home. While wage labor is performed through an application and qualification process of initiation, shadow work is delegated through birth as female or diagnosis as feminine (100).

Illich explains that while the advent of capitalism and its metonymic processes of modernization affirm the visible position of the waged laborer, the Middle Ages offer a different point of departure to think the toil of the man in the public sphere:

What today stands for work, namely wage labor, was a badge of misery all through the Middle Ages. It stood in clear opposition to at least three other types of toil: the activities of the household by which most people subsisted, quite marginal to any money economy; the trades of people who made shoes, barbered or cut stones; the various forms of beggary by which people lived on what others shared with them.... medieval society's structural design excluded unemployment and destitution (102).

In medieval times throughout Western Europe, the dependence on wage labor was tied to the understanding that the worker did not have a home where he could contribute within the household. Begging was considered to be the right of man where working for wages detached from family matters was not (103). It was in the modern era that "an unprecedented economic division of the sexes, and unprecedented economic conception of the family, an unprecedented antagonism between the domestic and public spheres made wage work into a necessary adjunct of life" (107). In Spain, the nineteenth century paved the way for the domestication of women and their enclosure in the home as well as the invisibilization of their tasks and chore. These shifts metonymically continued the structure in place that had, for centuries, provided the adequate conditions for taming of farm animals (107). Through the scientific revolution that began in during the Enlightenment, the concepts of subsistence and care were abandoned in favor of unwaged gendered work in the home. The housewife was a status born from degradation

and economic dependence, that what Illich calls, "the bourgeoisie war on subsistence." The feminist movements in Spain, just as they unfolded in the rest of the Western world, continued to be a war on subsistence in the name of freedom as work. This can be understood through the life and work of Carmen de Burgos, specifically her short story "La flor de la playa".

Unlike the earned success of Emilia Pardo Bazán, Carmen de Burgos' path to becoming *una nueva mujer* was plagued with riddles and strife. In her early years as a young writer, she lived in Almería with a daughter and a husband, both of whom frustrated her artistic goals (Kirkpatrick 169). Burgos' husband, a journalist twelve years her senior, was an alcoholic who made little money. Unlike Pardo Bazán, Burgos' future career as an author was contingent upon it providing an income for the family. Not to mention, her upper-middle class background dissolved into nothing less than a nightmare when her marriage fell terribly apart (Louis, 16). Infidelity, rural life, and money problems, intensified deeply by the death of her children, transformed the young married Burgos into a woman of misfortune. But it also shaped her into becoming a champion for women's rights.

In 1903, she made her public debut by publishing her first article in *Diario Universal* under the pseudonym of Colombine, a name that she continued using during her trajectory as a journalist. Her success, in great part, was due to the accelerated Spain of modern times that had quite rapidly created new intellectual spaces in which women could form and participate. A growing population of readers were interested in the domestic economy where beauty, hygiene, and home care aesthetics became the markers of status in urban Spain, a take-off from its nineteenth century inception. After all, as

Jesús Cruz notes, "a developing culture of domesticity has often been interpreted as a sign of a country's modernization" (53). The interiority of the home space became a site of promotion for a culture of consumption, comfort, and domestic hygiene that strived for an orderly home space as a reflection of the order of the owner (61).

Aside from reading about the domestic economy, with the continuation of the social acceptance of the *dama del hogar* inside the home, upper class women also began to have more leisure time. In response, literature molded itself to this rapid expansion. For example, a market geared toward journalism of *el cotilleo*, or gossip journalism, offered new ways to visualize contemporary Spanish society. Even though both literature and journalism remained deeply interwoven within the patriarchal contours of cultural production, Susan Kirkpatrick notes that Burgos' womanhood may have helped her to establish herself as a prominent writer of the early twentieth century. After all, the title of her column in *Diario Universal*, "Lecturas para la mujer", was directed toward women, promising a nuanced perspective of feminine social needs. Her second column, "El pleito del divorcio", marked a progressive historical moment that was deeply influenced by her own personal history as a woman writing in a predominately male world.

The works of Carmen de Burgos are extensive in their reach but the role of women in modern Spain was by far in a way the central component to the narrative personality that she creates. In her short story, "El honor de la familia", for example, Colombine polemically exposes poetic and literary fabric that places the birthing mother at the center of her work in order to uncover the patriarchal constraints placed on maternity. In spite of her feminist leanings and prominent position in the journalism

world, Burgos continued to imagine and narrate the woman in line with her biological possibilities. As Kirkpatrick explains:

Además de las columnas del periódico, escribió manuales prácticos para mujeres sobre salud, belleza, y artes domésticas, insistiendo en que la modernidad no modificará el rol de las mujeres, sino que les permitiría desempeñarlo mejor. No cuestionaba el axioma ideológico decimonónico de que la maternidad es la función natural y social de las mujeres, pero afirmaba que, para que pudieran realizarla de manera eficaz, se les debía conceder la igualdad social. (174)

By sustaining the unnatural correlation between woman and home,⁶⁴ Burgos considered maternity to be the central component to the female identity: "Todas las mujeres tienen que cumplir una misión social. A nadie como a la mujer le interesa la suerte de la patria, que es la suerte de los hijos. Por amor, sin abandonar el hogar, ha de hacer una obra de extensión fuera de él. Tiene que ser consciente e intervenir en la vida pública" (*Influencias recíprocas* 19).

While women's biological possibilities helped Burgos define the role of women, political action also complemented the first. Kirkpatrick suggests that "the sense of modernity [in] her stories is her increasing focus on Spain and what is happening in the urban centers as a result of changing relations between classes and genders and the resulting instability of social identities and traditional psychologies" (199). By investigating the day-to-day struggles of women's experiences in their relationship to the

⁶⁴ Kirkpatrick also notes that Burgos' position on feminist thought in truth is in line with nineteenth century Krausist ideology that believed that education was the key for women to perform housework with more esteem and more conviction (175). However, this perspective is reductionist in that Burgos' work and ideology was part of a wider movement in regards to equality for *la nueva mujer* of the 20th century and did not just blindly follow an antiquated form of thinking that although progressive for its time, only penetrated the tip of the activism and thought that would follow in the twentieth century.

city or countryside, Burgos stands out as an author who engaged with the social and economical sphere on a practical level much more than through an experimental aesthetic. Her essays on social topics were written to provoke real change. So was her fiction.

"La flor de la playa" is a story that strongly connects with Burgos' ideology. The plot unfolds around Elisa and Enrique, two lower-middle class workers in Madrid whose modest wages finally afford them vacation time. Although Elisa and Enrique are not married, they enjoy each others company and are thrilled at the possibility of having vacation time together, in another country at that, to continue exploring their relationship of three years. Thanks to a raise that Enrique earns, they take a trip to Portugal, where they decide that they will feign life as husband and wife. While the move to the beach allows them to interact in both the domestic and social realm of the town, it also tampers with their passion, rapidly spiraling them both out of love. I argue that the symbolic transformation from lovers to pretend-spouses from Madrid to Portugal, has unequal and gendered consequences on the two characters. While Enrique feels liberated by his raise and consequent extra money, Elisa is forced to quit her job and therefore, live at the whims and desires of her faux husband. Their relationship becomes centered around the domination he exerts over her in the intimacy of their temporary home, a one-room hotel housed inside a beached boat. Married life in the short story is documented as mundane and incarcerating for women and this is realized from inside the home.

In becoming acquainted with their story, the reader is made aware that during their years of dating, Enrique had never stepped foot into Elisa's home in Madrid given that Elisa, an orphan, lived with a close friend. Enrique's courtship of Elisa was a

product of the contours of the city space, where they spent most of their time passing through, carefree but broke, unable to spend money to enjoy the theater, or a café. Although their passion for one another was steadily growing, the young, amorous couple did not speak of marriage. As the narrator reveals, Elisa did not have the funds to consider such a future: "...no era posible que ella llegase a reunir para las sábanas, colchones, manteles, y todas esas cosas que el *protocolo* exige que lleve la novia al matrimonio para que luego el marido no tenga que echarle nada en cara" (312).

Within the contours of the modern and urban space that allow for Enrique and Elisa's relationship to unfold, the home space is described through the material imposition of the prior century that understood it to be in the onus of the female. It is also understood it through what Franco Moretti describes as the bourgeois "mediator" of 'comfort' (18). Moretti's analysis of bourgeois culture parts from the interesting perspective of a culture formed by semantics more than by principles; a way of life able to evolve through the signification of terms. These terms, he suggests, are, amongst others, 'useful,' 'efficient,' and 'serious' (18). Where these three adjectives interact in the public sphere of labor, 'comfort' is the term employed for the home that blurs the understanding of needs and luxuries (47). Although Elisa earns meager wages and cannot be considered part of the upper class of Spain at the time, for her, aspirations of a legal union in favor of a domestic life lie within the realm of comfort.

Yet, domestic life had already been difficult enough for Enrique: "Él, con su pequeño sueldo, hacía bastante con pagarle a la patrona, de un piso cuarto de la calle de la Montera, vestirse decentemente, con arreglo a su clase, y poder tomar un café, o tener con su novia alguna pequeña atención" (312). The maintenance of the domestic space is

an obstacle for Enrique. Even from within the city limits, the home is perceived as starkly different from the city. It is tucked away from the accelerated urban modernity, a space of its own separate economy where the functions of life are realized in isolation. This concept of housing, or the practice of renting a home, as Enrique does, is one of the major transformations that the processes of urbanization will impose upon living quarters.

When the young couple opts to spend the summer together in Portugal, they do so under the pretense that the beach will be a place where they can "estar juntos, solos, olvidados del mundo" (313). The same aura or isolation that they yearn for is present in the domestic sphere of life. Similar to Lucy Blaney's argument that the drudgery of daily, married life is reenacted in torturous descriptions of the young couple's routines is due to their displacement to the countryside, decelerating time and contorting their understanding of space (13), I argue that the rural beach town functions as a theatrical stage upon which Enrique and Elisa can perform the realities of married life, each practicing their roles in the urban and modern partnership. In the end, as they become convinced of the impossibility of finding bliss in the domestic, they opt for the comfort of independence of the city.

At first, however, the beginning of their trip is a fantasy come true. Everything seems new to them, especially the change of scenery that they witness while crossing the Iberian Peninsula. From the arid plateaus and thirsty rivers of Spain, to the lush hills of Portugal that seem to turn greener the closer they are to the ocean, the young couple easily becomes enamored with Lisbon. They delight in the possibilities hidden in the secret corners of the foreign city that they so eagerly wish to discover. Energy

abounding, they stroll through the narrow streets, basking in the joy of newness. Enrique and Elisa are young, fixated on what they are made to believe for a short period of time, is life. Yet, quite soon, their bliss begins to unravel from the very site that it began: Enrique's accumulation of money. After all, it is due to his generous raise that the young couple is able to embark upon such a long summer break in the first place. It is also thanks to his raise and the prospect of the vacation that Elisa leaves her modest job at the *taller*, the only place that allows her to earn her humble living in the heart of Madrid. Their joyous walk through the cobblestone streets of Portugal begins to lay out ominous sentiments that will not only end the carefree relationship that Enrique and Elisa enjoy, but will uncover the realities of domestic life that lie in the shadows of the women's liberation movement.

As the reader insinuates from the narration, the experience of the vacation, a luxury and possibility of urban life, is not real life. This is one iteration of what lies at the heart of the simulation of life in the name of capital, according to Henri Lefebvre, where "production and re-production tend to coincide in the uniform" (53). During the three blissful years that Enrique and Elisa have grown to know each other, they have only known their lives in the public spaces of the urban center. Their existences have circulated around accumulation of wages, and material luxuries that can be bought with their earned income. In fact, the narration fixates on the material items and the importance placed on each one. Both lovers invest their modest salary on shoes, stockings, and suits, and these items become the center of their relationship. Their desire to escape their life in the city can be seen, in part, as their desire to escape their warped

material culture; to undress themselves, to be in touch, once again, with their bare bodies.

Yet, one of the first things that Enrique urges Elisa to do while combing the streets of Lisbon is to buy a hat: "Era preciso comprar un sombrero...Ya no estaban en Madrid, donde se hubiera criticado su cambio de indumentaria. Además, siendo su esposa, habría de llevarlo" (316). That whim to purchase a hat, although a seemingly innocent gesture on Enrique's part, not only marks a pivotal moment of masculine domination over Elisa, but also the moment where Elisa is forced to restrain her semblance of freedom that urban society gifted to her. Furthermore, even out of Madrid, the consumerist culture provokes desire in the minds of the young couple: "Aunque los comercios eran más pequeños y menos lujosos, ellos los exaltaban tomando por tipo los almacenes del Chiado. En Madrid no había bazar así" (316). Enrique and Elisa's obsession with acquiring new items speaks to the performativity of the objects and their ability to reflect on the scenario in which they find themselves. While the shoes and the suit may allow them to act out their courtship, the hat entails the act of being in marriage. Yet unlike the objects that represent their courtship, that both young man and woman choose to purchase with leftover money from their own two salaries, the hat becomes the object of Enrique's desire. Although Elisa enjoys searching for the hat in the exotic shops that they have come across in Lisbon, she has a very difficult time finding one that she would actually wear: "No había sido cosa fácil la elección. Acostumbrada a no verse con el sombrero, con ninguno se encontraba bien. La cabeza, no adaptada a esa moda, parecía repelerlos..." (317).

The rather clear symbolism of the hat as representative of marriage is eclipsed by the even more pristine symbolism it holds to perform Elisa's adverse response to the institution of marriage. A woman of public spaces and of liberal-minded independence could not--literally--adjust her stature to the mold of the hat, or, rather, to the consequences of domesticity that the hat entails. The hat scenario also speaks to, as Michael Ugarte suggests, the author's own personal recognition of the countless possibilities that the city space provided for women (100). If for the sentiment of the progressive woman was to be a workingwoman and not a domesticated one, the reader of this story can be reflected in the very character of Elisa, without a hat. As a workingwoman with a modest salary, Elisa is welcomed in the lifestyle that the urban city affords her. But the connection between the woman and the domestic sphere still maintain an aura of incarceration for her. In "La flor de la playa", the fear of the domestic is also insinuated in Enrique and Elisa's beginning days in Lisbon: "[Elisa] se sentía satisfecha, encantada y al mismo tiempo molesta, cansada de llevar todo aquello, ella que tenía costumbre de caminar tan libre y tan desembarazada" (317). The weight of the domestic items that she carries in her suitcase is a reminder to her, though not to him, of the burden that the household places on women. As they arrive closer and closer to the proximity of the beach, the domestic creeps into their public adventures, transforming their trip into a symbolic journey back in time, away from the progressive ringing of modernity.

In spite of this foreboding narrative gesture against the institution of marriage, in her own personal life, Carmen de Burgos refused to blindly accept the current and fashionable trend to eschew home life for the workspace. This can be seen in a short

fragment that Rafael Cansinos Assens writes in *La novela de un literato*. In this anecdote, reflecting upon his interactions with de Burgos, Cansinos Assens notes his first impression of the author as she opens the door, dressed in her street clothes, her apron hugging her waste. She is, after all, multitasking: peeling and frying potatoes while dictating an article to her younger brother in defense of divorce from the perspective of French thought. In the middle of this hectic moment, Burgos is also mothering her own daughter, trying to keep her under control. She pardons herself in front of her company, with the excuse that she must finish the interview because it is supposed to be released that very same night to *El Herald*. Cansinos Assens observes: "Sigue dictando rápidamente, con una facilidad admirable, de pie, sin dejar de atender a sus patatas y de reprender a la revoltosa Maruja" (189). As he suggests, the domestic space and the workspace are fundamentally blurred through the metaphor of Burgos standing on the street, reading an important interview out loud, in an apron. Of course, the image of the workingwoman in an apron as a symbol of feminism was a rare one to see in this pre-war time. Although it speaks to the heart of radical feminist critique that will appear decades later, after the dictatorship, it still does not reach the superficial contours of her fictional characters. However, it does evoke a visibilization of shadow work. In "La flor de la playa", Elisa's character portrays an innate fear of participating in the invisible shadow work that a woman inherently must perform if she wishes to find a husband to marry.

After the foreboding image of Elisa losing her freedom through the weight of her material items, the two lovers finally arrive at the village by the sea where they will be spending a month and a half together, and where they will leave behind their hectic city

life. The beach town that they arrive in, *Praia das Maças*, is accessible by the modern technology or the *tranvía*, which too is the way that they arrived to the small town, surrounded by mountains, opening to the summer sea. Evoking Costumbrist literature of the century prior, the town is situated spatially at the end of linear movement. Just as in Fernán Caballero's *La familia de Alvareda* where, through the winded twists and turns of the mountain path, the reader finally arrives, slows down, and then stops in front of the *naranjo* that invites her or him back in time, the *tranvía* comes to a halt on the outside of the town that the two lovers are thrilled to discover. However, unlike the oldness exuded in the traditional town described in *La familia de Alvareda*, this town is filled with homes that have been recently constructed: "Casi todas eran casas nuevas, había muchas en construcción, podían decir que asistían al nacimiento de un pueblo" (319). Because of the proximity of the town to some of Portugal's bigger cities, the newer houses have already been rented for the summer but the young couple stumbles across "un verdadero camarote de barco viejo" (320). Thrilled to have found lodging in the otherwise overbooked town, they accept the small and oblong room without hesitation. It isn't the ideal vacation home that Elisa had dreamed of but she is smitten with the old charm of its space, thinking that it would allow the two dreamers to drown in their fantasy of married life.

The fantasy does not last long, however, as the reality sets in that they will be staying in a space whose interiority is completely removed from modern times:

Movíanse, como próximos a caer, los cristales de todas las ventanas, recomidas por el sol y el aire. Los postigos no tenían aldabillas que cerrasen, las paredes estaban desconchadas. Todo el mobiliario consistía en una cómoda grande y vieja

despintada y con los tiradores rotos, el lavabo, la cama, dos sillas y una mesa de pino puesta a instancias suyas para colocar sus libros y su tintero. (321)

The image of the unkempt home space quickly rubs off on the experience of the young couple in two very distinct ways. The first is understood through their disillusionment, specifically that of Elisa's, with the reality of their vacation. Day after day, she jumps out of bed, complaining of discomfort after sleeping on the hard mattress. However, such irritability does not last for long. While Enrique lies in bed, face covered with a pillow to block the summer sun's rays pouring into the room, it is Elisa that tidies up the room, and Elisa who prepares breakfast. It is Elisa, and not Enrique, who becomes subordinated to the daily chores and activities. The narration continues to describe a character that is far from the carefree Elisa who knew nothing more than the company of her lover, discovering the newness of the undiscovered corners that the city has to offer. Now, hidden away in the domesticated past offered by their small *albergue* with views of the sea, the couple stays on their balcony, watching the umbrella covered shore from a distance. Their lack of excitement, however, is not due to boredom. On the contrary, a newly discovered jealousy prevails over the freedom of the pretend-husband-and-wife: "Ellos no se bañaban. No lo consentía aquel amor celoso, exacerbado con la soledad, que provocaba sus celos morunos. Apenas sí consentían sin protesta en mirar a los que se bañaban y las mujeres y hombres que pasaban por ir a la playa" (323).

The narration evokes the reality of the domestic life far from the fantasy that the young couple conjured in their dreamy plan to spend the summer together tucked away from urban civilization. It also presents the home as that which lies on the outside of the urban as well; a space that must remain far from the symbols of progress and growth. In

this sense, the home is further conceptualized as the space that stops linear time, provoking the pre-modern concept of cyclical time. As the *tranvía* that drops Elisa and Enrique off in the small and secluded town that will become their home for the duration of the summer comes to a halt, so does the energy that propels the modern concept of time as forward. Elisa's disconnect with the domestic lifestyle is arguably due to her inability to connect to the cyclical and backward clock that the life in this Portuguese beach town thrives on.

It takes the couple fifteen days of daily excursions through nature, through rustic Portuguese towns frozen in time, through linguistic obstacles and through sensory travels to realize that their affair has come to an end. It isn't just the boredom provoked by the sleepy beach town that has the young lovers falling out of love. Rather, it is the fact that neither one of the two urban subjects, whose gender difference in the center of Madrid was marked only by their material possessions, is able to fill the more traditional roles. Their summer vacation in fact emphasized their gender roles through patterns of cyclical idleness. Although Elisa is not actually performing the brunt of the duties that a housewife, or a nineteenth century *ángel* would have had to undertake, since for the most part, they eat at the hotel restaurant, and they spend their time together exploring, she is still confined to her performative image as wife, unable to break away from the implications that such a title would signify.

The consequent disillusion is not only sensed by Elisa, but by Enrique as well. Symptoms of his shifting desires occur early on in Madrid. From the moment when Enrique learns of his bonus that will allow for him and his lover to take their trip to Portugal, his demeanor changes from that of sweet lover, excited for any opportunity to

spend with his beloved, to domineering partner whose masculinity asserts itself through the accumulation of capital. As David Harvey explains by evoking Marx, the processes of capitalism allow for “money [to] become the abstract and universal measure of social wealth and the concrete means of expression of social power” (*Consciousness and the Urban Experience* 168). When Enrique earns his bonus, he embodies a sense of empowerment, but when Elisa becomes unemployed, she loses any power she had in the relationship. As Blaney notes, "Enrique obligates her to change her appearance and to play the role of a "lady" "(13).

While Blaney concurs through a spatial reading that the nostalgia produced by the contours of the countryside unearth the missing liberties that Elisa enjoyed in Madrid where she had control over her identity (13), I'd add that the repetitive structure of life produced in the countryside domesticate Enrique, feminizing his subjectivity. It is through his process of domestication that Enrique not only becomes nostalgic for his liberty as an urban man in Madrid, but also becomes a patriarchal force in Elisa's life. For both Enrique and Elisa, the processes of domestication imposed upon them by the cyclical passing of time and the lifestyle that inherently goes along with it, reveal an abject image. Domestic life both for women and men is considered to be backwards and dejected where as the struggles of urban life and capital accumulation are converted into a melancholic memory:

En ellos se había apagado la pasión. Era una amistad débil la que los unía; aquel lugar nuevo los había hecho mirarse como los extraños. Las noches del *luar* (luna), los ocasos; la grandeza del panorama, del mar; lo pintoresco y extraño de su nueva existencia había borrado los recuerdos de sus años de Madrid, de sus

paseos enamorados, de sus dificultades para verse a solas... Todo el idilio verdadero, vivido con sencillez, sin pretender idealizarlo, sin darle importancia, se derrumbaba, se perdía en el idilio falso, amañado, cuyo personaje principal tenía que ser la Naturaleza misma. (352)

Domesticated, cyclical life is shunned in "La flor de la playa" through an imposition of resurgent images of freedom and independence made visible in public spaces. Elisa scoffs at the idea of remaining domestic, not only because of her experience in Portugal, but also because all that she does not experience: the shadow-work that as a married woman would have been imposed on her. Enrique is also afraid of losing his role in the public sphere of work and accumulation, terrified of failing at modern masculine existence.

As the *tranvía* departs from the beach, once again, the narration is imbued with movement, this time propelling the young couple forward toward progress as they barrels into the urban confines of the city they call home. Their arrival in Madrid is marked by a bitter-sweetness: "¡Entraban en Madrid! Una sensación indefinible de alegría y de tristeza a un tiempo mismo se apoderaba de ellos. Pero no tenían tiempo de entregarse a su impresión" (362). Enrique and Elisa understand that their love affair is impossible to salvage. Yet, their relief to be back on their ticking clocks empowers them to be sucked right back into the linear notion of time, where feelings, sensations, and sentiments are shoved aside in the name of forward movement.

The ticking of the clock will not stop again, until the end of the Civil War, where time and space are confined to the desires of Francisco Franco's regime. The self-imposed isolation of the autarkic years was intended to reverse social and cultural

modernization by extirpating the sources of contamination at home and preventing their further perpetration from abroad. The Francoist imagination will highly privilege the local and will shun the universal; the home will become the ideal space where fascist ideology could be disseminated and upheld in an imposition on women through a nuanced patriarchal stronghold.

Yet, in spite of the gains in women's rights in the earlier part of the century in Spain, the late 1930's and early 1940's saw a return to the 1889 Civil Code, which underlined women's juridical inferiority to men, the labour charter, that "freed" women from the workplace and the factory, the fundamental law of 1938 that granted patriarchal figures of the family a subsidy boost so that women would no longer have to supplement her husband's low wages, and the 1946 Family Subsidy Law, that went as far as to deprive men whose wives worked for the state-paid family bonus (Graham, "Gender and the State" 184).

The possibilities of the creation of a home space beyond these laws does not materialize much beyond artistic representation prior to 1936 once the Francoist dictatorship pummels any hopes of progress and reform born from the Spanish Second Republic. The Spanish Civil War that lasted from 1936-1939 resulted in thirty-six years of loss of democratic rights. As Helen Graham amongst many other scholars have addressed, the brutish cultural reforms under Franco completely rejected modern representative democracy and intended to reverse social and cultural modernization. These reforms that were especially crucial to the first half of the dictatorship from 1939 until the beginning of the 1950's, were based on mythology from a glorified past that reinforced the weakness of the female sex. The state legislation and processes of power

bolstering Franco's political-moral framework were staged through a pathology of modernity inscribed on and in women's bodies. As the patriarchal family was seen as a microcosm for the corporate order of the state, the father, was meant to be the "the little *caudillo*, or leader, of the family," and the mother, the passive, pious, pure, and demure backbone, her role molded by sanitized mythological images of Santa Teresa or even Isabel la Católica (184).

Differing from the axis powers, the Spanish state, recurring to a traditional Catholic platform, wished to return back to an imagined moment of glory, and not forward toward an evolving future. In doing so, Franco aspired to remove women from the workforce, and, through state-sponsored medical advancements as well as various laws and charters, deemed them as hormonal creatures unfit for independence. Removing women from the sphere of production through legal measure, bolstered the regime's *pronatalism* project that counted on a boom in birthrate in order to maximize production of labor. During these isolationist years in Spain, women became the biological slaves of reproduction for the *patria* as well as for the socialization processes that taught its values in the home. In this sense, the divide between public and private and home and nation, unlike the early years of the twentieth century, became extremely blurred.

The immediate affects of these years that wished to achieve total national and economic self-sufficiency, proved to be disastrous. Spain's attempt at a fascist state allowed for over 200,000 people to die of malnutrition or starvation during the first years after the war (Faulkner 41). With the defeat of the Axis powers of Italy and Germany that helped Franco construct his fascist regime, holes were made visible in continuing to

imagine a prosperous militant Spain. In turn, the beginning of the 1950's marked a pivotal moment where the dictatorship was forced to rebrand the image of the nation in order to insert itself as a Western ally and therefore, no longer remain isolationist. Looking toward the West for economic support, Spain's image had to swiftly transform from a militant Catholic country to one that, although continued to be pious, was now dedicated to production and labor, moving away from the originary Francoist militaristic ideal.

Acknowledging the times, the second half of the dictatorship fostered a national trend of migration to the cities that posed a new set of problems regarding social control. Franco's imagined community of the isolated years of the beginning of the dictatorship was easily managed through military intervention in the rural parts of Spain, where most people still lived. The countryside, untouched by modernity, would allow for the regime to mold ideal subjects of a New Spain perpetuated through terror, propaganda, and censorship. Curiously, film, despite its glaring ties to modern life, gave voice to the Francoist dictatorship in the 1940's and 1950's while simultaneously acting as an unlikely refuge against the supposed evils of modernity.

Most studies of the films made in the post-war era of the 1940's and 1950's place politics at center stage, given the context of European fascism that forged the backdrop for the repressive policies of the dictatorship. The films that were allowed to be shown during the beginning of the dictatorship had to have passed through the censorship machine where Franco's policies of fatherland, family, and faith were loyally upheld. Aside from the escapist films known as *españoladas*, films such as *Raza* (1941), *Sin novedad en el Alcazár* (1941), and *Alba de América* (1951), were highly praised by the

dictatorship, the first, famously known for being scripted by Franco himself. These three examples speak directly to the epic and heroic imagined history, military culture, and, missionary tendencies that bolstered the originary narrative of the fascist state.⁶⁵

Although the credibility of the nation-building genre has been questioned by film critics such as Jo Labanyi and Steven Marsh, the nation as the central component of the films made during the beginning years of the dictatorship must be understood through the specific historical event that effected the dictatorship's stronghold. Since the Falangists dominated the cabinet in the 1940's, fascist war films such as *Raza* glorified the Nationalist's bravery during the years of the Civil War. With the realignment of the regime from a bellic one steeped in fascist ideology to a Catholic one, defined by the principles of the institution of the Church, film swiftly evolved into historical or period oriented works that highlighted the religious fervor behind the Catholic unification of Spain (Faulkner 42). This was also a time where period pictures adopted more conservative-leaning authors from the century prior, such as Pedro Antonio Alarcón (*El clavo*) given that the cultural material presented in these works was considered to have mirrored the image that the Francoist dictatorship wished to portray (43).

The beginning of the 1950's also sparked a turn in film as the country itself evolved into new reaches of the dictatorship, at a time where the prior years of the Spanish autarky had caught up with criticism, even from within the Falange stronghold. *Surcos*, having been the unlikely recipient of the "National Interest" title awarded by General Secretary of Cinematography, José María García Escudero, marked a turning

⁶⁵ It's worth adding that the underlying triptych of "father, faith, and family" considered to be the edifice of cultural production during the beginning of this post-war era of devastation and extreme poverty has, over the past twenty years, been unraveled. Scholars have uncovered fissures in the universal narrative of the film culture of the times and film critic Steven Marsh goes as far as to say that only 20 of the 500 films made in Spain between 1939 and 1951 conform to the "nation-building propaganda caricature" (45).

point in Spanish cinema in a year that witnessed the changes from an isolated Spain to a more globalized one. The 1951 film offers a realistic-portrait of post-civil war Spain, read by a range of scholarship as the Spanish appropriation of Italian neorealism mixed with film noir, although the director himself, José Antonio Nieves Conde, claimed to have never seen any of the first.⁶⁶ Even though Nieves Conde was a well-known sympathizer of the regime--he was part of the Falangist group that originally constituted Francosim--the rebranding of Francoism, in *Surcos*, is overtly criticized, exposing dire economic deprivation of urban life in the form of the realities of the black market, overcrowded inner-city housing, crime, and prostitution.

Katy Vernon and Sally Faulker in their analysis of *Surcos* have both pointed to a crisis in paternal authority that the film portrays to underscore the demise of a rural family seeking opportunities in the urban experience. In this sense, although Nieves Conde was a Francoist sympathizer, this film goes beyond his own personal ideology. Specifically, it brings to light iterations of domestic shadow work that have very different implications when performed by men and women. I propose that *Surcos* highlights the harsh divide between unpaid work in the home, and paid public work. This example of Spanish cultural production during the Francoist years illuminates shadow work as a symptom of urban growth, and not as a break from the past cultural imaginary.

Surcos begins with a moving image taken from the vantage point of a train as it barrels down the tracks toward an unspecified destination. As the train arrives in the

⁶⁶ Luis Mariano González points to *film noir* as the "most appropriate aesthetic to achieve" a mirror effect of the tensions between rural and industrial that are at the core of *Surcos*. Diverging from the American use of *film noir* as a reflector of the spaces of modernity, in Conde Nieve's film, it is used to highlight the tensions and clashes between two ideologies that, although are also represented by space, had been up until this point in the dictatorship, mutually exclusive (223).

station in Madrid, the plot unfolds around the impoverished rural Pérez family who is arriving in Madrid for the first time to live. The mother and father, as well as the two brothers and sister, Pepe, Manolo, and Toña, emerge from the metro station in the working-class neighborhood of Lavapiés in search of a cousin's flat which they will be sharing until they finally settle, in hopes of a better life. Breathing in their new surroundings, the three younger members of the family are giddy with excitement of the city. While they search for their family's home, the city is portrayed, as Mariano González points out, as dominated by uncontrollable groups of people (223), reflecting Ortega y Gasset's *La rebelión de las masas* in which the masses are blamed for provoking "the most serious crisis that people, nations, and cultures could suffer" (37). This scene highlights the problem of the city through the enormously different reality that the Perez family will have to come to terms with, moving away from their exaggeratedly naive expectations of what they imagined the urban center to be. Soon enough, the family moves into a cramped flat with distant relatives and is immediately submerged into a spiral of illegal work and prostitution that ultimately leads to the death of the eldest son, Pepe. His death consequently marks the decision to return to the rural lifestyle and to rid the family of the urban contamination.

Surcos traces the complicated antagonism between unmistakable binaries, such as that of rural and urban; rich and poor; masculine and feminine and public and private that played important roles in the maintenance and evolution of the Francoist regime, and it delves into the family members and their struggles to sort through them. Women are of particular interest to the viewer of this film. After all, the Sección Femenina del Falange ruled over women's lives, making sure they proved to fulfill their roles as

housewives. Classes in sewing, cooking, childcare, being a mother, and a wife were enforced while teaching positions that had become commonplace during the years prior to the dictatorship, were almost impossible to find (Graham, *The War and its Shadow* 2). In other words, at home, women became the shadow workers in the name of the perpetuation of the regime's ideology.

There are three scenes in particular in *Surcos* that speak to the diverse iterations of shadow work as seen from the film. The first highlights the Francoist imagined notion of what the home space should look like through Rosario, the girlfriend of the youngest son Manolo, who takes him in when his own family rejects him. The second sequence focuses on the role of the father, also named Manolo, in order to illuminate how, in spite of the dictatorship's rebranding that begins to occur in the 1950's, those living on the brink of poverty are not only mapped out of the idealized social sphere but are also banished into the home, to help maintain the space that allows for the conditions of the possibilities of labor in the first place. As juxtaposed with the first and the second scenes, the third illuminates the position of the woman in a triple bind of slavery looking at Toña, who upon arriving in Madrid, wishes to be gainfully employed like her two brothers. During a time of urbanization and planning of sites of production, unless the home fits the Francoist mold of female servitude, domestic work is represented as misery. In this light, *Surcos* uncovers a grave contradiction in the Francoist rhetoric of both the first and second halves of the dictatorship that praised the home as the center of a Catholic and pious life. By addressing the presence of the unemployed father as juxtaposed with Rosario, the young, blonde, girlfriend of Manolo, the son, I propose that when shadow work is done by the woman, it is not only considered outside the realm of

production, but as the natural undertaking of the female. However, when done by the unemployed man, it is transformed into a barbaric punishment for his lack of production and failure in the public sphere of work.

The first night of their arrival to Madrid, the three men of the family express an idealized vision of working in the city. Although the oldest son very soon finds himself caught up in illicit practices, the two Manolos, father and son, have a harder go at it. Over time, they are also given illegal street work--selling candy and cigarettes, tipped off by their cousin, Pili. Both men, however, fail tremendously at their new jobs and end up back in the home space.

Young Manolo is filmed arriving at a carnival where the atmosphere around him is hectic, but jubilant. As he admires the movement and cheerfulness around him with his basket of illegal items in tow, he happens upon a crowd of people watching a puppet show. Intrigued by the crowd and by the show, he naively places his basket down behind him. No sooner does he do this, he locks eyes with a young blonde woman and both immediately become smitten. Yet, their star-stricken gaze does not last for long, as a poor man steals an item from his basket and runs away. Dumbfounded, Manolo scrambles to find the culprit but without realizing, mistakes him for the wrong man. A brawl ensues that ends with Manolo relinquishing the illegal goods to the police, now owing the city a large sum of money. Devastated, he returns back to his flat, where his family chastises the weepy man for his failure in the public sphere. Unable to take the criticism, he runs away, where, after much suffering, happens upon the home of the smiling blonde girl who he watches from afar gleefully hanging clothes on a drying rack outside. Although living in poverty, the clip portrays the girl idyllically under the

afternoon sun, behind flowerpots, calmly doing her chores. Manolo once again locks eyes with his infatuation, but starving from life on the street, faints, from exhaustion.

Manolo wakes up to a bowl of hot food, prepared for him by the young blonde woman, Rosario, which he devours, thankfully. As she cleans, Rosario makes him feel at home with her incessant smile and calm demeanor. Scholarship has pointed out that Rosario's keen desire to have Manolo stay with her speaks to the political agenda of the dictatorship in its imagining the perfect housewife, and in this way, is portrayed very differently from the other women in the film that through a misogynistic lens, are all filmed to be immoral, dishonest, and materialistic. Rosario, in this sense, embodies the ideal subject of Francoism: sweet, docile, submissive, and domestic. She is revered as what would be considered to be her destined biological nature to uphold the space of the home; a virginal and emblematic figure akin to the mother of God. As Graham suggests, "The many incarnations of the Virgin provided the perfect role model...Church teaching on the irreducible nature of male and female, and the latter's exclusive fittedness for the home, received tendentious justification via pronouncements of the medical establishment which presented women as weak and emotional creatures..." (Graham, "Gender and the State" 184). Rosario fully embodies this role. When her father offers for the young Manolo to stay until he finds his bearings, Rosario chimes in with a seductive smile, "Donde comen dos, comen tres" allowing her to further practice her part as, what Ivan Illich refers to as man's beautiful property and faithful support needing the shelter of home for her labor of love. Unlike other domestic scenes in this film, this one is peaceful, the way that Franco wanted to portray home life to be.

Manolo's father, however, experiences different circumstances. Upon returning

from the unemployment office without work in site, the mother of the family, instructs him on how to sell illegal items on the street. From the inside of the home, she relays to him what the items in his basket cost while Manolo struggles in vein to memorize the prices. As he leaves with his basket of items, the non-diegetic voice of his wife's instructions usurps the clip, helping him to remember the price of the goods. Walking down the street, the voice in his head confuses the prices yet once again. This scene bodes poorly for what comes next. Manolo arrives at a park where children are playing and sets his basket of candy down. The second he does so, one seemingly innocent boy approaches him, gesturing that he would like some candy but does not have any money. A naive Manolo quickly gives him a piece and shoos him away in hopes that he will go back and play. No sooner does the child run away do more children approach. He also gives candy to each of these children, but this time he is filmed as frustrated, as he is aware that his wife had given him strict instructions from the home and he was not following them. After these children run away, the camera cuts to an army of children swarming Manolo who uniformly point fingers at him in demands of free candy. The overwhelming crowd of children is cut with a clip of a lone police officer, who, as Manolo will naively discover, is about to give him a hefty fine as well as to take away his basket of illegal goods. He is, as the viewer sees, a victim of crowds that are characteristic of the first decades of the twentieth century and that play an important role in the inception of fascism throughout Europe. Yet, this crowd of children in particular, who uniformly screams for candy, speaks to the structuring of the masses into the followers and perpetrators of nationalism.

Upon returning home, his wife, in an infuriated rage and through a military

gesture, shoves a basket of unpeeled potatoes in his hand. As the screen fades to black, he begins to peel them, bowing his head in defeat. The scene demonstrates that participating in the basic alimentation of life, the preparation of food, is Manolo's punishment for failing to perform well, even in the most deplorable of positions, in the public sphere. It also speaks to Illich's concept of shadow work as a punishment for shedding masculinity in the public sphere.⁶⁷ In the film, the non-diagetic voice of his wife that allows Manolo to remember the minor details of the cost of the goods he wishes to sell is energy spent, but is not considered to be work. Yet it is: her voice, her energy, and her time are all employed to bolster the functionality of work in the public sphere but act as the condition for pay, removed from social subsistence.

In fact, it seems that the maintenance of life itself, is frowned upon in the Perez' flat. After what appears to be months of being banished to the kitchen, the daughter arrives home with a letter announcing her father's immediate employment in an industrial factory. No sooner does Manolo's face light up with viral excitement, does he shove the apron in his wife's arms and declare: "¡Tengo trabajo te enteras! ¡Tengo trabajo de hombre! Y ese mandil, te lo vas a poner tú. ¡Y te vas a meter en la cocina, que es tu lugar!" It is not long before Manolo, however, finds himself back in the kitchen, for the work that he is given, hard labor in a coal factory, is unbearable for his aging body. Exhausted from the intense physical labor on top of the extreme heat of the factory, Manolo faints and is sent back home to his wife where, once again, he is punished with domestic chores.

⁶⁷ To reiterate, by shadow work he is trying to think through how unpaid work becomes a necessary complement to the production of goods and services in industrial societies. The housework, that he shows to be mostly performed by women, such as the activities and energy connected to shopping, chores, stress, and preparation of work that are hidden under the guise of family life.

In *Surcos*, the household is a space where, apart from Manolo the son's girlfriend, gender tensions are evident, mimicking the misogynistic character of the dictatorship. The female characters from the mother, to Toña, to their cousin Pili are represented as immoral, dishonest, negative, and materialistic and they are to blame for the trials and tribulations that men face in the film. They deviate greatly from the Feminine Section of the Falange's ideal of what a proper woman should be like inside the home space. Toña, the only daughter of the Pérez family, represents the anti-Francoist woman, in part, through the extraverted sexuality that she exudes when both in the home and in the public sphere. For example, as she goes to sleep in her cousin Pili's bed the first night of her arrival with her family to Madrid, she flirtingly fingers Pili's nylons, dreaming of owning a pair of her own. Pili scolds her, demanding for her to sleep, which she pretends to do, until Pili herself is finally snoring. Toña then grabs her cousin's nylons, smelling them, and rubbing them against her face. Her dream of possessing her own stockings one day transforms into an erotic commodity fetishism that was highly scorned by the Francoist ideological machine.

Scholarship has read Toña's character as based on the "femme fatale" of American *film noir*, insomuch as that Toña is always conscious of her powers of seduction (Mariano González 225). This can be seen from the moment where, when her brothers and father go out to search for work, she too argues that she needs money in order to pay the rent. Although the type of job that she originally seeks is gendered--her brothers and father look for factory work while she seeks a store clerk position--the act of searching for a job is portrayed as a sign of transgression from the ideals of the dictatorship. The city then, is seen as the site of lascivious, feminine existence. In her

attempt to unravel herself from the shadows of the home space and from the imposed biological ties that wish to ideologically keep her there, Toña finds work in another home, that of the neighborhood's mafia bigwig, Chamberlin. Chamberlin, also known as Don Roqui, happens to provide illicit work for many of the young men in the neighborhood and he discovers Toña through her brother, Pepe, who also works for him.

Toña explains to her mother and her aunt that upon entering into Chamberlin's home for the first time, she is in awe. Her non-diagetic voice divulges that she has never actually been inside a house so lavishly decorated in her life, and she is barely able to pay attention to Chamberlin's decked-out lover, who instructs her, with indifference, to sit and wait. The lover, covered in a lavish robe with sparkles and feathers returns, hands Toña a maid's uniform and tells her she must wear it to perform the job. As Toña embarks on her new position in Chamberlin's home, every action of her position is marked by performativity. Not only does her status as a maid require her to dress in costume to mind the upkeep of the house, but she is also expected to sing and be flirtatious for the enjoyment of Chamberlin. In fact, during her first day on the job, as she scrubs the floor on her knees singing, she is startled at the arrival of her coy boss who, asks her quietly to continue singing, but to not let his lover know that he has arrived. As Toña scrubs and flirtatiously sings, Chamberlin's lover lies in the other room, lounging and smoking a cigarette unaware of the episode in the kitchen. On her knees, Toña now embodies the triple enslavement that women endure under capitalism. She is forced into three inescapable roles: that of a grossly underpaid worker, a caretaker for the domestic space, as well as a sensual performer of femininity. The more she sings, the higher her chances are that she will not only be able to keep her job, but also, gain perks

from the same position. As a woman from inside the space of the home, the work that she performs is embodied in her femininity as well as in her class. Chamberlin's lover, on the other hand, is not expected to do such work. She is the *dama del hogar*, whose daily activities consist of living a life of boredom, almost as if it were a life of vagrancy. Her fancy clothing and her idleness stand at a stark difference from Toña's maid uniform and her productivity.

When Chamberlin takes his lover out for the night, Toña is given instructions to make the *señorita's* bed that she has strung her clothes upon. The young worker heads to the room to perform the chore with a purpose but no sooner does she begin to fold the items of clothing that are draped over the unkempt bed, does she notice the *señorita's* stockings. She curiously but cautiously picks one up, touches it, smells it, and instantly drapes it around her neck. One stocking on her leg leads her to try on a robe and to dance in front of the mirror, dressed up as a *dama*. Her solo performance of her *señorita* continues as she lies in the bed and lights herself the same cigarette that her *dueña* smokes. No sooner does she settle into her fantasy, hugging her knees into her chest, relaxing, does she hear a forsaken rip: to her dismay, she has torn the stocking. The small hole in the tenuous sock immediately plummets Toña's fantasy to her reality. Her place in life is that of the Francoist *ángel del hogar*, one that gets paid a measly salary, and one that becomes exploited, sexually and monetarily, from all sides of the patriarchal system. Toña sees her own self in the stocking itself: fragile and insubstantial yet the very item that is needed for a properly functioning bourgeois body. She is part of an inclusive exclusion in a society that simultaneously uses her and casts her out of production and power.

The depiction of Toña that vacillates between the reticent and hyper sexualized housemaid, is far from an image born under the dictatorship. On the contrary, at the time the women's rights movements began to form communities in urban centers at the end of the nineteenth century, the most impactful book that underlines the developing urban social network is published by Galdós in 1887: *Fortunata y Jacinta*. Although the concept of women working in the public sphere had not fully taken off during the time when Galdós' masterpiece was published, the disdain for housework as portrayed in *Fortunata y Jacinta* does. Even though Fortunata has been studied time and time again as the epitome of marginalization in the novel, Papitos, the young maid in Maxi Rubín's home is described in such vulgar terms that her existence is condensed into animality. In her case, this difference is most obvious through her illiteracy. Scolding her one afternoon, Maxi tells Papitos: "No seas salvaje...Es preciso que aprendas a leer, para que seas mujer completa" (I: 631). Although Papitos is in charge of the maintenance of the housework, and without her the home would collapse, her work is frowned upon as abject, reducing her to a mere beast of burden.

Housework as the utter most savage position does not socially evolve or culturally change with the arrival of the dictatorship and this can be seen as a symptom in canonical literature written during the dictatorship by Carmen Laforet, Ana María Matute and Mercè Rodoreda. In his important intervention regarding *La plaça del Diamant* by Mercè Rodoreda, Michael Ugarte suggests: "In the context of Spanish history, *La plaça* could be read as a manifestation of the failure of progressive social classes to deal effectively with the specifics of gender" (312). In fact, one of the most apparent ways in which Rodoreda draws the social conflicts of Spanish and Catalan

society in the thirties into her well-read novel is by describing the protagonist, Natalia's daily activity--her work--in great detail. Her attention to the doves, the dove coop, cleaning up after the birds, tidying the family's living quarters in the midst of war, are all activities that speak to woman's shadow work. In mentioning Galdós' *Fortunata y Jacinta* in connection to Rodoreda's *La plaça del Diamant*, I am suggesting that these two major literary pieces can be read as documentation of disdain in which care and sustenance have been conceived as modernity awakens in Spain.

The disregard of the home space as a place of care outlives the historical changes of the first half of the twentieth century and the impact that they have on women. It speaks to the dangers of universalizing the male and female experience in the name of progress, where progress tends to unravel itself from the tasks and chores that are necessary for it to plow forward. In placing social dignity solely in the public sphere of production and work, a hyper masculinization of the male and female experience becomes the social norm and creates an urban setting driven by precarious work by both sexes. Women are inserted into a sphere of triple slavery in the production-driven years of the twentieth century and continue to exist in this sphere long past the Civil War. The protagonist of *La plaça del Diamant* is not only in charge of the housework and making money by performing the housework in someone else's home, but is also expected to lend her body to her husband when he demands a family to fulfill the social imagination of the Francoist regime. The uneven development of the female social contract scripted in the Spanish national imaginary through biological essentialism bears witness to a stable non-development of the needs of the home space that frustrate the terms under which women can be understood as fully equal to men. At the same time, the success

that women have in the public sphere also ruptures the patriarchal stronghold creating new masculine subjectivities that cannot fulfill the male social contract scripted in a national ideal of public life. The following chapter studies the home as both a site of subordination for women but also one of transgression and of unsustainable economy for men in post-civil war Spain, one that, as we have seen in *Surcos*, removes the male subject from his role in the public sphere.

CHAPTER 4: A Woman's Space? Masculinity and Nihilism in the Home in Carmen Laforet's *Nada*

The home as allegory is a prevalent trope in cultural production employed to understand the state of the nation throughout modern times. In twentieth century Spain, Federico García Lorca's *La casa de Bernarda Alba* (1936), Antonio Buero-Vallejo's *Historia de una escalera* (1949), Camilo José Cela's *La Colmena* (1950), José Antonio Nieves Conde's *Surcos* (1951), Ana María Matute's *Primera memoria* (1959), Luis Martín Santo's *Tiempo de silencio* (1962), and Carmen Martín Gaité's *El cuarto de atrás* (1978), offer some examples of canonical impressions on the centrality of the home space as it represents the respective socio-political realities, or, contrarily, as it houses (no pun intended) configurations of transgression of the national order of things. Carmen Laforet's first and well-known novel, *Nada* (1942), undoubtedly falls into this typology. As the reader may well recall,⁶⁸ this post-war novel reprises the experiences of the protagonist, Andrea, through her fragmented and distanced testimonial regarding the year she spent living in Barcelona with her extended family. From her midnight arrival to the Catalan capital as a university student, her childhood memories of the city that she so longed to live in once again are shattered by the dreadful reality inside her relatives' house on Aribau Street. Attempting to function amongst the horrors of her home-away-from-home and finding her way as a university student in a city that is no longer her

⁶⁸ In 1999, Julio Ortega named this novel one of the sixteen best novels written in the twentieth century. See Ortega Julio. "Las mejores novelas españolas del siglo XX." *INTI, Revista de literatura hispánica* 49/50 (Primavera 1999-Otoño 1999): 199-208.

own, the post-war heroine's memory places into question the age-old dichotomy between the public sphere and the privacy of the intimate home space. The three-part novel ends with Andrea's decision to move to Madrid to work and to continue her studies. While most twentieth century scholarship predominantly reads *Nada* as a *Bildungsroman*, or Andrea's coming of age,⁶⁹ all agree that Andrea is one of the major literary figures to emerge in twentieth century Spanish cultural production and the home on Aribau Street is one of the more decisive narrative spaces for understanding post-war Spain.

Nada unfolds in great part inside the home on Aribau Street, in the dilapidated apartment that abruptly interrupts Andrea's childhood innocence. It is no longer the "luminous, prosperous, residence of her childhood memories and adolescent fantasies" but rather, "a house of darkness, filth, decay and entropy" where its "ghostly inhabitants" are both animal and human (Jordan 82). While the dichotomizing spaces of the home and the city add depth to the narration from Andrea's perspective, the figures that Andrea meets and lives with during her university year in Barcelona are integral parts of her coming of age experience. Specifically, in the house on Aribau Street, the devastatingly gothic figures that are presented from early on in the book are central to Andrea's otherness, a marked difference which ultimately leads to her decision to leave. Her frail grandmother, her authoritarian aunt Angustias, her whimsically violent uncle Román, her skeletal and abusive uncle Juan, Juan's abused wife, Gloria, and the maid, Antonia, are the actors that propel the nightmare that unfolds before Andrea's eyes and that

⁶⁹ The following scholars, amongst many others, attest to this reading: Alicia G. Andreu (1997); Marsha Collins (1984); Mark P. Del Mastro (1997); Ruth El Saffar (1974); Roberta Johnson (1981); María Pilar Rodríguez (2000).

ultimately allows her to break away, putting forth, as scholarship has continuously read, a feminist subject that challenges the dictatorship's stereotypes of gender roles.

Roberta Johnson's 2005 compilation of feminist thought in Spain sums up the criticism that views Andrea's departure as an act of defiance. Johnson suggests that "Carmen Laforet's *Nada* is the prime example of a novel that can be unpacked in light of Pre-War feminist theory, especially those essays that understand the act of work as an important source of identity and freedom for women" (257).⁷⁰ In this context, Andrea's character has been, throughout both the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, juxtaposed with the vile characters of her family as a contrarian figure whose sense of liberty and desire for liberation reign supreme throughout near impossible circumstances.⁷¹ In this sense, the pivotal moment of Andrea's escape to Madrid that occurs at the end of the novel has predominately been read as an allegory for her fleeing the patriarchal constraints of the dictatorship, represented by her family from the house on Aribau Street. After all, in the uneasiness following the death of her uncle that provokes heightened tension in the house beyond the daily friction that already exists, Andrea receives a letter from her friend Ena where she describes the very crux of her escape:

Hay trabajo para ti en el despacho de mi padre, Andrea. Te permitirá vivir independiente y además asistir a las clases de la Universidad. Por el momento vivirás en casa, pero luego podrás escoger a tu gusto tu domicilio, ya que no se

⁷⁰ By "those essays," Johnson is referring to Margarita Nelken, María Martínez Sierra, and Carmen de Burgos' fight for the woman's right to work in the years leading up to the Spanish Civil War.

⁷¹ Gloria's character in particular offers a feminine subject that stands in deep opposition to that of Andrea's. Although Gloria too came into the house on Aribau as an outsider, her position as both a mother and as a victim of domestic abuse by her husband places a deep rift between aunt and niece.

trata de secuestrarte. Mamá está muy animada preparando tu habitación. Yo no duermo de alegría. (213)

While most scholarship marks this moment as Andrea's step toward freedom, Elizabeth Ordóñez and Barry Johnson have come to a deviating conclusion regarding Andrea's escape to Madrid at the end of the novel. According to these two critics, the final narrative turn, exemplified through Ena's letter to Andrea, cannot be understood as liberation, but rather, as enslavement into the Francoist regime itself.⁷² In other words, Andrea's decision to leave her family behind on Aribau Street can be read as a reckoning with the very ideals that were the pillars of the Francoist regime: "Andrea's move to Madrid at the end of the novel is Laforet's way of reaffirming the importance of family values and unity" (Johnson 100). While I disagree that the ending can be intertwined with the Laforet's personal ideological investment, I'd like to sustain the claim that Andrea's departure to Madrid is her entrance into the captivity of the dictatorship, rather than her liberation into the world in hope of a progressive and feminist future, in order to unveil a more nuanced reading of this moment.

If the dictatorship is represented by the public space of labor and work in *Nada*, metaphorically enabled by Ena's father, a well-to-do business man who fully cares for his family and their economic needs, then the house on Aribau and the characters that live there must be read as the stark opposition to the dictatorship; the Republicans defeated in the war, the victims of the Francoist cultural imaginary. Although this reading diverges greatly from the majority of Peninsular scholarship that sees the home on Aribau is a parody of the dictatorship, it uncovers certain realities hidden in the

⁷² As is described on page fourteen of this chapter, Ena's father, Luis, can be read as the Francoist image of masculinity and success.

narrative fabric that are crucial to understanding the function of the home in this particular moment, one of them being that man, or the trope of masculinity, has consistently been conceived in *Nada* in the shadow of the feminine. Both of Andrea's uncles, Juan and Román, are characters whose masculinity plays out in starkly different ways compared to Ena's socially acceptable and successful father, Luis. While Juan and Román are two of the vilest characters in the novel replete with plenty of riffraff and their menacing presence is quite pertinent to the story that unfolds in the narration, they are figures that have largely been swept under the carpet of criticism. In consistently being deemed as victimizing and demonic (Johnson 87), a deeper criticism of their own possible victimization has not yet been seriously pursued.

Since its publication, *Nada* has received wide critical reception that has mainly focused on female subjectivity, emancipation, and affect. Without a doubt, these contributions have privileged the role of female characters in the novel. In response, the thesis of this chapter aims to displace this focus, by approaching *Nada* through the experiences of male characters that cohabit different sites within the house and space of Aribau. Although I do not seek to disregard the centrality and aporias of affectual crisis at work in female experience within the narrative fabric of the novel, I contend that by closely examining the male characters such as Román or Juan, the reader comes to understand a broader and more complex picture of post-civil war Spain as driven by precariousness and traversed by the imagination of hunger and poverty. In conceiving both Juan and Román, the two most violent perpetrators of the novel, as victims themselves to a much larger dynamic of cultural imagination, I wish to uncover the space of the home as one that challenges national discourses and at the same time,

victimizes those that unwillingly unravel cultural norms under which both men and women are interpolated by an "ideal" place and purpose in society. In this light, I propose to understand the house on Aribau as a performative space that defies the Francoist imaginary and in doing so, brings to bear questions of domestic victimization that speak to larger precepts and limitations of community.

Through this analysis it becomes evident that space is fundamental in *Nada*, in the way in which we understand the implications of the home and its relationship to those that traverse it. The home is where the majority of social conflicts unfold, where past and present conflate, and where times of war and peace are blurred. Furthermore, it is in the space of the home that the function of economy becomes a relevant tool to understand the problems of poverty, money, and hunger as the very elements that inform the passionate and violent effects on the characters, specifically those masculine figures that transgress the national turn toward order and work in the public sphere. The precarious lives of Andrea's two uncles impart their destructive habits as primordial responses to the inability to perform their masculinity as imagined by the political sphere. Yet their transgressive ways serve as a response to the national discourse. It is through their art, on the one hand, that their own expression is created beyond the reason of the dictatorship and those characters that represent it.

On the other hand, if *Nada* possesses the capacity to be read in different registers, then the home on Aribau's metaphorical symbolism of the oppressed under Francoism also serves as a conceptual space of nihilism that wishes to negate all forms of authority in a moment of *stasis*--a political paralysis, or civil war, that suspends its own functions (Agamben, *Stasis* 18)--while simultaneously opening to a critique that lies outside the

political space of norms, language, and social spaces. By further following the Nietzschean concept of political nihilism, I understand the house on Aribau Street and the masculine dysfunction within its walls to symbolize a rebellious destruction of the image of the family institution at the heart of the Francoist national discourse. If, in its formation, the fascist state proposed a rigid familial structure along with social values that can be visualized through Ena's family, then the grotesque existence of the characters on Aribau allegorically symbolizes a parody of the totalitarian Spanish state. It is through the near esperpentic, or hyperbolic, gestures of Juan and Ramón that locate the home as a site of warfare, even beyond the close of the Civil War. In doing so, the house on Aribau is presented as a point of melding between public and private; between the political and the non-political; between peace and war. It is a space that sheds light on the problematic nature of the modern community, as based on a constitutive debt that, according to Roberto Esposito, originates in every form of the community (4).

Nada is one of the most powerful books to be written in the Spanish canon during a time of failed national construction. It is also a book, as I argue, that speaks to the deep fissures of the nationalistic discourse of masculinity created for the purpose of the unification of the regime, although this reading cannot alone speak to the variegated layers that the narrative fabric unfolds. As Irene Mizrahi comments, "*Nada* produce la impresión de no ser una lectura difícil o exigente. Sin embargo, requiere un labor de reconstrucción detectivesca" (10). In fact, as Israel Rolón Barada relates, years later, regarding Carmen Laforet's visit to Georgetown in 1987, an event realized under the coordination of Bárbara Mujica and Roberta Johnson, an older and frailer Laforet, removed only by time from the publication of her first novel, reacted rather aloofly at the

interrogating questions presented by the graduate student and faculty: "Laforet, con un tono quizás irónico, contestó en un par de frases: <<Si ustedes lo dicen...Yo no lo había pensado..., nunca se me hubiera ocurrido...qué critiquen todo lo que quieran" (14). With the author herself removing her gaze from the fabric of her first and most commented novel, the possibilities of penetrating this multi-layered text are great. If *Nada* can be read on a superficial level, in which the characters' stories are taken at face value, leading to the emancipation of Andrea, the discreet symbolism is such that it allows for deeper arguments to unfold that continue to make this novel one of the most intriguing treasures of twentieth century Spanish literature.

The common reading of *Nada* that privileges Ana's position and that has found itself at the forefront of the literary criticism is intriguing in itself. This is due, in a large part, to the historical context of the early 1940's in Spain. At the time when Laforet had published her first novel, feminism had lost a shocking battle to nationalistic politics. The Women's Rights movements of the early century that according to many had gained women full and equal rights to men,⁷³ disintegrated into atavistic regulations that likened the role of women at this time to that of the century prior. Consequently, a rigid ideology was developed by the regime that erased the possibility of blurring the public and private divide. This was specifically crucial for defining the designated roles for women. As I highlighted in the third chapter, the household was considered to be a haven run by the figure of the mother. Women's roles vacillated between biological reproduction of

⁷³ Although one cannot deny the break in progress that the Francoist dictatorship imposed upon the forward thinking of women's rights movements in Spain, as I suggest in the third chapter of my dissertation, the progress realized by these movements was directed toward the public sphere of work, labor, and production. The domestic space was not included in this motion forward, nor was it considered to be part of the coming into being of gender equality. Therefore, it is useful to consider the break imposed upon women by the Francoist regime through the dichotomy of the public and private divide.

producing soldiers for the *patria* and social reproduction of the regime's ideology (Graham 187). Aside from the Church's teaching on "the irreducible nature of the male and female, and the latter's exclusive fittedness for the home" (184), the *sección femenina del Falange* (SF) mobilized thousands of middle and lower middle-class women to police other women (187), converting the role of the woman into a surveillance machine of the regime. While many women accepted positions of free labor and unpaid work in schools, orphanages, food kitchens, retirement homes, and other spaces that were deemed unfit for men, many continued to formulate the policies they pushed in the public sphere from the privacy of their homes. The maternal possibilities inherent in the female's biology became the base for political surveillance.

In *Nada*, the woman as surveillance can be seen in Angustias, Andrea's aunt and the keeper of the household on Aribau. As Barry Johnson addressed, Angustias speaks in the defense of patriarchy (86). Her character supports the understanding of the house on Aribau as a space that foments Franco's ideology. She is the secretarial force and the impeccable policewoman that, perched from their apartment, maintains the regime from the inside. From her first interactions with Andrea, Angustias is conceived as a matriarchal figure that shuns desire and progress in the name of order and consistency. Even the simple act of showering, after a long trip from Madrid, seems out of the realm of order and power for Angustias, as is exemplified in the following conversation between aunt and niece:

-- ¡Vamos!, a dormir que es tarde.

-- Quisiera lavarme un poco-- dije.

--¿Cómo? Habla más fuerte. ¿Lavarte?

Los ojos se abrían asombrados sobre mí. Los ojos de Angustias y de todos los demás. (17)

The very act of expressing will, as Andrea does when she first arrives to the house, is startling for all of the family members that live there, given that Angustias is clearly the censurer of freedom of expression. She is also the commander of life in this house and the governor of gender roles. The morning after Andrea arrives, she sits her niece down and lays out the groundwork of how Andrea would be expected to behave: "Te lo diré de otra forma: eres mi sobrina; por lo tanto, una niña de buena familia, modosa, cristiana e inocente. Si yo no me ocupara de ti para todo, tú en Barcelona encontrarías multitud de peligros. Por lo tanto, quiero decirte que no te dejaré dar un paso sin mi permiso" (23). From inside the house on Aribau, surrounded by the dusty mismatched furniture, the same city that Andrea just traversed at night alone becomes sealed off for her from the limiting walls. The house, on the other hand, is the space that Angustias seems to believe she was meant to be part of. For Angustias, Andrea's feminine innocence and womanhood are not only safe from the dangers of the streets outside but are meant to be contained inside the walls of the home.

Angustia's mold of femininity she imposes upon her niece is subtly different from the way that she perceives herself. If Andrea is seen by her aunt as the feminine body that silently allows for the social to establish its formation without the residue of the domestic in the civic sphere,⁷⁴ then the aunt is the matriarchal figure and the defender of a traditional past, ridden with moral and religious doctrine that vocally announce the

⁷⁴ See introduction of dissertation on the Greek *oikos/polis* divide for a better understanding of this division.

norms applied to the public and the private. In this sense, Angustia's gaze upon Andrea is intrinsically tied to the law. As Graham has noted, the outcome of the civil war witnessed a return to the 1889 Civil Code, which protected women's juridical inferiority, placing married women as dependent on men before the law. By March of 1938, the *Fuero del Trabajo* sought to legally remove women from the workplace while the *Ley de Bases*, passed a few months later during the same year, opted to pay working husbands a subsidy so that their family finances did not suffer with less household income. Men whose wives continued to work were deprived the state-paid family bonus by 1942 (184). In the novel's historical context, Angustias was training Andrea to become a married woman and to perform the exigencies of the law from inside the domestic space.

While young women under Franco were deemed as pious and demure creatures, men's roles were inextricably bound to the workplace and to the civic sphere.⁷⁵ It was the public spaces of labor and work where masculinity was conceived under Franco. Of course, the Francoist construction of a public masculine facade, however, was not original to the regime. On the contrary, masculinity has formed a central part in the construction of the modern nation state since the advent of capitalism and part of the civic community since the ancient Greeks. From the formation of nation states in the Western world, there has historically existed a direct correlation between a modern gendered order and the establishment of the capitalist economy that forms concepts of sexuality in urbanized Europe. With the advent of capitalism, marital heterosexuality

⁷⁵ Of course, since the foundation of Western society, men's roles have always been tied to the public and civic sphere. Nicole Loraux reminds us that the ancient Greek city was well organized collectively in order to stave off the "danger of unbridled passion." (*Mothers in mourning*, 9-10). Passion was contained to outside the *polis* where women, slaves and barbarians were considered to be "deprived," of speech as life, since, for Aristotle, "a central concern of all citizens was to talk with each other" (Arendt 27).

functioned as the replacement for monastic denial, which led to burgeoning capitalist societies replete of transgressive sexualities. Heterosexuality became the norm as concepts of individualism and the autonomous self defined cultural horizons. At the heart of the ever-expanding liberal development, the concept of masculinity became equated with rationality. In R.W. Connell's words, "With masculinity defined as a character structure marked by rationality, and Western civilization defined as the bearer of reason and benighted world, a cultural link between the legitimation of patriarchy and the legitimation of empire was forged" (246).

In Spain, historically, masculinity at the heart of its establishment was cemented by the creation of empires overseas, specifically those in the Atlantic.⁷⁶ A gendered project from its origins, the Spanish empire created a national imaginary that segregated men and women by space: men were raised to be seafarers or soldiers and women, as wives and servants. With the growth of cities in both Spain and in its colonies, institutionalized forms of masculinity were forged through an imaginary of legitimacy to cater to the needs and the culture of the workplace (247). At its core, masculinity was symbolized through warfare in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and this gendered imaginary. In Spain, images born from the wars of independence as well as from the Napoleonic drive for power allowed for masculine domination to tether itself into the everyday practices of social life.

This force continued in Spain in the most radicalized political form in fascism. The rise of fascism, due to a specific institutional and material belatedness of nation state

⁷⁶ A similar analysis could be made for Portugal, the Netherlands, France and England as Atlantic colonizers.

building, thrived on a homogeneous community based on abstract unity that allowed the nascent bourgeois spirit to be fascinated with a new compulsive drive for modernization.⁷⁷ Moreover, on the level of gender relations, Connell has argued that "a naked reassertion of male supremacy in societies that had been moving toward equality for women" (250). This is clearly the case in Spain. The decades prior to the outbreak of the civil war witnessed an explosion of urban movements geared toward gaining equality for women. Groups such as *Mujeres libres* were founded in part, as a direct reaction to Anarchist men's exclusion of women in their organization as well as to their desire to keep women within the domestic sphere. In turn, they were interested in all ways in which women were in need of demanding social justice. As Maryellen Bieder and Roberta Johnson point out *Mujeres libres* did not limit themselves to forging social and political rights for women, work opportunities, or economic parity with men. Rather, they paved roads toward "psychological independence for women, the advocacy of a female identity, personal autonomy, and self esteem." (2)

Although I contest the axiom that women gained total equality for men under the law by recurring to the aporias of the home space in my third chapter, as Bieder and Johnson have recently written, the fact that women had been granted the right to vote and were able to hold public office speaks to the undeniable strides that Spain had accomplished in the name of equality (1).⁷⁸ By the time that the conservative National Movement under the leadership of Francisco Franco won the civil war by conquering

⁷⁷ For key analysis of the rise of fascism as a consequence of late entry into the modern nation state, see Helmuth Plessner's *La Nación Tardia* (Biblioteca Nueva, 2016). In the case of Spain specifically, see David Soto Carrasco's *La conquista del estado liberal: Ramiro Ledesma Ramos* (2014).

⁷⁸ As these scholars point out, prominent feminists such as Margarita Nelken, Victoria Kent, and Clara Campoamor held seats in the Parliament (1).

and appropriating rebel territory, concepts of equality for women both legal and psychological took a leap into the past. Feminism that had gained such fashionable strides in the 1920's, was subsequently considered one of the graver ills of society akin to drug use (2). Although the originary Falangist state was not driven by fascist ideology,⁷⁹ tactics of greater European fascism were employed to promote new images of masculinity.

Under this cultural imaginary, gender roles in society became extremely important for the building of the state and the wielding of power to the regime. In this sense, humanity was considered to have a masculine value, deeply interwoven in an irrational "triumph of the will." A celebration of the bloodshed of the frontline soldier quickly became a nationalist tool for imagining manliness (250), followed by a culture of successful, employed, superior masculinity that lay as the main goal under the Francoist doctrine. A promotion of these masculine values was realized through idealized folklore, cinema, and sport where, as Helen Graham and Jo Labanyi note, mass culture and popular culture gained an "aura" of *haute culture* for the encouragement of national unification (170).⁸⁰ National ideology, then, became extremely gendered in nature. Inasmuch that the Francoist regime represented the complete rejection of modern representative democracy, as Mike Richard notes, it sought to generate the restorationist-patriarchal ideology that the prior decades had attempted to undo (173).

⁷⁹ The Spanish Civil War was not ideologically fascist in nature, though the failure of the political goals of a successful country during the years of the autarky, propelled Franco to look toward the axis powers for an political motive.

⁸⁰ As I briefly mentioned in my third chapter, films such as *Raza* (1941), *Sin novedad en el Alcázar* (1940), and *Alba de América* (1951) were celebrated and promoted during this time given that they spoke to bellic nature of the national idea of manhood (Faulkner 42).

In *Nada*, the man that comes closest to the exemplified image of the patriarchy is Ena's father, Luis. Sitting around the dinner table with Ena's family for the first time, Andrea notices how different this family is from her own, from their *buen carácter* (89) to their blond hair and white skin, and to their jubilant personalities. Even their names such as that of the youngest son, Ramón Berenguer, holds an aristocratic ring to it. Later that night, Andrea recalls the surprising difference she felt surrounding by cheery blue eyed children where as in the house on Aribau, her family members were all marked by facial contours in their darker skin. In noticing this otherness, Andrea particularly emphasizes Ena's father:

El padre parecía participar de las mismas condiciones de buen carácter que su prole y era además de un hombre realmente guapo, a quien Ena parecía. Tenía, como ella, los ojos verdes, aunque sin la extraña y magnífica luz que animaba los de su hija. En él todo parecía sencillo y abierto, sin malicias de ninguna clase...Parecía que me conocía de toda la vida, que sólo por el hecho de tener en su mesa me agregaba a la patriarcal familia. (90)

Luis and his children, over family dinners with smiles and talk of money and success, highlight the familial image at the heart of the Francoist regime. Luis, the breadwinner, is calm, collected, and successful; his wife respects him, silently, at the dining room table. Together, with his large family, the possibilities of the regime's imaginary seep through the home space. In this example, the narrative fabric of *Nada* reveals how the home becomes crucial for the maintenance of state power and the promotion of the regime. While the novel predominately takes place between Andrea's apartment, Ena's house, the university, and the city space, the dissonance between the homes make them

the spaces that speak loudest to the surveillance and maintenance of the Francoist family image.

In the house on Aribau, the way that Angustias perceives her brothers, for example, allows the reader to acknowledge her disappointment in their ability to perform the proper role of the Francoist male. From the onset, the men of the house on Aribau are presented as subjects direly affected by the war. Although Angustias demonstrates her discontent to everyone living in the house on Aribau, the way that she refers to her brothers, Ramón and Juan, is harsher. Her tone is more pained and her disenchantment comes from their own actions in life, not from, as in the case of Andrea, the actions imposed upon her. When dialoguing with her niece about her uncles, Angustias laments:

Tengo que advertirte algunas cosas. Si no me doliera hablar mal de mis hermanos te diría que después de la guerra, han quedado un poco mal de los nervios...Sufrieron mucho los dos, hija mía, y con ellos sufrió mi corazón...Me lo pagan con ingratitudes, pero se les perdono y rezo a Dios por ellos. Sin embargo, tengo que ponerte en guardia... (23)

However, although Angustias' character operates as the agent and the housekeeper of the patriarchal family, as the dictatorial surveillance from within the walls of the home, her position is constantly under threat. For example, during the first major fight that Andrea experiences in the house on Aribau between Juan and Román, Angustias comes out from behind closed doors to impose her presence and ask for silence. No sooner does she do this, does Juan take a porcelain plate and hurls it at her head. The plate barely misses her, shattering into a million pieces against the wall and sparking Angustias to swiftly shut herself away in her room. In another moment on Christmas day, Juan attempts to

crack a chair over his sister's head (54). At the heart of the violence between Juan and Angustias is Juan's unspoken war against the emblem of structured morality that lies at the base of the dictatorship. Juan is at war with surveillance, that has made its way into the walls of the home and the only possibility of winning is through its destruction. However, when two days after the Christmas altercation, Angustias leaves without saying a word, it marks the beginning of the end of her reign in the house, as well as a small victory for Juan. Although, after her final departure, "se quedaron mucho rato vibrando sus ecos" (60), Angustias' disappearance is a moment that symbolically cements the home on Aribau as a true space of resistance from the dictatorship.

At the same time, although Angustias' departure seems to be troubling for the family members from the offset, it is not noticed in any major way as the narration continues to unfold. On the contrary, the other family members go about their daily activities, constantly at the brink of violent eruptions. This is particularly true for the two uncles, Román and Juan. Out of the two masculine characters that live in the house on Aribau, Juan has proved to be the least appealing to scholarship. His character is less romantic and less mystical than his brother's enigmatic persona and the violent streak that he employs against his wife in front of his infant child makes his character too vile to relate to. Although both Juan and Román are artists in their own respective ways, Juan's art is less interesting than that of his brother's music, and less successful, both to the twisted plot of the story as well as to the reader's interest. Andrea highlights this difference from the very beginning. The first time that she enters into his studio to borrow a pencil, Juan is seen painting his wife, as she uncomfortably sits naked on a

stool, covered with a transparent piece of cloth curtain. In Gloria's recollection of this moment:

Juan pintaba trabajosamente y sin talento, intentando reproducir pincelada a pincelada aquel fino y elástico cuerpo. A mí me parecía una tarea inútil. En el lienzo iba apareciendo un acartonado muñeco tan estúpido como la misma expresión de la cara de Gloria al escuchar cualquier conversación de Román conmigo. (30)

The scene vacillates between pathetic and comical and Juan's character does not possess an enigmatic ego, like Román does, that would be of interest to the reader. He paints his naked wife, almost as a spoof on a modern *maja desnuda*, although, failing in the steps of Goya. Unlike the great eighteenth century Spanish artist, Juan lacks genius and talent. Yet, this is one of the only moments in the novel in which Juan is portrayed in a relatively positive light, since Andrea, who, at this point in the narration, still does not know the house well, pauses to listen to him discuss his artwork: "Juan parecía contento de mi visita y habló de prisa de su proyectos pictóricos" (31). Although Juan thinks she is listening to him, she assures her reader that she is not. I believe that the lack of attention that Andrea lends to Juan is much more relevant to understanding his character than the narration suggests inasmuch as it makes overtly evident the disappointment that Juan proves to be to others and to himself. His character throughout the novel is dedicated to trying to recuperate this attention through the extreme violence that he imposes upon his wife Gloria, and while Angustias is still living on Aribau, his sister.

One of the reasons why Juan consistently beats his wife is due to what he suspects is her eliciting money from her sister. As the narration unfolds, it becomes clear that

although Juan sometimes finds precarious factory work that requires him to wake up while everyone else is still sleeping and return home completely depleted of energy after dark, the measly "duros suplementarios" (72) that he makes from time to time is far from enough to feed his family. Yet, facing this problem would require him to accept his defeat as a successful male figure imposed by the Francoist cultural imaginary. Instead, he unleashes his frustration through mercifully beating his wife.

The violence that Juan imparts on Gloria is so severe from the outset that it seems as if it could not get much worse but it does, specifically when she reminds him of his failure to be a successful working husband and father. When Juan complains of not having enough money to buy himself new paint brushes, Gloria reminds him that his paintings that he has attempted to sell in a public plaza are "porquería" (95), a disavowal that sends him into a brewing spiral of rage. Although he contains his rage for a few hours, enough to detachedly get through dinner with the family, the night ends with him hurling Gloria into the bathtub after another violent fight with her. She resists by fighting back, kicking and screaming and biting her husband, but Juan ultimately defeats her limp body by showering her with ice water that chokes her when she opens her mouth to scream (96). Yet, unlike the ruthless wife-beater that he could easily be portrayed as, Juan consciously realizes that he has imposed harm upon his wife. As Gloria lies sobbing in the cold shower, Juan screams to his frail mother to take the child away so that he does not witness the scene. "¡Y tú mamá! ¡Llévate inmediatamente a ese niño donde no le vea o le estrello!" (96). Without interruption he subsequently turns to Andrea and chastises her for standing meekly in the corner: "¡A ver si sirves para algo en tu vida!...¡Trae una toalla!" (96).

Juan's desire to erase the situation he caused speaks to what Klaus Theweleit's polemical book *Male fantasies*, originally published in German in 1978, proposes that problematizes men living in a fascist society: they experience a constant corporeal battle that strives to erase the threat of the feminine by inserting the imagined desire of the masculine: "hardness, destruction, and self-denial" (xiii).⁸¹ Juan's incessant beating of Gloria can be read effectually as his attempt to erase the feminine from in and around himself where Gloria and her hyper-feminine demeanor represent the abject of the boundaries of the male ego. By admitting his failure as a masculine subject according to the fascist-inspired imagined notion of man, Juan would have to admit to his vulnerability and disillusioned ego and would have to recognize his life in the house on Aribau street as his jail; a space of castration and castigation for his feminine transgression.

In the Spain of the early years of the regime, Juan was far from an anomaly. The autarkic control that was essentially the state intervention in the 1940's, caused foreseeable deep ruptures in the economy. This led to skyrocketing levels of unemployment for both men and women alike as well as unabashed poverty infiltrating the heart of both rural and urban society. With poverty running rampant and the expansion of the black market exposing the true foundation of the national economy of the 1940's, proletarian men and women worked in the few sectors that provided them work. Not only did this spiral the working-class sectors of society into deep poverty and wretched working conditions, but it also interrupted the regime's family policy and its

⁸¹ I call this important volume of books "polemic" given the turn that Theweleit takes away from the Marxist, liberal tradition that tends to think of fascism through the lens of the other, as a reality that can only be seen through the lens of irrationality.

pronatalist strategy (Graham 186). This suspension sparked an active interventionist strategy on behalf of the regime that aimed to define the social and civic roles of its population.

Ethos building, for example, performed by the regime with the goal of uniting its peoples through the frame of desires, can be traced to Foucault's notion of the "techniques of the self," that are "those reflective and voluntary practices by which men not only set themselves rules of conduct, but seek to transform themselves, to change themselves in their singular being, and to make of their life into an *oeuvre* that carries certain aesthetic values and meets certain stylistic criteria" (10-11). While the autarkic regime in Spain required a certain self-regulation in the name of wholeness and masculine integrity, it became near impossible for the every-day man to maintain such a position in life. Juan can be read then, as a subject that represents this aporia of the political and who embodies the confluence of political mechanisms, desires, and repulsions. Unable to uphold public valor, he is banished to the privacy of the home and the home space functions for Juan as the site of inherent feminization that seeps into the masculine body as a somatic figure of external tensions.

Nada is one of various post-war literary texts written in Spain that reveal the home space in the wake of the failure or absence of the masculine. Camilo José Cela's *La familia de Pascual Duarte*, Ana María Matute's *Primera memoria*, Ana María Moix's *Julia*, Carmen Martín Gaité's *El cuarto de atrás* and Marcé Rodoreda's *La plaça del diamant* all speak to the problems generated through war that effect masculine subjectivities and that in turn, domesticate, subjugate, and oppress the feminine. In *La plaça del diamant*, for example, Natalia marries the very masculine forward Quimet and

consequently plunges into years of agony, suffering, and shadow work where she, like the doves that Quimet forces her to keep in the home, is trapped in a prison of cyclical violence, hunger, and depression. Natalia's only escape is through marrying a man whose livelihood, unlike that of her first husband, was not in danger of become precarious.

The more marginalized Quimet's life proves to be, the more that he finds solace in public appearance. He waves flags at marches, serves on street patrols during the war, and engages in public political discussions in favor of the nationalist takeover. This evolution in Quimet's character is coupled with Natalia's domestication and the regression of hers from that of the relatively content workingwoman before the war broke out, to the oppressed mother, fearful of her husband who is incapable of fulfilling his role as the masculine breadwinner. Michael Ugarte reads the transformation of Natalia and Quimet's characters as a manifestation of the failure of progressive and social classes to deal effectively with gender in the context of the particular historical moment that traversed the pre-war to the civil war's aftermath (312). Natalia, similar to Andrea in *Nada*, is unarguably the victim of the monstrous masculinities that take reign over the feminine lives. Both protagonists struggle to find their voices, as Emilie Bergmann first put it (141), and their husbands and male counterparts are the vile oppressors.

However, the tendency to focus on the silencing of women after the civil war in Spain, although vital to a necessary feminist reading, lacks a larger understanding of the masculine perpetrator. Mike Richards posits:

The basis of the Francoist 'New State' was founded on the systematic exclusion of what were seen as the socially unacceptable elements which had supported the

reforming Republican Popular Front electoral coalition of February 1936. The state would be constructed in the image of the 'crusade'---the myth of the Nationalist civil war effort as a struggle against 'anti-Spain' as represented by the Republic. (176)

Like in Nazi Germany, in Franco's Spain oppression of the feminine was a necessary evil for masculine survival. It was made very clear through Franco himself that only those capable of loving the Fatherland, of sweating and bleeding for it, and of pitching in to aid the larger goals of the common effort of nation building would be tolerated.

Although the Spanish Civil War was not ideologically fascist in nature, the politically imaginary of Spain traversed by hunger and poverty after the war was highly influenced by the axis powers and the unfolding of the autarky would, to a great extent, embrace the fascist ideology.⁸²

In both *Nada* and in *La Plaça del diamant*, the materiality of the home space functions as the platform upon which the tensions between masculinities and femininities and power and defeat are hyperbolically performed. Both homes could act as mimetic war zones, where uncanny objects and smells act as props. Inasmuch as Michael Ugarte proposes that, in *La Plaça del diamant*, "the non-functioning doorbell, leather wine jugs with diseased 'camellias growing in them,' " (308) amongst other rarities in the domestic space where Natalia finds exploitative work highlight the perspective of the working woman in times of war, I would add that the war seeps into

⁸² A part of this ideology in the context of Nazi Germany, as Klaus Theweleit posits, is that "feminized men are as repellent to the fascist mentality as masculinized women" (xix). The importance of maintaining strict gendered roles in society throughout fascist Europe was important for the mere survival of the individual.

the spaces of the home and in this case, Natalia's exploitation is the continuation of violence on behalf of the victors of the war.

In *Nada*, the first impression that Andrea reveals to her reader differs greatly from the idyllic bourgeois family home that she had recreated from her childhood. "Lo que estaba delante de mí era un recibidor alumbrado por la única y débil bombilla que quedaba sujeta a uno de los brazos de la lámpara, magnífica y sucia de telarañas, que colgaba del techo. Un fondo oscuro de muebles colocados unos sobre otros como en las mudanzas" (14-15). Although the narration rapidly switches to describe the frail grandmother, it will return to the state of the static, antiquated furniture and to the walls in the home to impress upon the reader that this is not a time of prosperity or peace. As Andrea washes her face the night of her arrival, she notices: "¡qué luces macilentas, verdosas, había en toda la casa!--se reflejaba el bajo techo cargado de telas de araña, y mi propio cuerpo entre los hilos brillantes del agua, procurando no tocar aquellas paredes sucias, de puntillas sobre la roñosa bañera de porcelana" (17). Later, observing the reality of her living quarters, vastly different from those that she had imagined prior to her arrival, she is surrounded by "...la sombra de los muebles que la luz de la vela hinchaba llenando de palpitations y profunda vida" (18). At this point, Andrea eerily notices the lifelike contours of the furniture and recalls: "Tenía miedo de meterme en aquella cama parecida a un ataúd" (18).

The uncomfortable placement and unkempt existence of the objects in the apartment metaphorizes to the home space as an extension of the war during a juncture when publicly, the war has been deemed as over. In doing so, it conjures images of the most famous artistic representation of the Spanish Civil War, Picasso's *Guernica*, where

the lone light fixture dangles lifelessly over the hyperbolic objects and figures. Without delving too far into the rich symbolism of Picasso's most famous response to the Civil War, it becomes clear that both works can be understood through Giorgio Agamben's notion of *stasis*, or civil war, and is referred to by Andrea the first night that she goes to bed. Reflecting on the horrendous people and space that took her in, she speaks of both animate and inanimate beings as "diabólico" (18). In *Guernica*, specifically the light bulb burning close to the agonizing horse blazes in the shape of a human eye, evoking the heat of the sun's rays but also the evil eye of the torturer who continues to be at war with the defeated resistance, long after the war is over.

The grotesque images unearthed by Andrea's fragmented memory evoke what Agamben reads as: "La *stasis* o guerra civile è, nella sua essenza, una <guerra nella famiglia>, che proviene dall'*oikos* e non dall'esterno. Proprio in quanto è connaturata alla famiglia, la *stasis* funge da suo rivelatore, ne attesta l'irriducibile presenza nella *polis*" (19).⁸³ *Stasis* is a synonym for "civil war" in which the perpetuation of war is performed by the family, not necessarily presupposing the backdrop of the urban space or, for the matter, of public space in general. It is, furthermore, a war that comes from within, as opposed to the common notion of civil war, which is typically conceived as an external civic matter.

Yet, though war is typically battled in order for one side to appropriate the political and social space of the city, the Spanish Civil War was largely fought in open fields and small towns (Seguín 1). As war, not just in the Spanish civil war, typically has

⁸³ All translations are my own: "*Stasis* or civil war is, in its essence, a <war within the family>, that originates in the *oikos*, and not from an external factor. Precisely because *stasis* is inherent to the family, it serves as a revelation of its irreducible presence in the *polis*."

a connotation of unfolding in large fields, evoking Salvador Dalí's *España* (1938), then Agamben's concept of *stasis* brings to bear the aftermath of the public confrontation that unfolds in the private sphere. Although the concept of the private space, or the *oikos*, is a space of deprivation, of inhumanity, or of barbarism, as Agament argues, "L'*oikos* è essenzialmente ambivalente: esso è, da una parte, un fattore di divisione e di conflitti, dall'altra è il paradigma che permette la riconciliazione di ciò che ha diviso" (18).⁸⁴ In other words, the home space can be considered as an unresolved space inasmuch as it functions simultaneously as a place of rest and retreat from the post-war city as it does a platform for the conflicts and divisions inherent in wartime. It is, in effect, the very podium that gives light to the impossibility of the end of war as a means of life. The soldiers, as Agamben suggests, are the family members living together inside the home space: "In quanto la guerra civile è connaturata alla famiglia - è, cioè, *oikeios polemos*, <<guerra in casa>> (16).⁸⁵ If times of peace are the times that bind the family members by blood, then times of war perpetually superimpose the first. As Nicole Loraux reads this space, it is "simultaneously partisanship, faction, sedition" (10).

In *Nada*, Andrea's testimony provokes a curiosity in her reader that not only pushes for a reflective contemplation of registers of truth about the forced divide between men and women, but also, of a bellic, hegemonic and hierarchical rift that exists behind the walls of the home. Mizrahi reads this second schism through the characters. They exist on automatic, or as the walking-dead, blindly accepting unquestioned values in order to eschew their reality. This behavior, she claims, forms part of a sacred cult in

⁸⁴ "The *oikos* is essentially ambivalent: that is, on the one hand, it is a factor in conflict and separation, but on the other, the paradigm that allows for the reconciliation of that what has been divided.

⁸⁵ Given that the civil war is inherent in the family, it is then an *oikeios polemos*, <<war in the home>>.

which every character “recae en el ancestral salvajismo del clan de hermanos caníbales que Freud describe en Tótem y Tabú” (18). Yet, as Agamben suggests, *stasis* is a subtle war, not a public announcement or civic duty, dovetailing neatly with Theweleit’s description of civil combat: “Civil combat is fundamentally more ruthless, more terroristic, than other forms...Since civil war takes places in the “interior” of the “totality,” its fronts can more easily be attributed to the names of the family totality” (2: 280). In this sense, the vile characters of the house on Aribau, living as aberrations of humanity, announce the very continuation of the war from the home. If linear iterations of determination, strength and precision represent “the code that consolidates...totality formations between men, such as ‘the nation’ ”(155) then the piles of furniture, the dirtiness, the cracks, the hanging objects, and the nonsymmetrical placement of things in the home act as a silent eruption against the nation. After all, as Theweleit suggests, civil is, one of the most perverse forms of battle, rupturing spatial harmony and linearity (280).

If the war is a constant inside of the home, then the only relief that the family members receive from the house on Aribau is in the street. While the home seemingly functions as a prison that hyperbolically reduces man's capacity for masculinity to the realm of the feminine, the public space, the plaza, the university, and the streets all seemingly symbolize liberation. When Juan is away at work, for example, Gloria consistently sneaks out to make money with her sister; Andrea finds solace in the plazas of the university; Román spends days upon days away from the house, no one in his

home aware of his whereabouts.⁸⁶ The home space proves unbearable for all of the characters aside from the grandmother, a notion that makes her quite possibly the most perverse character of all inasmuch that she never has the chance to find solace from the unyielding continuation of the war.

Perversity, then, is another tool that Andrea's family members use to resist the patriarchy. While much of the grotesque of the novel is overt, there are certain scenes that use perversity in a more subtle light. The storytelling, specifically that which includes tales of her two uncles during wartime for example, seemingly appears to be a calm and lucid moment between the women in the family. Andrea learns the specific details of her uncles' experiences in the war through a break in the narration that turns the rather straight-forward prose of *Nada* into a theatrical script, in which Gloria and the *abuela* speak over one another, finish each other's sentences, and piece together a fragmented story of Juan and Román during wartime. The performativity element of the narration evokes stimulation for Andrea, as prior to the narration changing into a script, Andrea laments about the boredom she experienced in the house on Aribau: "¡Cuántos días inútiles! Días llenos de historias, demasiadas historias turbias. Historias incompletas, apenas iniciadas e hinchadas ya como una vieja madera a la intemperie"

(35). The slow passage of time that irks Andrea is further imbued with non-linear stories,

⁸⁶ At a moment of climactical tension between Román, Ena, and Andrea, for example, the street offers great relief to Andrea. This scene takes place at the end of the novel when Andrea comes to understand that her uncle, Román, is harboring on killing both of them. Ena abruptly decided to leave, a moment that marks a deep wound in Roman's capacity to court her, sparking the veins on his head to bulge and Andrea to sense a dark, charged mood blanket over her uncle. No sooner does this happen does Andrea notice "de qué abultaba ahí" (186) in her uncle's pocket. This erotic gesture that evokes the bulge of the erect penis creeps in to Andrea's fantasy as a gun. As soon as she can blink, Andrea frantically screams for her friend to leave, generating a humorous moment for both Ena and Román, but a deeply embarrassing one for herself. To appease the heated situation, she runs out of the house to find some relief: "Así llegué a la calle, hostigada por la incontenible explosión de pena que me hacía correr, aislándome de todo" (187).

nonsensical narrations, and fragmented thoughts that as Mizrahi reads, brings us before a narrative of a trauma and that relives the memory of the protagonist in order to highlight the woman beyond the rational in the Francoist system (10). The lack of linearity in Andrea's tale about the stories told to her could be seen through a Freudian analysis of the narrator as incapable of progressing forward in her thought due to her traumatized past. In Mizrahi's reading, in order for Andrea to be able to arrive at the moment of liberation through her difficult journey of remembering, she must come to terms with the people that are responsible for her pain: "sus familiares, neuróticos habitantes de la casa de Aribau, cuya mala conciencia se purga mediante una violencia doméstica que a nuestra protagonista le resulta inasimilable" (18). The domestic violence that surrounds her in both her visual reality as well as through the memories imposed upon her through the fragmented storytelling is what scholarship has read as her capacity for trauma that she was able to confront in order to find her own path in life, hence, her so-called liberation at the end of the novel.

As Gloria and her *abuela* delve into the intricate but fragmented script of Juan and Román during the war, Gloria pauses to ask Andrea if she had fallen asleep. Andrea's response is that which ends the script form of the narration for the duration of the novel: "Yo no estaba dormida. Yo creo que recuerdo claramente estas historias. Pero la fiebre que me iba subiendo me atontaba. Mi cama estaba húmeda, los muebles en la luz grisácea, más tristes, monstruos y negros" (42). In this sense, if the fragmentation under which Andrea comes to terms with the memories that she, with the help of her family, reconstructs while living in the house on Aribau is painful to bear, it is also the unfolding of intricate layers of reality through the stories she listens to that impose a

theatrical value to the inanimate objects of the house, that recreate war scenes through their shadows, evoking, again, *Guernica*. This occurs while Andrea enters into an oneiric state of being lulled to sleep by the voices of her *abuela* and Gloria, as they develop their chronologically different tales that converge in the lives of Román and Juan.

The *abuela* begins the stream of consciousness script by relating her memories of her sons' youth, about how Román and Juan loved each other beyond the love that typically exists between siblings. She paints them to be, from the depths of her frail mind, the conservative, Francoist image of perfection: ABUELA. ---"...Los domingos iban a misa conmigo y con tu abuelo...En el colegio, si algún chico se peleaba con uno de ellos, ya estaba el otro allí para defenderle" (36). If, for the regime, men were meant to be brave subjects whose goal lied in the defense of their own, then the *abuela* recreates their past life through this lens of masculinity. The image of the God-fearing, brave young men is immediately interrupted by Gloria, through her evocation of another image of Juan, years later, in a pivotal moment of defeat: GLORIA. -- "¿Tú sabías que Juan quiso ser militar y, como le suspendieron en el ingreso de la Academia, se marchó a África, al Tercio, y estuvo allí muchos años? (36). This spiteful piece of information that Gloria relates to Andrea can be read as a fracturing of the past; a clue as to arrive at the current state of Juan's miserable and vile existence. It is also, more importantly, her only weapon against Juan's violence.

That is, if Juan once showed potential to be the poster child for a masculine imaginary, then Gloria's comment violently ruptures with this moment, paving way for a life of setbacks. The act of attending the *Tercio* would have been an invitation of masculine recuperation given that traditionally, the *legión* was the refuge of desperate

criminals and misfits.⁸⁷ By not being admitted into the military academy at all, Juan is further expelled from the masculine imaginary inasmuch as he was never even given a chance to succeed as was expected of young men like him. This is a loss that he will spend the rest of his young adult life attempting to recuperate through fatalism and violence against feminine infiltration. In this sense, every violent blow, every beating, and every near-death experience that Juan imparts on Gloria is, after all, a blow to himself and his incapability of performing the role of the masculine subject that participates in the civic matters of political, social, and cultural life in the public sphere.⁸⁸

The collective stream of consciousness that allow for the grandmother and for Gloria to morph into one mind, helps Andrea arrive at the truth held in the walls on the house on Aribau. Picking up from Gloria's question regarding Andrea's knowledge of Juan's failure to be admitted into the military academy, the *abuela* interjects with a memory of her son returning from Africa: "ABUELA. -- Cuando volvió, trajo muchos cuadros de allí...tu abuelo se enfadó cuando dijo que se quería decidir a la pintura" (36). This rather innocent memory recalls Juan's initial failure to perform the masculine role

⁸⁷ I'd like to thank Ignacio Javier López for this anecdote.

⁸⁸ Gender performance is a concept that has been more than famously fleshed out by Judith Butler in her book *Gender Trouble* (1990) that radically changed the way that gender studies is thought in academic discourse. Followed by publications such as Judith Halberstam's *Female Masculinity*, for example, the discourse provoked by Butler speaks to the performativity of masculinity in queer bodies, a trope that, in the late nineties was still understudied. Yet, in the positive aftermath of a field that wished to rethink the concept of gender, heteronormative masculinities were swept away from critical interest. Masculinities, as a field in itself, never fully took off the way that gender and queer studies have. This is for good reason given that heteronormative masculinities have lied at the heart of hegemonic cultural and national construction. However, the problem, I find, with Judith Butler's legacy on understanding gender is that while it degrades the heteronormative male figure in the name of questioning patriarchy, it painstakingly ignores the social and cultural precursors to the realization of heteronormative violence, placing a diabolic blame on the male abuser. In culturally fending off the male abuser and by not looking deeper into the social implications of *machismo* and domestic violence, then a deep social problem, far from only being localized in Spain or in the years that my dissertation studies, is ignored.

of the soldier on the battlefield, leading him to a more transgressive path in life as an artist.

Juan's artistic turn can be precisely understood through Agamben's understanding of the act of creation. For Agamben, the notion of the act of creation as a broad act of resistance is implicit in the very suspension of action through the capability of potentiality. In other words, his core argument is not that resistance belongs to a specific form or content but rather, in every process of art making, the artist cannot but perceive the work as the resistance to the real (*The Fire and the Tale* 33). In fleshing out this nuanced signification, Agamben arrives at a decisive point that places the act of creation in the wide sphere, separating potentiality and impotentiality:

Potentiality is an ambiguous being that not only is both capable of something and its opposite, but contains in itself and intimate and irreducible resistance. If this is the case, we then need to look at the act of creation as a field of forces stretched between potentiality and impotentiality, being capable to act and to resist and being capable not to act and not to resist. (41)

While Juan's decision to become an artist could be read as a calculated defense against the law, it is more useful to understand it as an ambiguous refusal to subject himself to the surveillance machine born from the law, while simultaneously refusing the act of resistance to mean his own death, through war or other means. In this sense, Juan's turn to painting is an act of resistance inasmuch as the creation of the image can be seen as the possibility of potential. If, under Francoism, the image of masculinity was painted through the implementation of the imagination of the dictatorship, then as Agamben writes: "Painting is the suspension and exposition of the potentiality of the gaze" (48); In

the act of creating form, as the act of painting does, Juan brings to bear a second imagination that shatters the first, through a simultaneous potentiality of his art and the impotentiality of his failure as a soldier. The home space then, is cancelled as the site of the dissemination of the Francoist doctrine; it destroys the first to support a new site of potential creation.

It comes as no surprise that Román too, in the present narration of the book, is an artist, a musician to be exact and, as Gloria and the grandmother discuss, was once a spy for the Nationalists. "¿Tú sabes que Román tenía un cargo importante con los rojos? Pero era un espía, una persona baja y ruin que vendía a los que le favorecieron" (38). This memory shared by both daughter-in-law and mother-in-law is a reconstruction from the past life of Román that, as the narration reveals, is no longer Román's reality. Sitting inside of the apartment, Gloria remembers that during the time that she met Román, nobody truly lived in a home--everyone was on the run (38). The time of public fear was also a moment when both Juan and Román had viable positions in the war. Gloria remembers: "Yo no sé bien cual era el cargo que tenía Juan, pero también era importante" (38). It was also a moment when Juan and Gloria were happy together: "Era una vida maravillosa, Andrea, Juan era completamente feliz conmigo, te lo juro, y entonces estaba guapo, no como ahora, que parece un loco..." (38). Both Juan and Román are performed in memory as typical figures of masculine power.

The performativity of the storytelling results in a meta-performativity of masculinity played by the two brothers, which strikes a dissonant chord with the feminization of their character, presiding throughout the entire narrative inside the home space. In turn, it is precisely the feminization imposed on their characters that both Juan

and Román strive to undo, through performance of violence throughout the novel. This dynamic is clear the first time that Andrea meets Juan, the night that she arrives to the house on Aribau, when Juan steps forward, followed by his wife Gloria (15). Gloria does not present herself to Andrea, but rather, is introduced by Juan as part of his property. Holding her shoulders firmly, Juan interjects *¿No conoces a mi mujer, Andrea?* (16), asserting his authority and possession over his wife from the very first encounter with his niece. This authority, as the narration will play out, morphs into constant extreme violence against his wife where Juan will repeatedly demand respect from her and will only stop short of killing her: "Yo soy el único de esta casa a quien ella tiene que pedir permiso, el que se lo concede...." (71) is a phrase that will come out of Juan's mouth in various iterations either before or after beating her in front of his newborn child.

As Shelley Godsland writes, "motivations for intimate partner aggression can allegedly be "humiliation" and the removal of men from their preeminent socioeconomic function..." (56). While Gloria's body undergoes the deepest class of victimization of all, Juan's failure and his attempt to recuperate a masculine image for himself speaks to how the perpetuation of domestic violence must be seen as a symptom of victimization in itself. In *Nada*, the narration invokes the force of the irrational, inflated super ego of the family members, specifically that of the male family members, whose castration from the patriarchal model lends itself to the outbursts of violence that occur on Aribau daily. Specifically, Román's character is painted with a deep superiority complex, or an illusion to such a position, as to not have to face the reality of his authentic existence both inside the building above the house on Aribau and on the street.

For example, the first time that Andrea notices her uncle Román, he is distinct looking from the skeletal frame of her uncle Juan: "Un hombre con el pelo rizado y la cara agradable e inteligente se ocupaba de engrasar una pistola al otro lado de la mesa" (24). Román immediately embraces Andrea with a firm hug full of *cariño*. Directly behind Román pants Trueno, his faithful dog, shadowed by a parrot that Román, takes out of the cage in Andrea's honor. Uncle and niece exchange pleasantries in this moment of meeting that is enhanced by the presence of the animals.

Mizrahi reads Román's character in light of Hannah Arendt's theory on radical perversity of totalitarian systems as one of "the manipulators of this system [that] believe[s] in their own superfluosness as much as in that of all others, and [...] are all the more dangerous because they do not care if they themselves are alive or dead...(443). This violence is a direct consequence of Román's inability to faithfully follow the instructive and narrow path that the regime laid out for men of his age. The devastatingly hostile characters that Román portrays is what can considered in Freudian terms to be "tragic guilt" that exemplifies the fall from the sacred mold of the family or from the desire to embody family values. These sets of norms were inherent in the Nationalist model of virility, war, and chivalry that as Mizrahi suggests are tyrannically imposed on marginal subjects (18).

The violent streaks of both Román and Juan typically unfold against women. Román spirals out of control when he senses judgment coming from other family members. This can be initially seen during Andrea's first morning waking up on Aribau Street, her gaze turns to the door in a strong desire to escape while witnessing a heated confrontation between her two uncles. The problems begin abruptly as Román notices

his brother's wife, Gloria, staring at him, unsolicited. As quickly as Román calmly greets his niece, he spirals into a fit of rage against Gloria. "Pero ¿has visto qué estúpida esa mujer?" (24), he screams for all to hear. Román's violent outburst at the gaze of his sister-in-law is symptomatic of his repulsion against the act of being observed. For it is through his family's gaze that his failures to uphold his masculine role as bread winner and civic participant creep out from behind the facade that he has built for himself.

In fact, Román cannot handle the familial gaze to the extent that he lives separate from the family, above them to be exact, in an attic that allows for his vantage point to be superior to theirs. He deems the gaze of his family, especially that of the women in his family, to be censorial. As Johnson argues, "in regard to the operation of the gaze, *Nada* seems to suggest that the patriarchal bourgeois family cannot function without surveillance to keep the sexuality of its members under control and its property in the right hands (85). When present in the house on Aribau, Román consistently has to dodge the censuring of his sister, Angustias, who while still living there, reminds him that his "sentido moral deja bastante que desear" (50), and Gloria, who knows too much about Román's past, about the money that he owes to his brother Juan, about his failed attempts at courting her, and overall, about his transgressive slips and failures during the civil war.

Román, like Juan, has internalized these images of masculinity and uses them as tools to mask his inability to mimic them in the public spaces. Instead, from the privacy of the family house, he employs masculine gestures in order to breakdown the very same bourgeois structure that he has failed to uphold. When disagreeing his brother, a normal spat between family members instantaneously escalates to violence. During the same

instance that Román's mood shifts drastically under Gloria's gaze, he provokes his brother to pick up the pistol lying on the table and to shoot him: "¡Pégame, hombre, si te atreves!...¡Me gustaría que te atrevieras! (25). Román's inclination toward anger-induced violence is typically subdued by his proclivity toward flirtation with women. In fact, whether it is the coquetry he performs with Gloria or the suggestive slyness he imposes upon Andrea, Román mechanically preys upon women throughout the novel in order to further escape facing his own vulnerability.

In part three of *Nada*, for example, in the rather surprising memory that Andrea's university friend Ena's mother exposes to her about her youthful passion for Román, she relates the disturbing moment when Román confronts her about his memory of her sending him a piece of her hair that he had previously asked for: her long and thick braid that had become icon of her youthful identity and beauty: "--Tengo lo mejor de ti en casa. Te he robado tu encanto--luego concluyó impaciente--: ¿Por qué has hecho esa estupidez, mujer? ¿Por qué eres como un perro para mí? (171). This quote, only a small fragment of the story that Andrea endures in a café across the street from her family's apartment, reveals three major tropes that have been studied in different variations and complexities in regards to the novel: the home, cruel masculinity, and animality. Aside from the obvious animals that coexist in Andrea's family's apartment--Román's dog *Trueno*, a bird and a cat--Kathleen M. Glenn is the first critic to delve into the animal imagery in the grotesque characters amongst whom Andrea lives. For Glenn, the animal imagery employed in Laforet's novel stands far from contemporaries of Laforet such as Ramón Pérez de Ayala or Camilo José Cela. In fact, she suggests that the melding of

human and animal in *Nada* has no philosophical implication other than enhancing the colors of the characters themselves (394).

I'd like to argue that the animal/human blurring is an important element in this novel. Mizrahi points to the intertextuality of the deformed human-animal that can be traced, in Hispanism, from Goya, to Valle-Inclán, to Cela. In doing so, she is the first recent critic to do an extensive close reading on Román's problematic character. In her analysis, Román flirts with an illusion of superiority in the house on Aribau and rehearses his imagined role through his music:

Román usa su ilusión de superioridad y su música como significantes (fetiches o máscaras) para encubrir no sólo su complejo castración sino también su miedo al vacío de la *nada* (el *néant* sartreano evocado en el título de la obra) que tampoco tiene el coraje de reconocer...porque no quiere hacerse cargo de su auténtica existencia, tomando en manos las riendas de su propio destino. (41-42)

Through a thorough Freudian analysis of the complicated castration of Román, a frustrated yet masculine character emerges from behind masks and doors where he hides in order to eschew the gaze of the other. From this perception of Román, his character is that of a ferocious male who degrades all around him in the name of articulating his own masculinity. In accepting Ena's mother's braid, for example, Román is degrading the feminine in order to erase the threat of attraction that could essentially unmask his own facade of superiority. As Mizrahi suggests, accepting the braid of Margarita is a humiliating act of mutilation that evokes the cutting of hair of the women associated with the Republicans in public plazas during the war (39).

Yet, as the war has ended in the public space, the home is initially Román's site of defeat. In this sense, Román must live apart from the rest of his family, so that he does not have to be reminded of his loss: "...se había hecho arreglar un cuarto en las guardillas de la casa, que resultó un refugio confortable" (31). In doing so, he is able to escape the maintenance of sexuality and morality from the inside of the home, while he remains captive within the home's walls and objects. He himself is aware of this, or at least, is so unconsciously. In the same breath that he describes the grandness of the *Pirineos* to his niece, Román recoils back into himself and in an introverted gesture confesses: "No sé por qué no puedo amar a la Naturaleza; tan terrible, tan hosca y magnífica como es a veces...Yo creo que he perdido el gusto por lo colosal. El tictac de mis relojes me despierta los sentidos más que el viento en los desfiladeros...Yo estoy cerrado, concluyó (51). While the house functions as his permanent jail, it is also a space of perverse manipulation that Román conquers masterfully. From the heights of his attic space, he strongly believes that he has a certain mystical power over the rest of his family and that Andrea is the only person that could understand his otherness, as she too possesses her own:

La primera vez que toqué el violín para ti, yo estaba temblando por dentro de esperanza, de una alegría tan terrible cuando tus ojos cambiaban con la música...Pensaba pequeña, que tú me ibas a entender hasta sin palabras; que tú eras mi auditorio, el auditorio que me hacía falta...Y tú no te has dado cuenta siquiera de que yo tengo que saber--de que de hecho sé--todo, absolutamente todo, lo que pasa abajo. Todo lo que se siente Gloria, todas las ridículas historias de Angustias, todo lo que sufre Juan...¿Tú no te has dado cuenta de que yo los

manejo a todos, de que dispongo de sus vidas, de que dispongo de sus nervios, de sus pensamientos... (67)

The emotional violence and manipulation that he imposes upon the family members in various iterations from within the domestic space of the home is a direct response to a lack that he possesses, a lack that inflates his desire to function in the civic world that has consistently disregarded his participation. He lacks a public audience, as he emotionally tells his niece, in his hope that she would be that for him, a desire that Theweleit addresses as inherent in the ethos of mass masculinities (xii). When this sensuous component of the fascist male body, that is the possibility of performance, is missing from the corporal and physical self, a lack forms. It is Román's expression of resentment, hurt, and resistance that is melded together in an annunciation of his masculine incapability. Roman's long absences from the house, his frustrated music composition, his preying on young university women--Andrea and Ena--and his mysterious character implies a absence in his subjectivity that he consistently tries to fill, a void that skirts on the linking between suffering and debt. Yet his bond with his family is still strong and when questioned he will jump to their defense, even if the defense does not paint the family in a positive light. When Andrea innocently asks him if he has friends, Román coldly replies: "No...Yo no soy un hombre de amigos. Ninguno de esta casa necesita amigos. Aquí nos bastamos a nosotros mismos. Ya te convencerás de ello" (66).

If the grotesqueness of the house on Aribau is, amongst other things, a community, the question arises as to what binds this group of people together? Why do they continuously come back to cohabitate between the same walls that have caused so

much harm to so many? The answer lies, in part, in Roberto Esposito's notion of community, inasmuch that it points to a debt, or a lack. For Esposito:

The semantic disparity registered in this making homologous of *res publica* and *communitas* concerns, on the one hand, the excessive vagueness of the attribute *publica*, but especially on the other hand, the quality of the *res*. What is the "thing" that the members of the community have in common and is it really "something" positive? Is it a good; is it wealth? Interest perhaps?...*Communitas*, is not the totality of persons united not by a "property" but precisely by an obligation or a debt; not by an "addition" or "subtraction": but by a lack..." (5-6)

If *common* as the root of the latin words implies is that "what is not proper [*proprio*]" (3), it is then that what belongs to a group, and not to an individual. In this sense, the house on Aribau, through its vile existence, is built on lack. It problematizes the classic duality of public vs. private inasmuch as it stands in direct opposition the *res publica*, as opposed to the "rather dubious homology between *communitas* and *res publica*" (6). While the family members spend their day-to-day attempting to fill the lack, Andrea is the only one who is seemingly able to do so at the end of the novel.

The reasons why scholarship has read Andrea's departure from the house on Aribau as an act of liberation are obvious. As I described in the opening of this essay, they are contrived from conceiving *Nada* as a coming-of-age memoir. If the family members and the very materiality of the home caused such trauma and manifested horrid nightmares for Andrea as she blossoms into a young woman, to read this novel through the lens of a feminine departure and growth is productive. Yet, it becomes clear through penetrating the deeper layers of this rich text that there is room for diverging criticism.

More than the familiar reading of *Nada* as Andrea's struggle for autonomy and freedom from the shackles of her family ties, as Emilie Bergmann amongst many other scholars have proposed, *Nada* offers a space to question this rather obvious reading.

That is, I'd like to suggest that Andrea's departure at the end of the novel could only take place after Román's suicide, which in itself, could only occur as a consequence of his humiliation beyond repair. Given his superiority complex and beliefs that he was the family manipulator, Ena's arrival in his life and subsequent meetings with him leads Andrea's uncle to face his demise, a spiraling of events that opens to a deeper revelation of Ena's opposition to the community on Aribau. Quite simply, Ena outsmarts Román as a spy from the other side, from the other home space: from her home and from the contours of the characters that reside there; the perfect family as spelled out by the Francoist discourse.

Ena does not attempt to get to know Román from the offset of the novel. On the contrary, she builds a hierarchical friendship with Andrea who is consistently beholden to her whimsical behavior. Through the superiority complex that Ena holds over her, Andrea never vocally acknowledges her discomfort as her friend begins to frequent Román's attic room. When explaining her sly conduct to Andrea, for example, Ena interjects: "--¡Ah! ¡Qué placer! Saber que alguien te acecha, que cree tenerte entre sus manos, y escaparte tú, dejándolo burlado...¡Qué juego extraño!...Román tiene un espíritu de pocilga, Andrea. Es atractivo y es un artista grande, pero en el fondo, ¡qué mezquino y soez!" (190). Ena's behavior mirrors what Gloria and the *abuela* discuss with Andrea about Juan's position in the army during the Civil War: he was a spy whose retreat inside the house on Aribau never allowed him to fully come face to face with his erasure from

the public line of importance. In turn, Ena's seductive plan, that she reveals was an innocent, adolescent desire to get to know a man that her mother was once in love with (190), tricked Román, who believed that his music would have the power to seduce her and that he had power over the people he chose to allow into his community. He naively imagined that Ena was part of his community, and that his music--his art and his weapon against the patriarchy--would irrevocably but magnetically attract her.

Theweleit states that "the line between...the soldiering man and the male fantasy are inherently blurred" (xiii) and can cause humiliation deeply wound up in sexual fantasies and ideology. For Román, his consequent entrapment in reality must immediately result in his own death, which, as the narration unfolds, is a fatal bullet to his heart. It comes as no surprise that the maid of the house, Antonia, finds Román "[*degollado*] con la navaja de afeitar" (199). Although it is not ever blatantly stated in the text, it can be inferred that Román committed suicide with the very tool that marks a man's success and order, ironically, a razor blade: "Arriba estaba Román tendido, sangriento, con la cara partida por el rictus de los que mueren condenados" (201).

Román's death evokes an array of masculine subjects born from Spanish cultural production destined to die at the hands of society, Pascual from Camilo José Cela's *La familia de Pascual Duarte*, being an important one. This is one of the highly contested novels to be written in the Spanish canon inasmuch as to this day, scholarship remains divided as to Pascual's motivations, whether they are social or ontological. Karen Breiner-Sanders, following a social justification of Pascual's actions, claims that the protagonist of this highly contested novel is, indeed, a political victim. "La novela sostiene la intención del autor que, según nuestro parecer, es la de sugerir la parte de

culpa que tiene la sociedad en la formación de un criminal" (143). Like Pascual, Román had to die because he was defeated by the very social institutions that his vile character symbolically contended. Both Román and Juan in *Nada* are victims of their surroundings whose *duelo* hyperbolically morphs into their violent characters.

La Familia de Pascual Duarte and *Nada*, through the *tremendismo* of the first and the grotesque of the second, are enormously ironic texts, which in the tradition of Sartre and Camus, create a deeply pessimistic existential message to the reader. This message is more blatantly visible in *Nada* from its very title. *Nada*, or nothing, conjures the emptiness from the rejection of all authority, that being conceived as God, human or moral. Through a historical understanding of Nietzschean nihilism, one could say, as Nitzan Lebovic has:

The evolution of the concept of nihilism up until today demonstrates that the concept of nihilism is situated in the crowded crossroad between nothingness, the undermining of authority, the negation of the I, the inherent ambivalence of meaning, the suspension of time, the Death of God, and the end of metaphysics.

(2)

From the space of the house on Aribau, destruction is the only legitimate force left in the face of Franco's Spain. It's walls and its inhabitants undermine the members of Ena's family, whose perfection symbolize the Francoist imagined state and the house itself functions as a communal whole. Every member works in tandem to participate in the annihilation of the meaning of life. The home on Aribau is the critical project that allows for the war to continue, in the form of a *stasis*, both as a suspension and equilibrium, and yet in its demolition it upholds its position in direct opposition to Ena's home, where

order, beauty, and peace reign over the family. In this sense, the house on Aribau can be seen as a political nihilist space, that is, the site of a project that strives for an absolute new beginning by bringing death to the sovereign (2). This allows moving beyond the impossible impasse that the sovereign state has plagued upon its people. Andrea's fragmented memories, the contradictory actions performed by the family members, the dank and death-like furniture in the home, and the skeletal figures that reside there, all signal the progression toward a communal, detrimental goal from within the home. The ending of *Nada*, as I read it, is not a move toward Andrea's liberation but rather a chilling defeat of the political nihilist project of the home.

I'd like to conclude then, by proposing that Andrea's character herself foreshadows this layered reading, the possibility of understanding the house on Aribau as a nihilistic space, in the fourth chapter of the book, prior to being lulled to an oneiric state by the stream of consciousness of her grandmother and Gloria: "Poco a poco me había ido quedado ante mis propios ojos en un segundo plano de la realidad" (35). While the intricate characters that live in the house on Aribau offer material for critical investigation in themselves, the abhorrent contours and shapes of the home and its objects present a second level of critical examination that this novel permits, one that by diverging from the perspective that reads Andrea as a character of liberation, opens to a deeper and more politically motivated agenda. In doing so, it questions the apparent closure of the civil war, disrupting the boundaries that tend to conceptualize and dichotomize the temporality of war and peace as well the spatial configuration of private and public. More than just one of the most highly acclaimed novels to hail from the Spanish canon, *Nada* is a work of anti-canon, a work that demolishes and destroys the

standard novel. If canonical literature is typically that which is "determined by the interests of the powerful (Culler 234) during a "considerable part of the matter of history" (244), then Carmen Laforet's masterpiece lies in this realm that pushes against the stronghold of literature. In its layered registers and points of entry, *Nada* forges a turn from literature as art that supports the rigid values of the hegemonic and hierarchical system that governs the logic of patriarchy, canon, and readership. Like the fortress constructed through the walls of the home, *Nada* is a monument of resistance.

EPILOUGE: Exclusive Inclusion: Domesticity and the Turn to the Twenty-first Century Spanish Home

This past May, I had the pleasure of attending a conference in Rome titled *All'ombra del Leviatano: tra biapolitica e posthegemonia* in which scholars and philosophers from Italy, Spain and the Americas breached various questions regarding the place of politics in our current neoliberal times. On the second day of the presentations, a researcher in political theory and comparative public law, Giuseppe Allegri, gave a talk on what he referred to as *il quinto stato*, or the fifth estate, in times of post democracy.⁸⁹ For Allegri, the fifth estate refers to a new kind of proletariat, but one without any consciousness of class. It is made of stateless people, he said, the outcast 'precariat' of Europe that has come to be understood as "the included outcast" that never emerges from the grey area between work and non-work. He went on to explain that this stateless person of the Fifth Estate is a puzzle to contemporary citizenship and is specific to the current power shifts occurring between national governments and global institutions. During his talk, Allegri pressed upon the fact that the subjects of *il quinto stato* are people who are not represented by a political community because their citizenship is without a state. In arguing this point, he explained that the state does not recognize their social and civic participation.

Although the long and detailed panels did not leave much time for questions, I could not help asking myself: is this stateless person truly an emerging subject specific

⁸⁹ For more on *il quinto stato* see <https://www.opendemocracy.net/can-europe-make-it/giuseppe-allegri-roberto-ciccarelli/what-is-fifth-estate>.

to contemporary times? Or, could it very well be the mother, the care keeper, the wife, or the shadow worker whose toil is realized from inside the home unrecognized by the State as work? Is this new less-than-a-subject, rather than a product of the merging spheres of state and economy not but an age-old subjectivity that, since Ancient Greece, allowed for the smooth establishment of the public and civic spheres, permitting the formation of political states in the first place?

The pages of my dissertation address this topic, one that has been pertinent to the foundation and establishment of Western culture since ancient Greece. Aristotle's understanding of the home as the space where marginalized subjects, such as the Metic or the slave "resided" or "domiciled" outside of the political domain in ancient Athens (xi), is a model that has been imitated and appropriated throughout the history of the Western World into the present. As I have demonstrated, it is particularly pertinent to the processes of urbanization in Spain during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Ana Alvareda's retreat inside the aristocratic home in *La familia de Alvareda* foreshadows the retraction of women's civic agency that will prevail throughout the long nineteenth century. Her exit from the well-traversed public spaces of the novel coincides with literary metaphorization of turning away from traditional forms of life. The drying of the orange blossom tree in the Alvareda garden dovetails with Don Román's exodus to the city from the countryside in *Don Gonzalo González de la Gonzalera*, as well as with the disappearance of *el sombrero de tres picos*, in Alarcón's short novel titled the same.

Female figures like Ana Alvareda will reemerge oppressed by patriarchal demands. As my dissertation reconstructs, while the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries paved the way for equality in the workforce in Spain, the woman's role in the

home remained metonymically akin to the slave's role in Ancient Greece, considered to lack the ability to possess reason (Aristotle xii), and to be an "animate instrument or assistant in the sphere of action" (xi). While the citizen in Spain, through its uneven modernization, could be defined as the subject formed in the private sphere in order to succeed in the public sphere, the privacy of the home could also easily vacillate between a space of rest and a prison. As much as Fortunata, for example, yearns to become "domesticated" in order to reap the benefits of the bourgeois home life, she cannot quite mold herself to the submissive rigidity that such a life entails. While Gloria (blissfully content as the spiritual caretaker of her *hogar* prior to the arrival of Daniel Morton), transforms from the elevated *ángel* to the fallen one, she questions the functionality of the cyclical and traditional lifestyle once the docile female figure has been removed.

Though Gloria may foreshadow the reconfiguration of the woman's domestic role in society, as my chapters unfold, during the early twentieth century in Spain, women continued to be perceived as the natural and responsible *ángeles del hogar*. Through the expansion of cosmopolitan centers, the home space remained a sacred retreat where order, peace, and wellbeing were negotiated through an economy of rest and recovery dictated by the social values of the rising bourgeoisie. Invisibility of homecare continued to be the very premise upon which labor (work) in the public sphere was able to smoothly continue forward. In this light, Unamuno's Tula and Chacel's fragmented *yo-narrador* loudly mark their deviant stances regarding this invisibility precisely through their visibility.

While Tula wishes to transgress norms implicit in the intricacies tied to the child bearing and child rearing processes and consequently, bring to bear a radical critique on

domesticity that elevates women's biological possibilities beyond the public eye, Chacel reveals a split-gender protagonist that complicates the gendered dichotomy at the heart of the modern conception of work and non-work. In this way, they are both responding to the lack of civic clout that the home space retained far into the twentieth century. Even through the wave of women's liberation movements, men were still conceived as more public creatures and women, more private. Despite the countless local movements that had promoted universal change dominating the shifts of Western civilization toward gender equality, women continued to bear the burden of the domestic space while juggling the needs and changes brought about by capitalism.

Elisa and Enrique in Carmen de Burgos' "La flor de la playa" are the quintessential couple that bears witness to the gender inequalities lurking in the groundbreaking progress toward women's rights. While Enrique rests at the beach during their long-desired vacation that they have both earned, Elisa finds herself stuck performing "shadow work," or the underappreciated and uncompensated toil that is paradoxically necessary for functionality of public spaces outside the home. Moreover, while "shadow work" is conceived as a woman's natural position to subsume, it is nevertheless a punishment for men who struggle to uphold their imagined position as the breadwinner of the family, a stance that transcends ideology throughout the twentieth century. In *Surcos*, for example, the father of the Pérez family is punished with domestic work in the kitchen upon being fired from various jobs outside of the home. "Shadow work" as an emasculating force aids in the creation of the vile characters of Juan and Román in Carmen Laforet's *Nada* as well. Nevertheless, whether men or women perform it, non-compensated work has been sidestepped by both Marxist and capitalist critiques

of political economy that divergently posit the centrality of the proletariat as the central subject of historical change.

At a first glance, Spain offers just one case study within modernity that sheds light on the crisis of care that has stunted the possibilities of sustainability since the advent of capitalism. As Silvia Federici brilliantly addresses, the establishment of capitalism throughout Western Europe was made possible through the appropriation and exploitation of the female body and its possibilities. Global capitalism bears witness to the mutation of such possibilities that are just recently surfacing as topics of debate throughout the Western world. On February of 2016, for example, the New York Times published an article written by Clair Cain Miller titled "Society Pays When Women's Work is Unpaid," one of many articles regarding the separation of remunerated and non-remunerated work throughout global capitalist culture that have recently appeared in prominent publications.⁹⁰ In this specific article, the issue of unbalanced responsibilities between men and women, through a transcontinental lens, brings the topic of domestic work into the global arena of our current times. Yet the inherent inferiority that domestic care possesses in the Spanish home as the very pillar of progress, as my dissertation suggests, holds much more specific consequences for the unfolding of modernity into contemporary times in the Iberian Peninsula.

By contemporary times, I am referring to the era influenced by the financial crisis in Spain that was caused in its greatest part by the *burbuja inmobiliaria*, or the real estate bubble-turned-meltdown that became an international topic of worried debate. That is, by 2007, eighty-seven out of every one hundred Spaniards were homeowners, a much

⁹⁰ *El País*, The Huffington Post, The Atlantic, and The Washington Post are all global periodicals that too have published on the false rift between remunerated and non-remunerated work.

higher number than that of The United States or United Kingdom. Even more, some thirty-five out of every one hundred Spaniards owned two or more properties at this same time (López and Rodríguez 10). As Isidro López and Emmanuel Rodríguez note, "Antes de la debacle de 2008, la economía española era objeto de una particular admiración por parte de los analistas occidentales" (1). While Spain was a country of awe for the rest of the Western world, ironically, the real estate boom and consequent crash of 2008 began under the most austere political rule Spain had ever experienced.

The complexity of the sensational financial meltdown that shocked the world can be traced, as López and Rodríguez note, to the global representation of Spain born in the early nineties, which evokes economic prosperity, real estate expansion and cultural branding. This disseminated image catalyzed an obfuscation of imperative warning signs that rendered its reality impossible. In laying out their argument, López and Rodríguez recur to an urban imperialism [*sic*] that creates a meticulously pigeonholed ideal of cities such as Barcelona with the aim of gaining revenue through tourism in tandem with the housing boom, placing human life at the service of capital.

The dire and precarious consequences of the boom in regards to the disposal of human life have been fleshed out in academic debates from various interwoven perspectives. In cultural studies, the acknowledgment of a certain "*nosotros*," that speaks to *la generación perdida*, or the lost generation of Spaniards that, in spite of having access to the highest education of any generation in Spain, struggle to garner a future for themselves, let alone the possibility of forming a family, due to a dearth of possibilities of work, stability, and life as a consequence of the bursting of the real estate bubble (Moreno-Caballud, "La imaginación sostenible" 547). This generation of thirty-

some things, now going on forty, has been important for a young cohort of writers and directors who emerged together in their recuperation of a periphery, or of places that traditionally evade the spotlight in fictional representations and that help scholars and thinkers highlight the dire social climate of the generation, not to mention the massive exodus of millions of foreign laborers that arrived in Spain to work in the newly emerging sector of home care. Books such as *El Sur: instrucciones de uso* (Silvia Nanclares, 2009), and *Paseos con mi madre* (Javier Pérez Andújar, 2011), and filmic comics such as *Españistán* (2011) and *Simiocracia* (2012), both created by Aleix Saló (548), form part of this generation of cultural production that have highlighted the spaces of intimacy, such as the home, marginalized by the greater forces of the global economy that Spain had surrendered itself to during the second half of the Francoist dictatorship.

What these diverse works of cultural production also have in common is their ability to bring to light the caustic scaffolding of cultural hierarchies and cultural authority. This rigid structuration of society can be studied from the domestic space of the home. An example of this can be found at the opening of Luis Moreno Caballud's recently published *Culturas de Cualquiera* (2017), where he offers a brief anecdote of seven women who, in the Malasaña neighborhood of Madrid, have taken over an abandoned building that has not had occupancy for seven years. These women, one of them pregnant, are not squatters since they do not make any effort to hide their housing situation. As Moreno-Caballud describes, from their windows fly banners that scream "*juntas podemos*" and "*vivienda digna para todas.*" (7). In other words, they are demanding their basic rights to have children in a Spain that recognizes the labor that having a child requires, something that the neoliberal configuration of life has pushed

farther into the shadows of public work. And these women are not alone. In fact, in recent years, since the financial crash of 2008 that cut social welfare and skyrocketed the eviction rate, the housing crisis has prompted sub-movements of the 15-M movement to fight back for basic living rights. But under the Francoist dictatorship and into current times they have been further eradicated from the cultural imaginary by trends of individualism and self-sufficiency. In response to this public outrage in urban centers, small ecological towns have been popping up since the early 2000's in abandoned medieval villages near Burgos and Huesca amongst other places that seek to construct and maintain a utopian self-sustainable community for generations to come.

In the urban centers, the conversation that seems most pertinent to me regarding the housing crisis as the twenty-first century plows forward, and that is just beginning to circulate more in peninsular scholarship, is the crisis of care. However, it is a topic that already provided provocative material for cultural production during the so-called transition from the dictatorship to democracy in Spain. For example, Carlos Saura's 1976 film *Cria Cuervos* inadvertently speaks to the tension of homecare through the metaphorical portrayal of captivity and freedom of three sisters inside a mansion that is central to the film's plot. Although scholars have read this home through an allegorical lens as representative of Spain under the Francoist dictatorship, I also see this space as the bearer of female domestic oppression where the sisters are raised to be docile and domesticated by their aunt and their maid.

Yet, I'd like to briefly recur to the last scene of the film, which is the first and only time that the mansion is seen from the outside as the sisters leave it on their own. The camera quickly pans down the facade of the home allowing for the viewer to realize that

its location is actually in the city. The wall that separates the home and the city is filled with modern advertisements that almost push the mansion out of the frame as if it were being driven back in time to another century. If the home can be viewed as a site of oppression, as the sisters walk outside for the first time, they emerge into a symbolic moment of female liberation, where they are now out in the city, no longer in the home space that ties them to traditional domestic chores. At the same time, this moment begs questions that are central to my research: as the girls leave behind the oppression of the domestic space, will they ever really escape it? Can they really escape it? And if so, what does escaping it mean?

In great part, the answer to these pressing queries is woven into the contemporary problem of female immigration in Spain. The bodies produced by the needs of domestic labor arrive with the sole possibility of working in precarious conditions inside anonymous homes. These bodies are mainly female, and they take up the domestic work that has been abandoned in the name of capitalist production and economic accrual under the guise of freedom. In contemporary times, the home, not only functions as a continuum of incarcerating feminine domesticity, but as the true center of the unsustainable formal economy of global capitalism. At the heart of the connections forged through this subordination lies an aporetic suspension between the conditions of freedom and slavery that speak to larger questions of debt, care, and life (Esposito 205).

In Spain, through the political and social changes that emerge from the disintegration of Franco's power, the crisis of care is far from erased from the cultural imaginary and in many ways continues to contribute to the aftermath of economic crisis of 2008. That is, as the home space is abandoned in the name of work and equality of the

sexes, the female immigrant's position as the shadow worker places concepts of subsistence, care, and life deep into a space of inhumanity, given the near slave-wages that the women, who arrive in Spain in droves, are offered to take care of the very pillar of capital sustainability. Today, in neoliberal Spain, the mutated appropriation of feminine labor in the form of shadow work is now performed by the most precarious of foreign laborers: immigrant women whose lives have been deemed just as useless as the work that they do. This unsustainable way of life shows that the process of establishing value of financial capital is omnipresent in everyday existence. In Marxist terms, shadow work has become coterminous with real subsumption of capitalist accumulation. This is a Spain conceived in direct opposition to a welfare culture of mutual care and sustainment of human life.

To reiterate, the problematic of human care and the changing face of domestic space has been reflected in Spanish film since the end of the dictatorship. Films such as *Cría Cuervos* (Carlos Saura, 1976), *¿Qué he hecho yo para merecer esto?* (Pedro Almodóvar, 1984), *Mujeres al borde de un ataque de nervios* (Pedro Almodóvar, 1988), and *Barrio* (Fernando León de Aranoa, 1998), point to the home space, in both subtle and non subtle ways, as the bearer of the burgeoning but unstable democracy and capitalist economy. The question of the immigrant worker tied into the logic of marginalization and exclusion born in the globalized world is brought to the table in films such as Icíar Bollain's *Flores de otro mundo* (1999), Chus Gutiérrez's *Poniente*, or *Frente al mar* (2002), and Fernando de Leon's *Amador* (2010). Specifically in *Amador*, the inclusive exclusion is casted in the most sinister of ways from the privacy or apolitical refuge of the home. The story behind *Amador* develops around Marcela, a

pensive and introverted woman from Bolivia, enduring the complicated realities of being a young, female, illegal immigrant in Spain whose otherness cannot be masked. Her reality is complicated further by her newly discovered pregnancy, a realization that she keeps to herself since her husband, Nelson, made her have an abortion two years prior. Until his dream of opening a flower shop could be realized, children were not a priority for him. Keeping her pregnancy to herself, Marcela takes on the temporary position as a caretaker in the home of an elderly dying Spanish man, named Amador. The story that unfolds reveals an unlikely friendship between two characters that exist, in very different ways, as marginalized and precarious subjects whose exclusion from the formal economy inside the home space is precisely the foundation of the same economy on the outside.

There are three homes that impact Marcela's existence in the film. The first is Marcela and Nelson's dilapidated flat on the outskirts of Madrid. This home stands in the part of Madrid that was hastily constructed during the industrialization boom of the 1960's under the Francoist dictatorship. Yet, when national industry left Spain during the 90's, these shantytowns became repopulated with the bodies that would come to produce the inexpensive labor that the dissolution of state power into financial power would stimulate. With this social reality in mind, Marcela and Nelson's home is first presented to the viewer from the crowded stairwells and verandas that are saturated with mainly male bodies, mingling loudly. It is also shown as the center of Nelson's illicit flower business, a space where intimacy is a rarity.

This lack of privacy contrasts deeply with the intimacy of the home where Marcela is able to find work, a home that is marked by the disinterest of the Spanish

family that has hired her. This home is also a product of the 1960's in Madrid, a monotonous urbanization of sterile apartment buildings, populated mainly by middle to lower class Spaniards. Sitting across from the daughter who is impeccably dressed and well put-together, Marcela learns that her new job entails that she take care of the woman's aging father, for 500 euros a month. The daughter tells Marcela that she will check in from time to time, but Marcela will be the main visitor. The family is in the process of building the third home, currently under construction on the outskirts of Madrid and because of the prices of private construction, they are financially strapped and cannot return to visit Amador.

This lack of care as represented by Amador's family, can be understood through a radical feminist approach to the evolution of global capitalism that believes that the later places concepts of care in the shadows of construction and progress. As I have discussed throughout my dissertation, as capitalism has evolved into its global reaches in Spain, it has created false rifts between notions of production that feed gendered dichotomies regarding care, progress, identity formations, reproduction, sustainability and value given to all forms of life. This dichotomy is quite apparent in the illegal precarious home care position that Marcela undertakes. On the second day on the job, Marcela is filmed helping Amador use the bathroom, a scene that is hardly bearable to watch, not because of the visual effects of the camera, but because of the time that elapses while caretaker strains to support her patient who is struggling to do what, for his whole life, he had grown accustomed to do in private. Unable to stand the discomfort of the situation, Amador breaks the silence and asks: "¿Cómo te llamas?" The question startles Marcela, although she replies "Marcela" and Amador is finally able to use the bathroom.

Care and natural bodily functions, two of the basic human necessities of human life, have been contrived as malleable in the name of progress. Contemporary urban Spain excludes Marcela's existence from a social imaginary while simultaneously expecting her to stand by to pick up abject and informal work when the system deems it necessary. The home space in this sense, remains indebted to the incarcerating traditional and gendered notion of domesticity, arguably the social practice that most fomented liberalism and progress throughout processes of urbanization. It also acts as a buffer from the outside world given that it lies beyond political and legal influence. In fact, inside Amador's apartment, it is as if neither Marcela nor Amador exist to the outside world. In Amador's case, as Janet Wolff suggests, capitalism maps out older bodies from urban centers in order to allow for the highest possibilities of growth and gain given that, within the city limits, there is an "implicit loss of worth of those beyond a certain age." This speaks to why Amador's family can no longer see him: he would be a hindrance to the construction of their ideal family home. Although Wolff argues that mapping out of the elderly from urban spheres is exceptionally apparent in women, Amador's sickness that forces him to be bed-ridden feminizes him as well, speaking further to the gendered nature of the domestic space.

Ironically, the condition of straying from the map or of being "un-mapped" conceptually opens to frames of freedom that inherently cancel those of marginality. This can be seen through Marcela and Amador's relationship. These two subjects whose vulnerability has been made invisible by the formal economy, build a relationship of intimacy and trust. Unlike the unbalanced power relationships that capitalism creates, Amador and Marcela's friendship is forged based on a mutual dependence on one

another. While Amador needs Marcela to help take care of him, Marcela needs Amador to stay alive in order for her to earn money to put toward the life of her unborn child. She also needs him to forget about the flowers that have truly saturated the intimacy of her own home with Nelson. Removed from the artificial scent that Nelson sprays onto the illicit flowers to feign their freshness, Marcela can now dream about a future for her and her unborn child. At the same time, from behind the walls of a forgotten urban home, Marcela's position permits the economy to continue on the outside; her precarious labor allows Amador's daughter's family to unravel itself from the responsibility of taking care of an aging man.

Yet, nature takes its course and Amador passes away. He dies in the middle of the month, which complicates things for Marcela, given that if the family discovers that he has died, she will lose her precarious job as caretaker and won't receive her measly paycheck, which she desperately needs. The rest of the film is essentially about the day-to-day struggles that Marcela endures to keep her friend, and job, alive. She covers the corpse with a bed sheet, buys a fan to ventilate the bedroom, and stands in front of the window pretending to talk to him to appease nosey neighbors. Her struggle is presented as it vacillates between comical and tragic; the viewer never loses the suspense regarding the implications of what will happen if she is discovered. Her main tool that she turns to in order to mask the scent of human decay is the fake flower spray that she has grown to despise. The scent, once again, is used to create artificial realities and Amador's death, in the end, is discovered by his family.

Upon being caught, the camera cuts to a terrified Marcela, waiting, devastated, for Amador's daughter to meet her at the bar across the street to discuss the situation. As the

daughter sits down, the tension is high and Marcela is powerless. And yet, in the most ironic twist of the film, the daughter lights a cigarette, takes a drag, turns to Marcela and, in so many words, commends her caring for her father's corpse. As it turns out, the family has struggled with paying the bills for the construction of their home and Amador's pension is necessary for them to continue building it. In other words, she needs Marcela to keep up her work of masking his death with life. From the intimacy of the unmapped space of Amador's home, his corpse supports the formal economy of urban life. To return to Esposito, the structure of debt depends on the absent nothingness of a corpse, a figure of finitude that must be covered up.

In the process of becoming mapped out of spaces of civic liberty, progress, and visible politics, Marcela's decision to keep her child is an act of transgressive freedom in itself against the neoliberal notion that there is not a right time to have a child, as Nelson imposed upon his wife. That is, in contemporary Spain, reproduction is conceived so deep into the shadow of labor that feminine nature and care is erased from the construction of future public spaces, in the name of work. Marcela's decision to keep the baby, a decision fortified by Amador while he was still alive, allows her to take agency regarding her future, breaking from the artificial and detrimental one afforded to her by the bigger forces of labor and debt. In this sense, while the dual logic of marginalization and exclusion increasingly asserts itself in *Amador*, it is also interrupted by the freedom portrayed through hope, beyond the global capitalist machine that perpetuates artificiality, marginality, exclusion, and death.

The fictional filmic representation of the Spanish crisis in the home space in *Amador* easily morphs into a documentary form, speaking to a much more complex and

real crisis of citizenship that the recent documentary, *Por mis hijos* (2007) by director Aymée Cruzalegui Bazzetti, portrays. In this short but tragic piece, the deeply intricate connection between unemployed immigrant women, the Church's doctrine, and domestic care become visibly evident. Throughout this brief filmic capture, the camera follows around an unassuming, stout woman from an unnamed Latin American country named Norma Nuñez, as she competes with hundreds of other women from unnamed Latin American countries for a job. A jovial nun, whose Spanish drawl and white skin immediately set her apart from the others in the room, calls out the various jobs as they become known to the church. For the most part, these jobs do not require women to have legal papers. Many of the jobs ask for references, making competition even fiercer for those that are new to the country. However, all of the jobs are domestically oriented. While some of the positions offered seek a woman to look after children in the home, others are looking for a maid, while others are in search of a caretaker for elderly family members.

The sea of brown bodies that stand patiently in the church, awaiting whatever meager position they can find, speaks to a broader epidemic of the problem of care in Spain born from the deep shifts in the very essence of work. As younger generations seek emancipation from their families over unity, as gender equality specifically in the workspace becomes an imperative piece to the modernization process in Spain, a vast army of hundreds of thousands of able-bodied immigrants arrives to work the domestic sector of the country. As Isidrio and Rodriguez state: "Estas mujeres, mayoritariamente sin permiso y sin residencia, se han ocupado del cuidado de los niños, los ancianos y los discapacitados, además de realizar las tareas del hogar en varios millones de hogares en

clase media" (18). Norma is just one of the hordes of women that, upon their departure from their home country, are subordinated to a grossly complex legal system that complicates residency in the name of economic expansion provided by their undeniable exclusion from citizenship and the civic sphere. While these immigrant women maintain the circulation of financial capital, they plummet into a complete and utter lack of defense against the very same market that requires their shadow work for its functionality.

This recurring exclusive inclusion, or inclusive exclusion, whichever way one wishes to describe it, is deeply intertwined in a theological culture of sacrifice promoted by the Church. As Norma says herself, she left her family not because she had any problems with them and not because she didn't love them enough, but because she believes that her children's future depends on her sacrifice and labor in a foreign land. She physically abandoned her own family in the name of her children's protection. Forgoing a roof over her own head, for 720 euros a month, she scrounges up enough money, somehow, to send back home to her country so that her own family will have a roof over their head. In this sense, the housing crisis today manifests in the deep irony that those that maintain the abandoned domestic sector, can barely afford a room of their own, a roof, a home. The domestic space has, unequivocally mutated into a space of incarceration to a space of inhumane slavery, where easily replaceable bare bodies maintain the very pillars of progress.

In response to the interwoven components of the housing crisis, recent critical conversations in Peninsular studies have been asking the provocative question that Amaia Orozco poses as: “¿qué es la vida vivible, la que merece ser vivida?” (1). In

doing so, they vehemently underscore that in order to move beyond discourses of market logic, we must return to a holistic, undivided understanding of the future of urban spaces by placing subsistence and dignity at the center of life, by culturally and politically acknowledging the necessary work done in the home space, from motherhood to cooking, to cleaning to care, as not only valuable but visibly valuable to the continuation of life. This suturing of care and life; reproduction and production would be, a move away, once and for all, from the ancient Greek structuration of life that neatly divides the *oikos* and the *polis* into two separate and unequal spaces. In closing this destructive gap, dignity will be placed on the table for all labor, whether it be interior or exterior to the walls of the home, and interior or exterior to the female body and its natural biological possibilities.

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