From *Castus* to *Casticismo*: Conceptions of Purity in Modern Spain

By

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Abstract

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With the exception of the well-known figure of the *ángel del hogar*, concepts of purity in post-inquisitional Spain have rarely been used as central categories of analysis. This dissertation aims to address an important lacuna within nineteenth-century Spanish studies by tracing the complex ways in which purity, as an ideological regime, continued to operate as a less explicit but important construct in modern Spain. Rather than declining, such regimes metamorphosed into an array of discourses that positioned purity as a foundational ideological category for modern subjectivity and national identity in late imperial Spain. Specifically, I turn to the major realist novelists of the nineteenth century – Juan Valera, Leopoldo Alas, Emilia Pardo Bazán, and Benito Pérez Galdós -- to examine how realist fiction stages counter-narratives to essentialist notions of purity and impurity formulated and consequently deployed by Medicine, the Church, and the State. The dissertation traces the ways in which historical notions of pure lineage or pure blood underwrite "modern" and "post-inquisitional" notions of sexual, racial, and bodily purity, particularly in the last third of the nineteenth century, also known as the Restoration period.

I advance a critical understanding of these diverse forms of purity through what I identify as the discourse of *casta*. Originating from the Latin *castus* (clean, pure), *casta* can be translated into English as "caste" or "chaste," a profoundly revealing ambiguity that drives my analysis. Over the course of the dissertation I chart *casta*'s semantic permutations including: female sexual purity (*castidad*); heritage, blood, and lineage (*casta*/*o*); and national purity (*lo castizo*/*casticismo*). The usage of *casta*/*o* and its related terms is always a gendered, racialized, and class-specific articulation of purity. The common thread that links these diverse definitions together, I argue, is the regulation of gender. Sexual purity, (and later racial, class- and national purity) is an implicit part of what *casta* evokes across its semantic evolutions. The texts examined here reveal that the discourse of *casta* is central to the production of idealized national subjects during a time of political instability and imperial decline. While *casticismo* appears to be fundamental to the production of the nation, its ambivalent and polyvalent nature complicates and at times undermines the success of nationalist projects.

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Introduction

> La gama que se extiende desde lo limpio a lo que no está limpio absolutamente discurre sobre interpretaciones de muy diferentes géneros y calificaciones polisémicas. Especialmente, la mujer, la mujer limpia, ha venido siendo, incluso biológicamente, la guía fundamental para establecer el estado de la limpieza.
>
> The gamut that extends from that which is clean to that which is unclean absolutely includes interpretations of very different genres and polysemic grades. In particular, woman, the clean woman, has become, even biologically, the fundamental guide for establishing the state of cleanliness.
>
> -- Vicente Verdú "La limpieza de las mujeres" (The cleanliness of women) *El País* 10 Nov 2010

To examine the discourse of purity is to question the naturalized ordering of society that renders certain entities inherently pure and others impure. Both material and symbolic manifestations of impurity, as anthropologist Mary Douglas argues, are inherently linked to concepts of danger since they threaten to corrupt states of purity and therefore order. In practice, such hierarchical regimes rely on ideological thinking that attributes value to specific configurations of race, gender, sexuality and class while denigrating others. Such configurations have become iconographic and naturalized to the extent that articulations of purity such as cleanliness (as in the case of the epigraph above) necessarily conjure up the image of a (white, virginal, domestic) woman. She becomes the agent and emblem of all that is pure. Insert another gender/race in relation to *limpieza* and the analogy no longer holds water.

Figures of purity, of course, are not neutral, eternal bodies, but instead represent a particular incarnation of race, gender, sexuality and class at a specific historical juncture. Anne McClintock reminds us of the inseparability of these categories when she states that "[r]ace, gender and class are not distinct realms of experience, existing in splendid isolation from each other; nor can they be simply yoked together retrospectively like armatures of Lego. Rather, they come into existence in and through relation to each other – if in contradictory and conflictual ways" (5). This dissertation treats articulations of the pure in the last third of nineteenth-century Spain, as an aperture into the particular ways in which modern formulations of purity emerge in relation to other historically embedded ideals of identity.

Purity, of course, remains neither fixed nor stable, but instead fluctuates as a historically contingent construct whose lines of demarcation are constantly being redrawn. Purity takes on diverse meanings in a given historical context, but each articulation exists as an axis on a spiraling genealogical web. Bridget Aldaraca, for instance, traces how Fray Luis's rendition of the ideal wife in *La Perfecta Casada* (1583), published during the Catholic Counter-Reformation, informs the nineteenth-century construction of the *ángel del hogar*, demonstrating the persistence of an early modern past within modern fictions of purity. This dissertation builds

on the important work of such feminist critics as Aldaraca, by examining how gender concepts of purity are inflected by race and origin.

The discourse of purity in relation to race figures prominently in the context of early modern Spanish and colonial Spanish America, taking center stage in the scholarship on *limpieza de sangre* (blood purity) and the Inquisition (1480-1832) and later in the work on colonial paradigms of race and miscegenation. These more widely circulated narratives of Spanish purity are frequently treated as if they were firmly locked in a pre-modern era, evidenced in part by the relative dearth of scholarship on race and lineage in modern Peninsular studies. With the exception of female chastity, purity in the nineteenth century has rarely been a central category of analysis. Although the conceptualization of purity in the nineteenth century takes on markedly modern characteristics (part and parcel of bourgeois subjectivity) it nevertheless reaches back into or reanimates this earlier history of *limpieza de sangre*. In charting articulations of the pure specifically in Restoration Spain, my dissertation calls for a nuanced engagement with Michel Foucault's first volume of *History of Sexuality*, in which he identifies the modern period as the age of sex, marked by the shift from "a symbolics of blood" to "an analytic of sexuality." What my research shows is that the Spanish cultural landscape foregrounds an expansive interval of transition over the course of the nineteenth century in which the discourse of blood has not yet dissipated. In this way, my work is informed by scholars such as Kathleen Biddick, who seek to challenge the underlying assumption that the modern is characterized by the "now" of sex rather than the "then" of blood (Biddick 451). While there was an undeniable declension of the importance of blood purity at an institutional level, pure lineage and honorable origins continued to be valued as a sign of distinction even as the bourgeoisie was emerging as an influential class. Consequently, impure origins figured as a source of shame, suspicion, and moral degradation. The blood purity statutes, I argue, laid the groundwork for this kind of origin-centric, exclusionary thinking and continued to have a latent effect, even if they were, from their inception, "legal fictions" (Martínez 77). In the chapters that follow, I will argue that purity takes center stage as a foundational ideological construct for modern subjectivity and national identity in late imperial Spain.

The last thirty years of the nineteenth century mark Spain's uneasy encounter with the processes of modernization, punctuated by major political shifts including the establishment of the First Republic, the subsequent Bourbon Restoration, the spread of Liberalism, and the revival of the Catholic Church. Beyond the finite borders of the Peninsula, this was also a time of transoceanic, geopolitical shifts; by mid-century Spain had lost the majority of its overseas territories, and struggled to gain a secure foothold in the scramble for Africa. As Spain transitioned from Empire to (second-rate) Nation-State, it struggled to hold onto its remaining colonies – Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines – the so-called *provincias de ultramar* (overseas provinces).[1] Today, scholarly discussions on modern peninsular literature seldom treat the nineteenth century in Spain as a period of empire, with the exception of abrupt transitional period from empire to nation, infamously marked by the losses of the Spanish American War, better known in Spain as the Disaster of 1898. While characterized by colonial protraction on the

[1] For further reading on the governance of Spain's overseas provinces see: Christopher Schmidt-Nowara's book *The Conquest of History: Spanish Colonialism and National Histories in the Nineteenth Century*. Pittsburgh, Pa: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006 and Josep M. Fradera's detailed study *Colonias Para Después De Un Imperio*. Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2005.

one hand, the Restoration period is also the era of national consolidation and cultural homogenization. The rise of nationalist discourse in the wake of Spain's imperial failures created an environment of national anxieties around questions of inter- and intra- national identities, which hinge on a concept of purity. The diverse articulations that arise in relation to collective and individual identities can be linked through what I call the discourse of *casta*. Before addressing specific texts, it will be fruitful to discuss this key concept.

The word-concept *casta* is an articulation of purity that takes on unique valences in the Hispanic context. While *casta* has no singular or standard definition it is, first and foremost, an articulation of purity, which I argue can only be understood in relation to a web of sister terms. Stemming from the Latin *castus* – clean and pure –, *casta* is most often translated into English as "caste" or "chaste," depending on its syntactic function as noun or adjective, a profoundly revealing ambiguity that drives my analysis. In the chart below, I have mapped out *casta*'s most common permutations as defined by the *Diccionario de Autoridades* (1884).

Casta (de lat. *castus*, puro): generación o linaje. Dícese también de los irracionales. Caste (from Lat. *castus*, pure): generation or lineage. It is also said of animals	Casto,a: puro, honesto, *opuesto a la sensualidad*. Chaste: pure, honest, *averse to sensuality*.
Castizo,za. De buen origen y casta Castizo,za. Of good origin and lineage	Castidad: Virtud que se opone a los afectos carnales Chastity: Virtue which is opposed to carnal desires

This dissertation explores *casta*'s various semantic permutations: sexual purity (*castidad*); blood and lineage (*casta/o*); and origin and idealized Spanish purity (*lo castizo/casticismo*).[2] The lack of any singular definition makes *casta* open to the historically contingent processes of resignification, characterized by what Stoler has called "polyvalent mobility" (*Racial Histories and Their Regimes of Truth* 187).

Historically, *casta* intersects with the concept of *raza*. According to Walter Mignolo, one of the earliest definitions of *raza* (race) in the *Diccionario de Covarrubias* (1611) refers to breeds of purebred horses (79). The idea of race in the following century would later be extended to humans and be used not to refer to those of legitimate or pure origin but rather to those with Muslim or Jewish heritage. *Raza* thus originally took on negative connotations, marking only those who were deemed impure. Interestingly, in eighteenth-century Mexico *casta* took a similar

[2] Miguel de Unamuno blames the debilitating obsession with *lo castizo* for Spain's modern demise in his collection of essays *En torno al casticismo* (1895). From his conceptualization of *casticismo* just prior to 1898, I work backwards historically through the Spanish Restoration period.

turn. Its colloquial usage moved away from the idea of purity or breed and instead was used to identify only those who were mixed race, giving rise to the visual, taxonomic ordering of miscegenation in the *pintura de las castas* (caste painting). In the eighteenth century *casta* in the Peninsula would approximate this early usage of *raza*, and take on the meaning of both "generation" and "lineage" in reference to humans ("Generacion y linág̀e que viene de padres conocidos") (Generation and lineage from known parentage) and also signify breeds of animals, especially horses: "Se llama también el distinto linaje de los caballos y otros animales, porque vienen de padres conocidos por su lealtad, fiereza ù otra circunstancia, señalados y particulares" (It is also said of the distinct lineage of horses and other animals because of parents known for their loyalty, ferocity or other indicated and particular characteristics) (*Diccionario de Autoridades* 1729). Its complex genealogy, thus, refutes the possibility of a transhistorical concept of race and also sheds on light on ideas of blood and lineage not accounted for in critical studies on the nineteenth century that privilege the emergence of scientific racism. Indeed, it reveals that modern, essentialist conceptions of identity cannot be neatly reduced to a rubric of biological classifications of race. There is no easily identifiable "then" of caste and "now" of "race," but both interrelated concepts spiral around a nucleus of purity.

Because *casta* maintains intimates ties to historical ideas of lineage and breed, it necessarily has special implications for matters pertaining to reproduction and paternity/maternity, namely gender and sexuality. This becomes clearer in the simple exercise of linking *castidad* (chastity) with *casta* (chaste) and *casta* (caste). Female chastity is paramount for maintaining the purity of the caste, and therefore sexuality serves as the common ground for different threads in the semantic web of *casta*. The 1884 definition of *casta/o* in the *Diccionario de Autoridades* includes the following refrain – "Ya que no seas casto, sé cauto" (Since you are not chaste, be cautious) – evidencing the importance of self-discipline and surveillance in relation to purity. Tellingly, *casta* is also etymologically linked to *castigar* (castigate), evidence the disciplinary component of the discourse of *casta*, which regulates the norms and normative embodiments of gender and sexuality.

Up to this point, we have seen the socio-cultural implications of *casta*'s genealogy. Purity, however, was also a central concern amongst the literati of Restoration Spain. Alda Blanco in her study on the Spanish literary canon notes that the year 1870 saw the birth of the realist novel – or what was hailed at the time as the new or national novel – and along with it the field of literary criticism. As a nationally driven project, then, literary criticism reflected on Spain's relationship to Europe, and in particular France, with the aim of understanding Spain's newfound cultural sovereignty (Blanco "Gender and National Identity" 123). As such, literary criticism was explicitly concerned with Spanish cultural purity and authenticity. Blanco observes that: "key words for literary criticism during this period are imitation, fashion, barbarism, and a lost national consciousness which are used in opposition to originality, the timelessness of beauty and goodness, civilization, and a 'Spanish' consciousness. In other words, '*lo castizo*'"(125, my emphasis). As Miguel de Unamuno observed in the late nineteenth century, Spain, obsessed with the idea of foreign corruption, was plagued by a fear of what he termed "descastación" (decastation) (38). What I would add to Blanco's study is that it was not only literary criticism, but also, somewhat ironically, the novel itself was overwhelmingly concerned with the tension between originality and imitation. In contrast to literary criticism, however, the realist novel, with its plurality of voices and self-reflexive capacity, served as the medium through which

counter-narratives of purity could be staged. The novel's somewhat peculiar capacity to be critical of the processes of modernity, at the same time that it was part and parcel of its homogenizing motor (Labanyi 6), uniquely positioned the novel to expound on its fragmentation and failures.

The conundrum here is that the novel's own ideological project depended on the successful establishment of trust in the apparatus of representation which openly and paradoxically recognized itself as "realist" fiction. This fictional contract between reader and text took on particular valences in late nineteenth-century Spain when the homogenizing forces of a market economy produced a shift in the understanding of representation. The year 1868 marked the failed bourgeois revolution, - *La Gloriosa* – but also inaugurated the establishment of a national currency, ushering in the widespread circulation of paper money. The symbolic, abstract nature of money, which we could understand as a "paper fiction," reflects a new mode of thinking, as Jo Labanyi has shown, that places a newfound importance on representation itself, rather than the object of representation. Imitation and by extension representation in the Restoration period were frequently gendered as feminine (Alda Blanco "Gender and National Identity" 127-128, Stephan Gilman 145-146), and I would add bourgeois. This rising suspicion of the inauthentic or the counterfeit produced a feeling of mistrust toward appearances, which poorly indexed the essence of identity and origin, i.e. blood. This can be partly explained by the emergence of the bourgeoisie as a new class, which disturbed centuries-old hierarchies. Moreover, across Western Europe, changes in the flow of capital and patterns of production and consumption, gave rise to forms of "sumptuary panic" (McClintock 174), the idea that members of the aspiring classes could fashion themselves to pass into the privileged circles of urban society. As a result, elite classes clung to the importance of their allegedly pure origins in order to distinguish themselves from the social climbers of the middle and lower classes. This frenzied unease around appearance-based identity ignores the fact that blood itself is a metaphorical construction, a symbol that stands in for the stuff of purity without a way to track its authenticity, with the exception, of course, of maternity.

It is no coincidence, then, that the preoccupation around origin should also coincide with the emergence of the cult of female domesticity. Scholars have agreed that the nineteenth-century Spanish intelligentsia was overwhelmingly concerned with the so-called "woman question," and the authors I examine in this dissertation are no exception. The novels studied here all feature heroines who are hailed as pure in one form or another; that is, they are either *casta* or *castiza* but still fail to achieve some other unobtainable form of purity. These novels take on the problematic origins of these female protagonists as the premise for narration, representing and also negotiating a larger problem of the management of national subjects and the consolidations of impure or marginal bodies into the larger body politic of the nation.

The dissertation is comprised of four central chapters. Chapter one, "'Aquellos neófitos indios, chinos o anamitas': Purity in the Imperial Imaginary of *Doña Luz*," locates the discourse of purity in the context of Spanish imperialism. Here I examine the desire for pure origins against the backdrop of Spain's late imperial projects. To this end, I look at how contact with the colonized shapes the narrative paradigm through which racialized and gendered subjectivies are produced. Of particular importance is the novel's representation of the circulation of artifacts, commodities, and bodies from East Asia, India and the Philippines. I argue that the narrative's

attention to legitimacy and origin takes on new meaning within a racialized colonial paradigm, through which the narrative problematizes the attempt to absorb certain impure subjects into the body of the nation while expunging others. While Spanish colonialism in the Pacific figures as a failed enterprise and a threat to national purity, Spain's imperial aspirations in Africa are represented as a more heroic endeavor. The novel's brief mention of the Spanish-Moroccan war juxtaposes Africa against Asia, in a way that looks towards Africa as a promising enterprise to revitalize the nation.

Chapter two, "On the Limits of Hygiene: Purity and Pleasure in *La Regenta*," examines the conflicted relationship in Clarín's novel between practices of hygiene and spiritual devotion on one hand, and sexual purity or *castidad* on the other. Reading the novel against nineteenth-century Spanish hygiene manuals, I advance a reading of the erotic in the novel as a gendered form of consciousness, in which the experience of the senses links thinking with pleasure, desire, and the body. I show that while the discourses of hygiene and religion attempt to bring order to the excesses of sensuality in order to regulate female chastity, the morally invested prescriptions of hygiene literature are also paradoxically involved in unintended productions of the erotic. While Spanish hygienist Pedro Felipe Monlau asserts that hygiene is a discipline that originates from the most intimate forms of self-knowledge, it is the acquaintance with this very site of knowledge (one's own body) that allows the female protagonist in the *La Regenta* to contest and subvert the paradigm of purity.

Chapter three "Purity and Performativity: 'La mujer española' and *La Tribuna*" explores working-class female sexuality against the discourse of domesticity that underlies bourgeois femininity. Here I read Emilia Pardo Bazan's novel as complex rendition of the woman-as-nation metaphor. Engaging the work of feminist and queer theorists, I challenge the naturalized heterosexuality that undergirds the female, working-class manifestation of *lo castizo*. Specifically, this chapter scrutinizes the uncritical acceptance of *La Tribuna* as an allegory for the Spanish republic. Interrogating the ways in which a successful process of nation building is contingent on a uniform politics of gender and sexuality, I argue that *La Tribuna* can be seen as undermining the success of its own allegory by queering sexuality, and thus rendering it impure. Rather than read the novel as exposing the failure of radical class politics, I contend that the narrative's skepticism toward a bourgeois revolution in Spain, one that would lead to class equality, speaks to a larger critique of the failure to change the gender politics that underlie the problems of class and nationalism.

My final chapter "Purity and Impersonation in *Fortunata y Jacinta*" explores the intersections of racializied thinking, class and sexuality as they impinge on the subject of female chastity in Benito Pérez Galdós's landmark novel. Here I examine purity and race in the context of nation building as Spain struggles to maintain a form of national authenticity, all the while adopting trends and technologies from northern Europe. I look specifically at the ways in which racialized rhetoric is grafted onto the discourse of social class in Spain's late transition into a modern, industrialized nation. I conclude that bourgeois identity is rooted in a commitment to birth, origin, and pure bloodlines. As such, the novel reveals the contradictions of this group that desires the modern trappings of a social and economic class, while continuing to view itself as a caste. Pure bloodlines logically depend on the policing of bourgeois women's bodies. The novel exposes, however, the hypocrisy of subscribing to such an impossible ideal of purity, showing

the future of Spain to be contingent on cross-class "contamination" which inevitably entails class and gender exploitation.

Much remains to be said on the topic of purity in modern and contemporary Spain. This dissertation is an attempt to address the assumption that purity is an irrelevant or fringe concern in post-inquisitional Spain. While the ideology of the pure continued to circulate in Restoration Spain a disciplinary regime that relied on a politics of hierarchy, exclusion, and even erasure, in what follows, I hope to show the ways in the which the novel served as one of the spaces in which the its ideological underpinnings were narrated and critically engaged, even as it carried with it its own limitations.

Chapter 1

"Aquellos neófitos indios, chinos o anamitas": Purity in the Imperial Imaginary of *Doña Luz*

Con el aire de fuera regenero *mi sangre*,
no respirando el que exhalo.

I regenerate *my blood* with the air from outside,
not by breathing the air I exhale.

-- Miguel de Unamuno "Sobre el Marasmo Actual de España"

The most troubled female characters in nineteenth-century Spanish novels are women who are characterized by impure – that is cross-class, cross-caste, and/or illegitimate— origins; their very existence is the product of a taboo boundary crossing. Paul Smith has argued that illegitimacy is a prominent motif in Juan Valera's oeuvre, noting that issues of honor (particularly female honor), legitimacy and *hijos naturales* (children born out of wedlock) have been common concerns in Spanish society and have thus surfaced as pressing themes throughout Spanish literature dating as far back as *La Celestina*. For Smith, however, nowhere is this theme more pronounced than in the corpus of Valera's novels where "the effects of illegitimacy become for the first time an important key to character development and a basic structure of an author's novelistic world" (Smith 804). In this chapter, I would like to extend Smith's discussion of legitimacy to the discourse of *casta* in a reading of Juan Valera's 1879 novel *Doña Luz*, in which the imperial landscape of the narration informs ideas of the pure and impure. Thus, crucial to our analysis of purity-as-legitimacy is the late nineteenth century definition of *castizo/a*, which denotes good origin. In what follows, I hope to show that the legitimacy plot of the novel – to which female purity is central— provides key insights into the anxiety around Spain's imperial past and national future. Akiko Tsuchiya has commented that "The Spanish nation's anxieties over imperial loss and its sense of belated progress toward 'modernity' vis-à-vis the rest of Western Europe were exacerbated by the destabilization of established notions of social identity, including gender identity, at the end of the century" (Tsuchiya 6). The discourses of empire, orientalism and colonialism that operate in this novel are therefore fundamental to our understanding of how purity is informed by social categories of identity. In this light, an analysis of legitimacy requires an attention to the ways this legal category is inflected by race, gender and sexuality.

Doña Luz, said to be Valera's favorite among his own novels (Bauer "Introduction" 13), presents a particular case where the protagonist's both pure and impure qualities are couched in exoticizing terms, drawing from orientalist and colonial stereotypes and tropes. One striking example of this is when one of the central characters, a missionary priest, compares Doña Luz to "aquellos neófitos indios, chinos o anamitas" (those neophyte Indians, Chinese, and Anamites) whom he proselytized during his Asian missionary excursions (Valera 121). The discourse of *casta* dominates the social world of the provincial southern town in which this novel is set, but also extends to the larger context of nation and empire, which point to a generalized anxiety regarding Spanish imperial legitimacy and national purity. The novel is set in an imaginary town

in Andalusia beginning in 1860, with evangelization projects in Asia and the Spanish-Moroccan war looming in the background. The traffic of bodies to and from the Philippines and North Africa in the narrative creates a form of symbolic proximity between these colonial spaces and the national periphery, i.e. rural Andalusia, challenging the assumption that the regional novel, growing out of *costumbrismo*, simply documents local customs. Alison Sinclair observes that regional novels "communicate a type of cultural myopia that restricts the concept of viable life to regional boundaries" ("The Regional Novel" Kindle Location 986). In the case of the *Doña Luz*, the cosmopolitan aspect of the *patria chica* (home province) paints a complex image of Spain as an imperial nation comprised of multiple spatial and social alterities. The "uncivilized" plebe of the rustic south prove to be an ironic parallel to Doña Luz, whose purported origins are couched in colonial and oriental metaphors. While gender has served as a key analytic for examining this novel, much remains to be said about its intersectionality with other categories of identity. Notably, Doña Luz is called "una perla oriental" (an oriental pearl) (Valera 181), a paradoxical gesture given that Doña Luz embodies the epitome of Aryan beauty. [3] The significance of these exoticizing devices in relation to race within the larger imperial context of the novel, thus, merits further critical attention.

The novel's focus on Doña Luz's impurities, expressed in racialized, orientalist and colonial terms brings into sharp focus Spain's larger problem of negotiating its own racial identity and finding a place for "illegitimate" bodies into the larger body politic of the modern nation. Through my analysis of the concept of *casta* in the narrative, I argue that both race and sexuality hinge on a concept of legitimacy as purity. *Doña Luz* is a crucial text for examining the ways in which concepts of purity were influenced by an imperial imaginary. It showcases two important colonial figures who add a racial dimension to the paradigm through which purity is made legible: Padre Enrique, a failed Spanish missionary living the Philippines and Don Jaime, a Spanish war hero in Africa. The Philippines in particular is a colonial space that rarely appears in the modern novel and is all but forgotten in the corresponding body of criticism. As Ricardo Padrón has observed in his recent study of the Spanish ideological construction of the Pacific Rim, colonial studies have long gravitated toward Spanish expansion in the Western Hemisphere. He writes:

> [W]e tend to equate the study of Spanish expansion during the early modern period with the study of Spanish America, and tend to disregard Spanish interest in places that did not, in the long run, produce a Spanish-speaking nation-state. In doing so, however, we forget just how large Asia loomed in the early modern imagination, how important the traditional Indies were to early modern Spaniards, and how interest in them continued to fire Spanish expansionism well after the discovery of America, and even the conquest of Mexico and Peru. Economic historians interested in global history remind us of the importance of Asia to the emerging global economy of early modernity, and of the important role played by Spain's trans-Pacific trade in the formation of this economy. For them, the center and engine of this economy is not Europe, but China. (4)

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[3] Teresia Langford Taylor, in her book *A Feminist Critique of the Women in the Novels of Juan Valera* focuses her analysis on this objectification of Luz as she becomes a precious commodity transferred from one man to another. The present chapter aims to build on such feminist critiques of the novel and analyze the complexities of metaphors that position Luz as an *oriental* object.

While Padrón's observation focuses primarily on the early modern period, it is clear from a closer examination of Valera's novel that Asia still occupied a central role in the Spanish imperial imaginary, even as the nation faced imperial collapse. Spain's very vision of itself as a modern nation was contingent upon its civilizing mission as a Christian empire, which already included the Philippines and sparked interest in further exploration in Africa. Alda Blanco has argued that while twentieth century historians have tended to represent Spain in the nineteenth century as a rising nation-state, emphasizing its emerging liberal nationalism, Spain is more accurately characterized as a "modern empire" ("Spain at the Crossroads" 2), upholding its imperial status as central to the project of nation building. Blanco contends that this era in twentieth-century Spanish historiography is largely characterized by erasure (in contrast with the early modern empire which is saturated with historical memory), insofar as it privileges Spain's liberal nation-building project while simultaneously eclipsing its colonial ventures. As a result of these parallel moves, Blanco argues that "nineteenth-century Spain is hardly, if at all, remembered and, thus, represented as an imperial nation in spite of the fact that, for example, 1898, a date which is inextricably bound to the history of empire, continues to have a symbolic meaning in Spain's cultural imaginary" ("Spain at the Crossroads" 2). The disciplinary boundaries of what we call "colonial" in the field of Hispanism typically exclude the cultural productions of the nineteenth century. Beginning with *cartas*, *crónicas*, and *diarios*, and perhaps ending with the Latin American Baroque, the period to which we give the name "colonial" is almost always thought of as pertaining to the early modern era. To some specialists in the field, it may seem that the very idea of studying "the colonial" in nineteenth-century Spanish novels, has an almost anachronistic feel to it.

In recovering the traces of empire that inform the concept of purity, my methodological approach draws from the work of Edward Said and Gayatri Spivak in their postcolonial readings of British nineteenth-century novels. Both scholars have reconnected emblematic national cultural productions to the invisibilized structures of feeling and material realities of empire that made their production and circulation possible. While post-colonial scholars pioneered the study of the British novel and empire more than thirty years ago, similar studies on Spanish literature are only beginning to emerge. In her reading of *Jane Eyre* Gayatri Spivak reminds us that "[i]t should not be possible to read nineteenth-century British literature without remembering that imperialism, understood as England's social mission, was a crucial part of the cultural representation of England to the English. The role of literature in the production of cultural representation should not be ignored " (243). My work treats Valera's novels in this vein; it should not be possible to read nineteenth-century Spanish literature in isolation of Spanish imperialism.

The relative dearth of critical attention to Spain as empire in the nineteenth century calls for a re-examination of narrative fiction previously viewed in an exclusively national context, and a nuanced engagement with theories of post-coloniality which take into account the historical specificity of the Spanish empire and its colonies.[4] For both Said and Spivak examine

[4] While I coincide with Spivak and Said in methodological terms, my project itself also diverges from these authors' work insofar as it is shaped by the historical specificity of Spain as northern Europe's markedly un-modern other; or to be more precise, the historiographical and ideological maneuvers that have marked Spain as backwards,

canonical British novels produced at the height of Britain's colonial expansion. "In the closing years of the nineteenth century," Said writes "with the scramble for Africa, the consolidation of the French imperial Union, the American annexation of the Philippines, and British rule in the subcontinent at its height, empire was a universal concern"(64). What is omitted from the story of French-British-American imperialism is essential to my argument: Spain's colonial history in Africa and Philippines. This representational disjuncture simultaneously permits the recognition of the final loss of Spain's colonies (the "Disaster of '98") and an elision of Spain-as-empire in same period. As a result, particular moments of Spain's imperial history, most notably the wars of independence, consequently take on the symbolic function of a historiographical stain, which is successfully disavowed by nineteenth and twentieth century scholars. This intellectual whitewashing is what may also explain, in part, the elision of inscriptions of empire in approaches to modern Spanish literary productions. This disjuncture in Hispanism is partially the product of the Spanish historiography of colonialism (as Alda Blanco has argued) the structure of the discipline in the U.S., and the symbolic positionality of the Spanish novel vis-à-vis the European novel. Turning to the novel in the sections that follow, I examine the ways in which the imperial intertexts of Juan Valera's novel inform ideas of purity articulated through the concept of origin.

Purity and the Politics of Origin

Doña Luz tells the story of a beautiful and highly educated young woman, whose illegitimate birth and strained financial situation make it impossible for her to participate successfully in the aristocratic society to which her father, a *marqués*, once belonged. Doña Luz never knew her mother, who is believed to have been a seamstress and one among many of her father's lovers; she recalls during her childhood that several different women came through the house, making it impossible to know which one of them could have been her biological mother. At the age of fifteen her father dies, and Doña Luz leaves Madrid for the provincial Andalusian town, paradoxically named Villafría, to live under the guardianship of her father's trusted friend and steward, Don Acisclo. Ashamed of her lineage and not having a respectable dowry to offer a suitor of her father's class, Doña Luz rejects her father's title and decides to live a secluded life. Her tainted origin becomes the object of anxiety and fixation that disturb her sense of self and confuse her correct rank in society.

Soon after Doña Luz arrives in Villafría, she dedicates her time to making friends with elderly men and practicing her Catholic devotion with Don Acisclo's nephew, Padre Enrique, a middle-aged Christian missionary who has just returned from the Philippines. From the start, this relationship stirs public suspicion because Doña Luz is not properly regulated by a patriarchal supervisor; that is, she an orphan who wants neither to marry nor take the veil of Christ. Padre Enrique's entry into the narration signals a change in the narrator's perception of Doña Luz. Her very relationship with a priest as a single laywoman is considered morally suspicious.[5] Even for married women in this period, frequent contact with a priest in confession posed a real threat to

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underdeveloped (both economically and culturally), and therefore not having produced a national literature to match the canon of its European neighbors.

[5] This is a theme that is also taken up in *La Regenta*. For a comparison of Clarín and Valera see Beth Bauer's article "*Pepita Jiménez* and *La Regenta*: Novels in Dialogue." *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos* 26 (1991): 103-21.

the secular patriarchal order of the family.[6] In a chapter entitled "Crisis," Doña Luz tries to reckon with the fact that her dearest friend Doña Manolita has surmised that Padre Enrique's fondness of Doña Luz is becoming more than just spiritual. While Doña Luz defends the moral sanctity of their relationship, it is clear that she feels embarrassed and ashamed that their secret desires have become apparent to others. It is then that Doña Luz decides to remedy this situation and "poner su descuido en reparo" (repair her carelessness) (*Valera* 159). Doña Luz's decision to correct her unchaste conduct coincides with the arrival of former war hero from the Spanish-Moroccan War and aspiring politician, Don Jaime Pimentel y Mocada, who in the following chapter, "Solución de la crisis" (Solution to the Crisis) will profess his love for her and propose marriage. After much doubt and resistance Luz, who had once declared to her confidant Manolita that she would remain single forever rather than settle for a suitor of lower social standing, decides to marry Don Jaime. Her decision is motivated in part by Don Jaime's alleged "disinterested" love; that is, he loves her for who she is, and cares not that she is impoverished. They maintain similar socioeconomic positions as Don Jaime is also considered to be financially "poor" for his social rank.

This marriage presents two moral conveniences for Doña Luz: first, she is able to divert her unclean desires for Padre Enrique to Don Jaime. The narrator notes that Luz thinks of Padre Enrique and then immediately thinks of Christ. At that moment she looks at her reflection in a mirror and feels that Don Jaime could in fact love her (Valera 173). Secondly, she can also remedy the troubles of her class and social positioning by fostering what the narrator calls a "legitimate" form of love: "su amor a Don Jaime era legítimo, correcto, conforme a la clase y posición de ella, y fundado, por último, en causas no menos poéticas que el amor por el padre Enrique, si hubiese sido lícito, hubiera ella podido sentir" (her love for Don Jaime was legitimate, proper, in accordance with her class and position, and founded, lastly on motives no less poetic than the love for padre Enrique, which had it been licit, she would have been permitted to feel) (Valera 219). Marriage between two individuals of similar social standing, therefore, presents itself as the best solution for correcting Doña Luz's unstable position and sullied reputation. It will allow her to produce a legitimate heir/offspring, something that Valera's other female illegitimate protagonists could not do. "Licit" love, in this scenario, shows that affect is also bound to the terms of social legitimacy, sanctioning normative and intra-class relations while forbidding others. Doña Luz's surrender or repression of her feelings, thus, depends on how they are received by the outside world. The conditional clause ("si hubiese sido lícito, hubiera ella podido sentir") establishes the ability to feel love as contingent upon the state of social legitimacy of the relationship itself. The desire for legitimacy, as we shall see, permeates multiple aspects of Doña Luz's world.

While it is believed that Doña Luz is the daughter of a seamstress, she walks a fine line between performing chastity and negotiating the social consequences of her origin. She is seen as both the daughter of a working class woman and the product of an immoral and socially degenerate coupling (her father was a libertine who never married). Here the polyvalent word *casta* operates as the social yardstick, of which Doña Luz is always reminded. The specter of her

[6] The intensely personal relationships between devout laywomen and their confessors have been viewed throughout history as threatening to secular masculine authority. This male anxiety can be traced in the abundance of nineteenth-century novels that attend to the theme of licentious priests and women falling in love with priests or vice versa. Such is the case in Clarín's *La Regenta*. See Chapter 2 of the dissertation.

dead mother's sin constantly haunts Doña Luz's sense of self. The story of her origin functions as an obdurate social stain, serving as a gnawing reminder that she cannot escape the dark shadow of her mother's class and the licentiousness of her unmarried parents. The irony at play here is, of course, the fact that the story of her origin is itself a fiction, which is later revealed to be untrue; while Luz's status of legitimacy remains unchanged, she discovers that her mother was a countess (albeit an adulterer), and Luz the sole heir to her fortune. Before this news is revealed, however, the falsified story of Luz's origin, conjured by her father to protect her from money-hungry suitors, is treated as fact. It is not only that not Doña Luz and all those who surround her are led to believe this fiction within the novel. The reader is also implicated in this narrative deception. That Doña Luz's origin is itself a fiction reveals both the contingent nature of origin and identity, and how easily it can be fabricated. That Luz's appearance does not physically index origin, points to the elusive or immaterial quality of purity, which necessary gives rise to social anxiety. At the same time, even though the social construction of identity and stature is produced through shared stories (gossip, oral histories, letters, memory, reputation) it is legal documentation –an unquestioned trust in legal narratives-- that determines the final say, evidence that not all forms of narrative carry the same weight.

Competing fictions throughout the novel produce material consequences that affect Luz's anxieties and life choices. In the first part of the novel, Doña Luz performs humbleness, hyperaware of her impure origin. Several wealthy relatives of her father invite her to come live at their estates in Madrid and Seville, but she rejects these offers, not wanting to be indebted to anyone, and instead accepts her simple, yet independent, life in Villafría: "Su plan era vivir y morir oscuramente en Villafría" (Her plan was to live and die in obscurity in Villafría) (Valera 60). What is more, despite the fact the her father made legal arrangements to bequeath to her his honorable aristocratic title, thus making her a *marquesa* (marquise), the difficulties of fully embodying this social category by marrying within her father's class initially prevent her from crossing the line. The narrator presents these actions, not as motivated by humility, the ultimate Christian value (Valera 69), but instead by excessive pride: "[E]l orgullo de Doña Luz se velaba y envolvía en el más discreto disimulo, y esto no sólo por prudencia y por interés propio, sino por vivo sentimiento de caridad" (Doña Luz's pride was veiled and wrapped in the most discreet disguise, and this was not only out of prudence and self-interest, but out of an intense sense of charity) (Valera 71). The idea that truth is discretely veiled and then discovered is a trope that the narrator resurrects several times throughout the novel. The narrator remarks that she is poor for her father's social class and cannot bear the idea of marrying only for the sake of avoiding the dreaded status of *soltera* (single woman). We can gather that if Luz were to marry, she would have to "marry down," assuming the relatively inferior social category of her mother, or even worse, by physically reproducing that class by becoming a mother out of wedlock herself. Class is positioned as a category rooted in the scene of reproduction, rather than tied solely to financial means. Securing family lines thus reproduces class purity. The narrator suspects that Luz's greatest fear is giving birth to a child of a lower class, thus forever damaging the name of her father:

> Alguien podría sospechar pero no probar su invencible repugnancia a todo lo vulgar y plebeyo, y el horror que de ella se apoderaba la sola idea de poder un día tener un hijo que llevase su ilustre apellido en pos de otro apellido oscuro y rústico de algún ricacho villano. (Valera 59)

> Someone might suspect, but not prove, her insuperable repulsion towards everything vulgar and plebeian, and the horror that overwhelmed her at the mere thought of one day having a child who would bear her illustrious surname alongside the obscure and rustic one of some moneyed villager.

Here Doña Luz's feelings about mixed lineage split into two interrelated subjects: the aristocratic fear of class corruption and her repulsion for the unwed mother who bears a child out of wedlock. The preoccupation with the reproduction of class demonstrates an anxiety around the containment of illegitimacy. Resolving the problem of illegitimacy inheres in the narrator terms of a conceptualization of a healthy and optimistic democracy, at the core of which lies the maintenance of class differentiation (Valera 70). Her illegitimacy works as a social disease that threatens to blur class boundaries and reveals the porosity of these purportedly discrete categories. Thus her only remedy is marriage, thereby securing the aristocratic name of the father and ensuring that illegitimacy is not propagated through the reproduction of another bastard child. After all, it is not only Doña Luz who fears sullying her father's name. The narrator considers it an obligation of the illegitimate daughter of a marquis "de no deshonrar ni deslustrar este buen nombre" (to not dishonor nor tarnish this noble name) (Valera 70).

The problematic situation that arises from Luz's decision against marriage is rife with anxieties around the intertwining relationship between class, gender, and legitimacy, and the threat that impure origins pose. With this uncertainty, Doña Luz is not stripped of all agency and possibility, but instead manages to achieve some interim independence. To a certain degree it is her choice to not fully embrace the social position of her father through marriage. This decision affords her some temporary liberties unknown to other women in the town, making her a controversial figure among the well-to-do women in Villafría. Pushing the boundaries of her father's class she wields a dangerous, ambiguous power. This is because Luz is a relatively autonomous woman who is simultaneously *casta*: she is initially *casta* (chaste) in rejecting sensuality but not *castiza* (of good origin and without mixing). She can be read as a pure and revered figure in terms of her comportment and her beauty, yet she is also simultaneously impure by birth. Her character is marked by binary extremes, oscillating from one to the other throughout the narrative. Like so many other nineteenth century Spanish heroines, on various occasions the narrator describes her as "casta," "limpia," and "pura" (chaste, clean, pure). She is even purity incarnate: "Doña Luz era en todo la pulcritud personificada" (Doña Luz was in all things the personification of tidiness) (Valera 56). Because of her appearance and her decision to remain chaste, she is *casta*, pure and opposed to all forms of sensuality. On the other hand, she is also the product of a socially degenerative coupling. Her humbled status as a *Doña*[7] positions her in an unfixed in-between state, unwilling to completely forgo the class status of her father while never fully belonging to it. Doña Luz at first takes full advantage of this fluid space and her financial circumstances to her benefit. In her own words she says: "Casi estoy fuera de toda clase social" (I am nearly outside of all social class) (Valera 90). From her own perspective she lives *almost* outside of the strictures of social class, which would require her to conform to and embody a certain kind of femininity, through marriage and childbirth. While Doña Luz asserts that her humble status prevents her from marrying, she later exploits her ability to remain a

[7] A title previously only used by Spanish women of high nobility that became more commonplace for bourgeois women by the nineteenth century.

single laywoman, an option that few women of her class were afforded and with just enough money to support her modest lifestyle. The narrator optimistically declares that "la independencia de Luz era perfecta" (Luz's independence was perfect) (Valera 76). This freedom, of course, is not unconditional. In order to maintain a respectable life and reputation in her town, she must work twice as hard to maintain her status as *casta* and perform purity because she is not *castiza*. Luz obsessively desires to be pure and clean, even more so because of her social stain:

> La misma impureza de su origen, el vicio de su nacimiento, la humilde condición de su desconocida madre, obraban por reacción en su ánimo y casi convertían su orgullo en fiereza. Para limpiar aquella mancha original, quería ser Doña Luz mucho más limpia y mucho más pura. (Valera 60)
>
> The very impurity of her lineage, the dishonor of her birth, the humble status of her unknown mother, produced a reaction in her spirit and nearly converted her pride into cruelty. In order to wipe away that original stain Doña Luz wanted to be that much more clean and pure.

Removing her "original stain," however, is a futile exercise because her origin story cannot be changed by her desire to be more pure; purity as good origin operates as a permanent defect. The problem that the narrator identifies in this passage, which will eventually lead to her downfall, is her pride. Her shameful status requires a performance of humility, yet such performance is the ironically the source of her pride. The narrator construes her origin in terms of original sin, "aquella mancha original" (that original stain), suggesting that she is a fallen subject from birth (of which she ought not to be proud, pride being the original sin in biblical terms). The narrator renders Luz's origin an *original stain*, while her prideful appropriation of her origin becomes a manifestation of original sin. Doña Luz, aligned with Eve, the first to commit the deadly sin of pride, is marked as a fallen woman from the start. Framing her illegitimacy as an original stain, recalls the blood purity statues of the Inquisition. This analogy likens her to the uneasy status of fifteenth and sixteenth century Jewish and Muslim *conversas* (female Jewish converts), as her precarious social status is determined by her lineage and amplified by her gender.

The history of *limpieza de sangre* has significant gendered implications which are relevant to our discussion on legitimacy. Historian María Elena Martínez has shown that in the sixteenth century *limpieza* began carry greater repercussions for women than men. The policing of religious identity transitioned from a focus on heretical practices to pure lineage. The holy office subsequently located heresy in the home, a particularly female space, thus spawning new concern for the female body as a source of contamination. Domestic activities performed by women ranging from food preparation to cleaning were thus regarded as suspect , reflective of heretical rituals. With the new focus on women, matrilineal heritance was now taken into consideration and the power of paternity was no longer enough to ensure Christian identity. As women were now seen as contaminating agents with corruptible bodies, enclosure, chastity and fidelity became crucial elements of social regulation. Feminist literary critic Bridget Aldaraca contends that the bourgeois cult of domesticity, the *ángel del hogar* syndrome, could be seen as a repackaging of early modern gender politics such as those generated by Fray Luis in *La Perfecta Casada*. While the Inquisition was officially dissolved in 1832, Noel Valis has also found that

purity requirements outlived the Inquisition and were not abolished until the 1860s. In fact, the nineteenth-century definition of "limpio" (clean) still included the idea of religious-racial purity in the definition: "Aplícase a las personas o familias que no tiene mezcla ni raza de moros, judíos, herejes o penitenciados" (Applies to persons or families that are not mixed with and do not pertain to the race of Moors, Jews, heretics, or *penitenciados* [those charged by the Ecclesiastical Tribunal of the Inquisition]) (*DRAE* 1884). Thus the social significance of blood purity persisted well into nineteenth-century Spain, resurfacing as either explicit or more generalized or anxieties around origin, lineage and chastity. Doña Luz's sin is therefore both hereditary and "proper" to her gender: invisible but yet always present. While Luz labors to perfect her outward purity and cleanliness, the story of her origin, a site of immaterial impurity, remains unchanged.

The narrator's constant and contradictory references to Luz as physically pure and chaste while being damned by her birth, bring to mind Homi Bhabha's discussion of the fetishistic modes of representation deployed by the stereotype:

> Fixity as the sign of cultural/historical/racial difference in the discourse of colonialism, is a paradoxical mode of representation: it connotes rigidity and an unchanging order as well as disorder, degeneracy and daemonic repetition. Likewise the stereotype, which its major discursive strategy, is a form of knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is always 'in place,' already known, and something that must be anxiously repeated. (Bhabha 94)

For Bhabha the stereotype operates in a similar fashion to that of the fetish: through a disavowal of difference. If legitimacy is Luz's perceived lack, then other forms or conditions of purity, including beauty and hygiene, work as mechanisms of fetishistic compensation. Cleanliness thus becomes an obsession for Doña Luz: "[S]e miraba y se complacía en este que podemos llamar aseo moral y corpóreo, por lo mismo que se veía circundada de gente algo ruda y no muy limpia ni de cuerpo ni del alma y como si tuviese el temor de contaminarse" (She always attended to and took pleasure in what we might call corporal and moral cleanliness, because she was surrounded by somewhat crude people who were not very clean in body or soul, as though she feared being contaminated) (Valera 56-57). This passage demonstrates that class, that is the *wrong* class and the *wrong* origin, is perceived as a detectable and contractible disease, which through physical proximity or close contact, could fully bring out traces of the repressed class of her mother. Luz is motivated by her own inner *souillure* to maintain hyperbolic levels of corporeal cleanliness. Her dedication to hygiene and her rejection of male suitors reveals the fetishistic operations of origin in the narrative, as she anxiously tries to mask her impurity through displaced, metonymic iterations of purification.

Exoticizing Illegitimacy

While Doña Luz's impurity is a site of shame and dishonor, it also operates as a source of allure. The narrator describes Luz's physical appearance and character through the usage of orientalist and colonial tropes, suggesting that her illegitimate status and beauty combined make her the object of imperial fantasy. While Valera's narrator never travels beyond the geographical borders of Madrid and Andalusia, people, objects, and ideas from abroad abound in the novel,

forging a kind of intimacy between Spain, Asia and Africa.[8] The colonial spaces that enter into the narrative structure, Asia, Latin America, and Africa appear as part of the Spanish imaginary and everyday life "at home." At the same time they maintain a sense of distance and thus an unknowable quality, which continuously reproduces the idea of the colonies and of the Orient as strange, exploitable, exotic, and yet suitable for consumption. Furthermore these traces of empire inform the very narrative devices of the novel used to portray impurity. The imperial backdrop of the novel thus produces a different understanding of purity in the forms of *castidad* (chastity), *casta* (caste) and *castizo/a* (origin), which cannot be understood exclusively in terms of the national but must be examined within the broader context of empire.

From the outset, the narrator portrays Doña Luz as an extraordinarily beautiful woman who functions as an empty signifier: a malleable figure, Luz is able to embody racially diverse and contradictory iconic female figures in the eyes of the narrator. At the age of twenty-seven the narrator describes Luz as her outward beauty comes into full bloom. In a passage that evokes the iconography of the Baroque poetic portrait, the narrator describes Doña Luz as a stunning blond beauty, reflecting the pure qualities symbolized by her name:

> Doña Luz era un sol que estaba en el cenit. Gallarda y esbelta, tenía toda la amplitud, robustez y majestad que son compatibles con la elegancia de formas de una doncella llena de distinción aristocrática. La salud brillaba en sus frescas y sonrosadas mejillas; la calma, en su cándida y tersa frente, coronada de rubios rizos; la serenidad del espíritu, en sus ojos azules, donde cierto fulgor apacible de caridad y de sentimientos piadosos suavizaba el ingénito orgullo. (Valera 57)
>
> Doña Luz was a sun that reached its zenith. Graceful and slender, she possessed all the fullness, robustness, and majesty that were compatible with the elegance of a young lady, full of aristocratic distinction. Health shined on her fresh, rosy cheeks; calmness, on her smooth, candid brow, crowned with blond curls; and the serenity of spirit, in her blue eyes, where a certain placid brightness of charity and pious feelings mollified her innate pride.

The narrator's description of Doña Luz as a glowing blond-haired, blue-eyed, aristocratic woman paint the portrait of the epitome of whiteness -- the projection of Aryan or Northern European fantasy against the backdrop of the racialized, rustic south. At the same time, Doña Luz simultaneously exhibits qualities of otherness which contradict her aristocratic appearances: "Cuando quería, bailaba como una sílfide; en el andar airoso, semejaba a la divina cazadora de

[8] Here I borrow a concept that Lisa Lowe develops in her essay "The Intimacies of Four Continents." For Lowe the term "intimacies" characterizes the interdependencies and linkages between Europe, America, Africa and Asia through colonialism. Lowe is particularly interested in the unevenness in the representation of these intimacies and focuses on the absence of the figure of the Chinese coolie and the erasure of Asia in the historiography of the early Americas. For Lowe, it is through "the intimacies of the four continents" that the condition upon which modern humanism and a racialized division of labor were produced. She develops the concept of the intimate as a polyvalent term having three central meanings: The first meaning of intimacy is the idea of spatial proximity; the second is the idea of privacy in contrast to the bourgeois public sphere of work and politics; and the third refers to the "volatile contact of colonized peoples" (203). I use the term intimacy adopting Lowe's first definition: to refer to both the imagined and real proximity and interconnectedness between Spain, Asia, Africa and the Americas, which is projected through representation of these spaces in Valera's novel.

Delos, y montaba a caballo como reina de las amazonas" (When she wanted to, she danced like a sylph; in her light step she resembled the divine huntress of Delos; and she rode horseback like the queen of the Amazons) (Valera 57). That the latter description refers primarily to Luz's disposition and wants (*quería*/wanted to), citing such activities as dancing, hunting, and horseback riding, exhibits a narrative dissonance between her aristocratic (and Western) appearance and her wild, mythical character.

The young men in the town are completely enchanted by the mythical Luz, and they too see her as an exotic creature: "Doña Luz parecía una garza real, una emperatriz, una heroína de leyendas y de cuentos fantásticos; algo de peregrino y de fuera de lo que se usa; el hada de Parabanú; la más egregia de las huríes" (Doña Luz looked like a black-crested heron, an empress, a heroine of legends and fantastic tales, something rare and unusual, the fairy of Parabanú, the most distinguished of the houris) (Valera 58). The list of exotic and mythical figures finally crescendos with the references to Arab and Islamic figures, which stand in contrast to the earlier references to Western mythology. The Fairy of Pari-Banou comes from the tale "Prince Ahmed and the Fairy Pari-Banou" translated by Antoine Galland from Arabic to French and appearing in *Les Milles et Une Nuits* [9] in 1714. In this story the fairy of Pari-Banou is an exceptionally beautiful and powerful super-being who marries Prince Ahmed and helps him overthrow his father's (the Sultan) empire. Johnson, Maxwell, and Trumpener in their study of *The Nights* and European fiction observe that "[i]n its sexual explicitness and unfettered sensuality its tableaux of lust and sexual coercion, *The Nights* shaped pornographic fantasies […] In a nominally Christian Europe […] men fantasize about Eastern-style domestic despotism, male sexual dominance, and female surrender" (256). Hence Valera, too, figures in this tradition of the European novelist who creates sexual fantasies with characters from *The Nights*. Ironically, however, from the northern European perspective (specifically in eighteenth-century French writing) *The Nights* were commonly linked with Spain, seen as a southern land of desire (Johnson, Maxwell, and Trumpener). The juxtaposition of these foreign (and yet not so foreign) images can, on one hand, show a lack of coherence in the narrative depiction of Doña Luz. Yet, as Hélène Gill contends: "Orientalist discourse, and the representations which derive from it, are never […] entirely coherent. Gaps and contradictions are, in any case, inherent discursive formations" (13). Thus, Doña Luz embodies the epitome of aristocratic ideals of Northern European beauty, while she is simultaneously characterized by her seductive, oriental exoticism. This is not an uncommon pairing given that "[in] Orientalist pictorial conventions […] curiously, the 'exotic' object of desire is nearly always figured as white" (Martin-Márquez 134). While many scholars have argued that whiteness in the orientalist tradition comes to represent passivity and submissiveness, Martin-Márquez adds that:

> the construction of this figure [the odalisque] as white facilitates her metaphorical consumption by European viewers, since she is aligned with a 'safer' form of difference—only the superficial accouterments of architecture, interior décor, jewelry, and when present costume signal her as other. (134)

[9] The original Syrian manuscript source for Galland's translation only contained 281 nights, so Galland supplemented the original with tales from other sources with Arabic originals. As a result, stories including Ali Baba, Aladdin, and likely the tale of Prince Ahmed were added to his problematic translation (Johnson, Maxwell, and Trumpener).

Doña Luz, however, does not herself take on the appearance of an odalisque or "the most distinguished of the houris." She does not don the habiliment or surround herself in the "oriental" decor found in the paintings of Ingres or Fortuny to perform this other identity. Instead, the narrator and the other characters project this fantasy onto Doña Luz, grafting the image of otherness onto her status of illegitimacy. Doña Luz's im/purity therefore takes on racialized dimensions. Roughly mapping these distinct fantasies as the desire for Aryan/Northern European contrasted with Orientalist/North African idealizations of beauty, Doña Luz conjoins opposing races reflected the opposing poles of the racial panic of the late nineteenth century, during which, amidst a racial panic, scientists in the northern regions of Spain were attempting to prove their whiteness by tracing their heritage to the Celts (in the case of Galicia), northern Europe (in the case of Catalonia) and Iberians (in the case of the Basque Country), while Andalusia was linked to north Africa (Martin-Márquez 39-50). Both images are arguably foreign and simultaneously domestic. Thus while the conflicting images of Aryan and Arab figures appear from outside of Spain, they in fact also represent ethnicities and heritages that draw from longstanding internal histories. The coupling of these images reveals the limitations of Edward Said's conceptualization of orientalism when applied to the case of Spain. For Said, Orientalism is "a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident'" (*Orientalism* 2).[10] But as we see in the context of Spain, there is not a hard and fast division between the so-called Orient and the Occident. In fact, these lines of demarcation between the self and the other in Spain were precisely the subject of political and scientific debates in the nineteenth century, frequently evoking the discourse of the Black Legend. By extension what is to be considered pure and impure cannot be sharply defined. As Martin-Márquez succinctly states: "Spain is a nation that is at once orientalized and orientalizing" (9).

If the first half of the novel sets out to seduce the reader with these enticing exotic depictions of Luz, the latter half leads us to her sexual surrender and her final demise. Padre Enrique's entry into the narrative signals a shift from the exoticizing devices that frame Luz's grandeur as mythical and goddess-like, to a colonial discourse that positions her as wild and uncivilized, eliciting her admirers' desire for domination. While Luz deliberately ignored all of the young men who admired her and denied all previous suitors, padre Enrique's presence awakens her sexual desires through religious practice. Soon afterwards her tendency to punish herself by remaining indoors is quickly forgotten. Padre Enrique's return from the Philippines also signifies the introduction of commodities from the Far East that influences the narrative structure of the novel and prompts a transformation in Luz's identity vis-à-vis the reader. It is important to note that Luz herself does not undergo a physical transformation, but rather the narrator changes our perception of her.

The reader is introduced to padre Enrique first from the letters that he writes to announce his return from Manila due to poor health: "Mi querido tío: Mis males se agravaron hasta tal extremo en Manila, que los médicos decidieron que yo debía venir a Europa a pasar una larga temporada. Con los aires del país natal aseguraban que me repondría" (Dearest Uncle, My ill

[10] See Megan C. Thomas's recent book *Orientalists, Propagandists, and Ilustrados*: *Filipino Scholarship and the end of Spanish Colonialism*. In chapter two "Locating Orientalism and the Anthropological Sciences: The Limits of Postcolonial Critiques" Thomas advances a more nuanced, historicized understanding of the "unusual contours" of Spanish orientalism and anthropology, which have been obscured by contemporary critiques of orientalist thought.

health worsened to such an extreme in Manila that the doctors decided I should come to Europe for an extended stay. They assured me that with the air in my native country, I would recover) (Valera 98). Padre Enrique has fallen ill from his colonial surroundings and must return to breathe the restorative air of his homeland, a place he has seldom visited, after spending some twenty years in Manila. The doctor's response to Padre Enrique's illness was rooted in the theory of miasma, still a prominent theory in the nineteenth-century Spanish medicine, that held that diseases were transmitted through "bad" air (as opposed to germs), miasma literally meaning "pollution" in classical Greek. The Philippines, and more specifically Manila, become the noxious, miasmatic space to the colonizer. Here is it useful to briefly discuss the project of evangelization in the Philippines during the nineteenth century.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Spain no longer pursued geographical expansion, but instead consolidated its efforts to maintain its last remaining colonies, fighting wars against Cuban independence and insurrection in the Philippines. Even if Spain was a diminished empire, Alda Blanco argues that the Spanish liberal intelligentsia still understood colonialism to be a modern end, central to the project of nation-building during the period of the Restoration. To cite one example, Blanco refers to Antonio Cánovas de Castillos's *Discurso sobre la nación* (1882) in which the Christianization of colonies, the civilizing mission of the Spanish Empire, was central to the future of the Spanish nation. Blanco writes "For Cánovas the Christian nation is fundamentally a colonizing entity that must use force in order to fulfill its Divine mission"("Spain at the Crossroads" 9). Spain, in fact, continued its evangelizing efforts throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the Philippine archipelago where priests and missionaries blurred the boundaries between spiritual domination and colonial administration. As John Blanco has shown, the Philippines were a special colonial context in which very few lay figures of Spanish authority were present and most were concentrated in Manila. As a result clergyman, who from the start of the conquest in the sixteenth century occupied both the role of spiritual authority and by default, took on a series of temporal responsibilities normally given exclusively to administrative authorities of the crown. Blanco draws from Foucault's notion of pastoral power to show how through the implementation of accountability, obedience, individualized knowledge, and mortification between the pastor and parishioner, Spanish missionaries were able to successfully convert the indigenous subjects to Christianity through, what he terms, a "manufactured form of consent." This pastoral power, in conjunction with administrative authority, positioned priests as the "proto-police force on the colonial frontier" (John Blanco 76). Priests and missionaries therefore exercised a great deal of power, one that was viewed at times as threatening to the Crown, because of their relative autonomy, dual authority, and powerful administrative function in colonial rule through the production and maintenance of what was called the *Republica Cristiana*. In contrast to this historical profile of the missionary as proto-police in the colonies, hence effectuating colonial governance through a successful process of evangelization, *Doña Luz* provides an image of a once successful but now weakened, dying priest, incapable of surviving in the "infectious" space of the Philippines. This enervated image of colonization via conversion points to an underlying anxiety in the novel about the fragility of the so-called Christian Republic and the fear concerning the loss of control and regulation.

In the novel these very objects of anxiety (i.e., religious conversion and colonialism) become sites of sexual desire that come into conflict with the desire for purity. In the case of

Doña Luz, sexual desire is also a desire to produce some form of impurity through "illicit" intimacy or physical contact. Notions of purity in the novel are framed largely in terms of class and social standing (determined by birth) and chastity, embodied and expressed in terms of racial difference. While the narrator suggests early on that Doña Luz's wild character likens her to mythical and fantastical subjects, purity takes on different forms when Doña Luz comes into contact with padre Enrique**,** whose return to Spain brings about a more explicit colonial discourse in the novel, both through the language of the narrative voice and through the circulation of commodities and bodies from abroad. From this point forward the narrator begins to represent the domestic imperialist culture of this southern town and the everyday relations that are determined by Spain's status as modern empire. Reading the figure of padre Enrique in the context of empire and nation reveals that categories of identity that fall under the rubric of *casta*, such as race, gender, and class, take on new meanings when examined within a broader geopolitical context. It is significant that objects from the Far East appear as things that are hand-carried by padre Enrique himself. They become part the domestic landscape after Enrique's arrival, which seems to suggest that his presence changes the course of the narrative. It is, in fact, through Luz's contact with Enrique that the narrator begins to deploy colonial stereotypes from the Oriental Indies to describe her character.

References to colonial spaces can be found scattered throughout the narrative landscape. While colonized people and colonial artifacts may not immediately appear to be central to the novel, it is precisely these traces of empire, which are both naturalized and fetishized, that serve as the framework through which the narrative gives meaning to categories of identity. Upon Padre Enrique's return from the Philippines he brings with him many gifts from different parts of Asia including China, Japan and India:

> para ellos puros filipinos en abundancia; para ellas, o pañolones bordados, que llaman en mi tierra de espumilla y Manila en Madrid, o abanicos chinescos de los más primorosos. Para don Acisclo armas japonesas, y para Doña Luz un juego de ajedrez de marfil, prolijamente labrado. (Valera 99)
>
> for the men, Philippine cigars in abundance; for the women, either embroidered shawls, which we call "crepe" and in Madrid "Manila," or the most exquisite Chinese fans. For Don Acisclo, Japanese arms, and for Doña Luz a set of meticulously carved ivory chess set.

Historically speaking, this is a significant detail because Manila was established as the main point for trade between the New World and Asia. By the mid-nineteenth century Manila was more important than ever for Spain, having lost almost all of its colonies in Spanish America.[11] Valera's novel presumes a certain colonial intimacy between Spain and Asia, constructing a world in which the circulation of objects, people, and ideas from overseas was commonplace in the national imperialist imaginary.

Along with all of the goods he brings from the Philippines, Padre Enrique also returns with a Chinese servant, Ramón. While seemingly performing an indispensable role as Padre

[11] See Katharine Bjork's article: "The Link That Kept the Philippines Spanish: Mexican Merchant Interests and the Manila Trade, 1571-1815." *Journal of World History*. 9.1 (1998): 25-50.

Enrique's primary caretaker and trusted confidant, Ramón never speaks and is never spoken about by the other characters. Instead, his only mode of appearance is through the narrator's third person description. He reappears near the end of the novel when Padre Enrique is suffering from hysterical attacks. Ramón, by Padre Enrique's request, is the only one who knows of his illness, and he is the sole witness to the priest's diminishing health, directly correlated to his amorous desires for Luz. The inventory of the items brought from abroad, including Ramón, introduces the colonial subject as colonial *object* in equal value to the other gifts from abroad. Yet because of the level of confidence between Ramón and Padre Enrique, the former stands as a shadow of the colonial experience embodied by the priest, strengthening the presence of the habitually silenced imperial project of the nation. This is significant for Padre Enrique since he, incompatible with the metropole, is incapable of connecting with the other members of Villafría in the way that he connects emotionally and spiritually with Doña Luz. This then begs the question: What does Doña Luz share in common with Ramón?

Illicit Inheritance

Padre Enrique is construed as an antisocial figure who finds a kindred spirit in Dona Luz. A social oddity himself, he and Doña Luz mirror each other in a peculiar way through their qualities of otherness: Enrique, contaminated abroad and Luz, stained by birth. Much like the case of Ana Ozores and her confessor in *La Regenta* (see Chapter 2), the initial exchanges on the topic of religion eventually spark sexual and amorous tensions between the two, which initially take the form of spiritual exchanges, akin to that of teacher and pupil or confessor and penitent. This particular relationship of spiritual devotion, however, operates in complex ways that are central to the understanding of subjectivity and colonial discourse in the novel. First, the appearance of spiritual practice works as a kind of vehicle through which their sexual feelings may be safely contained under the guise of religious practice.[12] But Padre Enrique's subject-position as a missionary turned priest leads him to see life in the Peninsula in colonial terms. His time spent in the colonies has led to the constitution of a colonizing subjectivity that cannot be reversed when he returns home:

> Para tratar, dirigir, ganar almas y someter voluntades, [el padre Enrique] había sido maravilloso allá en los pueblos del extremo Oriente; pero como había salido de España muy mozo, y apenas había vivido en esta sociedad artificiosa y algo refinada de nuestro siglo, cuya cultura y usos convencionales se extienden hasta las aldeas, lo veía y estimaba todo con cierta sencillez selvática, interpretando las palabras y las acciones de diverso modo que el vulgo. (Valera 80)
>
> Treating, directing, and winning souls and subjugating the wills of the peoples of the Far East, [Padre Enrique] had been marvelous; but since he had left Spain as a young man and had scarcely lived in this artificial and somewhat refined society of our time, whose culture and conventional ways extend even to villages, he saw and regarded everything with a certain savage simplicity, interpreting words and actions in a different manner from the common people.

[12] The fusion of eroticism and religiosity, particularly in the context of a woman and a priest, is a theme borrowed from *Pepita Jiménez* (1874) and appears later in Alas's *La Regenta* (1884-1885)

Valera's narrative gesture suggests that the colony produces the colonizer even as it produces the colonized (Memmi 91). The contradiction here is that throughout the narrative, the consumption of commodities from Asia is an indication of wealth and sign of luxury, yet being accustomed to Asian culture is read as a sign of backwardness, equivalent to the rustic south in Europe. So while Padre Enrique's impurity is acquired through his going native in a foreign environment, Luz's impurity is inherited.

Inheritance and (sexual) purity play a central role through the development of the novel and are complicated by the imperial subtext of the narrative. Doña Luz's unfortunate circumstances are attributed to a complex family inheritance, the first being the social *descuido* (carelessness) of her mother and the second being the impoverished financial condition of her father's estate. There is a third and much less explicit form of inheritance, and that is the inheritance of sexual deviance transmitted by her libertine father, which I argue is couched in the figure of a black horse. The narrator explains that Doña Luz's only valuable possession, other than her father's house, is her father's black horse: "El único lujo, el único regalo de Doña Luz, era una magnífico caballo negro" (The only luxury, the only gift Doña Luz possessed, was a magnificent black horse) (Valera 61).

Sexual tensions are not infrequently represented through the images of horses and horseback riding in nineteenth-century novels. In Valera's *Pepita Jimenez*, thought to have served as a blueprint for *Doña Luz*, the horseback riding adventure between Pepita and Padre Luis is representative of Pepita's sexual appetite and Luis's sexual clumsiness.[13] Likewise, in *Doña Luz*, Luz's unfulfilled sexual desire is represented through instances of aggressive horseback riding. In the first example of this, horseback riding is coupled with an eroticized form of religious practice. In highly erotic rendition of false mysticism, the narrator voyeuristically describes Doña Luz's physical reactions as she contemplates the provocative image of a half-naked, crucified Christ. This provocative portrait, painted by el Divino Morales, is capable of producing "convulsions," "ataques de nervios" and even "delirio" (nervous attacks/delirium) (Valera 82). I quote this lengthy passage in order to underscore the intensity and excess of this eroticized religious scene:

> A casi nadie se le mostraba; pero ella, que tenía muy rara condición y muy contrarias propensiones en el espíritu activo e infatigable, tal vez después de trotar y galopar y dar saltos peligrosos en su caballo negro, durante dos o tres horas; tal vez después de haber limpiado, bañado y frotado con complacencia su hermoso cuerpo, que del valiente ejercicio había vuelto cubierto de sudor; rebosando ella salud, en todo el brío de la mocedad y en todo el florecimiento de la belleza plástica, se sentía llena de ímpetus ascéticos, y, abriendo su cuadro, le

[13] In *Pepita Jimenez* Luis remarks: "En cuanto a Pepita Jiménez, que imaginaba yo que vendría también en burra con jamugas, pues ignoraba que montase, me sorprendió apareciendo en un caballo tordo muy vivo y fogoso, vestida de amazona, y manejando el caballo con destreza y primor notables […] Pepita me miraba compasiva, al ver la facha lastimosa que sobre la mula debía yo de tener" (With regard to Pepita Jiménez, whom I had imagined would also arrive riding sidesaddle on a donkey, of course I didn't know that she rode, she surprised me by appearing on a strong and fiery dapple-gray horse, dressed like an Amazonian woman and directing the horse with notable skill and ability) (Valera *Pepita Jimenez* 98-99).

> contemplaba largo tiempo, y las lágrimas acudían a sus ojos, y acudían a sus rojos labios plegarias inefables que ella murmuraba y apenas articulaba. (Valera 82)
>
> She showed the painting to very few people, but she herself, who had the most strange condition and very contrary propensities in a tireless, active spirit, perhaps after trotting and galloping and jumping dangerously on her black horse for two or three hours; perhaps after having happily cleaned, washed, and rubbed its/her magnificent body, which had become covered in sweat from the valiant exercise; and brimming with health and with the glow of youth and the full blossoming of her aesthetic beauty, she would be feel filled with ascetic impulses and, opening the painting, would contemplate it for a long period, and tears would well up in her eyes, and ineffable prayers emerge from her red lips, prayers that she murmured and barely articulated.

Here the narrator reveals to the reader Doña Luz's habit of privately viewing this image that is "horrible y bello a la vez" (horrible and beautiful at once) (Valera 81), so much so that it must be covered up by another painting and viewed only under special circumstances. Based on this passage we can gather that Doña Luz is inclined to view this painting only once she has completed her meticulous cleansing ritual; one that first involves vigorous exercising, followed by a three-fold purification process: washing, bathing, and rubbing. Herein lies a cycle of dirtying and cleansing which is infused with sexual desire. The act of riding, which is erotically charged throughout the novel, is paradoxically necessary in order to expunge impurities (through perspiration) so that they can wiped away clean.

It is important to point out here that bathing was not a common daily ritual, but was prescribed by nineteenth-century hygienists as both a method for cleaning the skin and as a medical treatment for various ailments. Pedro Felipe Monlau, considered to be the father of Spanish hygiene, acknowledges that the general population cleans and baths their animals and yet neglects to wash and care for their own skin (*Higiene Privada* 79). Monlau's 1870 hygiene manual *Higiene Privada* depicts bathing as a newly revived ancient practice and foreign import, making reference to the bathing practices of the Romans, the Russians, the Finish and the Turks, even noting that Russian bathhouses have opened up in Madrid (Monlau *Higiene Privada* 82-83, 87). In the context of the novel then, bathing can be read as an exotic, albeit hygienic, practice. There were strict procedures for bathing which are reflected in this passage. While a cool bath is recommended after perspiring or if skin is warm, one should not enter the bath water with sweat still on the skin (Monlau *Higiene Privada* 81, 85). Monlau also prescribes "friction" or rubbing of the skin to complete the bathing process (*Higiene Privada* 91). This bathing process did not only aid in purifying the skin, but also produced "una satisfaccion indefinible" (an undefinable satisfaction) (Monlau *Higiene Privada* 83). Monlau also acknowledges that "las fricciones practicadas por personas de sexo diferente, pueden disponer a los placeres de la reproducción" (Frictions practiced by people of different sexes could incite the pleasures of reproduction) (*Higiene Privada* 91). The excessive cleansing ritual appears as the compulsory but also pleasurable hygienic preparation for Doña Luz to contemplate this painting. She must present herself in the purest material state before the image of Christ, which in turn sparks her erotic excesses, leaving her in an ecstatic, if not orgasmic and speechless state.

This peculiar purification process demonstrates the ways in which purity and impurity are inextricably and intricately interwoven. All the while, the narrator invites the reader to take pleasure from this scene. The use of the expression "tal vez" (perhaps) above indicates that he is filling in the schematic gaps of a habitual act with his own imagination. With the ambiguous use of the possessive "su" (its/hers) in the above passage, the narrator opens up the textual fantasy of Luz cleansing her sweat-covered, "beautiful" body. The fact that the act of purification is also site of symbolic dirt and desire complicates the relationship between purity (*castidad*) and its opposite, sensuality. The infusion of the erotic with religious practice and imagery blurs the boundaries between pure and impure, sacred and profane, a confusion that permeates the entire novel. The juxtaposition of the Christ image, which recalls her repressed desire, and the act of horseback riding foreshadows the sexual tension that builds between Luz and Padre Enrique. Moreover, the image she contemplates is that of a dead Christ, thus linking death with Doña Luz's desire for Padre Enrique,[14] a harbinger of his eventual death in direct connection with his own forbidden desires. This is curious, however, not only because of what it foretells in the novel, but because these activities (horseback riding, cleansing and ascetic contemplation) are eroticized in tandem with one another. In these back-to-back scenes, it is not only Luz who takes pleasure from these activities, but it is also the reader who is invited by the narrator to consume these sexualized representations.

The black horse is a powerful image in the novel that has not yet been explored in the context of race. I would like to recall that the horse is one of the few objects that Luz's father bequeathed to her, marking again the importance of inheritance, material or otherwise, in connection to sexuality. There is a curious chain of signification here that operates through the semantic evolution of the word *casta* as origin and purity but also as caste or breed. Before proceeding with the analysis, it is worth repeating some of the key terms outlined in the introduction. One of the earliest definitions of *raza* (race) in the Covarrubias's *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (1611) refers to "castes" of purebred horses (Mignolo 77). The idea of race in the following century would later be extended to humans, and be used not to refer to (normal, legitimate) lineage but rather to bad lineage, that is Muslim or Jewish, rendering Catholics a racially unmarked group. In the eighteenth century *casta* as defined by the *Real Academia Española* would take on the meaning of both "generation" and "lineage" in terms of humans[15] and "breed" in terms of animals, most notably horses.[16] The emphases in both explanations rest on the affirmation of known progenitors, something that Doña Luz struggles with for the majority of the novel.

It is useful to here bring into discussion Sander L. Gilman's analysis of black figures in nineteenth-century visual art in *Black Bodies, White Bodies*, where he argues that the representation of black women suggested the taboo sexuality of white women when the two were positioned together, as in Manet's *Olympia*. While Gilman examines the representation of the

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[14] Upon Padre Enrique's pronouncement of death, Luz retrospectively acknowledges the connection between her contemplation of the dead Christ image, and her desires for Padre Enrique.

[15] "Generación y linaje que viene de padres conocidos" (Generation and lineage, from known progenitors).

[16] "Se llama también el distinto linaje de los caballos y otros animales, porque vienen de padres conocidos por su lealtad, fiereza u otra circunstancia, señalados y particulares" (It is also used for the distinct lineage of horses, bulls and other animals, because they come from known parents because of their loyalty, ferocity, or other identified and particular circumstances).

black servant or most notably the then ubiquitous figure of the Hottentot Venus, the image of the black horse in *Doña Luz* works in a similar way. That is, the signification of blackness operates metonymically to evoke a sense of animalistic-racialized desire that sexualizes the entire scene.[17] It works as a sign of unbridled and excessive sexuality that needs to be tamed and *domesticated*, suggesting that Doña Luz's sexuality and subjectivity are both unstable and un-Spanish. This imagery reappears in a later moment in the novel when Padre Enrique and Doña Luz meet by chance on horseback. Enrique, who is an experienced rider from traveling on horseback in Asia,[18] attempts to tame Luz and her wild black horse with the crack of his whip (Valera 107). It is not only that Luz's horse is violent, but also that she herself is an aggressive rider: "montaba a caballo como la reina de las amazones" (she rode on horseback like the queen of the Amazons) (Valera 57). The horse's violent movements possess a metonymic relationship to Luz, exemplifying both her (inherited) unbridled passions, which will later destroy her fragile state of chastity but also her indomitable character; the Amazon being emblematic of an uncolonizable space.

The image of the indomitable black horse symbolizes the hypersexuality of a deviant white woman without explicitly stating it as such. Doña Luz can therefore be read through the representation and maneuvering of her horse, and her rebellious figure is likened to that of a wild animal that provokes the disciplinary/domesticating action of the missionary-priest. Padre Enrique is the figure who must castigate (*castigar*) or chasten Doña Luz's wild riding, highlighting the disciplinary force of the discourse of *casta*. The cracking of Enrique's whip has a dual significance here, for while the use of whips is commonplace in riding, lashing was also a common form of punishment used in the Philippines by the missionaries during the conversion to Christianity (John Blanco). Thus, through the icon of the black horse Luz is framed as a wild indomitable subject whose impurity derives from the lasciviousness of her parents and the caste of her unknown mother.

In contrast to the riding scene, there are other instances in the narrative where Doña Luz is more explicitly represented through colonial metaphors. In one striking moment in the text, the narrator couches Padre Enrique's desire in colonial terms in a scene that recalls religious conversion in the colonies:

> La afición de Doña Luz no se diferenciaba a sus ojos de la que le tuvieron estos o aquellos neófitos indios, chinos o anamitas, salvo en ser la afición de Doña Luz más de estimar por la excelencia de la persona que la sentía, en quien el padre hallaba un sinnúmero de brillantes calidades: un espíritu cultivadísimo y capaz de elevarse a las esferas más encumbradas del pensamiento, y un corazón lleno de afectos tiernos, nobles y puros. (121)

[17] In contrast to the black horses in Valera, Clarín associates a white horse with Ana Ozores in *La Regenta*. Tellingly, this horse is characterized as "de pura raza española" (of pure Spanish "race.")

[18] This is one of many moments in which the narrator mentions Padre Enrique's "training" outside of Spain. These references in some instances (such as this one) give Padre Enrique more credibility and in others serve as an explanation for why he might not perform well.

> The devotion of Doña Luz was no different in his eyes than that of those neophyte Indians, Chinese or Anamese, except that Doña Luz's devotion was more estimable because of the excellence of the person who felt it, a person in whom the priest found countless brilliant qualities: a well cultivated spirit capable of rising to the loftiest spheres of thought and a heart full of tender, noble, and pure affect.

With this comparison, Doña Luz is positioned as *like* the colonial subject vis-à-vis Padre Enrique the missionary. This is a strange moment of doubling in which the "not quite" aristocratic subject from the metropole is viewed through the stereotype of the colonial other. Instead of the colonial mimic man, who is not quite/not white, to borrow the words of Bhabha, Luz is similar to but not entirely like the other. This is a complex inversion of the force of the stereotype, whereby the troubled subject from the metropole is likened to a "savage" from the Oriental Indies. Bringing this metaphor "home" shows that Padre Enrique's comparison positions Luz, a bastard marquise, as an internal colonial subject. Doña Luz's illegitimate status and bad origins are arguably what aligns her with that of a colonial subject and alienates her from the proper aristocratic señora expected by her society. Her status as orphan, with seemingly indomitable passions, positions the priest as the paternal figure expected to domesticate her and to discipline her unruliness, much as he did abroad.Yet what apparently differentiates Luz from "aquellos neófitos indios, chinos o anamitas" is her well-cultivated spirit. Therefore, it is arguably her innate "predisposition" for Christianity that distinguishes her from the colonized. Moreover, this moment of (mis)recognition where Enrique sees Luz in the same light as one of the savages abroad, recalls the modern Christian mission of civilizing the primitive world. Differentiating between Luz and the colonial subject by suggesting that the latter lacks the spirit of the civilized echoes the contemporary debates concerning the plausibility of true religious conversion in the colonies. This moment, which duplicates the story of Spanish imperialism via conversion, is precisely the moment when Padre Enrique arguably begins to fall in love with Luz and desire her, suggesting that he *must* view her through the eyes of a colonial missionary to make those desires legible to himself.

This is a significant shift from the earlier depictions where Luz was depicted as exotic queen or oriental princess. She is now, in the eyes of Enrique, relegated to the status of colonized subject of the Indies.[19] Similarly, it is through the contemplation of the Christ image that Luz's sexual desires are stimulated, conflating religion with both domination and desire. From this point on the narrator deploys other colonial metaphors to talk about Padre Enrique. During the latter's first bout of illness, for example, the narrator explains that "El padre desde entonces cuidaba de su cuerpo como cuida el esclavo de una prenda, de una máquina que su señor le confía, a fin de que sirviéndose de ella haga que la hacienda prospere" (From then on, the priest cared for his body like a slave cares for a jewel or for a machine that his master entrusts with him, so that with it he can make the plantation prosper) (Valera 209). By employing here the metaphor of a slave[20] to discuss Padre Enrique's practices of self-care, the narrator takes on the colonial vision full force. As the relationship between Luz and Enrique continues to intensify, the

[19] Unlike the verbose tantalizing descriptions of Luz as a oriental figure, there is no comparable description to accompany the image of the Indian, the Chinese and the Annamite.
[20] There is a similar reference in *La Regenta* where Ana Ozores declares herself a slave to hygiene.

narrator even refers to Enrique as a "pajarraco exótico y raro," (a rare and exotic bird) an image that recalls the earlier depiction of Luz as the black-crested heron (Valera 126). The reader, in turn, is encouraged to view the world of Villafría through a colonial paradigm. By describing Padre Enrique as a slave to his health in the above passage, the narrator not only paints the picture of a degenerate missionary, but represents him through a colonial paradigm. Consequently, Enrique figures as a quasi-colonial subject himself, unable to re-assimilate to his native lands.

In this way, the narrative suggests that there is some common ground between Luz and Enrique as impure subjects of the nation, but while Luz survives their emotional affair, Enrique does not. Padre Enrique is ultimately incompetent when it comes to conquering Doña Luz and dispelling his own deviant feelings for her. Ironically, his failure to tame Doña Luz and repress his own desires is also a testament to how he genuinely feels toward her. The narrator demonstrates a great deal of sympathy for this social misfit, describing their bond as the joining of two souls (Valera 150). Their intimate connection is so strong that at times they lose sight of the world around them:

> En medio de aquella agitación política, habían hallado retraimiento dulcísimo en la misma casa de quien la promovía; y allí [en casa de Don Acisclo] eran las pláticas suaves y encumbradas, y las conversaciones amenas, en que siempre aprendía algo Doña Luz, en que siempre hallaba nuevas excelencias en el entendimiento y el corazón del padre, y en que el padre, a su vez, no dejaba nunca de pasmarse del despejo, de la agudeza, de la notable discreción, de la fantasía poética y de la sensibilidad exquisita de su bella interlocutora. (Valera 150)
>
> In the midst of the political agitation, they had found a sweet respite in the very home of the person who had brought all this about. There [in Don Acisclo's house] their exchanges were quiet and elevated and their conversation pleasant. Doña Luz always learned something new, and she was always discovering new qualities of excellence in the priest's heart and intellect. And the priest, for his part, was continuously surprised by the clarity, acumen, remarkable discretion, poetic fantasy, and exquisite sensitivity of his beautiful interlocutor

Doña Luz is the only one capable of cultivating such fondness for Padre Enrique. As he fails to reacquaint himself with his motherland upon his return to Spanish society, he is the cause of much disappointment and pity from the members of the town. To them he is nothing more than a degenerate missionary, and an ultimate disaster of a priest in Villafría. Rumors concerning Enrique's character and beliefs circulate through the town, creating an image of him as a cruel and monstrous figure: "no hubiera sido difícil que alguien le supusiese conspirando en favor del restablecimiento de la Inquisición y hasta comiéndose los niños crudos" (it would not have been difficult to imagine that someone would find him to be conspiring to reestablish the Inquisition and even eating children live) (Valera 126). The narrator demonstrates here that certain townspeople maintain a critical view of the Inquisition while omitting any direct critique of Spain's imperial "Christianizing missions" abroad. The townspeople people do, however, attribute his poor performance and inability to relate to them to his being accustomed to living amongst the "savages" of the Indies: "no sabía aconsejar por lo fino, acostumbrado a vivir entre

los salvajes allá en las Indias" (he did not know how to advise gracefully, accustomed to living amongst the savage off in the Indies) (Valera 101). Padre Enrique, in effect, has become less civilized after spending nearly all of his adult life in the colonies. He has, in the eyes of the townspeople, "gone native" and is no longer at home in Spain. Enrique suffers from what the narrator identifies as the "sentencia evangélica" (evangelical sentence): "*Nadie es profeta en su patria*; también por él, si es lícito comparar lo pequeño con lo grande, pudo decirse que *estuvo entre los suyos y los suyos no le conocieron*" (*No one is a prophet in his homeland*, and for him, if it is fair to make a comparison, one could say that *he was amongst his own kind, and his own kind did not recognize him*) (Valera 101, emphasis in original). Padre Enrique is simply no longer compatible with the metropole, and it is also true that his return to the motherland diminishes his status. His life in the colony had given his status and identity a different meaning, and at home he is no longer knowable or recognizable. As a liminal subject himself, Doña Luz, illegitimate daughter, finds her forbidden match in Padre Enrique, the "illegitimate" priest. The source of his colonial desire is the very cause of his death, and the airs of his native land were not enough remedy to cure his illness.

Legitimate Love: From Priest to Soldier

While Doña Luz appeared before Padre Enrique as an indomitable "colonial" subject, responsible in part for his death, Don Jaime, a soldier and aspiring politician, proves to be a more dominant match. That Dona Luz's only two love affairs involve a missionary priest and a colonial war hero is no insignificant detail. Don Jaime appears to be all that Padre Enrique was lacking; he is well regarded, physically fit, eloquent and sociable. His masculinity and patriotism is reinforced by his accomplishments abroad, and he is a womanizer (like Luz's father) who, unlike Padre Enrique, was not weakened by his time spent abroad, but rather strengthened. Don Jaime is ushered into the narrative (in 1861) by Don Acisclo who, much to the surprise of his friends, has decided to enter into the world of politics. Noticing a change in his behavior they suspect that he might be getting prepared to leave town on an evangelizing mission, having once been an "hermano de cruz" (brother of the cross), a member of a confraternity (Valera 65). Doña Manolita asks if he plans to "ir a la China o a la India a convertir infieles" (go to China or convert infidels) to which Don Acisclo replies: "Infieles voy a convertir, pero sin salir por ahora de Villafría" (I will, in fact, convert infidels but without leaving Villafría) (Valera129). This is the second instance in which the metaphor of colonization through conversion is applied to subjects in Spain. It is in this moment that Don Acisclo announces his plans to enter regional politics as a *cacique*: "Quiero ser hombre político, personaje influyente, dueño de este distrito electoral, derrotando al cacique de la cabeza del distrito, que hoy lo puede aquí todo" (I want to be a political man, an influential person, lord of this electoral district, defeat the boss in charge of this district, who has everything under his control now) (130). He successfully replaces the existing political boss in town by backing Don Jaime the "candidato ilustre, un sujeto de inmenso porvenir, un héroe de la guerra de África" (the illustrious candidate, a person with a great future, a hero from the Spanish-Moroccan war) (Valera 132) in the election. That the concept of religious conversion is applied to the politicization of the countryside implies that this provincial southern town is an uncivilized part of Spain and that the cacique is its governmental colonizer. The representation of *caciquisimo* in the novel espouses what Labanyi calls (in reference to *Pepita Jiménez*) a "new brand of cacique with a moralizing mission"(274). Don Acisclo's political machinations will, from his perspective, contribute to moralizing the rural masses of

Villafría as part of a larger project of nation formation and modernization. Valera, who supported Catholicism as an effective extension of the central government, blends *caciquisimo* with the idea of religious conversion abroad, thereby treating the rural south as an internal colony (Labanyi).

With the arrival of Don Jaime, the Spanish-Moroccan War (1859-1860) forms part of the backdrop of the novel, which takes place during 1860 and 1861. At a time when morale was low, the initial success of the Spanish-Moroccan War helped boost Spain's national sentiment, creating a false hope that Spain had secured its place in Africa thereby regaining a position among the imperial powers of Europe (Martin-Márquez). Here it is useful to further explore the brief reference to the Spanish-Moroccan war precisely because it spurred much debate around the topic of Spanish racial identity in addition to Spain's international standing vis-à-vis Northern Europe. Martin-Márquez demonstrates how the prospect of colonization in Africa provoked a reformulation of Spanish racial identity. As Spain struggled to secure itself as an imperial power, it saw colonization in Africa as a means through which this could be done. Whereas a discourse of purity prevailed among debates around Spanish racial identity, insisting that Spaniards had no common roots with North Africans, once Britain and France had taken root in Africa, intellectuals (including liberal arabists) and politicians sought to legitimize their imperial endeavors in Africa by claiming that their historical affinity with North Africans, a risky claim given the rise of scientific debates on race in the late nineteenth century (Martin-Márquez). So while it is typically thought that Spaniards sought to eradicate possible ties with the "Moors," Martin-Márquez argues that the process of constructing a (racialized) Spanish national identity was actually more ambivalent that is traditionally thought, "leading to the formulation of hegemonic as well as alternative conceptualizations of the nation which recognized an incorporation of the other within the self" (28). This concept of the nation as having the other within the self is espoused by the novel and can help account for the pervasive ambivalence regarding different forms of purity articulated through race and sexuality.

When Don Jaime arrives in Villafría for the first time (after having wont the election) Don Acisclo lets him ride Doña Luz's black horse. It is then that Doña Manolita, Doña Luz's only female confidant, feels inspired to pull a prank on Doña Luz (an unconscious presentiment) by telling her that Don Jaime has fallen in love with her and wishes to marry her. At this point in the novel, Doña Luz is tormented with shame because of her feelings for Padre Enrique and is on the brink of losing the only thing she has some control over, her chastity: "Si el padre la hubiera inspirado otro más vivo sentimiento, ella hubiera pecado contra Dios, contra el mundo, contra su honra y contra su decoro" (If the priest had inspired a different passionate feeling in her, she would have committed a sin against God, against the world, against her honor and against her decorum) (Valera 219). Don Jaime's timing could not have been more auspicious. Soon after Manolita's prank, he begins courting Doña Luz, and after much resistance she decides that her crisis can be resolved through marriage with Don Jaime, a man of her father's class. The official succession from Padre Enrique to Don Jaime (both colonialist) then takes place at their wedding when Padre Enrique, serving as one of the few witnesses at the church, presents Don Jaime with a gift: a bronze statue of Siva collected during his travels in India:

> [C]onservaba aún, a pesar del regalo hecho a don Acisclo cuando vino de Filipinas, varias armas japonesas, chinescas, e indias, con las cuales se podía

> forma una bella panoplia, y un extraño ídolo de bronce que representaba al dios Siva. Este fue el presente que hizo el padre Enrique a don Jaime para que adornase su despacho. (Valera 200)
>
> He still maintained, in addition to his gift to don Acisclo when he arrived from the Philippines, various Japanese, Chinese and Indian, weapons, with which one could have formed a beautiful panoply, and a strange bronze idol that represented the god Siva. This was the present that Padre Enrique gave to don Jaime so that he could decorate his office.

The bronze statue of Siva, the Hindu deity whose name is etymologically linked to purity (Apte 919), symbolizes transference of power. Enrique passes the torch of the civilizing/purifying mission to Don Jaime who will not only tame and domesticate Doña Luz's wild, independent character, but as the district representative coming from the capital, he will also civilize this provincial southern town. The irony here of course is that the statue itself is a representation of a Hindu god and is thus itself a form of religious impurity. With this newfound power, "[s]u don Jaime parecíale un dios" (her don Jaime was like a god to her) (Valera 204), furthering the metaphor of the civilizing process via conversion.

Now legally joined with Don Jaime through marriage, she is free from the gossiping tongues of Villafría, and has contained the problem of her illegitimacy. Don Jaime himself, however, is no pure man, having had many lovers in Madrid. Rather than see this as a strike against him, Doña Luz paradoxically views this as her own form of civilizing mission.While understanding that this correct and proper form of love will save her from committing a carnal sin with Padre Enrique, she also believes that she is cleaning up Don Jaime's past with her own chastity and with the legitimacy of their relationship:

> Doña Luz sabía que don Jaime había sido adorado en Madrid, y, al verle tan prendado, tan rendido y tan amoroso y humilde, se llenaba de orgullosa complacencia, juzgándose mil veces más amada que todas sus antiguas rivales. Para completar su satisfacción, hacía además Doña luz un deslinda crítico, acerca de este negocio, que rara vez dejan de hacer las mujeres de su condición y en sus circunstancias. El amor de don Jaime por las otras mujeres había sido profano y pecaminoso: el que a ella tenía era virtuoso y santo; para las otras había nacido de capricho, de vanidad, de extravío juvenil o de otras pasiones ilegítimas; para ella nacía el amor de don Jaime del manantial más elevado y puro del alma, el cual, con su benéfica corriente, iba purificando el corazón de su amigo, borrando de él toda huella y toda mancha de las pasadas culpas y dejándole más limpio que el oro. Toda esta santificación y limpieza íntima era obra poco menos que milagrosa y sobre humana del amor de Doña Luz y del fuego purificante de sus ojos. (Valera 202-203)
>
> Doña Luz knew that Don Jaime had been adored in Madrid, and upon seeing him so enchanted, so submissive and so loving and humble, she was filled with a proud satisfaction, considering herself a thousand times more loved than all her old rivals. To complete her satisfaction, Doña Luz made, in addition, a critical

> distinction in regards this business, one that women of her condition and in her circumstances rarely fail to make. Don Jaime's love for the other women had been profane and sinful: the love he had for her was virtuous and holy; for the others it had been born from caprice, from vanity, from youthful misconduct or other illegitimate passions. Don Jaime's love for her was born of the soul's purest and most exalted spring, which, with its beneficent current, was purifying his heart, erasing every trace and every stain of past crimes and leaving it cleaner than ever. All this sanctification and inner cleansing was all due to the miraculous and superhuman work of Doña Luz's love and the purifying fire of her eyes.

The passage above evidences an obvious gendered double standard. While Doña Luz's stain is viewed as permanent, the product of her unchaste mother, Don Jaime's lasciviousness is framed as easily effaceable through the chastity of another woman. Doña Luz feels great pride in extending her obsession for purity to her marriage, a contract of social purification. Much to her dismay, however, Doña Luz is unable to purify Don Jaime's heart. Through a series of secret letters written by her father Doña Luz later discovers the truth of her origin: her mother was not a seamstress, but rather an adulterous countess who bequeathed to Luz her ample wealth. Luz then discovers that she was merely an instrument for Don Jaime's political and financial triumph in Villafría, and that his love for her is counterfeit.

Conclusion

Doña Luz's trajectory from priest to soldier has the allegorical trappings of the collective dilemma of Spanish imperial dilemmas and dreams alike. Padre Enrique's defeated return to Spain and failure "to conquer" Luz duplicates the national wreckage produced by the costly colonial missions abroad. Doña Luz's struggle as the bastard daughter of a marquis from the capital living in a backwards, rural town, reflects a larger national anxiety over how to consolidate impure subjects --whether from in the countryside or the colony-- into the body of the nation. But while Doña Luz as an illegitimate daughter can be reformed through the patriarchal institution of marriage, Padre Enrique has no chance at salvation. He can neither return to the Philippines nor survive at home. His death is therefore construed as the only solution for the priest gone "native," permanently contaminated, his body must be expunged from the imperial nation. In contrast, Don Jaime represents a healthy and striving colonialist and politician. Having fought heroically in the Spanish-Moroccan War, Don Jaime represents the future of Spain, (falsely) promisingly a newly secured position of power alongside Britain and France.[21]

Upon discovering the truth of Don Jaime's motives, Doña Luz is overcome by a hysterical attack. She shuts herself in her home for four months before she tells anyone the truth of her deception. During this time she mourns the death of Enrique who she finally recognizes as her true love and condemns herself for having foolishly rushed into marriage with Don Jaime. The novel comes to a close with Don Jaime and Doña Luz living completely separate lives; the former in Madrid and the latter in Villafría. Doña Luz, once tempted by her illicit feelings for Enrique, ultimately does what is morally correct and socially legitimate: she fulfills her

[21] It is worth noting that Valera began writing this novel during the early years of the Restoration, at which point is was clear that Spain's imperial hold in Morocco was superseded by the British.

obligation to uphold the status of her father's illustrious name, and gives birth to a legitimate male heir, whom she calls Enrique.

The narrator presents Doña Luz as the sole character who is able to embody conflicting stereotypes of oriental allure and colonial savageness, representing all of the diverse identities with which Spaniards struggled to negotiate in this period: from one moment to the next she is an Aryan beauty, an Arab Fairy, and the an uncivilized savage of the Indies. Simultaneously representing all that is pure and impure, domestic and foreign, Doña Luz breaks down the boundaries between these categories, demonstrating that they are intricately intertwined, perhaps always already contaminated. While it is true that many female characters of nineteenth-century Spanish fiction can be easily figured as either moral or immoral types, often representing both extremes of the pure and impure, Spanish novels also depict women protagonists who can be located not on one extreme of the binary, not simply pure or impure, but rather both at the same time. Such is the case of Doña Luz.[22] With her stubborn desire for independence and the wealth of her adulterous mother, Luz could have lived a life relatively free from male authority as she had once desired. It is no insignificant detail that her wealth was passed down from her mother who suffered the cruel maltreatment of her husband. To some degree, all of the circumstances could have been right for Doña Luz to live the life her mother could have only dreamed of. Yet the pressure to resolve her problem of public impurity pushed her toward a decision that was "licit," firmly demonstrating that there is no space for untamed liminal figures like Doña Luz to remain independent. Her marriage to Jaime, which remedied her social ill, was based on a falsity and therefore ironically the source of her demise. The reoccurring motif of hidden truth and discovery, however, sparks a permanent suspicion of what appears to be the truth, in this case the story of origin. And much like the painting of Christ on a cross, which is too painful to be revealed, at times the (repressed) truth can be both, in the words of the narrator, "horrible and beautiful" at once (Valera 81).

[22] There has been a tendency amongst literary scholars to approach the representation of nineteenth century female characters in binary terms. Much of the scholarship on this topic is focused on the *angel del hogar* (angel of the home) syndrome, the idealization of the bourgeois woman as a confined domestic angel, and her counterpart, the fallen woman. It has become commonplace to view women in nineteenth-century literature in terms of such binary oppositions. Lou Charnon-Deutsch maintains that nineteenth century female protagonists come to embody either idealized or demonized female types. She writes: "Noted exceptions aside, nineteenth-century women parade before our eyes as giants, figures of great magnitude, supreme evilness, unmatched beauty, raging discontent and passion, lamblike innocence, perversity, and passivity, every conceivable virtue or flaw, but to a degree beyond measure"(Charnon-Deutsch 17).

Chapter 2

On the Limits of Hygiene: Purity and Pleasure in *La Regenta*

Leopoldo Alas's infamous 1000-page adultery novel charts the life of Ana Ozores, who unlike Doña Luz, fails to be swayed by ideas of socially correct behavior, chastity and self-discipline. Thus, the driving force of the slow-moving narrative is the anticipation of Ana Ozores's great fall. Scholars of *La Regenta* know quite well, however, that the realization of her long-awaited seduction delivers little satisfaction to the patient, desirous reader –the anticipated adultery scene is undercut by its omission in the narrative, rendering the consummation of her seduction completely anticlimactic. The novel's displacement of narrative *jouissance* suggests that meaning and pleasure lie elsewhere in the text. Indeed, one of the most peculiar and overlooked features of Ana's seduction is not the taboo act of adultery itself but rather her lover's methodical preparation which consists of a regimen of medical hygiene.

At the start of Lent, Alvaro Mesía, Ana's seducer and the local Don Juan, trains for this great sexual conquest. The narrator makes us privy to Alvaro's plan:

> [C]uanto más lejos estaba una mujer [del?] vicio, más exagerada era cuando llegaba a caer. La Regenta, si caía, iba a ser exageradísima. Y se preparaba Mesía. Leyó libros de higiene, hizo gimnasia de salón, paseó mucho a caballo. (*LR*: II 398)
>
> The farther a woman was from vice, the more exaggerated when she ultimately fell. If La Regenta were to fall, it would be very exaggerated. Thus Mesía prepared himself. He read books on hygiene, exercised, and rode a lot on horseback.

This peculiar scene calls the readers attention, not only to hygiene, but also to the act of reading: the reader reads about Alvaro reading – creating a telescoping effect of reading practices from the intradiegetic space of the narrative, back out to the private space of *La Regenta*'s reader. This mirroring effect highlights a self-awareness regarding reading as a pedagogical project, central to mechanisms of disciplinary power.[23] But efforts of control are also susceptible to perversions: Alvaro takes the lessons of the manuals precisely against the logic of hygiene, overturning its pedagogical purpose – to instill self-discipline and to regulate erotic excess. He uses hygiene strategically, not fully internalizing its moralizing principles, but adapting its prescriptions only to conserve his sexual energies for the period of Lent, timing Ana's seduction with Easter. Ana, in contrast, takes the practices of hygiene to heart, dutifully adopting her

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[23] Several of *La Regenta*'s characters are depicted as reading subjects. For further reading on the importance of reading, literature and intertexualtiy in *La Regenta* see Robert Archer's "*La Regenta* and the Problematics of Reading." *The Modern Language Review*. 87.2 (1992): 352-357 Serio Beser's *Leopoldo Alas, Crítico Literario*. Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1968, Albert Brent's *Leopoldo Alas and La Regenta: A Study in Nineteenth Century Spanish Prose Fiction*. Columbia: Curators of the University of Missouri, 1951. Print. Frank Durand's "Characterization In *La Regenta*: Point of View and Theme." *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*. 41.2 (1964): 86-100, and Sieburth, Stephanie A. *Reading La Regenta: Duplicitous Discourse and the Entropy of Structure*. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins Pub. Co, 1990. Print.

doctor's orders and declaring herself a slave to this new disciplinary regimen. For Ana, then, hygiene serves as one of the mechanisms through which she seeks to purify herself of moral dirt.

Just as in Juan Valera's novel, "dirty" origins serve as the foundation of this plot and the motivation for both religious and medical rituals of purification. Ana Ozores's place in society is marked by her mother's class position. Though not illegitimate, she is the orphaned daughter of a cross-class marriage between a nobleman and a seamstress. Ana's birth marks the end of the Ozores's family line, the oldest caste or noble family in Vetusta. Like Doña Luz, her extraordinary beauty garners the admiration and intrigue of the well-to-do members of society, evidencing the potentiality of female attractiveness as a form of social currency, even in the case of dubious lineage. The narrator recounts:

> Su belleza salvó a la huérfana. Se la admitió sin reparo en *la clase,* en la intimidad de la clase por su hermosura. Nadie se acordaba de la modista italiana. Tampoco Ana debía mentarla siquiera, según orden expresa de las tías. Se había olvidado todo, incluso el republicanismo del padre, todo: era un perdón general. Ana era de la clase; la honraba con su hermosura, como un caballo de sangre y de piel de seda honra la caballeriza y hasta la casa de un pontentado. (*La Regenta* I: 293, emphasis in original)
>
> Beauty is what saved the orphan. They admitted her, without objection, into *the class*, into the intimacy of the class because of her beauty. Nobody remembered the Italian seamstress, and Ana was never to mention it, according to the strict orders of her aunts. All had been forgotten, even the republican father, everything: general pardon. Ana was of the class; she honored it with her beauty, like a horse of [pure] blood and silky skin honors the stable and even the house of a prince.

Antonio Claret, Archbishop of Santiago de Cuba and confessor to Isabel II, in his essay "Instrucción que debe tener la mujer para desempeñar bien la misión que el todopoderoso le ha confiado" (Instruction that woman should have in order to successfully carry out the mission with which the Almighty has entrusted her) posits a causal relationship between beauty and chastity: "se les enseñará que la castidad las hará semejantes a los ángeles, pero que la impureza las hará feas y dañinas comos los demonios, e instrumentos y esclavas del demonio" (they will be taught that chastity will make them similar to angels, but that impurity will make them ugly and harmful like demons, and instruments and slaves of the devil) (205). Here beauty engenders a form of collective forgetting, thereby permitting her admittance to aristocratic society. The mere fact of her secret, however, which her aunts forbade her for mentioning, persists as a pernicious shadow that Ana never fully escapes.

Married off the to former town regent Victor Quintanar, a man many years her senior, Ana finds herself locked in a loveless marriage and simultaneously tempted by two competing seducers: the lecherous town bishop, Fermín De Pas, and as we have already seen, Alvaro Mesía. The narrative charts the major turning points in the protagonist's life as she falls under the influence of different male authorities: husband, confessor, doctor and seducer. Tellingly, the narrator frames both her husband and the priest through medical discourse: Victor fails to be "el médico de su honra" (the surgeon of his honor) and Fermín de Pas is her "higienista espiritual"

(spiritual hygienist). Whether as patient or (failed) practitioner, all of the major players in the plot are influenced by medical hygiene.

It is no surprise that the discourse of hygiene informs the narrative. The last third of the nineteenth century in Spain witnessed not only the birth of the realist novel but also marked the height of medical publications, most notably hygiene manuals. The present chapter examines the intersectionality of hygiene literature and novelistic fiction, precisely at the site of female purity. Despite some of their obvious differences – the hygiene manual is prescriptive and authoritative, while the realist novel is dialogical, fragmented, and of course fictional –manuals and novels can also be treated as distinct but intersecting discourses on the question of woman. First, they were targeted at the same audience (the literate classes) and read in a similar fashion (privately, inside the home). On a formal level, they were each in their own way concerned with realistic textual representation, bringing that which was very intimate and hidden into public view. Both were also attentive to practices of reading, giving space to the author's voice in preface. Finally, their most significant shared concern was the topic of female subjectivity and thus, the female body and psyche is where the hygiene manual and the novel converge.

Over the past ten years literary scholars have begun to examine the appearance of hygiene in Leopoldo Alas's *La Regenta*[24] *(*1884-1885), whose timely publication is bookended by the founding of the *Real Sociedad de Higiene* (1882) and the *Sociedad Española de Higiene* (1886). While there is no shortage of scholarly work on nineteenth-century hygiene within the field of medical history, few literary scholars have taken up Spanish hygiene manuals themselves as a primary text of critical analysis in relation to the novel. How does the novel critically engage with the discourse of medical hygiene? This chapter offers an interdisciplinary approach to *La Regenta*, by reading two nineteenth century hygiene manuals authored by Pedro Felipe Monlau – *Higiene Privada* and *Higiene del Matrimonio* – alongside the novel to look at what happens to the discourse of hygiene when it comes into contact with narrative fiction. In what follows, I will show that the novel explodes the hygienist's attempts of containment and control, undermining the very ordering principle upon which hygiene depends. The chapter is divided into two main sections. The first focuses on modern hygiene and its major precepts, and the second half looks at the novel's critical engagement with this modern discipline.

Before turning to the analysis of the novel, then, I will first briefly outline the contours of Spanish hygiene in the nineteenth century and discuss how hygiene has typically been conceived of by contemporary scholars. I hope to show that a renewed understanding of nineteenth century hygiene will reveal that the modern, medicalized notion of purity was heavily invested in matters of morality, at the heart of which was female chastity.

Hygiene: a Moral Science

Major political and economic shifts in the nineteenth century, most notably the liberal revolution and industrialization, enacted changes to the field of medicine that gave it greater political and social jurisdiction (Campos Marín). Hygiene became an extension of state power, and it was officially tasked with maintaining the health of citizen bodies and the vitality of the

[24] In contrast to *Higiene Privada, La Regenta* was not republished until 1901, then 1947, and again in 1966.

nation. The State's institutionalization of hygiene had primarily biopolitical objectives including: social reform, the prevention of epidemics (cholera and the plague), sanitation in industrial labor sectors and public spaces, as well as policing national borders (via routine inspections of naval vessels). The objective of these major initiatives fell under the domain of Public Hygiene and were largely designed to ensure an orderly, healthy and therefore productive working class.[25] Medical experts at time conceived of hygiene as a form of governmentality[26] and were focused largely on the working classes and the masses. Much of the existing literature on hygiene in Spain has tended to focus on public hygiene and its biopolitical investments at the same time that hygiene campaigns aimed at the bourgeoisie are frequently conflated with the former, despite their major differences. Known as *private hygiene*, this subfield was by contrast a pedagogical project, dependent on the modern concept of the individual and practices of reading and the cultivation of self-knowledge.[27] Private hygiene, while also embedded in the biopolitical (through the regulation of reproduction), was largely an apparatus of disciplinary power. Manuals on private hygiene were designed for individual (bourgeois) readership and cultivated techniques of self-care and self-discipline. Pedro Felipe Monlau, father of Spanish hygiene and the medical doctor of the court of Isabelle II, played an instrumental role in popularizing hygiene over the course of the nineteenth century to the middle classes through the dissemination of manuals, the first of which was *Higiene Privada*.[28] While it is not known precisely how many people in Spain were reading these manuals, they undoubtedly saw immense commercial success. *Higiene Privada* saw a total of five editions over twenty five years and *Higiene del*

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[25] Rafael Huertas has argued that the most elemental and local forms of hygiene, those regimens that pertained to bodily cleanliness, were administered not only for reasons pertaining to preventative medicine but also because it was essential to *maintain order*, regularity, and the economy (60). Along these same lines, Ann Gilfoil has rightly identified hygiene in Nineteenth-Century Spain as a form of "medical policing" with the goal of regulating biological and social relations (37). This falls directly in line with Foucault's conceptualization of biopolitics; the idea that hygiene, as a state apparatus, would ensure a healthy and productive nation through the rationalized regulation of human life.

[26] In November of 1886, during the inaugural session of *La Sociedad Española de Higiene*, Ángel Fernández Caro, president of the society, stated: Gran día será aquel en que los gobernantes se convenzan de que vicio, injusticia, abuso, pecado y transgresión higiénica son palabras sinónimas, quizá idénticas, y de que virtud, vicio y enfermedad son resultados inseparables. [Se lograría con ello] hacer inútil la policía y con ella las prisiones y los tribunales, cerrar los garitos y arruinar las casas de escándalo; dar al obrero, después del rudo trabajo del día, la paz y el bienestar de su casa; liberar a las mujeres del taller y devolverlas a sus maridos y a sus hijos […] eso no se llama higiene, es economía política bien entendida, es patriotismo, es moral. (Great will be the day when government leaders become convinced that vice, injustice, abuse, sin and hygienic transgression are synonymous, perhaps identical words, and that virtue, vice, and illness are inseparable results. [This would] make the police, and with that prisioners, tribunals useless, it would close gambling dens and ruin brothels; give the worker, after a rough day of work, the peace and well-being of his house; liberate women from factories and return them to their husband and children […] this is not called hygiene, this is political economy in its proper sense, this is patriotism, this is moral.) (qted. in García and Cegarra 847; elipses and bracketed text from Garcia and Cegarra)

[27] Pedro Felipe Monlau was adamant in separating the study of public and private hygiene in medical school. He explains that: "La Higiene extiende su jurisdicción a la conservación y perfección del hombre como a especie: pero este distrito debe aislarse del que comprende al hombre como individuo. No se debe unir (en el estudio teórico) la higiene privada con la pública" (Hygiene extends its jurisdiction to the conservation and perfection of man as a species, but this field should be separate so as to understand man as an individual) (*Higiene Privada* 1857 VI)

[28] Monlau's manuals continued to see commercial success long after his death in 1871.

Matrimonio, the first in Spain to extensively treat the topic of sexuality, a total of nine editions in a period of roughly five decades.[29]

Contemporary scholarship on hygiene has tended to focus on hygiene as newly emergent natural science, rooted in positivism and experimentation. A closer look at hygiene manuals, however, reveals that hygiene exceeds the disciplinary boundaries of modern medicine as we might conceive of it from our contemporary vantage point.[30] Part of the challenge here is that any discussion on nineteenth-century hygiene by default entails an engagement with (or perhaps an uncritical reliance on) Foucault's theory of *scientia sexualis,*[31] which is rooted almost exclusively in the context of eighteenth and nineteenth-century France. For Foucault, the nineteenth century saw a proliferation of the discourse of sex, predicated on the understanding that one must speak of sex in a *rationalized way*; and this was achieved largely through the scientific codification of sex; sex became a kind of scientific truth that had to be discovered, confessed, and scrutinized. According to Foucault this process took place in the pastoral ritual of confession, which would be modernized, rendered scientific, and appropriated by the field of medicine. The doctor would deploy the same method as the priest, persuading the patient to produce the hidden "truth" of sex. While Foucault's theory of sexuality and conceptualization of discourse informs my own examination of hygiene literature, an uncritical application of Foucault's theory would also blind us to the specificity of the relationship between religion and medicine in Restoration Spain, where in the wake the Catholic revival hygiene gained institutional recognition (about a hundred

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[29] In 1870 Monlau boasts of the commercial success of his manual *Higiene Privada* (1870): "Un libro conocido del público hace ya una cuarta parte del siglo (desde 1846), y que ha alcanzado los honores de *cuatro ediciones*, tiene evidentemente en su favor la presunción de que responde a una necesidad real, y de que la satisface con acierto" (IX) (A book well-known to the public, a quarter of the century has passed (since 1846) and it has achieved the honor of four editions, working in its favor of course is the presumption that it responds to a real necessity and that it satisfies it with certainty). It is worth noting that the ninth edition of *Higiene del Matrimonio* was translated into French, a significant feat since the bulk of medical literature that circulated in Spain were French language texts. By contrast *La Regenta* fell into relative obscurity and was not republished until 1901, then again 1947 and 1966.

[30] Catherine Jagoe comments on the proximity and cross-pollination between disciplines in the nineteenth century: "En el siglo XIX, la distancia que hoy se mide entre las ciencias y las letras era mucho más corta y fácilmente navegable, presentando el aspecto no de una barrera infranqueable sino de un canal de frecuentes y fértiles intercambios. Muchos médicos españoles conocidos—entre ellos Santiago Ramón y Cajal (1852-1934), Felipe Monlau (1808-1871), Juan Giné y Partagás (1835-1903), Fernando Calatraveño (1851-1916), Ángel Pulido (1853-1902??) y Manuel Tolosa Latour (1857-1919)—eran a la vez escritores; incluso algunos novelistas, como Pío Baroja (1872-1956), Felipe Trigo (1864-1916) y Eduardo López Bago (1855(?)-1931), habían estudiado medicina. Los artículos, libros y discursos sobre ginecología que nos han legado los escritores del XIX están escritos en un lenguaje relativamente poco especializado, un lenguaje que invita el análisis literario e histórico además del científico, por su carácter retórico y altamente simbólico" "In the XIX century, the distance that one finds today between the sciences and the liberal arts was much shorter and easily navigable, presenting not the appearance of an impassible barrier but rather a canal of frequent and fertile exchanges. Many of the well known Spanish doctors – including Santiago Ramón y Cajal (1852-1934), Felipe Monlau (1808-1871), Juan Giné y Partagás (1835-1903), Fernando Calatraveño (1851-1916), Ángel Pulido (1853-192) and Manuel Tolosa Latour (1857-1919)—were also writers; even novelists like Pío Baroja (1872-1956), Felipe Trigo (1864-1916) y Eduardo López Bago (1855(?)-1931) had studied medicine. The articles, books and talks on gynecology the writers of the XIX century bequeathed to us are written in a relatively non-specialized language, a language that invites literary and historical analysis in addition to scientific analysis, because of its rhetorical and highly symbolic nature " I would add here that Monlau was trained in literature before he was trained in medicine. To further evidence Jagoe's claim, it is noteworthy that medical hygiene would – in the vain of narrative fiction— take on a "marriage plot" as it does in Monlau's *Higiene del Matrimonio*.

years after the Royal Society of Hygiene had been established in France). It is in this markedly liberal but also conservative turn in Spanish history that the moral codification of sex within medicine would propel the proliferation of its discourse.

Thus, even its most positivist phase, hygiene in nineteenth-century Spain worked as a regulatory *moral* discourse that clearly drew inspiration from conduct manuals and religious doctrine. Rather than focus exclusively on the medical or biological, hygiene extended to all aspects of life including the political, the social, and the spiritual. To cite one example, in *Higiene de matrimonio* Monlau weighs in on recent debates on women's suffrage rights without using medical justifications of any kind.[32] Much of this pertained to a realm of private hygiene that Monlau termed *higiene moral* (moral hygiene), and in speaking on moral issues it was not uncommon to invoke religious discourse using terminology such as *moral*, *Dios*, *los pecados*, and *castigar* (moral, God, sins, and castigation). Hygienists were thus operating on the same terrain where religious and political discourse once solely dominated, making hygiene synonymous with "un código moral" (a moral code). (*Higiene Privada* 341). The hygienist's disciplining of social behavior was therefore contingent upon the marriage of science and morality, particularly regarding issues pertaining to human sexuality. Thus, the discourse of hygiene exerted the moralizing force of the state with the scientific and institutional legitimacy that Medicine afforded. In this way, it managed to complement, rather than contradict, Catholic doctrine. In fact, Monlau considered priests to be the doctors of the soul,[33] highlighting the similarity between the practices of doctor and priest, particularly in the context of confession, be it religious or medical:

> La lectura de esta obra tampoco será ociosa para los eclesiásticos, quiénes por razón de su augusto ministerio reciben tantas *confidencias íntimas*, y se encuentran a cada momento en el caso de dar saludables consejos: la voz siempre respetable y consoladoras de estos *médicos del alma* recibirá, si es posible, nueva autoridad, cuando a su carácter de ministros de la religión divina quieran añadir el de conocedores e intérpretes de la ciencia humana. (*Higiene del matrimonio* vi) (my emphasis).
>
> Reading this work would not be a waste of time for clergymen, who for reasons of their august ministry receive so many intimate secrets, and who find themselves having to give healthy advice at every moment: the always consoling and

[32] Prescriptive knowledge presented in hygiene literature was frequently not supported by biological findings. In the third edition of *Higiene del Matrimonio* (1864), Monlau justifies the reason for the lack of suffrage rights for women, arguing that in a marriage, man and woman should act as one unit, a kind of "social hermaphrodite" that would only require one vote (4). His reasons for not supporting women's full participation as citizens in the political world are rooted mostly in Krausist beliefs of the family as one unit, and not backed by medical concerns in the strictest sense of the term. In this light, the hygiene of marriage is more overtly concerned with the moral and political configuration of this union, while the medical and biological (although foundational to the concept of the sexes and therefore civil marriage) are elided or disappear from view. Thus, despite being a sub-field of modern medicine, Spanish hygiene was still very much invested in moral, social and political debates.

[33] This falls directly in line with *La Regenta*, in which Fermín de Pas considers himself to be a spiritual hygienist. While it is generally assumed that in the nineteenth century, Science and Medicine were at odds with the Church, both the manual and the novel evidence the parallels of these two seemingly oppositional discourses.

> respectable voice of these *doctors of the soul* would have, if possible, a new authority, if they combined the character of the ministers of divine religion with that of experts and interpreters of human science.

Purity and Private Hygiene

Hygiene manuals imparted the practices of self-regulation and the regulation of the family to the bourgeoisie, expounding on a wide range of topics including climate, dress, food preparation, exercise, sexuality, and washing.[34] For Monlau the three pillars of health were comprised of sobriety, exercise and cleanliness (limpieza) (*Higiene Privada* 77). *Limpieza*, perhaps the most rudimentary form of hygiene, takes on a more complex symbolic meaning in the manuals that speaks to the core of the hygiene's moral order. Consider the following passage on *limpieza*:

> Es la limpieza el más seguro preservativo contra toda especie de contagio físico, bien así como ejerce poderosísimo influjo en la parte moral. La limpieza es no sólo una prenda salud, y una dote personal recomendable, sino también una verdadera virtud, en cuanto facilita la práctica de las demás virtudes. La limpieza revela desde luego en un individuo amor al orden, decoro propio, y respecto a los demás. La limpieza, en fin, conduce el método, a la economía, a la comodidad y al bienestar, madre de toda probidad y de toda virtud. Todo se enlaza y se encadena en la naturaleza, y las relaciones de las partes físicas con la moral son demasiado íntimas para no ejercer una sobre otra recíproco y poderoso influjo. (*Higiene Privada* 77)

> Cleanliness is the most sure safeguard against all kinds of physical contagion, and it also heavily influences the moral side. Cleanliness is not only an accessory of health, and a recommended personal quality, but also a true virtue insofar as it facilitates the practice of all other vitures. Cleanliness of course reveals in an individual love for order, self-decorum, and respect for others. Cleanliness leads to method, economy, comfort, and well-being, mother of all probity and all virtue. Everything is interconnected and linked in nature, the relations between the physical and moral parts are too intimate to not exercise between one another reciprocal and powerful influence.

Cleanliness, for the hygienist, is the root of virtue and order; it is the linkage between nature and morality. Monlau's above formulation of purity is noteworthy both because it reanimates previous articulations of Spanish purity related to racial-religious purity: *limpieza de sangre* (blood purity) and it situates purity as the foundation of all virtues and order.

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[34] These were some of the more conventional topics that hygienists treated in their manuals, but they also covered socio-cultural and political matters including nationality, regional difference, and race.

As noted in Chapter 1, notions of *limpieza* in the nineteenth century were still tied to the legacy of *limpieza de sangre*, and by extension female chastity.[35] Alison Sinclair observes that in the context of *La Regenta* :

> [t]he quality of cleanliness, fundamental to concepts of ordering and separation by which pollution is avoided, has particular connotations in the Hispanic context of *limpieza*: cleanliness with regard to lineage and blood, and cleanliness that is understood as freedom from shame, the female underside and the masculine-dominated honor code. (Sinclair *Dislocations of Desire* 53)

Not surprisingly, the 1884 dictionary entry for "limpieza" includes a reference to the Immaculate Conception, underscoring the importance of chastity for women as inherent to the idea of cleanliness: "calidad de limpio. Fig. Hablando de la Santísima Virgen, su inmaculada Concepción. Fig. Pureza, castidad" ("quality of being clean. Fig. Speaking of the Holy Virgin, her immaculate conception") (*DRAE*). Evoking the image of the Virgin, the symbol of eternal female purity, this definition unites the two most revered and contradicting qualities expected of bourgeois women: virginity and maternity. Virginity, of course, is a particular articulation of purity that is temporally inflected and intrinsically tied up with male sexual desire. Monlau defines virginity in *Higiene del Matrimonio*:

> La joven púber que ha vivido en perfecta continencia, sin haber conocido varón. De ahí haber llamado figuradamente *virgen* a todo lo que es puro, a todo lo que todavía no ha servido nunca; a lo intacto a que no ha sido tocado, examinado, pisado o cultivado, por nadie; a lo que no ha sido empleado en obra alguna, etc. (99)
>
> The young adolescent who has lived in perfect continence, without having known a man. From this meaning derives the figurative use of *virgin* to indicate all that is pure, all that has never been used; that which is intact and has never been touched, examined, treaded on or cultivated by anyone; that which has never been used for any kind of work.

That the contact with "un varón" (a man) is seen as antithetical to virginity underscores the fact that within a heterosexual matrix, this female state of material purity rests on a principle of separation at the same time that its value is determined by the drive to permeate the boundaries that prevent male contact. Virginity, from the position of the male heterosexual optic, is the object of a desire that constantly renewed, be it a desire to know, to seize, to touch, to examine. Thus in practice, virginity is not eternal, but rather connotes a sense of wholeness, purity, youth and newness that is characterized by impermanence. As such virginity always carries with it its anticipated loss, temporally framed by the condition of "not yet" or in Monlau's words "todavía no." It is something to be imagined, desired, and protected precisely because of its pending expiration. Even after the loss of virginity, however, women were expected to remain pure and chaste, continuing the fiction of virginal qualities to prop up the ideology of domesticity on which the concept of the bourgeois family relied.

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[35] In *La Regenta* Ana Ozores makes reference to Fray Luis's *Perfecta Casada* (*La Regenta* II: 433) and concludes that he would have condemned her Holy Week procession.

Sensual or erotic excess would become an urgent concern for hygienists who saw women as easily susceptible to corruption because of their heightened sense of affect. Monlau asserts that "[l]a mujer tiene por lo común una sensibilidad mayor: sus sentidos son más delicados. En la mujer predominan las facultades más afectivas, así como en el hombre las intelectuales" (women typically have greater sensitivity: their senses are more delicate) (Monlau, *Higiene Privada* 500). When feeling becomes "excessive," it is diagnosed as a nervous condition rooted in a genital or erotic temperament: "Cuando la preponderancia nerviosa se manifiesta en el cerebelo y en los nervios destinados a la vida de la especie, entonces resulta el *temperamento erótico* o *genital*, que llega a veces hasta la morbosidad, hasta la ninfomanía y la satiriasis" (When nervous preponderance manifests in the cerebellum and in the nervous that destined towards the live of the species, the result is an erotic or genital temperament, which sometimes leads to morbidity, and even nymphomania and satyriasis) (*Higiene Privada* 532). Hygiene was the only remedy for erotic temperaments, which if left unsupervised, could lead to a whole array of illnesses. Such maladies were especially threatening in women because it was believed that they could be transmitted to an infant through the mother's body during gestation. Illness associated with the uterus (nervousness, hysteria, sterility, cancer), according to Monlau, could result from *any transgression of hygiene*:

> No olviden las mujeres que cualquiera transgresión higiénica puede suprimir la exhalación uterina; y que esta supresión es capaz de ocasionar todas las enfermedades imaginables. El útero es el órgano que hace de la mujer un ser aparte; es un animal que vive implantado en la mujer, como decían los antiguos: *Mulier propter uterum tota morbus est,* como dijo Hipócrates. (*Higiene Privada* 502)
>
> Women, do not forget that any transgression of hygiene could suppress uterine exhalation, and that this suppression is capable of provoking the onset of all imaginable illnesses. The uterus is the organ that makes woman a separate being; it is an animal that lives implanted in woman, like the ancients said: Woman is altogether afflicted because of her womb, as Hippocrates said.

In hygiene manuals, pure and virtuous women figure as non-desiring bodies, and ill women are full of feeling and they desire and exercise power over men.[36] While Monlau, conforming to the ideology of domesticity, saw women as naturally chaste and passive, even capable of taming

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[36] Monlau continues to sketch out the genealogy of unruly, powerful, licentious women, dating from antiquity to the eighteenth century, all of whom suffered from this uterine affliction. He writes: "Este erotismo, alianzado también a veces con el temperamento sanguíneo o con el bilioso, es el que dio tan infausta celebridad a Lesbia (hermana de Clodia), a Julia (hija de Augusto), a Messaline (esposa emperador Claudio), a Agripina (madre de Neron), a Faustina (esposa del emperador Constantino), a Lucrecia Borgia, a Margarita de Borgoña, a Marion Delorme, a Ninon de Lenclos, y a tantas otras mujeres tan renombradas por sus galantearías, como por sus excesos. (This eroticism, which sometimes is aligned with sanguine or bile temperaments, is what gave such ill-fated celebrity to Lesbia (sister of Clodia), to Julia (sister of Augustus), to Messalina, (wife of emperor Claudius), to Agrippina (mother of Nero), to Faustina (wife of emperor Constantine), to Lucrecia Borja, to Margarita de Borgoña, Marion Delorme, to Ninon of L'Enclos, and so many other women renowned for their gallantries as well as their excesses) (*Higiene Privada* 532).

male erotic excess, he was also saw women as naturally susceptible to sexual corruption and treated them as potential carriers of disease. Diseases of the nervous system were thought to be hereditary and matrilineal, passed down to the infant through the body of the mother:

> La propiedad hereditaria, al parecer, respecto a esta enfermedad, no procede sino de la madre, hecho que se comprende fácilmente, si se reflexiona que casi solamente la mujer goza de aquella impresionabilidad del sistema nervioso, de aquella disposición afectiva, de la cual el histerismo no es más que un modo particular, una especia de exageración especial. Resulta, pues, de este dato de la estadística, que uno de los mejores medios de evitar el nacimiento de niños histéricos, consiste en mejorar las disposiciones enfermizas[37] del sistema nervioso en la doncella, y más adelante en la joven ya madre. (*Higiene de Matrimonio* 362)
>
> It appears that the property of heredity, in respect to this illness, comes but from the mother, a given that is easily understood if one considers that it is woman who almost exclusively enjoys the impressionability of the nervous system, that affective disposition, of which hystericism is only one particular mode, a kind of special exaggeration. Therefore, drawing from this statistical data, one of the ways to avoid the birth of hysterical children consists of improving the sickly disposition of the nervous system in the young woman and later on in the future young mother.

The emphasis on matrilineal inheritance harks back to intersection between *limpieza de sangre* and female chastity (see Chapter 1), revealing how the discourse of medical purity becomes aligned with paternalistic notions of reproduction and heterosexuality. Thus, as paternity was impossible to ascertain, hygiene was disproportionately concerned with policing women's bodies through the rhetoric of prohibition.

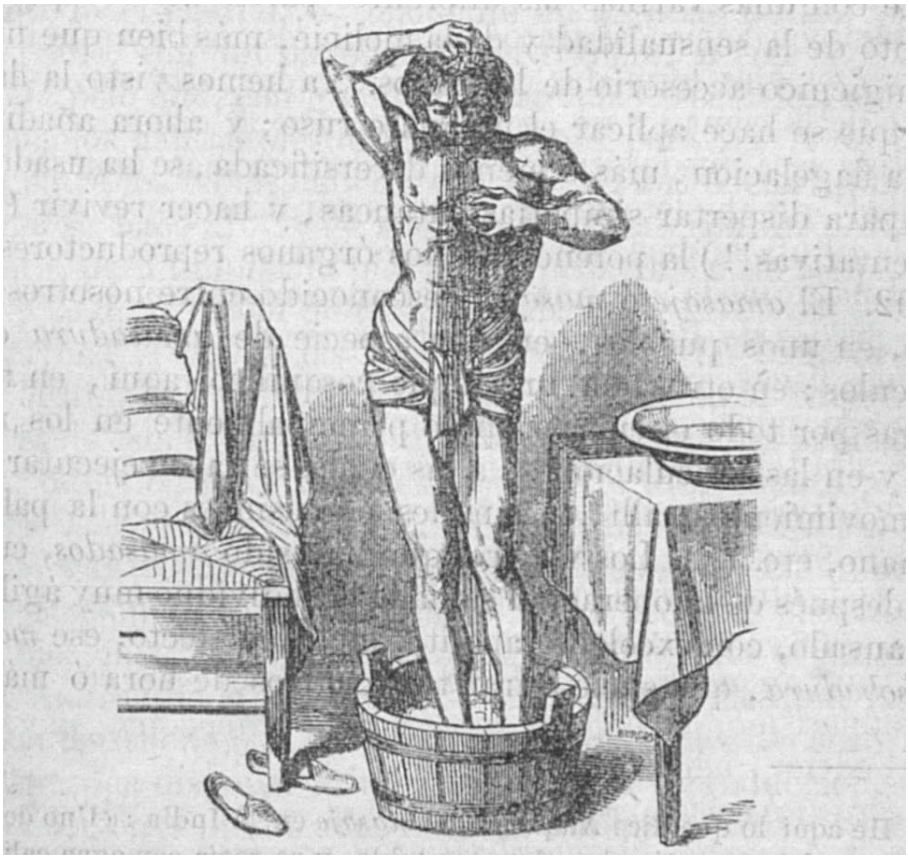
Intimate Knowledge

While hygiene manuals were meant to regulate sex and immoral desires their prohibitions would also function as the discourse that produced the very desires they were set out to regulate. In *Higiene Privada* Monlau writes that "La higiene es un verdadero *arte*, porque es una colección de reglas deducidas del conocimiento íntimo de la organización humana" (Hygiene is a true *art*, because it is a collection of rules deduced from the intimate knowledge of human organization.) (*Higiene Privada* 2, emphasis in original). Because hygiene itself was conceived of as a set of rules *deduced* from the most intimate form of knowledge, that of one's own body, the body of the other, or the body in abstraction, its success in self-disciplining depends on the cultivation of a corporeal consciousness. This method paradoxically opens the possibility for hygiene to undermine its own goals, by producing the very conditions that allow for the incitement of desire. If Monlau's maxim is true and hygiene derives from the knowledge of the body, then the possibility for disruptive feelings and behaviors is necessarily always present.

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[37] It is not until the early twentieth century that the dictionary would define "enfermizo/a" as impassioned, but one can easily trace the continuity between female "affective" disorders and the generalized condition of being impassioned and ill.

The discourse of hygiene is slippery, insofar as the articulation of the prohibition – naming and describing that which is forbidden – permits these very desires to arise. Thus the prohibitions, as Foucault has argued, figure as expressions of desires in and of themselves. Hygiene manuals, which were intended for individual readership and publicized private and intimate knowledge, were contingent upon and fueled the desire to know. "The desire to know" writes Peter Brooks "is constructed from sexual desire and curiosity" (*Body Work* 5). Brooks conceives of the body as an 'epistemophilic" project" which consists of "those stories we tell about the body in the effort to know and to have it, which result in making the body a site of signification—the place for the inscription of stories—and itself a signifier, a prime agent in narrative plot and meaning" (5-6). While Brooks is referring primarily to narrative and other aesthetic forms, the epistemophilic drive, as in the case of the novel, incites the reading of hygiene manuals. The reading of hygiene literature makes this link quite explicity, whereby the body is priveleged object of inquiry, the agent of knowledge and the object and agent of the practices imparted by the manual itself. Therein lies a self-reinforcing relationship between two connected drives: sexual curiosity (insipred by the manuals) and the curiosity to know more (about the body). In textualizing the body or reproducing its in abstracted form, the most intimate and interior parts of the body and human sexuality become, paradoxically, visible and therefore public in hygiene manuals. Coded as scientific, morally sound knowledge, however, in hygiene literature the (erotic) body can be safely consumed.



Bather (*Higiene Privada* 89)

Hygiene manuals intended for individual use were pervasive; they entered the private spaces of the home. The discourse of hygiene, because it is dependent in large part on the reader, only ensures the impossibility of this absolute control. Thus through entering the realm of the private, the home, the individual psyche, hygiene attempts to discipline through its didactic objective and prescriptive language, but its very presence in the private space allows for the discourse itself to be subverted. The maintenance of purity can be advised and prescribed, but it cannot be ensured, and as a result unintended results are readily produced to which the hygienist themselves are keenly aware. Monlau revealed his anxiety over loss of control in the preface of the manuals:

> Mi higiene del matrimonio[…] no se parece en nada a ninguna de las varias obras que acerca de la materia, aunque con fines poco loables, se han publicado con sobrada libertad en el extranjero, no mucho menos tiene punto alguno de contacto con aquellos librejos inmundos en cuyas groseras páginas y obscenas estampas va a buscar inspiraciones eróticas la inexperta juventud. No es una obrilla de esas que han de leerse en secreto, como quien comete una mala acción, no: mi libro es una verdadera HIGIENE DEL MATRIMONIO, es una obra seria, es una obra filosófica y médica, que puede leerse sin empacho ni escrúpulo de conciencia, porque se propone un fin moral, útil y saludable. (*Higiene del Matrimonio* IX-X)
>
> My hygiene of matrimony […] does not resemble any of these works that treat this topic, which, although with barely reputable ends, have been published with excessive liberty abroad. And it has even less to do with those filthy books whose vulgar pages and obscene illustrations serve as erotic inspirations for the inexperienced youth. It is not one of those works that one must read in secret, like someone who commits a bad act, no: my book is a true HYGIENE OF MATRIMONY, it is a serious work, is a philosophical and medical work, which one can read without scruples of the conscience, because it proposes a moral, useful, and healthy end.

From the outset, Monlau fears his manual – the first manual in Spanish to explicitly treat the topic of human sexuality – may give rise to unregulated erotic inspiration, evidencing his own anxiety over the reception of his work. He assures the reader that his book need not be read in secret, emphasizing both a desire to control the manner in which the manuals are consumed and the lessons of hygiene applied. Coded as scientific, *morally sound* knowledge, in hygiene literature the body can be safefly consumed as an object of medical inquiry. Thus one could freely read without shame about such morally infectious topics such as polygamy, masturbation, and copulation, topics which in other genres or disciplines, such as novelistic fiction, could have never been uttered with such explicit language.

Monlau was not alone in this anxiety over control. Nearly seven decades before Monlau published his first manual, medical doctors were opposed to the publication of French medical literature on onamism in Spain. While other European countries (Switzerland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, and Italy) in the late eighteenth century were engaging in full-fledged anti-onanism campaigns, Spain's emerging medical institutions were reluctant to bring into translation Tissot's *Onanisme* (1780) from fear that it would actually promote acts of onanism

among the youth; that "la viveza de las descripciones del ginebrino eran una invitación al vicio juvenil" (the vividness of the Genevan's descriptions were an invitation to juvenile vice) (Ceguerra y García 842-843). It was not until 1807 that book was translated into Spanish and published in Spain. So even in the attempt to control the body, to sanitize bodily practices, the threat of impure desires persistently haunts the hygienist. The very foundation of hygiene, knowledge of the human body, is paradoxically what enables the potential for subversion. Monlau's preface gives the reader moral license to freely read the literature on sex, but hygiene's reliance on "intimate knowledge" paradoxically opens the possibility for hygiene to undermine its own goals, by producing the very conditions that could provoke erotic excess. Hence, the reading of hygiene manuals, as Monlau himself acknowledged, is potentially repressive and transgressive; sobering and titillating because of the corporeal consciousness that hygiene at once seeks to cultivate and control. Turning to the novel now, I show how the discourse of hygiene ultimately fails to regulate erotic excess.

Purity in *La Regenta*

"¡La Regenta, la Regenta es inexpugnable!" (La Regenta! La Regenta is incorruptible) the townspeople declare (*La Regenta* I: 410). In the beginning, Ana Ozores appears to be eternally pure, the most incorruptible woman in Vetusta, but she suffers from nervous exaltations and mystic visions that eventually earn her the title of "aquella loca" (that madwoman) (*La Regenta* I: 409). Ana's practices religious devotion with her confessor De Pas, in a relationship that confuses the boundaries between mystic and erotic passion.

Ana first cultivates her sensual/sensorial experience in the writings of Santa Teresa, whom she begins to emulate in mystic exaltations in the mountains where she has visions of the Virgin. It is fitting that Ana models herself after Santa Teresa de Jesus (1515-1582). The 1880s in Spain marked the third centennial of Teresa's death, and literary intelligentsia and medical doctors alike weighed in on Teresa's polemical fame for her mysticism. For some, Teresa was a source of national pride, the patron saint of liberal Spain. For medical doctors, Teresa's mystic visions served as evidence for new theories of hysteria. The similarities between Ana Ozores and Teresa de Jesus take on another significance: Ana's sullied heritage likens her to Teresa, herself a descendant of *conversos* (Jewish converts).

It is not my intention here to weigh in on the debates regarding mysticism, but for the purposes of this chapter I am more interested in how Ana's mystic visions are registered physically.

> Versos *a lo San Juan*, como se decía ella, le salían a bobortones del alma, hechos de una pieza, sencillos, dulces y apasionados; y hablaba con la Virgen de aquella manera. Notaba Anita, excitada, nerviosa –y sentía un dolor extraño en la cabeza al notarlo--, una misteriosa analogía entre los versos de San Juan y aquella fragancia del tomillo que ella pisaba al subir el monte. (*La Regenta* 272)
>
> Verses à la San Juan, as she would say, were gushing from her soul, in one piece, simply and impassioned; and she would speak to the Virgin in that way. Anita noticed; She was excited, nervous -- and felt a strange pain in her head upon

> noticing a mysterious analogy between versus of San Juan and that fragrance of thyme she stepped on as she ascended the mountain.

Ana's impassioned, mystic experiences, as illustrated in the passage above, frequently culminate in the experience of pain, taking the form of a headache or *jaqueca*. The towns people begin to gossip about Ana's religious fanaticism, and Victor grows more and more concerned.

Her "nerves" necessitate the imposition of patriarchal control, and yet it is Victor's utter failure as a husband – he is a second father to Ana -- that leaves her immaculate reputation vulnerable to outside corruption. As noted in the introduction, husband, confessor, doctor, and seducer are the four male authorities who attempt to dominate Ana in one form or another. Of the four, Ana's relationship with Fermín DePas and Alvaro Mesía are the most erotically charged, and oscillate between the extremes of erotic excess and constraint, as both men cunningly compete for the prize of Ana's chastity. In what follows, I hope to show that the loss of Ana's chastity can be read not only in terms of her condemnation, but also as an erotic journey, which ultimately leads to an assertion of intimate self-knowledge. In this way, Ana's seduction and loss of purity surprisingly proves to be Ana's means of salvation (notice the slippage here between Mesía and *Mesías*/Messiah), which while condemned by the townspeople, remains open to the reader's empathy.

Vetustans repeatedly hail Ana as pure, clean and virginal: She is "casta por vigor de temperamento" (chaste by the vigor of her temperament) and resembles the Virgin (*La Regenta* I: 298, 411). Her virginal qualities and extraordinary beauty make her an emblem of purity in a town where no one appears to be virtuous. Moreover, her outward appearances offer an external form of compensation for her obscure lineage, haunted by the blood of her deceased plebeian mother. While Ana's beauty takes center stage in Vetustan society, her origins nevertheless persist as an incurable, hereditary virus: "La nobleza vetustense opinó que muerto el perro no se acabase la rabia"(The Vetustan aristocracy opined that the death of the dog doesn't end the rabies) (*La Regenta*: I 243). From the outset, Ana's stain is framed as matrilineal disease. As a point of contrast to the aristocracy of Vetusta who are "sick" with decadence, Ana is paradoxically pure because of her chaste temperament, while simultaneously stigmatized by her origin.

Damned from the outset, Ana must be far more vigilant about her chastity and public comportment than the other aristocratic women in Vetusta. In her childhood she learns first-hand the lessons of public scandal when she falls asleep besides her friend Germán on a boat, having played out their fantasies of escape to watch the moonlight. Their disappearance is cruelly misinterpreted by Ana's English governess doña Camila. The narrator invites us to take Ana's side by revealing her innocence and Camila's subsequent manipulation. Nevertheless, this event becomes a source of great scandal in the Ozores house. Despite the truth of Ana's alibi, the town construes her misstep as an act of moral transgression, a testament to how much "la lujuria de lo porvernir" (the lust of her future) (*La Regenta* I: 254) depends on public perception rather than truth. This formative moment haunts Ana's sense of self-awareness. The narrator remarks that, scarred from this trauma, Ana "vivió en perpetua escuela de disimulo" (lived in the perpetual school of deceit) (*La Regenta* I: 256). From this moment forward, Ana learns that disguise and deception comprise the modus operandi for all Vetustans. With the news breaking of this public

"scandal," the people in the town believe that Ana is well on her way to becoming licentious "¡[c]omo su madre!" (like her mother!) (*La Regenta* I: 253). Ana's subsequent need for constant self-vigilance illustrates the nineteenth century refrain: "Ya que no seas casto, sé cauto" (Since you are not chaste, be cautious) (1884 DRAE).

As an adult, it is fitting that Ana seeks out distinct modes of purification –religious confession and medical hygiene— yet both appear as ineffectual forms of purification. Early on under the tutelage of De Pas, Ana reflects on his definition of virtue:

> La virtud era la belleza del alma, la pulcritud, la cosa más fácil para los espíritus nobles y limpios. Para un perezoso enemigo de la ropa limpia y del agua, la pulcritud es un tormento, un imposible; para una persona decente (así había dicho) una necesidad de las más imperiosas de la vida. (*La Regenta* I: 425)
>
> Virtue was beauty of the soul, tidiness, the simplest thing for noble and clean spirits. To a lazy enemy of clean clothes and water, tidiness is torment, impossibility; to a decent person (as he had said) it was one of the most imperative necessities of life.

In her own words virtue takes on real and symbolic forms of cleanliness, concepts that lend themselves to both religious and medical conceptions of the pure, echoing the tenets of Monlau's *higiene moral*. If hygiene depends on the logic of separation and hierarchy, in the world order of Vetusta, the oppositional relationship of the pure and impure is far from black and white. Supporting this claim, Noel Valis in her recent study *Sacred Realism* remarks that for Clarín "The sacred and the profane are never far apart. Sometimes they are confused, sometimes the sacred is profane" (Valis *Sacred Realism* 155). From the outset, *La Regenta* destabilizes the ordering principle that gives meaning to conceptions of purity.

While Ana is paradoxically pure (her chaste behavior compensates for her impure origins) the narrative as a whole is infected by an iconography of dirt. Mud literally abounds in the narrative landscape as *lodo*, *cieno*, *tierra*, or *barro* (much, silt, earth, or clay) in the *lodazal* (bog) that is Vetusta. *Lodo* in particular symbolizes the filth and disease associated with sexual deviance. In the first part of the novel as Alvaro begins to plot his conquest, the envious Visita, a friend and an ex-lover, yearns to see Ana fall prey to Alvaro's seductive powers. Visita expounds on Ana's virginal qualities as a means to feed the flames of Alvaro's desire. Visita's desire to witness Ana's fall is couched in terms of pollution by the narrator: "[L]a hermosura la molestaba como a todas, y la virtud la volvía loca. Quería ver aquel armiño en el lodo" (Her beauty bothered her, as it bothered all the women, and her virtue drove her mad. She longed to see that ermine covered with mud) (*La Regenta* I: 410). Allison Sinclair remarks that the physical slippages that occur in literal mud exemplify a fear of dissolution or aversion to liminality that is unleashed by the characters erotic desires. In this same light, Jo Labayni has also argued that the adultery plot which structures *La Regenta* not only narrates the "adulteration" of the marriage contract, but ultimately reveals a greater anxiety around the uncertainty of social boundaries at large. The first foundational boundary crossing of course is that of Ana's mother and father,

whose cross-class marriage figures as the original sin that stains the Ozores name.[38] The murky, uncontained forces of the erotic inspire anxiety and fear in the novel, because they blur the binary vision (male-female, pure-impure, noble-plebe, sacred-profane) upon which societal order in Restoration Spain depends. As such, all of Vetusta is rendered completely unhygienic.

Reading Pleasure: The Novel as Counter Hygiene

> Las facultades del alma humana (sentir, pensar y querer)
> tienen también su disciplina o higiene:
> *Estética* se llama la higiene de la *sensibilidad*[39]
>
> The faculties of the human soul (to feel, to think, and to want)
> also have their discipline or hygiene:
> *Aesthetics* is the hygiene of *sensibility*/sensitivity

The novel meticulously registers the tensions between erotic excess and constraint in nearly all of Ana's relationships. Despite the town's imposition of "disimulo," forms of desire still escape vetustan censorship and surveillance. These often subtle expressions or gestures of eroticism elude public scrutiny because they are immensely private and materialize on a small scale, in contrast to great scandals such as adultery. Desire frequently manifests through sensorial experience, taking the simple form of tasting, touching, or smelling, but always accompanied by a silent moment of reflection, evaluation or epiphany. Sinclair contends that the novel "presents all forms of desire as forbidden and outlawed" and goes on to argue that "[p]rohibitions against the sins and the desires of flesh are...not contained within the confessional, but infect the narrative as a whole"(*Dislocations of Desire* 64). Rather than read the novel as characterized by repression, I would like to extend Sinclair's analysis of literal and symbolic mud to understand the ways in which desire exceeds prohibition and social censorship. To this end, I will analyze the instances in which individual feelings of desire and pleasure emerge in the protected zone between narrator and reader, removed from the judgment of the other characters. The novel's ability to "shield" disorderly desire from Vetustan scrutiny, while making such knowledge available to the reader, allows the text to explode the rigid moral boundaries imposed by such restrictive regimes as hygiene and religion. In this regard I coincide with Valis who maintains that: "Disorder--unacceptable desire, passion--comes from deep within, bursting through to visibility in a serious of fragmented, distorted shapes of unconsciousness. Unseen, disorder is also *unspoken*"(*Sacred Realism* 167, my emphasis).

Ana's unspoken desires are the source of great frustration for DePas who derives both power and pleasure from his role as confessor. Privy to all Vetustan women's secrets, he indulges in the pleasure of having access to their inner truths. As lecherous priest, however, no space proves to be safe for women to speak frankly, especially when the subject matter pertains to thoughts or sins of the flesh. Feeling and flesh prove to tantamount to matters of confession,

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[38] Ana, in her childhood fantasies imagines her mother as a "una reina mora" (a Moorish queen) and believes that all doves with black stains on their heads are mothers, having already internalized a racialized rhetoric of her mother's origin (*La Regenta I*: 251). The irony here is the purest woman in Vetusta comes from a "metiza" (mixed) background, while the pure blooded members of high society are already contaminated by their stagnant, incestuous social world.

[39] *Higiene Privada*, p 310.

which the novel depicts even when they are withheld from confession. Beth Bauer comments on this peculiar nature of confession in the novel, underscoring the ways in which the "raw materials" of confession blur the boundaries of body, mind and soul ("Confession in La Regenta" 317). "Through confession," Bauer argues, "Alas's text confuses the rational dichotomy between flesh and spirit and presents a speaking self that is, inseparably, body and mind, whose language and whose search for meaning and truth are both motivated and disturbed by fundamental desires (*Confession in La Regenta* 318). The production of speech and even the withholding of speech appear to be bound up with feelings of power, pleasure and desire throughout the novel. Ana's earliest erotic experiences begin with confession, which functions not simply as a mode of discipline and domination but as one of the sites of erotic inspiration and expression. Consider the following passage in which Ana anticipates going to confession with De Pas:

> Después de abandonar todas las prendas que no habían de acompañarla en el lecho, quedó sobre la piel de tigre, hundiendo los pies desnudos, pequeños y rollizos en la espesura de las manchas pardas. Un brazo desnudo se apoyaba en la cabeza algo inclinada, y el otro pendía a lo largo del cuerpo, siguiendo la curva graciosa de la robusta cadera. Parecía una impúdica modelo olvidada de sí misma en una postura académica impuesta por el artista. Jamás el arcipreste, ni confesor alguno, había prohibido a la Regenta esta voluptuosidad de contacto del aire fresco por todo el cuerpo a la hora de acostarse. Nunca había creído ella que tal abandono fuese materia de confesión…abrió el lecho. Sin mover los pies, dejóse caer de bruces sobre aquella blandura suave con los brazos tendidos. Apoyaba la mejilla en la sábana y tenía los ojos muy abiertos. La deleitaba aquel placer del tacto que corría desde la cintura a las sienes…¡Confesión general! –estaba pensando. (*La Regenta* I:217)
>
> After abandoning all the clothing that was not necessary for bed, she remained on the tiger-skin rug, sinking her bare, small and plump feet into the thickness of the brown stains. Her bare arm propped up her slightly titled head, and the other hung alongside her body. She looked like a selfless, immodest model in an academic pose put in place by the artist. Never had the archpriest, nor any confessor, forbade La Regenta from this voluptuous contact of her entire body against the fresh air at bedtime. She had never believed that the abandonment [of clothing] could be material for confession…she lifted the bedcover. Without moving her feet, she let herself fall facedown over the smooth suppleness with her arms splayed. She rested her cheek on the sheet and with eyes wide open. The tactile pleasure that streamed from her waist to her temples delighted her…General confession! – she was thinking.

The very idea of confession –verbal intercourse— with De Pas incites a kind of desire through which Ana discovers the auto-erotic pleasure of touch as she notes the feeling of the air and sheets against her skin. Confession, itself a purifying ritual, serves not only to absolve her of her sins, but figures as a source of erotic inspiration.

In Judith Butler's reading of Foucault's pastoral power she posits that "[t]he confession does not simply bring an already existing desire or an already accomplished deed before the analyst, but alters the desire and the deed so that neither was what they become once they are stated for the analyst" (*Undoing Gender* 165). Likewise in *La Regenta*, the erotic experience Ana might confess to De Pas will already have taken on a new shape once articulated in the confessional before De Pas. For Butler, the so-called truth of confession is secondary. What is more significant here is that the content of confession actually masks the desire to confess. She writes:

> What is the content of confession? Is it a deed, a desire, an anxiety, an abiding guilt for which the confessional form serves as a balm? As the confession begins, it usually centers on a deed, but may be that the deed conceals the source of the desire for confession…speaking becomes the new vehicle for the act becomes, indeed, a new act or a new life for the old act. Now not only has one done the deed [or not], but one has spoken of it as well, and something in the speaking, a speaking that is *before* another and, obliquely, *to* another, a speaking that presumes and solicits recognition and constitutes the first act as public, as known, as having truly happened. (Butler, *Undoing Gender* 165)

For Ana, the ritual of self-narration, whether based on truth of fabrication, provides a sense of power and she feels "drunk" with pleasure (*La Regenta* II: 130). The content and veracity of confession, the case of *La Regenta*, is perhaps more significant to the confessor himself, who takes his pleasure from learning the secret, punishing the deed, and absolving the sinner. On more than one occasion, the narrator refers to De Pas as "un médico de espiritu" (a doctor of the spirit) and compares the confession of sins to the ingestion of medicine "tomar la medicina" (to take medicine) (*La Regenta* II: 127). Aligning De Pas with the role of medical doctor highlights the importance of arriving at a kind of truth, finding the source of the spiritual disease and administering a set of rules and practices to control any of form of excess that may arise. Thus, it is through confession that Ana can be made free of "disease" While it is true that many female characters of nineteenth-century Spanish fiction can be easily figured as either moral or immoral types, often representing both extremes of the pure and impure, Spanish novels also depict women protagonists who can not be located at either extreme, not simply pure or impure, but rather both at the same time. Such is the case of Doña Luz. But for De Pas, his desire to serve as Ana's confessor is largely self-motivated since he seeks to know the truth of her feelings towards his sexual rival, Alvaro Mesía. That the diabolical priest seeks out confession for impure ends shows the extent to which modes of purification are themselves contaminated by desire.

By now it should be clear that Vetustan society relies on a forceful dissonance between appearances and truth, and private "secrets" emerge in the sanctified space of the confessional. This gives Fermín an extraordinary amount of power and leverage over women (potential lovers), if and only when they speak the truth. "Habla, habla así" De Pas commands, "bendita sea tu boca" (Speak, speak just like that, blessed is your mouth) (*La Regenta* II: 130). Ana quickly intuits the value in withholding truth from confession, when De Pas probes her to confess her feelings for Alvaro. The night prior, in a clandestine dance in the town casino Ana was cajoled into dancing with Alvaro. Whereas before Ana felt that she could be satisfied with temptation alone -- "La tentación era suya, su único placer. ¡Bastante hacía con no dejarse vencer, pero

quería dejarse tentar!" (The temptation was hers, her only pleasure. She did a great deal to not let herself be conquered, but she wanted let herself be tempted!) (*La Regenta* I: 446) --, her desires for Alvaro were beginning to overpower her self-restraint: "Cuando Ana tuvo fuerza para separar todo su cuerpo de aquel placer del roce ligero con don Álvaro, otro peligro mayor se presentó en seguida: se oía a lo lejos la música de salón. – ¡A bailar, a bailar!" (As soon as Ana had gotten the strength to separate her entire body from the pleasure of that light brush with don Alvaro, another danger immediately arose: from a distance one could hear dance music) (*La Regenta* II: 381). In the dance with Alvaro, Ana did nothing but "sentir un placer que parecía fuego; aquel gozo intenso; irresistible: la espantaba" (feel a pleasure that seemed like a fire; an intense, irresistible pleasure: it frightened her) (*La Regenta* II: 381) and in an instant she faints into his arms. The following day Ana rushes off to confession. Horrified by the scandal caused in the casino, she declares "estuve loca" (I was crazy) (*La Regenta* II: 388). Attempting to procure the confession he wants from Ana, De Pas becomes impatient: "Eso quiero saber yo, Ana; saber…., saberlo todo. Yo también padezco" (I want to know this, Ana; to know…know everything. I also suffer.) (*La Regenta* II: 388). Ana, who was at once ready to confess all to Fermín, alters her story when she realizes that rather be absolved, the truth might put her at risk of Fermín's judgment. De Pas's desire to peg her as guilty for betraying him becomes apparent to Ana, and she quickly realizes that her true confession can be a form of power, a lesson that harks back to childhood episode with Germán. The narrator explains that "Ana recogió sus fuerzas, atendió a la realidad, a lo que le preguntaba, con intensidad, luchando con el confesor, batiéndose por su interés que era ocultar lo más hondo de su pensamiento" (Ana mustered up strength, became alert to reality, of what he was asking her, with intensity, struggling with the confessor, battling herself in her own interest, which was to hide her inner most thoughts) (*La Regenta* II: 389). When asked repeatedly by De Pas the inquisitor, Ana ineffectually feigns amnesia "Yo no recuerdo…tal vez" (Perhaps…I forgot) (*La Regenta* II: 389). De Pas, dumbfounded by Ana's deceitfulness, loses his composure and begins to unravel before her eyes. It is this moment that Ana understands more clearly the source of his desperation, which is that her confessor longs to be her lover. The realization "la hizo sonreír a ella misma con amargura que llegó hasta la boca desde las entrañas" (made her smile with bitterness that rose to her mouth from her gut) (*La Regenta* II: 392). This sensation mimics a similar visceral pleasure that was once provoked by the desire to confess, except that now this knowledge gives her power at the same time that sickens her. Now, in a surprising inversion of roles it is De Pas's secret that comes to the surface. Here, Ana's childhood lesson comes full circle and she adopts the ethic of *disimulo* as a mode of protection.

Outside of religious confession, erotic feelings are muted but manage to transpire in sensorial ways. Illicit desire is perhaps the most recurrent affect in all of Ana's extramarital relationships (romantic or otherwise) and appears as nameless or unvoiced by the characters. While the narrator and characters refrain from explicitly naming such erotic feelings, they surface in the intimate space of mental reflection and corporeal consciousness.[40] Joining feelings,

[40] One instance in which desire is openly expressed is the banquet scene in which Paco Vegallana boasts of a recent conquest involving a village girl. Such cross-class seductions are not treated as scandals, but rather routine recreational activity for bourgeois men. We see this as a recurring theme over and over again in the novels of the period. It takes center stage in *Fortunata y Jacinta*, for example (see Chapter 4), in which the central male protagonist, Juanito Santa Cruz, admits this shameful bourgeois male pastime. Cross-class marriage on the other hand, is undoubtedly immoral, hence Ana's shameful origins.

thought, and desire, (*sentir*, *pensar*, *querer*) what Monlau considered to be the three pillars of the human soul, the novel paradoxically becomes a hygienic genre, training the reader in the art of intimate knowledge and the so-called hygiene of *immoral* sensibility. Early on in the novel, saddened by her passionless marriage, Ana's begins to theorize her sense of resignation. Strikingly, her despair is overturned through a process that begins with a visceral feeling in the body likened to a vocal expression: "Sentía en las entrañas gritos de protesta, que le parecía que reclamaban con suprema elocuencia, inspirados por la justicia, derechos de la carne, derechos de la hermosura" (She felt in her gut, the screams of protestation, which to her seemed to reclaim with supreme eloquence -- inspired by justice -- the rights of the flesh, rights of beauty) (*La Regenta* I: 461). Muted to the outside world, Ana's claim to her "rights of the flesh and beauty" emergence in eloquent silence – to borrow the words of Raymond Williams, this is akin to an expression that is "not feeling against thought, but thought as felt and feeling as thought" (132).

Gonzalo Sobejano has noted several instances in the novel in which the characters themselves, namely Ana and Fermín, attempt to grapple with their so-called "sentimientos sin nombre," (nameless feelings) characterized by new, indefinable qualities (1). The inarticulacy of such desire reflects Clarín's own skepticism around language's ability to capture affect – he firmly believed that "El diccionario tiene la culpa de muchas grandes injusticias"; and in a similar vein he pondered, "¿quién sabe si hay sentimientos que todavía no tienen nombre?" (The dictionary is guilty of many great injustices) (Who knows if there are feelings that do not yet have names?) (García Sarría 263, qtd by Sobejano 6).[41] In contrast to the discourse of hygiene, which relies on a logic of classification, desires in La Regenta frequently remain unclassified. Nevertheless, unspoken feelings precipitate through other "oral fixations"—namely the narrative's attention to character's mouths. Early on in the novel Ana sees Alvaro riding on horseback and feels seduced by his image. Unable to speak her desires "casi lo decía con los ojos. Se le secaba la boca y pasaba la lengua por los labios" (she practically said it with her eyes. Her mouth became dry and she passed her tongue over her lips) (*La Regenta* II: 80). When Ana silences her feelings towards Alvaro the narrator frequently draws attention to her mouth. Readers of La Regenta may recall an oft-cited scene in which Ana, while experiencing a surge of "voluptuous" feelings towards Alvaro, kisses and bites cherries that Petra picks for him:

> Ana sintió que su mano temblaba sobre las cerezas y aquello contacto le pareció de repente más dulce y voluptuoso. Y cuando nadie veía, a hurtadillas, sin pensar lo que hacía, sin poder contenerse, como una colegiala enamorada, besó con fuego la paja blanca del canastillo. Besó las cerezas también…y hasta mordió una que dejó allí, señalada apenas por la huella de dos dientes. (*La Regenta* II: 461, my emphasis)
>
> Ana felt her hand tremble on top of the cherries and that contact suddenly seemed sweet and voluptuous. And when no one was watching her, on the sly, without thinking about what she was doing, unable to contain herself, like a schoolgirl in love, she passionately kissed the white straw of the basket. She kissed the cherries, too…and even bit into one that she left there, barely marked by the imprint of two teeth.

[41] Gonzalo Sobejano explores these declarations in further detail in his essay: "Sentimientos Sin Nombre En La Regenta." *Insula Insula: Revista de Letras y Ciencias Humanas* 30.451 (1984): 1, 6.

Unable to speak of her erotic feelings towards Alvaro nor contain them, Ana momentarily indulges in sensorial pleasure (touch and taste), but she also leaves Alvaro a suggestive message through the imprints of her teeth left on the half-eaten cherry.

The generalized self-imposition of censorship and containment of desire speaks to the broader "perpetua escuela de disimulo" upon which castidad.[42] Moreover, these inexpressible and often frenzied feelings reflect Restoration society's social configuration by which non-normative desires exceed the boundaries of its grid of intelligibility. Once such instance where this chasm becomes remarkably clear is during the Holy Week procession in Vetusta, in which the narrator makes us privy to Obdulia's disorderly desire. In this scene, Obdulia impatiently waits to get a closer look at Ana processing towards her as a barefoot penitent:

> '¿Cuándo llegará?' preguntaba la viuda, lamiéndose los labios, invadida de una envidia admiradora, y sintiendo extraños dejos de una especie de lujuria bestial, disparatada, inexplicable por lo absurda. Sentía Obdulia en aquel momento así…un deseo vago… de… de… ser hombre. (*La Regenta* II: 428)
>
> 'When will she arrive?' the widow asked, licking her lips, invaded by feelings of an envious admirer, and sensing strange delights of a lustful, bestial, and insane, nature, inexplicable because of their absurdity. Obdulia felt in that moment…a vague desire…to…to…be a man.

Here, Obdulia displaces her same-sex desires towards Ana onto the feelings of admiration and envy. Instead, as the narrator voices her thoughts to the reader, we learn that Obdulia in this instance desires to occupy the subject position of man. Changing the gender of her gaze, Obdulia attempts to sidestep the absurdity of her bestial, lustful feelings, which fall outside of the boundaries of the normal. How else could she grapple with this desire that dare not speak its name?

The inability to speak or even think of non-normative feelings – the narrator himself stammers as he voices Obdulia's dangerous thoughts-- is met with a narrative focus on once again on the character's mouth. Obdulia licks her lips in reaction to unfamiliar delights (dejos), which crystallize as her inexplicable and unspeakable longings. The narrative thus not only makes the mouth a site of carnal desires --itself not a noteworthy move-- but also eroticizes the instance of inarticulacy metonymically through those body parts which together comprise the vehicle of speech: lips, teeth and tongue. To cite another example of this, Ana's delayed speech becomes the source of desire through the optic of Alvaro: "Anita sentía seca la boca; para hablar necesitaba humedecer con la lengua los labios. Lo vio Mesía que adoraba este gesto de la Regenta, y sin poder contenerse, fuera de su plan, natura naturans, exclamó: ¡Qué monísima! ¡qué monísima!" (Anita could that her mouth was dry; in order to speak she needed to moisten her lips with her tongue) (*La Regenta* I: 447). Mesía saw this and adored La Regenta's gesture,

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[42] Beth Bauer reads these unvoiced, mental reflections through the lens of Kristeva's semiotic. I believe it is more productive to view these thoughts as not being outside of language, but rather reflective of a generalized sense of taboo and censorship or a reaction to prohibition within the watchful society of Restoration Spain, in which sexuality was increasingly policed by agents of the Church and the State and public perception of chastity was central to female subjectivity.

and unable to contain himself, straying from his plan, natura naturans, he exclaimed: How adorable! How adorable!) (*La Regenta* I: 447). Ana's halted speech produces in Mesía an explosion of language and desire, which undermines his calculated attempt at hygienic, self-restraint. The ambiguity of desire and its inability to remain fixed or named elicits pleasure and unintended consequences throughout the narrative. Alvaro's own blind confidence in regards to conquering Ana, failing to consider his own submission to attraction, shows the precarious potentiality of the erotic and its ability to destabilizes seemingly uncomplicated relations of power. While there is no question that Alvaro successfully seduces Ana, he too falls victim to his own unrelenting desires.

In Vetusta such powerful, illicit desire is imminently linked with danger, and it is this preempted danger that in part provokes its censorship. Love affairs that publicly rupture social boundaries are haunted by the presence of both real and potential deaths: Having gone to a convent to cover up her pregnancy, Teresa, de Pas's lover, dies as a direct result its unsanitary conditions. The convent is aptly dubbed *la cloaca* (sewer)– demonstrating that even Catholic sanctums are not immune to the infirmity of Vetustan decadence; Alvaro's health diminishes over the course of his affair with Ana; and Victor is fatally shot by Alvaro in an honor duel. These seemingly disparate examples I have cited share in common the penetration or collapse of social boundaries. In all cases, the public unleashing of female erotic excess proves destructive and is bound up with the impending threat of death and disease.[43] While the erotic remains at the root of Vetustan decadence and the source of Ana's demise, her erotic flight leading up to her fall remains in a "protected" zone of the narrative the figures in the metadiegetic traffic between narrator and reader.

Critics of *La Regenta* have typically read Ana's seduction as the moment of her great fall, in which she has no agency and no control of her own desires. Noel Valis, to cite one example, argues that " [Ana] never attains self-knowledge in La Regenta: she maintains a confused perception of her feelings and motivations throughout the novel" (*The Decadent Vision in Leopoldo Alas* 98). Rather than play a passive role, however, I argue that although Ana struggles between her instinctive "rights of the flesh" and the condemnation of female sexual agency in religious and medical discourse, she ultimately makes a clear, affirmative decision to submit herself to the pleasures of adultery and in this way overturns the prohibitive discourses of hygiene and religion. Impurity, in this way because affirmative, if only momentarily.

Ana's infamous barefoot Holy Week procession is De Pas's final, grandiose triumph over Ana. Ana looks beautiful like the Virgin herself, but with her bare feet and exposed shoulders she becomes the eroticized object that all of Vetusta, with the exception of her husband, devoured with their eyes (*La Regenta* II: 428). Visita receives her wish of seeing the ermine covered in mud, a harbinger of the final loss of purity that is to come. It is not long before this performance of extreme religious devotion becomes a source of shame and remorse for Ana. Internalizing the judgment of her peers and even referencing *La Perfecta Casada*, Ana imagines all of the pejorative titles she has earned in a list that parallels that of Monlau's excessive

[43] Noel Valis remarks on how Vetustan society is characterized by stagnancy and decay: "death, both physical and metaphysical, oppresses the actual and mental landscape of the Vetustan world. It oozes into the stagnating mud of the land, infiltrates the desperate and wavering spirits of its characters (Ana, Victor), and finally invades the body proper (Santos Barinaga, Pompeyo, Victor)."(*Decadent Vision* 92)

women: "Allí iba la tonta, la literata, Jorge Sandio, la mística, la fatua, la loca, la loca sin vergüenza" (They went the idiot, the writer, George Sands, the mystic, the conceited woman, the madwoman, the shameless madwoman) (*La Regenta* II: 433).

In response to and shortly after this episode, Ana falls ill and consults doctor Benítez, having since sworn off religion fanaticism, and declares "seré esclava de la higiene" (I will be a slave to hygiene) (*La Regenta* II: 444). If religion had been a source of erotic passion, hygiene proves to have the opposite effect. With the practices of hygiene Ana begins to comply with Victor's orders. Interestingly, however, Victor laments that her newfound obsession with her health and body, her "manía de salud," (health craze) (*La Regenta* II: 472) has only lead to another form of resignation:

> Ahora la pobrecita coincide con mis gustos en todo. Por aquí, digo, y por aquí se va. Hasta le ha pasado aquella exaltación un poco selvática, aquel amor excesivo a los placeres bucólicos, aquella exclusiva preocupación de la salud al aire libre, del ejercicio, del la higiene en suma…Todos son extremos malos, y Benítez me tenía dicho que la verdadera curación de Ana vendría cuando se la viese menos atenta a la salud de su cuerpo, sin volver, ni por pienso, al cuidado excesivo y loco de su alma. ¡Aquello era lo peor!" (*La Regenta* 509-510).
>
> Now the poor thing agrees with me in all of my tastes. That way, I say, and that way she goes. Her somewhat wild exaltations have even passed, that excessive love for bucolic pleasures, that exclusive preoccupation for health in the open air, for exercise, and in sum for hygiene…All are bad extremes, and Benítez has told me that Ana's true cure would come when she paid less attention to her body, without returning to, or thinking of returning to, the excessive and insane care for her soul. That was the worst!

Ana's tendency to take to extreme solutions is cause for concern, and her devotion to religion and hygiene has been excessive and such inadequate forms of containment that leave Ana little room for individual will and self-possession. Even in Ana's mystic exaltations, which appeared to be a source of pleasure and self-exploration, there was a lack of agency and a sense of physical pain that seemed beyond her control. If De Pas saw himself as a spiritual hygienist, there seemed to be little distinction between doctor and priest. In her new hygienic regimen, Ana observes that "Benítez cuando decide hablar parece también un confesor" (*La Regenta* II: 449). While Benítez suggests to Victor that less attention to her body will be her cure, I argue that it is precisely this keen bodily consciousness that serves as a kind of erotic awakening, a temporary saving grace.

Benítez suggests that Ana and Victor retreat to the countryside for the sake of Ana's health, in hopes that recreation and fresh air will revive Ana's vitality. Alvaro, in support of Victor, joins them as they journey to the country estate of the Marquez de Vegallana. Ana brings with her a number of books from her childhood and finds between the pages of a book on mythology, a sketch she made of Germán as a marine. This token of her memory from that night under the moon with Germán is a reminder of Ana's desire to entertain her fantasies of escape. It is also a symbol of "original sin" in which she did no wrong but was condemned by the outside

world. Indeed, it is the sinful pleasures that later unfold in the *campo* that Ana comes to assert as her right, rather than something for which she is to be ashamed.

After the passing of severe rainstorm, Ana finds herself alone with Alvaro. In this moment she senses that she will finally submit herself to her seducer. The narrator remarks, "no pensaba en tal instante ni en que ella era casada, ni en que había sido *mística*, ni siquiera en que había maridos y Magistrales en el mundo. Se sentía caer en un abismo de flores. Aquello era caer, sí, pero *caer al cielo*" (In that instant, she was not thinking about the fact that she was married, nor that she had been a mystic, and not even that there husbands or magistrates in the world. She felt herself fall into an abyss of flowers. That was a fall, yes, but *a fall into heaven*) (*La Regenta* II: 491). She has been resisting Alvaro's temptation for some time now, and Alvaro who, as mentioned earlier, has been preparing for his conquest by reading hygiene manuals, seizes this moment to approach Ana and declare his love for her. The narrator, however, mutes Alvaro's speech and only makes note of his declaration of love. The absence of his speech is replaced by Ana's inner voice through the narrator's use of free indirect style:

> Para lo único que le quedaba un poco de conciencia, fuera de lo presente, era para comparar las delicias que estaba gozando con las que había encontrado en la meditación religiosa. En esta última había un esfuerzo doloroso, una frialdad abstracta, y en rigor algo enfermizo, una exaltación malsana; y en lo que estaba pasando ahora ella era pasiva, no había esfuerzo, no había frialdad, no había más que placer, salud, fuerza, nada de abstracción, nada de tener que figurarse algo ausente, delicia positiva, tangible, inmediata, dicha sin reserva, sin trascender a nada más que a la esperanza de que durase eternamente. 'No, por allí no se iba a locura' (*La Regenta* II: 492).
>
> The only thing for which she had any remainder of conscience/consciousness, outside of the present moment, was to compare the delights that she was enjoying with the ones she had found in religious meditation. In the latter, there had been a painful force, an abstract coldness, and strictly speaking something sickly, an unhealthy exaltation; and in what was happening right now, she was passive, there was no force, no coldness, there was nothing but pleasure, health, strength, no abstractions, no need to imagine something absent, positive, tangible, immediate delight, happiness without reservations, without transcending anything but the hope that this could last eternally. 'No, this was not the road to insanity.'

In this moment the narrative is focalized through Ana's point of view. As readers, we are invited to occupy her subject position rather than take pleasure from her objectification as Ana begins to experience Ana then experiences a sensual, material pleasure: "Ana sentía un placer *puramente material,* pensaba ella, en aquel sito de sus entrañas que no era el vientre ni el corazón, sino en el medio. Sí, el placer era *puramente material*, pero su intensidad le hacía grandioso, sublime. 'Cuando se gozaba tanto, debía de haber derecho a gozar'" (Ana felt a *purely material* pleasure, she thought, in that place in her gut that was neither her belly nor her heart, but somewhere in between. Yes, the pleasure was *purely material*, but its intensity made it grandiose, sublime. 'When one felt such pleasure, one ought to have the right to feel pleasure') (*La Regenta* II: 493). In this sublime, enthralling moment, Ana realizes an embodied understanding of sexual

politics. She contemplates and claims *her right to feel and her right to pleasure*! Through a series of negations, Ana systematically undoes hygiene's and religion's attempt to pathologize and demonize carnal knowledge. Much like the author in the prologue of the book (we might recall Monlau's series of negations at the start of this chapter), Ana indirectly provides instructions for how to read this most unchaste declaration.

From the outset Ana's seduction has been framed in terms of salvation, and paradoxically this moment in which she gives herself permission to surrender to pleasure, figures as a hedonistic, self-affirming act. While Ana is punished at the end of the novel, it is not the adultery alone that leads to her damnation --nearly everyone in Vetusta commits sins of the flesh-- it is rather that the news has gone public: "*aquel gran escándalo que era como una novella*" "un adulterio descubierto" (that great scandal that was like a novel) (a discovered adultery) (*La Regenta* II: 584, emphasis in original). Realist novels, according to Labanyi's logic, incite empathy in their readers who in turn learn to identify with their protagonists. In doing so, readers become part of the imagined community as they are united by "common anxieties" around modernity (Labanyi 6). If Labayni's maxim is true, and the novel is key to creating such imagined communities, we could also then posit the idea of the novel as creating such a community that is united through a shared erotic sensibility. In this light, how might we think of Ana's eroticism going public *como una novela* as the moment in which the erotic epiphany transcends the diegetic level of the text? Put another way, the novel understood through Monlau's terms engenders a kind of unsanitized hygiene of sensibility, one that cultivates the sensibility of pleasure and elicits carnal knowledge.

As these erotic instances are focalized through Ana's consciousness the reader joins her in her erotic flight. The novel's paradoxical capacity to make the fictive seem palpably real takes the precepts of hygiene to task. Ana's affirmative eroticism is a source of intimate knowledge and power. A moment not marked by excess, not the libidinal chaos of metaphorical mud, but of clarity and health. The novel's capacity to enthrall, if not corrupt the reader, especially the female reader, was certainly the topic of many debates throughout nineteenth century Spain. *La Regenta* offers a counter-reality, a counter-pedagogy to the repressive regime of hygiene, which works to separate, to order, to contain. As Ana remarks in the narrative "Las novelas era mejor vivirlas" (Novels, it was better to live them) (*La Regenta* II: 272).

We began this chapter by tracing the history of modern Spanish hygiene, a markedly modern instantiation of purity, but one that relies on the same moral order as Catholicism. Purity as chastity, a highly gendered ideology, seeks out that which is free of contamination. It proves, in novel to an impossible project, a phantom ideal. As anthropologist Mary Douglas has shown, there is no essential dirt, and "[r]eflection on dirt involves reflection on the relation of order to disorder" (5). The novel, as it reveals the cracks and fissures in this pure regime that is hygiene, displays the dissonance and the dirt that undergirds the processes of Spanish modernization.

Chapter 3

Purity and Performativity:
"La mujer española" and *La Tribuna*

Hoy ninguna mujer de España—
empezando por la que ocupa el trono—
goza de verdadera influencia política.

Today, no woman in Spain –
starting with the one who occupies the throne—
enjoys true political influence

-- Emilia Pardo Bazán "La mujer española"

Emilia Pardo Bazán's first naturalist novel *La Tribuna* (1884) has garnered significant critical attention for its treatment of the working class. In contrast to the other plebeian heroines of the realist novel – for example, Fortunata (see chapter 4) – *La Tribuna* features a rebellious and politically conscious female wage-laborer. While readers of *La Tribuna* have examined Pardo Bazán's representation of class politics and gender politics, the *intersectionality* of gender, sexuality and class still warrants further study. Despite the richness of literary criticism that focuses on nineteenth-century gender ideologies, it tends to focus bourgeois female subjectivity, obscuring other class-specific genders and their relationships of contingency.[44] The purportedly classless icon of the *ángel del hogar*,[45] characterized by passivity, virginal beauty, enclosure, and maternity figures nowhere in *La Tribuna* and makes rare, uncritical appearances in the realist novel in general.

Emilia Pardo Bazán, herself an unruly member of the aristocracy, was no stranger to the conflicts that arise through the intersection of class and gender. In her fascinating yet highly problematic 1889 essay "La mujer española,"[46] Pardo Bazán essentializes and taxonomically

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[44] Quite often critical analyses of working-class women commit the fault of examining them within the framework of the bourgeois gender norms. Geraldine Scanlon is one scholar who has tackled the relationship of gender and class in her illuminating study on *La Tribuna*. Scanlon argues that Pardo Bazán's ambivalence towards the female protagonist is driven by the conflict between class and sexual politics and her own subject position as a female author. Despite this consideration of intersectionality, both within and without the novel, even Scanlon at times resorts to reading working-class women through the optic of bourgeois gender normativity, i.e. the ideal of the *ángel del hogar*. Scanlon, for example, describes two working-class characters in the novel as conforming with societal expectations of their gender and class: "Compassionate, self-sacrificing, nurturing, patient, gentle, passive, retiring, devout and chaste, Carmela and La Guardiana incarnate the virtues demanded of their class and of their sex." (40). These are precisely the characteristics that were attributed to the bourgeois *angel del hogar*, whose unruly counterpart – the working-class woman- only reaffirms her legitimacy and virtue.

[45] Bridget Aldaraca contends that the ideology of domesticity was predicated on the contradiction that a "bourgeois democracy is a classless society and therefore it is possible to speak of all women without remarking upon any distinction of class"(19). Catherine Jagoe echoes this argument when she asserts that "[f]eminine domesticity was clearly an ideal which marked off the middle classes both from the aristocracy and from the working classes, although writers presented it as woman's essential nature regardless of class lines"(*Ambiguous Angels* 21).

[46] This essay was first published in the English journal the *Fortnightly Review*. The same essay was republished one year later in the Spanish journal *La España Moderna*.

orders Spanish women according to social class (aristocratic, middle-class and plebeian), regional origin, and vocation. While Pardo Bazán speaks in defense of aristocratic women, she contends that it is only *la mujer del pueblo* who best preserves, morally *and* physically, the character and tradition of the nation. This idealization exemplifies Ann McClintock's claim that in modernity women become "the conservative repository of the national archaic"(359).[47] Ironically, it is *la mujer del pueblo*, arguably one of the most marginalized subjects within the nation, who, according to the elite classes, represents this national ideal. What comes as a surprising turn in Pardo Bazán's sketch of the plebeian woman is the exceptionalism which she bestows upon the female cigar maker – *la cigarrera*— a figure widely associated with worker insurgency[48] in late nineteenth-century Spain. Pardo Bazán writes:

> El antiguo cuño presevera en las provincias del mediodía; las fábricas de cigarros son el único centro obrero que la andaluza posee, y sabido es que la cigarrera forma un tipo aparte, *castizo*, muy diferente del de la obrera, que adquiere involuntariamente o deliberadamente corte francés, o al menos pierde el aspecto pintoresco que la cigarrera conserva y luce. ("La Mujer Española" 112, my emphasis)
>
> The old mark [of tradition] preservers in the provinces of the south; cigar factories are the places for work that the Andalusian woman has access to, and it is known that the *cigarrera* forms a separate type, *castizo*, very different from that of the female worker, who involuntarily or deliberately acquires a French style, or at least she loses the picturesque aspect that the *cigarrera* conserves and shows off.

This curious gesture is a direct invocation or perhaps, a retroactive defense of *La Tribuna*, whose protagonist is a female cigar maker. Pardo Bazán's rhetorical strategy of using the passive voice "sabido es" "it is known" attempts to erase Pardo Bazán's own enunciatory position, and render her claim an objective truth.

The Spanish attribute *castizo*, as we have discussed in previous chapters, signifies pure, authentic and therefore uncorrupted Spanishness. While *castidad* is a female and bourgeois-specific attribute, an ideal, which, within bourgeois cultural codes, is anathema to working-class women, *lo castizo* is a broader, nationally inflected conception of purity. *Castizo/a* in this context figures in opposition to that which has been contaminated by French influences, mirroring the author's own anxiety toward northern literary and cultural invasion. In the prologue to *La Tribuna*, Pardo Bázan explicitly distances her writing and the subject of her writing (the working class) from those of French naturalism:[49]

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[47] Building on Walter Benjamin's argument that the archaic is necessary in order to experience commodities as new in the age of industrial modernization, Ann McClintock argues that gender difference resolves the contradiction of the need for tradition within the modern nation.

[48] Geraldine Scanlon points out that Pardo Bazán favored the *cigarreras* because they were more politically active than other members of their class.

[49] For an analysis of Pardo Bazán's relationship to other Spanish women writers see Maryellen Bieder's article "Emilia Pardo Bazán and Literary Women: Women Reading Women's Writing in Late 19th-Century Spain." *Revista Hispánica Moderna*. 46.1 (1993): 19-33. For reading on Pardo Bazán's relationship to women writers in northern Europe see Densie Dupont's article "Masculinity, Femininity, Solidarity: Emilia Pardo Bazán's Construction of Madame De Staël and George Sand." *Comparative Literature Studies*. 40.4 (2003): 372-393.

> No; los tipos del pueblo español en general, y de la costa cantábrica en particular, no son aún –salvas *fenomenales excepciones*— los que se describen con terrible verdad en *L'assomoir*, *Germinie Lacerteaux* y otras obras, donde parece que el novelista nos descubre las abominaciones monstruosas de la Roma pagana, que, unidas a la barbarie más grosera, retoñan en el corazón de la Europa cristiana civilizada.
>
> No; the types of the Spanish people in general, of the Cantabrian coast in particular, are still not --save phenomenal exceptions— the ones that are described with terrible veracity in *L'assomoir*, *Germinie Lacerteaux* and other works, where it appears that the novelist discovers for us the mostruous abominations of pagan Rome, which, united with the most vulgar barbarism, sprout from the heart of civilized Christian Europe.

Alda Blanco has argued that in the second half of the nineteenth century with the Napoleonic invasion still fresh in the collective consciousness, "Spain was imagined [by the literary intelligentsia] as a boundaryless nation subject to invasion and subjugation" (Blanco "Gender and National Identity" 123). It is in this context that Spanish literary criticism and the Spanish novel, both nationally invested projects, were emphatically obsessed with discerning *lo castizo* in the face of growing anxiety regarding the circulation of foreign culture and foreign capital (Blanco "Gender and National Identity"). This anxiety takes center stage in *Fortunata y Jacinta* (see chapter 4), for example, in which the narrator projects his fears of national corruption onto the "invasion" of foreign fashion. In both Galdós's and Pardo Bazán's writings, fear of the foreign becomes conflated with a fear of the new or the modern. *Lo castizo* therefore figures not only as an articulation of nationalist purity – a gendered, essentialist and populist formulation – but also as a temporally inflected ideal (anchored in the past), indexing what transnational feminist scholars have identified as the gendered temporality of nationness (Kaplan, Alarcón, and Moallem). Pardo Bazán projects a nostalgic longing for past that perhaps never was, but one that remains anachronistically preserved in the living body of the *cigarrera*. This formulation, of course, denies the "modernness" of the *cigarrera* as a wage-laborer, a position that is direct result of modern industrialization.

La Tribuna engenders surprising and highly contradictory embodiments of the pure, which arise from Amparo's particular subject position as a working-class woman in the historical context of revolutionary Spain. What I seek to recover in this chapter is the narrative's ambivalence towards the political allegory that *La Tribuna* appears to set up. The plot of *La Tribuna* steadily drifts towards revolutionary rupture as Amparo eventually comes to embody the *castiza* working-class woman and thus the idealized symbolic of the Republic, but the complex, indeed, impure manifestations of gender and desire in the novel changes the course of the woman-as-nation narrative. Pardo Bazán's complicated treatment of the *cigarrera*, I argue, exhibits the revealing contradictions that arise from what Bhabha would identify as the cigarrera's "double inscription" in the modern nation (Bhabha 216). For Bhabha the act of "writing the nation" is an ambivalent narrative strategy which produces a "continual slippage of categories, like sexuality, class affiliation, territorial paranoia or cultural difference"(201). These slippages occur in the intersticial moments between *la mujer del pueblo* as "the historical 'object' of nationalist pedagogy" (e.g. *La mujer española*) and the subject of a "repetitous,

recursive strategy of the performative" (Bhabha 209). *La cigarrera* for Pardo Bazán becomes the aesthetic embodiment of an exceptional female ideal—she is described as "pintoresca" (picturesque)-- but readers of *La Tribuna* were well aware that Amparo's rebellious disposition is a far cry from the picturesque icon of the *aldeana*.[50] This, in part, may be due to the fact that the project of the realist or naturalist novel, "implies the unveiling of the lived contradictions of class and gender – that camouflaged empty space between the abstract ideal and the real or material, which ideology seeks to hide" (Aldaraca 21). Therefore, in contrast to "La mujer española," *La Tribuna* foregrounds this performative aspect of subjectivity, whose iterative process enables subversive, eruptive discursive consequences. In what follows, I will explore the contradictions that arise in Pardo Bazán's idealization of the cigarrera as *castiza* in "La Mujer Española" read against the fictionalization of the *cigarerra* in *La Tribuna*. I hope to show that the performative quality of gender in *La Tribuna* undoes the heterosexist ideology that undergirds the discourse of the pure.

La Mujer del Pueblo vs. El Ángel del Hogar

Modeled on the Virgin Mary herself, the *ángel de hogar* symbolized virtue, sacrifice, and virginal motherhood. Above all, this figure was the epitome of chastity (castidad), defined by her asexuality and opposition to sensuality. Critics have argued that the so-called cult of domesticity which emerged around this figure was as much of a result of shifts in the politics of gender difference[51] as it was an effect of the emerging forces of market capitalism that changed the socio-economic terrain of nineteenth-century Spain.[52] As historian Jesús Cruz demonstrates in *The Rise of Middle-Class Culture,* this bourgeois ideology was anchored in the construction of the modern middle class home. The space of the middle-class home became a central locality of capitalism at the same time that it was treated as a sacred domain; the home was both a space of commercial flow and exchange and the center of moral education (Cruz 53). The figure reigning over this sanctified space was none other than the pious mother/wife. Bridget Aldaraca in her foundational study of the *ángel del hogar* argues that:

> In Spain, the iconization of woman as an eternally young and virginal mother has much more to do with a nostalgic longing for home, that is, with a return to the relationship between male child and mother, than it does with the relationship between adult men and women in marriage or outside of marriage. (19-20)

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[50] Historian Mary Vincent argues that contrary to the belief that the failures of the modern Spanish State resulted from the weakness of Spanish nationalism, by mid-nineteenth century, "Spain had an emotional presence, that lived-in feeling of instant recognition, which any and every form of nationalism demanded"(3). Vincent argues that regional identity strengthened ideas of the national in ways that took on particular gendered valences. Imagery of "regional" women, for example, circulated through advertising for national household brands like Carbonell olive oil. Frequently featuring a beautiful young girl in regional garb posing against a southern landscape. These images showed how the local was being reworked in a national context, to create a common idiom of Spanishness (Vincent 48).

[51] Thomas Laqueur contends that the biological concept of the sexes as we know them today, what he calls the two-sex system, was a post-Enlightenment invention. According this formulation, Woman came to be seen for the first time as altogether distinct from man, rather than a less evolved, atavistic version of the male sex.The two-sex system was a biologically deterministic theory, using sex to explain social behavior. Laqueur's work has been cited by many critics as evidence for the idealization of woman in the nineteenth century.

[52] For an in-depth analysis on the changes brought about by market capitalization and its traces in the realist novel see Jo Labanyi.

Susan Kirkpatrick and Catherine Jagoe have shown that this ideological construct served an especially unifying, if not stabilizing, function during the time of tumultuous social and economic change as well as political uncertainty (Kirkpatrick 366, Jagoe 19). Along these same lines Cruz explains that:

> The family provided individual fulfillment and a basis for collective order, while the bourgeois house, its abundant material culture an indication of social position, served as an expression of the right of privacy and a foundation for a new capitalist economy based on consumption. In Western Europe, the home-centered culture of domesticity became a perfect instrument for the construction of bourgeois group identity. (*The Rise of the Middle-class* 53)

Domesticity, which came into being at the same time as the public sphere, was therefore itself a marker of modernity for the bourgeois class. The *ángel del hogar* was the figure of the modern bourgeois woman, who although limited to the confines of the home, was seen by many feminist and women writers as a political victory over the demonization of women in previous centuries (Aldaraca). Bourgeois women, according to this ideology, were now glorified as pure, angelic figures, charged with the moral education of the entire family.

While the cult of domesticity was important for securing bourgeois identity, it is difficult to sustain the argument that the angel of the hearth symbolized universal womanhood.[53] The tendency in criticism -- to treat bourgeois gender norms as universal -- unconsciously duplicates the rationale of liberal feminism in nineteenth-century Spain, insofar as it privileges the condition of the bourgeois woman.[54] This, in fact, is also where the ideology of domesticity and nineteenth-century liberal feminism meet: at the figure of the domestic angel. Domestic manuals, women's magazines, and domestic fiction were written exclusively for a bourgeois audience, i.e., literate urbanities that had the luxury of time for leisure and reading. The rhetorical strategy in speaking to (bourgeois) women about (bourgeois) women without modifiers successfully renders invisible their ontological and material dependence on working-class women. The bourgeois woman, thus, becomes a norm that not only works through the erasures of universal inclusion, but through an exclusionary politics that depends on plebeian woman as the invisible but proximate outside. Thus, as Judith Butler explains, the "constitutive outside means that identity always requires precisely that which it cannot abide" (*Bodies that Matter* 188). Put in another way, it is not so much that bourgeois woman or the *ángel del hogar* was seen as universal, but that this model of femininity was construed as part of the *normal* or unquestioned order of things. All other models of femininity were simply deviating from this morally sanctioned standard.

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[54] Pardo Bazán supported certain feminist ideals including women's access to education, but did not support class equality. Many of the feminists of this period including Pardo Bazán did not see a place for working-class women within feminism. Susan Kirkpatrick notes that Concepción Arenal, like other liberal feminists of her generation, did not "reject one of the fundamental ideological constructs on which the feminine ideal was based—the idea of the essential distinction between the home and the world of political struggle and the moral superiority of the former—and therefore […] opposed women's suffrage as entanglement in a morally degrading and corrupt system" (353).

If wife-mother and the home are the two major tenets through which bourgeois identity is secured, then *La Tribuna* opens with its dystopian mirror: the working-class domicile focalized through point of view of the bourgeois narrator. In true realist fashion, the narration begins with an inventory of objects, registering with minuscule detail the deterioration and poverty that plague this home, which also functions as a work space. Through the bourgeois narrative gaze, the disheveled state of this working-class domicile becomes available for public consumption and reaffirms the moral sanctity of domesticity for the bourgeois reader. The private home life of Amparo occupies little narrative space, however, as she is particularly street bound. In this sense *la mujer del pueblo*, literally the "woman of the people," is always already a "public woman." To the reader, then, it should come as no surprise that to Amparo, "la calle era su paraíso" "the street was her paradise" (*La Tribuna* 68). She spends hours upon hours roaming the streets alone and returns home with her bare feet covered in mud; a highly symbolic image that foreshadows that her virtue will be sullied, ironically by bourgeois filth.

In line with tenets of naturalism, it is Amparo's environment as well as her family background/class that produces her wild, unruly character. At the start of the narration, Amparo is thirteen years old. She is portrayed as vulnerable, yet precocious, due to her lack of maternal supervision. Before her mother injured herself, she worked in a cigar factory until Amparo was ten. "De estos instintos nómadas" the narrator explains "tendría bastante culpa la vida que forzosamente hizo la chiquilla mientras su madre asistió a la fábrica. Sola en casa con su padre apenas éste salía, ella lo imitaba, por no quedarse metida entre cuatro paredes; ¡vaya!" The life that the little one made for herself out of necessity while her mother went to factory is largely to blame for these nomadic instincts (*La Tribuna* 69). Her parents' spatially defined and class-specific occupations—her mother works outside the home while her father is relegated to the domestic sphere— are planted in the narrative early on as kernels for Amparo's unruly but alluring disposition.

This inversion of bourgeois male-female gender roles is anathema to domesticity. The narrator thus registers this social degradation in the state of their home, which is dark and cavernous. The narrator takes the reader on a "visual" tour of the poverty stricken private life of Amparo's family. He begins in the kitchen, normally a sacred, feminine domain, which appears as a suffocating space that is "oscura y angosta" "dark and narrow" (*La Tribuna* 69). Next the narrator takes the reader to the locus of all family life -- the couple's bedroom -- which is a sad, unkempt "espectáculo" "spectacle" (*La Tribuna* 69). The judgment of the bourgeois narrator makes this otherwise private space a public exhibition to the bourgeois reader. This, the narrator claims, is "la historia de la pobreza y de la incuria narrada en prosa por una multitud de objetos feos; historia que la chiquilla comprendía intuitivamente, pues hay quien, sin haber nacido entre sábanas y holandas, presume y adivina las comodidades y deleites que jamás gozó" (the story of poverty and negligence narrated in prose through a multitude of ugly objects; a story that the little one understood intuitively, because some people, even without having been born with bedding and fine bed linens, assume and intuit the comforts and delights that they have never enjoyed) (*La Tribuna* 69). These objects serve as material registers of poverty and deterioration, the destructive passage of time. They constitute the elements of a narrative in and of themselves, providing a *tableau* of working-class life, through which Amparo begins to read her own class position.

The narrative is sympathetic to the plight of working-class families, however, as working-class gender roles are defined precisely in opposition to those of the bourgeoisie, it also suggests that women's work (outside the home) is precludes the possibility of domestic and familial harmony amongst the poor. Women laborers do not figure as an abnormality amongst the working class, but independent women never seem to emerge unscathed. After thirty years of work in the cigar factory, Amparo's mother goes out to a public laundry house to wash some white clothing. She returns home "desabrigada" (underdressed) and wakes up paralyzed from the waist down, earning the name of "la tullida" (the cripple) (*La Tribuna* 68). The sudden onset of her disability—ironically a product of her doing domestic work— forcibly keeps Amparo's mother at home. The once "healthy" and "robust" woman was now "la imposibilitada" (the disabled) an ironic embodiment of the then popular saying "la mujer honrada, pierna quebrada" "a honest women [at home] with a broken leg."[55] While the narrative treats working-class women's absence from the home as a source of domestic disarray, la Tullida's new homebound status and unemployment only furthers the family's poverty and catapults Amparo into the labor market. The restless Amparo, who felt "en las piernas un hormigueo, un bullir de la sangre" (a tingling sensation, the boiling of blood in her legs), takes to the streets (*La Tribuna* 68). Despite la Tullida's fond memories of female labor solidarity, she had hopes that Amparo would engage in sedentary labor like needlework, but it was too late: "El rústico arbusto ya no se sujetaba al espaldera" (The rustic bush was no longer contained by the trellis) (*La Tribuna* 69).

The lack of maternal supervision in the dark enclosure that is her home is what leads Amparo to take refuge in the streets, an act that may have been received with negative moral judgment from the bourgeois reader, but did not actually contradict working-class mores. Leigh Mercer's recent study on the nineteenth-century novel *Urbanism and Urbanity: The Spanish Bourgeois Novel and Contemporary Customs (1845-1925)* refutes the long-held assumption that in the nineteenth century, middle-class women's presence in public spaces proved threatening to their honor.[56] Nancy Armstrong, for example, in her seminal work *Desire and Domestic Fiction* argues, "It is a woman's participation in public spectacle that injures her, for as an object of display, she always loses value as a subject" (77). By contrast Mercer shows how Spanish women regularly appeared in certain sanctioned public spaces (the museum, the promenade, and the boutique) in order to prove and reaffirm their social value, as well as participate in regulated forms of modern capitalist activity. For a plebeian woman like Amparo, there is little risk in damaging her honor and reputation by roaming the streets. If bourgeois men by default treat plebeian women as a sexually exploitable population, then working-class women do not lose their power as subjects in public space. Instead, from the bourgeois perspective, *la mujer del pueblo*, as mentioned earlier, is always a "public" woman. In being so, they reaffirm the particularity of the bourgeois *ángel del hogar*, as a specifically bourgeois norm.

The narrator of *La Tribuna* paints Amparo in a favorable light while simultaneously cultivating disdain for Amparo's bourgeois sexual rival Josefina. The narrator recounts:

> Era la condición del cuerpo de la señorita semejante a la de la gelatina que los escultores usan para vaciar sus estatuas, que recibe toda forma que se le quería

[55] Pardo Bazán herself references this saying in her essay "La Mujer Española."
[56] Mercer complicates Armstrong's argument and demonstrates that Spanish novels differ from other nationalist literature in their treatment of gender identity in relation to public space.

> imprimir. Josefina entraba dócil en los moldes impuestos por la moda, sin rebelarse ni protestar jamás"(*La Tribuna* 129).
>
> The condition of the young lady's body was similar to that of the gelatin that sculptors used to hollow out their statues, that it receives whatever form one wanted to impress on it. Josefina entered obediently into the molds imposed by fashion, without ever rebelling or protesting.

Other women look up to Josefina because she always "sacaba novedades" "donned the latest styles" (*La Tribuna* 130). Middle-class women, then, become the docile and "malleable" modern consumers, defining themselves through fashion and through the consumption of the latest trends. In this way, the narrator construes middle-class women as antithetical to national tradition, its defining characteristic being purity i.e. *lo castizo*. The narrator sarcastically comments on the importance of fashion in the world of middle-class women and their political indifference noting that "Aquel año comenzaba a imperar el traje corto, revolución tan importante para el atavío femenino como la de septiembre para España" (That year the short dress began to take reign, a revolution as important to female clothing as the September revolution to Spain) (*La Tribuna* 130). While this comment pokes fun at bourgeois women's superficiality, it also affirms the belief that gender politics are incompatible with class politics.

Josefina, threatened by her lower class sexual rival, exclaims that Amparo exhibits a lack of distinction, accusing her of precisely of the kind of lack of originality that the narrator links with Josefina. "Esas mujeres ordinarias," Josefina protests "me parecen todas iguales, cortadas por el mismo patrón. Morena…, muy basta." […] No te molestes [Baltasar]…No merece la pena; es el tipo de una cocinera, como todas las de su especie" (These common [*ordinaria*] women are all the same, cut from the same pattern. *Morena* [Brunette]…, very crude... Don't worry ... She isn't worth it; she's like a kitchen maid; they're all alike) (*La Tribuna* 99). Josefina recognizes that Amparo is her sexual rival and thus defensively insists on working-class women's "commonness." That the list of insults should crescendo with the last modifier – *morena*-- construes Amparo as phenotypically if not racially different (a separate species) from Josefina and Baltasar who are both blonde. [57]

For Pardo Bazán the *obrera* is more of a person than bourgeois woman who is a mere reflection of her husband. In "La Mujer Española" she writes:

> Hoy por hoy, existe entre la mujer de la clase media y la del pueblo español este abismo profundo; la del pueblo tiene la noción de que debe ganar su vida; la burguesa cree que ha de sostenerla exclusivamente el trabajo del hombre. De aquí se origina en la burguesa mayor dependencia, menos originalidad y espontaneidad. La mujer del pueblo será una personalidad ordinaria, pero mucho más persona que la burguesa. (*La mujer española* 101)
>
> Today, a profound abyss exists between the middle-class woman and the woman of the Spanish people; the woman of the people has the notion that she must earn

[57] It is worth noting here that in "La Mujer Española" Pardo Bazán claims that Spanish women are phenotypically *morena*. She remarks that the colors of Northern fashion do not complement Spanish features.

> her own living; the bourgeois woman believes that she ought to be sustained exclusively by the work of a man. Herein lies the origin of bourgeois woman's greater dependency, lack of originality and spontaneity. The woman of the people may be a common persona, but she is much more of a person that the bourgeois woman.

The underlying difference between middle-class and plebeian women is the element of independence or dependence. For Pardo Bazán, Bourgeois woman's dependence on her husband is what precludes the possibility of full personhood and therefore originality. Curiously, bourgeois woman's excessively "docile" character mirrors the larger anxiety around Spanish nationalism, the fear of a loss of national originality, i.e. the loss of purity or *lo castizo*. Here Pardo Bazán speaks in defense of the plebeian woman's vulgarity ("será una persona ordinaria") because it is her originality, or the preservation of tradition, that creates this protected zone.

The attribute *ordinaria* (common, vulgar) is a pejorative descriptor reserved exclusively for working-class people. Here I find it fruitful to draw from Elspeth Probyn's critique of Benedict Anderson, in which she interrogates the "ordinariness" of the association with woman and nation that Anderson leaves unquestioned in his work. Probyn begins her analysis with the etymological origins of "ordinary," which means "to be expected" as it derives from *ordo* "having or constituting immediate or original jurisdiction" (48). Citing Benedict Anderson's claim that "in the modern world everyone can, should, will 'have' a nationality, as he or she 'has' a gender" (14), Probyn denaturalizes this association and challenges Anderson's implicit acceptance of the ordinariness of this metonymic relationship. Extending Probyn's analysis to a reading of *lo castizo*, I am concerned with "what or who becomes the expected figure within given national regimes" (Probyn 40). Of course *ordinaria* in its most common usage diverges from the English word "ordinary," but the late nineteenth-century definition in Spanish evidences that it had denoted more than simply "vulgar." The ordinary, in fact, takes on a particular temporally inflected meaning. In 1869 the *Diccionario de Autoridades* defined *ordinario-a* as "común, regular, y que acontece muchas veces" (common, regular, and occurs frequently). It, of course, also denotes that which is "contrapuesto a noble, plebeyo" (the opposite of noble, plebe). Curiously, the dictionary makes mention that *ordinario* also refers to the standardized delivery of mail (a nineteenth-century phenomenon): "el correo que viene en períodos fijos y determinados" (the mail which comes in fixed and determined periods). Thus through her temporal regularity, the *mujer del pueblo* remains a constant, a recurrence of that which is to be expected in the face of the tumultuous change that characterizes nineteenth-century Spain. In "La Mujer Española," the c*igarrera* thus displaces the pure figure of the *ángel del hogar* who served a purportedly stabilizing effect in the midst of political upheaval.

According to this temporal rubric, the pure *mujer del pueblo* exists through an eternal or monumental temporal plane; like the Virgin Mary who never dies but simply moves from one space to another (the Assumption), *la mujer del pueblo* is reified, eternal and unchanging (Kristeva 17), in an ideological move that mirrors the eternal quality of the *ángel del hogar*. According to Pardo Bazán, then, the nostalgia for home is projected not on the angel of the hearth, but onto the working-class woman. In this case, the bourgeois woman represents, if anything, the loss of the national tradition. This formulation is riddled with contradictions since the ordinary is also tied to the concept of order. The idealized image of the *mujer del pueblo* and

of *cigarerra* contradict the rather extra-ordinary or disorderly depiction of the cigar worker in *La Tribuna*. The reification of the cigarrera in *la mujer del pueblo* reflects the ideological point of enunciation which allows Pardo Bazán to idealize this figure and dissociate her from other types of working-class women. The essay form makes the cigarrera an object of nationalist, pedagogical discourse for Spanish and foreign readers alike, yet her more ambivalent vision produced by the schism between essay and fiction, largely owes to the performative aspect of subjectivity which the novel clearly puts on display.

Becoming a Woman: Sexual Futurity and the Bourgeois Revolution

Amparo's political coming of age figures as a teleogical development alongside her sexual maturation, which the narrator[58] constructs through an eroticizing gaze. The narrative opens with Amparo as a young girl and details her biological and psychic development from youth to motherhood, which coincides with the nation's politicization prior to the 1868 Revolution. The attention to Amparo's biological time (marked by puberty and reproduction) ironically culminates in her failed relationship with military captain Baltasar de Sobrado and, perhaps, more significantly with the establishment of the First Republic.

It is no coincidence that even as Amparo matures sexually and becomes an active political subject, the narrator and characters call her "la niña." Signficantly, "La Niña Bonita" was the colloquial name given to the First Republic (Madariaga), evidencing the paternal, but also the sexual relationship between male citizen and young, female nation. Amparo first appears in the narrative dressed "sin más atavíos que una enagua de lienzo y un justillo de dril, que adhería a su busto, anguloso aun, la camisa de estopa" (in no more then a linen underskirt and a cotton bodice that adhered to her bust, which was still angular, and a burlap blouse) (*La Tribuna* 63-64). The narrator's focus on Amparo's still prepubescent bust (anguloso *aun*) portrays her as the not yet ripe object of male desire. The charting of Amparo's sexual(ized) development plants an invested erotic interest in her blossoming, such that the desire for Amparo is the driving force of the plot. This exemplifies what Peter Brooks has identified as the "eroticization of time," which is central to human sexuality but "also presides at the creation of narrative temporality" (*Body Work* 20).

The bourgeois men in the novel are the most eager in regard to their anticipatory desire for Amparo's temporarily inchoate form. Not long after this scene, in Chapter 3, the young Amparo encounters Baltasar and his close friend "amigo de pecho" (bosom buddy) Borrén. Surveying Amparo, Borrén predicts that she will blossom in a few years even though she is for now "sin formar" (unformed) (*La Tribuna* 77). He then undulates his hands in the air, carving out the shape of a voluptuous female body. The attention to her "formlessness" renders Amparo the tabula rasa upon which the male suitor projects his anticipatory desires. In this way, Amparo becomes an empty signifier who functions as the agglutinative element of male bonding. Taking a cue from Borrén, Baltasar partakes in the Pygmalion fantasy and predicts that "la chica es una perla; dentro de dos años nos mareará a todos" (the girl is a pearl, she'll make all our heads spin before long) (*La Tribuna* 77-78).

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[58] For a discussion on the genders of Pardo Bazán's narrators, see Beth Bauer's article "Narrative Cross-Dressing: Emilia Pardo Bazán in Memorias De Un Solterón." *Hispania*. 77.1 (1994): 23-30.

Soon after this first encounter, in Chapter 6, Borrén secures a position for Amparo in the cigar factory through his family connections. At this point in the novel, Amparo is blossoming into a beautiful woman. Her entry into the factory is celebrated by her family as if it were a wedding: "si se casase la muchacha" "as if the girl were marrying" (*La Tribuna* 90). Thus while for bourgeois women, marriage would be the normative marker of heterosexual womanhood, for working-class women their options, entry into the workforce or the convent, are also treated like marriage. That the working-class in the novel view their entry into the factory in terms of the terms of marriage exhibits the heterosexist logic of the nation, which positions working-class women as the brides of the state-run enterprise. Whether real or symbolic, all women enter a contract of "marriage" through which they are subsequently subjected to a disciplinary regime, a social requirement which reflects an anxiety around women's autonomy across class.

Factory life is consistently framed in religious terms by the narrator, evidencing the peculiarity of Pardo Bazán's naturalist experimentation, which is fused with Catholic ideals. When Amparo wakes up early to go to work, she experiences the disciplinary power of the factory building like the grandiosity of a church or cathedral:

> La magnitud del edificio compensaba su vetustez y lo poco airoso de su traza, y para Amparo, acostumbrada a venerar la fábrica desde sus tiernos años, poseían aquellas murallas una aureola de majestad, y habitaba en su recinto un poder misterioso, el Estado, con el cual sin duda era ocioso luchar, un poder que exigía obediencia ciega, que a todas partes alcanzaba y dominaba a todos. (*La Tribuna* 91)
>
> The magnitude of the building compensated for its age and lack of elegance in its appearance, and for Amparo, accustomed to venerating the factory from a tender age, those walls possessed an aureole of majesty, and in its enclosure lived a mysterious force, the State, against which, without doubt, it was useless to fight, a force that demanded blind obedience, and that dominated everyone everywhere.

The tobacco factory becomes a space of disciplinary power that mimics the structure of the convent, both in its homosociality and its paternalistic function. For Amparo's coworker la Guardiana, for example, "Después de la Virgen de la Guardia, la fábrica era su madre" (After the Virgin of the Guardian, the factory was her mother) (*La Tribuna* 115). Even as the workers eventually organized themselves against this state-run enterprise, Catholicism remained the de facto belief system amongst the women. Amparo is named for the "Señora del Amparo, patrona de las cigarreras" (Our Lady of Amparo, the patron saint of cigarmakers) (*La Tribuna* 90). While initiated with celebration, her new life as a worker is at first repressive: the work leaves her body in pain, and the enclosure of the factory creates "nostalagia de la calle" (nostalgia for the streets) (*La Tribuna* 93) for the once free roaming protagonist. As the narrator explains, "Para Amparo la calle era la patria.., el paraíso terrenal" (For Amparo the street was her country…, her earthly paradise) (*La Tribuna* 93). But the factory offered her something she could not find in the streets: "la colectividad y la asociación: la fraternidad del trabajo" (collectivity, association, fraternity of work) (*La Tribuna* 94).

Female solidarity through labor is foreclosed to women of other classes. The novel's sympathetic treatment of Amparo echoes the idealization of the *cigarrera* in "La Mujer

Española." The narrator, at times, takes an ambivalent position towards working class women, inviting the reader to sympathize with Amparo, more so than the mother who takes on a quasi-tyrannical, matriarchal role. As such, while la Tullida's absence from the home is linked to familial dysfunction, female labor in general appears to be idealized-- sanitized as relatively undemanding. It is important to recall here that La Tullida was injured through domestic labor rather than factory work. By contrast, male working-class labor figures as hellish and animalistic, taking place in highly unsanitary and dehumanizing conditions. When Amparo spies on Chinto, her working class suitor at work in the all-male floor of the tobacco factory, the scene produces feelings of disgust and moral judgment rather than lateral worker solidarity. The narrator describes this scene focalized through Amparo's vantage point:

> Desde la puerta, el primer golpe de vista era singular: aquellos hombres, medio desnudos, color de tabaco y rebotando como pelotas, semejaban indios cumpliendo alguna ceremonia o rito de sus extraños cultos. A Amparo no se le ocurrió este símil, pero gritó: --Jesús…Parecen monos. (*La Tribuna* 166).
>
> From the door, the first glimpse was extraordinary: those men, half-naked, tobacco-colored and bouncing like balls resembled Indians carrying out a ceremony or ritual of the their strange cults. To Amparo, this simile did not occur to her, but she yelled: --Jesus. They look like monkeys.

That Chinto and his fellow workers are compared to "indios" and monkeys, makes them the most abject figures of the novel. This odd disassociation between Amparo and Chinto (or female and male labor) may reflect a narrative blind spot that results from Pardo Bazán's own complicated feelings towards working-class women and their perceived social freedom. The depictions of male labor in the novel more closely approximate those of French naturalism, in contrast to the sanitized spaces and "light" work of the female cigar workers.

The factory is replete with single mothers, largely women who have been seduced and abandoned by men, and it is not long before Amparo and Baltasar's flirtation resumes. Early on Baltasar's interest in Amparo puts her in competition with Josefina, a bourgeois lady who seeks to marry Baltasar. Amparo and Josefina are linked not only through their shared love interest, but also through material and ontological dependence. There are no "seasons" for the poor, remarks the narrator in reference to Amparo who, during Christmas time "tenía el mismo traje de tartán, pero muy deteriorado, y una toquilla de estambre rojo era la única prenda que indicaba el tránsito de la primavera al invierno" (she had the same plaid dress, but more threadbare than before, and a red worsted wool shawl that was the only piece of clothing that indicated the transition from winter to spring) (*La Tribuna* 85). Amparo's inadequate donning of the *toquilla* (shawl) only draws further attention to the faltering quality of a démodé dress from two seasons past. In the world of the bourgeoisie the constant renewal of fashion is a marker of modernity[59] and a fundamental signifier of gender and class identity. The bourgeois thus keep up with the times while the working-class function as symbols of atavism. When the progressive thrust of fashion comes into contact with the datedness of working class attire it exposes the passage of time (decay, deterioration) and reaffirms the "modernness" of the bourgeoisie. Thus the backwardness

[59] This is theme explored in greater detail in Chapter 4.

of the poor nonetheless proves necessary to the temporal logic of the modern nation, evidencing Valerie Rohy's argument that "[n]otions of linear time depend on atavism" (xv). Here class difference is amplified through a temporal disjunction in which the poor are abjected through stasis.

The narrative is highly conscious of how different registers of duration and pace shape class identity. In the same scene in which Amparo appears in her plaid dress from the previous Spring, the bourgeois women complain to Carmela, Amparo's friend, about the declining quality of the lace she and her aunt produce. Drawing attention to an interdependent experience of time, Carmela protests "¡Los días son tan cortos!" (The days are so short) (*La Tribuna* 85). A woman like Josefina, with abundant leisure time, is unconcerned with the length of the workday (labor time), paradoxically construed here as too short. Thus, while the bourgeoisie move with the persistent pull of modern time through the ever-changing seasons of consumerism, the working-class lag behind through time of delay/decay at the same time that their labor is structured by the velocity of consumption. That the *mujer del pueblo* speaks up, as Carmela does, draws our attention to temporal alterity produced by modern patterns of consumption, through which bourgeois female identity is construed.

This scene thus underscores the uneven interdependence between the bourgeoisie and the working-classes of Marineda construed through temporal poles of primitivism vs. progress and production vs. consumption. While bourgeois women depend on working-class labor to manufacture the compulsory accessories of their identity, the poor depend on this work to maintain their livelihood: Carmela protests, "no sacamos para arrimar el puchero a la lumbre" (we don't make enough to put food on the table) (*La Tribuna* 85). This cross-class contact not only illustrates the linkages between these two classes of women, it also reveals the very constructedness of bourgeois female identity, predicated on regulated patterns of consumption and fashion. That clothing is the key to fashioning identity exposes the "invented nature of social distinction" (McClintock 174). What makes Amparo appear to be less of a lady than Josefina, despite her burgeoning beauty, is the latter's style of dress, which is dependent on a variety of accoutrements, such as the adornment of handmade lace – of the kind made by Carmela. The novel reveals that bourgeois femininity, which within dominant cultural codes is constructed to appear as essential, natural and eternal, is actually dependent on commodities. Through correct forms of consumption (and control over production) the passage of time appears to fall in line *naturally* with the cycle of the seasons.

While Amparo lags behind Josefina in the time of fashion, her class positions her downstream on the current of biological time. Chapter eight describes Amparo's transition to womanhood, as a "metamorfosis" (metamorphosis) that is "más impensada y pronta en el pueblo que en las demás clases sociales" (more unexpected and sudden amongst the plebe than in other social classes) (*La Tribuna* 101). The narrator acknowledges the transformation to be, not only a biological process but a social and necessarily psychic one. He recounts that the day "unos señores [Baltasar and Borrén] dijeron a Amparo que era bonita, tuvo la andariega chiquilla *conciencia de su sexo*: hasta entonces había sido un muchacho con sayas" (a couple of gentleman [Baltasar and Borren] told Amparo that she was a pretty girl, and the restless girl became conscious of her sex: until then she had been a boy in a skirt" (*La Tribuna* 101, my emphasis). Thus Amparo's transformation into a distinctively female subject is contingent on her

consciousness of the bourgeois male heterosexual gaze. Once just "a boy in a skirt," it is only at this juncture – "un instante crítico en que la belleza femenina toma consistencia, adquiere su carácter, cristaliza" (a critical instance in which feminine beauty takes on consistency, acquires its character, crystallizes) – that Amparo through internalization of the normative gender ideology, foments a feminine form (*La Tribuna* 101). Here is it useful to recall the relationship that Judith Butler draws between gender performativity and corporeality:

> To be female is […] a facticity which has no meaning, but to be a woman is to have *become* a woman, to compel the body to conform to an historical idea of "woman," to induce the body to become a cultural sign, to materialize oneself in obedience to an historically delimited possibility, and to do this as a sustained and repeated corporeal project. (*Bodies that Matter* 417)

Such an attention to this performative gender metamorphosis challenges the idea of gender as a natural phenomenon, a rather progressive idea in the context of nineteenth-century biological determinism. The novel reveals the process of gender formation to be both a psychic and a material one realized through a complex self-objectification through the appropriation of the male gaze. While the novel challenges deterministic views on gender, it simultaneously construes class, by contrast, as an inalterable essence. Early on in the novel, Amparo uses cosmetic products to enhance her appearances. Over time she "improves" certain aspects of her face but her dark eyes, misshapen teeth (which resemble those of a dog), and her "tez plebeya" (plebeian complexion) are unchangeable attributes and immediate giveaways of her class origins (*La Tribuna* 102). Her class position is also what determines her precocious development, as noted above. While it appears that Amparo embodies the bourgeois male fantasy (predicted by Borrén and Baltasar), her future relationship with Baltasar is one that is not easily reducible to a heterosexual rubric of desire. Amparo and the other women of her class take on markedly masculine qualities that escape the negative judgment of the narrator. This alone is nothing novel. As Lou Charnon Deutsch and Jo Labayni have pointed out, despite the binary formulation of the sexes, nineteenth-century literary representations of sex and gender were far less uniform: "even in nineteenth-century Spain, where gender polarization seems to be most glaring and unremitting, there are undercurrents that undermine its categorizations in many subtle ways" (3). But the novel's sanctioned representation of Amparo's impure and unfeminine attributes, as well as Baltasar's undeniable attraction towards her, undermines the teological trajectory of the heterosexual development around which the novel is structured and the allegory of the nation depends.

Tiempo Loco: Queering Bourgeois Desire

In the wake of the 1868 Revolution, Amparo reaches the peak of her political subjectivity, earning the title *La Tribuna del Pueblo*. When the Círculo Rojo of the Northern Union comes to Marineda, Amparo, accompanied by some of her fellow workers, makes an impassioned speech and wins the praise of the Patriarch, the elder of the group.[60] This

[60] The death of her father, who opposed her public oratory, creates a sense of relief for Amparo. Business as usual continues in their household as Chinto, her working-class admirer, takes over her father's post. La Tullida is also happy as a widow with both Chinto and Amparo working to support her. Both Chinto and Sr. Rosendo appear as unsympathetic characters that garner little support from the reader.

achievement, however, renders Amparo a cliché, the picturesque embodiment of liberty and of the Republic. She appears before the largely male audience "vestida con bata de percal claro y pañolón de Manila de un rojo vivo que atraía la luz del gas, el rojo del *trapo* de los toreros" (dressed in a light percale gown and and a vivid red Manila shawl that attracted that gaslight, and was of the same color as the bullfighter's cape) (*La Tribuna* 151). Amparo is nearly enveloped by the symbolism of revolution, nation, and primitive emotion in the color red as she approaches the podium: surrounded by "rosas del Bengala" (artificial roses) of a "sangrienta matiz" (a bloody hue), and "las notas del mantón, del pañuelo, de las flores y cintas se reunían en un vibrante acorde escarlata, a mera de sinfonía de fuego" (the notes of the shawl, the kerchief, the came together in a vibrant scarlet chord, a pure symphony of fire) (*La Tribuna* 151). Upon hearing her speak the Patriarch believes she is the "el viviente símbolo del pueblo joven" (the living symbol of the young people) (*La Tribuna* 151). Another man exclaims, "Esta chica parece la Libertad," (This girl looks like Liberty) (*La Tribuna* 152). This scene comes to a close with the unification of the Patriarch and Amparo – "el viejo y la niña" "the old man and the young girl" – in an embrace that seems eerily paternalistic and violent at once: "algunos de los convidados se reían a socapa viendo aquel brazo paternal que rodeaba aquel cuello juvenil" (some of the guests laughed surreptitiously looking at that paternal arm that circled that youthful neck) (*La Tribuna* 153). Thus, in the same instance in which Amparo appears to act as a political subject, she becomes objectified as the emblem of the nation. The *viejo*'s embrace eerily mimics strangulation as his arm circles Amparo's neck, and Amparo is surrounded the "bloody hues" that adorn the podium. It is fitting, then, that her moment of objectification be rife with symbols of death and dying. This image not only signifies the death of Amparo's political agency as she moves from subject to object, but it also seems to suggest that women's political activity kills. Amparo's father, who disapproved of her political activity, dies from an inexplicable accident in the union meeting shortly after witnessing Amparo deliver her speech – an act that filled him with remorse and shame.

The threat of women's political involvement is neither new nor unique to the Spanish revolution. In her study of French revolutionary politics, Mary Jacobus discusses the controversy regarding women's participation in politics, noting that the image of "Marianne" wearing the liberty cap was once a contentious figure; it symbolized women's entry into politics, which was met with both resistance and violent measures. Jacobus explains that, the so-called "war of the cockades" "underlines the gap between the feminized allegories of the Revolution and the gender ideology actually being played out within Revolutionary organizations and in the marketplace. In other words, the liberty cap became sexually as well as politically transgressive when it moved from the head of "Marianne," the popular embodiment of Liberty, to the heads of actual militant women in the streets" (218).

Readers of *La Tribuna* have observed the skepticism, pessimism, or ambivalence with which Pardo Bazán represents revolutionary politics. The significance of the Revolution in the narrative is rather muted, and Amparo's political subjectivity culminates in objectification: She becomes a symbol and martyr even as she takes on the role of political actor and orator. Once again, the narrator views Amparo in essentialist terms according to her class: "Las fuerzas de abnegación y sacrifico que existen latentes en el alma de la mujer del pueblo […] Si el heroísmo

es cuestión de temperatura moral, Amparo, que se hallaba a cien grados, tal vez se dejara fusilar por *la causa* sin decir esta boca es mía" (The strengths of abnegation and sacrifice are latent in the soul of plebeian woman […] If heroism is a question of moral temperature, Amparo, who reached a hundred degrees, might take a bullet for the cause without saying a word) (*La Tribuna* 148). The narrator paints a rather contrived image of the *mujer del pueblo*, her feverish temperament matched by the bloody shades of scarlet that engulf her figure. The novel's critical portrayal of class politics, however, frames revolutionary politics as an inherently male sphere in which women can only participate as sacrificial or symbolic figures. Rather than read this simply as a reflection of Pardo Bazán's own elite class position, I believe there is something more complex at work in the interconnectedness of gender and class. The novel's ambivalent treatment of the revolution espoused with idealized female labor seems to suggest that class equality will not alter gender inequality, evidenced by the ironic arrival of the Republic in time with Amparo's enclosure in the space of the home (she is a new mother, abandoned by Baltasar). Amparo's condemnation seems to suggest that women are meant to be symbols of the Republic but cannot fully participate in political action and discourse.

While the novel is structured around the anticipation of the Revolution, the narrative stages perhaps a more significant "revolution," however brief, in regards to gender politics. Shortly after Amparo earns the title of Tribune of the People, carnival season arrives, which implies special rituals and celebrations exclusive to the cigar factory workers. In the days prior to the actual day of carnival, the cigar workers initiate an annual ritual known as "tiempo loco" (insane time), during which they pull pranks on unsuspecting co-workers. This popular festival culminates in "el Jueves de Comadres," "el día señalado entre todos para divertirse y echar abajo talleres" (the day reserved for everyone to have fun and take down the factories) (*La Tribuna* 168). During this historical celebration, women get reprieve not only from their exploited work, but also from society's gender norms: "No cohibidas de la presencia del hombre, gozaban cuatro mil mujeres de aquel breve rayo de luz, aquel minuto de júbilo expansivo situado entre dos eternidades de monótona labor" (Not inhibited by the presence of men, four thousand women enjoyed that brief ray of light, that expansive jubilant minute situated between two eternities of monotonous labor) (*La Tribuna* 172). The brief, momentary ray of light is paradoxically construed as an expansive minute, wedged in between two eternities of labor.

The narrator makes an important distinction between this festival and the carnival celebrated by "la gente de alto coturno" "people of the upper crust" in which flaunting the female form is the main objective, particularly in regards to women's costumes (*La Tribuna* 172). Instead, the all-female workers' masquerade requires a faithful representation of the male sex. We might think of this as a kind of nineteenth-century "drag ball":

> El caso era *representar bien y fielmente* tipos dados; un mozo, un quinto, un estudiante, un grumete. Habíalas con tan rara propiedad vestidas, que cualquiera las tomaría por varones; las feas y hombrunas se brindaban sin repulgos a encajarse el traje masculino, y lo llevaban con singular desenfado. (*La Tribuna* 172, my emphasis)
>
> The idea was to *represent given types faithfully and well*; a servant, a military conscript, a cabin boy. There were those who were dressed in such an

> extraordinary way that anyone could mistake them for men; the ugly and mannish women offered to put on men's clothing, and they wore them with extraordinary ease.

The importance placed on passing, i.e., engendering a realistic fiction—duplicates the logic of the realist-naturalist novel itself. Hence, the ball, like realist fiction, creates a fictional world that "supplants" the participants' reality (Brooks *Realist Vision* 2). These "ugly," "mannish" women who are otherwise shamed and ridiculed in bourgeois society become the authors of their own gender and find their "true" selves through embodied performance: "Díriase que el mago Carnaval," remarks the narrator, "con poderoso conjuro había desencantado la fábrica, y vuelto a sus habitantes *la verdadera figura* en aquel día" (One could say that the Carnival Wizard, with a powerful spell had disenchanted the factory, and returned its inhabitants to their *true figure* that day) (*La Tribuna* 172, my emphasis). The narrator remarks how drag suits these women better, and how their masculine costumes are even more flattering than their regular clothes:

> Con el traje propio de su sexo, Rosa era un tanto corpulenta en demasía; con el del labrador no había que pedirle. La camisa de lienzo labrado dibujaba su ancho pecho; el calzón se ajustaba a maravilla a sus bien proporcionadas caderas; pendiente del cuello llevaba un ancho escapulario de raso, bordado de lentejuelas y sedas de colores (*La Tribuna* 170).
>
> In the appropriate clothing of her sex, Rosa was excessively stocky; with the clothes of a farmer, no one could compare. Her linen shirt outlined her broad bosom; her pants sat marvelously on her well-proportioned hips; around her neck she wore a wide satin scapular, embroidered with sequins and colorful silk.

While carnival is conventionally thought of as a temporary escape valve that reinforces the repressive power of the state, historically carnival was met with state resistance that took the form of force and repression, as well as legal repercussions.[61] Gérard Brey and Serge Salaün in their study "Los avatares de una fiesta popular: Carnaval de la Coruña en el siglo XIX" demonstrate the state's anxiety toward popular manifestations of carnival. Brey and Salaün explain that:

> A lo largo del reinado de Isabel II, las autoridades de la ciudad se esforzaron por transformar el Carnaval en una fiesta cada vez más razonable y eliminar manifestaciones más agresivas o más 'indecentes'. Para conseguirlo, recurrieron primero a la coerción y, después de un relativo fracaso, a la persuasión y a al astucia. (26)
>
> During the reign of Isabel II, the authorities of the city made an effort to transform Carnival into a festival that was more and more reasonable and to eliminate the most aggressive or most 'indecent' manifestations. To achieve this, they first turned to coercion and, after relative failure, they resorted to persuasion and guile.

[61] Teofilo F. Ruiz shows how carnival by the Middle Ages became a scripted and regulated festival in which "wildness" could only take place within sanctioned parameters of control (248). Over time, carnival also became segregated by class.

Offenders of these new regulations were initially punished with fines or imprisonment, but over time, the bourgeois celebration of carnival through refined balls became more and more dominant as the carnival "of the streets" slowly went into extinction.[62] The "aburguesda" "bourgeois-ified" costume ball "premiaba al más elegante, al más refinado, dominaban ya sobre la exhibición de lo grotesco" (rewarded the most elegant, the most refined, and they now dominated over the exibition of the grotesque), excluding the lower classes (Brey and Salaün 29). Women, in particular, were ask to reveal their faces upon entering the ball, as a way of policing class – an astonishing requirement which rests on the belief that class was indexed by phenotype.

Given its historical context, working class carnival was much more than mere, inconsequential escape valve. *Tiempo Loco*, I argue, can be more aptly understood as what Carloyn Dinshaw has called "temporally unruly phenomena" (112) insofar as its subversions spill over the bracketed time of the annual factory celebration. However much Amparo's proper heterosexual development depended on her internalization (*tomar conciencia*) of the heterosexual male gaze, her subversive potential lies in her ability to enact a ludic peformance that challenges the strictures of gender normativity. *Tiempo Loco* enacts "the critical promise of fantasy," which as Butler theorizes, "challenges[s] the contingent limits of what will and will not be called reality" (*Undoing Gender* 29). This theatrical play with gender ought not be written off as a kind of sanctioned drag, what Judith Butler describes as a "ritualistic release for a heterosexual economy that must constantly police its own boundaries against the invasion of queerness" (Butler *Bodies that Matter* 126).

The potential for subversion operates on both the intradiegitic and extradiegetic levels of the novel. First, within the world of the narrative this play with gender is not intended as comic spectacle; in other words, the objective is not to ridicule the supposed unnaturalness of women dressed as men; the women occupy male genders rather seamlessly. Instead it serves as a source of "private" collective pleasure, beyond the presence of men, to experience an identity otherwise foreclosed to women. Traditionally, in Marineda, these drag balls were celebrated behind closed factory doors, in which the workers experienced a freedom without voyeurism or judgment of men. In 1868, because of the anticipated arrival of the Republic, the celebrations are more intense than ever before. The political effervescence combined with the intense heat building up inside the factory walls leads one worker to lead the group of some 4,000 women out into the patio. The breaching of the enclosed space of the state enterprise makes this particular festival threatening to the dominant social order. This spatial boundary-crossing symbolically ruptures the strictures of bourgeois society that aims to enclose working class festivals. Rather than remain contained quite literally by the space demarcated by the state, the women spill out into the open.

The extradiegitic subversive potential of this scene is dependent on the epistemophilic drive of the reader through which this scene becomes a spectacle. The narrator, who has from the outset implanted an investment in Amparo's sexuality, now invites the reader to respond to

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[62] Brey and Salaün suggest popular carnival was abandoned by 1874 because the popular group who led the parties from 1862-1866, the *ebanistas-carpinteros* (cabinetmakers and carpenters), gave up the battle of social vindication to engage in class warfare. It is interesting to reflect here that Brey and Salaün pit social equality (under which gender would fall) against class equality.

Amparo's pleasure in performing drag. Amparo figures amongst a group of women dressed as cabin boys, "grumetes." The narrator comments that "Todo lo que su figura tenía de plebeya lo disimulaba el traje masculino" (All that was plebeian about her figure wad disguised by her masculine costume) (*La Tribuna* 170). The ease with which Amparo and her co-workers embody male genders reveals the constructedness of gender itself and its reliance on outward appearance. As Butler has argued:

> *In imitating gender, drag implicitly reveals the imitative structure of gender itself—as well as its contingency*. Indeed, part of the pleasure, the giddiness of the performance is in the recognition of a radical contingency in the relation between sex and gender in the face of cultural configurations of causal unities that are regularly assumed to be natural and necessary. In place of the law of heterosexual coherence, we see sex and gender denaturalized by means of a performance which avows their distinctions and dramatizes the cultural mechanism of their fabricated unit. (Butler *Gender Trouble* 187-8)

The narrator appears to give his moral approval of these performances of drag which he calls "natural" and a "juego libre y sano" "a free and healthy game" (*La Tribuna* 172). The use of the word "sano" of course directly contradicts the festival's name, "tiempo loco." The women enjoy a kind of freedom that is only possible when they believe that they have escaped the scopic regime of gender and sexuality, made possible by sexually segregated, enclosed space: "Bailaba con la ingenuidad, con el desinterés, con la casta desenvoltura que distingue a las mujeres cuando saben que no las ve varón alguno, ni hay quien pueda interpretar malignamente sus pasos y movimientos" (They danced with innocence and indifference, with the chaste grace that distinguishes women when they know that not a single man sees them, and that there is no one who could maliciously misconstrue their steps and movements) (*La Tribuna* 174). This passage underscores the power of visibility; that gender operates largely through a scopic regime determined by the privileged gaze of the bourgeois male spectator-inquisitor and the internalization/awareness of that gaze. It is not just being seen that initiates this process but the awareness of being seen. The irony at work here is that their private performance is doubly visible. While initially a "private" scene privy to the narrator and the reader, Baltasar and Borren stumble upon the outdoor portion of the festival and view it from afar.

The narrator's penetrating gaze is what guides the reader through this private scene. By labeling these drag performances a harmless form of play, he gives the reader permission to freely partake in the narrative voyeurism without moral scruples. While this time-limited "revolution" may be easily written off as a kind of escape valve for the routine release of normative society, we ought not underestimate the disruptive potential that it bears. It is important to recall that this is not the socially sanctioned *aburguesado* carnival; rather it is a working-class celebration, actively repressed by the state. In this sense, its very presence is excessive, impure and uncivilized from the perspective of the cultural codes of bourgeois morality.

Elements of *Tiempo Loco* appear to have surprisingly lingering effects in the novel that impress upon the bourgeois psyche. The reader's engagement with these pleasurable, liberating performances of drag necessarily evoke some form of response, whether characterized by curiosity, disgust, or pleasure, the scene contains the power to arrest the attention of the reader as

much as it does for Baltasar and Borren who happen to witness this scene. Because *Tiempo Loco* has, for the first time, breached the factory walls, the two men witness the tail end of the celebration. From a privileged vantage point Baltasar and Borrén survey the scene: "De la cima de un cerillo que permite otear todo el patio de la fábrica, dos hombres apacentaban la vista en aquel curioso cuanto inesperado espectáculo" (From a hilltop, which allowed them to survey the entire factory patio, two men grazed upon that curious and quite unexpected spectacle) (*La Tribuna* 173). The women are unaware that they are being watched, "¡Oh, si ellas hubiesen sabido que, desde las próximas alturas de Colinar, las miraban dos pares de ojos curiosos, indiscretos y osados!" (Oh, if they only knew that from the nearby peak of the Colinar, two pairs of curious, indiscrete, and daring eyes were watching them!) (*La Tribuna* 173). Baltasar at first, struggles to understand what he sees: "ignoraba los detalles del Carnaval de las cigarreras, y apenas entendería lo que estaba viendo, si Borrén, mayor informado, no se tomase el trabajo de explicárselo" (he was unaware of the details of the *cigarreras*'s Carinval, and would have barely understood what he was seeing, if Borrén, who was better informed, hadn't taken the time to explain it to him) (*La Tribuna*). They feel fortunate to have stumbled upon this rare sighting. "¡Qué casualidad, hombre!" (What luck!) Baltasar exclaims (*La Tribuna* 173).

Baltasar focuses his eye on Amparo in drag, an image that he finds intriguing rather than repulsive. Hence, a residual affect, the dregs of feeling that arise from this contact linger in the consciousness of the reader, and no doubt weigh on the mind of Baltasar who, securing the fate of the nation (in fighting the Carlist wars in Navarre) finds himself obsessively thinking of Amparo and the dual genders she occupies: "Más de una vez, bajo la ligera tienda de campaña o en algún caserío vascongado, se acordó de la *Tribuna* y creyó verla con el rojo mantón de Manila o con el traje blanco y azul de grumete" (More than once, under a light tent en some Basque hamlet, he remembered the *Tribune* and believed he saw her in her red Manila shawl or in her blue and white cabin boy's suit) (*La Tribuna* 196). Even the narrator appears to be seduced by Amparo's performance of drag: "Amparo, el más hermoso muchacho que imaginarse pueda" "Amparo, the most beautiful boy you could ever imagine) (*La Tribuna* 170). This is a prime example of how Pardo Bazán uses her narrator "both to assert and question masculine authority, and to direct the reader's fantasies towards an uncommon object of desire" (Bauer "Narrative Cross-Dressing" 23).

The drag performance therefore has the effect of hailing a potentially desirous subject to identify with these inverted visions, or counter-representations of gender. The narrative [description?] of Amparo in "Tiempo loco" allows the reader and characters alike to disidentify with normative gender roles. "To disidentify" writes José Muñoz "is to read oneself and one's own life narrative in a moment, object, or subject that is not culturally coded to "connect" with the disidentifying subject"(12).[63] That the chapter is titled "Tiempo Loco" both speaks to the ludic quality of the performance at the same time that it connotes the idea of insanity. Yet again, the narrator's account of this massive celebration in which the factory has been disenchanted, shows the "naturalness" or "desenfado" with which the women carry out these performances of drag.

[63] For Muñoz, disidentification is not simply a matter of rejection of the dominant script of identification but a reworking of it. Moreover, "[d]isidentification is, at its core, an ambivalent modality that cannot be conceptualized as a restrictive or 'masterfully' fixed mode of identification" (28).

The workers' drag exposes states of dislocation where the ahistorical, apparently natural norms of bourgeois society are in fact fractured. The ease with which these women perform drag rewords the codes of masculinity in a way that is otherwise rendered unthinkable in normal society. *Tiempo loco* allows us to a see a world of impure genders that would be impossible to imagine in an otherwise orderly society. Its subversive nature thus resides in its liminality. The chronotopic title suggests that this festival enacts the suspension of different modalities of time: the time of production and heternormative time. "Tiempo" (Time) is defined the by the *Diccionario de autoridades* (1884) a "duración limitada, por oposicion a la eternidad" (limited duration, in opposition to eternity). Thus *tiempo loco*, which figures as "an affirmative yet temporary utopia" (Muñoz 31) in the middle of the novel, serves as disruption, related to but perhaps more meaningful than the rupture of the revolution, the structuring principle of the novel, because it subverts the heterosexual logic of narrative -- the mujer del pueblo as *castiza* -- upon which the ideology of the Republic depends. The narrative of the nation is articulated through the generational model, symbolized by the family but above all "la niña bonita" "the beautiful young girl" who serves as the catalyst for male heterosexual desire, sealing the relationship between female nation and male citizen. Amparo's drag performance during the ball erupts with subversive potential, challenging the compulsory heterosexism of the nation. In this temporary, arrested moment of the *Tiempo Loco*, the gender of the nation is augmented and its temporal, future-oriented movement delayed, interrupted, arrested by this deviation, which might best be understood as a kind of impure temporality.

The chapter comes to a close by zooming in on Amparo dancing, reveling in a state of liberating pleasure:

> Ninguna valla de pudor verdadero o falsa se oponía a que se balancease su cuerpo siguiendo el ritmo de la danza dibujando una línea serpentina desde el talón hasta el cuello. Su boca, abierta para respirar ansiosamente, dejaba ver la limpia y firme dentadura, la rosada sombra del paladar y del a lengua; su impaciente y rebelde cabello se salía a mechones de la gorra, como revelación traidora del sexo a que pertenecía el lindo grumete. (*La Tribuna* 174)
>
> No real or false hurdle of shyness could impede her from swaying her body, following the rhythm of the dance, drawing a serpentine line from her heel to her throat. Her mouth, open in order to breathe anxiously, left in plain sight her clean and firm teeth, the pink shadow of her palate and of her tongue; her impatient and rebellious locks of hair fell out from under her cap, like a traitorous revelation of the sex to which the beautiful cabin boy pertained.

The narrative close-up of Amparo, still in drag, swiftly traces the outline of her body in a Petrarchran inversion, from the bottom up, and pauses as it engages in a narrative "close-up" of her mouth. The penetrating gaze of the narrator brings the reader "inside" Amparo as we "see" not only her face but also the inside of her gaping mouth. Immediately, the narrator notes the escape of locks of Amparo's hair, a sign that her particular performance of drag is not one of "perfect imitation" like the other more masculine women in the factory, but rather "that delicious impersonation that belies complete disguise" (McClintock 175). Amparo enjoys the feeling of rebellion, the intoxicating power of rupturing boundaries. Her head tilted backward mimics the

image of female religious ecstasy. It is not only Amparo, however, who takes pleasure in this performance, but also Baltasar, and in all possibility the reader who might feel a certain form of desire or curiosity which is not easily reducible or legible through the rubric of heterosexuality.

Intoxicated by the juxtaposed images of Amparo (*grumete* and *mujer del pueblo*), Baltasar plots his seduction. In Chapter 23, immediately following *tiempo loco*, there is talk of Isabel II abdicating, and Amparo and Baltasar begin their affair. Baltasar is completely seduced by Amparo's appearance, but also by her labor. So much so that on one occasion he imagines her taking the form of a human cigar:

> Amparo, con su garganta mórbida gallardamente puesto sobre los redondos hombros, con los tonos de ámbar de su satinada, morena y suave tez, parecíale a Baltasar un puro aromático y exquisito, elaborado con singular esmero, que estaba diciendo: 'Fumadme.' Era imposible que desechase esta idea al contemplar de cerca el rostro lozano, los brillantes ojos, los mil encantos que acrecentaban el mérito de tan preciosa regalía. Y para que la similitud fuese más completa, el olor del cigarro había impregnado toda la ropa de la Tribuna, y exhalábase de ella un perfume fuerte, poderoso y embriagador, semejante al que se percibe al levante el papel de seda que cubre los habanos en el cajón donde se guardan. Baltasar lograba acercarse algún tanto a Amparo e inclinaba la cabeza para hablarle, sentíase envuelto en la penetrante ráfaga que se desprendía de ella, causándole en el paladar la grata titilación del humo de un rico veguero y el delicioso mareo de las primeras chupadas. *Eran dos tentaciones que suelen andar separadas y que se habían unido; dos vicios que formaban alianza ofensiva: la mujer y el cigarro íntimamente enlazados y comunicándose encanto y prestigio para transformar una cabeza masculina*" (198-99, my emphasis).
>
> To Baltasar, Amparo, with her soft throat elegantly placed on her round shoulders, and with the amber tones of her satin, brown, and smooth complexion, looked like an exquisite and aromatic cigar, crafted with meticulous care, that said "Smoke me." It was impossible to forget this idea upon contemplating that healthy face, those brilliant eyes, and innumerable charms that increased the value of cigar as precious as a *regalía*. And to make the analogy more complete, the smell of cigar impregnated all of the Tribune's clothing, and she gave off a strong, potent, intoxicating perfume, similar to the kind one perceives upon lifting the tissue paper inside the box of Habana cigars. Baltasar was able to get close to Amparo for a moment and leaned in to speak with her, he felt himself enveloped by the vapor that emanated from her, producing on his palate the pleasing titillation of smoke from a delectable *veguero* [Cuban cigar] and the delicious vertigo of those first few puffs. *They were two temptations that tend to be separate but had united; two vices that formed an offensive alliance: woman and the cigar intimately intertwined and communication charm and prestige in order to transform the masculine mind*.

Baltasar, described by the narrator as "feminil" (effeminite) finds himself enticed again by her unusual combination of masculine and feminine attributes, as he did during her performance of drag. While it is easy to read Amparo as being completely objectified in this fantasy scene, she also exercises the role of temptress who commands Baltasar: "fumadme." Moreover, Baltasar occupies the position of consumer, which in the nineteenth century was typically gendered as

feminine. Akiko Tsuchiya has recently analyzed the linkages between reading, gender, and consumption in the novel arguing that:

> In *La Tribuna*, the female reader becomes a point of convergence of cultural imaginings and anxieties about women, desire, and consumption. Like the figure of Isidora Rufete, whose readings empower her to negotiate new spaces of subjectivity, so, too, does Amparo seek to exercise her agency through her acts of reading […] It is not merely the fact of her gender or class origin that transforms the female reader into a deviant figure, but her identification with a particular form of reading – and, more generally, consumption – that has been gendered as feminine through its connection to female desire. (Tsuchiya 111)

I would add here that in *La Tribuna*, consumption, while connected to female desire, takes place in both directions. Baltasar is framed as a consumer who finds himself addicted to this dangerous desire, both for the cigar and for Amparo. By imagining her as a cigar, Baltasar moreover attributes phallic power to Amparo. She threatens the patriarchal ordering of society not only because she consumes, but because she is also self-sufficient. Baltasar acknowledges this early on in their relationship:

> sabía que la muchacha era honrada y orgullosa, y vivía de su trabajo, comprendió que no debía tratarla como a cualquier criatura abyecta, sino empezar mostrándole cierta deferencia y aun respecto, género de adulación a que es más sensible todavía la mujer del pueblo que la dama de alto copete, habituada ya a que todos le manifiesten miramientos y cortesía (*La Tribuna* 200).
>
> He knew that the girl was honorable and proud, and that she supported herself through her work. He understood that he ought not to treat her like an abject creature, but instead begin to show her a certain deference and even respect, a kind of adulation to which the woman of the people is more sensitive to than the lady of the upper class, already accustomed to having everyone treat her with respect and courtesy.

Amparo does not, therefore, conform to the figure of the bourgeois wife who succumbs to the "disease of luxury"[64] at the expense of her husband's fortune; she is no Madame Bovary or Rosalía de Bringas. The accessories and clothing she buys herself are purchased through her own money and her own labor, which is something that Baltasar suddenly dismisses through an analogy of the hand-rolled cigar he smokes: "El cigarro era aromático y selecto; ¿qué le importaba al fumador el modo de elaborarlo?" "The cigar was aromatic and exceptional; what did matter to the smoker how it was made?" (*La Tribuna* 227). Her consumption, therefore, figures as deviant because it is a hallmark of her (however precarious) independence.

In the revolutionary period of political fervor, Baltasar abandons a pregnant Amparo with the intention of marrying Josefina. In the final chapter titled "¡Por fin llegó!" (Finally, it's here!) the birth of the Republic is ironically synchronized with the birth of Amparo's illegitimate son

[64] See Alison Sinclair's chapter "Luxurious Borders: Containment and Excess in Nineteenth Century Spain" in *A Companion to Spanish Women's Studies*. Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Tamesis, 2011.

fathered by Baltasar. The briefly imagined and lived "insane time" of the worker's carnival was quickly overshadowed by the politics of the nation. While the novel ends with Amparo's abandonment by Baltasar, she remains surrounded by her female comrades, and endures no shame or judgment. Lying in bed alongside her child and under the care of comrade Ana, she hears a group of women scream "¡Viva la República federal" (Long live the Federal Republic!) (*La Tribuna* 270). Without Baltasar, Amparo may have lost the marriage she had hoped for, but she is not alone. Unbound the strictures of bourgeois matrimony, she maintains her sexual autonomy. Autonomy in women of course threatens nationalism since it contradicts the male-female order of the power relationship ("el viejo y la niña") reinforced by sexual relations (Peterson).

Conclusion

"All nations depend on powerful constructions of gender" writes Ann McClintock (353), and the Spanish case is no exception. *Lo castizo*, a national ideal that hinges on the concept of purity, is one such discourse that regulates the heteronormative logic of the state. As Pardo Bazán consecrates *la cigarrera* as the emblematic figure of the nation she creates a protective zone around the figure that destabilizes the universality of the angel of the home. In this way, *la mujer del pueblo* and the *ángel del hogar* function as twin ideologies that eternalize and essentialize two very different renditions of Woman.

La Tribuna narrates the teological arrival of the first Republic, setting up the reader to identify Amparo as the blossoming symbol of this new nation. The narrative cultivates a readerly investment in Amparo's detailed sexual maturation, which becomes distorted through this momentary breach of normativity, an alternate reality bracketed off by *Tiempo Loco*. In this radical, working-class celebration, the narrative foregrounds a proto-Butlerian performance of gender, in which gender identity loses its eternal, biological essence, and lays bare its highly constructed nature. The residue of this queer desire that unexpectedly emerges from this scene and haunts Baltasar, exceeds the boundaries of state sanctioned limitations, disturbing the heterosexist trajectory of *la niña bonita*. Amparo emerges as a figure who is strong, masculine and feminine at once, maternal and yet self-sufficient. According to Padro Bazán she is also pure, that is *castiza*, in her own right, and, despite the "ordinariness" of her class, she embodies extra-ordinary manifestations of purity within the gendered plot of nationalism.

Chapter 4

Purity and Impersonation in *Fortunata y Jacinta*

Fortunata y Jacinta: Dos historias de casadas (1886-1887) is a novel about social entanglements. Set during the eventful period from Revolution to Restoration (1869-1876), Benito Pérez Galdós's historically grounded novel traces the shifting ideologies and economic conditions that engendered a capitalist, modern Madrid.[65] The introduction of market economies, a national currency and new modes of consumption form the backdrop of this post-revolutionary period during which a rising middle class upsets the centuries-old hierarchy of the feudal nobility. This era of modernization witnessed the end of a short-lived revolution and the protraction of Empire, the first half of the Restoration marking the beginning of economic reform. From the outset, Galdós's narrator meticulously details the web of incestuous relations that engender the financial networks in the modern capital, emphasizing from the start the importance of family genealogies. This investment in familial origins coincides with the sea change of Spain's social landscape, which threatened traditional modes of social distinction in urban centers like Madrid. As a result of innovations in the production of clothing and subsequently new patterns of consumption, luxury goods became more widely accessible to a larger pool of aspiring consumers, thereby threatening the exclusivity of the upper echelons of the social world. Therefore, in the narrative, fashion trends index the uneven processes of modernization and represent changes in national, class and gender identity.

Over the course of the novel, two primary modes of identification come into tension: the preservation of elite exclusivity through lineage contrasted with new, malleable modes of bourgeois self-fashioning, namely clothing and personal hygiene. The former is grounded in a perceived moral essence, while the latter hinges on the mutability of appearances. As the protagonist Juan tells his wife: "Hija de mi alma, hay que ponerse en la realidad. Hay dos mundos, el que se ve y el que no se ve" (My dear, you have to put yourself in reality. There are two worlds: the one you see and the one you don't see) (*FJ* I: 236). Surface and depth—or visibility and invisibility—become associated with authenticity and superficiality, respectively. Yet neither is capable of accurately indexing any essential truth. Within the world of the narrative, then, the ideas of authority, truth, origin, and authenticity are constantly thrown into question. In this way, the novel exposes the contradictions and fractures that are inherent in its own discursive configuration. "Modernity," writes Jo Labanyi, "is constituted by paper money and legal fictions" and the significance of realism is "the desire to represent everything" (208).

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[65] Geoffrey Ribbans explores the significance of the historical events that appear in *Fortunata y Jacinta* in his chapter "Contemporary History in the Structure and Characterization of *Fortunata y Jacinta*" in *Conflicts and Conciliations: The Evolution of Galdós's Fortunata Y Jacinta*". West Lafayette, Ind: Purdue University Press, 1997. Ribbans argues that the specific references to political events in the novel perform a greater role that merely forming the historical landscape of the narrative. For Ribbans, these events are crucial to the development of the four central protagonists. Pura Fernández Rodríguez and Juan Pedro Gaino y García document and synchronize all of the historical events contemporaneous with developments in the plot. See "El Paralelismo histórico-literario y el discurso novelesco en 'Fortunata y Jacinta'" in *Galdós, En El Centenario De "fortunata Y Jacinta":* [coordinador, Julio Rodríguez Puértolas]. Palma de Mallorca, Baleares, España: Prensa Universitaria, 1989. See also Ribbans's book *History and Fiction in Galdós's Narratives*. Oxford England: Clarendon Press, 1993, and Diane Urey's book *The Novel Histories of Galdós*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1989 for a discussion on the importance of history in Galdós's larger oeuvre.

Harriet Turner argues that "In *Fortunata and Jacinta*, money, more than any other single factor, determines social class"(*Galdós: Fortunata y Jacinta* 377). If this claim is true, then why does the novel dedicate so many opening chapters to the origins of the Santa Cruz family? The present chapter takes this first quarter of the novel – what Stephen Gilman has called "a book of genesis" or an "arboreal allegory" – as a point of entry for analyzing the importance of origin within the larger narrative (294, 295). I will argue that in the context of the Restoration, where identity becomes increasingly dependent on appearances,[66] and meaning and value are bound to representation, the social elites in *Fortunata y Jacinta* strive for a form of social distinction firmly rooted in Spain's history of exclusivity based on the perception of pure bloodlines.

Much like in the case of *Doña Luz*, purity in Galdós's novel takes on the meaning of good or noble origins, but intersects with the concept of chastity. While Valera's novel was primarily concerned with Spain's imperial "legitimacy" in regards to its overseas colonies, *Fortunata y Jacinta* narrates a tension between caste-and class which reflects a larger concern for the future of the Spanish nation vis-à-vis northern Europe. In both cases, however, notions of the pure are largely inflected by a rhetoric of race derived from an imperial context. The chapter is divided into three sections; however, it should be noted that the division of these subtopics (caste and class, nation and empire, race and coloniality) is a superficial one, given that they gain their symbolic force through their interdependence. The first section discusses the relationship between class-based and caste-based group identity in terms of the protagonists' families, Santa Cruz and Arnaiz. The second section begins with a close reading of the narrator's account of changing fashion trends in Spain as an allegory for Spain's declining imperial power and changing national identity. The final section looks at how the novel represents class through a racially inflected discourse that borrows the language of colonial hierarchies.

Caste vs. Class

Historian Jesus Cruz argues that throughout the nineteenth century, "relations based on family, friends, and patron-client ties are more important than class conflict to understand the social performance of Spanish dominant groups in our period"(*Gentlemen, Bourgeois, and Revolutionaries* 211). Cruz goes on to say that "these [relations] were mechanisms for the maintenance of class domination. They were not, however, practiced by a new ascendant class but rather by the traditional bureaucratic, landowner, professional, and commercial groups"(*Gentlemen, Bourgeois, and Revolutionaries* 211). Far from marking a distinctive break with the past, then, Spain's transition into the period we now call "modern" adheres to an ideology of blood purity, which persists as a shadow of the old regime. And for some, as old hierarchies are put at risk by the process of modernization, the desire to cling to traditional modes of social/class distinction becomes more pronounced. In *Fortunata y Jacinta* these ideologically charged concepts of purity determine the caste-based identity of the urban elite and reveal that social stature is thought to be rooted in nature as much as culture.

This complex, and partially blood-based, conceptualization of class carries important implications for the construction of the modern nation because it is embedded in a politics of

[66] For detailed analysis of the ways in which class identity was construed through public visibility, see Leigh Mercer's recent book *Urbanism and Urbanity: The Spanish Bourgeois Novel and Contemporary Customs (1845-1925).*

empire. For Foucault, the shift from sanguinity to sexuality was what defined the modern era, and yet modern racism was one such phenomena that was "haunted" by a symbolics of blood (149). Stoler provides a useful critique of *History of Sexuality* contending that: "The myth of blood that pervades nineteenth-century racism may be traced, as Foucault does, from an aristocratic preoccupation with legitimacy, pure blood, and descent, but not through it alone. It was equally dependent on an imperial politics of exclusion that was worked out earlier and reworked later on colonial ground"(*Race and the Education of Desire* 50).[67] For Stoler, it is Foucault's European-centric conceptualization of racism that proves to be problematic. Following this line of reasoning, domestic politics of class distinction in Europe and colonial hierarchies in the nineteenth century can easily be seen as mutually constituted. With Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines still in its possession, Spain's status as empire, however diminished, was still central to its status as an imperial nation-state in the late nineteenth century (Alda Blanco "Spain at the Crossroads" 4). Imperial discourse, therefore, as I have argued in Chapter 1, returns home. Racially inflected language and colonial tropes are deployed to represent the lower classes of the metropolis (McClintock 54). This move can be best understood through what Parama Roy has identified as the complex relationship between "originality and impersonation," which is central to both colonial and national discourse (8). For Roy, impersonation is key to nation building and identity formation, but it involves a process that is not simply bound to a binary, unidirectional logic (as in the colonial subject impersonating the subject of the metropolis), but instead involves cross-cultural "traffic" that moves in multiple directions (i.e. the subject of the metropolis "going native"), thereby complicating the relationship between originality and duplication.

If in Juan Valera's regional novel *Doña Luz*, pure origins and wealth were guarantors of aristocratic identity, in Galdós's realist novel *Fortunata y Jacinta,* legitimacy and economic class are secondary to the blood-based kinship that carries the name of the father and ensures membership to the elite caste. Similar to *Doña Luz*, however, inferior subjects in *Fortunata y Jacinta* (in this case those of plebeian origins) are also represented through such racialized colonial tropes as the native woman and the black slave. As working-class Spaniards are represented through the icon of the colonial "other," the racial dimension of whiteness becomes understood as an element inherent in bourgeois and elite identity. Class distinction, therefore, works alongside—even as it comes into tension with—the ideology of blood purity, and thus joins the vestiges of early modern hierarchies and the contemporary realties of the colonial order.

In the novel, the so-called bourgeoisie or haute bourgeoisie,[68] the class emblematic of the liberal state, fails to form a coherent class-based identity. Moreover, the unreflexive usage of this

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[67] While scholars of racial histories have tended to make a distinction between colonial racial hierarchies vs. the exclusionary model of Nazi Germany, Stoler, drawing from Balibar, argues that both systems are interrelated and in fact depend on one another.

[68] Harriet Turner refers to the Santa Cruz y Arnaiz family as the haute bourgeoisie in her study "Family Ties and Tyrannies: A Reassessment of Jacinta" *Hispanic Review* 51 (1983): 19-21. The default in criticism has been to treat this family as representative of the bourgeoisie. I am reluctant to refer to the socially dominant groups of the novel as the "bourgeoisie," as other scholars have, given that the characters do not identify as such. Instead the male protagonist's (Juan's) parents consider themselves to be members of the "casta honrada" or honorable caste. Historian Jesus Cruz has demonstrated through his extensive studies of the Spanish middle classes that the word "burguesía" has a long history in Spain dating from as early as the Middle Ages. A polyvalent concept that was not widely used until the last third of the of nineteenth century, the term bourgeoisie has been used inconsistently if not

concept in the literary criticism on *Fortunata y Jacinta* flattens out some of the peculiar aspects of the relationship between class, caste and the symbolics of blood in Galdós's novel, in part because it obscures a kind of value system (espoused by socially elite characters) that permits certain forms of social mixing while forbidding others. Eric Hobsbawm's definition proves useful here in demonstrating the limitations of this class designation. For Hobsbawm, the European bourgeoisie is "a body of persons of power and influence, independent of the power and influence of traditional birth and status. To belong to it a man had to be 'someone;' a person who counted as an individual, because of his wealth, his capacity to command other men or otherwise influence them" (qtd. by Stoler 103). In other words, for Hobsbawm one of the distinctive markers of the bourgeoisie is the lack of importance given to origin. Furthermore, rather than read this class in opposition to the landed nobility (as the traditional Marxist definition stipulates), they instead maintain familial or social ties with individuals of noble or *hidalgo* bloodlines. The need for clarification of this concept reveals the relative diversity of the socially dominant group, whose members belong to powerful family lines but have diverse economic status. "It is more suitable," writes Cruz, "to consider this social group—or social conglomerate—from the perspective of their attitudes, their social rituals, their culture—instead of their political positions or income levels"(*The Rise of Middle-class Culture* 11). Throughout this chapter I will use the term "bourgeoisie" to indicate a broad middle-class group with the understanding that their individual origins and social status were heterogeneous. To approach class nineteenth century Spain as determined by influence and wealth and race as purely biological category, does not allow us to account for the modern preoccupation with sanguinity that defines this social conglomerate. Viewing this dominant group in terms of caste permits an analysis of their identity as it is located within a taxonomic hierarchy, defined by the past (origin/blood), secured through the future (sexuality/reproduction), and concerned with above all the purity of the group.

Domesticity and the Honorable Caste

Order versus disorder, or mixing versus separation, are tropes that characterize the stratification of social relations in nineteenth century Madrid. *Fortunata y Jacinta* explores the anxieties around the mixing of caste and class. The narrative is structured around the linkage between two dialectically opposed women, morally representing the dyad Ave/Eva.[69] They are from different social and economic backgrounds but they share the affections of one man: Juan Santa Cruz y Arnaiz, the only son and heir to the family fortune. Jacinta is his first cousin and wife and Fortunata is his plebeian, orphaned mistress. Through the convergence of these women's disparate lives and perhaps equally desperate situations, the narrative explores some of the thorny issues that emerge with Juan's simultaneous appetite for chaste, morally sanctioned, and reproductive companionship on the one hand; and deviant, socially disruptive desire on the other. As Jacinta is doomed by her sterility, the Santa Cruz family's wish for a male heir can only be satisfied through Fortunata, who bears Juan a son. Jacinta then illegally adopts this child for a handsome sum, only to later discover that he is an imposter, and Juan's biological son and potential heir has since died. Fortunata then, appearing to have moved on from Juan, marries the

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somewhat misleadingly in the historiography on nineteenth century Spain (Cruz, *The Rise of Middle-Class Culture in Nineteenth-Century Spain*).

[69] See Catherine Jagoe, *Ambiguous Angels: Gender in the Novels of Galdós*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994, pages 102-119.

petit-bourgeois pharmacist Maximiliano Rubín (after having reformed herself in a convent) in an attempt to live a more respectable life. She tries to emulate Jacinta in every way, even considering the possibility of adopting a child. What the narrator calls her "manía de imitación" (obsession for imitation) (*FJ* III: 223), Fortunata in her own words terms "la idea blanca" (the white idea). Her attempts at passing for a bourgeois woman are quickly undone when it becomes public that she's resumed relations with Juan. After having been thrown out of the home she shared with Maxi, Fortunata has a short-lived affair (in exchange for financial stability) with the colonialist Feijoo (a family friend of Maximiliano) and then returns again to Maxi (with the help of Feijoo) once Feijoo's health declines. The narrative, however, comes full circle when Fortunata and Juan, in a subsequent affair, produce another son whom Fortunata "bequeaths" to Jacinta on her deathbed while her husband, having gone mad, is committed to an insane asylum. The fantasies of "succession", bolstered by the heterosexist drive to reproduce the name of the father by any means necessary, result in an uneasy crossing of class and caste boundaries.

Early on in the novel, in a passage that is laden with irony, the narrator appears to idealize this intermixing:

> Es curioso observar cómo nuestra edad, por otros conceptos infeliz, nos presenta una dichosa confusión de todas las clases mejor dicho, la concordia y reconciliación de todas ellas. En esto aventaja nuestro país a otros, donde están pendientes de sentencia los graves pleitos históricos de la igualdad. Aquí se ha resuelto el problema sencilla y pacíficamente, gracias al temple democrático de los españoles y a la escasa vehemencia de las preocupaciones nobiliarias…esta confusión es un bien[…]*El nacimiento no significa nada entre nosotros*. (*FJ* I: 240, my emphasis)
>
> It is curious to observe that in our current age, unfortunate in other ways , we are presented with a fortunate confusion of all of the classes, or better yet the concordance and reconciliation of class. In this way, our country has an advantage over others, where the sentences of grave historical proceedings regarding equality are still pending. Here the problem has been resolved simply and pacifically, thanks to the democratic temperament of the Spanish and the muted vehemence of the concerns of the nobility…this confusion is a good […] *Birth means nothing to us*.

In this national scenario, the narrator draws an oxymoronic image of "paz y armonía" (peace and harmony) that boasts of a happy confusion of classes and "un socialismo atenuado e inofensivo" (an attenuated and inoffensive socialism) supposedly unknown to other nations (*FJ* I: 240). He ironically smooths over the class tensions of this period, but perhaps more significantly, strategically disavows the ways in which the middle class were interconnected with the nobility. In nearly in the same breadth the narrator frames the union of old nobility with a rising merchant class as an entanglement of the old with the new: "Ya tenemos aquí, perfectamente enganchadas, a la aristocracia antigua y el comercio moderno" (We now have here, perfectly linked, the old aristocracy and new commerce) (*FJ* I: 241). What follows this declaration of class harmony is a detailed genealogy of all the intermarried commercial families of the novel (identified by their surnames), their regional origins, and current economic class positions. For the narrator, who is

closely tied to the central family of the novel, these relationships are not determined through birth but are simply following the liberal logic of capitalism. What determines class position, according to the narrator is first, education and comportment and second, money. He explains: "La otra determinación positiva de clases, el dinero, está fundada en principios económicos tan inmutables como las leyes físicas, y querer impedirla viene a ser lo mismo que intentar beberse la mar" (The other positive determinant of class, money, is founded on economy principles that are as immutable as the laws of physics, and the desire to impede it will be as futile as attempting to drink the ocean) (*FJ* I:240). After a six-page long, detailed mapping of the commercial family origins, however, it becomes evident that despite the narrator's earlier claim that birth has no importance to "us" (thereby corroborating Hobsbawm's definition of the bourgeoisie as unconcerned with origin), the Santa Cruz y Arnaiz family clings to the narrative of their origins and scrutinizes those of others. The narrative blind spot here is that the surname Santa Cruz, as Harriet Turner has noted, is a *converso* surname: [t]he family's cult of respectability and decency – cleanliness of the individual and social body – carries a residue of inquisitorial obsession with purity of blood, the name Santa Cruz suggesting that of converted Jews" (Benito Pérez Galdós*: Fortunata y Jacinta* 37). Barbarita, as Turner notes, is a devout Catholic who does not permit the mention of other religions at the dinner table. Moreover, her concerns with maintaining the insularity of the caste through "succession" evidences that, more than just a residue of the Inquisition, their own obsession with the reproduction of the honorable caste then, works as a form of compensation and disavowal of their own muddied past. Nonetheless, the fiction of pure origins functions as a form of cultural capital and as a source of pride. The detailed social mapping suggests that in the cultural milieu of the modern capital, honorable origins ensure a kind of symbolic power that cannot be acquired through the accumulation of economic capital alone (as in the case of Maxi's family). The narrative illustrates, as we shall soon see, that changing economic conditions in Spain produced an unstable dependence between the honorable caste defined by bloodlines, an emerging bourgeoisie defined by economic status, and the urban poor on whom these groups depended.

Juan Santa Cruz y Arnaiz is the heir of a family who has made its fortune through textiles and garments from China and the Philippines; His father was a *socio* of the *Real Compañía de las Filipinas* (The Royal Company of the Philippines),[70] a short-lived enterprise that was quickly overcome by the British domination of transpacific commerce. Far from being oblivious to "las preocupaciones nobiliarias" (the preoccupations of the landed-nobility) the family seeks to forge its social identity not just through economic prosperity but also the perceived maintenance of pure bloodlines. They accomplish this through intermarriage within the extended family. In fact, Bárbara Arnaiz and her husband Gumersindo Santa Cruz, Juan's parents are themselves distantly related cousins. Keeping it in the family reproduces the father's name and upholds the honor of the caste, which, in the eyes of Gumersindo, will ensure his son's moral probity. As Juan prepares for his first trip to France, Bárbara starts to feel uneasy that Juan will fall prey to the vices of immoral French women abroad, but Gumersindo assures her that because they need not worry. He explains: "Es de *casta honrada*, tiene la formalidad en la masa de *la sangre*" (He is from the honorable caste, he has reliability in the substance of his blood) (*FJ* I: 116, my

[70] The *Real Compañía de las Filipinas* was established in 1785 by royal decree to facilitate trade between Spain and the Philippines. It was terminated in 1833 due to poor management and financial losses. With Singapore becoming a French port in 1819, and the Suez Canal opening in 1869, Spain could not longer dominate transpacific trade (Caudet note 98, *Fortunata y Jacinta* I: 151).

emphasis). As it turns out, it is not licentious French women that Bárbara must be concerned with but rather Juan's inability to resist the unruly women at home. When Bárbara discovers through a family friend that her son has been romantically involved with a plebian woman (whom we later learn is Fortunata), she quickly arranges for Juan to marry his first cousin Jacinta. Juan, without hesitation, agrees. Jacinta's family ties make her an ideal candidate for marriage, even though her parents have, in recent years, experienced some financial strain. Her namesake, Jacinth or Hyacinth, means "born to the purple" (Turner, "Family Ties and Tyrannies" 55), further evidencing the symbolic importance of noble birth and origin in the vast network that constitutes this powerful commercial family.

With this strategically arranged union between cousins, all is well in the Santa Cruz-Arnaiz home until, two years into the marriage, Jacinta still has not produced an heir. Her presumed sterility juxtaposed with Fortunata's fertility sets the narrative into motion, revealing the cracks and fissures that underlie the social practices and techniques of sexuality that secure alleged blood purity. "[S]exual behavior," writes Mary Douglas, "is important for preserving the purity of the caste. For this reason, in higher castes, boundary pollution focuses particularly on sexuality"[71] (Douglas 154). Male sexual behavior remains outside of this formulation of purity even though it is paternity that marks one's membership in a family. Managing the impossible balancing act between (the appearance of) chastity on the one hand and (the essence of) fertility on the other, women like Jacinta were tasked with reproducing the future of the caste. Barbarita consoles the forlorn Jacinta, but as the patriarchal mother she also secretly "deseaba tanto como Jacinta la aparición de un muchacho que perpetuase la casta y les alegrase a todos" (wanted just like Jacinta the apparition of a boy who would perpeute the caste and make everyone happy) (*FJ* I: 239). Barbarita, after all, needs a son to secure her own status in the social world of elites. Without an heir to reproduce the caste, the future of the Arnaiz name and fortune is at risk of dissolution, and Bárbara begins to lose any "esperanzas de sucesión" (hopes of succession) (*FJ* I: 239). Jacinta's barrenness is further amplified by her mother's and sister's hyperbolic fertility: the mother, blessed with "una fecundidad prodigiosa" (prodigious fertility), gave birth seventeen times (*FJ* I:156); her two older sisters are pregnant year after year, and her younger sister, who even "married down," gave birth to twins (*FJ* I: 240). Jacinta's angelic disposition makes her an icon of the cult of chastity, but she is a failed mother and thus an incomplete woman. Stuck in this precarious position, she risks losing her social value, evidencing what Lee Edelman has called in a different context the ideology of "reproductive futurism," which links heterosexual reproduction and fecundity with forward/progressive movement into the future. The child therefore comes to symbolize the possibility of the future.[72] In this way, Jacinta's sterility can be read as the excesses or logical end point of the ideal of purity; the slippage between sterile (as

[71] Douglas discerns that caste membership is matrilineal, and that therefore female sexuality is carefully surveyed and punished. In the case of nineteenth century Spain, legitimacy and thus membership to "caste" was determined patrilineally, which depended heavily on the alleged father's willingness to recognize paternity. So the emphasis on female chastity that eclipses any comparable guarding of male sexuality can only be understood as a double standard.

[72] It is important to note here that the distinction Foucault makes between the nobility of the *ancièn regime* and the bourgeoisie of the Victorian era can be understood as different temporal modalities of heterosexuality. While the nobility defines themselves through their past i.e. origins and bloodlines, the bourgeoisie (unconcerned with the past) secures their identity through the future via the management of matters pertaining to sex. What we see in *Fortunata y Jacinta*, amongst other novels of the period, is the persistence of significance of origins, even as sex and sexuality becomes increasingly surveillanced.

pure and clean) and sterility (as barren) becomes painfully clear when read against Fortunata's sexuality which is construed as dirty *and* reproductive.

Fertility becomes the dividing marker between Fortunata and Jacinta, amplifying Jacinta's maternal inadequacies. Fertility, however, does not save Fortuanta either. She may be a mother, but her series of love affairs and her lack of good origins excludes her from the female ideal of respectability or honor.[73] Many scholars have noted the leitmotiv of birds and eggs in the novel, used to represent fertility or infertility, birth or death, when associated with Fortunata or Jacinta respectively.[74]

Juan visits his friend Estupiñá, who is bedridden and ill, and sees Fortunata for the first time. Estupiñá lives a building that has traces of "Madrid primitivo" (primitive Madrid) (*FJ* I:181), of which the first floor is occupied by a "tienda de aves" (poultry shop). The narrator remarks that Estupiñá's boots were always covered in blood and feathers, a highly suggestive image that points to his possible sexual exploits with working-class women. The stark contrast between the image of the eggs on the one hand and the deplumed poultry carcasses on the other sets up two major themes of birth and death which reappear throughout the rest of the narrative:

> Daba dolor ver las anatomías de aquellas pobres animales, que apenas desplumados eran suspendidos por la cabeza, conservando la cola como un sarcasmo de su mísero destino. A la izquierda de la entrada vio el Delfín cajones llenos de huevos, acopio de aquel comercio. La voracidad del hombre no tiene límites, y sacrifica a su apetito no solo las presentes sino las futuras generaciones gallináceas. A la derecha, en la prolongación de aquella cuadra lóbrega, un sicario manchado de sangre daba garrote a las aves (*FJ* I:181-182).
>
> It was painful to see the anatomy of those poor animals that had just been plucked and were hanging by their heads, conserving their tails like a cruel commentary on their miserable destiny. To the left of the entrance Delfín saw crates filled with eggs, the supply of that business. The voracity of man has no limits, and it sacrifices not only present but also future generations of galliformes. To the right, in continuation of that bleak dump, was an assassin stained with blood, garroting the birds.

That this scene is associated with the voracity of man speaks the excess in the cycle of birth and death as a result of the (sexual) appetite of (bourgeois) men. It is fitting then that Juan should immediately stumble upon Fortunata in this moment when, driven by curiosity, he peers through

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[73] The novel is replete with figures who represent "incomplete" women: Jacinta is the perfect wife but not a mother. Fortunata is a mother but not a proper wife. Mauricia embodies physical attributes of a man and operates in the public sphere. Maxi's Doña Lupe has only one breast.

[74] The bird motif has been explored by several critics. For further reading see: Stephen Gilman "The Birth of Fortunata," in *Galdós and the Art of the European Novel*, 1867-1887. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press; Roger Utt, "El pájaro voló: Observaciones sobre un *Leitmotif* en *Fortunata y Jacinta*." *Anales Galdosianos* 9 (1974): 37-50; Agnes Moncy Gullón, "The Bird Motif and the Introductory Motif: Structure in *Fortunata Y Jacinta*." *Anales Galdosianos* 9 (1974): 51-75. Alan E. Smith, 1974; and Stephen Hart, "Galdos's *Fortunata y Jacinta*: an 'Inoffensive Hen'?" *Forum for Modern Language Studies*. 22.4 (1986): 342-353.

a partially open door. There he sees a beautiful woman who, shrouded in a *mantón*, resembles the form of a hen:

> en el momento de ver al Delfín, se infló con él, quiero decir, que hizo ese característico arqueo de brazos y alzamiento de hombros con que las madrileñas del pueblo se agasajan dentro del mantón, movimiento que les da cierta semejanza con un gallina que esponja su plumaje y se ahueca para volver luego a su volumen natural. (*FJ* I: 182)
>
> In the moment that she saw Delfín, she puffed up, what I mean to say is that she arched her arms and raised her shoulders in the typical way in which the plebeian women of Madrid don their shawls, a movement that gives them a certain resemblance to a hen that fluffs its feathers and hollows them out only to later return to their natural volume.

While this scene was initially framed in terms of male sexual appetitive, the narrative quickly shifts to a focus of female consumption and sexuality, as Juan in this same instance, witnesses Fortunata consume a raw egg, which she offers to share with him. The narrator recounts: "Por entre los dedos de la chica se escurrían aquellas babas gelatinosas y transparentes. Tuvo tentaciones Juanito de aceptar la oferta; pero no: le repugnaban los huevos crudos" (The gelatinous and transparent drool ran between the fingers of the girl. Juanito was tempted to accepted her offer, but didn't: raw eggs disgusted him) (*FJ* I:184). In this scene in which Juan simultaneously experiences disgust and desire, Fortunata emblematizes a hypersexual and savage woman, who represents the antithesis of the asexual *ángel del hogar*. Juan's reaction to Fortunata's consumption of the raw egg exemplifies the tension between Juan's sexual arousal and his own socially conditioned view of working-class women as filthy carriers of disease.[75] Fortunata's consumption of the raw egg joins sexuality and eating together in the realm of corporeal pleasures, but the cracked egg is a harbinger of the decay that is later to come: Juan's affair with Fortunata and her subsequent pregnancy and abandonment result in the death of their first son.

One of the characteristics that Juan praises in Fortunata is her innocent savage quality joined with her maternal instincts. Juan tells Jacinta how Fortunata cradled baby birds in her bosom, sang them "canciones de nodriza" (songs of a wet-nurse) and fed them pre-masticated food from her own mouth (*FJ* I: 228). This portrayal of Fortunata as the wet-nurse or mother hen adds another layer of meaning to the Ave/Eva dichotomy as Fortunata is both Eva (the fallen woman) and ironically Ave or Avis, a bird-woman. If Fortunata is fertile bird and mother, Jacinta is the sterile wife associated with death, decay and bird carcasses. On their *viaje de novios*, Jacinta and Juan are famished and together consume a "*montón de cadáveres* [de pájaros] fritos" (*a mound of fried* [bird] *cadavers)* (*FJ* I: 219, emphasis in original), an analogy that presents

[75] For further reading on filth, class, and gender in Galdós's novels see Teresa Fuentes Peris's *Visions of Filth: Deviancy and Social Control in the Novels of Galdós*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2003.

their marriage as characterized by consumption of death rather than the source of life and production.[76]

By contrast, Jacinta the *dama de casta honrada* (lady of the honorable caste) is associated not with animal-like instincts and exalted motherhood, but rather with non-reproductive, frustrated desire (as we shall see below) and corrupted, sensuous maternity. Throughout the novel, she and Juan enact fetishistic scenes of desire through the role-play of mother and infant, as in this example from Part 1 of the novel:

> ¡Qué gusto ser *bebé!* –murmuró el Delfín--. ¡Sentirse en los brazos de la mamá, recibir el calor de su aliento y…!
> Pasó otro rato, y Juan, despabilándose y fingiendo el lloriqueo de un tierno infante en edad de lactancia chilló así:
> – Mamá…mamá…
> –¿Qué?
> –Teta.
> Jacinta sofocó una carcajada.
> – *Ahola* no…teta caca… cosa fea…
> Ambos se divertían con tales simplezas. Era un medio de entretener el tiempo y de expresarse su cariño.
> – Toma teta – díjole Jacinta metiéndole un dedo en la boca; y él se lo chupaba diciendo que estaba muy rica, con otras muchas tontadas, justificada sólo por la ocasión, la noche y la dulce intimidad. (*FJ* I: 389)
>
> How nice to be baby! – murmured Delfín – To feel yourself in the arms of a mother, to receive the warmth of her breath…!
> Another moment passed, and Juan, waking up and pretending to whimper tenderly like an infant of nursing age shouted:
> -- Mama…mama
> -- What?
> -- Booby.
> Jacinta let out a cackle.
> -- Not now…booby caca…ugly thing.
> They both had fun with this foolish play. It was a way to pass the time and to express their affection.
> -- Here, booby – Jacinta said to him putting a finger in his mouth; and he sucked on it while saying that it was really tasty, along with other silly things, justified only by the occasion, the night, and their sweet intimacy.

Juan and Jacinta derive mutual pleasure from this eroticized play of infantilism. This festishistic role-play perverts the idealized bourgeois scene of chaste mother and innocent male infant. In the same way, the infantilistic fetish between Juan and Jacinta, which derives its symbolic force from the cult of domesticity (McClintock), is a repeated attempt for the two of them to sidestep Jacinta's infertility, which functions as a marker of her insufficiently gendered role in the family.

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[76] See Jo Labanyi "The Consumption of Natural Resources in Galdós's *Fortunata y Jacinta* (1886-1887)" in *Gender and Modernization in the Spanish Realist Novel*.

For Juan, these acts also duplicate the scene of desire in which Fortunata would cradle baby birds in her bosom, just as Barbarita, no doubt, cradled Juan at her own breast. The eroticization of motherhood, however, interrupts the moral order of the bourgeois family, in which sex is only a means to reproduction rather than a pleasurable end in itself. Jacinta and Juan's sexualized performance of maternity positions Jacinta as a both an agent and object of sexual desire. This act of play shows the failures of the capitalist logic of perfunctory, reproductive sex and shows the mother-son relationship to be one invested in sexual pleasure itself. What is more, for Juan this kind of play opens up a fantasy space to perform a submissive role through which he becomes dependent on the nourishing (sexualized) body of an all-powerful mother (like Barbarita, the barbaric noblewoman). And for Jacinta, this is one of the few instances in which she can flirt with the idea of exercising a dominant role in the family, as she is normally submissive to both Juan and Juan's parents, especially his mother. In this scene of role-play, Jacinta denies Juan her nourishing breast, the *sine qua non* of Catholic maternity and denigrates her breast by naming it "caca" (caca) and "cosa fea" (ugly thing). Rather than occupy the role of body-to-be-consumed, Jacinta instead offers him her finger as a symbolic substitute. As Jacinta inserts her finger into Juan's mouth she acts as the penetrating subject, the phallic mother.

These sexualized scenes, in essence, create subtle and temporary ruptures in traditional, gendered roles and sexual politics, above all for the bourgeois mother, who is typically idealized as the fertile yet asexual angel of the home.[77] They begin to expose what Nancy Armstrong has treated as the social contract of marriage in which women "relinquish political control to the male in order to acquire exclusive authority over domestic life, emotions, taste, and morality" (31). Female domesticity, as the novel demonstrates, does not apply to plebeian women, but is rather a class/caste specific disciplinary regime. For women in this context, marriage limits the range of their sexual and political agency in exchange for social and economic security. Fortunata, in contrast, wields a form of power inaccessible to Jacinta in that she operates outside of regulatory patriarchal institutions such as bourgeois love and marriage. Highly mobile, sexually experienced and street savvy, Fortunata circulates through the libidinal economy of the novel without being bound to the confines of domesticity and the cult of chastity (*castidad*) that is regulated by the Spanish honor code. Akiko Tscuhiya notes that "Fortunata's unwillingness to settle into one place and, later, into the stability of bourgeois marriage, represents a form of resistance (conscious or otherwise) to bourgeois disciplinary society, whose aim is to 'fix' the place of social subjects according to its norms" (70). But it is not Fortunata's unboundedness alone that threatens the moral order of the caste, for plebeian women (as we have seen in *La Tribuna*) secure the ontological and material stability of bourgeois female identity. Instead, Fortunata's ability to encroach on or penetrate the social boundaries of the bourgeoisie, through her liaisons with bourgeois men, is what proves to be most disruptive. It is only through her proximity to the symbolic and material bourgeois (male) body that Fortunata holds the "filthy" potential to pollute the purity of the caste.

In Fortunata's second affair with Juan she declares that he is her true husband because she is the mother of his son (*FJ* II: 691), and in this way she attempts to play the role of his wife

[77] In the novel, Jacinta has an erotically charged dream in which she rushes to unbutton her blouse to nurse a "man-child" who demands to be fed. In contrast to the pleasurable performance of mother and infant in waking life, the dream figures as a nightmarish scene that links maternity, eroticism, and death. See Harriet Turner's article "Family Ties" for a more detailed analysis of this scene.

on her own terms. Throughout the duration of the novel, Fortunata asserts over and over again that she maintains her honor by construing her own rules and theorizing the basis of this social category, causing other characters to both shun her as a demonic woman and speak of her as an angel. Generating her own moral code, then, Fortunata challenges the strictures of bourgeois femininity in ways that Jacinta can only dream of. Juan, who is used to exercising complete control over Jacinta, becomes frustrated with Fortunata when she refuses to obey him, for instance, by choosing not to wear the expensive clothes that he buys her.This subtle form of rejection reminds Juan of the limits of his power over Fortunata (she is not legally bound to him by marriage), not to mention their respective class/caste positions. Eventually Juan grows tired of their affair. While I would by no means argue that Fortunata has the upper hand in relation to Jacinta vis-à-vis Juan, Fortunata's position as the working-class lover affords her certain forms of mobility and power within social space foreclosed to Jacinta. On the other hand, Jacinta enjoys the comforts of economic and social security that Fortunata will never know. The parallel lives of the two women reveal the ways in which their respective class and caste positionalities engender social fictions -- their perceived corruption or purity --, which determine their social and physical mobility. In the section that follows, we shall see how fashion plays a significant role in the perception of gendered and classed identities.

Fashioning Empire and the Empire of Fashion

Clothing and hygiene receive substantial narrative attention and function as the most immediate, yet untrustworthy, indicator of social distinction. At the same time, the politics of class-specific dress in particular serves as a lens through which the reader views Spain's imperial ranking vis-à-vis the rest of Western Europe. In the chapter of the novel titled "Santa Cruz y Arnaiz: Vistazo histórico sobre el comercio madrileño," (Santa Cruz and Arnaiz: A Historical Glimpse of the Madrilenian Commerce) narrator recounts the initial financial success of the central family, through their involvement in the textile industry. The story that we read is one of changing fashion trends in which "El género de China decaía visiblemente. Las galeras aceleradas iban trayendo a Madrid cada día con más presteza las novedades parisienses, y se apuntaba *la invasión lenta y tiránica de los medios colores, que pretenden ser signo de cultura*" (Chinese products were visibly declining. The accelerated trains were bringing every more rapidly Parisian novelties to Madrid, and it indexed *the slow and tyrannical invasion of colors which were intended to serve as signs of culture*) (*FJ* I: 150, my emphasis). This north-south movement of fashion trends exemplifies the story of Spain's subordination to England, France, and Belgium. Once the fashions of the north became emblematic of an "international" cultural capital, Spain needed to modernize their national chromatic/affective code, replacing its colorful national sentiment for European "seriousness":

> La sociedad española empezaba a presumir de *seria*; es decir, a vestirse lúgubremente, y el alegre imperio de los colorines se derrumbaba de un modo indudable. Como se habían ido las capas rojas, se fueron los pañuelos de Manila. La aristocracia los cedía con desdén a la clase media, y ésta, que también quería ser aristócrata, entregábalos al pueblo, último y fiel adepto de los matices vivos. Aquel encanto de los ojos, aquel prodigio de color, remedo de la naturaleza sonriente, encendida por el sol de Mediodía, empezó a perder terreno, aunque el pueblo, con instinto de colorista y poeta, defendía la prenda española como

> defendió el parque de Monteleón y los reductos de Zaragoza. Poco a poco iba cayendo el chal de los hombros de las mujeres hermosas, porque la sociedad se empeñaba en parecer grave, y para ser grave nada mejor que envolverse en tintas de tristeza. (*FJ* I: 150)
>
> Spanish society started to pass for *serious*; that is to say, to dress somberly, and the cheerful empire of colorfulness was undoubtedly being destroyed. As red capes had fallen out of favor, so did the Manila shawls. The aristocracy relinquished them with disdain to the middle class, and this group, who also wanted to be aristocratic, gave them to the plebe, the last faithful supporter of passionate hues. That enchantment of the eyes, that miracle of color, an imitation of nature smiling, illuminated by the midday sun, started to lose ground, although the plebe, with the instincts of a painter and a poet, defended the Spanish garment, like they defended Monteleón park and the Zaragoza bastions. Little by little the shawl began to fall off the shoulders of beautiful women, because society forced them to be grave, and to be grave nothing better that to wrap oneself in shades of sorrow.

In contrast to the somber aesthetics of northern sensibility, the colorful *pañuelo* or *mantón de manila* (manila shawl) is romanticized as a rapidly vanishing, national work of art. The narrator quickly notes, however, that not even the *mantón* belonged to Spain as it was designed by the Chinese: "no es nuestra en realidad más por el uso" (It is not ours in reality but rather through our wearing it) (*FJ* I:128). The *mantón de Manila*, then, which persisted for centuries as part of the national garb (a product of Spanish imperialism), thus descended to the lowest rungs of Spanish society–namely, poor women like Fortunata and gipsy women: "los espléndidos pañuelos de Manila […] habían ido descendiendo hasta las gitanas" (The splendid Manila shawls […] had fallen as low as the gypsies) (*FJ* I:151).[78] This was a result of the pursuit of the new in the world of fashion: "Pues, apechuguemos con las *novedades*" (Well, we'll have to put up with

[78] As we saw in chapter 3, *la mujer del pueblo* in late nineteenth-century Spain is the figure who best preserves national tradition, not by choice, but by necessity because she lacks the financial means to enter into the world of modern fashions. Emilia Pardo Bazán echoes the position of the narrator in *Fortunata y Jacinta* in her essay "La mujer española," lamenting the takeover of northern fashion: "La moda actual, las telas gruesas, los colores apagados, las prendas de corte masculina de precedencia inglesa, los impermeables y abrigos, la bota de suela fuerte y ancho tacón, y más que nada el sombrero-capota francés son otros tantos enemigos de la hermosura española. Una mujer de cuello largo y espalda recta, como la inglesa, estará perfectamente con camisolín y corbata de hombre; una mujer de tez muy blanca y fresca no perderá aunque use los medios tonos grises, *beige* y nutria; una mujer alta podrá parecer airosa con un abrigo que la cubra de pies a cabeza; pero la española, pequeña, morena, redondeada, curvilínea, necesita atavíos de otra clase y modas adecuadas a su forma natural. El tipo clásico parece mejor conservado entre las chulas de los barrios bajos que en la aristocracia; pero se debe a que la chula vista aún de un modo que remeda el vestir del pasado siglo: se calza y se peina a la española, y se envuelve en el mantón de Manila bordado de colorines" (Current fashion -- heavy fabric, muted colors, masculine looking garments of English precedence, raincoats and overcoats, boots with hard soles and stacked heels, and more than anything the French hat-bonnet – is the enemy of Spanish beauty. A woman with a long neck and straight back, like the English woman, would look fine in a shirt-front and a men's tie; a woman with a very white and fresh complexion would not lose anything by using gray, *beige*, and brown tones; a tall woman would look elegant with an overcoat that covered her from head to toe; but the Spanish woman, who is small, brunette, full-figured, and curvy, requires a different type of clothing and fashion that is fitting to her natural form. The classic type is better conserved by the *chulas* of the lower class neighborhoods than by the aristocracy; but the *chula* still dresses in a preserved fashion because she wears the clothes from the last century: she wears her shoes and styles her hair *a la española*, and she wraps herself in the Manila shawl embroidered with bright colors) (98-99).

the novelties) (*Fortunata y Jacinta* I: 154)[79] says Jacinta's mother, Isabel de Cordero. Keeping up with the latest northern fashion trends was not merely a marker of class but also cosmopolitanism and civilization. The narrator remarks that Isabel "vio que las costumbres de Madrid se transformaban rápidamente, que esta orgullosa Corte iba a pasar en poco tiempo de la condición de aldeota indecente a la de capital civilizada. Porque Madrid no tenía de metrópoli más que el nombre y la vanidad ridícula" (saw that customs were rapidly changing in Madrid, and that the proud Corte was about to go from being an indecent village to a civilized capital. Because Madrid was a metropolis only in name and in its ridiculous vanity) (*Fortunata y Jacinta* I: 154). The idea of novelty therefore becomes synonymous with modernity, revealing a conflation *de moda* and *moderna*. Beyond its applicability to fashion, novelty, the new, or *novedad* is a trope that figures repeatedly in the novel to signify Juan's insatiable desire for variety, both in terms of commodities and women, as well as Spain's unstable and ever changing political system (*FJ* I: 248).

According this passage newness is emphatically northern. Clothing trends trickle down from the northern capital of fashion – Paris—thereby locating the imperial relationship between France and Spain on a temporal axis that positions Spain as the primitive, colorful gypsy, the southern imitator, always one step behind the latest fashion. The linkage between Paris and Madrid in terms of the geographic trajectory of fashion also mimics the movement of goods established by the new train route to Paris. Fashion trends were in fact "invading" the south as clothing from Paris's large department stores were making their way down to the Peninsula via mail order (Davis). According to this formulation, foreign commodities conquer Spain through "forced" consumption and as a result relinquishment of the national garb. The Belgian, French, and the English were in need of markets and "[t]odavía no era moda ir a buscarlos al África" (it was not yet fashionable to go looking for them in Africa) (*FJ* I:151). Spain as a nation then becomes a commercial colony for Europe. They are only one step above what Africa would later become for the north. As the imitators of northern aesthetics, the Spaniard becomes the imperial mimic man/woman, an impersonator of the modern that is rendered a similar but recognizable other of France, England and Belgium. Ironically, the somber aesthetics that emerge from England, according to historian Philippe Perrot, actually emerged from the style of dress prevalent in the Spanish court under Charles V and Philip II, (during the height of Spanish imperialism) which then subsequently spread to Flanders after the sixteenth century, only to be later adopted by protestant reformers and the English bourgeoisie. In recounting the trajectory of fashion trends in the novel, however, the narrator disavows Spain as an originator of any style of dress, and construes Spaniards as mere impersonators.

The narrator's inability to recognize Spain as capable of producing of anything original indexes a larger national anxiety in regards the modern, felt by other members of his class (including Isabel Cordero), but also a certain level of compliance with the markedly northern version of Spain's diminished empire. This collectivized inferiority complex is allegorized through a chromatic hierarchy through which good taste becomes both an internal marker of social class distinction (as Pierre Bourdieu has argued) and an external marker of national rank within Europe. The north-south divide of the Continent is also Spain's internal division of class writ large. The elite classes of Spain, the bourgeoisie and aristocracy, look to the foreign, while

the "pueblo" paradoxically remains faithful to the nation. The narrator goes on to speak scornfully on the topic of northern fashion:

> Estamos bajo la influencia del Norte de Europa, y ese maldito Norte nos impone los grises que toma de su ahumado cielo. El sombrero de copa da mucha respetabilidad a la fisonomía, y raro es el hombre que no se cree importante solo con llevar sobre la cabeza un cañón de chimenea. Las señoras no se tienen por tales si no van vestidas de color de hollín, ceniza, rape, verde botella o pasa de corinto. Los tonos vivos las encanallan, porque el pueblo ama el rojo bermellón, el amarillo tila, el cadmio y el verde forraje; y está tan arraigado en la plebe el sentimiento del color, que *la seriedad* no ha podido establecer su imperio sino transigiendo. (*FJ* I:150-151, emphasis in original).
>
> We are under the influence of Northern Europe, and this damned North imposes its gray hues that it takes from its smoggy skies. The top hat gives respectability to physiognomy, and it is rare for a man not to feel important just by wearing a stovepipe hat. Ladies are not ladies if they do not dress in the colors of soot, ash, snuff, dark green or raisin. The lively tones corrupt them, because the plebe love vermillion, linden flower yellow, cadmium and bright green; and the sentiment of color is so rooted in the plebe, that the *seriousness* has not been able to establish its empire without compromise.

More than just an allegory of imperial and international politics the changing palette of national colors is also a visual rendition of Spain's affective economy. Among those colors listed in the above passage as being worn by the lower classes are vermillion and yellow, emblematic of the Spanish flag. Here the contrast between "el sentimiento del color" (sentiment of color) of the "pueblo" (the people) and the "seriedad" of the north and the Spanish bourgeoisie underscores the ways that colors represent "emotionality," which, as Sara Ahmed has argued, is part and parcel of securing social hierarchies and relations of power (*The Cultural Politics of Emotion*). Through this system of subjectification certain emotions or affective states become attached to social stature (such as class and caste) as well as gender. In the above cited passage the narrator links earlier Spanish imperial history with happiness using words and phrases such as "alegre imperio," "matices vivos," "encanto," "sonriente," and "prodigio" (cheerful empire, lively hues, charm, smiling, prodigious) in constrast with "grave," "tristeza," "seria," and "lugubremente," (grave, sorrow, serious, funereally) which depict the current state of fashion and national sentiment. Spain attempts to go from being a lively, ebullient empire to a somber one, mourning "lúgubremente" (somberly) its own national/imperial "death."

Philippe Perrot, in his study on bourgeois fashion, argues that the abandonment of color had strong ideological, in addition to national, overtones:

> The new dress embodied the ideological justification for and social legitimacy of the bourgeoisie. Clothing reaffirmed the concepts of modesty, effort, propriety, reserve, and 'self-control,' which were the basis of bourgeois 'respectability. They combined a moral rejection with their political rejection of color. (Perrot 32)

If clothing symbolizes not only class position but also morality, it should come as no surprise that it is the pueblo that embodies bright colors; in working class neighborhood in the novel "El rojo abundaba tanto, que aquello parecía un pueblo que tiene la religión de sangre" (Red abounds so much that it is as though the plebe were of the religion of blood) (*FJ* I: 318). The muted tones of bourgeois fashion not only symbolized a kind of muted sensibility, they also metonymically evoked ideas of northern imperialism and industrial development. Bourgeois men's fashion marked by black hats and simple black and grey jackets draw from, as the narrator noted, by-products of British industrialization. Gray hues (soot, smoke and ash) are significant because they originate from England's smoggy skies. England and in particular Birmingham (the birthplace of the cotton mill, steam engine and gas lamps as well as a new technologies for smelting iron ore), occupies the space of industrial fantasy in the novel. The narrator recounts that Barbarita's father "recibía miles de cartas al día, y las cartas olían a hierro…como que venían de Inglaterra, donde todos es de hierro, hasta los caminos…" (received a thousand letters a day and they smelled of iron…since they came from England where everything is made of iron, even the roads…" (*FJ* I:131). Birmingham, and by extension England is rendered an industrial paradise, a shining land with iron paved roads, while Spain, in the same period, had an abundance of iron ore—but not coal—and so therefore had to export their iron supply rather then process it domestically (Tortella 84).

The stovepipe hat, an emblem of industrialization, becomes a form of social currency indicating one's class and gender, but also metonymically invokes British industrialism. In the case of Spain there remains a certain misalignment between these articles of clothing and what they are intended to represent. Madrid after all is not an industrial city, but rather a commercial center and financial hub, where its inhabitants consume (foreign products) more than they produce. As the narrator remarks: "Madrid no tenía de metrópolis más que el nombre y la vanidad ridícula" (Madrid was a metropolis only in name and in its ridiculous vanity) (*FJ* I: 154). So elite *madrileños* have the accoutrements but not the essence of modernity and industry. In this way, even though a Spanish man might regard himself as "importante sólo con llevar sobre la cabeza un cañón de chimenea," there is a certain kind of irony that is revealed through its symbolic appropriation. The wearing of the stovepipe appears to be inauthentic for the Spanish, masking or substituting a pronounced lack since Spain had no industrial revolution to boast of when compared with England. Perrot comments on the moral and social meaning attributed to this hat that became ubiquitous in the nineteenth century:

> This gleaming cylinder owed its long life to other virtues: notably, that of incorporating bourgeois propriety, through its stiffness and funereal sobriety, and aristocratic bearing, because it made any physical activity completely impossible, and that of simultaneously integrating democratic equality, by abandoning feathers or embroidery, with hierarchical difference, through a new play of distinctive details, particularly luster and cleanliness. (Perrot 122)

That the stovepipe could be associated with luster and cleanliness evidence that fashion and hygiene were similarly concerned with grooming the bourgeois body. In fact, in the novel, Isabel's predictions about the modernization of customs and clothing in Madrid are confirmed by the narrator who comments that public access to water would be made available in streets and plazas so that people would grow accustomed to washing their hands and faces. Thus fashion and

hygiene figure as part and parcel of the "civilizing process" of modernization. Bourgeois fashion cannot, therefore, be disentangled from filth of the unruly masses.

Kathleen Davis in her study on nineteenth-century fashion writing examines the work of French-born Blanca Valmont who in 1888 described how fashion drew its inspiration from hygiene in its attention to physical health. If hygiene was concerned with upholding moral and social order in addition to physical well being, we can easily see the ways in which fashion was also involved in disciplining bodies, a key element of subjectivity. Curiously Pedro Monlau in *Higiene Privada* (1870) devotes an entire section to clothing in which he laments that Spain has entered an age in which clothing no longer serves practical needs, but is rather more concerned purely with aesthetics. He notes that the hat or *sombrero* no longer provides shade, but in making a joke about the stovepipe says "se establece allí una verdadera estufa" (it makes a real stove) (Monlau *Higiene Privada* 64) i.e. creating more heat, rather than shielding from the sun. And while in almost all other respects Monlau asserts unchallenged authority over all aspects of daily life, he nearly surrenders himself to "la tiranía de la moda" (the tyranny of fashion) or what Valmont calls "el imperio de la moda" (the empire of fashion) which he feels is too difficult to fight (Monlau *Higiene Privada* 64).

Both the modern practices of hygiene and subscription to current fashion trends evidence membership in the bourgeois class, and thus are indicative of a bourgeois morality (Perrot). That is, in addition to class, clothing was seen to reflect both affective states and moral values of the people whom they adorned. But while clothing and corporeal hygiene were meant to index a certain kind of bourgeois morality, they would also serve as the very accoutrements of social imposters. Therefore, neither fashion nor hygiene could function as legitimate guarantors of caste. Indeed, caste, symbolized by blood, takes shape in the novel as inner essence, indicative of moral values, character, and education, guaranteed by birth only. Hygiene and fashion, in contrast, work at the superficial level. Noel Valis, in her study on *lo cursi*, observes that the desire for social distinction through self-fashioning has a particular history in Spain rooted in its religious past in which *limpieza de sangre* created a caste system based on blood. Valis remarks that this "notion of distinction that blood ties symbolized found a middle-class substitution in cultural distinction as sought in the artifacts, dress, and manners of the socially superior class"(*The Culture of Cursilería* 50). *Fortunata y Jacinta*, however, evidences that dress and decorum were faulty indicators of caste identity, and the symbolics of blood persisted through the modern era as modality of distinction in this long transition to the modern. Rather than function as a substitution for origin-centric identity, fashion, as we shall see below, might best be understood in the novel as a compensatory or fraudulent mode of distinction.

After Fortunata and Juan's first affair, she reappears in Madrid dressed like a lady -- in a hat and corset -- and accompanied by a man who appears to be her lover. Juan's family friend Villalonga, presumably a member of the family caste, spots her in the street but does not at first recognize her because she looks so elegant. Villalonga, of course, suspects that the only plausible explanation for her transformation is that she has been to Paris, the center of all good taste and education: "Está de rechupete. De fijo que ha estado en París, porque sin pasar por allí no se hacen ciertas transformaciones" (She looked good enough to eat. You could tell she had been in Paris because certain transformations are not possible without going there) (*FJ* I: 433). Fortunata's attempt to pass for a woman of another class, however, is undermined by signs of her

"true" subject position. As a woman of plebeian origin and without a surname, Fortunata can be seen as having no (worthy) origin at all. As Villalonga explains, it is language that gives her away: "Púseme todo lo cerca posible, esperando oírla hablar. '¿Cómo hablará?', me decía yo. Porque el talle y el corsé, cuando hay dentro calidad, los arreglan los modistos fácilmente; pero lo que es el lenguaje ..." (I got as close as possible, hoping to hear her speak. 'How would her speech sound?' I asked myself. Because the waistband and the corset, if they're of good quality, can easily be fixed by seamstresses; but language […]) (*FJ* I: 433). Fortunata's lack of education is read as the true indicator of her class; she does not posses "un aire de señora," (the air of a lady) but as Villalonga explains "ni falta…pero eso no quita que tenga un aire seductor" (she doesn't need it…but this doesn't diminish her air of seductress) (*FJ* I: 433). So while Juan becomes intrigued, if not aroused, by Villalonga's verbal portrait of Fortunata's superficial transformation, it is Fortunata's essential character as a woman of the *pueblo* that both gives her away and simultaneously makes her the object of bourgeois male desire. It is her very "filthiness" which she has attempted to mask, that they seek as essential truth. The inability to pass in fact, her *cursilería*, makes her all the more seductive.

Villalonga's recapitulation of this rather voyeuristic encounter duplicates the hierarchy between Spain and the north, and the lower and upper classes in Madrid, as illustrated in the narrator's allegory on fashion. And yet, the *pueblo* remains the subject of (bourgeois) sexual fantasy and the idealized object of aesthetic representation. "Cuántas veces lo dijimos: 'El pueblo es la cantera. De él salen las grandes ideas y las grandes bellezas. Viene luego la inteligencia, el arte, la mano de obra, saca el bloque, lo talla'" (We've said it time and time again: the plebe are the quarry. Great ideas and great beauty is found there. Later comes intelligence, art, labor, they carve out the block and sculpt it) (*FJ* I:433). So while the pueblo functions as the source of cultural inspiration, they are simultaneously barred from accessing the very cultural institutions and artifacts that depend on their subordination. And this subordination is construed as an unchangeable essential quality of the poor. Villalonga comments that in Fortunata "lo elegante no le quitaba lo ordinario" (her elegance did not change her vulgarity) (*FJ* I: 434). In other words, her fashion, predicated on outward appearance (visibility), merely acts as an insufficient mask, unable to transform her inner vulgarity. Villalonga's investment in Fortunata's failure to pass, however, is laden with an anxiety around the security of his own caste identity. It is significant to recall that the dangerous potential of Fortunata's passing, her penetration into bourgeois society through her romantic liaisons poses a threat to caste purity. Villalonga initially mistook Fortunata for a beautiful and elegant woman, and it was only upon closer inspection that he realized that he had been fooled. His own domineering position through his objectifying gaze was quickly undercut by the realization that he had felt seduced, if not duped by Fortunata's savvy performance. Her ability to occupy the role of bourgeois woman proves to be threatening to Villalonga as he imagines her unfixed to her position as plebeian woman. In subsequent judgment of her "true" identity, he positions himself in a quasi-inquisitorial role, suited to determine her fraudulence. To further compensate for the momentary success of her *engaño* (deception), he exercises one of the strategies available to him as a bourgeois male, he sexualizes her and convinces Juan to sexually exploit her yet again.

Hygiene and fashion come together once again when Villalonga pejoratively discusses the imagined process of her "metamorphosis":

> Yo pensaba en la cantidad de agua que había precedido a la transformación. Pero ¡ah!, las mujeres aprenden esto muy pronto. Son el mismo demonio para asimilarse todo lo que es el del reino de la *toilette*. En cambio, yo apostaría que no ha aprendido a leer … Son así; luego dicen que si la pervertimos. Pues volviendo a lo mismo, la metamorfosis es completa. Agua, figurines, la fácil costumbre de emperejilarse; después seda, terciopelo, el sombrerito… (*FJ* I: 434)
>
> I was imaging the amount of water that was needed for this transformation. But, ah! Women learn this very quickly. Like the devil himself, to fashion themselves according to the realm of *la toilette*. On the other hand, I would bet that she hasn't learned how to read…That's how they are; and then they say that we corrupt them. Well, going to back to what I was saying, the metamorphosis is complete. First water, fashion illustrations, the easy custom of getting dolled up; then silk, velvet, a hat.

Fortunata's transformation proves to be superficial because techniques of personal hygiene and fashion produce too thin a disguise for a person's true character. Maximiliano comes to this very realization when he feels remorse for scolding his servant for not having shined his boots "¿Qué más da que estén las botas con o sin betún? La que debe tener lustre es el alma, no el calzado" (What does it matter if my boots are polished or not? What should shine is my soul, not my shoe?) (*FJ* IV: 313). While hygiene can improve one's elegance, it cannot educate one's essence. We see the reverse situation hold true for Jacinta, who coming from a good family with humble financial origins still possesses the good taste of a culturally competent lady because she is of the honorable caste: "La estrechez relativa en que vivía la numerosa familia de Arnaiz, no le permitía variar sus galas; pero sabía triunfar del amaneramiento con el arte, y cualquier perifollo anunciaba en ella una mujer que, si lo quería, estaba llamada a ser elegantísima" (The relative financial strain with which the big Arnaiz family lived didn't allow them to vary their adornment; but they knew how to triumph with the art of affectation, and any old trimmings would reveal her to be a woman who, if she wanted to, would be called upon to be extraordinarily elegant) (*FJ* I:195). It is the superficial and democratic nature of both hygiene and fashion (both have become more readily accessible to a wider population) that drives the need to find some hint of Fortunata's counterfeit identity. In this case education, language and literacy in particular, is the sign that exposes her fraudulent posture. Education, it is worth noting, is a thematic current that runs throughout the novel and much of Galdós's literary corpus.[80] Fortunata's future husband, Maxi, attempts to teach one of his servants to read so that she may become a "complete woman." Maxi later attempts to teach Fortunata to speak properly, but both attempts at reforming poor and working-class women prove to be futile: both resist literacy education and reform. Indeed, all of these civilizing projects in the novel fail, suggesting that the *pueblo* lacks the ability to be truly transformed, or otherwise educated, reinforcing the importance given to caste and bloodlines.

In this section, I have attempted to demonstrate the elite anxiety regarding Spain's declining position in relation to growing imperial powers. This decline demands a

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[80] For studies on Krausism and Galdós see Denah Lida, "Sobre el 'krausismo' de Galdós," *Anales Galdosianos* 2 (1967): 1-27; and José Luis Gómez Martínez, "Galdós y el krausimso español," *Nueva Revista de Filogogía Hispánica* 32, no. 1 (1983); 55-79.

reconfiguration of elite identities that ironically reinforces Spanish subordination to elites in the north of Europe but also simultaneously undermines the elite class's loyalty to the nation. In this way, it is the pueblo, and not the bourgeoisie that represents the national in this transition from formalized feudal domination of the lower classes to market driven industrial capitalism. Fashion and hygiene figure here as indications of the changes in the social structure that produce this anxiety. The *mujer del pueblo* is the only figure who continues to don national colors, and she is the last vestige of the pre-modern nation and empire. Yet while the *mantón del manila* enables women like Fortunata to be seen as more authentically "Spanish," more so than any other subject of the nation, their class position creates a level of ambivalence towards their social valuation. Just as we saw in Chapter 3, Spanishness becomes associated with the uncivilized classes.

Caste, Class and Coloniality

By now it is clear that order and separation is the organizing principle of a caste-based identity, whose exclusivity is not entirely compatible with the class-based system of modernization. The elite obsession with blood positions (female) plebeian subjects as potential contaminating agents of that blood. The anxiety, if not paranoia, around maintaining this fiction of blood purity easily lends itself to the discourse of *casta*. While there is a tendency to view the caste system as incompatible with modern conceptions of race as a biological category, some historians, like María Elena Martínez, treat race as a broader social category that cannot simply be reduced to scientific racism alone. Martínez writes:

> To elevate "race as biology" to an ideal type is to set up a false dichotomy—to ignore that racial discourses have proved to be remarkably flexible, invoking nature or biology more at one point, culture more at another. The shifting meanings and uses of race simultaneously underscore its social constructedness and suggest that there is no single, transhistorical racism but rather different types of racisms, each produced by specific social and historical conditions. (11)

Sharing Martínez's perspective, then, the Santa Cruz y Arnaiz family's obsession with blood-lines construes their identity in racially inflected terms that are informed both by Spain's history of valorizing pure lineages and the racialized hierarchies of the colonies. Historian Joshua Goode, in his recent book *Impurity of Blood: Defining Race in Spain, 1870-1930*, contends that nineteenth century Spain mostly shunned ideologies of blood purity and instead embraced a discourse of blood mixing and racial hybridity. Goode concludes that the Spanish threat of race in the colonial context has more do with national cultural proclivities (namely language and religion) than anything else. He comments that in the nineteenth century the Hispanic concept of "[r]ace appeared not as a method of defining the difference between conquered and conqueror but rather as a way of explaining the moribund condition of Spain [vis-à-vis the north]" (Goode 26). Goode's examination of the concept of nineteenth century race relies heavily on the use of the term *raza* in Spain, which, as elsewhere in Europe, denoted varying meanings including (biological) race, more frequently used in the nineteenth century interchangeably with class, people and nation. It is used in *Fortunata y Jacinta* to refer to the Spanish nation, but it is also synonymous with the term *casta* to refer to Juan's lineage. While Goode maintains that subjects in Spain are defined "in terms of their relation to an always shifting definition of the castizo"

(25), his analysis of racial purity focuses largely on nineteenth century anthropology and theories of racial mixing, thereby precluding the possibility of exploring the full-meaning of *lo castizo* and its larger social implications. *Lo castizo*, as I have demonstrated throughout the dissertation, cannot easily be reduced to a rubric of the modern categories of class, race, or nation. As Stoler cautions: "We should be careful to see the ways in which race and class had 'looser and richer meanings' before their nineteenth century definitions were hardened" ("Racial Histories" 127). Even in the late nineteenth century, McClintock observes how "the term "race" was used in shifting and unstable ways, sometimes as synonymous with "species" sometimes with "culture," sometimes with "nation," sometimes to denote biological ethnicity or sub-groups within national groupings: the English "race" compared, say, with the "Irish" (McClintock 52). The overlap of race and class, and the ways in which each informed the other, is central to the discussion of caste in this section that deals with the ways in which caste and class origin come to be racialized.

Separation, of course, is key to maintaining these discrete categories. Subjects who encroach on the fringes of their social categories, like Fortunata dressed as a Parisian woman, are seen as wielding disruptive power, yet the threat of disruption is what gives meaning to the separation of categories of identity. Ahmed argues that "borders need to be threatened in order to be maintained, or even to appear *as* borders, and part of the process of 'maintenance-through-transgression' is the appearance of border objects" (*Cultural Politics of Emotion* 87). For Ahmed, "[b]order objects are hence disgusting, while disgust engenders border objects" (*Cultural Politics of Emotion* 87). And frequently it is the "native" (or in our case primitive) body that comes to stand in for dirt; it becomes the object that elicits disgust (Ahmed). Fortunata, in this case, comes to stand in for the "border" body that simultaneously provokes repulsion and attraction throughout the course of the novel. She is both because, in relation to Villalonga and Juan, she is an object out of place; put quite simply, she has the potential to disrupt the order of things, and disruption is laden with power and pleasure. Juanito and other men of his class fetishize plebeian women like Fortunata as the sexual antithesis of their wives, a convenient way for elite men to discretely obtain sexual nourishment (Labanyi). The novel exposes the contradictions of bourgeois morality which, in principle, is concerned with purity and separation. We see how bourgeois men routinely take pleasure in cross-class seduction. In a rare moment in the narrative in which we are privy to Juan's guilty conscious, he admits that he has taken advantage of this male bourgeois practice in his affair with Fortunata, acknowledging that this is widespread, class-specific practice: "Los hombres, digo, los señoritos, somos unos miserables; creemos que el honor de las hijas del pueblo es cosa de juego…" (Us men, I mean, gentleman, we're worthless; we think that the honor of the daughters of the people is a game) (*FJ* I: 229).

The first time that Jacinta learns of Juan's affair she declares that "El hombre bien criado y la mujer ordinaria no emparejan bien […] El pueblo es sucio, la mujer de la clase baja, por más que se lave el palmito, siempre es pueblo. No hay más que ver las casas por dentro. Pues lo mismo están los benditos cuerpos" (A man who is brought up properly and a vulgar woman do not make a good pair […] The plebe are dirty; the lower class woman, no matter how much she washes, will always be plebeian. All one has to do is see the inside of their homes. Their 'blessed' bodies are the same.) (*FJ* I: 210). Fortunata's permanent state of "filth" is the sign of her inner moral essence. The plebeian in *Fortunata y Jacinta* are consistently represented

through an iconography of dirt, offering another chromatic schema that lends itself easily to the discourse of racism. Thus, in their affair Juan refers Fortunata multiple times as "black girl": "Reconozco—prosiguió el Delfín,-- que vales mucho más que yo, como corazón; pero mucho más. Soy al lado tuyo muy poca cosa, *nena negra*. No sé qué tienes en esos condenados ojos. Te andan dentro de ellos todas las auroras de la gloria celestial y todas las llamas del Infierno…" (I recognize – Delfín continued, -- that you are worth much more than me, in terms of heart; but so much more. I am nothing compared to you, black girl. No I don't know what you have in those damned eyes. You have inside of you the dawn of celestial glory and all the flames of hell) (*FJ* III: 263). This racialized depiction of Fortunata, as condemned, black girl who embodies elements of both heaven and hell, encapsulates the bourgeois perspective of poor women, who are seen as always already fallen (condemned) and yet simultaneously innocent and naïve.

Not at all unique to the case of imperial Spain, blackness was a trope associated with working-class people of all kinds. McClintock, in her seminal work *Imperial Leather,* succinctly charts the ways in which abject groups of society in Europe become typed as black. Through this use of race as a trope for economic class designation, racially inflected language becomes key to the politics of exclusion and the maintenance of social hierarchy in the metropolis. In the case of Fortunata, Juan fetishes his lover as black, not only because of her class-caste position but also as a way to sexualize her. As discussed in Chapter 1, Sander Gilman, in his now classic study "Black Bodies, White Bodies," looks at the ways in which the black female in the nineteenth century became the icon of hypersexuality alongside the white prostitute; the mere presence of the black woman in visual representation would serve to sexualize the entire scene. Just as in Gilman's examples, Juan's construction of the lower class Fortunata as "nena negra" couches her hypersexuality and class background in the language of race. Drawing racial lines was central to a politics of exclusion, both within and outside of the European continent; contrary to Goode's argument, racial superiority was central to the discourse of white domination both in the context of the transatlantic slave trade and at home. As Lisa Surwillo argues, "Nineteenth-century imperial Spain considered itself white; most of its Cuban population, in particular its slaves, was not" ("Passing Counterfeit Whiteness," 75). If whiteness and purity are at the heart of elite and bourgeois subjectivity, then Galdós's novel reveals the ways in which the ontological stability of these categories is threatened.

While female "dirtiness" is construed as alluring to bourgeois men, for bourgeois women in the novel, her filth is construed as a sign of corruption and contagion, a threat to the sanctity of their marriages. Bourgeois women like Barbarita and Jacinta recognize women like Fortunata as sexually desirous, acting subjects who pose a threat to the sanctity of the their marriages. In doing so, they affirm plebeian women's sexual agency while simultaneously denying their own. This asymmetry speaks to the masculinist heteronormativity that undergirds nineteenth-century gender norms. Bourgeois women as sexually desiring subjects, let alone as what we might today consider "queer" subjects, do not figure in this equation. Aside from their exploited labor, plebeian women's debased morality is what positions bourgeois woman as pure, morally upright, even capable of reforming those around her. While Fortunata's filth is seen as irremediable, when Jacinta hears that Juan and Fortunata had a son, nicknamed "Pituso," she regards him as salvageable because he carries the blood or embodies the "raza" (race) of his father Juan. José Ido, characterized as a shifty novelist, fools Jacinta into believing that the son is alive, and Jacinta seizes this opportunity as both a philanthropic project and the only way to fulfill her role

as a mother who cannot bear a child herself. She and her philanthropist neighbor Guillermina travel to a working-class neighborhood of Madrid to try to illegally adopt Pituso for a handsome sum. In a scene that recalls the narrator's description of the passionate and emotionally excessive pueblo, Jacinta marvels at the colors around her. Bright hues abound in the slums, "azules, rojos, y verdes" (blues, reds, and greens) filled with "los colores vivos que agradan a los salvajes" (the lively colors that are pleasing to savages) (*FJ* I: 317). The use of the terms "savages" to refer to the poor of Madrid reinforces the colonial paradigm through which the social landscape of the metropolis is viewed. Jacinta's rescuing of Pituso is thereby construed as a philanthropic project that duplicates the colonial narrative of the civilizing mission. While the idea of adoption presents itself as taboo, it is the promise of the father's blood and therefore the "sucesión de la casta," (succession of the caste) that makes Pituso an acceptable candidate for "adoption": "por ser la casta que es" (because of his caste) (*FJ* I: 358).

Upon her arrival to the so-called fourth world, everyone around appears as racialized as non-white, non-Spanish or uncivilized. A group of women passing by, for example, seem like Moors or mixed blood Andalusians to Jacinta (*FJ* I: 323). Jacinta then spots three blond children and in a moment of pronounced misrecognition suspects that one of them might be Juan's child (*FJ* I: 321). He is not. Instead, Jacinta is confronted with a group of "savage" children, their faces blackened with a substance that is thought to be shoe polish or Japanese varnish:

> Era una manada de salvajes, compuesta de dos tagarotes como de diez y doce años, una niña más chica, y otros dos *chavales*, cuya edad y sexo no se podía saber. Tenían todos ellos la cara y las manos llenas de chafarrinones [manchas] negros, hechos con algo que debía de ser betún o barniz japonés del más fuerte. Uno se había pintado rayas en el rostro, otro anteojos, aquél bigotes, cejas y patillas con tan mala maña, que toda la cara parecía revuelta en heces de tintero. Los pequeñuelos no parecían pertenecer a la raza humana, y con aquel maldito tizne extendido y rebosado por la cara y las manos semejaban micos, diablillos o engendros infernales. (*FJ* I: 324)
>
> It was a horde of savages, comprised of two boys of ten and twelve years of age, a younger girl, and two other kids, whose age and sex no one could tell. They all had their hands and faces stained black with something that had to have been shoe polish or the darkest Japanese lacquer. One had painted black stripes on his face, another had glasses, another had painted a mustache, eyebrows and sideburns so poorly that his entire face was covered in dregs of ink. The little ones did not seem to pertain to the human race, and with that damn smut extending all over their faces and hands they looked like monkeys, little demons or hellish monsters.

Pituso was among the group of "stained" and blackened children who appeared as monkey-like diabolical creatures from hell or racialized natives, whose age and sex are rendered unreadable. With his black hair and his skin completely painted, Pituso is the only one who is completely blackened. Lisa Surwillo observes that upon first sight Jacinta associates Pituso's blackness with Juan's immoral affair with Fortunata. In this moment she is overcome by "strange thoughts:" "la mancha del pecado era tal, que aun a la misma inocencia extendía su sombra" (the stain of his sin was so powerful that its dark shadow extended to innocence) (*FJ* I: 329). Jacinta, who recalls her husband's "manía por lo salvaje" (obsession for the savage) now sees Pituso (or Juanín) as the

product of his sins. For Surwillo, these marks serve as "las pruebas de su autenticidad racial" for Jacinta ("Pituso en Blackface,"195).

The discourse of hygiene cannot separate from the discourse of race, yet the formulation of identity-as-surface, as we have seen throughout the novel, is far from stable. From the point of view of the reader, it is clear that the children have artificially darkened their skin. Pituso appears with varnish dripping from his hands, his clothing stained by the hands of the other children. The shoe polish or varnish they use is construed as black stains or "chafarrinones negros" (black stains). The 1884 definition of *chafarrinón* includes the entry "chafarrinada" and "Echar uno un chafarrinan," which is defined as follows: "Hacer una cosa indigna, que desluzca su linaje" (To do something shameful that would tarnish one's lineage) (*Diccionario de Autoridades*). The narrator's description of the stain, then, figures as a literal projection of Jacinta's fears that Fortunata has sullied Juan's bloodline. The pollution of purity is represented in this scene, as in many others, through the iconography of dirt, through stains and blackness (and in this case, purposeful, playful, theatrical dirt). In this way, the obsession with hygiene, evidenced by Jacinta's desire to clean Pituso's blackness, is a form of fetishistic compensation, working on the surface of the body to achieve something that is presumed to operate on one's interior: Pituso's hybrid caste origin. On some level, Pituso seems to be aware of these techniques of disguise. In an innocent but perceptive moment we see Jacinta through the eyes of Pituso as he marvels at her gloves: "No tenía él ni idea remota de que existieran aquellas manos de mentira, dentro de las cuales estaban las manos verdaderas" (He had no idea that there was such a thing as fake hands, inside of which there were real hands) (*FJ* I: 357).

We witness a notable awareness of hygiene as (an insufficient) fetish ritual throughout the novel. For McClintock, the obsession with corporeal hygiene is a symptom of anxieties about social order.[81] Even though new technologies have brought more water to Madrid, in the working class slums people still cannot spare water for washing. It is only from a perspective of privilege that water and whiteness becomes fetishized as markers of class distinction. While plebeian dirt is perceived with disgust, literal cleanliness is also viewed with skepticism. The acknowledgement, both on the part of Jacinta and Villalonga that Fortunata cannot be made into a clean and pure woman of their class, even with the purifying technologies of hygiene, actually undermines the very structure of categories of identity that draw from a concept of purity. Purity, then, becomes an invisible force, something that takes origin as its primary signifier. As Stoler argues, sexuality, race, gender, and class "hinge on visual markers of distinction that profess to—but poorly index—the internal traits, psychological dispositions, and moral essence on which these theories of difference and social membership are based" (*Race and the Education of Desire* 133-134). Moreover, for Stoler "racial etymologies of the language of class […] place the making of racial discourse, and a discourse on slavery in particular, as formative in the making of a middle-class identity rather than as a late nineteenth-century addition to it" (124).

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[81] McClintock historicizes the Victorian appreciation all things clean and white (clothes, objects and bodies) finding that this obsession was not merely a consequence of economic surplus. Looking in particular at the consumption and advertising of soap, she demonstrates that soap did not become a ubiquitous commodity at the height of imperialism, but rather "it emerged commercially during an era of impending crisis and social calamity, serving to preserve, through fetish ritual, the uncertain boundaries of class, gender and race identity in a social order felt to be threatened by the fetid effluvia of the slums, the belching smoke of industry, social agitation, economic upheaval, imperial competition and anti-colonial resistance" (McClintock 211).

All of these are attempts to fix immaterial essences that are seen to constitute a kind of caste-based morality, to define and defend an elite social group against all (inferior) others. Ironically, the success of caste-based exclusivity depends on the invisibility of "blood," but the idea of hidden essential properties inherent in the "honorable caste" reproduces this purity as a fiction. .

Pituso's state of pollution, read as the lack of civilization, is no doubt a source of horror for Jacinta, who initially mistakes him for a black savage, but it lasts only long enough for her to recognize that his blackness is mere paint. The narrative attention to the paint dripping from Pituso's hands juxtaposed with Jacinta's initial reaction of racialized fear, points to the novel's intensely self-reflexive play with color, disguise and visibility—the stuff of representation. There is evidence in the text that Jacinta acknowledges that his skin has been artificially colored, and that the representation of Pituso as "black" is more a projection of Jacinta's fear and judgment of working-class people than an unfiltered observation. For example, the mother of one of these unruly children appears furious that the children have stolen her ink (used for their work) and slaps one of the children across the face "sin miedo a mancharse ella también" (unafraid that she too could be stained) (*FJ* I: 325). The misuse of this black substance intended for the printing of *papeles de luto* (funeral papers), by these children to mark their skin, acts almost as an excessive, even ironic, representation of savagery. Blackness comes to stand in for Pituso's caste and class identity i.e. his blood relation to Fortunata the *nena negra*, throwing into question the likeness between Pituso and Juan. Jacinta is offended by Pituso's unruly behavior and lack of supervision. Her disapproval stems from her utter inability to understand why this child could be allowed to look this way, covered in toxic varnish. "¿Será veneno eso?" (Could that be poisonous?), she asks herself (*FJ* I: 330). This scene emphasizes how Pituso initially relishes his performance, his "papel de mico," (his role as monkey) in stark contrast to the bourgeois fetish of all things white and clean. The animal-like Pituso has not learned the self-discipline of the bourgeoisie, and having been raised by "savages," he has been educated contrary to the class and caste of his father. Put another way, he has not been sufficiently racialized as a member of the caste. In his own child-like way through play among the other children, Pituso mocks bourgeois anxieties about identity by acting or dressing like a monkey or a native.

As slavery in Cuba was abolished during the writing of the novel (1886) to say nothing of the threats of independence, the novel provocatively invites the reader to make the connection between working class whites and the unruly masses of blacks slaves of the Spanish Caribbean by presenting Pituso painted in black. That the black ink appears as the stain of lineage to Jacinta, only later to discover that he is the not the biological son of her husband, evidences the projection of her own fears of her husband's immorality onto the signifier of black ink. The fact that the reader, from the outset, understands that Pituso's blackness is just surface, serves as a site through which racialized thinking is mapped onto sexuality and class.

Pituso's dirty conditions in the end, rather than fully repel Jacinta, in fact motivate her all the more to illegally adopt and raise this child, fulfilling a maternal and missionary calling. She is appalled that the adults refuse to wash him: "Que lo laven. ¿Por qué no lo lavan?" (They should wash him. Why won't they wash him?) (*FJ* I: 330). Believing him to be son of Juan, his blood deems him salvageable unlike the other savage, monstrous children. When Jacinta, however, brings Pituso home, her sister is not convinced: "Sonreía Benigna, y si no hubiera sido por consideración a su querida hermana, habría dicho del *Pituso* lo que de las monedas que no

sonaban bien: *Es falso*, o por lo menos, *tiene hoja*" (Benigna smiled, and if she hadn't been considerate towards her beloved sister, she would have said of *Pituso* the same thing one says about coins that sounds right: It's counterfeit, or at least defective) (*FJ* I: 398). Benigna tells Jacinta: "Hija, no he visto un salvaje igual. El pobrecito…bien se ve entre qué gentes se ha criado" (Honey, I have never seen such a savage. Poor thing…it's clear what kind of people raised him). To which Jacinta replies: "Mejor…Así le domesticaremos" (All the better…this way we can domesticate him). (*FJ* I:406). Jacinta entertains something of a Pygmalion fantasy here, believing that she can recreate Pituso in her own image by bathing him, an act that is emblematic of baptismal rebirth or religious conversion. *Domestication*, however, proves to be more difficult than Jacinta had imagined. Even an act as simple as bathing is received as violent, and foreign to Pituso. When Jacinta presents Pituso to Barbarita, not yet convinced that he is Juan's son, the latter thinks to herself "¿Qué *casta* de nieto era aquel?" (What *caste* of a grandson was he?) (*FJ* I:401, my emphasis). When Jacinta reveals the news to Juan he confesses that his son with Fortunata is dead and scolds her for having participated in this risky transaction he calls a "mal negocio" (bad business) (*FJ* I: 412). Just as Benigna had suspected, this Pituso is a fraud.

Jacinta is the not the only character who feels the impulse to civilize the deserving poor in Madrid. When Fortunata encounters her future petit bourgeois husband, the pharmacist Maximiliano Rubín, he sends her off to the *Micaelas* convent so that she may "purify" herself before marriage. Fortunata's goal here is to part with her sullied past and "adecentarse y pulirse" (clean herself up and appear polished) (*FJ* II: 481). In the convent, a center of discipline and reform, Fortunata begins to internalize the bourgeois ideology of domesticity and takes to the idea of "resignación" (resignation). This sudden shift in Fortunata's belief systems comes as a result of the "examen de conciencia" (self-examination), which she undertakes as part of her admittance into the convent. Through this experience, Fortuanta contemplates the Host, which speaks to her in her own colloquial language on the topic of marriage. Fortunata calls her newly minted sense of discipline and commitment to chastity *la idea blanca*, evidencing an internalization of a notion of bourgeois purity. It is no coincidence that Fortunata models her fantasy of female domesticity after Jacinta herself, who is emblematic of bourgeois chastity. Like many idealized female characters of this period, she is purity incarnate: "Jacinta era la pureza misma" (Jacinta was purity embodied) (*FJ* I: 202) and looks as though she were a doll with "su figura y cara porcelanescas" (her porcelainesque figure and face) (*FJ* I: 195). Emblematic of the angel of the home, the quintessential figure of the chaste, non-desiring mother-wife, she and everything around her is pure, chaste and white. As Rosa Elena Ríos Lloret observes:

> La exaltación de la pureza y su calificación de cualidad natural femenina se extendía a la representación física ideal de una mujer, pero también a todo lo que la rodeaba. Así, el blanco se convierte en el color de la joven. Blanco es el traje de su comunión, el de su presentación en sociedad, el de su boda. Como blanco tiene que ser su comportamiento, su forma de moverse, de hablar, de mirar. (193)
>
> The exaltation of purity, which determined the attribute of natural femininity, extended to the ideal physical representation of a woman, but also to everything that surrounded her. Thus, white becomes the color of the young woman. White is the color of her communion dress, the color of her presentation in society, the

> color of her wedding. Since white also must be the color of her behavior, the form of her movement, of her speech, of her way of looking.

"White behavior" or la idea blanca is the essence of *castidad* (chastity), a gender, race and class specific ideal that adds an additional layer to this formulation of caste and class identity: sexual virtue lies at the heart of the Spanish honor code. An exclusively female concept modeled on the Catholic idealization of the Virgin mother, chastity ensures the presumed purity and exclusivity of the honorable caste and, through sanctioned and invisible forms of reproduction, the fantasy of blood purity. In hailing middle-class women as virgins and or chaste mother-wives, these women come to stand in for purity itself, an exalted object that warrants protection via isolation and surveillance i.e. the imposition of domesticity.

The new, chaste Fortunata looks forward to her marriage with Maxi because for the first time she will have a surname. From this moment, she will be known as *la de Rubín*. Maxi's family name undoubtedly evokes the probability of Jewish heritage. Part two of the novel opens with a suggestion of his unclean origin. The narrator cites Federico Ruiz, author of "los oscuros pero indudables vestigios de la raza israelita en la moderna España" (the obscure but indubitable vestiges of the Israelite race in modern Spain) who claimed that Rubín (originally Rubén) was a surname employed by converts who remained in Spain after the expulsion who no longer possessed physiognomic or ethnographic traces of Judaism. So while he does not self-identify as Jewish, Maxi's character is laden with Jewish stereotypes. Maxi's, aunt, with whom he lives, is a stingy moneylender who values Fortunata for her frugality. While a member of the petite bourgeoisie, Maxi is socially alienated in many ways: He is construed as an emasculated, weak repulsive orphan, born prematurely, with a stereotypically Jewish nose. As the narrator remarks "ni siquiera parecía hombre" (he didn't even look like a man) and he had a "nariz de rabadilla" (a nose like a tail) (*FJ* II: 511). Thus, while Fortunata looks forward to having the status of a *dama* (lady) with her husband's name, it is only fitting that the name be one of non-Christian descent, thereby joining two marginal characters who might not otherwise be able to marry. The not-so-subtle forms of anti-Semitism in the novel towards the Rubín family underscore the importance of lineage and origins for membership in the caste. The narrator's mention of Maxi's potential Jewish origins opens his identity to questioning, positioning the reader as inquisitor at the same time the Santa Cruz family lines are not the object of suspicion – they are instead clearly marked at the beginning of the novel with the narrator's meticulous recapitulation of the family tree that connect the family to landed nobility. The residual effects of the *estatutos de limpieza de sangre* (blood purity statutes), then, show a shift in the paradigm of exclusion that construed Jews and *conversos* (coverts) as dangerous infidels in one historical moment and social failures in the next.

As we might have guessed, her time at the convent and her subsequent marriage to Maxi fail to transform Fortunata. She abandons her fantasy of the *idea Blanca* (white idea) and replaced it with *la pícara idea* (mischief), a new theory which allows her to justify her affair with Juanito. Despite Maxi's efforts to teach Fortunata properly hold a knife and fork and speak like a lady (ironically, she cannot pronounce the word "monstruo"), Fortunata remains an "uncivilized" woman of the pueblo. In the second half of the novel Guillermina, a friend of the Santa Cruz and Arnaíz family, remarks that Fortunata maintains her "pasiones de pueblo," (passions of the plebe) still primitive, savage, and anterior to civilization (*FJ* II: 251). In the novel, education, literary and lexical in particular, are treated as more accurate markers of civilization than hygiene

and dress. Maxi, to cite another example, attempts to teach his aunt's servant Papitos to read: "No seas salvaje… Es preciso que aprendas a leer, para que seas mujer completa" (Don't be savage…It's important that you learn to read so you can be a complete woman) (*FJ* II: 502). The narrative is replete with female characters represented as incomplete women. While Fortunata is not quite a lady because of her lack of education and class background, Jacinta is only half a woman because of her inability to reproduce. Maxi, though, is also an incomplete man as he fails to discipline the unruly Fortunata. He is also sickly, pointing to the possibility that he might be unable to consummate their union. This provides yet another example of non-reproductive marriages that are seen as a form of social degeneration.

Maxi's marriage to Fortunata, rather than bringing moral order to her life, poses a direct threat to the social elite: their marriage gives her the morally and socially secure status of a lady, a guise that temporarily fools Jacinta into believing she has been removed from the libidinal economy as sexual drain for sexually voracious bourgeois men. As Tsuchiya notes "If the deviant subject cannot be kept away from the bourgeois family, she must be transformed through discipline so that she may be incorporated into the social order" (60). Instead, the marriage brings her into the social realm of this class while she maintains her extramarital affairs with Juan. Fortunata's marriage to Maxi, does, however prevent Maxi from circulating in the libidinal economy of the social elite, who could be contaminated by his sickly body and *converso* blood.

After a series of affairs, Fortunata becomes pregnant again by Juan and bears another son. This event leads Maxi to insanity and eventual commitment to an insane asylum in Leganés. Maxi, in an act of vengeance, delivers the news that Juan is having an affair with someone else: a blow to Fortunata that results in a hemorrhage. Their equally ill-fated destinies prove that there is no chance of survival for figures like Maxi and Fortunata. Maxi's tragic death evidences his profound alienation from his class, but allows for the smooth transference of Fortunata's child to the Santa Cruz family. The narrator remarks that the new Pituso biologically pertains to Juan "por la ley de la Naturaleza" (by the law of Nature) and that "*la fuerza de la sangre* y las circumstancias habían de sobreponerse a las ficciones de la ley" (the strength of blood and the circumstances that had to override the fictions of the law) (*FJ* IV: 440, my emphasis). Indeed blood proves to be thicker than water. It is on her deathbed that Fortunata bequeaths her son to Jacinta, a transference that symbolizes the gift of paternal blood. Fortunata declares "Lo que hay es que yo se lo quiero dar, porque sé que ha de quererle y porque es mi amiga" (The fact of the matter is that I want to give him to her because she ought to love him and because she is my friend) (*FJ* IV: 521). Her friend Plácido helps her draft the will as she dictates "Para que se consuele de los tragos amargos que le hace pasar su marido, ahí le mando al verdadero *Pituso*. Éste no es falso, es legítimo y *natural*, como usted verá en su cara. Le suplico" (I give her the true Pituso to console her through the bitterness that she will experience with her husband. This one is not fraudulent, he is legitimate and *natural*, as you can tell by his face. I beg you) (FJ: IV 521). It is only in her final moment of life, it is only then that Fortunata becomes a fully modern subject, exercising her right over her only form of property (Labayni 183): "Es mío, y yo lo puedo dar a quien quiera" (He is mine, and I can give him to whomever I want) (*FJ* IV: 522). It is the reconciliation of these two women that will forge the future of the Santa Cruz y Arnaiz family.

Conclusion

Edward Said in *Culture and Imperialism* comments on how "oddly hybrid historical cultural experiences are, of how they partake of many often contradictory experiences and domains, cross national boundaries, defy the *police* action of simple dogma and loud patriotism"(15). "Far from being unitary or monolithic or autonomous things" he continues, "cultures actually assume more "foreign" elements, alterities, differences, than they consciously exclude" (Said 15). In this novel, the obsession with all things foreign puts the potential for patriotism in an impossible bind. It also denies the ways in which purity operates as a phantom ideal. Couched in the language of caste, purity functions as a metaphor for undisputed originality, whose ontological stability becomes severely threatened when the strictures of bourgeois domesticity fail to produce an heir. In contrast to this ideology of blood purity, the novel charts numerous examples of the heterogeneity and instability inherent in the "honorable caste" that it interconnected with the bourgeoisie and quite literally in bed with the *pueblo*. As a class, it strives to exemplify the modern nation through an exclusive consumption pattern that is indicative of modernization and progress, but in doing so, it betrays itself by replacing national tradition with foreign trends. Ironically, then, it is the lower class (el pueblo) that embodies the nation through its "authentic" character and outward display of Spanish national sentiment. At the same time the *pueblo* also holds the bourgeoisie back in the race of modernization by painting an image of romantic and feudal Spain frozen in time. Who, then, adequately embodies nationess? The man of the honorable caste or the colorful plebeian woman?

Read as a counter-narrative to idealized national harmony. Galdós's novel shows the breakdown of the discourse of caste and bourgeois morality. And who best to represent their failure that than the joining of two women as surrogate and biological mothers respectively who have been betrayed by the same man? Here Fortunata and Jacinta, one fertile prostitute and mistress and the other sterile angel of the home both operate as sources of extreme national anxiety, and even more so when they join together in solidarity –as biological and surrogate mother— against the man that betrayed them. But while Fortunata gives Jacinta the gift of a child who purportedly bears the legitimate blood of the honorable caste, her sacrifice is also the moment of her expiration. The future of the modern nation, then, ultimately lies with a hybrid heir. He represents the breakdown of the exclusive caste through violent intermixing of class and caste without however, contradicting altogether the ideology of purity. It is the (female) *pueblo*, of course, that becomes the exploitable fertile grounds for engendering the future, hybrid patriarch.

Conclusion

Purity and Realism

In late nineteenth-century Spain, the upper stratum of society was steeped in profound and widespread disquietude. This sense of insecurity arose from its rapidly shifting social and economic terrain – precipitated by processes of modernization and political instability. One of the consequences of these rapid changes was an increased sense of uncertainty in the capacity to guarantee legitimacy, authenticity, and originality – in a word, purity. Social hierarchies and alliances of blood were deeply disturbed by the emergence and consolidation of a bourgeoisie that was intimately linked, as we have seen, to both the upper and lower classes. In the preceding chapters of the dissertation, I have argued that in Restoration Spain, it is not so much that "blood" was wholly supplanted by "sex," as Foucault claimed, but that *the right* blood functioned as a form of social currency, which informed the processes of subjectification well into the nineteenth century. This insistence on having the right bloodlines persisted, even as the discourse of sexuality gained prominence and legitimacy. *Doña Luz* and *La Regenta* are prime examples in which medical notions of female chastity, markedly modern exemplifications of purity, were imbued with moral and religious language and resonated with inquisitional notions of *limpieza*. The evocation of *limpieza de sangre* and the importance placed on honorable origins highlight the longevity and persistence of these powerful ideals and underscore the reality that modernity is not simply a new age that arrives and erases its antecedents. Throughout the dissertation, I have tried to show the complex ways in which the realist novel in particular – "the preeminent form of modernity" (Brooks, *Realist Vision* 7) – reveals the failures, contradictions, and indeed the fictions that undergird the ideology of the pure in and around which the discourse of *casta* swirls.

As I have discussed in the dissertation, the implications of having or lacking pure origins were different for the elite caste than for members of the working class. This does not imply, however, that the working classes were exempt from the disciplinary function of the discourse of *casta* in the nineteenth century. On the contrary, ontologically speaking the working classes formed the necessary and proximate outside vis-à-vis the elite, however much they may have been intimately tied to upper-class families via blood and sex in practice, as we saw, for example, in *Fortunata y Jacinta*. The *pueblo* was frequently treated as a parallel to the colonized subjects of the Americas, conflating "the primitives" of the colonies with the primitives at home. This linkage is proof that projects of imperialism could not be easily disentangled from national identity; thus, iterations of *casta* were informed by imperialist and nationalist perspectives alike. Working-class and colonial subjects were both conceived of as the uncivilized, without (notable) origins, and unable to aspire to achieve purity of blood. Select working-class women, however, were seen as exceptional and hailed as a nationally inflected embodiment of the pure. Being *castiza*, they were the emblems of the nation. Here, the difference between "native" or national primitives as compared to those abroad becomes clear: the plebeian woman of Spain is *valued* as the vessel of national tradition precisely because of her primitive and native quality, at the same time that the possibility of full citizenship is foreclosed to her. In part, it is her precarious and liminal position within the nation that makes *la mujer del pueblo* the topic of national uncertainty, as in the case of Amparo in *La Tribuna*.

Much remains to be said about the particularities of the realist novel and its (largely male) authors' obsession with troubled women. While not the central focus of the dissertation, it is still important to recognize "the realist novel's urgent need to construct its gallery of female protagonists" (Labayni 416). While it seems obvious that women function as the empty signifier through which all of the anxieties of the nation are expressed, this claim needs to be examined in specific contexts. Over the course of the dissertation, I have attempted to explain why the discourse of *casta* in Spanish fiction focuses so emphatically on women. With purity as an elusive ideal, the imposition of control on women's bodies and their circulation was treated as the only way to attempt to regulate and ensure purity -- materially speaking --, and to maintain the illusion of the purity of the caste since paternity can never be confirmed. If it is true that the "aim of consumerist standardization and social regulation [in the nineteenth century] was to encourage individuals to identify with abstract models of identity, allowing the construction of a homogenous 'society'" (Labayni 387), then the novel narrates the fragmented nature of this process at same time that it invites readers to identify with its protagonists – which are paradoxically less abstract models of identity. This falls in line with Stephen Gilman's reading of *Fortunata y Jacinta* in which he claims that the reader slowly becomes enveloped in Fortunata's consciousness as it becomes more and more expansive over the course of the novel. Gilman's provocative argument points to a conflation or an oscillation in the novel between character's subjectivity and the reader's identification and desire.

It is no coincidence that all of the protagonists examined here, this select "gallery of women," are framed in terms of male heterosexual fantasy. My intention here is not to explain why the narrative obsession with women was so widespread. Instead, I am interested in briefly probing what this obsession does, perhaps, as a subject for a future study. The narrator, describing these women in terms of male heterosexual desire, indeed making them "visible," sparks the scopophilic desire of the reader. But at times, it is not clear whether we are to desire these characters or desire to be them. This depends largely on the reader, but also on the narrator, who plays a significant role in this erotic triangulation between narrator, reader, and character; all the while the author remains a ghostly presence. In this way, the reading of realist fiction is itself always a potentially impure act: the reader accepts the terms of the narrative journey, which may lead him/her toward an unexpected object of identification or desire. It is therefore not just that the realist novel produces a reality that temporarily supplants our own. Instead, the novel produces a reality that is like, but not quite identical to, that of the reader. In that interstitial space of difference, the reader can slip into imaginative moments in which s/he can see a world that is familiar but somehow new – a world in which women dressed as men appear natural, prostitutes are honorable, romantic love for a priest is legitimate, and female sexual desire is a life-affirming force. The novel, therefore, has the capacity to change the course of the reader's reality by impressing a fiction upon the reading subject and leaving its mark. While Amparo, to cite a concrete figure, serves as an example for how male heterosexual desire reproduces female gender ideals, her performance in drag unexpectedly undermines the heterosexual course of the novel, "transforming" the male mind, to say nothing of the reader. The novel, in this way, contains the dangerous capacity to not only critique the norms of society, particularly those of gender and sexuality, -- a topic of much political and scientific debate in the nineteenth century-, but to perhaps alter them, in ways both intentional and unintentional.

The thick and complex manifestations of subjectivity, those iterations that are drenched in feeling and roused by desire, are the stuff of realism. The episodes studied here are a few

examples of the ways in which realism undergirds the performative aspect of subjectivity in a time when the social terrain was especially unsteady. The novel narrates the gap between the perfect, static image of the national icon or the scientific type on the one hand and the performative reality of the subject-in-process on the other. This is not to say that the novel carves out a sacred, untouchable space of complete resistance, but it remains clear, as many scholars have observed, that its self-reflexive capacity – the ability to acknowledge its own limitations and instability – and its lack of singular narration leaves it open the possibility of interpretation, unexpected identification, resistance and critique.

Mostly notably, for the purposes of this study, the novel reveals the obvious paradox of the ideology of blood purity; that is, the emphasis and trust placed on blood itself as an abstract ideal, the metaphorical substance of the pure. As such, blood figures as a phantom sign that is mistaken for a hidden and precious object that itself appears to have no origins at all; it simply is. This tension between appearance and essence figures as a motif of the realist novel and also produces a crisis in value. Despite the realist novel's perceptive critique of impossible ideals, there still seems to remain a persistent and frustrated desire for some essential truth, some reassurance that not everything is constituted by pure surface and representation. To repeat the words of Maximiliano Rubín who figures outside of the pure caste: "¿Qué más da que estén las botas con o sin betún? La que debe tener lustre es el alma, no el calzado" (What does it matter of my boots are polished or unpolished? What should shine is my soul, not my shoe) (*FJ* IV: 313). Thus, while realism perceptively displays the dangers of a world constituted through essential truth and value, it also registers the opposite – that a reality increasingly constituted by untrustworthy appearances creates a feeling of disillusionment, a vacancy that cries out to be filled with luster.

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