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"LA GLORIA DE DON RAMIRO" WITHIN THE EUROPEAN AND SPANISH-
AMERICAN LITERARY TRADITION

City University of New York

PH.D. 1984

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**"La gloria de don Ramiro Within the
European and Spanish-American Literary Tradition"**

by

Gabriella Ibieta

**A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty
in Comparative Literature in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy, The City University of New York.**

1984

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Comparative Literature in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy.

July 11, 1984
date

Gregory Rabassa
Gregory Rabassa
Chair of Examining Committee

July 18, 1984
date

Burton Pike
Burton Pike
Executive Officer

Ildefonso Gil

Burton Pike
Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

Preface

My interest in Enrique Larreta's La gloria de don Ramiro was sparked, above all, by the many pleasures it offered me as a reader. This interest was intensified when, as a student of Comparative Literature, I found through my research that, although the novel had generated a vast body of important criticism since its publication in 1908, only two short articles had been written in English. Moreover, the comparative approach, ideal for a Spanish-American text that reflected, both conceptually and stylistically, an assimilation of several principles of nineteenth-century European literature, had not been applied. My main concern in this study has been to bring out those elements of La gloria de don Ramiro that place it within the tradition of European and Spanish-American literature. I should also like to emphasize here that I have limited the comparative realm to include only those works that I can read in the original language.

I would like to extend my warmest thanks to my Dissertation Committee, Professors Ildefonso Manuel Gil, Burton Pike, and Gregory Rabassa, for their careful reading of this manuscript, their sug-

gestions for its improvement, their encouragement and support. The City University of New York's Graduate Program in Comparative Literature, under the direction of Professor Burton Pike, and the CUNY Center for European Studies have provided aid in the form of grants through a lengthy period of research and writing. Mrs. Grace Cacioppo, Administrative Assistant to the Comparative Literature Department until February 1984 deserves my special thanks for her kind help in both academic and personal matters during my years of graduate work. Professors Hannah Charney and Fred Nichols, of the Comparative Literature Department, have also been very supportive during this period. The Casa Hispánica of Columbia University allowed me to conduct invaluable research during 1980-1981; there I found an extensive collection of articles on Enrique Larreta in the archives organized by Professor Federico de Onís.

I have also been very fortunate to have had the love, support and encouragement of family and friends. I am grateful to my parents, Gabriela de la Campa and José Ibietatorremendía, for having believed in me. My cousin, Lourdes Gil-Rodríguez, and her husband, Ariel Rodríguez, have offered affection, companionship and an unflinching sense of humor. My appreciation to Frank and Janice Warnke, who have always shown an interest in my work. To my dear friends, Barbara Elkan and Gyorgyi Voros, who heard so much, and so patiently, about the writing process of this dissertation, my warmest thanks. I would like to thank Professor Alberto Blasi for many long conversations

about Enrique Larreta and Argentine literature.

My special thanks go to someone who showed me how to be strong and to persevere, my grandmother, Isidra Navarro. It is to her memory that this dissertation is dedicated.

**Dedicated to the memory of
my grandmother, Isidra Navarro.**

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Introduction

Starting with the assumption that all literature, being an expression of the assimilation of other works of literature, reflects not only an external reality, but a fictional reality as well, the principal aim of this dissertation will be to place Enrique Larreta's novel, La gloria de don Ramiro. Una vida en tiempos de Felipe II (1908) within the European and Spanish-American literary tradition, representative of various intellectual and literary currents that had been influential during the nineteenth century.

Born in Argentina to a Uruguayan family of Spanish-Basque ancestry, Enrique Larreta (1873-1961), like many of his Spanish-American contemporaries, turned to France for manners, artistic inspiration, literary sources, philosophical thought. This attitude is not difficult to understand; a review of nineteenth-century Spanish-American literature immediately reveals its major problem: anxious to establish the literature of a politically, socially, and culturally emerging continent (with striking differences from one country to the next), and unwilling to follow the tradition

of Peninsular Spanish literature for reasons of independence and a newly-born national pride, most writers adapted the French models to the Spanish-American reality. Thus, the themes and styles of Chateaubriand, Balzac, and Zola, among others, are often found in the same work: the romantic element was necessary, since a large part of the reading public was female; realistic elements mirrored a body of people in desperate need to "see" themselves in their literature; naturalistic touches, here and there, exposed the cruder side of the new society, often emphasizing the need for progress and reform; inconsistencies of style, often marked by gallicisms and syntactical oddities, produced a rather peculiar sort of literature that reflected the search for appropriate modes of expression.

One detail that distinguished Larreta in a radical way from many of his contemporaries was his choice of Spain, rather than Argentina or some other Spanish-American country, for the setting of his historical novel (even though modernismo encompassed the concept of a boundary-less spirit of hispanidad, this concept was one of modality rather than thematics). Larreta's aestheticism was, if not a reaction against a newly-formed and rather eclectic literary tradition, then a manifestation of the inner need to create a rich fictional world, having perhaps as its main purpose the intention to delight. When discussing La gloria two main aspects immediately come to mind: one, its characteristics as historical fiction, two, its modernista style. Perhaps the first great novel

to come out of Spanish-America at an international level, La gloria reflects not only some of the thematic and stylistic preoccupations of Spanish-American modernismo (itself a problematic, hybrid literary current), but also the new look on historiography that had come into play in France during the nineteenth century, as developed specifically by Michelet and Renan (it has been observed by André Jansen that Larreta's philosophic attitude had been formed, mostly, by French thought).¹ With Michelet, history had obtained a role it had not had before: his concept of French history embraced the idea of continuity, of relatedness from the beginning of the French nation to his own time. His resurrection of the past included a knowledge and interpretation of such varied subjects as "geology, geography, ethnology, linguistics, coins and monument inscriptions, architecture, chronicles and memoirs, political and economic documents, literature, theology, and scientific theory,"² It seems to me that Larreta's recreation of the past is, to some extent, based on this new conception of historical study. Whereas the historical novel in Spanish America had served mostly for didactic purposes, Larreta's reconstruction of Golden Age Spain follows Michelet's method, not only to document, but "to evoke." An interest in hagiography is also peculiar to these innovative practitioners of history (a good example is Michelet's recreation of the life of Joan of Arc, for which he used such valid documentary material as the evidence of her trial, published in 1840,³ and which reflected the complex historical period in which she lived).

Michelet's view of history had included the "intimate perception" of man's past, but by the middle of the nineteenth century, many intellectuals had experienced a growing discontent with the results of exploitative industrialism, which often reflected itself in the production of popular literature for a growing reading public who indiscriminately read what it was offered, literature as a commercial product. As a reaction to this attitude, the doctrine of "art for art's sake," proclaimed by Gautier, Baudelaire, Flaubert, took root during the latter part of the century, and influenced not only literature but also the writing of history:

Aesthetic detachment, like scientific objectivity, gave scope to intellectual curiosity, to the sheer desire to know, whatever the consequences, which is perhaps the noblest, as well as the rarest, of human traits. There was no discarding of sympathy, but it was tempered by an alert critical intellect that had regard for the immense body of fact amassed by a century of zealous historical investigation. Scientific and philosophical ideas, literary and artistic masterpieces, intrinsic values independent of man's social destiny, assumed an importance in historical writing neglected since Voltaire, and were treated, as a result of the Romantic revolution in taste, with a flexibility and delicacy beyond his reach. ⁴

Renan is one of the best representatives of this trend in historical writing. For him, the historical revival, motivated by linguistic and literary study as represented by Vico, Herder and Michelet, among others, exemplified an almost organic relation between history and literature: "To construct the history of the human mind, one must be soaked in literature." ⁵ In his massive

Origines du Christianisme, the first volume of which, Vie de Jesus (1863) is the most representative, he applied the romantic theory of genius to Jesus' conception of his mission. In order to recreate the environment of this epoch in the history of humankind, Renan drew from his vast knowledge of Semitic languages, customs and thought, his impression of Galilee and Judea, and also developed a set of parallels between this epoch and the revolutionary period in France, when the social gospel of Jesus was revived for political purposes.⁶

Larreta's preparation for the writing of La gloria followed in spirit and methodology the steps of Michelet and Renan. From the autumn of 1902 until the winter of 1903, he traveled through Spain, not only conducting research at the public and private libraries, but also soaking in the spirit, the atmosphere of the country and its people. It was in Ávila, specifically, that he started the project that would later become La gloria: "Explora la Biblioteca Municipal, compulsas las crónicas del tiempo, examina las actas notariales, consulta los archivos de las grandes familias de Ávila, que le abren sus puertas gracias a su creciente reputación de historiador y a sus numerosas cartas de recomendación."⁷

If the impression of Ávila and its history is vivid, lucid and true in Larreta's novel it is because his conception of history as a living entity enriched his vision.

In the 1890's, Buenos Aires had changed from what novelist Lucio López had ironically called a gran aldea into a cosmopolitan city, suffering from abrupt oscillations in the economic, political

and social spheres. Within this environment, the complex, hybrid, and intrinsically Spanish-American literary current, modernismo, flourished, partly as a reaction against the growing materialism of the age,⁸ but also abetted by Rubén Darío's prolonged stay in Argentina during that decade. Several literary magazines, intent on promoting the new literature, were launched during those years. The first one, founded by Darío in 1894, Revista de América, and a later one called La Montaña, edited by José Ingenieros, were short-lived although important as rejuvenating forces. In 1898 Eugenio Díaz Romero started El Mercurio de América (modelled on the Mercure de France), which, between 1898 and 1900 published in Spanish translation the work of D'Annunzio, Oscar Wilde, Villiers de L'Isle Adam, and Remy de Gourmont, among others. But it was in La Biblioteca (1898-98), founded by Paul Groussac, the Director of Buenos Aires' National Library, that the work of the modernistas was most strongly propagated. Darío and Leopoldo Lugones published there, and also Enrique Larreta.⁹ Then twenty-three, he submitted to Groussac's severe scrutiny a short novel, which appeared in La Biblioteca in 1896, Artemis. Groussac's biographical note on Larreta is interesting as a kind of prophecy: "Desde niño ha leído y escrito de cosas literarias, ha hecho versos y pronunciado discursos: todo ello con gracia elegante, fácil asimilación y un discernimiento precoz . . . de la belleza. Si no tiene pasado, el vasto porvenir es suyo.¹⁰ Será escritor. . . ." In 1957 Larreta would recognize as his mentor the demanding, detail-conscious critic, scholar, editor,

Paul Groussac, "el investigador que exigió de los argentinos el rigor en la tarea documental y la precisión del análisis histórico."¹¹

In La gloria, Larreta combines his passion for history, in the tradition of Michelet and Renan, with the modernista artist's cult of beauty. The novel's hybrid quality has always been a subject for discussion among Larreta critics, although not always have these questions been framed within proper perspective. The first chapter of this dissertation introduces the reader to several stages of the criticism elicited by La gloria, from the early reviews to the most recent studies. Chapter 2 analyzes the relations with the historical novel, establishing comparisons and contrasts between La gloria and some of the major exponents of that genre. Modernista aspects are discussed in Chapter 3, in terms of thematic elements. The last chapter concentrates on the novel's hagiographical elements, an important aspect which had not been elucidated by Larreta criticism before.

Notes

1. André Jansen, Enrique Larreta; novelista hispano-argentino (1873-1971), trad. Fernando Murillo Rubiera (Madrid: Cultura Hispánica, 1967), p. 21.
2. Emery Neff, The Poetry of History (New York: Columbia Univ., 1947), p. 137.
3. Neff, p. 142.
4. Neff, p. 153.
5. Neff, p. 157.
6. Neff, p. 165.
7. Jansen, p. 57.
8. "De toda la complejidad espiritual que implica lo que se entiende ahora por modernismo, movimiento de profundo contenido ideológico, habrá siempre en Darío y en otros poetas modernistas un anhelo de superar las circunstancias exteriores, creando y afirmando un mundo de eterna belleza artística incontaminada por el materialismo burgués." Allen W. Phillips, Temas del modernismo hispánico y otros estudios (Madrid: Gredos, 1974), p. 66.
9. Jansen, pp. 36-9.
10. Arturo Berenguer Carisomo, Los valores eternos en la obra de Enrique Larreta (Buenos Aires: Sopena, 1946), p. 23.
11. Juan Carlos Ghiano, Análisis de La gloria de don Ramiro (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina, 1968), p. 19.

Chapter 1

La gloria de don Ramiro and the critics (1908-1984)

A review of the critical literature is not only a necessary task in a work of this scope, but also an important tool in assessing what has been the place of La gloria within the literary establishment over a period of almost eighty years. A quick survey of the better known literary histories of Spanish-American literature shows that Larreta's novel has a firm reputation not only as one of the most successful modernista novels, but also as an important exponent of fictional prose in more general terms. Although literary historians have not always agreed on details about form and content and have often overlooked the connections between one and the other, their views offer some helpful insights to the general reader. Many of the reviews elicited by La gloria upon its publication, and collected in the commemorative volume La gloria de don Ramiro en veinticinco años de crítica (most of them are dated 1909-1912), offer merely anecdotal material, telling more about the reviewer (often a well-known writer) and the literary atmosphere at the beginning of the twentieth century than about the novel itself. For this reason, only a select number of them has been chosen, representing views across national boundaries and offering a wide range of opinions.

Of particular interest are the reviews published in London and in the United States, since they not only introduce the novel, in translation, to the English-reading public, but also discuss some factors relevant to the literary interests on that public during the 1920's.

During the 1940's, two key studies of La gloria, one by Amado Alonso and the other by his disciple, Raimundo Lida, were published. Applying the concepts of stylistics, both critics concentrate on strictly literary aspects, offering rich insights into the relations between form and content, and centering on problems of narrative structure. Alonso's book, wider in scope, is of a comparative nature. While many critical pieces on Larreta's novel published in Argentina during this period, and even some written much later, can be considered today somewhat outdated (they are often vaguely political, nationalistic, personal, or all three), Alonso's and Lida's studies remain challenging and illuminating. A later work, André Jansen's study of Larreta's novels, complemented by interesting biographical material as well as a general survey of Argentine literature at the end of the nineteenth century, offers a respectable amount of research and is extremely helpful toward a contextual understanding of La gloria. From a different, more personal perspective, Juan Carlos Ghiano's essay on La gloria offers lucid, elegant, critical interpretation and is one of the few objective critical pieces on Larreta written by an Argentine.

Although not exactly a reception study, this critical survey

is aimed at acquainting the reader with the changing attitudes of critics and scholars toward an important, and controversial, literary text. Also, since much of the critical literature is tangential to the purposes of this study, and will therefore not be within the analytical chapters, a summary of it is useful.

A. The first twenty-five years (1908-1933). As was often the case with new literary works at a time when literary history and criticism were more concerned with the scholarly study of "established" works than with those by emerging authors, La gloria did not receive serious academic analysis until almost thirty years after its publication. This section on critical reception will deal almost exclusively with the numerous book reviews that the novel elicited, in an attempt to delineate the criteria that were deemed important at that time. Reviews have been grouped in terms of linguistic domain and chronological order.

La gloria was first published in Madrid in 1908, had two Spanish editions in France (Garnier, 1908 and 1911), and did not appear in Argentina until 1911 (*La Nación*). Remy de Gourmont translated it into French in 1910 (*Mercure de France*); the English translation by L.B. Walton was published by Dutton in 1924; there were two Italian translations in 1932, one by Camillo Berra and another one by Gherardo Marone. Larreta's novel was also translated into Dutch (1911), German (1929-1933), Portuguese (1914), Russian (1922), Serbo-Croatian (1932), and Turkish (1954).¹ Most of the

reviews that La gloria received during this period were included in La gloria de don Ramiro en veinticinco años de crítica, from which the most representative have been selected for discussion in this section.² It was impossible to obtain reviews published outside the United States (with the exception of England), and not collected in book form. Thus, the limitations imposed by this factor should be taken into account; still, the selected reviews offer an ample cross-section of the general reaction that the novel elicited in critical circles. Gregory Rabassa has suggested that at the time³ of its publication the novel was acclaimed for the wrong reasons, an observation that seems to be supported by most of the following critical judgments.

1. Spain and Spanish America. Larreta's close ties with Spain marked him off as decidedly different from most of his Spanish-American contemporaries and was the one issue that repeatedly came up as something to be either praised or condemned. Aware of the editorial risks of publishing a controversial novel in the literary climate of turn-of-the-century Buenos Aires, he first had it appear in Madrid in 1908, where it was very well-received, not only for its literary merit but also for its political significance. Merely ten years after the Spanish-American War, which left Spain without one single colony at a time when England, France, Germany, and even Italy had widespread possessions, Spain needed friends and recognition, especially if it came from a citizen of a former colony. The fact that there was an implicitly critical attitude in Larreta's portrayal of Philip II's Spain was not a crucial factor: this was

either overlooked, misinterpreted or dismissed as a minor flaw in an otherwise "pro Spain" novel. Although it has been impossible to obtain completely negative reviews of La gloria (with the exception of Martín Aldao's pamphlet, to be discussed later), the reaction was mixed in Spanish-American circles: "El nacionalismo militante de estas repúblicas jóvenes le reprochaba el haber escrito una novela 'española' en vez de una novela criolla."⁴ What was praised, for the most part, was the style, the modernista techniques which, ironically, were directly derived from European models.

One of the earliest reviews that appeared in Madrid was signed by Jacinto Benavente, who calls Larreta "un historiador poeta," "un excelente escritor" who does not exclude the picturesque in his descriptions and who shows "palpitaciones de admiración o de amor a nuestra España...a pesar de todo."⁵ Slightly uncomfortable with yet another treatment of Spain's "Black Legend," the critic nevertheless praises Larreta's exquisite use of language. While Eduardo Gómez Baquero affirms that "el tipo de Don Ramiro difiere profundamente del legendario tipo caballeresco español," and criticizes Ramiro's excessive cruelty (Crítica, pp. 21-2), Ramón Pérez de Ayala sees him as the "centro simbólico de todo el ciclo de los Austrias hispanos" (Crítica, p. 40). Both critics repudiate the notion that the character incarnates the psychological traits typical of modern man. Objections of a moralistic nature were raised by Francisco Fernández Villegas: "Suele el Sr. Larreta caer . . . en ciertas crueldades que, aunque castizas . . . , pugnan con los miramientos, más bien de forma que de fondo, de la literatura moderna. Nada hubiera

perdido la novela con la supresión de tales desnudeces" (Crítica, p. 18). His opinion regarding form rather than content is analogous to Emilia Pardo Bazán's argument that the novel excels in terms of stylistic detail rather than structure and composition: "hay más sugestión de caracteres que psicología; hay más incidentes que fábula" (Crítica, p. 31). An established writer, the Condesa de Pardo Bazán seems to be reiterating her own formulas rather than examining some of the aspects of new literary models. A writer usually associated with the Generation of 1898, Miguel de Unamuno, an individualist par excellence, was one of the few who judged Larreta's novel as a work transcending temporal qualities, sharing the characteristics of Weltliteratur, what he called "the eternal" in literature: ". . . Logra en realidad un lenguaje y estilo que siendo del siglo XX es también del siglo XVI, un lenguaje y estilo que ni son arcaicos o arqueológicos, no son modernistas o si se quiere modernos. . . . Hay algo que se puede llamar el estilo eterno y que de ordinario no está al alcance de los llamados estilistas. . . ." (Crítica, p. 67).

The antagonism that Unamuno felt toward modernismo in general and for Darío's brand of it in particular (according to the now ⁶ obsolete dichotomy between modernismo and the Generation of 1898), is obliquely manifested in his appreciation of Larreta's novel. Contrasting this attitude is Darío's opinion of it; he described it as a masterpiece which, written by a Spaniard, would have been more or less expected, but "Escrita por un americano, y por un rioplatense, empapado de actualismo, inevitablemente preocupado por el

fenómeno étnico, político, financiero, inmigratorio, ferroviario, electoral, armado de un idioma en pleno hervor evolutivo, cuyo mestizaje está recién en las primeras cruces . . ., resulta un esfuerzo de inaudita y feliz gallardía" (Crítica, p. 104). Darío's assessment, bathed in modernista rhetoric, is valuable for today's reader, aware of historical perspective and of Larreta's duality of purpose in writing a historical novel dealing with a mestizo. In a turn-of-phrase also typical of modernista dicta, Darío praises the "elasticity" of Larreta's language, which joins "las necesidades y las audacias de nuestra naciente literatura" with the "noble idioma hereditario" (Crítica, p. 104). Although Darío's perception is one of the most acute in terms of the thematic and stylistic syncretism of La gloria, such critics as Roberto Giusti and Alberto Gerchunoff (both Argentine), also link him, indirectly, to the "art for art's sake" current. Stressing the treatment of color and form, scents and sounds, Giusti calls Larreta an objective artist, "novelista 'impersonal' en cuanto contempla las cosas de este mundo sin animosidad en pro o en contra, con mirada serena, imparcial, completamente olvidado de toda otra intención que no sea la de hacer obra de arte." He then calls La gloria "la mejor novela que hasta la fecha haya escrito un argentino" (Crítica, pp. 47-8), implying that the novel, because of its theme and manipulation of language, is not really "Argentine." Gerchunoff calls La gloria a masterpiece and appreciates its well-concealed erudition, defining it as "pura síntesis, historia viva del tiempo a que se refiere" (Crítica, p. 53).

Both José Luis Murature and Juan P. Ramos stress the importance of style over content, an opinion perhaps related to the fact that the novel did not explore the Spanish-American reality. A most outspoken critic in this respect is Roberto Huneus, who argues that: "Para nosotros, los sudamericanos, el defecto de la novela del señor Larreta es el de ser una novela española, cuando debió ser patrióticamente americana. . . . Y ha concebido algo menos propio de una sudamericano que de un europeo o de cualquier individuo de otra nacionalidad extraña al continente de Colón" (Crítica, p. 173).

In 1913 a violent attack against Larreta was launched by Martín Aldao, a second-rate Argentine author who published in Paris, under the pseudonym "Luis Vila y Chaves", a pamphlet called El caso de La gloria de don Ramiro. Distributed among Spanish-speaking intellectuals in Paris, it stirred a controversy not only in terms of the work it attacked, but also in terms of the critic's intent, an obvious case of literary rivalry. The pamphlet mercilessly mocked the novel's theme, plot, characters and style in a manner full of personal digressions and ignorant of a critical vocabulary. Larreta accused Aldao of libel and presented his complaint to the prefect of police in Paris.⁷ In 1943 Aldao again published his "case," augmented and corrected; it is regarded by Larreta scholars as a curiosity, a malevolent example of literary rivalry, not of literary criticism.⁸

The provincialism that permeated many of the critical opinions cited was typical of the participants of a linguistic domain which had so far been neglected as a serious "producer" of literature

at the level of Weltliteratur and which, as manifested in either Spain or Spanish America, at that time, tended to look inward, to remain isolated. In fact, one of the most criticized aspects of modernismo was its continental flavor. In reference to La gloria, Spaniards tended to praise its Spanish plot, whether or not they agreed on its verisimilitude, and often deplored its "naturalistic" or "crude" descriptions. The Spanish-Americans, on the contrary, praised the novel despite its Spanish plot and emphasized the revolutionary techniques of Larreta's modernista prose. Critics as ideologically opposed as Unamuno and Darío, however, were the most successful in delineating a fundamental aspect in Larreta's novel: its capacity to transcend an immediate literary climate and to touch upon the universals.

2. France. In the concluding pages of her study on the reception of Spanish-American literature in France, Sylvia Molloy centers on a fundamental aspect for the understanding of such a reception: "Et ne pourrait-on . . . objecter que les écrivains qui furent bien reçus en France . . . le furent parfois pour des raisons discutables et souvent comme en dehors de la littérature hispano-américaine? Gómez Carrillo et Larreta parcequ'ils étaient 'espagnols', Borges en tant qu'Hispano-Anglo-Portugais' ou bien comme apatride?"⁹ With Larreta, this was most certainly the case. In a rather superficial review Gaston Rageot calls La gloria "un roman espagnol," but above all else, "un très beau livre de Remy de Gourmont" (Crítica, p. 120). Although the French translation was considered

to be quite good and was extremely influential in "placing" Larreta
 within the European literary milieu. ¹⁰ Gourmont's work was not
 exactly that of a translator, but that of a detail-conscious editor
 who was also an important writer. According to André Jansen, who
 in turn quotes Francis de Miomandre and Mathilde Pomès, Gourmont
 hired a man called Laborde to do the actual translation, later
 re-writing the text himself; the final proofs were revised and
 corrected by Larreta and by Jerome and Jean Tharaud. ¹¹ Molloy
 points out that even though Gourmont refers to La gloria as "un
 livre espagnol" in his Promenades littéraires, his merit resides in
 bringing attention and a succes d'estime to an emerging literature. ¹²
 Gourmont's opinions were respected and extremely influential in
 Parisian circles and his appreciation of La gloria was reflected not
 only by his "translation" but also by his assessment of Larreta:
 "Il a la sérénité de Flaubert et son détachement" (Crítica, p. 117).

Other French critics praised both the novel's content and its
 form. Henry Roujon stressed the suffocating atmosphere of Philip
 II's Spain through the author's choice of suggestive materials:
 "Cette oppression, le lecteur . . . la ressent à son tour, et c'est
 une malaise dont l'art nous fait une manière de cruel plaisir"
 (Crítica, p. 127). Larreta's seemingly effortless treatment of a
 vast amount of historical materials is commended by Jules Bertaut:
 "Il a ouvert le passage au grand art libre et sain qui surgit directe-
 ment de la vie, et qui s'impose sans souci d'accessoires ni de
 fictions littéraires" (Crítica, p. 132). Completely missing in his

judgment is the perception of the novel as a direct heir of the French literary tradition. The impressionistic techniques of suggestion and evocation, so important to the theme of ambiguity which in a way defines the novel, and dear to the French sensibility of the time, are noted by Lucien Maury: "c'est . . . par ce jeu savant d'omissions calculées et d'habiles imprécisions, qu'il nous communique l'hallucinante impression d'avoir vécu parmi ces morts" (Crítica, p. 136). A scholarly critic, writing for the well-known Revue Hispanique of Bordeaux, Peseux-Richard bluntly states an unwelcome truth for patriotic Spanish-Americans: "Pour la première fois un hispano-américain, un Argentin, s'est imposé, par un oeuvre littéraire, à l'attention du monde civilisé." From this lofty position, Peseux-Richard nonetheless proceeds to discuss the novel in strictly fair terms, as if it indeed were a literary work belonging to a tradition more civilized than that of nineteenth-century Spanish America. Even though he deploras plot deficiencies, he praises the artistic values of the composition. The novel is characterized by "un art dans la composition, une fierté d'allure, une tenue de style qui font de La gloria de don Ramiro un des meilleurs, sinon le meilleur des romans historiques écrits en castillan" (Crítica, p. 140). Peseux-Richard's judgment is particularly valuable because, being a Hispanist, he read the novel in the original and was thus able fully to appreciate stylistic details.

In general, French reception to La gloria was enthusiastic. It was also patronizing and somewhat determined by the translator's

well-deserved reputation as an important writer and a good stylist. However, this situation was not completely unsatisfactory to Larreta, who was at that time the Argentine Ambassador to France and who thoroughly enjoyed a long-covered literary "glory." He was invited to the salons and met frequently with such members of the Parisian intellectual elite as the Comtesse de Noailles, Clemenceau, Rostand and D'Annunzio. ¹³ Not at all preoccupied with the Spanish-American disapproval of his European spirit, Larreta was rather pleased with the afrancesamiento of La gloria de don Ramiro.

3. England and the United States. Generally speaking, La gloria received a positive reception in the English-speaking world, and it was reviewed by some of the major literary journals and newspapers in London and New York. ¹⁴ Many of the reviewers called it "an historical romance", indeed a misnomer for a novel which applied so many of the innovative techniques that had been in vogue in France and Spanish America during the latter part of the nineteenth century. This impression, though, can be attributed to some extent to the chronological gap between the original publication date (1908) and that of the translation (1924). A more direct cause, however, may be traced to L.B. Walton's translation, ¹⁵ which, although competent, suffers from a stilted, old-fashioned style that does not capture the novel's modernista concept. Confronted with the problem of re-creating in English the self-conscious archaisms of the original, which were nonetheless anchored within innovative syntactical

constructions, the translator was able to resolve only the first part of this problem, thus achieving verisimilitude in terms of the novel's atmosphere, but drastically changing its tone. ¹⁶ An unsigned review that appeared in The Nation and The Athenaeum (London) seems to have centered on this particularly unfortunate aspect of Walton's translation, and the reviewer seems unduly harsh in asserting that the novel had no "literary quality" in English. His interpretations are tainted by the impossibility to see the interrelationships of the setting and plot (deliberately ironic) and also the particularly meaningful confrontation between the two cultures, Christian and Islamic. ¹⁷ Contrasting this attitude is the enthusiastic evaluation of another anonymous reviewer, who praised the novel in the Times Literary Supplement (London): "We have here that rare combination--the learned student of history and the creative writer of brilliant imagination. The work of Mr. L.B. Walton, the translator, is worthy of a remarkable book. The prose is of exceptional merit, coloured, fluent and arresting." ¹⁸ It was perhaps the "coloured" element in Walton's translation that stood out the most, a feature which could produce both good and bad reviews.

The New York critics were, on the whole, more perceptive. In the well-known and influential The World, Bruce Gould discerned the possibility of both romantic and skeptical readings of La gloria, and also praised the successful evocation of a historical period: "The treatment is classical; his style at times brilliant. The scholar and the artist are both in evidence on congenial terms. The result is an historical picture, vividly conceived and

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startingly real." An unsigned review in the New York Times Book Review also emphasizes the verisimilitude of the historical setting: "Most subtly the author has introduced a clear idea of the political and economic aspects of late sixteenth-century Spain and this does much to heighten the reality of the subject." More importantly, some of the distinct characteristics of La gloria are mentioned; the visual element is brought in as one of the novel's salient features: "an unforgettable picture is drawn in so startling and decisive a manner that the novel makes an instant and emphatic impression upon

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the mind. . . ." Even though the idea is not developed, the key word, "impression", is important, since it points to one of Larreta's main objectives in the writing of La gloria. In an unsigned review aptly titled "A Reversed Romance," (The New York Herald Tribune Books) the critic sees Ramiro as a personification of Spain, "doomed by his own fantasies of grandeur, perishing in the net of his impossible dreams." An interesting connection to Romanticism is made by labeling Ramiro "Byronic" because of his "being born to misfortune," an observation that seems particularly relevant. Citing the ambiguities of the epilogue ("restrained satire or simple faith on the part of the writer"), the critic concludes by calling the novel the "reverse of a conventional romance." The implication re-

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mains, however, that it is still a romance. One other favorable comment regarding the translation is offered by Winifred Katzin of the Literary Review of The New York Evening Post, who makes an acute comparison between Larreta and Thomas Hardy in terms of the treat-

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ment of fate as a key element in their fictional worlds. A backhanded compliment is given by Allen W. Porterfield in The Bookman, who asserts that La gloria "is quite superior at least to the minor historical English novels of the nineteenth century." Completely missing not only some basic knowledge of Spanish-American literature, but also the critical apparatus necessary to justify his remarks, this critic concludes his review with the following statement: ". . . Enrique Larreta . . . is giving Spain what she has sorely needed, historical fiction." ²³ In light of Galdó's accomplishments in that field, for example, this statement is particularly nonsensical.

The overall tone of these reviews is favorable, if on the whole somewhat naive. One of the perceptible critical concerns within the English-speaking domain is to stress the "exotic" aspects of the plot while praising the historical setting. While some of the reviews seem to be a bit provincial, negligent of even the most obvious issues of literary influence or affinity, others are marked by a slight trace of paternalism. At any rate, the enormous literary productivity of the 1920's in England and the United States, ²⁴ seems to have somewhat buried a work translated much too late and coming from a literary milieu mostly unknown to the general public.

4. Italy. Of the four brief commentaries by Italian critics included in La gloria de don Ramiro en veinticinco años de crítica, two were written by Larreta's translators. For reasons not yet investigated, Gherardo Marone and Camillo Berra both published

separate translations of La gloria in 1932. Marone's viewpoints, highly personalized, offer the generally accepted notion regarding the epilogue; he mentions Larreta's interest in colonial Perú and his intentions to write a novel about Rosa de Lima: "È sufficiente tale segnalazione a giustificare il lieve spostamento di tono, la diversità di registro che al lettore ammaliziato non sfugge passando dall'ultimo capitolo della terza parte alle estatiche pagine dell'epilogo" (Crítica, p. 203). Camillo Barra concentrates on the ironic intent and the modern sensibilities expressed in the novel, a characteristic that would be emphasized more often by later critics: ". . . si direbbe una traduzione da uno scrittore castigliano del sec. XVI, se l'altera ironia con cui l'autore si svincola a tratti dal suo tema, se il tono lievemente caricaturale con cui deforma fatti e persone . . ., non tradissero in lui uno spirito moderno . . ., non rompesero quel suo quasi eroic sforzo d'essere obbiettivo, impersonale, di lasciare la parola agli uomini ed agli eventi" (Crítica, p. 210). The other two articles, (by Roberto Bracco and Arturo Farinelli) do not say much in terms of critical evaluation, whether positive or negative. The limited quantity of available materials make it difficult, within this study, to reach any conclusions regarding the novel's reception in Italy.

B. Varying perceptions (1934-1959). Most of the critical studies elicited by La gloria during this period are characterized by a more sophisticated scholarly approach, concentrating on specific

issues rather than on the generalities often enumerated when a new literary work appears. Two of these, Amado Alonso's and Raimundo Lida's, can still be considered essential reading for an understanding of La gloria from a strictly literary point of view. Berenguer Carisomo's was the first comprehensive book on all of Larreta's work; it is interesting in reference to La gloria because of some sound, critical insights, in spite of a decidedly enthusiastic, pro-Larreta bias. Gandía's erudite exposition of colonial Perú, as suggested in the epilogue of La gloria is important and useful, even though the critical apparatus is rather naive. Giménez Caballeros's article has one crucial idea buried within a long survey of the novel in Spanish America and a panegyric to Larreta. A central aspect of each of these critics' analysis of La gloria will be briefly summarized.

In an essay of approximately eighty pages, Enrique de Gandía (Don Ramiro en América y otros ensayos, 1934) reconstructs some of the salient features of colonial Spanish America, in particular Perú, within the context of La gloria. He also analyzes the social, economic and political conditions of Spain at the beginning of the sixteenth century and identifies Ramiro with the thousands of men who, threatened by a debilitated economy and often having behind them prison sentences or the stigma of mestizaje, fled to America in search of riches and a new life. Particularly helpful is his discussion of the mine of Huencavélica and of the conditions then prevailing among the group of outcasts to which Ramiro might have belonged. Although his critical vocabulary is unsophisticated and he limits himself to

pointing out historical concordances without interpretation of literary phenomena, his essay is still valuable as a key to the narrative context of the Epílogo. His purposes can be summed up in this quotation from his prologue: "El epílogo de La gloria de don Ramiro hace meditar al historiador sobre el asombro de la conquista y la fusión de dos civilizaciones. . . . Es . . . una síntesis evocativa del Perú hispano-incaico, hecha con pinceladas rápidas, pero profundas, en los comienzos de la colonización, cuando aun se dejaba sentir el empuje de la conquista, y el misticismo de la religión cristiana hacía florecer espíritus de santos donde poco antes resonaba el ruido de batallas."

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Three years after the commemorative volume of Larreta criticism, La gloria de don Ramiro en veinticinco años de crítica, had appeared, an article originally intended for it was published by Raimundo Lida ("La técnica del relato en La gloria de don Ramiro," 1936). In it, he examines, with painstaking detail and quoting extensively from the novel, the narrative techniques that structure it, with particular emphasis on the use of time as a narrative device: "Lo que quebranta la regularidad de la falsilla cronológica no es sólo la ruptura de la sucesión real de los hechos, sino también la disparidad de densidad que voluntariamente se da al curso del tiempo. . . . El tiempo abstracto se hace tempo musical, ritmo de la sinfonía novelesca, con sus acelerandos y ralentandos, con calderones en que de pronto se suspende el compás isócrono del relato, y acordes bruscos y estridentes que cortan en seco su melodía." Through a strict philological analysis of key paragraphs, Lida arrives at a series of

perceptive comments regarding the multiplicity of viewpoints in La gloria, which he sees as revolving around an axis; in itself another cause of tension, this axis is what causes "nuestra incertidumbre sobre el destino del protagonista." Lida's obvious distaste for the kind of personalized, often flattering non-academic criticism previously elicited by La gloria can be discerned from his final comment: "Nada más indecoroso que comenzar por proponerle la veneración y empecinarse luego en justificarla. Ni se ha de temer que el análisis de la obra literaria . . . profane el misterio poético y malogre su directa gustación."²⁷

Amado Alonso had also intended to publish an article in the commemorative collection, but instead wrote a longer, more substantial study of La gloria (Ensayo sobre la novela histórica. El modernismo en La gloria de don Ramiro, 1942). The first part of his book is a brilliant essay on the history of the literary genre known as "the historical novel." With erudition and critical acumen, he traces the development of the genre during the nineteenth century, with special emphasis on theoretical issues, and within the comparative approach. His thesis is that the crisis of the historical novel does not lie solely in the conflict caused by the opposition of "the true" and "the imagined" (Manzoni's argument), but has a deeper root, the incompatibility of the subject of historical fiction itself and literary creativity of a superior kind. Having established this premise, Alonso then concentrates on a second essay dealing specifically with the modernista features of Larreta's historical novel. For him, its merits are not the historical reconstruction of a specific period,

the plot, or the deliberately archaic language constructions, but what he denominates the permanent themes of all novels, described in terms of sensory impressions. He argues, quite convincingly, that Larreta does not present things as they are, but rather tries to evoke the sensations things might awaken in the reader. Internal states, then, are suggested through sensations (visual, auditory, olfactory, etc.): "Los procedimientos actuales que Larreta aplica a su novela no son ya los del realismo de Flaubert, sino, en lo mejor de ella, los del impresionismo finisecular: representan no las cosas y los sucesos, sino las sensaciones de los sucesos y de las cosas, su herida en un alma. Pero Larreta no era un estricto impresionista; era un modernista, y como tal sumaba en su arte cuantas conquistas literarias le ofrecían las sucesivas escuelas del siglo XIX." ²⁸ Of these various schools, Alonso sees that of the Impressionists as the most influential. He also associates La gloria to such contemporary works as Anatole France's Thaïs (1890), Pierre Louys' Aphrodite (1896) and Valle-Inclán's Féminas (1893) and Sonatas (1902-05). He also signals the posible influence of Gautier, Huysmans, Catulle Mendès and Villiers de l'Isle -Adam, among others. The careful, methodical, philological analysis which corresponds to these affirmations is extremely illuminating in terms of La gloria as an entity, but does not establish parallel relations, or contrasts, between it and some of the works or authors mentioned. Amado Alonso's book remains one of the most important studies of La gloria, and was one of the first to break the barrier of either provincialism,

obsequiousness or downright hostility that had previously surrounded the novel. His work, like that of his disciple, Raimundo Lida, is marked by rigorous, scholarly thinking, paired with sound critical judgments.

The first comprehensive study of Larreta's work, up to that time, was Arturo Berenguer Carisomo's Los valores eternos en la obra de Enrique Larreta (1946), which included analyses of the novels, La gloria and Zogoibi, drama, and poetry. Approximately fifty pages, the section devoted to La gloria is divided into sub-headings which discuss several of its aspects. Of these perceptions, well-informed but marked by Berenguer's excessive admiration for his friend Larreta, the most interesting focus on what the critic denominates the novel's "three worlds," which are those of the knight, the mystic and the pícaro. Referring to the first one, he relates some of Ramiro's character traits to those of the heroes of novels of chivalry, while at the same time detecting the author's ironic intent: ". . . las escenas de esta dimensión guerrerocaballeresca, frecuente en el libro, aparecen . . . como menguadas y como en irónico escorzo, como simples y débiles conatos de una ambición enorme pero estéril Los hechos militares que en la novela se apuntan--ninguno actúa--son ya nostalgia." Berenguer's critical insight is not so apparent in the section dealing with mysticism. He limits himself to sketching the presence of Teresa de Ávila and avoids discussing those passages in which mystical experience is defined in sexual terms (for example, Aixa's dance and Ramiro's

X reaction to it; see pages 87-8, below). Berenguer does not really deal with the topic of mysticism; he merely delineates the all-pervading influence of Catholicism. His comparison, regarding some of these details, between La gloria and Anatole France's Les dieux ont soif (1912) offers some interesting parallels between the characters of Vargas Orozco and Evariste Gamelin. The influence of the picaresque is established by brief references to the Lazarillo de Tormes and Cervantes' Rinconete y Cortadillo, and by some examples of "picaresque" behavior on the part of several characters (Ramiro, Pablillos, Casilda, Medrano, and even Don Íñigo). Among his concluding remarks, Berenguer asserts that in the Epílogo Larreta resolves Ramiro's ambivalence between worldly and spiritual ambition through a process of purification: "La flor que Rosa de Lima . . . deja caer sobre el cuerpo muerto de Ramiro es como si cayese por su mano morena un pétalo de rosas del Empíreo, anunciando una vez más para el alma arrepentida la reconciliación, el pacto seguro y definitivo."³⁰

Ernesto Giménez Caballero, in an article which attempts to place Larreta within the literary context of the Spanish-American novel ("La gloria de don Ramiro en la novela hispanoamericana," 1949), manages to make a political statement. He first tries to pursue his alleged aim by tracing the development of one of the themes associated with Romanticism in the Spanish-American novel, that is, a sense of liberty, whether collective or personalized, and relating the themes of nationality and identity in La gloria to what he sees as a direct offshoot of this concept, that is, the modernista

definition of Americanismo. His thesis suffers from the survey method, which he applies for the first six pages of a ten-page article (the last two consist of a panegyric to Larreta). In between, however, he does center on what is an essential aspect of La gloria; according to modernista rhetoric, specifically as delineated in Rodó's Ariel (1900), Americanismo would transcend the national boundaries between the Spanish-American nations and strengthen their ties with Spain in an encompassing spirit of hispanidad:

"Obtenidas las independencias americanas del Sur en repúblicas libres, hubo, a pesar de tal independización, un temblor de inquietud, un ansia de vida más fuerte--ya soñada por Bolívar--y de esperanza de un mañana ideal. Un amanecer áureo . . . que acertaron a expresar . . . Rubén con el verso, Rodó con la reflexión y Larreta con su Gloria de don Ramiro. Larreta presintió que una América desconectada del destino universal de lo hispánico era una aberración."³¹

Larreta's awareness of these problems seems pretty obvious, but Giménez' conclusions seem to rest on an interpretation of the Epílogo as an optimistic note, a view easily challenged. His perceptions are justified within the rhetoric of Argentine politics of the late 1940's,³² but in light of the present reality of the Spanish-American republics, his evocation of the modernista dream of unity and hispanidad seems somewhat ironic. André Jansen's "El cincuentenario de una gran novela. La crítica ante La gloria de don Ramiro" (1959), summarizes, with extensive quotations, some of the opinions collected in La gloria de don Ramiro en veinticinco años de crítica³³ and lists some of the studies published in the 1930's and 1940's.

As a footnote to the varied critical response that La gloria has received, an article which appeared in La Nación (Buenos Aires) in 1957 should be cited. In it, Leonidas de Vedia published a series of letters by Larreta's friend, the painter Ignacio Zuloaga, and composer Manuel de Falla, all dating from 1920. Extremely enthusiastic about the dramatic possibilities of Larreta's novel, de Falla had approached Zuloaga with the idea of a musical project based on Larreta's novel; Zuloaga acted as a bridge between writer and composer. Although none of Larreta's letters to either Zuloaga or de Falla have been published, it can be inferred from de Falla's response to Larreta that the latter had worked on a libretto. In his response, de Falla delineates what would have been the major aspects of his project: he intended to compose, not an opera, but "a musical drama", in which the characters would sing all the dialogue; the role of the chorus would be to act as a "reflection" of the characters' emotional states; there would be no arias and the music would be "intensely expressive or evocative" of the Spanish soul. Unfortunately, there was no agreement as to "how" the piece was to be done, and de Falla's project remained in its embryonic stage.

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C. Toward new perspectives (1960-1983). The many articles generated by La gloria during this period are characterized by their heterogeneity, and often contribute original readings or theoretical approaches to a work that had already been "established" within the Spanish-American literary tradition. Ned Davison discusses

some of the problems of narrative structure; Gladys Onega and Marta Scrimaglio concentrate on socio-political aspects under the guise of critical interpretation; Carmelo Bonet, a well-known critic, is disappointingly vague in his remarks; Luis Eyzaguirre mistakenly labels it a Bildungsroman; David William Foster is the first critic who tries to come to terms with the ambiguities of the epilogue. Two books on Larreta were published during the late 1960's: André Jansen's is to date the most complete study of Larreta's fiction, which he scrutinizes in terms of sources, themes and stylistics; Juan Carlos Ghiano's brilliant analysis of La gloria is one of the most inquisitive and illuminating, both for the general reader and the scholar. The important features of each of these critics' interpretation of La gloria will be briefly discussed.

In "Remarks in the form of La gloria de don Ramiro" (1961), Ned Davison asserts that the novel's shortcomings can be partly attributed to a "faulty structure," stemming from the approach, the effect of this approach on the action, and the aesthetic selection of materials. Although slightly myopic in terms of the concepts which rule Larreta's structuring of his materials, Davison nonetheless centers on one important aspect: "Larreta seems almost to have replaced the temporal qualities of narration with the spatial attributes of plastic art."³⁵ Much of what is argued here had already been presented by Raimundo Lida (see pp. 26-7, above), whom Davison either ignores or chooses not to quote. In an article which is essentially of a political nature, "Larreta. Esteticismo y prosaismo" (1962), Gladys Susana

Onega stresses the shortcomings of "aestheticist" tendencies in literature, of which Larreta has been accused by such nationalistic critics as Noé Jitrik. Onega deplores impressionistic writing on the grounds of its inability to evoke anything other than superficial sensations: ". . . las sensaciones no se desnudan, no se desmenuzan ni se analizan para descubrir sus más profundos y primarios móviles; por el contrario, sólo sirven para engendrar palabras; el proceso creador así conducido otorgó validez a esas palabras y no a su significado; Larreta no usó la síntesis y la comprensión de elementos sino su extrema abundancia. . . ." ³⁶ It is somewhat disconcerting that a literary critic seems here to deny that literature is made with words; her connotations for palabras are completely negative. Marta Scrimaglio's article, "Larreta. Modernismo y barroco" (1962), follows Onega's in the same issue of the Boletín de Literaturas Hispánicas, and seems to be almost a continuation of it. An unfortunate misconception underlies its arguments: while trying to establish parallels and differences between the Baroque and modernismo, the critic makes a series of superficial observations about both. Like the article which precedes it, this one is attacking what practitioners of a critical current then in vogue in Argentina denominated as "literatura elitista," ³⁷ of which La gloria was considered to be a prime example. Scrimaglio's shortsighted perceptions (to be accounted perhaps not by a misreading but by a lack of reading) of modernista concepts and literature, lead her to the following conclusion: ". . . el modernista se inclina por las sensaciones pálidas y suaves, dulces

y mullidas. Y todo esto se halla envuelto por una rígida conciencia de clase . . . que no se limita a ser posición adoptada en el terreno del arte, sino que constituye un perpetuo ideal de vida. Su obra es de nobles para nobles, y así también lo considera Larreta." ³⁸

Carmelo Bonet's "Enrique Larreta. Visión panorámica de su obra" (1966) is exactly that and suffers from the generalities typical of that kind of study. Still, he offers some perceptive insights into Larreta's work, and links La gloria to the Quijote and Salambô in terms of their "realism" and their exploration of the present through a presentation of the past: "La gloria de don Ramiro, aunque novela histórica y, por lo tanto, elaborada con elementos de observación indirecta, tomados de la fuente documental, es fundamentalmente realista . . . y es realista merced al aporte de observaciones directas, telúricas y psicológicas." ³⁹

André Jansen's book, Enrique Larreta; novelista hispano-argentino (1873-1961), published in 1967, is a translation and revision of the author's 1962 dissertation, ⁴⁰ and it is the most comprehensive study to date of Larreta's fictional prose. It offers a well-documented and thorough critical apparatus, extremely useful to the Larreta scholar and also to the general reader. The first two chapters offer a survey of the literary currents in Spanish America and in Argentina specifically during the nineteenth century. Chapter 3 introduces a condensed biography of Larreta, and Chapters 4-7 are devoted to each one of his novels, from La gloria to El Gerardo. Of the last two chapters, one examines peculiarities of diction and style and the other one presents a set of conclusions.

An extensive and well-researched bibliography and an Index complement Professor Jansen's study. After a brief introduction to historical fiction as genre, the chapter devoted to La gloria examines the historical conditions of late sixteenth-century Spain within the economic, social and political contexts, with particular attention to Castilla. Jansen points out, with careful detail, Larreta's adequate use of his sources, as well as what may be intentional errors: ". . . la oposición entre los españoles y los moros era mucho menos profunda de lo que la novela nos deja suponer. Esta actitud del autor . . . se aproxima no solamente a los puntos de vista del romanticismo francés, sino también, por su exageración, a los de la literatura épica española de la Edad Media." ⁴¹ An excellent discussion of medicinal practices confirms the hypothesis that Larreta's research, in this respect, was faithful to the times. After establishing the importance of the historical background, Jansen offers a somewhat superficial interpretation of plot and characters; a bit unexpected is the critic's negligence in dealing with the problematic aspects of the epilogue. Particularly helpful, however, is his list of direct literary sources, as well as what he calls "indirect" sources. He also signals several writers as being influenced by La gloria, for example, Montherlant in Le Maître de Santiago and D'Annunzio in Le Martyre de Saint Sébastien, among others. Chapter 8, dealing with stylistics, offers a list of archaisms and a glossary of Arab words and names in La gloria, paired with a somewhat mechanical analysis of its various stylistic tangents (Impressionistic,

Realist, etc.). The book's strong points lie mainly on the extreme erudition and objective findings regarding not only La gloria but also Larreta's fictional prose as a whole. Unfortunately, mostly everything is presented almost exclusively in terms of "findings" and the data accumulated is not interpreted at length. Still, the methodical research and contextual approach of this book qualify it as one of the most useful studies of Larreta's fiction.

At the beginning of his brilliant essay, Análisis de La gloria de don Ramiro (1968), Juan Carlos Ghiano centers on what seems to be a constant of most of the critical studies elicited by La gloria: "Casi todos los estudiosos de La gloria han demorado sus análisis de los aspectos descriptivos de la novela, llegando a justificar al libro por la calidad de esa prosa artística, tan representativa de los primeros ideales modernistas. Se descuidan así los elementos propiamente narrativos, que también obsesionaron al autor, empeñado en delinear un conflicto humano que encarnase las condiciones de la España de fines del siglo XVI y comienzos del XVII." ⁴² Ghiano's study fills that void, offering detailed critical analysis of some of the novel's major aspects, narrative, thematic, as well as stylistic. Like other critics, he places Larreta within the European literary tradition of Scott, Hugo, Merimée and Flaubert, among others, and devotes some time to adjusting the double vision implicit in the novel. He assesses the historical background and associates some relevant details (for example, the powerful and subtle characterization of Philip II), with themes that had previously obsessed the

French Romantics. His interpretation of some particulars regarding narrative structure, character development and symbolism is lucid and objective, and his insights extremely valuable to the contemporary reader. He makes a justifiably valid connection between Ramiro and the passive heroes of Decadence as portrayed in such modernista works as José Martí's Amistad funesta, José Asunción Silva's De sobremesa and Manuel Díaz Rodríguez' Sangre patricia. In his conclusion he centers on one of the most discussed problems of La gloria, that is, the shortcomings of narrative structure and time in relation to the overwrought modernista prose: ". . . la elaboración descriptiva consigue los únicos pasajes logrados con plenitud en la novela. Cuando el autor se concreta a un momento y liga al personaje con sus circunstancias . . . el lector puede asomarse a los entresijos humanos, que casi siempre frustra la narración directa. La gloria muestra de manera muy ilustrativa las dificultades de los narradores modernistas, que pocas veces ahondaron los temas elegidos, sobre todo en relato extenso."

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The early 1970's yield three articles directly related to La gloria. Jansen's "¿Fue Enrique Larreta lazo intelectual entre Europa y América durante la primera parte del siglo XX?" (1970) recounts the influence of Rubén Darío on the emerging writers of Argentina during the last decade of the nineteenth century and at the same time pinpoints those European writers who had a most perceptible imprint on the modernistas. Jansen places Larreta within the context of those Argentine writers who were part of the new cosmopolitanism (Leopoldo Lugones and Carlos Reyles): "Lugones y Larreta establecie-

ron su valor [de la prosa] y enseñaron a los argentinos la necesidad de cuidar el idioma para merecer la estima no sólo de América Latina sino también de la vieja Europa tradicionalista." ⁴⁴ Luis Eyzaguirre's article "La gloria de don Ramiro y Don Segundo Sombra: Dos hitos en la novela modernista en Hispanoamérica" (1972) applies an innovative method but has conceptual problems which prevent this method from being successful. He pairs La gloria with Ricardo Güiraldes' novel as exponents of the Bildungsroman, but while the latter would indeed be representative of this genre, the former is definitely not: its quality is static, Ramiro is passive; he does not "see" and therefore can not "grow." The confusion inherent in Eyzaguirre's study is partly due to his application of theoretical criteria developed by René Girard (in La mensonge romantique) to two texts which do not originate within a similar conceptual matrix. Particularly ⁴⁵ naive is the critic's assertion that the Epílogo is "Romantic." A short article by David William Foster, "Toward an Interpretation of the Epílogo of La gloria de don Ramiro" (1973) tackles the ambiguity of the epilogue in a lucid, critically impeccable manner. His conclusion is that the epilogue is "cynically ironic," a conclusion reached by careful analysis of some of the novel's thematic concerns as well as by the peculiar wording of the epilogue: "Surely, Larreta, whose vision of sixteenth-century Avila during the reign of Philip II, while tempered by the antiquarian interests of an aesthete, is hardly a favorable, romantic evocation, cannot be subscribing to a belief in the socio-religious efficacy of maiden saints," Foster's

interpretation is both refreshing and illuminating, free of the nationalistic and religious bias which some Larreta scholars have applied to the ambiguous epilogue (Gandía and Berenguer Carisomo, for example). He chooses to magnify what many others have ignored, one of the possible meanings of gloria: "For Ramiro's glory to be only the prayer of a woman for his sinful and confused soul . . . , only reinforces with the emphasis of closing words the sustained irony of the author concerning what for him must have been the false ideals both of Everyman as well as of the modern men of his own particular time and place." ⁴⁶ Within the past five years the only published study of La gloria that is worth mentioning is George Schanzer's "De La gloria de don Ramiro al desengaño de don Ginés" (1979), which traces the influence of La gloria on several of Manuel Mujica Láinez' novels, especially Don Galaz de Buenos Aires. ⁴⁷

D. Critical reportage in the literary histories. In general, Larreta's novel has fared rather well in the literary histories, in the sense that it has not been grossly misrepresented. Even when somewhat superficial, most of the reportage found in some of the most "established" literary histories of Spanish America assesses the novel's good points as well as its flaws. A brief summary of each scholar's opinions, in order of significance, follows.

A thoughtful and original critic, Cedomil Goic develops and applies his own theories about the Spanish-American novel in a literary history devoted specifically to this genre. Speaking of La gloria,

he centers on a crucial issue: too much emphasis has been placed on dividing the thematic from the stylistic elements, and, almost exclusively, the latter have been seen as the determining criteria for defining the novel as modernista. Goic suggests that the preoccupation with historical reconstruction reflects a naturalistic tendency, rather well-assimilated, in the modernista novel. Specifically, he sees Larreta's portrayal of a corrupt, decadent Spain as "el signo modernista más definidor que puede encontrarse para la caracterización de una perspectiva propia de la novela modernista."⁴⁸ He later adds: "Una representación del mundo como cambiante y como expresión de un sentimiento de decadencia histórica, de disolución de un régimen tradicional y de melancólico y nostálgico evocar de las perfecciones del pasado hace familiar y definida la forma interior de esta novela como estrictamente modernista." An erudite and perceptive critic, Alberto Zum Felde, like Goic, combines literary reportage with literary theory. His assessment of Larreta's novel concentrates on some of its key aspects: the syncretism of historical period, fin de siècle aesthetics and an original style; the fusion of Spanish and Spanish-American themes; Ramiro's mixed origin as a metaphor of the Spanish-American man. He stresses the fact that Larreta did not only write in the manner of Golden Age literature, but that he also succeeded in codifying ". . . una nueva estilización del lenguaje, que expresa, a la vez, el carácter de la época novelada y el gusto estético de principios del XX; la época de la obra y la época del autor, de cuya simbiosis nace la creación literaria."⁴⁹ And, regard-

ing Ramiro's mestizaje: "Hasta el mismo origen bastardo de Don Ramiro, hijo natural de un jefe moro y linajuda dama católica, romance de fronteras, es también . . . , históricamente significativo con respecto de la España de la Conquista."⁵⁰

Fernando Alegría stresses the importance of the literary ideas of modernismo as synthesized in La gloria, and praises the author's imagination and deft historical reconstruction: ". . . la novela de Larreta es . . . un tour de force que pone en evidencia su asombrosa imaginación y su capacidad para reconstruir la lengua, el ambiente y la psicología de uno de los períodos más apasionantes de la historia de España."⁵¹

Arturo Uslar Pietri concentrates on the pictorial aspects of the novel and, while praising the archaeological reconstruction as valid, deplores the symbolical dimensions of Ramiro as a representative of Spain: "Ramiro no es un héroe, es un soñador, una sombra abúlica que discurre en medio del más rico decorado." He does not see the novel as an organic whole, but rather as "una galería de hermosos retratos" and "un vasto poema en prosa."⁵²

An often condescending and disparaging critic, Argentina's Enrique Anderson Imbert defines La gloria as ". . . una magistral coordinación de esfuerzo evocativo del pasado y de esfuerzo evocativo de percepciones sensoriales. Su estilo impresionístico . . . fue excepcional en toda nuestra literatura."⁵³ Also couched on nationalistic rhetoric is Carmelo Bonet's entry in Historia de la literatura argentina, which he synthesized and re-wrote in a later article (see page 35, above): "Hay en La gloria de don Ramiro un estilo bellamente logrado, fruto de un largo estudio, de una dolo-

rosa paciencia, y de la vigilancia de un instinto artístico seguro." ⁵⁴

An extensive plot summary complements Bonet's critical opinions. While Goic sees the fusion of naturalistic, decadent and impressionistic as akin to modernismo, Luis Alberto Sánchez assesses this fusion as a combination of opposites, and emphasizes the author's "charm" and "personality" in a highly rhetorical manner: ". . . en esa insólita y magnífica simbiosis de lo nuevo y lo viejo, de lo clásico y lo modernista, de lo castizo y lo afrancesado, del vocabulario arcaico y el ritmo eléctrico, es en lo que reside el encanto y la personalidad de Larreta, y es ello lo que reviste de vigor y gracia a La gloria de don Ramiro." Sánchez' reading of Larreta's novel, however, is, at best, careless. In Escritores representativos de América, quoted above, he affirms that "Ramiro . . . traiciona ⁵⁵ al campanero que le enseñó a ser hombre." while in a later book he speaks of "la violación de Aldonza, la mujer del campanero," and ⁵⁶ adds that Ramiro has "betrayed" the squire Medrano. It is impossible to formulate a hypothesis as to how Sánchez confused plot details to such an extreme, although it seems as if he had mixed up Medrano and Aldonza's husband, Diego Franco; it should be stressed here that the dominant partner, both with her husband and with Ramiro, ⁵⁷ was Aldonza herself, as is clearly indicated in the text.

In general, the critical literature elicited by La gloria has concentrated on delineating some of its major aspects: the effect of verisimilitude achieved by its historical setting; its stylistic

innovations within the tenets of modernismo; the qualities that make it transcend its experimental nature (a modernista historical novel) and that center on the universal, human concerns of great literature. Although, as has been shown above, several critics have "tapped" Larreta's European and Spanish-American sources, none has attempted a detailed comparative analysis of these possible sources: such will be the purpose of the following chapters.

Notes

1. André Jansen, Enrique Larreta; novelista hispano-argentino (1873-1961), trad. Fernando Murillo Rubiera (Madrid: Cultura Hispánica, 1967), pp. 307, 312-3.
2. La gloria de don Ramiro en veinticinco años de crítica (Buenos Aires: Librerías Anaconda, 1933).
3. Personal interview with Gregory Rabassa, 28 October 1983.
4. André Jansen, "El cincuentenario de una gran novela: La crítica ante La gloria de don Ramiro," Revista Hispánica Moderna, 25, No. 3 (1959), p. 203.
5. La gloria de don Ramiro en veinticinco años de crítica, p. 15. All further references to this work appear in the text, indicated by the word Crítica and followed by page number.
6. See Guillermo Díaz Plaja, Modernismo frente a Noventa y Ocho (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1951), pp. 155-6.
7. Jansen, "El cincuentenario...", p. 203.
8. For example, see Jansen, Enrique Larreta, p. 230, note 1.
9. Sylvia Molloy, La diffusion de la littérature hispano-américaine en France au XXe. siècle (Paris: PUF, 1972), p. 249.
10. Under the title La gloire de don Ramire, Gourmont's translation had twelve separate editions between 1910 and 1926. See Jansen, Enrique Larreta, p. 312.
11. Jansen, Enrique Larreta, p. 61.
12. Molloy, p. 22.
13. Jansen, Enrique Larreta, p. 61.

14. Marion K. Knight and James M. Mertice, eds., The Book Review Digest. Twentieth Annual Accumulation, Reviews of 1924 Books (New York: H.W. Wilson, 1925), p. 339.

15. The glory of Don Ramiro (New York: Button, 1924).

16. This can be particularly appreciated in the passage which describes Don Alonso Blázquez de Serrano's aestheticist preferences; the original reads: "Los objetos que herían la imaginación del hidalgo con más sutil embeleso eran sus vidrios y marfiles. Estos, fríos, tersos y casi dorados, provocábanle indecible entusiasmo. Tenía gestos de verdadero amor para cogerlos en los fanales y acercarlos a la luz. Hubiérase dicho que sus manos oprímían con fraternidad aquella aristocrática y pálida materia, donde los rayos del sol remedaban un rubor de sangre." Enrique Larreta, La gloria de don Ramiro, in Obras completas (Madrid: Plenitud, 1954), p. 35.

The English translation reads as follows: "The objects which made the most subtle appeal to the imagination of the hidalgo were his pieces of rare glass and his ivories. The latter, with their gilded sheen, cold to the touch, powdery, would arouse in him an indescribable enthusiasm. He would remove them caressingly from their cases and hold them up to the light, as though his hands recognised in that pale, aristocratic material, fired into a ruddy glow by the rays of the sun, a substance of like nature to their own." The Glory of Don Ramiro, p. 27.

17. "Books in Brief," The Nation and The Athenaeum, 5 July 1924, p. 452.

18. "New Novels," Times Literary Supplement, 29 May 1924, p. 338.

19. Bruce Gould, "Three Good Novels. Bojer, Timmermans and Larreta in Translation of Continental Hits," The World (New York), 7 September 1924, 8E.

20. "Latest Works of Fiction," New York Times Book Review, 30 November 1924, pp. 14, 25.

21. "A Reversed Romance," The New York Herald Tribune Books, 11 January 1925, p. 10.

22. Winifred Katzin, rev. of The Glory of Don Ramiro, The Literary Review of the New York Evening Post, 4 October 1924, p. 14.

23. Allen W. Porterfield, "Foreign Notes and Comments," The Bookman, 60 (1924), 525.

24. See the Times Literary Supplement. Index, 1924, pp. 1-19.

25. Camillo Berra, La gloria de don Ramiro (Torino: Slavia, 1932); Gherardo Marone, La gloria de don Ramiro (Lanciano: Carraba, 1932). See Jansen, Enrique Larreta, p. 313.
26. Enrique de Gandía, Don Ramiro en América y otros ensayos (Buenos Aires: Rosso, 1934), p. 9.
27. Raimundo Lida, "La técnica del relato en La gloria de don Ramiro," Cursos y Conferencias, 9 (1936), 232-3, 246-7.
28. Amado Alonso, Ensayo sobre la novela histórica. El modernismo en La gloria de don Ramiro (Buenos Aires: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad de Buenos Aires, 1942), pp. 152-3.
29. Arturo Berenguer Carisomo, Los valores eternos en la obra de Enrique Larreta (Buenos Aires: Sopena, 1946), p. 39.
30. Berenguer Carisomo, pp. 72-3.
31. Ernesto Giménez Caballero, "La gloria de don Ramiro en la novela hispanoamericana," Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos, 3 (1949), p. 327.
32. See Marvin Goldwert, Democracy, Militarism and Nationalism in Argentina, 1930-1966 (Austin: Univ. of Texas, 1972), pp. 91-93.
33. Leonidas de Vedia, "Cuando Manuel de Falla pensó hacer de La gloria de don Ramiro un drama musical," La Nación (Buenos Aires), 13 enero 1957.
34. Jansen, "El cincuentenario...", pp. 199-206.
35. Ned Davison, "Remarks on the Form of La gloria de don Ramiro," Romance Notes, 3, No. 1 (1961), p. 20.
36. Gladys Susana Onega, "Larreta. Esteticismo y prosaísmo," Boletín de Literaturas Hispánicas, 4 (1962), 55.
37. See David Viñas, Literatura argentina y realidad política (Buenos Aires: Jorge Álvarez, 1964), pp. 270-5.
38. Marta Scrimaglio, "Larreta. Modernismo y barroco," Boletín de Literaturas Hispánicas, 4 (1962), 33.
39. Carmelo Bonet, "Enrique Larreta. Visión panorámica de su obra," Boletín de la Academia Argentina de Letras, 31 (1966), 421.
40. André Jansen, Enrique Larreta: romancier hispano-argentin, 1873-1961 (Bruxelles: Université Libres, 1961-1962).
41. Jansen, Enrique Larreta, p. 105.

42. Juan Carlos Ghiano, Análisis de La gloria de don Ramiro (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina, 1968), pp. 14-5.
43. Ghiano, pp. 56-7.
44. André Jansen, "¿Fue Enrique Larreta lazo intelectual entre Europa y la América Latina durante la primera parte del siglo XX," Actas del Tercer Congreso Internacional de Hispanistas, ed. Carlos H. Magis (México: El Colegio de México, 1970), p. 490.
45. Luis Eyzaguirre, "La gloria de don Ramiro y Don Segundo Sombra: Dos hitos en la novela modernista en Hispanoamérica," Cuadernos americanos, 181, No. 1 (1972), pp. 236-49.
46. David William Foster, "Toward an Interpretation of the Epílogo of La gloria de don Ramiro, Chasqui, 2, No. 2 (1973), p. 34.
47. George Schanzer, "De La gloria de don Ramiro al desengaño de don Ginés," Romance Literary Studies: Homage to Harvey L. Johnson, eds. Marie Wellington and Martha O'Nan (Maryland: Porrúa Furanzas, 1979), pp. 133-40.
48. Cedomil Goic, Historia de la novela hispanoamericana (Santiago de Chile: Cruz del Sur, 1972), p. 147.
49. Alberto Zum Felde, La narrativa, Vol. II of Índice crítico de la literatura hispanoamericana (México: Guaranía, 1959), p. 390.
50. Zum Felde, pp. 393-4.
51. Fernando Alegría, Historia de la novela hispanoamericana (México: Ediciones de Andrea, 1966), p. 128.
52. Arturo Uslar Pietri, Breve historia de la novela hispanoamericana (Caracas: Edime, 1954), p. 86.
53. Enrique Anderson Imbert, Historia de la literatura hispanoamericana (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1954), I, 412-3.
54. Rafael Alberto Arrieta, ed., Historia de la literatura argentina (Buenos Aires: Peuser, 1959), IV, 256.
55. Luis Alberto Sánchez, Escritores representativos de América, II (Madrid: Gredos, 1964), 64.
56. Luis Alberto Sánchez, Proceso y contenido de la novela hispanoamericana (Madrid: Gredos, 1968), p. 350.
57. See Enrique Larreta, La gloria de don Ramiro, in Obras completas, p. 54.

Chapter 2

The relation to the historical novel

A historical novel is different from other kinds of novels in that historical events, and often historical figures, play a decisive role in the description, development, and actions of its individual characters. The historical frame is not necessarily bound to a past period in history: "A tale of the past is not necessarily a true historical novel: it would be a true historical novel only when the historical events are woven into the texture of the story." ¹ To achieve this effect, historical novels often exhibit some of the following characteristics: they enhance local color, pageantry, the picturesque; they try to reproduce verisimilitude in terms of speech, dress, and social customs; they attempt to portray the spirit of a particular age as reflected in a specific place and a people; they often evoke sentiments of national identity; they attempt to capture the emotional intensity of wars, epidemics, and executions, for example. However, even though these distinct characteristics should be taken into account when judging a historical novel, its ultimate value, like that of any other novel, rests on whether or not it offers a valid hypothesis of human nature, regardless of time, place, fact. It is not uncommon to find in a historical novel

intent on reproducing a credible portrait of human nature that facts have been altered for the sake of psychological truth.

Although historical plots and characters had often been predominant in literature (as in Shakespeare's historical plays, for example), there had been no attempt to recreate, to reconstruct a historical period as a fictional framework before Walter Scott's experiments with some of the practices common to the current fiction of his time: local color, mystery and romantic landscape, and an interest in travel, adventure, and antiquarian lore.² Combined with his passion for Scottish history, patriotic feelings, and a Romantic's perception of the past as a unifying force, Scott coalesced these elements into "the historical novel", a sub-genre which "could not come into being until after history had established itself, and after chronology and geography had lent to history their indispensable aid."³

Even though later manifestations of the historical novel varied greatly from Scott's model in Waverley (1814), his work set the standards for such writers as Alessandro Manzoni, Victor Hugo, and Alexandre Dumas. Hugo and Dumas were among Scott's first translators; from France his work spread to Italy before Manzoni published I promessi sposi (1827); Spanish exiles were very active in the translation of Scott's novels between 1825 and 1830 in London, Toulouse, Paris, Bordeaux, Perpignan and Madrid, and several adaptations of Scott's novels had also reached México, Perú and Cuba by 1838.⁴ In Spanish America the new sub-genre was immensely popular during the

nineteenth century, and many historical novels were written, often concentrating on the colonial period and the struggle between the conquistadores and the Indians (see page 92, below). Larreta's choice of Golden-Age Spain as the setting for a historical novel was a radical deviation from the Spanish-American tradition. His interest in that period had originated with a project for a book on the great painters of that time: El Greco, Velázquez, Zurbarán (he had also intended, before that, to write a story of Rosa de Lima, see page 177, below). As Juan Carlos Ghiano has observed:

Larreta llegó a España con un plan novelístico sustentado por sus reflexiones sobre los intérpretes pictóricos de la España de Felipe II, y una concepción histórica con base en la literatura que sobre la península difundió el siglo XIX europeo. En el fondo subyacen numerosas interpretaciones más o menos parcializadas de la "leyenda negra" sobre España, y versiones pintorescas sobre las peculiaridades de un país que parecía irreductible a las medidas de las otras naciones europeas, en particular las de Francia. Los textos pseudo-históricos y los libros de viajes aparecen relacionados con las interpretaciones literarias, en especial del romanticismo francés, pródigo en poesías, dramas y relatos de localización española, que colmaban uno de los aspectos del "exotismo" y la búsqueda pintoresca del "color local." La serie de franceses españolizantes había sido abierta por Victor Hugo--Orientales, 1829; Hernani, 1830, y Ruy Blas, 1838-- , Prosper Mérimée--Théâtre de Clara Gazul, 1825; La Guzla, 1826, y Carmen, 1848--Alfred de Musset--Contes d'Espagne et d'Italie, 1829-- , y Théophile Gautier--Voyage en Espagne, 1840, y Espagne, 1845-- , para cerrarse, a fines de la centuria, con Maurice Barrès--Du sang, de la volupté et de la mort (Voyage en Espagne), 1894. ⁵

Another important source for Larreta was Juan Martí Carramolinós' Historia de Ávila, su Provincia y Obispado (1872), which determined
6
the choice of Ávila as Ramiro's city.

An heir of Scott, especially through the French practitioners

of historical fiction, Larreta included in La gloria many of the characteristics usually expected from historical fiction: social customs, dress, speech, are in accordance with those of Golden Age Spain; the spirit of the times (religious fanaticism, regional patriotism, the excitement of colonization) comes across through the intertwining of historical deeds with the texture of Ramiro's personal story; the emotional intensity of public events (Bracamonte's execution and the Auto de fe in Toledo, for example) are recreated with exacting vividness. Of course, like Scott and his followers Larreta also encountered the major shortcoming of novelists who try to recapture a past era: "The fact is that no man can step off his own shadow. By no effort of the will can he thrust himself backward into the past and shed his share of the accumulations of the ages, of all the myriad accretions of thought and sentiment and knowledge, stored up in the centuries that lie between him and the time he is trying to treat. Of necessity he puts into his picture of days gone by more or less of the days in which he is living." ⁷ Even though verisimilitude often suffers in a historical novel because of anachronistic problems, if psychological truth is preserved one can say that the novel has succeeded, that the writer's imagination has taken him beyond the constraints of the historical frame to recreate another kind of truth, the truth of fiction. For example, in reference to La gloria André Jansen has pointed out that the "Moorish problem" in Spain, and in Castilla specifically, at the end of the sixteenth century was not nearly as acute as the novel implies. ⁸ Yet the story of the Moorish conspiracy and Ramiro's involvement with it as

a spy is believable within the novel's framework, representing the problem of ethnicity in Spain during that period (since Ramiro is half-Moorish), and of a similar situation in Larreta's own time (mestizaje in the Americas).

One aspect of La gloria that has not yet been studied is its reflection of the liberal ideology that had permeated Argentina during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century,⁹ and that is inherent in the novel through a critique of the church, nationalism, indeed the whole concept of gloria that, representative of the Spanish Crown, had distilled itself into a hysteria characterized by the convulsive, bloody civil wars that had shaken Spanish America during the entire century. As Alberto Blasi has suggested:

Sólo enténdidas como respuesta a un complejo universal, la década de los ochenta argentinos y sus crisis de final de década adquieren silueta completa, a través de una dialéctica contextual donde conflictos locales se enriquecen con el análisis de todas sus connotaciones. . . . Tal como había ocurrido mucho antes en Europa, estructura y preocupaciones políticas suprimidas por revoluciones políticas, eran sustituidas por otras económicas, y si bien la industrialización del país sólo se da en la década a mero nivel anecdótico, son perfectamente verificables las consecuencias de la revolución industrial europea en tanto que causales de una relativa paz social. 10

It is interesting to note that the industrialization process, experienced in Argentina in the second degree, had, in literature, a similar effect to the one produced in Europe, particularly in France and England. The conversion to Naturalism of such Argentine writers as Julian Martel and Eugenio Cambaceres was not motivated by literary fashion but was instead a consequence of ideological

currents generated by the tremendous political, economic and social changes that the country experienced during the 1880's and 1890's, as suggested above. Larreta's naturalistic strain shows through some particular details in La gloria. To signal only a few passages containing naturalistic elements: the hunting scene; descriptions of Remiro's festering wound, stressing repellent sights and odors; Don Íñigo's disease and death, described in terms of fetid, rotting scents; Aixa's death at the stake.

In analyzing La gloria within the framework of the historical novel as codified by Scott, an attempt has been made here to choose those novels within the European literary tradition that share some characteristics typical of historical fiction and that at the same time transcend the historical frame in their depiction of individual characters. Instead of "fictionalizing" history by attempting to rewrite the life of a particular historical figure, Scott instilled his own, particular view of history into his fictions, using everyday people as his characters; in doing this, he "compelled his reader to empathize with his characters drawn from the history of the people and with the people themselves, indeed, history itself. . . . He taught the world to feel and know that history does not consist of dates, battles, court intrigues and pageantry but of the destiny of living people and living nations." ¹¹ Most of the novels chosen (Waverley; I promessi sposi; Notre-Dame de Paris; El Señor de Bembibre) share this particular conception of historical fiction: individual characters operate within a historical framework that modifies their actions, yet at the same time they are not "bound"

by history. An exception in this line of historical fiction is Salammbô which has been chosen for the direct connections it has with Larreta's novel:

. . . La gloria de don Ramiro es una novela histórica hecha con prosa modernista. Y no fue de los menores aciertos el haber elegido, entre los varios tipos de novela histórica, aquel que mejor armonizaba con el ideal literario modernista: el tipo fijado por Flaubert en su Salammbô, aplicando a un tema del pasado los procedimientos de la novela actual y guardando o queriendo guardar fidelidad al saber erudito; persiguiendo el refinamiento en el bien y sobre todo en el mal, en el sufrir y sobre todo en el placer; extremando la ejecución artística. ¹³

The only systematized attempt to list the novel's sources is by André Jansen. Besides the Quijote he signals the following examples of the picaresque as direct antecedents: Lazarillo de Tormes (1550?-54); Marcos de Obregón (1618); El Buscón (1626); La Vida del soldado Miguel de Castro (1593-1611); Las aventuras del capitán Alonso de Contreras (written during the sixteenth century but published in 1900). ¹⁴ When discussing Larreta's possible sources, none of his foremost critics (Berenguer Carisomo, Alonso, Jansen, Ghiano) links his novel to the Spanish-American historical novel of the nineteenth century. Instead, they discuss it in reference to novels by Manzoni, Hugo, and Flaubert. A close reading of the texts selected for discussion under the heading "European models" shows that if Larreta had not been directly influenced by them, there is enough evidence to suggest his familiarity with their thematic and structural elements. The intention

here is to delineate a specific set of relations appropriate for comparison and contrast between each one of these historical novels and La gloria. It should also be pointed out that Larreta's affiliation with the Spanish-American literary tradition deals almost exclusively with modernismo, and an attempt will be made, in the second part of this chapter, to show how and why his novel varies so much from the established patterns of historical fiction written in Spanish America during the second half of the nineteenth century.

A. European models

1. La gloria and Waverley: The unhistorical hero. In his defense of Scott as the father of the historical novel, Georg Lukács argues that Scott apprehends "the objective historical" by making his heroes stand on the periphery of the historical process, so that the adventures, problems and triumphs of a more or less "average" and also fictional person, given a proper context, reflect history much more effectively than the romanticized account of a historically significant figure. When Larreta wrote La gloria, almost a hundred years after the publication of Waverley, he showed that he had indeed learned from Scott: like Waverley, Ramiro oscillates between two opposing cultural forces which struggle against each other for political power, and between two women who symbolize, to some extent, the internal conflicts that oppress him. The Spain of Philip II, with its almost obscene obsession with Christianity, provides the historical background to a character who believes himself to be part of the ruling order, the caballeros of Ávila,

when he is in fact of tainted blood, the son of a Castilian lady and a "heretic", a Moor. Ramiro's gradual deterioration, social, moral, spiritual, is not accidental. It is representative not only of his individual destiny but also of Spain's destiny after the defeat of the not entirely "Invincible" Armada, after the persecution and partial expulsion of Arabs and Jews. The novel is:

. . . una inundación de materia novelesca, ya previamente literarizada, en parte por los cultivadores de la leyenda negra de España, en parte por los simpatizantes románticos de la "sauvage beauté" española, en parte por Walter Scott La idealización del carácter de Ramiro . . . influye en Larreta para la representación del medio ambiente, de "la tierra vieja y maligna en que había nacido, aquella tierra en que todo era adversidad, maleficio, embrujamiento" (III,5). Se realza lo negativo, lo trabante, lo inerte.

Such a character, then, is almost of necessity a "literary" character within the literary construct, very much in the vein of Don Quijote. In fact, Larreta was so much under the spell of Cervantes that he had to put his book aside when writing La gloria. It is interesting to note at this point that in his description of young Waverley's personality and addiction to literature Scott is almost apologetic for the seeming resemblance that his character might have to Don Quijote. He is quick to add that, unlike el caballero de la triste figura, Waverley does not "misconstrue" external reality, but rather improves it by embellishing it with his own personal touches:

From the minuteness with which I have traced Waverley's pursuits, and the bias which these unavoidably communicated to his imagination, the reader may perhaps anticipate, in the following tale, an imitation of the romance of Cervantes. But he will do my prudence injustice in the supposition. My intention is not to follow the steps of that inimitable author,

in describing such total perversion of intellect as misconstrues the objects actually presented to the senses, but that more common aberration from sound judgment, which apprehends occurrences indeed in their reality, but communicates to them a tincture of its own romantic tone and colouring. ¹⁸

Although both Waverley and Ramiro attempt to succeed at the traditionally accepted tasks of the hero they fail, not because of "historical forces," although a superficial reading of the texts might yield such an interpretation, but because they are intrinsically at odds with the empirical reality they encounter in their different exploits. This conflict is introduced rather early in each novel--if we skip Scott's Prefaces and their Appendixes. Both young men are seduced by tales from a very early age. The presence of "literature", whether oral or written, is well-defined and influential in their lives: Waverley was told about the crusades and the civil wars by his aunt while Ramiro would listen to chivalry tales or war stories from the squire Medrano. The reaction that each boy had to these tales was not very different from that of many young people, what is peculiar is how each author treats this fascination with literature. Indeed they both seem to imply that it induces a sort of intoxication. Scott tells us that "From such legends our hero would steal away to indulge the fancies they excited. In the corner of the large and sombre library . . . , he would exercise for hours that internal sorcery by which past or imaginary events are presented in action, as it were, to the eye of the muser" (W, pp. 80-1). Ramiro, "Alucinado por la lectura, llegaba a creerse él mismo héroe de la narración. Fue sucesivamente Julio César, el Cid, el

Gran Capitán, Hernán Cortés. . . . Vencía a los moros en innumera-
bles batallas, brindaba a España el reino de Nápoles . . . y, por
fin, en pie en el castillo de una nave inverosímil, destruía para
siempre toda la flota del turco. . . ." (OC, p. 56).

This intoxication is precisely what constitutes each character's peculiar idiosyncrasy and what propels each one to act: when Waverley joins the Jacobites, it is not because of political necessity or historical conviction but because his emotions, which in turn are activated by his "romantic" imagination, have carried him over to the enemy side. This is indeed an empty gesture, a gesture void of any intellectual or spiritual significance, realization or achievement. Perhaps it should be noted that the process of learning and assimilating, essential to the Bildungsroman, would have no purpose here, since Waverley remains throughout, following his creator's intent, an observer. David Daiches has suggested that "the essence of Waverley is the way in which the conflicting claims of the two worlds impinge on the titular hero. . . . It is important . . . that the hero should be represented as someone sensitive to the environment in which he finds himself; otherwise his functions as observer could not be sustained." ¹⁹ Ramiro too is a passive observer; his initial involvement with the Moors is prompted by Vargas Orozco's suggestion that he act as a spy (observer) on behalf of the Spanish Crown, and by his own interpretation of this action as a means of securing "glory." His subsequent infatuation and amatory entanglement with Aixa is counterbalanced by a desire to repent from this sinful union, yet this desire is not genuine, but actually "tainted"

by literature: "Había encontrado en muchos libros de religión ejemplos de grandes pecadores que redimieron su vida abominable con un solo instante de profundo arrepentimiento" (OC, p. 99).

Ramiro's oscillations between opposing poles, whether these forces be Spaniards vs. Moors, Beatriz vs. Aixa, church vs. army, symbolize the struggle between man and his circumstances, the historical and the personal, but they are also, at a deeper level, the manifestation in narrative form of the character's inability to actualize his innermost fantasies in the world of empirical reality, since "el verdadero conflicto dramático creado está en otro dualismo más íntimo, dentro de don Ramiro mismo, que es la inadecuación entre la fantasía ambiciosa y la voluntad enclenque." ²⁰ The key word here is "fantasy", for this is indeed the "motor" that propels Ramiro's aborted actions. After a long convalescence from a serious wound received in confrontation with the Moors at Aixa's house, Ramiro, having already denounced her as an infidel to the Inquisition, begins, ironically, to feel reborn: "Su ambición, segada por el sufrimiento, rebrotaba ahora con savia más fuerte. . . . Recordó la biografía de los héroes. . . . Nueva confianza en su destino erguía ahora su hercúlea voluntad, y sentíase como ebrio de ilusión. . . (OC, p. 113). A parallel situation occurs in Scott's novel when Waverley, freed from Gilfillan by the mysterious Highlanders and fully recuperated from injuries suffered during the skirmish between the opposing factions, is on his way to new adventures: ". . . his romantic spirit . . . was now wearied with inaction. His passion for the wonderful had sunk. . . . In fact, this compound of intense

curiosity and exalted imagination forms a peculiar species of courage, which somewhat resembles the light usually carried by a miner. . . . It was now . . . once more rekindled. . . (W, p. 281). The image of this weak, precarious light is significant: it does not take very much for our hero to be in the dark, to be as lost as he was when as a child he "drove through the sea of books like a vessel without a pilot or a rudder" (W, p. 76). Even though literature has been supplanted with "real life," this reality is perceived as being predominantly a literary experience. For this reason, Waverley's joys or sorrows fail to move us. Instead of being a participant, the reader becomes an observer of Waverley and his world. Scott established this ironic distance between character and reader by his own detachment from Waverley, and by attempting to discourse intimately with us, as manifested not only by the General Preface but also by his numerous "asides" throughout the novel. Larreta achieves a similar effect but in a different manner. We always know Ramiro's innermost thoughts, but we also know more about him than he does himself, since Larreta tells us about his bastardía at the very beginning of the novel. He thus establishes an omniscience he shares with the reader, which is in turn contrasted with his character's blindness. Raimundo Lida has suggested that the book "no hace sino seguir el abrupto itinerario que el protagonista recorre entre dos situaciones espirituales extremas, entre su falsa idea de sí mismo . . . y la certidumbre de su origen deshonoroso. . . . Tensión permanente entre lo que Ramiro creyó ser y lo que de veras es: he ahí el resorte profundo de la novela."

21

When Ned Davison, commenting on the novel's form,

criticized its literary flavor, he indeed missed the point: Ramiro is a literary character who believes himself to be a literary character. This aspect is carried to almost parodic dimensions when Ramiro, in a passage reminiscent of Flaubert's La Légende de Saint Julien l'Hospitalier, decides to become a hermit because "tuvo por seguro que en los tiempos venideros su historia sería leída en hogares y refectorios para la edificación de las almas" (OC, p. 266). As can be inferred from this quotation, Larreta distances himself from his character by being himself an observer, allowing Ramiro to appear ridiculous or "blind" through his very own words. The irony lies in that gap that Lida mentions, between what Ramiro believes himself to be and what he actually is.

As was said above that Ramiro's destiny was representative of Spain's; the concept of a gap between a projected image and "what one truly is" can be applied to history as well: Philip II felt that the religious wars which were in fact bleeding Spain of her power constituted an assertion of it. In his novel Larreta offers a double vision of the historical: he reconstructs the past from actual accounts, taken in part from unpublished documents found in the Ávila archives,²³ but his perspective is that of a late-nineteenth-century Argentine of Spanish/Basque ancestry and it is, in depth, critical. It is not accidental that Ramiro's life should end in the New World: his identity problem is a reflection of sixteenth-century Spain and of Larreta's Spanish America. Waverley's predicament is not very different from Ramiro's. He too "wavers" between

two opposite cultures, and this conflict is generated, partly, by his father. Defining what he calls "the characteristic Scott vision," Francis Hart argues that "the private plot may serve as a metaphor or analogue to the public or historic. For example, the quest of the disinherited or fatherless son for his inheritance is the most familiar plot. And it is obviously serviceable as analogue to the public problem of historic transition and cultural continuity."²⁴

Although Waverley is not an orphan, he has been deprived of his father's presence from an early age (W, p. 77), and has found care and affection in a surrogate, his uncle; he is Sir Everard's spiritual son and has thus "inherited" the old gentleman's sympathies for the House of Stewart. It is no accident that Waverley's father, Sir Richard, should be on the side of the Hanover succession: when Waverley the soldier chooses the Jacobites he is rejecting not only the English, but also his father. Although his action is not "genuine" and his decision is by no means final, it represents yet another partial solution to his search for identity, a search symbolized first by his interest in literature and later by his association with strong, self-assertive males (the Baron of Bradwardine and Fergus Mac-Ivor are both father-figures). By marrying Rose, Waverley is in fact adopting a cultural heritage other than the one inherited by birth. Like Waverley, Ramiro grew up without an affectionate father. He felt an instinctive affinity toward the mysterious Moor who had saved his life, but when the Moor tells him that he is in fact his father (toward the end of the novel), Ramiro turns his back on him and decides to leave for the New World, thus rejecting both father

and country. In search of an identity, like Waverley, he was influenced by active, heroic men (Medrano and Diego de Bracamonte), but in the end he is unable to integrate his different selves into a coherent whole and his death, like his life, is marred by despair, contradiction and irony.

Waverley and Ramiro do not participate directly in the historical process (they are "unistorical"), but their lives offer that other side of reality which cannot be found in factual accounts or romanticized versions of historical figures:

What matters therefore in the historical novel is not the re-telling of great historical events, but the poetic awakening of the people who figured in those events. What matters is that we should re-experience the social and human motives which led men to think, feel and act just as they did in historical reality. And it is the law of literary portrayal which first appears paradoxical, but then is quite obvious, that in order to bring out these social and human motives of behaviour, the outwardly insignificant events, the smaller (from without) relationships are better suited than the great monumental dramas of world history. ²⁵

2. La gloria and I promessi sposi: A repentant villain. One major difference between these two novels lies in the fact that Manzoni identified the fate of the Italian people with a particular situation affecting his characters through a presentation of their predicament, ²⁶ while Larreta created a character, Ramiro, who himself personified Spain in its many contradictions. While the historical frame constitutes, in each case, an important structural aspect, it is in terms of the figure of the "repentant villain" that Larreta's novel will be discussed in reference to Manzoni's. In I promessi

sposi, the episode dealing with l'Innominato functions as a narrative capsule, with the obvious function of providing a character powerful enough to free Lucia from Don Rodrigo, and with the added attraction of introducing this character in a special aura, so that his function as liberator is subordinate to his complex individuality. Manzoni's manipulation of historical sources is justified in more ways than one: he could enhance the figure of Cardinal Borromeo through his confrontation with l'Innominato and at the same time revive the mysterious, charismatic figure of a repenting condottiere.²⁷ The fictional elements are far more interesting, though, for it is through his interaction with Lucia that l'Innominato is able to "feel" God's presence; she acts as a catalyst in a process, described briefly but powerfully, that the contrite villain had been experiencing for some time. According to Luigi Russo:

La crisi dell'innominato sbocca ad un riconoscimento manifesto di Dio: lo sono però; al riconoscimento di un oggetto come dicevo che ha una sua esistenza immutabile, al di fuori e al di sopra del soggetto che lo pensa; quindi è una crisi che, per il Manzoni, si conclude in un pieno e integrale trascendentismo. Ma volevo piuttosto rilevare come il Manzoni non ci fa giungere ex abrupto a questo capovolgimento di visione; tale conversione, dico, appare preparata, graduata, da quelle due precedenti fasi del pensiero della morte, del timore del giudizio eterno.²⁸

Accepting as a premise the linear development of both character and action in Manzoni's novel, the transformation is believable; its gradual abruptness, then, only surprises other characters, unaware of l'Innominato's thoughts about guilt and repentance. Like him, Ramiro remains "unnamed" in the New World; not only is he already dead at the beginning of the epilogue, but he has "lost" his name (signifi-

cantly after actually having learned his real, Arab name), and has been known as el Caballero Trágico. His life in colonial Perú has been accentuated by extreme violence, an inward violence externalized through robbery, plunder and murder. But if the circumstances and narrative structure of his conversion are similar to that of l'Innominato, the overall effect is one of abruptness, of a Deus ex machina in the character of Rosa de Lima, believable only in light of Ramiro's previous "conversions" and mystical experiences and representative of his desire for glory; as the friar tells Rosa: "Una envidia santa traspasó su corazón encallecido al escuchar las bendiciones de los miserables y al ver a tanto desgraciado que se echaba de hinojos en el suelo para besaros los pies. Abandonó sus galas, repartió joyas y dinero entre los menesterosos y . . . llevóme consigo a los campos para borrar con el bien todo el mal que habíamos sembrado por ellos" (OC, p. 277). The possibility of ironic intent, as manifested here, is particularly strong in the Epílogo, especially when Ramiro's concept of a heroic death is metabolized into a quasi suicide. In spite of the differences, which are important, it is significant that the motif of the repentant villain should appear in Larreta's novel, codified in terms so similar to I promessi sposi: in both instances the exploits of the unnamed sinner are described as frightening and evil; both characters are violent, powerful, feared men, although at different levels of the social scale; a saintly female figure, a virgin in both cases, is the direct agent of their religious transformation; both men continue to be "leaders" after their metamorphoses.

As mentioned above, l'Innominato's conversion is presaged through his dawning self-knowledge ("Già da qualche tempo cominciava a provare, se non un rimorso, una cert'uggia delle sue scelleratezze").
 29
 Moreover, he fears Lucia even before he meets her, for his confrontation with her will cause the symbolic death of his old self, and a rebirth to a new life:

Era aspettata dall'innominato, con un'inquietudine, con una sospensione d'animo insolita. Cosa strana! quell'uomo, che aveva disposto a sangue freddo di tante vite, che in tanti suoi fatti non aveva contato per nulla i dolori da lui cagionati, se non qualche volta per assaporare in essi una selvaggia voluttà di vendetta, ora, nel metter le mani addosso a questa sconosciuta, a questa povera contadina, sentiva come un ribrezzo, direi quasi un terrore. (PS, II, pp. 39-40).

Ramiro's first encounter with Rosa de Lima in church, which is narrated by the Dominican friar, is by no means mystical: "Habiendo sabido después cuán piadosa erais y cuán alejada de todas las vanidades y pasiones del siglo, determinó, sin embargo, seduciros o robáros a viva fuerza" (OC, p. 276). In both works the seduction of a pious virgin is imminent, although in Manzoni the action carried out by l'Innominato is completely impersonal, a favor to Don Rodrigo, while in Larreta's novel Ramiro's chauvinistic instincts are aroused by Rosa's notorious chastity. In Manzoni there is a dialogue between jailer and jailed, a dialogue in which the submissive victim becomes, in the mind of the jailer, the voice of authority;
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 Larreta instead "silences" Ramiro, and the meeting with Rosa, as remembered by her in one short paragraph, consists of a hypnotizing and successful preaching on her part: "sin darle tiempo a que despegase sus labios,

habló largamente sobre el divino y verdadero amor, con palabras dictadas, sin duda, por el Cielo" (OC, p. 277). For l'Innominato, Lucia's words, "Dio perdona tante cose, per un'opera di misericordia!" (PS, II, p. 50), recur during his tormented self-scrutiny, not only transforming him, but also transforming his perception of her, so that she becomes, in his eyes, an almost sacred being: "fissò gli occhi della mente in colei da cui aveva sentite quelle parole; e la vedeva, non come la sua prigionera, non come una supplichevole, ma in atto di chi dispensa grazie e consolazioni" (PS, II, p. 61). Ramiro, the would-be rapist, is also mesmerized by a woman's words, so much so that he talks about her in an exalted way: "¡Es una santa, una esposa de Cristo; es Él quien habla por sus labios!" (OC, p. 276).

Even if the power of the spoken word has been effective in achieving important changes in both characters, it should be stressed that their transformation is "complete" only insofar as the innate qualities of each individual have been applied to different purposes. L'Innominato has become a saint, but he is "un di que' santi che si dipingono con la testa alta, e con la spada in pugno" (PS, II, pp. 135-6). He is still a leader, a fighter, but his cause has changed. As Arturo Graf has suggested: ". . . l'Innominato diventa un santo in virtù di quelle stesse energie che già fecero di lui un demonio. Dopo la conversione gli elementi essenziali del suo carattere non si può dire che sieno mutati: la forza non è più violenza, ma rimane pur sempre forza." ³¹ Likewise, Ramiro is still the same Ramiro that had felt the pangs of mysticism before, in Ávila and Toledo. As noted above, his change of heart is partly caused by

envy: he wants to be a saint because this has become the only possible means of obtaining "glory". After his conversion, he is still a leader, going back to the same places where he had plundered and killed before, with the intention of doing good and redeeming himself in the eyes of others. Whereas the changes experienced by l'Innominato seems to be genuine, indeed a transformation of character in light of self-discovery and conscience, Ramiro's "conversion" seems to be yet another affectation, another desperate gesture in a life full of absurdities. Whereas in Manzoni the function of irony is fulfilled by the populace, in their reaction to what they see or hear,³² Larreta insists in depicting a character whose actions are in themselves representative of inherent contradictions. His repentant villain, then, does not even intend to achieve the stature of Manzoni's "saint with sword in hand." Rather, having misinterpreted a vast amount of literature, both oral and written, he is instead the caricature of a saint.

3. La gloria and Notre-Dame de Paris: Inexorable destiny.

33
Even though Larreta does not mention Notre-Dame when praising Hugo, there are certain attitudes in it that are also reflected in La gloria. In both novels, the male protagonist exhibits some anachronistic characteristics which displace him from the historical period in question and are in accordance with the specific time references of each author. For example, the duplicity of character that defines both Claude Frollo and Ramiro is much closer to nineteenth-century literary models than to either Medieval French or Spanish Golden Age

texts. The relationship that each protagonist has with the prototype of the "sorceress" as represented by Esmeralda and Aixa enhances the effect of anachronism. Destiny, fatality, ananké,³⁴ constitutes the outer structure of each novel, the frame which contains the many, often melodramatic plot episodes. Esmeralda and Aixa, both outcasts within their respective social milieux, are accused of witchcraft and condemned to die at the public square. Dom Claude Frollo and don Ramiro do not belong, respectively, to the Middle Ages or to the Spanish "Renaissance." They are nineteenth-century romantics, yearning for the ideal, aspiring for a world beyond and being constantly held back, or imprisoned, by "destiny."³⁵ The final irony affecting the lives of Esmeralda and Ramiro rests on their respective cases of mistaken identity: she is not une égyptienne as she is often described but the daughter of a prostitute from Reims; he is not an hidalgo but a bastard. Fatality or ananké lies not in what they seem to be but in what they actually are, and the fact that their true identity is concealed from them makes their predicament even more tragic.

Claude Frollo truly believes that he is under a spell, that Esmeralda has charmed him and that since he is already "damned" because of his impure obsession with her, an idée fixe, he might as well be completely victimized, possessed by this sorceress. When she repeatedly refuses his sexual advances, torturing him, by telling him that she loves Phoebus, he decides that she must die, that if not for him she should not be for anyone. As Ramiro's fortunes decline after his grandfather's death and his bad luck progresses once he is out of Ávila and in Toledo, he becomes more and more certain that Aixa

has "charmed" him and that he will not be able to be "himself" again until she is dead. Not only had he turned her over to the Inquisition, he must watch her burn at the stake in the Auto de fe to feel, to imagine, that he is free. This is a variation of a pattern already established in La gloria: in order to save his honor, to "prove" his hidalguía, Ramiro had previously killed Gonzalo de San Vicente, his rival for the love of Beatriz Blázquez Serrano, and, enraged by her treason, by the knowledge that she would never be his, killed her with rosary beads, described as being a "soga de estrangular demonios" (OC, p. 218). In this sense, Beatriz, like Aixa, is a sorceress, an evil presence in Ramiro's life that, once eliminated, becomes for him merely "un accidente de la fatalidad" (OC, p. 232).

The role of destiny as a conceptual frame which modifies, or rather, controls, most of the actions of the main protagonists, is introduced at the very beginning of Hugo's novel: in his Preface he asserts that it was "sur ce mot [ananke] qu'on a fait ce livre." ³⁶ It was supposedly Claude Frollo who inscribed this word on the wall of his remote tower in the cathedral (ND, p. 311). This inscription, like the man it represented, like the "original" cathedral, was fated to disappear. The Guttenberg press brought an end to the story-like greatness of Medieval architecture, and Hugo's digression on this theme (Book V, Ch.2, "Ceci tuera cela"), reminiscent of the Quijote's "Discurso sobre las armas y las letras," is an attempt to revive an interest in architecture and ruins, a Romantic concern. In fact, the ³⁷ entire book somehow is an "imitation" of a gothic cathedral, with its tremendous conceptual scope, its intention to join the

sublime and the grotesque (exquisite stained-glass/monstrous gargoyles: Esmeralda/Quasimodo), its availability and appeal to the masses and its often disparate elements. The individual destinies of Claude Frollo, Esmeralda and Quasimodo are thus made to converge at a single point: Notre-Dame, indeed a "book" which contains their stories. Claude Frollo's particularly close relation not only to Notre-Dame but to "the church" in general is the focus of what actually constitutes his destiny: "Claude Frollo avait été destiné dès l'enfance par ses parents à l'état ecclésiastique" (ND, p. 170), but in fact his passionate nature, seemingly deadened by a life of severe study, discipline, sensual deprivation, is later inflamed by Esmeralda. Although "destined" for the priesthood, he had been already "destined" by the unknown to become a victim of his own passions. And it is precisely on these terms that Ramiro resembles Claude. Like him, Ramiro thinks he owes his problems to external circumstances, but in the novel's first pages Larreta tells us that as a young boy Ramiro "parecía llevar en la frente el surco de misterioso pesar" (OC, p. 13). Some pages later we learn that his grandfather, Don Íñigo, had cursed him even before he had been born: "le maldijo [a Guiomar] el fruto que llevaba en el vientre" (OC, p. 26). Like Claude, Ramiro is apprenticed into the religious life at an early age, but while Claude, like Faustus, seeks the ideal through learning (science, alchemy, the occult), Ramiro yearns for the "glory" of this world through an equally false "heroic" violence. Their temperaments are akin: Claude, "un enfant triste, grave, sérieux" (ND, p. 170), Ramiro "tocado de Dios. Su madre lo veía internarse, como un pre-

destinado, en la aspereza y el recogimiento" (OC, p. 29).

Throughout his life, Ramiro remains hopelessly confused about his destiny. He intuits that there is something wrong with him since childhood (his grandfather's rejection, his mother's suffering, a lack of friends), but he chooses to ignore these signs as well as those that are more overt. When, prompted by Vargas Orozco, he roams Ávila's Arab quarters with the purpose of unveiling a conspiracy against the Spanish Crown and is about to be poisoned by suspicious Arabs, a mysterious Moor offers him a "worthier" (and not poisoned) cup: "Ramiro bebió resueltamente, confiado en su destino" (OC, p. 78). This is, of course, his father, and by casting his luck with him above the others, Ramiro chooses rightly, follows his "true" destiny and comes, partly, under his father's protection. His father saves his life a second time, is repudiated by his own people for doing so, and, before leaving Ávila, gives Ramiro a beautiful dagger. Still ignoring the identity of this mysterious character, Ramiro, grateful and intuitively attached to him, wears the dagger proudly, but when don Alonso advises him to hide it so that this action would not arouse the suspicions of those who believe him to be on the Arab side, Ramiro, "anonadado por la terrible fatalidad, llevóse la mano a la frente" (OC, p. 121). He is unable to "see" the signs that "point" to his destiny: he is not what he believes himself to be. He fails to accept that la fatalidad which seems to thwart all his efforts is inexorable; he blames Aixa for his bad luck, believing her to be l'araignée in their tortured relationship, when she in

fact is also a victim. Although the concept of ananké acts as a frame in the lives of Ramiro and Claude Frollo, the former is never completely aware of its power, while the latter is fully conscious of its implacability and even theorizes about it in his meditation on la mouche et l'araignée:

--Oh! oui. . . voilà un symbole de tout. Elle vole, elle est toujours joyeuse, elle vient de naître; elle cherche le printemps, le grand air, la liberté; oh! oui, mais qu'elle se heurte à la rosace fatale, l'araignée en sort, l'araignée hideuse! Pauvre danseuse! pauvre mouche prédestinée! Maître Jacques, laissez faire! c'est la fatalité! --Hélas! Claude, tu es l'araignée. Claude, tu es la mouche aussi! --Tu volais à la science, à la lumière, au soleil . . . mais en te précipitant vers la lucarne éblouissante qui donne sur l'autre monde, sur le monde de la clarté, de l'intelligence et de la science, mouche aveugle, docteur insensé, tu n'as pas vu cette subtile toile d'araignée tendue par le destin entre la lumière et toi, tu t'y es jeté à corps perdu, misérable fou, et maintenant tu te débats, la tête brisée et les ailes arrachées, entre les antennes de fer de la fatalité. (ND, p. 323)

The paradoxical nature of the relationship mouche/araignée, as seen by Dom Claude, in which the victimizer (spider/Claude) identifies with the victim (fly/"dancer"/Esmeralda), is "blamed" on destiny (la fatalité). This viewpoint, which, as mentioned above, acts as a structural frame, excuses the novelist from delving any deeper into the psychology of his characters and prevents the reader from understanding at least some of the complexities that a mouche/araignée relationship might entail. Hugo succeeds, convincing us of his character's argument, and the amplification of the mouche/araignée motif does not become repetitive or boring but is actually enhanced by Claude Frollo's "confession" to Esmeralda (ND, pp. 371-82).

A similar pattern appears in La gloria: Ramiro's obsession with Aixa goes through several transformations, from erotic to sadistic to paranoid; as in Notre-Dame, "destiny" is the culprit, and Ramiro's actions are not examined, analyzed or censored in any way. In fact, the role of destiny is prefigured when at the height of their amorous liaison, Aixa tells Ramiro: "acaso verná un día venidero en que me darás al demonio tú" (OC, p. 90). Ironically, the figure of the witch or sorceress, which is in each novel painfully constructed through the eyes of the tortured protagonists, actually functions as a mirror of their own inadequacies. Their idée fixe is presented progressively in each novel, gaining strength and dimension through several incidents as they sink deeper and deeper into their own tortured fantasies. At first, they both seem to be unable to overcome the feeling of helplessness associated with the idea of being "charmed." Claude: "Depuis quelque temps . . . j'échoue dans toutes mes expériences! L'idée fixe me possède, et me flétrit le cerveau comme un trèfle de feu" (ND, p. 310). Ramiro: "Volvió a la casa del arrabal, no una vez, sino muchas. Comprendió que era inútil resistir. A toda hora, el perfume de la mujer le embriagaba" (OC, p. 87). It should be noted that there is an important difference in this set of similarities, Claude Frollo, "vierge et . . . prêtre" (ND, p. 436), is completely frustrated in his sexual desire, while Ramiro becomes satiated with Aixa's sensuality, linked as it was to her religion (this was in fact what Ramiro feared the most, his innate attraction to Arab traditions). Both men believe,

however, that they are "possessed" by the devil through the women:

Ce n'était pas là une simple fille faite avec un peu de notre terre, et pauvrement éclairée à l'intérieur par le vacillant rayon d'une âme de femme. C'était un ange! mais de ténèbres, mais de flamme et non de lumière . . . je ne douterai plus que tu n'en vinsses pour ma perte. . . . Cependant le charme opérait peu à peu, ta danse me tournoyait dans le cerveau, je sentais le mystérieux maléfice s'accomplir en moi, tout ce qui aurait du veiller s'endormait dans mon âme, et comme ceux qui meurent dans la neige, je trouvais du plaisir à laisser venir ce sommeil. (ND, pp. 375-6)

Ya el cuerpo de la sarracena le dejaba en el sentido un olor imaginario de untura brujeil y de husmo. . . . Instantes hubo en que meditó el modo mejor de suprimir para siempre a aquella hembra demasiado hermosa, cuya fascinación podía resurgir más adelante en su camino. Imaginaba . . . llevarla algún oculto veneno, o hacerla perecer, sin arma alguna, ciñéndole la garganta. . . . Pero había oído decir que algunas mujeres cobraban al morir inolvidable belleza. Comprendió entonces la virtud santa del fuego, la destrucción sin igual de la hoguera, que no dejaba sino un negro amasijo repelente. (OC, p. 99)

The quotation from Notre-Dame is part of Claude's "confession" to Esmeralda, an ironic twist, since she is now in a dungeon accused of a crime that he committed and he has come in his category of "priest" to hear her confession. Esmeralda's refusal to save her life by giving in to Claude makes him even more desperate; he becomes her victim when she tells him, repeatedly, that she still loves Phoebus, and he is able to feel, once again, that he is caught in the spider's web. Contrasting this attitude, Ramiro wants to be an executioner, the destroyer of carnal beauty which reminds him, time and again, that he is not the spiritual, self-flagellating Christian that he would like to be, but a slave to his own instincts.

Also, Aixa's death at the stake at the Auto de fe in Toledo (OC, pp. 261-2), is prefigured in the quoted passage. Ramiro's obsession with Aixa seems to decrease after his almost fatal wound when he denounces her to the Inquisition and turns his attentions to Beatriz. However, almost as soon as he strangles the latter and leaves Ávila, he hears someone tell this adulterated story: "--Además, un mozo de mulas que viajaba con esa gente . . . me aseguró que la hermosa morisca, valiéndose de un brebaje diabólico, había logrado hechizar a uno de los mancebos más bizarros y piadosos de ciudad tan cristiana, haciéndole renegar en poco tiempo de la fe de nuestro Señor Jesucristo y entrar en la conjura" (OC, p. 227). His reaction is one of anguish and humiliation, sensations that would become sharper as his station in life sank lower and lower in Toledo. His paranoid obsession with Aixa recurs, and he blames all his misfortunes on the alleged spell she had cast on him:

Como entrevistas a la luz de los relámpagos, las mayores culpas de su vida se reanimaron en su conciencia. Vióse sobre el pecho de la morisca, olvidado por entero de su fe, de su honra, de su patria; acordóse de sus fementidas confesiones, de los pensamientos lascivos que él mismo suscitaba durante la misa al observar codiciosamente las formas de las mujeres prosternadas. . . . ¿A qué achacar todo aquello sino a sus amores con Aixa? Sin duda, la infiel, con hipócrita dulzura, hábale instilado en el alma su propia pestilencia. . . . Llegó a la convicción de que el hechizo . . . no se rompería hasta que Aixa no desapareciera del mundo. (OC, pp. 249-50)

His "survival" depends on her death, or so he thinks, and he therefore convinces himself that he will be "free" once she dies; this notion, however, is yet another fallacy, another lie that supports

Ramiro's incredibly sophisticated defense mechanisms. Like Ramiro, Dom Claude must destroy his demon, personified by Esmeralda, but the predominant motive he finds is jealousy:

Il songea à cette malheureuse fille qui l'avait perdu et qu'il avait perdue. Il promena un oeil hagard sur la double voie tortueuse que la fatalité avait fait suivre à leurs deux destinées, jusqu'au point d'intersection où elle les avait impitoyablement brisées l'une contre l'autre Oh! elle! c'est elle! c'est cette idée fixe qui revenait sans cesse, qui le torturait, qui lui mordit la cervelle et lui déchiquetait les entrailles. . . . Il aimait mieux la voir aux mains du bourreau qu'aux bras de capitaine, mais il souffrait. . . . (ND, pp. 406-7)

In Hugo's fictional universe, such perversion does not go unpunished: Claude Frollo's fear of the symbolic abyss is actualized in an agonizing scene of almost three pages in which he desperately hangs from one of Notre-Dame's fragile gouttières before his last fatal plunge (ND, pp. 562-5).

The elements that have been compared and contrasted so far are complemented by some less outstanding details which "round off" the set of similarities shared by the two novels. For instance, the absolute power of "the King" is portrayed by each author through one single episode which is nonetheless representative of the central motif (the role of destiny). In Notre-Dame, it is Louis XI who finally decides that Esmeralda must die because she symbolizes a threat to "France." In La gloria, Philip II is felt as an almost omnipotent presence throughout Part II, which starts: "El rey Don Felipe II era llamado, con razón, el Prudente. Grandes fueron los tumultos y demasías de Aragón; sin embargo, a fines del año de

1991, todo pareció terminar en paz y concordia bajo la simulada clemencia del monarca" (OC, p. 171). There is one other pattern that approximates the two works: Hugo's fondness of the tres para una motif (in Hernani: Ruy Gómez, the king and Hernani for Doña Sol; in Ruy Blas: the nobleman, the king and Ruy Blas for the queen of Spain; in Notre-Dame: Claude, Pierre Gringoire and Quasimodo for Esmeralda) is assimilated and transformed into tres para uno: Casilda, Beatriz and Aixa for Ramiro.

4. La gloria and El señor de Bembibre: Knight and hermit. Considered one of the best historical novels of nineteenth-century Spain (another being Mariano José de Larra's El doncel de don Enrique el doliente, 1834), Gil y Carrasco's work marked a culminating point in the genre's history in that country. Greatly influenced by Scott's fictions, translated at the end of the 1820's, Spanish authors had produced a series of historical romances which were very popular at the time. Gil's merit consisted not only in his adequate use of documented historical material (something that later practitioners of historical fiction, up to Galdós in his Episodios nacionales,³⁸ would fail to do), but in his ideological conception, which made his book transcend the simplicity of some of its narrative elements. As Donald Shaw has observed: "Few works illustrate more clearly than El Señor de Bembibre the conflict of Romantic outlook and traditional allegiance. This is not a novel in which faith and conformity with the will of God are seen as the answer to life's problems. It is one which in the ideological plane exhibits the characteristic

Romantic tendency to reveal in stories of repeated arbitrary mis-
 fortunes a lack of confidence in any ordained scheme of things."³⁹
 However, Christian faith is victorious, and in spite of what Shaw
 labels as a "flagrant contradiction" when Doña Beatriz (whom he
 mistakenly calls 'Elvira') dies, Don Álvaro becomes a pious, saint-
 like monk. The "ordained scheme of things" is what prevents the
 two ill-fated lovers from a successful union. In Larreta's novel,
 destiny plays a central role not only in Ramiro's life, but also in
 Aixa's and Beatriz'. Rebellion against the established order of
 things is the main substance of Ramiro's actions, a rebellion that
 would lead him to a life as a caballero and as a hermit in a pattern
 similar to that exhibited by Gil's Don Álvaro.

Walter Scott's influence on Gil y Carrasco was dismissed as
 superficial by E. Allison Peers;⁴⁰ however, a later study by Daniel
 George Samuels sees a justified affinity between The Bride of
Lammermoor and El señor,⁴¹ and also points to Gil's admiration for
 Manzoni, who served as a source for his earlier novel, El lago de
Carucedo (1840). Manzoni's influence is assessed by Samuels as
 follows: "The piety and resignation of I promessi sposi are reflected
 in El señor de Bembibre, but the spirit of positive and practical
 Catholicism, adapted to the realities of existence, veers perceptibly
 from the poetic attitude towards religion which Gil derived from
 Chateaubriand and Lamartine. . . . Nevertheless, in Manzoni, he found⁴²
 the prototype for his expression of faith in El señor de Bembibre."
 This last aspect is particularly significant in relation to Larreta's

possible interpretation of Manzoni's l'Innominato as one of the models for Ramiro. The repentant villain, as in Manzoni's novel, or the soldier-hermit, as in Gil's, form "components" of Ramiro's personality. In all three works the importance of historical reality is balanced against the importance of individual characters, yet in all three cases historical sources are accurately interpreted. According to Ricardo Gullón, it is the importance that Gil y Carrasco attributed to the "historical" parts that sustains an interest in the novel,⁴³ perhaps, as Ildefonso Manuel Gil has suggested, because the author concentrated on the representation of existing geographical locations, faithful to the landscape and its characteristics. Just as Larreta pored over a series of sixteenth-century Spanish documents, including some autobiographies, Gil's knowledge of the Order of the Templars was based on historical sources, such as Dunham's The History of Spain and Portugal (1832) and Michelet's account of the Templars in his Histoire de France⁴⁵ (1837).

A cursory reading of El señor would offer little similarity between it and La gloria: the decline and fall of the Templarios, the battle scenes, the strictly Romantic story of Don Álvaro and Doña Beatriz (incidentally, Ramiro's impossible love, not to mention Dante's, is also a "Beatriz") and the book's exalted prose in its description of nature all sound too far removed from Larreta's decadent treatment of Renaissance Spain. However, it is in terms of structure, as has been noted before, that a set of comparisons and

contrasts would be more effective. The conflict between the individual and the established scheme of things, be it in terms of religion, social class or ethnic origin, projected against a historical background, is conceived in similar terms by both Gil and Larreta. A conceptually Romantic philosophy permeates the characterization of Ramiro, an unfortunate man seeking "glory" in the wrong places. Gil's Don Álvaro joins the Templars in desperation and disenchantment with the "outside" world (the impossibility to marry Beatriz, since her father had promised her to a richer, more powerful man, an enemy of the Templars) and during his initiation he is referred to, according to the ritual words, as he who comes "poseído de celo hacia su gloria, de humildad y de desengaño."⁴⁶ It is interesting to note that "glory" is pursued in the spirit of humility and disillusionment, in this case "glory" having the connotations of religious chastisement and redemption. Of course, in Larreta's novel the concept of "glory" is problematic because it has a multiplicity of meanings which change according to Ramiro's ups and downs; moreover, it is used ironically both in the book's title and in the much discussed epilogue. Significantly, both caballeros become hermits: Ramiro in two occasions, one parodic, the other narrated in a sort of expository "capsule" by his friend, the Dominican friar (and former thief); Don Álvaro after Beatriz' death and within a structure also occurring outside the general narrative pattern (the author has found a "manuscript" containing the story of a mysterious monk).

If Ramiro's second stint as a hermit is dealt with in ambiguous

terms, possibly ironic, Don Álvaro's religious feeling is never questioned, and, in spite of the ideological contradiction pointed out by Shaw (see pages 79-80, above), his piety is presented as real. He is venerated as a saintly man and in all ways behaves in accordance with a strict code of honor, something he had also done as a knight. This attitude should be contrasted with Ramiro's ambivalence and his very convenient sense of "honor" and "dignity" (for instance, he is convinced by the malevolent Vargas Orozco to break his word of honor and denounce Aixa and Gulinar to the Inquisition). Whereas Gil y Carrasco, much in the tradition of the novela de caballerías, has wrought out the paragon of medieval knighthood, Larreta has shown us the other side of the coin: the prototype of the confused, dishonest hidalgo, who is somewhat justified for acting dishonorably because he is not even aware of himself or his actions. Gil's work remains, in the tradition of nineteenth-century idealism, an affirmation of ultimate goodness; Larreta's novel throws a sardonic look on those very same values and his final comment on "la gloria" of don Ramiro is ironic.

5. La gloria and Salammbô: The erotics of mysticism. Although several critics point to Flaubert as one of the important influences on Larreta, only one, Berenguer Carisomo, offers a detailed comparison between La gloria and Salammbô in terms of style, showing how Flaubert's exotic novel was indeed a major source for Larreta's historical fiction. ⁴⁷ Although Salammbô cannot be considered an easily classifiable example of the historical novel (as Burton Pike

has suggested, it offers a rather "phantasmagoric" view of ancient history),⁴⁸ some major affinities between it and Larzeta's historical novel provide ample ground for some thematically valid comparisons. The figure of the priestess, in the case of *Salammô*, and of the religious fanatic, as represented by Aixa, acquire symbolic dimensions as the erotic object, which is both feared and desired. Both characters are codified as typical products of Orientalism as manifested in nineteenth-century French painting, some of its most notable examples being Delacroix, *Mort de Sardanapale* (1826) and *Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement* (1834), and Ingres, *Le Bain turc* (1862), as well as his series of *Odalisques*.⁴⁹

This is the atmosphere that envelops *Salammô*'s grand entrance in the novel's first chapter, an entrance described with the kind of rich imagery that powerfully conveys an aura of exoticism and mystery, perceived not only by her audience, the revelling mercenaries, but even more so by the reader:

Sa chevelure, poudrée d'un sable violet, et réunie en forme de tour selon la mode des vierges chananéennes, la faisait paraître plus grande. Des tresses de perles attachées à ses tempes descendaient jusqu'aux coins de sa bouche, rose comme une grenade entre'ouverte. Ily avait sur sa poitrine un assemblage de pierres lumineuses, imitant par leur bigarrure les écailles d'une murène. Ses bras, garnies de diamants, sortaient nus de sa tunique sans manches, étoilée de fleurs rouges sur un fond tout noir. Elle portait entre les chevilles une chaînette d'or pour régler sa marche, et son grand manteau de pourpre sombre, taillé dans une étoffe inconnue, traînait derrière elle, faisant à chacun de ses pas comme une large vague qui la suivait.⁵⁰

As Edward Said has pointed out, Flaubert's association "between the Orient and sex" was typical of his time, and of current "Western

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attitudes to the Orient. " Fulfilling her function as an object of veneration and respect in relation to the goddess Tanit, she is thus depicted, in the passage quoted above, as she descends the stairs towards the soldiers (among them Mathô), a symbolic descent that would culminate in her surrender, physical, and, more importantly, spiritual, to Mathô and the world of the senses. ⁵²

There is another scene in which Salammbô is described in an exotic manner, this time through the eyes of Mathô, who has entered her room unseen:

Elle dormait la joue dans une main et l'autre bras déplié. Les anneaux de sa chevelure se répandaient autour d'elle si abondamment qu'elle paraissait couchée sur des plumes noires, et sa large tunique blanche se courbait en molles draperies, jusqu'à ses pieds, suivant les inflexions de sa taille. On apercevait un peu ses yeux, sous ses papières entre-closes. Les courtines, perpendiculairement tendues, l'enveloppaient d'une atmosphère bleuâtre, et le mouvement de sa respiration, en se communiquant aux cordes, semblait la balancer dans l'air. Un long moustique bourdonnait. (Oeuvres, I, p. 814)

Reminiscent of these two quotations from Salammbô, and perhaps even more explicit in its use of an Orientalist motif, Aixa's introduction in La gloria accentuates the theme of voyeurism: Aixa is bathing and the intimacy of the atmosphere is enhanced by the fact that Ramiro is watching her through an opening in the wall, an opening used to store urns containing water for Moslem religious rites. The reader then becomes an implicit voyeur, "reading" through a sort of peephole:

La quietud dejaba flotar o embeberse la suelta cabellera enrojecida por el hené; cabellera esponjada y enorme que

hacía pensar en los copos destinados a tejer todo un manto. Algunos mechones que conservaban la oleosidad de los unguentos pendían de uno de los bordes. ¿Era también su guedeja o las serpientes fascinadoras de algún extraño sortilegio?... Ramiro admiró la dulzura de los párpados orleados de sombras, bajo las cejas alargadas por el kohl, y aquella rara sonrisa, aquella sonrisa de ensueño, que estremecía levemente sus labios, como si un vuelo invisible mantuviera sobre ellos cosquillosa frescura. (OC, p. 84)

It should be noted, as an aside, that all three quotes begin with a description of hair, the woman's hair being a sensual, erotic object, almost independent from her. ⁵³ A presage of Aixa's fate is alluded to, for Ramiro will always see her as a sorceress, as he saw her for the first time: her hair reminds him of serpents, an obvious reference to the gorgon Medusa. Turned over to the Inquisition because of his testimony and accused of witchcraft, Aixa dies a horrible death at the stake, watched impassibly by Ramiro, again the voyeur (OC, pp. 259-62).

An interesting twist in both Flaubert and Larreta is that Eastern mysticism is manipulated and adapted so that its effects come close to those elicited by literary descriptions of Christian ⁵⁴ecstasy. Responding to St. Beuve's criticism that Salammbô resembled Chateaubriand's Velléda and his own Mme. Bovary, Flaubert protested:

As for my heroine, I do not defend her. According to you she resembles . . . Velléda, Mme. Bovary. Not at all! Velléda is active, intelligent, European, Mme. Bovary is stirred by multiple passions; Salammbô, on the contrary, is rooted on a fixed idea. She is a maniac, a kind of St. Theresa. What does it matter? I am not sure of her reality, for neither I, nor you, nor anyone, neither ancient nor modern can know the oriental woman, because it is impossible to associate with her. ⁵⁵

Of course, Flaubert was defending his heroine against the charges of being "modern," a justified charge perhaps, but what is interesting to note here is the association with Teresa de Ahumada. Salammbô's idée fixe is the force that propels her to "sacrifice" her virginity and offer herself to Mathô to recover the sacred zaïmph; her religious fanaticism even allows her to enjoy a sexual experience under the guise of mystical fervor:

Salammbô était envahie par une mollesse où elle perdait toute conscience d'elle même. Quelque chose à la fois intime et de supérieur, un ordre des Diexu la forçait à s'y abandonner; des nuages la soulevaient, et en défaillant, elle se renversa sur le lit dans les poils du lion. Mathô lui saisit les talons, la chaînette d'or éclata, et les deux bouts, en s'envolant, frappèrent la toile comme deux vipères rebondissantes. Le zaïmph tomba, l'enveloppa; elle aperçut la figure de Mathô se courbant sur sa poitrine. (Oeuvres, I, p. 924)

The sacred object, tribute to Tanit, envelops Salammbô in this scene of Romantic, not Carthaginian, seduction, becoming identified with her, who in turn is also "sacred" to Mathô. An act of defilement has occurred, twofold in its consequences: the desacralization of the zaïmph during Salammbô's intercourse with Mathô and her own loss of identity through an action that in essence has been stripped of religious symbolism and has become important to her merely in itself. In Larreta's novel, again through the eyes of Ramiro, Aixa's trance, both sexual and mystical, is associated with the experiences of Teresa de Ahumada:

La danza concluía la rotación era cada vez más lenta. Aixa trababa sus pies, por instantes; su cabeza, cargada quién sabe de qué prodigiosas visiones, se inclinó por

fin sobre el hombro. . . . Aixa habíase acostado ella misma sobre las losas, apretando los dientes y dejando escapar un gemido tembloroso. . . . Luminosa beatitud comenzaba a bañarle el semblante. Su palidez sobrepujo las alburas del mundo, el azahar, los lirios, la nieve. Ramiro recordó la descripción de los arrobos de la madre Teresa de Jesús y de otras siervas admirables del Señor, y acordóse también de su propia madre cuando, después de una larga plegaria, en el oratorio, se desplomaba de súbito, como herida de dulcísima muerte. Era la misma palidez patética, el mismo temblor de los labios, el mismo estiramiento de los párpados sobre las pupilas ebrias de claridad. . . . Había hablado el lenguaje de los místicos; . . . con la sola contemplación, acababa de remontarse a las más altas regiones del éxtasis. (OC, pp. 92-3)

In Aixa, sensual love and spiritual love are inextricably bound, so that she is capable of experiencing one through the other, whereas for Ramiro, ecstasy is not possible because he can never really be outside of self, his "self" being a construct of which he is highly conscious. His "mystical" experiences are usually provoked by fantasies he elaborates and ends up believing, or by his own projecting images of self-delusion and grandeur. If Aixa is a fanatical Moslem whose idée fixe of converting Ramiro partly causes her doom, at least her fanaticism is a consequence not of external circumstances, as is the case with Ramiro, but of deeply rooted and genuinely-felt belief in, and experiencing of, mysticism. In the passage quoted above, Ramiro, for one moment, really "sees" Aixa as a true mystic, in spite of the fact that she is not, like Teresa de Ahumada, or his own mother, a Christian. This perception, however, will be tainted by his preconceived notion about sin, guilt, and Christian dogma, exacerbated by the evil Vargas' Orozco as well as by his feeling that he has been "charmed" by Aixa.

Some aspects of Ramiro's role as "enchanted" lover (in reference to Hugo's *Claude Frollo*), were discussed in the previous pages, a role that he also shares with Salammbô's Mathô. Northrop Frye has called Flaubert's novel "a study of demonic imagery," further stating: "The demonic erotic relation becomes a destructive passion that works against loyalty or frustrates the one who possesses it. It is generally symbolized by a harlot, witch, siren or other tantalizing female, a physical object of desire which is sought as a possession and therefore can never be possessed."⁵⁶

Such is the predicament that afflicts Mathô. From the beginning, his obsession with Salammbô is described in terms of a malady for which he can find no cure. He becomes increasingly morose and dejected and believes he has been punished by the gods through his beloved:

C'est une colère de Dieux! la fille d'Hamilcar me poursuit!
 J'en ai peur, Spendius! . . . Parle moi! je suis malade!
 je veux guérir! j'ai tout essayé! . . . Je suis sans doute
 la victime de quelque holocauste qu'elle aura promis aux
 Dieux? . . . Elle me tient attaché par une chaîne que l'on
 n'aperçoit pas. Si je marche, c'est qu'elle s'avance; quand
 je m'arrête, elle se repose! Ses yeux me brûlent, j'entends
 sa voix. Elle m'environne, elle me pénètre. Il me semble
 qu'elle est devenue mon âme! (Oeuvres, I, p. 769)

Feeling that he is "possessed" by Salammbô, Mathô thinks that he can be cured by possessing her in turn; however, the act of physical possession is not as significant. It is only when Salammbô realizes that she is in love with Mathô and that she has lost her identity as icon, that the demonic-erotic relation comes full circle, destroying both partners. In La gloria, religious fanaticism is linked to the theme of possession. Aixa is beyond "being possessed" by Ramiro,

protected by a sincere religious faith, while he in turn feels increasingly threatened by his attraction to Islam. He reacts by attempting to cast her aside because he is aware of the tremendous power that she has over him; even after he has denounced her to the Inquisition, Ramiro, in his weakness and lack of self-awareness and self-confidence, is convinced that he is still "possessed" by Aixa:

¿Qué era aquello del jugo de hierbas hechiceriles que le habían hecho beber sin que él lo advirtiera? ¿No habría mediado, en verdad, como el clérigo decía, algún filtro, algún brebaje diabólico? Acordóse de la mirada tan profunda, tan extraña, que su antigua manceba le había dirigido ante el Tribunal de la Inquisición, al ser arrastrada de nuevo a la tortura, y pensó en algún terrible sojamiento, cuya influencia pudiera prolongarse durante el resto de su vida. ¿Qué impulso incomprensible--preguntábase entonces--acababa de encaminarle a Toledo, adonde ella misma había de ser conducida por los peones del Santo Oficio? (OC, p. 233)

Ramiro's morbid temperament, exacerbated by his readings of an even more morbid hagiography and by Vargas Orozco's constant sermons about the consequences of sensuality (in all its manifestations), is in fact what leads him to witness the auto de fe. His conviction that Aixa's "sacrifice" at the stake will free him from his problems reflects the madness of the Inquisition itself, a point that Larreta insists upon by presenting Ramiro as the paradigm of the contradictory forces that defined Spain during that time of turmoil and violence. A parallel to this attitude is also found in Salammbô, where historical evidence regarding the Carthaginian sacrificial customs to the god Moloch is transformed into a phan-

tasmagorical sequence where the superstitions and fears of the populace, brought to a climax by the city's state of siege and famine, lead them to believe that they will be purged and "freed" from evil influences, by the horrible sacrifice (Oeuvres, I, Ch. XII, 'Moloch,' pp. 951-84).

Aixa, erotic figure, and also codified as a mystic, retains her attraction and seductive power to her very end, in a scene reminiscent of Salammô's Chapters XIII ('Moloch') and XIV ('Le Défilé de la Hache') in its grotesque details. As was the case in her introduction to the novel, the reader sees Aixa through Ramiro's eyes, and is also made to experience the fury and fanaticism of the crowd before the victims of the Inquisition. Although mutilated and defeated, Aixa has not been humbled: on the contrary, by asserting her faith to the end, even while burning, she is depicted as a Moslem Joan of Arc, attaining "sainthood" by example instead of by word. Her surrender to death is described in terms similar to those of sexual abandonment: 'En ese momento, cuatro sayones . . . levantaron a Aixa sobre la pila de leño y, habiéndola desvestido hasta la cintura, comenzaron a ligarla contra el madero. Ella ablandaba su cuerpo y echaba los brazos atrás para facilitar el suplicio. El ocaso hizo resplandecer cual claro marfil su admirable desnudez' (OC, p. 261). Ramiro's reaction, upon seeing her remains, "colgando del madero cual espantoso fruto de una pesadilla" (OC, p. 261), emphasizes again the importance of the world of the senses for this pseudo-mystic. He has experienced "en toda su carne un estremecimiento profundo e imprevista congoja le contrajo la garganta al

recordar las bellezas y delicias del precioso cuerpo que el fuego acababa de destruir" (OC, p. 261). For him, Aixa is not a person but a body; he feels the loss of this body on his flesh, not his heart or soul. On the other hand, Aixa functions as the embodiment of eroticism through her mysticism.

B. Spanish-American echoes

La gloria in relation to Amalia; Enriquillo; Ismael. It could be argued that Larreta's success in La gloria was partly determined by the popularity that historical novels usually generated in Spanish America, including those of native origin. In fact, Enrique Anderson Imbert has catalogued at least eighty-five, divided by subject (Non-American; Indianista; Indians and the Conquest; Colonial Society, 16th and 17th centuries; 18th century; Independence and the Civil Wars; Recent Past), written by Spanish-⁵⁷Americans during the nineteenth century. This obsession with "history" is not peculiar in a continent that was beginning to write its own complicated and bloody chronicle, but a brief survey of the historical fiction produced by these newly-independent nations would show that in most cases artistry of execution and a truly interesting and well-developed plot were usually subordinate⁵⁸ to a representation of historical figures and events. If Larreta owed some of his triumph to the genre's accepted, favorable status in Spanish America, he owed more of it to the sophistication exhibited by its European manifestations. Actually, if Larreta was at all influenced by some exponents of the Spanish-American histo-

rical novel, it would have been in a negative way, by not following the tenets they exposed. In an attempt to show how this hypothesis might work, three of the better-known historical novels from Spanish America have been chosen for discussion, each one important in its own right and representative of some of the genre's concerns in Spanish America during the nineteenth century.

When Amalia was published in Buenos Aires in 1855 (its first volume had appeared in Montevideo in 1851), it was warmly received by an increasing reading public which for the first time "saw" itself in print. The first Argentine novel, properly speaking, Amalia provided the politically-minded and nationalistic citizens of Buenos Aires with the opportunity to discuss themselves and their country in terms of literature through a work that practically contained all of their very recent, and polemical, history. Partly written during his exile in Montevideo for opposing the Rosas regime, José Mármol's novel struck a sensitive chord in the Argentine national conscience: the events that it narrated were still part of people's lives, the memories it brought back were only a few years behind, and its importance as a denunciation of Rosas' despotism far outweighed its literary merits or interest. Mármol's lack of detachment and objectivity in his depiction of the bloody civil strife of the 1840's is due not only to his own personal experiences and persecution at the hands of the regime, but also to his passionate involvement with these issues as a public figure, man of letters and patriot. Conceived and developed from the Unitarian point of view, Amalia's diatribe against the Federalists

is woven around the lives of those Unitarians who resisted the tyranny by staying in their homes in Buenos Aires and secretly organizing themselves into a strong front. Active, political figures from both sides are portrayed in numerous scenes in which the figure of the dictator stands out as the vilest of creatures. Against this crowded, melodramatic and tense representation of historical events, as they occurred, the involvement of Amalia and Eduardo is projected, lacking emotional depth, exploration, and even anecdotic interest, although painfully conscious of its "Romanticism," which is exploited merely for its own sake. In spite of its many flaws, Mármol's contribution to Argentine literature should not be underestimated; as Juan Carlos Ghiano has observed:

La novela de Mármol adelantó con dificultosa constancia sobre la dualidad creadora de los novelistas americanos, adecuando los modelos europeos a circunstancias especiales de América. Esta actitud implica la integración gentilicia de las interpretaciones del espacio y tiempo narrativo, como si la novela acentuase una modelidad actualizada en choques sociales inmediatos. Con los compromisos de su voluntad historicista, Mármol ahondó el desconcierto que se adelanta en América cuando se comienzan a reconocer los temas intransferibles; quizás una prolongación de la actitud de asombro a la vez de avasallamiento, de reducción a datos comprensibles, con que se impusieron aquí en Argentina los primeros conquistadores.⁶⁰

What is perhaps most important in this developing genre is the appropriation and adaptation of European models to a Spanish-American reality, a trend that would become a constant as that newly-emerging and eclectic product, the Spanish-American novel, continued to evolve. What in Larreta's novel, appearing fifty years later, would be a

"given" was for Mármol unknown. Whereas Larreta was able to successfully assimilate and integrate in his novel the different literary innovations that produced the phenomenon of modernismo, Mármol had no established models, within his linguistic domain, that could help him shape the difficult task undertaken in Amalia. His novel is a dossier that would aid his readers in their final condemnation of Manuel Rosas

Si nous examinons les personnages historiques qui évoluent dans le roman nous remarquerons que l'auteur prend soin chaque fois qu'il se réfère à l'un d'eux pour appuyer sa description et son jugement sur des événements et des actes qui se sont effectivement produits au cours du gouvernement de Rosas. . . . C'est par la véracité et l'authenticité des faits rapportés qu'il fait oeuvre de témoignage historique dans un premier temps. Et s'il invite le lecteur à prendre part et s'associer à sa démarche c'est pour lui permettre de formuler un jugement critique sur la dictature à l'aide d'un dossier que le lecteur connaîtrait seul d'une façon incomplète et fautive. ⁶¹

By contrast, Larreta is cautious in his low-keyed, impassive argument against absolutism and religious intolerance, and is careful to present a balanced viewpoint by giving "equal" time and well-reasoned motives to a character who represents both, Vargas Orozco. It is almost certain that Larreta had read Amalia (being the first Argentine novel, a historical novel, and an epitome of a national reality), and it is almost as certain that he would deliberately attempt not to emulate it. Not only did he choose Spain as a setting and Spaniards as characters, but he also chose a period far enough removed as to be somewhat exotic to his readers, and tried to recreate that period, although supported by methodical research

of historical texts, through fictional characters (historical figures appear usually in the periphery of the story and for the most part function as they would on many other novels, as symbols). Whereas Mármol's text is idealistic and hints towards a better future, Larreta's seems to be almost cynical: Ramiro's exploits in the New World and the ironic circumstances of his death insinuate a bleak reality for the colonies. Mármol ". . . ilumina la historia argentina, insistiendo en el reconocimiento de todos sus ingredientes sociales. . . . La crisis contemporánea se le presentó como reiniciado conflicto entre una falseada herencia española--el despotismo católico y regalista (no se olvide que Mármol era católico y conservador)--, que no se podía combatir con el ilusionismo propuesto por superficiales concededores de la realidad americana." ⁶² Larreta seems to suggest that the Spanish heritage could not be combatted at all.

Manuel de Jesús Galván's Enriquillo, published in the Dominican Republic in 1879 and then, with revisions, in 1882, goes back to the early 1500's and recounts, with a historic fidelity worthy of the eighteenth century, the incidents of a native uprising during the Spanish colonization of the Caribbean island. Based on Fray Bartolomé de las Casas' Historia de las Indias, which had just been published a few years earlier (1876), this novel is influenced by Romantic notions of Indians as exotic, idealized creatures, victims of cruelty and injustice (Chateaubriand's Atalá was enormously popular and generated a series of "Indianista" novels). However, Galván's viewpoint was different in that he did not merely extol

the Indian virtues and lifestyle as prototypical of the Noble Savage, but in fact represented the Indian himself as a symbol of unattainable liberty (ironically, the Indians had been practically extinguished in the Dominican Republic long before the nineteenth century).⁶³ History plays the main role in Enriquillo. Las Casas is quoted extensively and pedagogic commentary is profusely offered about his doctrines. His figure looms larger than life and its historicity is subordinate to a legendary quality that is best exemplified by his being depicted as the epitome of Spain's moral duty and commitment to its colonies. It is interesting to note that Spain's "Black Legend," promulgated during the sixteenth century by Las Casas to undermine the secular government of the Americas and strengthen ecclesiastical power,⁶⁴ is re-interpreted by Galván as exemplary of what he calls Spain's "philantropy" and "exalted Christianity." As Anderson Imbert has suggested:

Galván convirtió al Padre Las Casas en el eje doctrinario de su novela; siguió sus escritos al pie de la letra--y a veces textualmente. Pero Galván no interpretó la prédica de Las Casas como una prueba de la bajeza moral de España, sino como un noble ejemplo que España ofreció al mundo. Las Casas, después de todo, era español; y la fuerza de sus invectivas redime a España. Sin duda había corrupciones e iniquidades en la España de Fernando el Católico. Galván no las omite. Eran los males del siglo. Pero al lado de la "leyenda negra" de soberbia, ignorancia, egoísmo, intrigas, pone la "leyenda blanca" de filantropía, rectitud, abnegación y exaltado cristianismo. 65

As a striking contrast, Larreta exploits the "leyenda negra" to its utmost in his critique of Spanish monarchy and catholicism (which operated as one entity under Philip II). His position is

unequivocal and differs radically from Galván's; in fact, his condemnation of absolutism seems modelled on the tenets of the French philosophers of the Enlightenment.

In Enriquillo, the fixed quality of a significant historical figure (Las Casas) is balanced by the psychological depth with which the cacique Enriquillo (himself a historical character), is developed. He is a believable, well-rounded character who experiences the difficulties of the particular epoch in which he lives and is acutely aware of his disadvantaged position as a mestizo. When young he was attracted to the lifestyles of both Spaniards and Indians, but identifies himself more with the former than with the latter. However, his consciousness begins to awaken as he witnesses the cruelty and injustice inflicted upon the Indians by the conquistadores, and he rebels, inciting the oppressed to battle against the oppressor. Being mostly didactic in purpose (Galván, an experienced statesman, took part in the Dominican Republic's political process, both under Spain and after Independence), the novel lacks the imaginary dimensions of a rich fictional universe and is surprisingly conservative for its time in terms of style. Written in a clear, neo-classical prose, it has none of the touches of the hybrid sort of experimentation which defines many of its contemporary Spanish-American novels. In fact, it could be argued that this aspect contributes to its success: sharing only a few of the characteristics of the Romantic current that swept Spanish-American literature during the nineteenth century, Enriquillo, despite its flaws, is superior to most historical novels of its time because of style.

Larreta's concerns were different, if not directly opposed, to Galván's both in conception and execution: his ends were not didactic; as has been pointed out above, his conception of Spain's Black Legend was inherited from the French, not only the philosophes but also the Romantics, especially Victor Hugo and Merimée. His treatment of historical figures tends to be "impressionistic" rather than detailed (the "snapshot" description of Philip II, for example, in contrast to Galván's verbatim portrayal of Las Casas). Also, the mestizo characters are almost opposite to each other. Although Ramiro's position in the Spain of the early 1600's would have been highly unfavorable had he remained there, it in no way resembles Enriquillo's non status as a non person in colonial Santo Domingo. Whereas Larreta's concept of religious and cultural syncretism can sometimes reach parodic dimensions (Ramiro's attempts to become a hermit, for instance), Galván sees Enriquillo as a symbol of the new América, a promise of liberty.

A trilogy dealing with the wars of Independence and the Civil Wars of Uruguay (Ismael, 1888; Nativa, 1890; Grito de gloria, 1893), mark Eduardo Acevedo Díaz as a significant national writer. The earliest of the three is considered to be the most successful, mixing romantic elements, particularly in its description of heroic deeds, with well-developed, realistic observations. Like the Dominican Enriquillo, Ismael is also of mixed origin; moreover, he is a bastard. His anonymity and isolation are enhanced by his quiet way of dealing with others and by his almost continuous guitar-playing. After a frustrated duel with a love rival, Ismael flees to the wil-

derness, and while there further assimilates the aridity of the environment, associating with other fugitives. It is from this wilderness that he comes to join the revolutionary ranks of the Independence Wars, later killing his rival (a Spaniard), and avenging himself, the woman he lost, and an oppressed and persecuted class.

Whereas Larreta's Spain, even if historically faithful to the original, is used as an intricately woven background to a central character which at the same time is a typical product of that background, the Uruguay of Acevedo Díaz, following the general pattern of the Spanish-American historical novel, is both historically and nationally central to the fiction itself:

Más que a la novela su forma se parece a la de la historia novelada. La cuota de ficción es mínima: el narrador se ciñe con escrupulosidad, con objetividad, al retrato histórico y trata de no alterar la visión ideológica de la época. En una página del capítulo XLVIII habla Acevedo Díaz del "drama histórico cuyos cuadros principales venimos esbozando." Esa definición, aunque abusiva para toda la obra, conviene admirablemente a la primera secuencia, ya que sintetiza su doble condición. Pero novela histórica o historia novelada . . . es evidente que en estos capítulos la historia determina el rumbo de la ficción de manera preponderante. ⁶⁶

A key phrase in Rodríguez Monegal's assessment of Ismael, quoted above, refers to Acevedo Díaz' avowed intention to portray the "ideological vision" of the novel's historical time. This is a major difference between it and La gloria, both in terms of authorial purposes and reader response. Ismael, like Galván's Enriquillo, and to a lesser extent, Mármol's Amalia, had a definitely didactic pur-

pose at a time when nationalism and identity had to be stressed; as such they were received and acclaimed. Larreta's manipulation of Spain's Black Legend would be dialectically opposed to a faithful reconstruction of sixteenth-century Spain's "ideological vision." As has been noted before, Larreta's critique of Catholicism (clothed as it is in modernista devices and rhetoric) and absolutism enhance the double vision implicit in his particular conception of the historical novel.

Nationalism and identity seem to be precisely at the core of La gloria, but in a negative way: Ramiro's preoccupation with establishing a solid identity as an hidalgo clashes with the reality of his mixed origin, whereas his desire to serve his country (as soldier or priest) is continuously set off balance by his own individualistic dreams and fantasies. Ramiro's several "identities" (young hidalgo, student, hermit, squire's boy, thief) and the artificiality of the plot seem to indicate that identity is a created product, that must be molded and forged according to the individual's needs and experiences.⁶⁷ Of course, Ramiro fails at this task, but nonetheless his confusion and aborted attempts to create a persona, and his significant exile to the colonies should be interpreted in terms of Larreta's concerns with the themes of "nationalism" and "identity," so hammered during the previous decades. When compared to the writers discussed above, Larreta's aestheticism is even more apparent. His fictional universe can be contrasted to that of Acevedo Díaz:

La naturaleza híbrida de Ismael no deriva, fundamentalmente, de su condición (externa) de novela histórica, género per-

fectamente diferenciado, sino que es alternativamente una novela y un libro de historia, una narración y un ensayo. . . . Acevedo Díaz se acerca a la novela con toda la fuerza de un creador pero movido por el mismo impulso que lo hizo dedicar su vida a la lucha política: para desentrañar el significado de . . . nacionalidad, para comunicar a todos sus compatriotas el sentido de tradición nacional, para contribuir a la formación de la conciencia de . . . nacionalidad. Por eso, lo poético queda muchas veces subordinado a lo nacional. . . .

The emphasis is on lo nacional, and like in Amalia and Enriquillo, the literary elements are sacrificed in the interest of political didacticism.

Considering all the factors that have been discussed in relation to the Spanish-American historical novel, an argument for the "non-influence" of this tradition on Larreta is stronger and more justified. Whereas the European novels discussed earlier share some significant characteristics with each other and with La gloria in terms of pattern and structure, narrative elements and recurring motifs, Larreta seems to be consciously rejecting most of the tenets exemplified by Spanish-American historical fiction during the nineteenth century. As far as it concerns this genre, it would not be exaggerated to stress the superior quality of Larreta's novel in terms of the affinities it has with some of its best exponents: La gloria de don Ramiro, written as it is within a linguistic domain considered as relatively unimportant at the level of Weltliteratur, is nonetheless one of the most brilliant examples of the historical novel as conceived and developed within the European literary tradition.

Notes

1. Brander Matthews, The Historical Novel and Other Essays (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901), p. 21.
2. Ernest Leisy, The American Historical Novel (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma, 1950), p. 9
3. Matthews, p. 7.
4. See Amado Alonso, Ensayo sobre la novela histórica. El modernismo en La gloria de don Ramiro (Buenos Aires: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Univ. de Buenos Aires, 1942), pp. 57-63.
5. Juan Carlos Ghiano, Análisis de La gloria de don Ramiro (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina, 1968), pp. 112-3.
6. See Enrique Larreta, Tiempos Iluminados, in Obras completas (Madrid: Plenitud, 1954), p. 350.
7. Matthews, p. 13.
8. André Jansen, Enrique Larreta; novelista hispano-argentino (1873-1961), trad. Fernando Murillo Rubiera (Madrid: Cultura Hispánica, 1967), p. 105.
9. See Noé Jitrik, Escritores argentinos. Dependencia o libertad (Buenos Aires: Ediciones del Candil, 1967), p. 108.
10. Alberto Blasi, "Las crisis del noventa y sus imágenes en la narrativa argentina," Actas de las Terceras Jornadas de Investigación de la Historia y la Literatura Rioplatense y de los Estados Unidos, ed. Rodolfo Borello (Mendoza, Argentina: Univ. del Cuyo, 1968), p. 32.
11. Enrique Larreta, La gloria de don Ramiro, in Obras completas, pp. 79, 111-3, 167, 261-2. All further references to this work appear in the text.
12. Lion Feuchtwanger, The House of Desdemona or The Laurels

and Limitations of Historical Fiction, trans. Harold A. Basilius (Detroit: Wayne State Univ., 1963), p. 58.

13. Alonso, pp. 151-2.

14. Jansen, pp. 120-8.

15. For a discussion of Lukács' theories regarding Scott's concept of the historical novel, see Paul Hernadi, Beyond Genre (Ithaca: Cornell Univ., 1972), pp. 124-5.

16. Alonso, pp. 182-3.

17. In La naranja Larreta writes: "Adorador del Quijote, y aunque ese libro tenía exactamente como fondo temporal el mismo libro que yo estaba escribiendo, y podía ofrecerme, por tanto, una información preciosísima, traté de evitar entonces su tentadora lectura. Lo admiraba demasiado. . . ." Obras completas, p. 1165.

18. Walter Scott, Waverley (New York: Dutton's Everyman Library, 1969), p. 82. All further references to this work appear in the text.

19. David Daiches, "Scott's Achievement as a Novelist," Scott's Mind and Art, ed. Norman Jeffares (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1969), p. 30.

20. Alonso, pp. 174-5.

21. Raimundo Lida, "La técnica del relato en La gloria de don Ramiro," Cursos y Conferencias, 9, No. 3 (junio 1936), p. 235.

22. "The scenes of dueling, Ramiro's rendezvous with Beatriz, mistaken identity and disguises, the conspiracy against the Crown, these are all drawn from Golden Age dramatic literature or from nineteenth-century historical fiction. This is literature made almost wholly out of other art. A work twice removed from reality, it is indeed a re-creation, not of sixteenth-century Spain, but of a sensationist interpretation of that Spain. . . ." Ned Davison, "Remarks on the Form of La gloria de don Ramiro," Romance Notes, 3, No. 1 (Autumn 1961), p. 22.

23. "Los amplios medios financieros del joven escritor le permitieron permanecer varios meses en Ávila, donde formó pacientemente su documentación. Además, bibliotecas privadas y públicas le permitieron en Madrid conocer relatos biográficos de la época. Jansen, p. 95.

24. Francis Hart, Scott's Novels, The Plotting of Historical Survival (Charlottesville: The Univ. Press of Virginia, 1966), p. 11.

25. Georg Lukács, The Historical Novel, trans. Hannah and Stanley Mitchell (Boston: Beacon, 1963), p. 42.

26. "Manzoni's insight into history shows most clearly in his ability to transpose the contemporary destiny of his country into the past without being explicit about it. . . . His deep resentment of the oppression of his torn country by the Austrians is not expressed in empty words but by the re-creation of the history of Lombardy in the seventeenth century." Feuchtwanger, pp. 61-2.

27. The figure of l'Innominato is modelled on Francesco Bernardino Visconti, a feudal lord from the Milan region. See Luigi Russo, Personaggi dei Promessi Sposi (Bari: Laterza, 1971), pp. 42-3.

28. Russo, p. 83.

29. Alessandro Manzoni, I promessi Sposi (Milano: Rizzoli, 1981), II, 29. All further references to this work appear in the text.

30. "Da questo momento, le parti sono mutate; il più debole non è già Lucia, ma l'innominato, e nel resto del colloquio Lucia parla alto e l'innominato parla sottomesso." Russo, p. 112.

31. Arturo Graf, Foscolo, Manzoni, Leopardi (Torino: Loescher, 1955), p. 99.

32. An excellent interpretation of ironic discourse in Manzoni's novel is offered by Ezio Raimondi, Il romanzo senza idillio. Saggio sui Promessi Sposi (Torino: Giulio Einaudi, 1974), p. 254.

33. "El romanticismo francés tuvo . . . tres cosas grandes: la ropa de las mujeres . . . , los asombrosos dibujantes y la visión de España. . . . Nunca es tan gran poeta Víctor Hugo como en Le petit roi de Galice, en La rose de l'enfante, en Hernani, en Ruy Blas... La España de Hugo es una España mitológica. España desmesurada, España de despojos convexos; pero con un fondo de realidad esencial que nadie supo desentrañar como él. . . ." La naranja, in Obras completas, p. 1135.

34. "Ananke (necessity), like moira, is inescapable in its operations but originally controlled only specified events and not the whole range of necessitated occurrences. Plato . . . opposes necessity to reason; necessity as 'errant cause' is the irrational elements of the universe--it can only be rationalized by persuasion, but not wholly eliminated. In itself it is a blind and aimless force, and for both Plato and Aristotle it is akin to tyche." G.B. Kerferd, "Moira/Tyche/Ananke," The Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, 1967 ed., V, 360.

35. A good analysis of prison imagery in Notre-Dame is offered by Victor Brombert, La prison romantique (Paris: José Corti, 1975), p. 107.
36. Victor Hugo, Notre-Dame de Paris (Paris: Garnier, 1961), p. 4. All further references to this work appear in the text.
37. "Les images carcérales, savamment tissées, y conjuguent dans un même réseau métaphorique figures humaines et figures architecturales. Quasimodo prend la forme de sa coquille, la cathédrale: 'accouplement singulier, presque co-substantiel, d'un homme et d'un édifice'." Brombert, Prison, p. 59.
In reference to La gloria, Remy de Gourmont has observed: "Je pense que l'idée de 'don Ramire' lui est venue à Larreta en contemplant la cathédral d'Avila et tous ces archaïques couvents qui dorment dans la vieille ville. . . ." Quoted in La gloria de don Ramiro en veinticinco años de crítica (Buenos Aires: Anaconda, 1933), p. 114.
38. Galdó's titanic efforts to write the recent history of Spain in the form of the historical novel are so different from La gloria in orientation, style and intent that there is little chance that Larreta was in any way influenced by his Episodios nacionales, of which he could only have read the First and Second series when he was writing his novel.
39. Donald Shaw, A Literary History of Spain. The Nineteenth Century (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1972), p. 43.
40. E. Allison Peers, "Studies in the influence of Walter Scott in Spain," Revue Hispanique, No. 68 (1926), p. 75.
41. Daniel George Samuels, Enrique Gil y Carrasco: A Study in Spanish Romanticism (New York: Instituto de las Españas en los Estados Unidos, 1939), pp. 185-7.
42. Samuels, p. 190.
43. Ricardo Gullón, Cisne sin lago. Vida y obra de Enrique Gil y Carrasco (Madrid: Insula, 1951), p. 200.
44. Ildefonso Manuel Gil, personal interview, October 19, 1983.
45. Samuels, pp. 172-3.
46. Enrique Gil y Carrasco, El señor de Bemibre, in Obras Completas de D. Enrique Gil y Carrasco, Vol. LXXIV of Biblioteca de Autores Españoles (Madrid: Atlas, 1954), p. 136.
47. Arturo Berenguer Carisomo, Los valores eternos en la obra

de Enrique Larreta (Buenos Aires: Sopena, 1946), pp. 30-1.

48. Burton Pike, personal interview, April 10, 1984.

49. "For the aesthete-artists who saw the world through books and pictures, Romantic Orientalism was no longer enough; they therefore left minarets and dancing-girls to the academic Salon painters and turned to Delacroix's Sardanapalus to take them out of their times." Philippe Jullian, Dreamers of Decadence, trans. Robert Baldick (New York: Praeger, 1975), p. 131.

50. Flaubert, Salammô, in Oeuvres, I (Paris: NRF/Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1951), p. 752. All further references to this work appear in the text.

51. Edward W. Said, Orientalism (New York: Vintage, 1979), p. 1880.

52. "Dès la première scène du roman, orgiaque et toute baignée d'une lumière irréelle, s'affirme une thématique familière, alliant la cupidité des estomacs et la férocité bestiale à une sexualité latente mais dévoratrice, à une prolifération vertigineuse des phénomènes (multiplicité des moeurs et de mets), pour aboutir à la tentation du sacrilège." Victor Brombert, Flaubert (Paris: Seuil, 1971), p. 79.

53. Long hair is associated with energy, fertility and lust; hair is also assigned magical powers, thus, witches often had all their hair shaven, which usually made them confess at once. See Ad de Vries, Dictionary of Symbols and Imagery (London: North Holland Publishing Co., 1974), pp. 231-4.

54. "Aixa, la amante de Ramiro, encarna la sensualidad y el exotismo, con rasgos típicos del esteticismo libresco de fines de siglo. En el diseño del personaje, se apunta una resbalosa aproximación entre la mística oriental y la cristiana." Ghiano, Análisis, p. 32.

55. Quoted by Lukács, p. 188.

56. Northrop Frye, Anatomy of Criticism (Princeton: Princeton Univ., 1957), p. 149.

57. Enrique Anderson Imbert, "Notas sobre la novela histórica en el siglo XIX," in his Estudios sobre escritores de América (Buenos Aires: Raigal, 1954), pp. 40-6.

58. For a discussion of the importance of historical elements in nineteenth-century Spanish-American fiction, see Alberto Zum Felde, Índice crítico de la literatura hispanoamericana, II. La

narrativa (México: Guaranía, 1959), p. 94.

59. See Myron Lichtblau, The Argentine Novel in the Nineteenth Century (New York: Hispanic Institute, 1959), pp. 43-4.

60. Juan Carlos Ghiano, Testimonio de la novela argentina (Buenos Aires: Leviatán, 1956), p. 90.

61. Claudine Sztern, "La dictature de Rosas à travers Amalia de José Mármol, "Caudillos", "caciques" et dictateurs dans le roman hispano-américain, ed. Paul Verdevoye (Paris: Editions Hispaniques, 1978), pp. 121-2.

62. Ghiano, Testimonio, pp. 50-1.

63. An excellent example is the methodical de-population of the Indian village of Santo Domingo del Real de Aucallama by the Spanish authorities, begun in 1551 with the purpose of taking over the lands (finally expropriated in 1641). See Eve-Marie Fell, Les Indiens. Sociétés et idéologies en Amérique hispanique (Paris: Armand Colin, 1973), pp. 27-9.

64. The diffusion of the "black legend" by the eighteenth century philosophes sparked the awakening conscience of Spanish-American thinkers and revolutionaries during the germinating stages of the Independence Wars. See Arthur P. Whitaker, "The dual role of Latin America in the Enlightenment," in Latin America and the Enlightenment, ed. A.P. Whitaker (New York: Cornell Univ., 1961), p. 8.

65. Enrique Anderson Imbert, "El telar de una novela histórica: Enriquillo, de Galván," in his Estudios, p. 115.

66. Emir Rodríguez Monegal, Vínculo de sangre (Montevideo: Alfa, 1968), p. 51.

67. Ernesto Giménez Caballero relates the theme of identity and nationality in La gloria to one of the major concerns of modernismo. See pages 30-1, above.

68. Rodríguez Monegal, p. 64.

Chapter 3

The modernista aspect

One of the problems about modernismo is that it eludes a facile definition. While some critics, such as Allen Phillips, consider it a "literary movement," others, such as Federico de Onís have seen it as a "tendency" marked both by its eclecticism and its originality. Arturo Torres Rioseco and Raúl Silva Castro signal Rubén Darío as the only force behind modernismo, while Ivan Schulman and Manuel Pedro González forcefully refute this view by concentrating on the work of such writers as José Martí, Julian del Casal and José Asunción Silva, whose writings preceeded the publication of Darío's Azul in 1888 (this is the date that Torres Rioseco and Silva Castro consider as the beginning of modernismo). The criteria established by Schulman and González are the most appropriate for the kind of analysis that this chapter will undertake, particularly because their chronology, theories and definitions take into account what most critics tend to neglect, modernista prose. Their arguments follow.

Modernista prose, which was already being written between 1875 and 1880, was split into two different modalities of expression:

one had its roots in the Hispanic tradition, particularly that of Golden Age literature, and was "plástica, musical y cromática" (Martí was its main exponent); the other root, equally artistic and influenced by Parnassianism, Symbolism, Expressionism and Impressionism, adapted itself to contemporary French literature, both in its themes and syntactical constructions (Nájera was its main exponent). The thematic perspectives of modernismo reveal three different currents: "una extranjerizante, otra, americana, y la tercera hispánica." Schulman and González cite as a vivid example of these concurrent themes some of Darío's poems, which include such titles as "Bouquet" and "Garçonniere" (extranjerizante), "Caupolicán" and "Canto a la Argentina" (americana) and "Un soneto a Cervantes" and "A Maestre Gonzalo de Berceo" (hispánica).

In applying the principles delineated above to La gloria the following assumption will be taken into account: in terms of modality of expression, Larreta is firmly anchored within the Hispanic tradition of Golden Age literature, as the archaic lexicon of the novel shows. However, the task of pinpointing its thematic perspectives is complicated by the fact that all three currents defined by Schulman and González appear in it. If one approaches La gloria principally as a historical novel, the "foreign" influences seem to be much stronger than either the "Hispanic" or the "American" (it should be noted that this last term means almost exclusively "Spanish-American"), as has been shown in the preceding chapter. The Peruvian epilogue attempts to link the Old World with the New, but is not very successful. Not only is Larreta unconcerned about the

Spanish-American environment (which is not described), but the figure of Rosa de Lima looms larger than life as Ramiro's protectress, and the ironic displacement that occurs in the Epilogue (see pages 181-90, below) precludes any kind of realistically achieved americanismo. Thematically, the "Hispanic" current seems to be the strongest, since Larreta does succeed in presenting Ramiro as a "typical" Spaniard, and yet, many of the situations in which this character finds himself transgress the "Hispanic" mode and reflect Larreta's assimilation of such French literary movements as Parnassianism and Decadentism. The syncretic quality of modernismo allows for this peculiar mixture. It is important to keep in mind the major difference between Spanish-American modernismo and the manifestations that this tendency produced in Spain somewhat later. As Federico de Onís has so subtly observed:

La insatisfacción en América tenía que ser doble y distinta, porque en ella no podía significar la ruptura con el siglo XIX, cuya civilización, aunque imperfectamente asimilada y realizada, venía a ser consustancial con el nacimiento de la América independiente. . . . El esfuerzo de los hispanoamericanos iniciadores del modernismo tendió a salvar la distancia que separaba a América de Europa desde siempre. . . . Por eso la voluntad de innovación, junto con el individualismo y el cosmopolitismo, es característico del Modernismo hispanoamericano. . . . Cuando en la década del 1890-1900 surgen en España tardíamente respecto de América y Europa las primeras grandes personalidades del Modernismo . . . , la literatura que crean tiene también carácter autóctono u original, independiente del de la americana anterior. . . . El individualismo es más fuerte en España y el cosmopolitismo más débil; la actitud hacia el siglo XIX, más negativa; el problema de salvar la distancia entre España y Europa adquiere caracteres de tragedia nacional.

Larreta's hybrid novel, then, is not untypical of Spanish-American

modernista fiction, since it incorporates diverse elements into a coherent whole.

The criteria for the texts chosen for this chapter have been determined by considerations of theme rather than style. Amado Alonso's excellent study of the modernista aspects of La gloria in terms of the different sensory impressions indirectly evoked in it,³ as well as André Jansen's analysis of similar aspects,⁴ would make the stylistic approach somewhat superfluous. Since the three thematic currents of modernismo (extranjerizante, hispánica, americana) constitute an integral part of the novel, the analytical emphasis here will be to examine three inter-related themes that often occur in all three currents, as well as in French Parnassianism and Decadentism, and which are love, death, and religion.⁵ The manner in which these themes are treated in La gloria link it to Anatole France's Thaïs (1890), a Parnassian novel which not only dealt with the controversial topic of religious eroticism, but also managed to explore "a contemporary mood of doubt so deep that it was inclined to doubt even doubt itself."⁶ The Decadent strain of modernismo is rather strong in Ramón del Valle-Inclán's Sonatas (1902-1905), which exhibit a marked preoccupation with the inter-relationships between love, death, and religion. The Spanish-American novels, Amistad funesta (1885), by José Martí and Sangre patricia (1902), by Manuel Díaz Rodríguez will be compared and contrasted with La gloria in reference to the same themes mentioned above, but in somewhat broader terms.

A. European models

1. La gloria and Thaïs: Ironic reversal. In Anatole France's novel, the inter-relationships between love, death, and religion are intertwined through a seemingly casual discourse that refuses to delve in any depth into the characters' psyche. Purposely ironic, France seems to be telling merely the facts of a story, that of Thaïs the courtesan-saint,⁷ yet in the seemingly simple and direct telling of these facts emerges a rather complex portrait of Thaïs' main character, who is not the courtesan herself, but Paphnuce, the holy man who has "rescued" her from her sinful life. Even though there are echoes of La tentation de Saint Antoine, France's novel varies greatly from Flaubert's, since its main point is not really to explore the inner workings of a hermit's mind, but to pierce through what he sees as the empty gestures of a fake saintly person. He seems to be speaking through the persona of the philosopher Nicias, much as Larreta seems to be talking, at times, through the disenchanted aesthete Blázquez Serrano. Like France, Larreta adopts an ironical stance when dealing with his characters, specifically with Ramiro. Although the artificial quality of Larreta's "sixteenth-century Spanish" varies greatly from France's polished, succinct prose, the effects he achieves are often similar. The ruling mode is irony. Like France, Larreta avoids psychological analysis and limits himself to viewing his characters from the outside. By making Ramiro ignorant of his own feelings throughout most of the novel (like France's Paphnuce), he centers on the novel's crucial theme: the separation between seeming and being. While both Ramiro and

Paphnuce pretend to be "good" and "saintly," the female archetypes, Thaïs and Aixa, "seem" to be at first, if not evil, then degenerate, sinful, wanton females, intent on leading the men toward the abyss of temptation and lust.

Through a series of symbolic deaths and re-births, both Paphnuce and Ramiro acquire a certain righteousness that allows them to pursue what is on the surface a holy lifestyle and to shun temptation in the form of Thaïs and Aixa, respectively. However, carnal love is intimately tied to the euphoria of religious feelings that both men have, and, in a sense, if temptation were to be eliminated, very little would remain of their fanatical religiosity. This atmosphere of tension is established early in both novels. Thaïs opens with a description of the Thebaide as "un champ de bataille où se livraient à toute heure, et spécialement la nuit, les merveilleux combats du ciel et de l'enfer." ⁸ France begins by painting a general picture of the tortured, erotic visions of the hermits ("Les ascètes de la Thebaide virent avec épouvante, dans leur cellule, des images de plaisir inconnues même aux voluptueux du siècle," T, p. 7), and then concentrating specifically on Paphnuce as a representative member of such a community. However, Paphnuce is different from the others in that he exaggerates the outward show of penance, humility, and self-flagellation, provoking the idea in the reader that his visions are much more intense than those of his disciples: ". . . Paphnuce observait les jeunes les plus rigoureux et demeurait parfois trois jours entiers sans prendre de nourriture. Il portait un cilice d'un poil très rude, se flagellait matin et soir et se tenait souvent

prosterné le front contre terre" (T, p. 9). In La gloria, Ramiro is from the very beginning torn between a life of action as a soldier and a life of contemplation as a priest, and this dichotomy would continue throughout the novel, accentuated in different episodes in which he too would symbolically die and be reborn. After his childhood infatuation with Beatriz and his inclination to the adventurous life as narrated by the squire Medrano, Ramiro starts his religious apprenticeship, first with a Franciscan friar and later with Vargas Orozco. The friar initiates him into Kempis' De imitatione Christi,⁹ to which Ramiro abandons himself completely: ". . . el mancebo recogió en el fondo del alma aquellos acentos de soledad, de sublime desprecio, de voluptuosa inmolación" (OC, p. 47). Particularly telling is the "voluptuousness" of the sacrifice, a modernista preoccupation¹⁰ that had been exploited by Darío in his "Ite, missa est."

Paphnuce's first symbolic death has happened outside the literary space; he had renounced his former life and had been reborn into Christianity: "En effet, il avait mené jusqu'à sa vingtième année cette vie du siècle, qu'il conviendrait mieux d'appeler mort que vie. Mais, ayant reçu les leçons du prêtre Macrin, il devint un homme nouveau" (t, p. 12). This theme would be re-inforced throughout the novel in the scene describing Thafs' baptism and her encounter with the Alexandria Christians years later, as will be discussed in the next few pages, and also through Paphnuce's subsequent bouts with temptation in the form of lust for the repentant courtesan. It should be noted that as in the passage quoted above, as well as in several others, the evil characteristics of the century

(i.e. "l'air empoisonné du siècle," T, p. 155), cannot be overlooked as referring solely to the early years of Christianity. The atmosphere of hope and doubt, spiritualism and materialism, competing religions, etc., can be equated to the tumultuous search of the nineteenth century for a valid credo. Especially towards the end of the century, as a reaction against industrialism, Positivism and progress, an interest in the occult, magic, and esoteric religions was very much in vogue. ¹¹ France's Paphnuce is "decadent" in the sense that although he seems to despise the refinement and voluptuousness of the era, he at the same time constitutes a particularly vivid example of it. The interplay between life and death comes full circle at the end of the novel. If the reader takes as valid the premise that Paphnuce's "life" before becoming a Christian had been "death," then his abjuration of Christian values, through his abandonment to the world of the senses, in fact constitutes another "death." This time, however, there is no re-birth, he is merely delivered to hell and damnation: "J'ai songé à Dieu, au salut de mon âme, à la vie éternelle, comme si tout cela comptait pour quelque chose quand on a vu Thafs. . . . (T, p. 338); N'avoir pas la joie d'emporter en enfer la mémoire de l'heure inoubliable et de crier à Dieu: 'Brule ma chair. . . .' (T, pp. 339-40); Il faut bien que je trouve un enfer éternel, afin d'y exhaler l'éternité de rage qui est en moi" (T, pp. 342-3).

Ramiro's first "death" occurs after his almost fatal wound during the skirmish with the Moorish conspirators at Aixa's house. It is only after he has denounced Aixa and Gulinar to Vargas Orozco

that he begins to "die," as the following quotation suggests: "Su desfallecimiento era como un lento bogar hacia el morir. La calentura le exaltaba breves instantes, pero luego sobrevénia la extenuación" (OC, p. 111). It is significant that he is later cured, not by traditionally-trained Spanish doctors, but by a conversa.¹² Ramiro's "re-birth," however, is treated ironically by Larreta. Instead of learning from his experiences, of being born into wisdom, Ramiro is born into a false concept of self: "Al sentirse renacer, como aquella Ave Fénix . . . saboreó Ramiro con lánguida avidéz la delicia de vivir. . . . La gloria volvía a sonreírle cual una esclava impaciente y desnuda" (OC, pp. 112-3). His lack of perspective is what leads him to a desperate act of jealousy (to murder Beatriz), and his false idea of himself and his twisting of personal experiences to suit his fantasies and his dreams of "glory" are the motives behind what he thinks of as another symbolic "death" and a "re-birth" into the mystical life of a hermit.

In the passage describing Thaïs' baptism, there is another reference to the life of the spirit, through Christianity, as the only life; the slave Ahmès, who had initiated her to the Christian rites and had brought her to the secret meeting-place, is called Théodore "parmi les vivants" (T, p. 103). Through her baptism, Thaïs ceases to be one of "the dead" and, like the slave Nitida, her god-mother, will have the opportunity to be "lifted to heaven" by Jesus "au rang de ses épouses" (T, p. 103). Although the image of the mystical marriage is common to Christian theology, the sensual overtones, in France's novel, should not be dismissed. Particularly

suggestive is Thais' meeting with the practicing Christians in Alexandria years later, when she is already a well-known courtesan: "Les hymnes qu'ils chantaient avec le peuple exprimaient les délices de la souffrance et mélaient, dans un deuil triomphal, tant d'allegresse à tant de douleur que Thais, en les écoutant, sentait les voluptés de la vie et les affres de la mort couler à la fois dans ses sens renouvelés" (T, p. 128). The appeal to the senses, through sounds which juxtapose opposite emotions, is re-inforced some paragraphs later: ". . . l'éclat des cierges, le parfum des roses, les nuées de l'encens, l'harmonie des cantiques, la piété des âmes, jetaient les charmes de la gloire" (T, p. 129). The service had been in honor of Théodore, who had died a martyr, and to Thais, the idea of his death, combined with the extremely suggestive, sensual rites, provoked a peculiar feeling which mixed divine love with a morbidity associated with the idea of life in death and death in life. A similar effect, although much more "profane," is achieved in La gloria, as Beatriz prepares herself for mass on Easter:

Habíanla alcanzado el devocionario entreabierto. La miniatura representaba a Nuestro Señor subiendo a los cielos, con blanco estandarte en la diestra, mientras los guardas caían despavoridos en torno del sepulcro. . . . La imagen de aquel milagro de los milagros la conmovió profundamente. Un júbilo indecible la inundaba al imaginar a Jesús en su glorioso vuelo, después de las angustias del Calvario. Había que reír, que cantar; había que vestir las telas más ricas y escoger las joyas mejores. ¡Jesús había resucitado! Tomó en las manos el espejo y ensayó ante el cristal prolongada sonrisa, enseñando los dientes. (OC, p. 149)

As in Thais, it is the world of the senses that is invoked through the use of religious imagery. Although in the scene quoted above

Beatriz does read the account of the resurrection in the gospels, she is moved not so much by the words as by the image. Her reaction is one of superficial joy; she does not meditate on this "miracle of miracles" but is only concerned with sensory impressions, which had been particularly awakened by the image of the resurrecting Christ. Her concern is with the outward show of joy, that is, to laugh, to sing, to wear fancy clothes and jewels. Her self-awareness is accentuated by a non-sequitur: from reading the gospel and looking at the image of the ascending Christ, she gazes at herself in the mirror and rehearses a smile. Thus, the aestheticist, or sensual aspects of religion are emphasized in this scene, which will be followed up by another one, in the church, much more straightforward, and which will be discussed below in reference to Valle-Inclán's Sonatas.

There is one other instance, in each novel, that shows a pre-occupation with the coupling of love and religion. In Thaïs, Paphnuce, having convinced himself that his obsession with Thaïs was a sign that he was the only one who could save her from her sinful life, has gone to see her in Alexandria, and addresses her in the following way:

Pour toi, j'ai quitté mon désert regrettable; pour toi, mes lèvres, vouées au silence, ont prononcé des paroles profanes; pour toi, j'ai vu ce que je ne devais pas voir, j'ai entendu ce qu'il m'était interdit d'entendre; pour toi, mon âme s'est troublée, mon coeur s'est ouvert et des pensées en ont jailli, semblables aux sources vives ou boivent les colombes; pour toi, j'ai marché jour et nuit à travers de sables peuplés de larves et de vampires; pour toi, j'ai posé mon pied nu sur les vipères et les scorpions. Oui, je

t'aime! . . . Moi, je t'aime en esprit et en vérité
 . . . ; ce que j'ai pour toi dans mon sein se nomme ardeur
 véritable et divine charité. (T, pp. 140-1)

Paphnuce's passion, unknown to himself, but evident to the reader, is reiterated by the repetition of his apparent motive: "Pour toi," which would culminate with the statement "Je t'aime." The idea of sacrifice and selflessness and the concept of "divine charity," which are within the vocabulary of Christian dogma, are thus associated with what is actually a selfish, consuming, human love. In Larreta's novel, a parallel situation arises when Ramiro tries to justify his confusing feelings for Aixa by convincing himself that he is spending time with her solely for the purpose of uncovering the Arab conspiracy, for God and country:

En vano la conciencia quería formular el peligro que sus sentimientos católicos habían de correr bajo el hechizo de mujer tan hermosa. Bocas sin rostros, clamantes, agoreras, pasaban en la obscuridad interior, vociferando presagios indescifrables. Él no quería escuchar. . . . ¡Estaba tan seguro de su profunda fe religiosa! Aun cuando fuera una infiel, ¿qué importaba? Aquel deleite sería un instante, un guiño de ojo en su vida. Saciado el deseo, sabría arrojar bien lejos el vaso. . . . Y acaso ¿no era dado esperar que aquella mujer le transmitiese, entre una y otra caricia, el secreto que buscaba? ¡Ah! Entonces sí que estaba seguro de la absolución del canónigo. (OC, p. 87)

As was the case with Paphnuce, Ramiro feels both the bite of temptation and the warning signals from his conscience that his motivations are false. Larreta's irony is even sharper when he makes Ramiro think that his love entanglement with Aixa had as its object "a holy purpose." Beneath the author's apparent respect for Cathol-

icism lies a sustained criticism of its structures and institutions, a characteristic which links him directly to Anatole France, whose Thaïs "is typically Parnassian, with its glowing espousal of neo-Hellenism and its rejection of Christianity."¹³

2. La gloria and the Sonatas: A morbid religiosity. In her brilliant study of eroticism in Spanish literature during the latter part of the nineteenth century, Lily Litvak approaches the work of Valle-Inclán, especially the Sonatas, from such angles as "Necrophilia", "Satanism" and "Fetishism". These divisions are particularly helpful to understand the erotic content of the Sonatas, which is intimately tied to both religion, or perhaps religiosity, in its different manifestations, and death, which is also associated with corruption and decay. Structurally, La gloria and the Sonatas are quite different, except for the fact that each protagonist functions as a connecting link, but, while in La gloria the reader shares the authorial perspective and looks at Ramiro ironically, in the Sonatas the reader is enclosed within the perspective of a first-person narrative. Whereas the distancing in La gloria is a given, in the Sonatas it must be achieved artificially. Unlike Bradomín, Ramiro is not the prototype of the Don Juan. Moreover, Bradomín is always conscious of his actions and Ramiro is sort of sleepwalking throughout the novel; he has not become an independent character and the reader can still see him as attached to his creator. This major difference between the two novels precludes the analysis of the inter-related themes, love, death and religion, from the viewpoint of each

protagonist. Rather, examples will be given in which the modernista preoccupation with these themes is treated by Larreta and Valle-Inclán as recurring, integrative motifs.

Amado Alonso has written that the themes of love, death and religion are permanently interlaced within the narrative structure of the Sonatas, and that ". . . la eficacia . . . ejercida con ello sobre la sensibilidad del lector, no estriba en que se le hable de amor, de religión y de muerte, sino en que se le presenten esos tres temas en conjunto, como en esas combinaciones heterodoxas de la música novísima. . . ." ¹⁴ While his analysis then concentrates on stylistic problems, he centers on a crucial aspect of the Sonatas that would later be investigated in minute detail by Lily Litvak. She places Valle-Inclán within the tradition of fin de siècle aestheticism, a culmination of themes and attitudes explored by the Romantics throughout the nineteenth century, ¹⁵ through his pursuit, in his early works especially, of eroticism through religion, and vice versa: "Le seduce la languidez de las oraciones, la voluptuosidad de la liturgia, la sensualidad de las ceremonias y ritos católicos, el lujo de las casullas sacramentales... Esa escenografía suele servir de marco a acciones pecaminosas que confunden morbosamente misticismo y eroticismo." But, as was the case with other modernista writers obsessed by similar images, this attitude reflected a search for experience that would transcend immediate contexts and provide a new religious fervor: "Pero la actitud de Valle Inclán no es sólo la expresión de una estética sino también de una metafísica. Sabor de pecado y aroma de santidad. Esplendor erótico

y remordimiento religioso, placer carnal cargado de angustia, goce sensual que se complace en un singular fervor de profanación y sacrilegio." ¹⁶ Except for Juan Carlos Ghiano's brief allusion to the association between Aixa and Teresa de Ávila, ¹⁷ Larreta criticism has not looked at La gloria from the thematic angles explored by Alonso and Litvak in reference to the Sonatas, even though there are enough passages in it that can be compared to Valle-Inclán's decadent novel in terms of the inter-relations of love, death and religion. One of these passages deals with Ramiro's first sexual experience: Larreta had prepared the reader for this scene by introducing as a familiar figure a woman whose name is "loaded" in the tradition of the picaresque: Aldonza. She is the bell-keeper's wife, and it is in the church tower that she seduces Ramiro:

Una tarde fría de febrero, al retirarse de la lección y después de haber oído leer a su maestro un docto comentario sobre el Cantar de los Cantares, Ramiro topó con Aldonza junto al pilar de la escalera. Ella le invitó a subir a la torre. Un instante después uno y otro escalaban los peldaños. De pronto la campanera se detuvo y arrimó la luz del farol al rostro del mancebo. Ramiro se detuvo también y su mano temblorosa reconoció que la moderna Sulamita había puesto en libertad los "cervátillos mellizos" del cantar.

Allí se deshojó su doncelléz, sobre aquellos escalones tenebrosos, donde dormía un olor sagrado de cirios y de incienso. (OC, p. 54)

In the Sonata de estío, the first time that Bradomín makes love to the Niña Chole is at a convent, where they have sought refuge during the night while traveling; to enhance the atmosphere of sin, earlier introduced by Bradomín's lie to the nuns (he had told them that he

and the Niña Chole were husband and wife), Valle-Inclán has his characters make love to the sound of a distant death-knell:

Cesó el toque de agonía, y juzgando propicio el instante besé a la Niña Chole. Ella parecía consentir, cuando de pronto, en medio del silencio, la campana dobló a muerto. La Niña Chole dió un grito y se estrechó a mi pecho: Palpitante de miedo se refugiaba en mis brazos. Mis manos, distraídas y paternales, comenzaron a desflorar sus senos. Ella, suspirando, entornó los ojos, y celebramos nuestras bodas con siete copiosos sacrificios que ofrecimos a los dioses como el triunfo de la vida. ¹⁸

In both these passages, irony functions as a deceptive device which takes the careless reader away from the specific issue at hand: the mixture of the sacred and the profane. Larreta, having previously presented Aldonza as the dominant partner ("Era una hembra casi hermosa. Su piel, tierna como las natas . . . , pero tanto su cabello bravo como su bozo de mancebo denotaban un natural hombruno y procaz," OC, p. 31), follows through in this passage and ends it by applying to Ramiro a word commonly associates with young maidens: "doncellez." Like Don Quijote's transformation of "Aldonza" into "Dulcinea," Ramiro resorts to his imagination by making his "Aldonza" into the "Sulamita" of the Song of Songs. The biblical reference and Ramiro's association of sex with sin is re-inforced by the appeal to the sense of smell: to remind his reader that this scene takes place in a church, the scent of candles and incense are evoked at the very end. Valle-Inclán uses similar devices but irony is veiled by Bradomín's double-talk, even as he tells his story. For instance, he refers to his hands as "fatherly" (which also hints at the Niña Chole's incestuous relationship with her father),

and pretends to be protecting the woman from her own fears of death. This passage, in which the sexual act as an affirmation of life (being performed while the sense of hearing is awakened by a death-knell) takes place in a convent, works as a perfect metaphor for Valle-Inclán's aesthetics in the Sonatas. In it are intertwined the themes of love, death, and religion, almost imperceptibly, since the boundaries between them are being transgressed.

The spiritualization of the sexual act as representing the modernista effort to codify a new language that would describe erotic contents through mystical language is evident in one of the key passages of La gloria, in which Aixa falls into a trance after having read to Ramiro from the Hayy ibn Yaqdzan (see pages below):

Él la llamó varias veces . . . palpándola los brazos, las mejillas, la garganta, los pechos; pero ella enmudecía, cadavérica y glacial sobre el mármol. Quiso calentarla la boca con la suya; y presa él mismo de perversa tentación, la cubrió de apasionadas caricias.

Nunca la halló más extraña y más dulce. Era la golosina entremezclada con nieve; y su aliento, ideal e inquietante, como el de las flores de la muerte. (OC, p. 93)

A similar scene occurs in the Sonata de otoño, when Bradomín's passion is inflamed by Concha's sickly appearance and consuming fever:

Rodeó mi cuello, y con una mano levantó los senos, rosas de nieve que consumía la fiebre. Yo entonces la enlacé con fuerza, y en medio del deseo, sentí como una mordedura el terror de verla morir. Al oírla suspirar, creí que agonizaba. La besé temblando como si fuese a comulgar su vida. Con voluptuosidad dolorosa y no gustada hasta entonces, mi alma se embriagó en aquel perfume de flor enferma que mis dedos deshojaban consagrados e impíos. . . . Al día siguiente Concha no pudo levantarse. (S, pp. 149-50)

In the passage from La gloria, Aixa's ecstasy has been provoked by religious experience; however, Ramiro, acting here as a voyeur, becomes sexually excited by seeing her completely subdued, in a state so similar to death. This mood is suggested by the words cadavérica and glacial, and the fact that he possesses her when she is in such a state strongly hints at a necrophiliac inclination. This is further emphasized in the final image, which, appealing to the sense of smell, links her breath with that of flowers (both signifying "life") mingled with the scent of "death." Valle-Inclán is much more overt when dealing with Bradomín's necrophilia, as other passages clearly indicate; in the one quoted above, religious vocabulary is used in reference to erptic experiences: Bradomín kisses Concha "como si fuese a comulgar su vida." and touches her with "dedos . . . consagrados." Although she is not in ecstasy, like Aixa, her serious illness affects her state of mind; she is passive and submissive, and Bradomín's consciousness of her state of mind as being so close to death both excites him and frightens him. It is precisely this consciousness of his perverse instincts that makes him refrain from kissing Concha's corpse: "Cauteloso y prudente dejé el cuerpo de Concha tendido en su lecho y me alejé sin ruido. . . . Dudaba si volver atrás para poner en aquellos labios helados el beso postrero: Resistí la tentación. Fué como el escrúpulo de un místico. Temí que hubiese algo de sacrílego en aquella melancolía que entonces me embargaba" (S, p. 176). In La gloria, Ramiro's necrophilia is mixed with his violent instincts; when he is fantasizing about killing Aixa by strangling her, he

suddenly remembers a tempting detail, which immediately reveals the passage's erotic content: ". . . había oído decir que algunas mujeres cobraban al morir inolvidable belleza. Comprendió entonces la virtud santa del fuego, la destrucción sin igual de la hoguera, que no dejaba sino un negro amasijo repelente" (OC, p. 99). So strong is the attraction he feels toward Aixa, however, that even after he watches her burn alive at the Auto de fe in Toledo, he thinks of her as a sex object: "Ante aquella visión, Ramiro experimentó en toda su carne un estremecimiento profundo e imprevista congoja le contrajo la garganta al recordar las bellezas y delicias del precioso cuerpo que el fuego acababa de destruir" (OC, p. 261).

It was mentioned above that the modernista preoccupation with the Christian ritual of consecrating the host, a sacrifice, had been daringly explored by Darío in his poem "Ite, missa est" (see note 10). In both La gloria and the Sonata de primavera the religious vocabulary of the mass is used in reference to sensual love. Bradomín reminisces about María Rosario's cold, white hands ("diáfanas como la hostia," S, p. 37). She is often referred to as a "saint" (pp. 22, 52), and in one instance Bradomín associates directly with the image of the Virgin Mary:

María Rosario lloraba en silencio y resplandecía hermosa y cándida como una Madona, en medio de la sórdida corte de mendigos que se acercaban de rodillas para besarle las manos. Aquellas cabezas humildes, demacradas, miserables, tenían una expresión de amor. Yo recordé entonces los antiguos cuadros, vistos tantas veces en un antiguo monasterio de la Umbría, tablas prerrafaélicas que pintó en el retiro de su celda un monje desconocido, enamorado de los ingenuos milagros que florecen la leyenda de la reina de Turingia. (S, p. 26)

Larreta also refers to the host as a symbol of sensual love. Seeing Beatriz pass by his window, Ramiro's thoughts begin to wander: "La blancura de aquel rostro, oreado por el cierzo, hacía pensar en las hostias; y era, en verdad, como el viático de su amor y de su pasión, olvidada y moribunda" (OC, p. 145). The theme of profanity evoked here is taken up again in a passage that combines the appeal to the sense of hearing (church bells are tolling) with the sense of sight (Beatriz compares Ramiro's face with that of Christ, as pictured in her prayer book). Larreta also joins the feeling of religious hysteria with that of sensual love:

En ese instante, Beatriz, al levantar la frente, vió a su derecha, contra una columna del crucero, el fantasma..., la persona misma de Ramiro.

El órgano y los bronces seguían resonando. Un vendaval de religiosa alegría doblegaba las cabezas de la multitud arrodillada. Beatriz se sintió desfallecer, confundiendo en el mismo transporte la resurrección del Señor y la presencia del pálido mancebo, cuyo rostro figurósele, al pronto, la faz descarnada y admirable de la Pasión. (OC, p. 153)

In both passages, the love object is seen in terms of religious imagery: María Rosario becomes the Madonna and Ramiro the Christ. (Pictorial references, in the case of Valle-Inclán specific and alluding perhaps to the aesthetics of the British Pre-Raphaelite movement, were one of the characteristic aspects of modernista literature.) Whereas in the Sonata de primavera Bradomín is making a conscious association, consistent with the tone of the four novels, in La gloria Beatriz' reaction is unconscious. Her fainting spell hints a trance-like state, induced by the atmosphere of the Easter celebration; her morbidity (perhaps even necrophilia) comes

to the surface within a socially acceptable, structured situation. Within this context, her imagination is free to associate diverse images in a somewhat "decadent" fusion. In both novels, a church (the cathedral in La gloria, a private chapel in the Sonata de primavera) acts as appropriate meeting-place for the ill-fated lovers, a meeting-place where even physical contact is possible, again within the structure of an established ritual, that of dipping one's hands in holy water: "Al entrar en el oratorio mi corazón palpitó. Allí estaba María Rosario, y cercano a ella tuve la suerte de oír misa. Recibida la bendición me adelanté a saludarla Quise ofrecerle agua bendita, y con galante apresuramiento me adelanté a tomarla. María Rosario tocó apenas mis dedos, y haciendo la señal de la Cruz, salió del oratorio" (S, pp. 22-3); "De esta suerte, cuando Beatriz se halló a pocos pasos y Gonzalo se adelantó a ofrecerle el agua bendita en los dedos, Ramiro mojó a su vez, brevemente, los suyos, los alargó también hacia ella. . . . Sorprendida por aquel doble ademán, la doncella vaciló; pero enseguida, bajando los ojos, tendió al pasar su temblorosa mano hacia la mano de Ramiro" (OC, p. 154).

There is one other aspect, related to the modernista preoccupation with eroticism and mysticism, that is evident in both novels, that is, the presence of witchcraft and Satanism. In La gloria these two are usually associated with lasciviousness, specifically through Aixa; when Ramiro first meets her, she would laugh ". . . como una mujer semibárbara, con cierta animalidad incomprensible y deliciosa; mientras sus pestañas, larguísimas e inquietas, parecían desprender

ilusorio polvillo de lujuria y nigromancia" (OC, p. 86). As Ramiro becomes more involved with Aixa, he suspects her of being possessed: "La idea del Demonio oculto en el cuerpo de aquella fascinadora cruzábale por la mente, y sentíase orgulloso de haber luchado con semejante enemigo. . . ." (OC, p. 100). On the night that Ramiro discovered the Arab conspiracy at Aixa's house, there was a full moon, a "bewitched" moon: "La luna era trágica, espectral, agorera. Su resplandor hacía pensar en mortajas errantes, en animales endemoniados, en fantasmas de monjes. . . . Las brujas realizaban sus conjuros y adobaban sus unguentos a favor de aquella lumbre maléfica, que desconcertaba las potencias y parecía atraer la sangre del hombre" (OC, p. 102). In Toledo, Ramiro is introduced to the magician, Mosén Raimundo, who tells him: "Aquí veo la rotura de un aojamiento. El Demonio entra y sale por ella cuando le place. No importa: una Salomé le hechizó, una virgen le salvará" (OC, p. 245). When the corrupt priest, Don Antonio de Mendoza, irked by the fact that Ramiro had just discovered one of his mistresses, accuses him of being possessed ("¡Vade retro! ¡Vade retro! ¡Señor hipócrita, señor apestado, señor brujo, leña de Satanás!" OC, p. 249), Ramiro, horrified, begins to believe that he has indeed been "bewitched" by Aixa: "Comenzó a sentir en torno de su pecho la impresión de una serpiente que le ceñía. Ansiedad nueva y horrible: ¡la brega con el Demonio!" (OC, p. 250). In his study of Valle-Inclán's Sonatas, Alonso Zamora Vicente gives various examples of Romanticism's interest in the figure of the devil, and signals a major difference in attitude that began towards the end of the nineteenth century: ". . . se va

perdiendo la distancia entre el hombre y el poder extrahumano del infierno, y se detiene la mirada en el mal, en el pecado mismo, adorable por su condición perversa, ya presente, en potencia." ¹⁹

Lily Litvak further develops this thesis by relating such an interest in Satanism with eroticism: "Diablos y demonios fueron revividos por los modernistas, que también exploraron la sexualidad latente de: vampiros y súcubos y revivieron el decorado de la magia negra. La moda de la brujería triunfa en el fin de siglo." ²⁰

The connection of eroticism with Satanism is particularly important in the Sonata de primavera, in which several characters, including María Rosario "see" the devil in Bradomín. It is precisely this quality that attracts María Rosario to the Marquis as "tempter." In fact, he often speaks of himself in reference to the devil; on the night that he enters María Rosario's bedroom, ". . . el cornudo monarca de los abismos encendió mi sangre con su aliento de llamas, y despertó mi carne flaca, fustigándola con su rabo negro" (S, pp. 36-7). The incident of the stolen ring and the witch, staged with the help of Polonius, earns Bradomín a reputation as a "damned" figure at the Gaetani palace; María Rosario tells him: "¡Algunas veces me parecéis el Demonio!" and ". . . ¡sois el Demonio!" (S, pp. 52-3), a perception that would later be re-inforced by the unfortunate accident that ends the novel: Bradomín is blamed for the younger sister's death, and in her madness María Rosario identifies the Marquis with the devil: "¡Fue Satanás! ¡Fue Satanás!" (S, p. 57). Repeated several times, this phrase closes the literary space and strengthens Bradomín's identification with the devil. In the Sonata

de otoño Concha echoes María Rosario's words: "Me das miedo cuando dices esas impiedades... Sí. Miedo, porque no eres tú quien habla: Es Satanás... Hasta tu voz parece otra... ¡Es Satanás!" (S, p. 172). The theme of possession is reiterated as Bradomín reminisces about his dead mistress: "El corazón sangra y se retuerce y dentro de mí ríe el Diablo, que sabe convertir todos los dolores en placer" (S, p. p. 176). Finally, in the Sonata de invierno the nun who chides Bradomín for having courted the young novice, his own daughter, reacts as if she had seen the devil: "Y de pronto, clavándome los ojos ardientes y fanáticos, hizo la señal de la cruz y estalló en maldiciones. Yo, como si fuese el Diablo, salí de la estancia" (S, p. 235).

Finally, it should be noted that Ramiro, like Bradomín, is an almost grotesquely comic character; the level of irony achieved by each novelist shows a discrepancy between what each protagonist believes himself to be and what he really is, between their aspirations and final predicaments. In this sense, both Bradomín and Ramiro approach a mild sort of what Valle-Inclán expressed in his later work as esperpentismo. Ildefonso Manuel Gil defines as characteristic of the esperpento ". . . un desajuste entre idealidad y realidad, entre los sentimientos y la manera de tenerlos . . . y de expresarlos los personajes . . . o, simplemente, entre dos planos distintos de la misma realidad."

B. Spanish-American echoes

La gloria in relation to Amistad funesta; Sangre patricia. It is unlikely that Larreta knew, before writing La gloria, José Martí's Amistad funesta (1885), published in New York's Spanish newspaper El Latino Americano,²² but it is possible that he had read Manuel Díaz Rodríguez' Sangre patricia (1902), which came out at the height of the modernista current and was reviewed in several well-known journals.²³ In any case, the purpose here is, not to establish a direct case of "influence" but to pinpoint certain relevant elements in two of the most typical novels of modernismo; Amistad funesta could be considered its earliest example in fictional prose, and Sangre patricia one of its most representative, written after much talk about modernismo and modernistas had suffused Spanish-American literary circles.

Dealing with a love triangle, Martí's short novel concentrates on psychological perceptions of the characters as they interact. Basically, nothing happens, and plot is sacrificed for the sake of inner experience, always described through a poetic vocabulary and rhythm, and often in terms of the sensory impressions evoked by different emotions. While the male protagonist, Juan Jeréz, is the prototype of "perfection" (handsome, kind, intelligent), the two women who gravitate around him, his cousin and fiancée Lucía Jeréz and his friend Sol del Valde, act as opposites and in a way complement each other (both women are beautiful but, while Lucía is intelligent, aggressive and mean, Sol is "not smart," passive, and kind). The novel's melodramatic dénouement (Lucía kills Sol in a fit of

jealousy) is intimated throughout the novel by a series of hints. For instance, love and death are joined in an image descriptive of Lucía's mood after she has unjustly argued with Juan: "airada ya contra Juan, irrevocablemente, como si las nubes que pasan por el cielo del amor fueran sus lienzos funerarios. . . ." ²⁴ In another passage, Lucía pins a rose on Sol's dress and, embracing her, wounds hers lightly on her breast with a rosethorn (A, p. 735). The strange, somewhat perverse relationship between Lucía and Sol is suggested through seemingly innocent descriptions, the latter preferring that "Lucía la mirase, a que la miraran los jóvenes mejor conocidos de la ciudad. . . . Lucía se había entrado por el alma de Sol, desde la noche en que le pareció sentir goce cuando se clavó en su seno la espina de la rosa. Lucía, ardiente y despótica, sumisa a veces como una enamorada, rígida y frenética en seguida sin causa aparente, y bella entonces como una rosa roja . . . ejercía . . . un poderoso influjo en el espíritu de Sol . . . [quien] tenía el encanto de la rosas blancas. Un dueño le era preciso, y Lucía fue su dueña" (A, p. 743). Through the use of color and the image of the rose, a "loaded" image in romantic literature, Martí links the two women in an irresistible attraction dominated by opposite elements: Lucía, sadistic, passionate, "red" and Sol, masochistic, passive, "white." Even the image of penetration by the dominant partner is suggested here through the wound by the rosethorn. On meeting Sol, Lucía had felt that she both loved and hated her (A, p. 732), and the complexity of her feelings is illustrated by her obsession to keep Sol away from Juan while at the same time keeping Sol close to herself. The active/

passive relationship of this vaguely lesbian pair is evoked in the following passage:

A los pies de Lucía, en una banqueta, con los brazos cruzados sobre las rodillas de la niña, ¿quién es la que está sentada, y la mira con largas miradas, que se entran por su alma como reinas hermosas que van a buscar en ella su aposento, y a quedarse en ella; y la deja jugar con su cabeza, cuya cabellera castaña destrenza y revuelve, y alisa luego hacia arriba con mucho cuidado, de modo que se le vea el noble cuello? A los pies de Lucía está Sol del Valle. (A, p. 733)

Although they cannot be considered a central part of the novel's structure, the themes of love, death, and religion are present. For instance, one character, a sensitive artist named Ana, is dying of some mysterious illness (perhaps consumption), and her perceptions of life become more and more acute as she becomes progressively more ill; a romantically decadent description of women's hats suggests fetishism: "de algún elegante caballero, y de más de uno, se sabe que ha robado a hurtadillas una flor de sombrero, o ha besado sus cintas largamente, con un beso entrañable y religioso" (A, p. 699); Juan Jeréz is likened to a priest: "veía Juan su inteligencia como una investidura sacerdotal. . .; y se sentía Juan, allá en sus determinaciones de noble mozo, como un sacerdote de todos los hombres. . . ." (A, p. 701); Ana, who is referred to as a "saint" (A, p. 745), associates the beautiful with the sacred and uses the image of the Catholic mass to express this idea: ". . . yo veo a las personas hermosas como si fueran sagradas. Cuando son malas no . . . pero mientras son buenas . . . me parece, cuando es toy delante de ellas, que soy un monaguillo y que le estoy alzando

la cogulla, como en la misa, a un sacerdote" (A, pp. 745-6).

Sangre patricia is a direct heir of Huysman's A rebours, exhibiting the Decadent obsession with the representation of the external world as a desintegrating structure. The last heir of a well-to-do family, Tulio Arcos shuns outside reality after a personal tragedy (his bride has died aboard the ship that was taking her to Paris, where Tulio had been waiting for her), and recedes deeper and deeper into the recesses of his own mind, with the aid of several drugs. Closely patterned after Huysman's novel, Sangre patricia expands the significance of its title's naturalistic connotations (bad blood passing from one generation to the next) by stressing the fact that Arcos had always been "strange," different from most people, somehow pre-destined to wind up a madman and a suicide. The bride's untimely death is almost a pretext for a fate that had been sealed already, yet at the same time it triggers a series of responses in Arcos that had, up to that time, been dormant. For example, religion and death had not been important to him before the tragedy: "Como al pensar en cosas de religión, si alguna vez pensó en la muerte, fue con la misma indiferencia dulce. . . . La muerte no había hecho sino rozarlo, al pasar, como una viajera silenciosa. Ahora, al contrario, acababa de herirlo en medio del corazón, desconcertándolo como una noche que plantara de súbito su tienda de sombras en el centro del día. . . . El misterio lo aumentaba la circunstancia de aquella muerte en plena juventud y en plena mar." 25

The identification of the sea with death is illustrated through Arcos' progressive obsession with the sea, which ultimately leads him to

find death by throwing himself into it. One other aspect of modernismo that appears in this novel is the interest in mysticism and religious sects. Among Tulio's friends, the artist Martí stands out as one of the most representative: Martí has revitalized his life and his art through his affiliation with "una vaga secta religiosa" which is never fully described but which nonetheless is accredited with revolutionizing his spirit: "Blanda luz mística bañó su fe y su arte, y la unión del arte con la fe completó la unión, ya realizada en él, del arte con la vida" (S, pp. 96-7). The aesthetic credo is, from this moment, the ruling element in Martí's life; he reads the gospels from this perspective and finds within them the key, not to life, but to art: "La eterna palabra del Amor se convirtió para el artista en la eterna pauta de la música. Todos los misterios del ritmo se le revelaron de pronto en la palabra de Jesús, entre coronas de virtudes angélicas y de lirios del valle" (S, p. 121).

A direct comparison between each one of these novels and La gloria would not yield too much material. Rather, it is ideologically that they are related. While it is mostly in terms of sensory impressions that Larreta applied the techniques of modernismo in his novel, as shown by Amado Alonso (see note 3), there are some other aspects that contribute to place the novel within the mainstream of modernista fiction. For instance, the pervading theme of disintegration and decay exploited in Sangre patricia through the description of the fallen house of Arcos (the name itself, meaning "arches" is an architectural term) is subtly hinted at in La gloria.

Through a racconto of the fortunes of Don Íñigo de la Hoz, Larreta suggests that this particular branch of the family is doomed to disappear: Don Íñigo had inherited from his ancestors "el sentimiento heroico de la honra y un señorial desprecio por todos los afanes del interés y del lucro," and, in order to maintain his standard of living, had already started to pawn his possessions to the Genoese usurers (OC, p. 24). When his grandfather dies years later Ramiro discovers that he literally owns nothing; his desperate situation is illustrated by the symbolic sale of the last objects he had kept in the now empty house: the family portraits (OC, p. 215). In doing this, Ramiro obliterates his past and his heritage, but, even though he later leaves for America in an effort to start anew, he cannot escape his fate: he is doomed to be the last heir of a decaying family. However, it should be noted that there is one major difference between this doomed, last heir and Tulio Arcos in Sangre patricia. While the mechanism of the disintegrating family has been borrowed from Zola's naturalistic dicta, in Larreta "decadence" is a characteristic, among several others, that is used to symbolize a historical period through a specific literary "type," and "decadent" signifies "decaying" on a representational level, conditioned by facts. In Sangre patricia, however, Tulio Arcos is a "Decadent" in the sense that he is a neurotic, closely patterned after the Decadent protagonist of late-nineteenth-century French fiction, who ". . . is not suffering from some mysterious fatality, but from nervous disorders, usually inherited from a line of tainted ancestors."

One other characteristic of modernista fiction is the portrayal of the artistic individual. In Amistad funesta Juan Jeréz and Ana are portrayed in this light, being both sensitive and perceptive. The prototype of the artist, however, is embodied by the Hungarian pianist Keleffy, who appears briefly, and indirectly, at a ball. His function, besides providing a good occasion to celebrate "the artist," is to suggest Sol's beauty, both physical and spiritual, since it was she who had inspired him during his performance:

Y Keleffy en aquellos instantes tenía muda y subyugada a la concurrencia. Allí sus esperanzas puras de otros tiempos; sus agonías de esposo triste; el desorden de una mente que se escapa; el mar sereno luego; la flora toda americana, ardiente y rica; el encogimiento sombrío del alma infeliz ante la naturaleza hermosa; una como invasión de luz que encendiese la atmósfera, y penetrase por los rincones más negros de la tierra, y a través de las ondas de la mar, a sus cuevas de azul y corales; una como águila herida, con una llaga en el pecho que parecía una rosa, huyendo, a grandes golpes de ala, cielo arriba, con gritos desesperados y estridentes. Así, como un espíritu que se despide, tocó Keleffy el piano. Jamás pudo tanto, ni nadie le oyó así segunda vez. Para Sol era aquella fantasía; para Sol, a quien ni volvería a ver nunca, ni dejaría de ver jamás. (A, p. 732)

In Sangre patricia it is the musician Martí who incarnates the modernista ideal of the contemporary artist, arguing that the supernatural element is predominant in the creative process: "Y si de la vida pasamos al arte, ¿podrá negarse en éste la existencia y el predominio de lo sobrenatural? . . . ¿Acaso no es lo sobrenatural eso que los filósofos y críticos de hoy han dado en llamar lo Incons-

ciente? Algo sobrenatural preside a todo feliz alumbramiento artístico" (S, p. 120). Aware of the modernista preoccupation with the artistic temperament, Larreta attempts in his novel to have at least one character that would take on some of the characteristics of the prototype of the artist. Blázquez Serrano typifies, not a cultured hidalgo of sixteenth-century Spain, but a late-nineteenth-century aesthete. As has been suggested by several critics, Larreta is really drawing a self-portrait in his characterization of this nobleman.

27

Don Alonso has written poetry in the style of Boscán and Garcilaso; he prefers reading Ovid or Tasso than Paul the Apostle. He is a dandy, an arbiter of good taste: "Amaba los ricos objetos, el aparato palaciego, la numerosa servidumbre. . . . Su gusto en el vestir burlaba las pragmáticas. . . . Hacía tejer en Milán sus brocados y brocateles. . . . Su amor por las cosas que concretaban una calidad exquisita de rareza o de arte era sobradamente sincero. . . . Los objetos que herían la imaginación del hidalgo con más sutil embeleso eran sus vidrios y marfiles. . . ." (OC, pp. 34-5). In short, Don Alonso makes a religion out of art. His aestheticism, exaggerated, echoes the late-nineteenth-century preoccupation with "art for art's sake." But, while in Amistad funesta and Sangre patricia the artistic characters are thematically linked to each novel's particular structure, in La gloria Don Alonso's aestheticism is almost gratuitous; it seems to be placed there as an unnecessary detail, having no other purpose than to show the author's awareness, as a modernista, of the importance of beauty and art. While descriptive of Don Alonso's character to some extent, the long passage referring to

his refined taste bears little relevance to his actions in the novel; it is an undeveloped, unexplored facet. In a similar manner, there is one paragraph that attempts to show Ramiro's sensitivity to art; almost out of context, Larreta makes Ramiro a qualified art critic. During one of his visits to Don Alonso, he hears several gentlemen discuss the pictorial elements of a painting attributed to Raphael, which Don Alonso has presented as a gift to one of them:

Ramiro hubiera querido también expresar su parecer. Estaba convencido de que a la mayor parte de aquellos señores se les alcanzaba muy poco del arte de la pintura. Sin embargo, todos manifestaban el mismo delirio y exaltación a los grandes maestros como no lo hicieran con los héroes y los santos. Consideró entonces el privilegio de aquella gloria. . .; acordóse de los famosos pintores. . . y pensó que él mismo, ejercitando su asombrosa vocación, hubiera llegado muy pronto a la fama universal, al placer, a la riqueza, con sólo un haz de pinceles. (OC, pp. 158-9)

Arbitrary but at the same time illustrative of the modernista preoccupation with art and the artist, this passage is still ruled by the thematic principle which unifies the novel's diverse, often melodramatic episodes, Ramiro's search for glory.

Even though the stylistic aspects of La gloria seems to be the strongest determinants for its classification as a modernista novel, the thematic aspects discussed in this chapter strengthen the validity of this denomination. Larreta managed to include the three currents of modernismo (extranjero, hispanico, americano) into a harmonious whole, a text which, in spite of flaws typical of its hybrid quality, is still considered one of the best exponents of modernismo in fictional prose.

Notes

1. Ivan A. Schulman and Manuel Pedro González, Martí, Darío y el Modernismo (Madrid: Gredos, 1969), pp. 52-3.
2. Federico de Onís, "Sobre el concepto del modernismo," Estudios críticos sobre el modernismo, ed. Homero Castillo (Madrid: Gredos, 1968), p. 38.
3. See Amado Alonso, Ensayo sobre la novela histórica. El modernismo en La gloria de don Ramiro (Buenos Aires: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Univ. de Buenos Aires, 1942), pp. 190-9.
4. See André Jansen, Enrique Larreta; novelista hispano-argentino (1873-1961), trad. Fernando Murillo Rubiera (Madrid: Cultura Hispánica, 1967), pp. 251-8.
5. See Ricardo Gullón, "Introducción" to El modernismo visto por los modernistas, ed. R. Gullón (Barcelona: Guadarrama, 1980), pp. 10-2.
6. David Tylden-Wright, Anatole France (New York: Walker & Co., 1967), p. 140.
7. For an account of the story of Thaïs, see Jacobus de Voragine, The Golden Legend, trans. Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger (New York: Arno Press, 1969), pp. 614-6.
8. Anatole France, Thaïs (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, n.d.), p. 6. All further references to this work appear in the text.
9. The influence of Kempis on Amado Nervo, one of the more representative modernista poets, can be traced to a poem from the collection Místicas (1898), with which Larreta might have been familiar: "¡Oh Kempis, Kempis, asceta yermo, / pálido asceta, qué mal me hiciste! / ¡Ha muchos años que estoy enfermo, / y es por el libro que tú escribiste!" See Raúl H. Castagnino, Imágenes modernistas (Buenos Aires: Editorial Nova, 1967), pp. 73-80.

10. In Prosas profanas (1896), the mixture of eroticism and mysticism is exemplified in "Ite, missa est," in which the image of the love object is linked with the host during the sacrificial ritual of the Catholic mass: "Yo adoro a una sonámbula con alma de Eloísa, / virgen como la nieve y honda como la mar; / su espíritu es la hostia de mi amorosa misa, / y alzo al són de una dulce lira crepuscular." See Mario Rodríguez Fernández, El modernismo en Chile y en Hispanoamérica (Chile: Univ. de Chile, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, 1967), pp. 100-1.

11. See Lily Litvak, Erotismo fin de siglo (Barcelona: Antoni Bosch, 1979), pp. 110-2.

12. For a detailed study of medicinal practices as reflected in La gloria, see Jansen, pp. 101-3.

13. Reino Virtanen, Anatole France (New York: Twayne, 1968), p. 60.

14. Amado Alonso, "Estructura de las Sonatas de Valle Inclán," in his Materia y forma en poesía (Madrid: Gredos, 1965), p. 226.

15. See Mario Praz, La carne, la morte e il diavolo nella letteratura romantica (Firenze: Sansoni, 1966).

16. Litvak, p. 114.

17. See Juan Carlos Ghiano, Análisis de La gloria de don Ramiro (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina, 1968), p. 32.

18. Ramón del Valle-Inclán, Sonatas (New York: Las Américas, 1961), p. 87. All further references to this work appear in the text.

19. Alonso Zamora Vicente, Las Sonatas de Valle-Inclán (Madrid: Gredos, 1969), p. 46.

20. Litvak, p. 112.

21. In Valle-Inclán, Azorín y Baroja (Madrid: Seminarios y Ediciones, 1975), p. 82.

22. See Enrique Anderson Imbert, "La prosa poética de Martí: Amistad funesta," in his Estudios sobre letras hispánicas (México: Libros de México, 1976), p. 167.

23. See Jorge Olivares, "Sangre patricia, novela decadente," Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos, 5 (1981), 170-1.

24. José Martí, Amistad funesta, in Obras completas (Caracas:

n.p., 1964), IV, 760. All further references to this work appear in the text.

25. Manuel Díaz Rodríguez, Sangre patricia (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Librería, n.d.), pp. 61-2. All further references to this work appear in the text.

26. A.E. Carter, The Idea of Decadence in French Literature, 1830-1900 (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto, 1958), p. 28.

27. See Amado Alonso, Ensayo, pp. 191-4; also Allen Phillips, "El arte y el artista en algunas novelas modernistas," in his Temas del modernismo hispánico y otros estudios (Madrid: Gredos, 1974), pp. 261-93.

Chapter 4

Hagiographical elements

Enrique Larreta's interest in hagiography goes back to his formative years, as he says in La naranja: "Yo siempre he reconocido que para formar mi expresión literaria, me atiborré de místicos, de místicos españoles, se entiende." ¹ This interest also led him to research the life of Rosa de Lima, a project that would later find its way into the epilogue of La gloria. Hagiographical elements, as will be shown in this chapter, are an integral part of Larreta's novel, and greatly contribute to enhance its historical/legendary quality.

It was in Byzantium, during the fourth century A.D. that the Lives of the saints were first considered a literary genre (having as an antecedent the accounts of Christian martyrdom written in the preceding three hundred years. It was also there and during this period the the cult of relics started taking on the magnified dimensions of serious affairs of state: "Lors de l'invasion arabe, Héraclius fit transporter la vraie Croix de Jérusalem à Contantinople, où elle fut conservée au Grand Palais; les morceaux en furent distribués dans les sanctuaires de la Chrétianté." ² It was believed that such objects, as well as the bodily remains of martyrs

and saints, had magical properties, the most important of which was to ensure the protection and historical continuity of the city in question (a good example is the theft and translation of Mark the Apostle's remains to Venice and the subsequent construction of a shrine in his honor). The similarities between this practice and classical Greece's worship of heroes and their relics are well known, and definitely point to the assimilation by Christianity of "pagan" beliefs and customs in an effort to win over as many converts as it was possible without compromising the Judaic concept of **monotheism**. One of the best illustrations of the translation of relics in classical Greece is the story of Theseus, whose remains were supposedly in the island of Skyros until the Athenians, following the indications of an oracle from Delphi, invaded the island, seized the remains and took them to Athens. Ruins of a shrine built in his honor, the Theseon, can still be admired in Athens' agora. More modern examples of the honorary shrine are the Basilica di San Francesco, in Assisi, the Basilica del Santo (dedicated to Saint Anthony) in Padova, and the Catedral de Santiago de Compostela. The figure of the soldier-saint, Santiago, whose popularity was somewhat diluted in sixteenth-century Spain, is evoked in Larreta's novel, as will be discussed below. It should also be noted here that the anecdote of Teresa de Ávila's heart being taken out of her body and brought back to Ávila for the city's protection by a fervent Carmelite nun is described in La gloria (OC, p. 135).

Before going any further, definitions of hero, martyr, and saint should be cited. The etymology of hero goes back to its hypothetical Indo-European base, ser-, "to watch over, protect." The English hero, a direct derivative of the Greek hērōs, assumes the following meanings according to Webster's: "1. Myth. & Legend a man of great strength and courage, favored by the gods and in part descended from them, often regarded as a half-god and worshipped after his death . . . 3. any man admired for his qualities or achievements and regarded as an ideal or model. 4. the central male character in a novel, play, poem, etc., with whom the reader is supposed to sympathize; protagonist." To this definition, it may be useful to add the outstanding elements of Otto Rank's, a result of his study of thirty-four narrative structures: 1. born of distinguished parents; 2. prophecy cautioning against his birth; 3. abandoned, usually in water; 4. aided by animals or peasant women; 5. revenge on father; 6. achievement of rank and honors within established social order. Moses and Oedipus would be almost perfect examples, while the story of St. Julien l'Hospitalier, as codified by Jacobus de Voragine in the Legenda aurea would somewhat follow this pattern. No less complicated, the etymology of martyr also takes us back to the Indo-European, hypothetical root: (s)mer-, "to remember, care." While the Greek martyr assumes the meaning of "witness" in Late Greek (ecclesiastical), the word connoted the original Indo-European meaning. The principal definition of the contemporary English word is "a person who chooses to suffer or die rather than give up his faith or his principles; person tortured or killed because of

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 his beliefs. Saint, derived from the Latin sanctus, "holy, consecrated," and sanctus being the past participle of sancire, "to consecrate," refers to the cognate sacer, "holy," with the hypothetical Indo-European base sak-, "to sanctify, make a compact." Directly related to the Late Latin (ecclesiastical) meaning of sanctus, "saint," modern English ascribes to saint the following meanings, according to Webster's: "1. a holy person 2. a person who is exceptionally meek, charitable, patient, etc. . . . 5. in certain Christian churches, a person officially recognized as having lived an exceptionally holy life, and thus as being in heaven and capable of interceding for sinners; canonized person."⁷

A discussion of the hypothetical interchangeability of the terms defined above, in light of their original and assigned meanings, would carry us too far and would have to assume many considerations not directly related to the topic. Nonetheless, it would be useful to make the following observations: the word martyr, as applied to the first Christians who died for their beliefs ("witnesses" to their faith) ceased to be useful to describe those "holy" persons, saints, able "to intercede for sinners" who were not persecuted for their beliefs and did not die by martyrdom. Thus, while most martyrs were saints, not all saints were martyrs. The syncretism which had helped adapt such "pagan" rituals as the adoration of relics to Christian practice, also influenced the metamorphosis of the hero (one who "protects" and is "worshipped after death") into a Christian martyr, later to be canonized as a saint: "Martyrdom had a psychological aspect. In this age of sick souls in an affluent but

disillusioned society the death wish, that libido moriendi that Seneca had diagnosed and Epictetus confirmed, found fulfilment for some in martyrdom. But there were many whose motives were nearer the surface: the desire to imitate Christ and to please him by faithfulness even to death, the prospect of glory in this world, with a tomb that might become a shrine, and the assurance of everlasting bliss." ⁸ Glory, a shrine, bliss: the "glory" of Don Ramiro, described in terms of his aspirations to be a hero and a saint, is closely related to these subterranean yearnings of the early Christian martyrs, as will be discussed below.

Ramiro's frustrated efforts to lead an ascetic life constitute another important hagiographical element. In his discussion of the early Christian church, Edward McNall Burns detects the following currents as fundamental in the proliferation of hermits during the third and fourth centuries: 1. a protest against the worldliness of the church; 2. morbid self-torture as a substitute for martyrdom; 3. an example of exalted piety and unselfishness; 4. the influence of Oriental religions, such as Gnosticism and Manicheism. He then assesses the outcome of these impulses in the following way:

The earliest Christian ascetics were hermits, who withdrew from the world to live in seclusion in some wilderness or desert. This form of asceticism seems to have originated in Egypt in the third century. . . . It developed into a kind of religious mania characterized by morbid excess. We read of hermits or anchorites grazing in the fields after the manner of animals, rolling naked in thorn bushes, or living in swamps infected with snakes. The famous St. Simeon Stylites passed a whole summer "as a rooted vegetable in a garden" and then began the construction of his celebrated pillar. . . . Such absurdities as these, while certainly not typical of the attitude of the majority of

Christians at this time, were probably the natural fruit
of too strong an emphasis upon the spiritual way of life. ⁹

This practice gave way to monastic orders, which were created in an effort to avoid the dangerous excesses of some hermits (i.e., emasculation), and emphasized productive, manual labor in opposition to the anchorites' contemplative life. ¹⁰ Ramiro's unrealistic, romantic vision of monastic life is best expressed in the following passage: "Soñó en la paz de los monasterios, en la ascética fruición de la celda durante las noches de invierno, en la deliciosa somnolencia de los rezos en los coros oscuros, entre el olor eclesiástico de los viejos barnices, de la cera, del estoraque." ¹¹

Larreta's own interpretation of certain Catholic rites, decadent and aestheticist, colors his character's fantasies with a decidedly "modern" tint.

In Spain, during the ninth century, the cult of Santiago developed with amazing intensity as a direct consequence of the Islamic invasion:

El culto a Santiago no fue un simple rasgo de piedad, utilizado luego en la lucha contra el moro. La verdad es . . . que tal creencia salió del plano humilde del folklore y asumió dimensión incalculable como respuesta a lo que estaba aconteciendo en el lado musulmán: a una guerra sostenida y ganada por la fe religiosa, se intentó oponer (no racionalmente, claro está), otra fe bélica, grandiosamente espectacular, apta a su vez para sostener al cristiano y llevarlo al triunfo. Del mismo modo que se imitaba inconscientemente a los musulmanes en múltiples aspectos de su existencia, se establecía también una correlación en cuanto al uso bélico de las creencias. ¹²

Santiago Matamoros differed widely from the James of the Gospels. As described by Alfonso el Sabio in the Crónica general, he

miraculously appeared at the decisive battle of Clavijo, in 822, riding a white horse out of the sky. Américo Castro justifiably associates this narrative pattern with the deus ex machina of classical epic, and offers substantiating evidence linking Santiago (referred to as "Christ's brother" in Spain at that time, to one of the Dioscuri.¹³ This tendency to establish a direct, although dialectically contradictory relationship with a saint, anticipates somewhat a current that would appear in the rest of Europe in the Late Middle Ages, when saint worship would become more popular:

The humanizing elements in religion expressed itself in a variety of ways--in the revolt against the selfish asceticism of monks and hermits, in the naturalism of St. Francis, and perhaps most of all in the veneration of saints and the Virgin Mary. All through the later medieval period, the veneration or "invocation" of saints was a popular practice, especially among the common people. For the average person God and Christ were remote and sublime beings who could hardly be bothered with the petty problems of men. But saints were human; one could ask them for favors which one would hesitate to request of God. For example, a woman could implore the aid of St. Agnes in helping her find a husband.¹⁴

However, parallel to this tendency, in Castilla, the secularization of government, through the (precarious) establishment of gentlemen who profited from monarchic weakness and the monetary dealings of many Jews, somewhat diminished the importance given to saint worship:

Si Castilla antes se estructuró sobre la fe en sus santos y en sus héroes, ahora, en el 1300, vivirá más atenta al arrebató de las almas, y no alzaré a santos ni a héroes sobre un pedestal mítico. No es que la creencia se substituyese con ideas y doctrinas, sino más bien que la fe en la propia persona oscurecía fuerzas colectivas expresadas antes a través de Santiago y de la épica. . . . El castellano ganaba conciencia de su personalidad, y no sentía

empacho en hablar de sí mismo, con lo cual el autobiografismo y lirismo árabes se abrían cada vez más paso. 15

Almost three centuries later, the historical situation in Spain had changed dramatically: the unification of Castilla and Aragón some years after the marriage of Isabel and Fernando (1479) and the establishment of the New Inquisition during the preceding year; the defeat of Granada and the discovery of the New World (1492); the alliance with the Austrian House of Hapsburg and the election of Charles I of Spain to the title of emperor of the Holy Roman Empire under the name Carlos V (1519); all these factors had contributed enormously to put Spain on the map of Europe, so to speak. Under Philip II, encouraged by the triumph of the naval battle of Lepanto (1571), the Spaniards challenged the English fleet: the result was the devastating defeat of the "Invincible" Armada (1588), which marked Spain's decline as a world power and instigated a period of political unrest in the various provinces, as the nobles rebelled against the absolutism of the king. 16 During the second half of the sixteenth century, religious intolerance, combined with an existing preoccupation of a morisco uprising, anti-semitism, and an increasing fear of heresies arising from the propagation of Lutheranism and the appearance of numerous "mystical" sects, 17 exacerbated the practices of the Inquisition: "Su vigilancia no perdonó a nadie. Cuatro santos españoles fueron sospechosos e interrogados por ella: San Juan de Ávila, San Juan de la Cruz, Santa Teresa y San Francisco de Borja. La Inquisición se convirtió también en un instrumento político, en una jurisdicción reservada para casos de

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atentado a la seguridad del Estado o de lesa majestad. . . ."

Against this background, Larreta's *Ávila* becomes a microcosm in which several of the national problems just outlined are reflected in specific circumstances: the Moorish conspiracy to which Ramiro is witness; Don Yñigo's involvement with the unsuccessful plot against the king led by Diego de Bracamonte; the horrifying Auto de fe in Toledo. The preoccupation with religion as an undercurrent of the national character and the dialectically contradictory attitudes symbolized by the fading cult of Santiago Matamoros and the new fervor of mysticism as practiced by Teresa de *Ávila* are represented in the character of Ramiro. Although references to Santiago are few and indirect, Ramiro's impulses to military glory, in defense of his country and against the Moors (an ironic intent on the part of the author, since Ramiro is half-Moorish), can be attributed to the influence of the soldier-saint. It could be further added that Ramiro's attitudes are analogous to Don Quijote's. Like Cervantes' character, Ramiro is an anachronism; a younger contemporary of Don Quijote, he is an assiduous reader of chivalric novels (as his mother, Guiomar, had been in her youth), and his actions are greatly modified by what he has read. On the one hand, his yearnings for "glory" are a product of the military tales he has received from books or from the squire Medrano and the servants; on the other, "glory" for him signifies a union with Christ, received from his mother's teachings (based on those of Teresa), and his readings of Kempis (De imitatione Christi), as well as Diego de Estella's Las

vanidades del mundo, and other religious tracts. The malignant influence of Vargas Orozco, the canon, leads Ramiro to the militancy and ambition that Larreta sees as representative of Spanish Catholicism during that time; Vargas Orozco regrets not having fought actively as a soldier (another Santiago) for his faith, and his vision of Spain parallels the absolutism of Philip II:

Él veía a España asediada por innumerables enemigos. Dado que no era posible vencerla en guerra franca y varonil, buscábase ahora minar aquella unidad religiosa que la hacía invulnerable, introduciendo en su seno la disputa, la secta, el desorden. Herirla en su fe era enfermarle el vigor. La herejía era más temible que todos los ejércitos. La herejía era el rejalgar que, una vez en la entraña, daba al traste con la más firme entereza. . . . Valladolid era un foco de luteranos. Salamanca, un seminario de herejes. Los discípulos de Valdés y de Ramus, los secuaces de Erasmo y de Lutero eran asaz numerosos. . . . No era el caso de discutir proposiciones, sino de extirpar de cuajo las bubas aquéllas y cicatrizarlas para siempre con el fuego purificador. Nada de complacencias ni melindres. ¡Lo podrido a la hoguera, y amén! (OC, pp. 49-50)

Before analyzing the specific hagiographical elements in La gloria, it should be stressed that, while Ramiro at times aspires to be a saint and attempts to pursue this goal, Larreta's attitude towards his character is parodic, and Ramiro is not, as he would like to be, a saint, but a caricature of a saint, a pseudo-saint. According to Stephen Clissold, the "pseudo-saint" is characteristic of Spanish America. Citing as examples José Martí, Ernesto [Che] Guevara and Eva Perón, he describes the "pseudo-saint" as one who "resembles the authentic type in that he appears to identify himself with the needy and oppressed and to dedicate himself to improving their lot. . . . [They] are likely to appear as heretics, re-

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bels, revolutionaries or popular heroes." The examples that he gives constitute a rather heterogeneous group, but he does have a point. For instance, Martí is not often known to the common people as a precursor of modernismo and an important poet and essayist, but is referred to as el mártir de la Independencia and el Apóstol. It could be argued that the pattern of the pseudo-saint that Clissold has described can be traced back to the time of massive colonization in the Spanish territories of the Americas, as it is described in La gloria, when desperate conditions in Spain sent thousands of men to find fame and fortune in America. Ramiro's "escape," seen in this light, was a common response to a stressful situation, especially for someone not of sangre limpia.²⁰ His "canonization" as a "pseudo-saint," not as common, is intimately tied to some of the aspects so far discussed, which will be kept in mind, as the more specific hagiographical elements in La gloria are analyzed and discussed.

A. The living models

1. Militant Christianity and the Santiago legend. Américo Castro's excellent discussion of the intimate relation between Islam and Christianity, as exemplified by the cult of Santiago, has provided the main points of the following summary.²¹ Considered "Christ's brother," the apostle Santiago had a well-established cult in Galicia by the ninth century, a cult arising as a consequence of approximately a hundred years of Arab occupation. Faced with the Islamic concept of a "Holy War" in which Allah and Mohammed were invoked to intervene in the acts of warriors and conquer the

lands of the infidels, Christians quite inadvertently used that very same concept to counteract what they saw as a sacrilegious menace:

Santiago se irguió frente a la Kaaba mahomética como alarde de fuerza espiritual, en una grandiosa "mythomachia." La ciudad de Santiago aspiró a rivalizar con Roma y Jerusalén, no sólo como meta de peregrinación mayor. Si Roma poseía los cuerpos de San Pedro y San Pablo, si el Islam que había sumergido a la España cristiana combatía bajo el estandarte de su Profeta-Apóstol, la España del siglo IX, desde su rincón gallego, desplegaba la enseña de una creencia antiquísima, magnificada en un impulso de angustia defensiva, y sin cálculo racional alguno. ²²

The relationship that was established between the realms of Castilla and León should be deemed as vital for their preservation and enrichment during the Reconquista, a relationship that would later develop into a typically Spanish way of thinking, intimately connected with a militant concept of Christianity. In Larreta's novel, this concept is represented by Vargas Orozco, who transmits it to Ramiro, his pawn.

Although the etymology of the name "Ramiro" is not significant in terms of the character's personality and actions, the name is nonetheless an important clue, since it refers to king Ramiro I, whose reign (842-850 A.D.) marked the beginning of sustained struggle against the Moslem occupation:

. . . c'est toujours le royaume des Asturies . . . qui apparaît comme le principal moteur de la lutte antimusulmane. Ses souverains, Ramire Ier . . ., Ordone Ier (850-866) et surtout Alphonse III le Grand (866-911) se posent en héritiers de la tradition wisigothique qui postule la reconquête de toute l'Espagne. . . . La figure

de l'apôtre Saint Jacques, dont on pense avoir retrouvé les reliques dans un tombeau romain découvert au début du IX siècle en Galice, s'associe désormais à l'oeuvre de la Reconquête comme celle d'un "anti-Mahomet", et c'est son nom qu'invoquent les soldats qui, dans toutes les parties de l'Espagne, combattent pour la foi du Christ. ²³

During the battle of Clavijo, it was to Ramiro I that Santiago appeared, riding his white horse, saying, according to the Crónica general of Alfonso el Sabio: "N.S. Jhesu Cristo partió a todos los otros apóstoles, míos hermanos et a mí, todas las provincias de la tierra, et a mí solo dió a España que la guardasse et la amparasse de manos de los enemigos de la fe. . . ." ²⁴ Ramiro's name is not fortuitous: like Ramiro I, hero of Asturias and Castilla, he is predestined to "hear" divine voices urging him to defend his country. The fact that the references to Santiago in La gloria are somewhat veiled is not accidental either: at that time, the Arab menace had diminished considerably; Santiago's protection was not as urgently needed; the teachings of the Spanish mystics had begun to flourish. Teresa de Jesús is a strong presence in Ávila (and also in Larreta's Ávila), and her influence can be seen as an opposing force to the cult of Santiago. In fact, the tendency to "devaluate" Santiago and enhance Teresa would culminate with a papal declaration in 1619 proclaiming that Teresa would share Santiago's position as patron saint of Spain. Numerous protests against the co-patronato, among which Quevedo's would be the most famous ("Su espada por Santiago, ²⁵ 1628), caused the edict to be revoked in 1629.

The narrative space of Larreta's novel begins in the year 1582 (the only clue to establish this date is that, as Doña Guiomar

announces dramatically, "la madre Teresa de Ahumada" has just died, (OC, p. 19). Five years later, when Ramiro is seventeen, Vargas Orozco enlists him as a spy, in the service of the Catholic church. His mission is to uncover a suspected Arab conspiracy by frequenting the Arab quarter and, if necessary, fake a "love interest" to justify his presence there. Situated in the neighborhood of Santiago, the quarter proves to be inscrutable for Ramiro; ironically, he is almost converted to Islam, in spite of himself, through the careful scheme of his father and Aixa (the importance of the Arab woman as an instrument of Islamic mysticism will be discussed in the following section). Significantly, when Ramiro is almost transfixed as he hears the Moslem prayers recited by the mysterious Arab (his father) and Aixa at sunset, "la campana de Santiago resonó a corta distancia," transporting him into a similar kind of ecstasy: "cayó de rodillas . . . y las avemarías manaron de su pecho bullidoras y cálidas" (OC, pp. 96-7). It is Santiago Matamoros who has caused this sudden repentance in him; for the first time, he is aware of the dangers that Islamic religion had posed for him. When Vargas Orozco urges him to visit Aixa's house at night in the hope of finding the conspirators, he invokes the warrior saint: "Es parroquia de Santiago. Él os ha de asistir en la empresa. ¡Ah! ¡Si tuviera yo vuestra mocedad o no llevara al menos estos hábitos graves!" (OC, p. 101). A puppet of Vargas Orozco, trained by the malignant priest to act as his "falcon," Ramiro charges against his Arab prey as if he were Ramiro I of ninth-century Asturias, but is in turn defeated and seriously wounded.

Even though Ramiro's years in Perú are narrated by someone else in a succinct manner, its purpose being to stress the contrast between Ramiro's cruelty before meeting Rosa de Lima and his kindness afterwards, it can be assumed that the concept of militant Christianity, characteristic of the Spanish colonos, also traveled with him to Spanish America: "In time, there were no more Moors left in Spain to kill; but by then, there was a new pagan enemy--the native inhabitants, or 'Indians' of the New World. So when the Spaniards came to America they brought with them the same concept of religion as a crusade, and the same patron saint--Santiago the Moorslayer."²⁶

2. Teresa de Ávila and the mystic way: Guíomar, Aixa, Ramiro.

In his discussion of the Islamic Sufi movement, Joseph Campbell traces its origins to the monasticism of the Christian Monophysite and Nestorian sects, and suggests that its early phase was characterized not by the love but by the fear of God. The first drastic change in this conception, he implies, was introduced by "a celebrated woman saint, Rabi'a al-Adawiya (d. 801), [who] brought forward the idea of divine love as both the motive and the end of the mystic way. In her zeal of God all other interests ('gods') were extinguished. She declared that she knew neither fear of hell nor desire for paradise, but only such an absorbing love for God that neither love nor hate for any other being--not the Prophet himself--remained in her heart."²⁷ Her mystical union with the god-figure and the absolute quality of her experience are echoed in

the writings of Teresa de Ávila, especially in El castillo interior (1571), in which the "decisive thread [is] the presence of God, at first only lovingly in Teresa's imagination, but later experienced as a real presence in the soul."²⁸ Américo Castro has argued that Teresa, "cuya ascendencia judaico-oriental está probada con documentos,"²⁹ is a direct inheritor of Sufi mysticism: "La espiritualidad sufí hizo posible alcanzar ya en el siglo X, la altura expresiva de una poesía como la de Ibn Faray, gracias a la indistinción entre lo divino y lo mundano, entre la doctrina y la expresión del existir total de la persona. Por ese camino entenderemos el arte de Santa Teresa, escritora de ascendencia judaica, en cuya obra se armonizan la materia y el espíritu de modo muy hispánico."³⁰ Helmut Hatzfeld has indicated that two currents of mystical literature were influential on Teresa's writings, conceptually, structurally and stylistically: one comes from the North, through the work of the Blessed Jan van Ruysbroek (1293-1381); the other from Sufism, through the meditations of Ramón Lull (1235-1316).³¹ It is important to keep these observations in mind when analyzing Teresa's suffused presence in La gloria, since Ramiro's religious confusion is largely determined by a misinterpretation of her mystical teachings, as told to him by his mother, counterbalanced by the orthodox beliefs learned from Vargas Orozco. Combined with these opposing forces, is Islam, as represented by Aixa and the mysterious Moor, Ramiro's father.

Doña Guiomar has been codified in the shadow of Teresa de Ávila, as has been noted by several critics in passing, and even her name,

is a reference to Teresa's friend, Guiomar de Ulloa, in whose house Teresa lived from 1559 to 1561. ³² However, Guiomar is no mystic. She is merely a fanatic, whose pioussness, self-mortification and obsessive spirituality constitute a self-imposed punishment for the ardors of her youth. Her presence in the novel, often told through short racconti, usually signals an important moment in Ramiro's life, as she tries to turn him away from worldly ambitions. She first appears in the narrative space when Ramiro, against her wishes, is playing with Medrano's sword: "una hermosa mujer, extremadamente pálida, toda vestida de negro" (OC, p. 18), who reprimands her son and announces that Teresa has died "like a saint." Thus, the dichotomy that will pervade Ramiro's life (la espada contra la sotana) is established in the novel's first chapter by Guiomar's appearance. The next five chapters, devoted to a racconto of the fortunes of Don Íñigo de la Hoz, his daughter, and Ramiro's early years, are the most descriptive of Guiomar. Her seduction by the son of Aben-Djahvar, Don Íñigo's slain enemy, is an act of vengeance; her unborn child has been cursed by her father; her pre-arranged marriage to Lope de Alcántara, who honorably gave a name to her son, ends abruptly when the husband "a los tres días de casado partió solo para Flandes," where he gave his life in the struggle against the Protestant Huguenots. Guiomar's reaction is radical:

Guiomar, como si hubiera asido con ambas manos la herida abierta en su pecho por tanto dolor, pareció escurrir fuera de sí el exceso de aquella sangre culpable, cuyos ardores habían mancillado su honra. Enfermiza palidez en-

mascaró su rostro. Sus manos tomaron impresionante blancura entre sus vestidos de luto, y su alma inclinóse toda entera hacia el rayo de luz de la esperanza divina. A pesar de su preñez, sometió su cuerpo a las más arduas penitencias, imitando, dentro de su casa, en lo que era posible, la nueva reforma del Carmelo. (OC, pp. 26-7) 33

This young widow, used by her Arab lover merely as a tool to wreak vengeance and shame on his Castilian enemy, repudiated and cursed by her father, would live the rest of her life like a nun, trying to imitate Teresa de Jesús, her distant relative, in a distraught, maniacal way: "Para Guiomar, su aposento . . . tenía austeridades de celda. . . . Su lozanía de otros tiempos y el mismo brillo de sus pupilas . . . , todo huyó prematuramente de su rostro, macerado por los pesares; y el negro monjil ahuyentó para siempre los tafetanes de colores. . . ." (OC, pp. 24-5). Her relationship with her son is dominated by her fear that the boy, by trying to follow the active, public life he desired, would be abruptly stopped and humiliated by the requisite of "untainted blood," and would learn of his ignoble birth. By keeping this a secret, she tries to protect him by guiding him towards the religious life, away from the "glory" of this world. Seen in this light, her severity is more understandable. After Ramiro's first communion, "Doña Guiomar castigaba ahora su falta más mínima con penitencias monásticas, inculcándole el desprecio del mundo y el terror del pecado. . . . Relataba ella misma los milagros de alguna monja de la ciudad o los trabajos y prodigios de la Madre Teresa de Jesús. . . . Decíale los coloquios diarios de aquella santa mujer con el Señor, y cómo, en medio de la oración, el aliento celestial la tocaba de pronto, le-

vantando su cuerpo a varios palmos del suelo" (OC, p. 28). Thus, the mystic way is paved rather early for Ramiro, even before the novel's actual time begins. It is not surprising that, years later, he would refute the orthodox teachings of Vargas Orozco, protesting that he only intended to follow Teresa's footsteps.

Guiomar has three other significant appearances in the book, which mark crucial moments in Ramiro's existence. First, she takes from him the novels of chivalry that he has been reading and finds him a tutor, a Franciscan friar who would later recommend Vargas Orozco as the right person to prepare Ramiro for theological study at the University of Salamanca. The second passage takes place after Ramiro's involvement with the Arab conspiracy. She is almost a ghost ("Las tocas monacales, adheridas con ventosas a la frente, ocultabanla los cabellos; su rostro desprendía luminoso blancor. Era ya el ser sin carnalidad, sin escoria. La luz penetraba el alabastro de sus manos señoriles, aguzadas por la aspiración continua de la plegaria," OC, p. 113), who urges him to abandon the vanaglorias of this world. This scene between mother and son is especially significant because it indirectly brings in another important presence in Ramiro's life, his father. Guiomar suddenly sees the dagger that the mysterious Moor had given Ramiro, and, recognizing it, she is determined to protect her son from what she sees as the malignant threat of Islam. Incidentally, the fact that the "recognition" object identifying Guiomar's lover is a dagger should be considered in all of its sexual implications. When she next speaks to her son, a few paragraphs later, she suggests that he has been bewitched

by the devil, and orders him to leave for Salamanca "con voz justiciera y casi hombruna" (OC, p. 116). Of course, her plans are thwarted when Ramiro later informs her that "en el Colegio del Arzobispo le exigían ahora las pruebas de limpieza de sangre" (OC, p. 167). Using as a pretext Don Íñigo's death, she calls him back to Ávila and insists, in her last direct appearance in the novel, that he continue his clerical studies in Ávila. When Ramiro refuses, telling her that he intends to marry Beatriz, Guiomar leaves the narrative space: "'Con lo que acabas de decir . . . mi vida en el siglo ha terminado. Eres agora el señor. Ordena, y que Su Divina Majestad te perdone.' Su expresión era extraña. El demasiado dolor la hacía sonreír. Caminó hacia la mesa. Removió la mecha del velón, la limpió, la retorció debidamente. Luego, sin pronunciar un vocablo, salió de la estancia" (OC, p. 169). This superbly dramatic passage closes Part I as well. The short rhythm of the sentences and the succinct descriptions of the woman's actions as she leaves the room give a highly visual character to the scene, stressing the finality of her words. Towards the end of the book, during Ramiro's "hermit" phase, we learn that Guiomar had retired to a convent near Córdoba. If she has been codified in the image of Teresa de Ávila, it has been so in an outwardly, superficial manner, more related to the "form" and "aspect" of religious fanatics than to the mystic way of life. Also, it should be stressed that her obsession with Ramiro's religious profession was largely, and justifiedly so, pragmatic. However, Guiomar's influence on her son is profound, and Ramiro's intermittent obsession with Teresa is mostly conditioned by his

mother.

There is only one true mystic in the novel, and her name is Aixa, meaning "the living one."³⁵ She is a jarifa, a descendant of Mohammed's daughter, a member of the Arab aristocracy of Granada, and owns a house in that region, "toda blanca como su cuerpo" (OC, p. 100); her behavior and actions are strictly within the traditional values of a woman of her class and religion. Although there is no actual account of a secret agreement between Aixa and Ramiro's father, there are several hints implying that there was such an agreement, culminating with the passage where Aixa and the man do the ritual prayers at sunset while Ramiro watches, first in fascination, and then with an increasing sense of guilt. First, Ramiro does not find Aixa, she finds him, with the help of Gulinar, and coaxes him into her house in a manner highly reminiscent of Don Quijote's incident with Clavileño.³⁶ Clearly, the intent is to convert Ramiro to Islam, eventually disclose to him his origin, and reconcile him with his father, the son of Aben Djahvar (his name means "jewel"),³⁷ descended from one of the last wealthy Arab families of Granada. That an erotic relationship is the means to the ends is not surprising: "Para la literatura religiosa o moral de la Edad Media cristiana, la mujer simbolizó el pecado; en la literatura árabe del mismo tipo la mujer fue, a menudo, un incentivo en la marcha a Dios."³⁸ When Aixa and Ramiro make love for the first time, her experience (his is not described) can be considered as mystical: "rindióse con frenesí tan severo, que el amor parecía entre sus brazos acto ritual y sagrado. Sus labios

se entreabrían con doble sonrisa de deleite y sufrimiento, como si hubiera querido remedar el primer goce doloroso de las vírgenes" (OC, p. 88). The union of body and soul in a "sacred, ritual act," the use of oxymoron, the association with "virgins," not only sexual but also nunlike, are in the tradition of mystical literature. Aixa's obsession with Islam is so extreme that during their lovemaking, "cuando las fuertes pupilas del mancebo tomaban un tinte nebuloso, a la manera de las charcas de la tempestad," in anticipation of his sexual climax, she would ask him: "¿Dáme también toda el alma? ¿Toda? ¿Tendrás el mismo amor e la mesma creencia que tu Aixa, tú?" (OC, p. 88). On another occasion she reads him a chapter from the Koran, referring to the Virgin Mary, and, more importantly, the passage describing the Supreme Vision from the Hayy ibn Yaqdzan; written by Abentofail (d. 1185), the book, referring to "the Living one, son of the Vigilant one" is a "sorte de Robinson métaphysique, et fait la synthèse de la falsafa et du soufisme: l'enfant abandonné dans une île déserte découvre, par les seules forces de l'intelligence, de l'expérience extérieure et intérieure, les vérités supérieures." ³⁹ The title alludes to Aixa, whose name means "the living one." The contents of the specific passage she recites goes like this:

Era preciso, según aquella enseñanza, disminuir día a día los propios alimentos para distanciarse de la materia corruptible. Luego se emprendería el remedo de los astros, porque los astros eran immaculados, extáticos, inmutables, fuera del mundo de la corrupción. Sus esencias inteligentes contemplaban al Ser Único en la eternidad; y nada ayudaba a abstraerse de todo el mundo sensible y caer en la embriaguez, en el supremo delirio,

como la imitación de su movimiento por medio de la danza, de la rotación indefinida. Entonces se manifestaba la Esfera Sublime, cuya esencia está inmune de materia, y no es la esencia del Ser Único ni la de la Esfera misma, sino que es a la manera de la imagen del sol en un espejo bruffido, que no es el espejo ni el sol, ni tampoco nada diferente. (OC, p. 91)

Ramiro, confused, thought he had just heard "expresiones de la mística cristiana" (OC, p. 91). When Aixa begins the ritual dance, "apretaba las piernas. Hubiérase dicho que algo doloroso, delicioso, la penetraba profundamente" (OC, p. 92). Reminiscent of Teresa's vision of the Transfixion, the scene of Aixa's ritual dance is a superb example of a mystical experience, in which there is no separation between body and soul, no actual thought, and purpose and concentration are one thing, directed towards a complete, total union with the deity. It is no coincidence that Ramiro is immediately reminded of "los arrobos de la madre Teresa de Jesús" (OC, p. 92).

Aixa's death at the stake codifies her as a martyr who does not waver in her convictions even in the face of a horrible death: "Hubiérase dicho la sacerdotisa de algún espantoso culto de inmola-ción y de éxtasis pronta a arrojar su sagrado cuerpo a las llamas" (OC, p. 260). As she gave herself to love, she now gives herself to death, a scene described in terms of sexual surrender: "ablandaba su cuerpo y echaba los brazos atrás para facilitar el suplicio" (OC, p. 261), and her death might very well have happened in the mids of a mystical trance: "Cuando las primeras llamas, casi invisibles, lamieron sus plantas, Aixa, alzando los ojos al cielo, fijó

su mirada en el delgado creciente de la luna" (OC, p. 261), sign of Islam.

Ramiro is no mystic. His pursuit of "glory," whether of this world or the other one, is the one drive that dominates all his actions. The concept of "glory,"⁴⁰ encompassing so many diverse meanings, is interpreted differently by some of the characters, interpretations which in turn influence Ramiro's own thinking. No matter how "glory" changes for him, he is always conscious of himself as actor or protagonist, a trait that disqualifies him for the mystic way: "The true Spanish mystic is unconscious of an audience, conscious of no more than two realities--his soul and God--and of but one purpose in existence--the union of his soul with God."⁴¹ His mother's stories about Teresa de Jesús, combined with the general atmosphere of Ávila regarding Teresa's vision and miracles in the years following her death, produce a conscious desire in Ramiro to abandon the world of action and become a hermit (he can only swing from one extreme to the other), again a misinterpretation of the real object of mysticism: ". . . if mystical experience had been merely a form of private contemplation, it would be hard to account for its prominence in hagiography. In fact . . . , mystics could also reach out to the world. The most impressive contemplatives were those who had achieved a powerful mastery over self, who had learned how to focus all energies and drives towards one object. Great mystics made great reformers, peacemakers, preachers, healers, miracle-workers."⁴² Contrasting this general characteristic, Ramiro's reactions are motivated at the slightest

mention of what at a specific moment seems to him to be an attractive way of life: he has no "self-mastery" or "drive toward one object" (since "glory" is a variant). A good example of this pattern occurs in a passage dealing with one of the secret meetings where the hidalgos drink, eat and talk about Ávila. A favorite theme is Teresa, stories about her flirtatious youth, her later devotion, her visions and miracles. On hearing about her, Ramiro, "enfebrecido," meditates on the immense power that "una humilde enclaustrada" exercised on "los más recios hidalgos," who humbled themselves "ante la sublimidad de la gloria penitente." His inner voice then tells him:

Abandona la brega de los hombres. No hay vida más heroica, más fuerte, vida más vida que la de aquel que, desnudándose por entero del vano ropaje mundanal, sigue la senda de Cristo Nuestro Señor. Ése acrecienta como ninguno las potencias del alma, y, en un mismo día, asedia o se defiende, toma castillos o levanta cestones y palizadas, libra grandiosos combates, pone en fuga legiones inmensas, conquista mundos ignorados y maravillosos. Sólo aquel tiende su vuelo por los espacios de la eternidad, logra sus simientes, conoce la verdadera gloria y vence la vanidad, la brevedad y el terreno dolor. (OC, p. 135).

The language in this quote is the language of war: "heroic life," "power of the soul," "attacks and defends," "combats." And again, "glory" appears as the ultimate pursuit. Immediately after this passage, Ramiro, always self-consciously projecting himself into future roles, dreams about his "future sanctity." Days later, before leaving for Salamanca, where he would follow a religious career, Ramiro "soñó en cosas del cielo, en claras armonías del Paraíso, en el alma de Teresa de Jesús gozando de Dios, entre la in-

numerable blancura de los serafines" (OC, p. 142). In the scene that follows, a dialogue with Vargas Orozco develops into a dialectical argument, in which Ramiro, under the influence of pseudo-mystical fervor, expresses his need for a "sign" from God to strengthen his religious convictions: ". . . yo quisiera subir de un solo ímpetu a una de las moradas de arrobamiento que describe la madre Teresa de Jesús; gozar, aunque fuera un instante, de ese delirio, de ese éxtasis, en que ella caía de continuo; llegar a Dios, en fin, de un solo y soberano vuelo del alma, y anegarme, abismarme en su contemplación" (OC, p. 143). The language is deceptively mystical. Ramiro wants the quick way out of his misery, confusion and sense of worthlessness. The desire for "elevation," "ecstasy," "flight," "drowning" are all indicative of impulses of escape and self-obliviation, but without the arduous exercises in self-discipline, self-deprivation and self-knowledge of the true mystic. He again opposes "contemplation" and "action" in his misconception of mysticism:

La Teresa y todos cuantos escribieron o escriben sobre mística, en lengua vulgar, van haciendo harto mal por España, incitando al desprecio del duro camino escolástico y engolosinando a los incautos con visiones y revelaciones, coloquios y éxtasis, y todos los sueños que engendra la beodez contemplativa. . . . A un paso estáis, Ramiro, de las peores herejías que apestan a España, e mucho me temo que, llevado por esa gula espiritual, os hundáis, sin sabello; en la locura de los begardos, o alguien os anuncie al Santo Oficio de alumbrado o quietista. (OC, pp. 143-4)

His assessment of Teresa is harsh but not untypical of a man interested primarily in dogma and orthodoxy as the only ways of

preserving the Catholic church as a social order, "in the interest of which a certain 'system of sentiments' must be instilled into every member; and in defense of which all deviants are to be one way or another, either reformed, deformed or liquidated;" opposing this attitude, mysticism "plunges within to those nerve centers that are in all members of the human race alike, and are at once the well springs and ultimate receptacles of life and all experiences of life."⁴⁴ In this light, Vargas Orozco's reactions can be understood as a warning to Ramiro. A defender of scholasticism in the tradition of Aquinas, he is suspicious of the accessibility of Teresa's texts (written in Spanish) to a public untrained in religious orthodoxy (written in Latin). Vargas Orozco is a recalcitrant conservative, a descendant of Santiago Matamoros, while Teresa is a radical, as her numerous battles with Church authorities and her investigation by the Inquisition attest.⁴⁵ The mention of heresies, especially the alumbrados, is significant. Influenced by Lutheranism, Erasmism, as well as the Sufi movement, the alumbrados first declared their doctrines in the Edict of Toledo (1525), and were since relentlessly persecuted by the Inquisition. Absorbed in mystical contemplation and ecstasis, they refused such outward signs of Catholicism as revering the images of saints, drinking holy water and making the sign of the cross. They flourished in Llerena in 1575 (some fifteen years before the time of the scene between Vargas Orozco and Ramiro cited above), and once again in Sevilla in 1623.⁴⁶ The priest's preoccupation with Ramiro's exalted speech is well-founded: the Inquisition frequently questioned, and often accused

and punished, not only those who professed the most obvious beliefs of alumbradismo, but also many who exhibited a mystical streak. The author's ironic intent in attributing to Ramiro the outward characteristics of a mystic is evident when, two days after the discussion referred to above has taken place, Ramiro's religious reading is interrupted by Beatriz, who passed by his window smiling provocatively and Ramiro "arrojó el Arte de bien morir sobre una mesa cubierta de libros" (OC, p. 146).

One last example should be cited to illustrate Ramiro's faulty assimilation of the mystical precepts of Teresa de Ávila. Dazed by the horrible spectacle of the Auto de fe, Ramiro wanders out of Toledo, consciously thinking that Aixa's death has liberated him of all his past guilt:

Ramiro dejóse penetrar por el sagrado recogimiento, presintiendo un signo, una voz en lo alto. En ese instante las campanas de la ciudad rompieron a tocar las oraciones . . . Rezó las avemarías. Estaba redimido, estaba purificado. . . Levantóse. El suelo y las rocas oscilaban a su alrededor; su cuerpo, aligerado, iba a desprenderse, sin duda, de la tierra. De pronto, un fuego, algo como inflamada saeta venida de lo alto, se le entró por el pecho, sumergiéndole durante algunos segundos en un estado delicioso, gozado sólo con el alma. (OC, pp. 264-5)

This is a direct reference to Teresa's famous vision, known as the transfixion or reverberation:

Quiso el Señor que viese aquí algunas veces esta visión; veía un ángel cabe en mí hacia el lado izquierdo en forma corporal. . . No era grande, sino pequeño, hermoso mucho, el rostro tan encendido que parecía de los ángeles muy subudos, que parecen todos se abrasan. . . Veíale en las manos un dardo de oro largo, y al fin del hierro me parecía tener un poco de fuego. Este me pare-

cía meter por el corazón algunas veces, y que me llegaba a las entrañas. Al sacarle, me parecía las llevaba consigo, y me dejaba toda abrasada en amor grande de Dios. Era tan grande el dolor que me hacía dar aquellos quejidos. . . . No es dolor corporal, sino espiritual, aunque no deja de participar el cuerpo algo, y aún harto. Es un requiebro tan suave que pasa entre el alma y Dios, que suplico yo a su bondad le dé a gustar a quien pensare que miento. 47

Ramiro's "mystical" experience is self-induced, not through intense prayer and meditation, but through an act of self-suggestion. He is "penetrated" by the religious atmosphere, "awaits a sign," "his body seems to be lifting," and then, abruptly, a "fire" from above pierces his chest, "like an arrow," provoking a "delicious state" that is abstract and experienced only by "the soul." Teresa's vision, on the contrary, is described in raw, and almost brutal detail. Not only does she actually "see" the angel, but the sensation of having her entrails actually pulled out by the angel's arrow is extremely, and physically, intense. The union of soul and body is at the core of Teresa's vision of the transfixion, communicating a sense of immediacy that is totally absent from Ramiro's "mystical trance." Ramiro's experience is an example of dissociation, in which body and soul seem to be separate entities; he is only aware of his "soul" at this time. Although the passage in La gloria is not exactly parodic, there is no doubt that the author does not believe that his character has had a genuine mystical trance. On the contrary, Ramiro's experience seems to be derived from his reading of Teresa's transfixion passage in her Vida, and is merely a poor copy of it. As his exalted state subsides, Ramiro "creyó . . . que había sido

trasverberado como la madre Teresa de Jesús" (OC, p. 265). Again, Ramiro's constant self-consciousness is here asserted by the key word: creyó. Larreta is implying that it is only Ramiro's own belief that he has been transfixed that substantiates the experience. The author does not authenticate it; on the contrary, Ramiro's subsequent experiment, trying to live the life of a "hermit" (and not a mystical hermit at that), offers yet another proof that his "vision" induces merely one more change in the series of see-saw movements in his life, completely opposite to the tenets of mysticism:

En cuanto el misticismo es oración pasiva, es actual; en cuanto es una especie de vida trasfigurada, es habitual Durante la vida de los místicos, las breves etapas de regalo alternan siempre con etapas amargas de sufrimiento destinadas a borrar las imperfecciones que impiden, en virtud de las leyes espirituales, el contacto directo y constante del alma con Dios. Así, el misticismo o la contemplación es un progreso espiritual, un movimiento siempre ascendente, pero en olas de las que las inferiores representan en todos los niveles fases pasivas-purgativas, y las más altas representan primero las etapas iluminativas y después las unitivas en el sentido propio de la palabra. 48

Whereas the true mystic reaches union with the deity alternating the "high" illuminative period with phases of suffering and expiation, the pseudo-mystic hopes to be always riding the high waves of the mystical trance, too impatient to cope with the non-illuminative stages of the contemplative life. This pattern is best illustrated by Ramiro's short life as a hermit. Turning his back on the active mysticism of Teresa de Ávila, he reverts to the more primitive stages of Christianity, but his superficial asceticism only leads

him to boredom and idle thoughts: "la llama de los primeros días no pudo mantenerse; ya no volvió a sentir aquellos arrobos que encendían en la cripta de su alma las lámparas de fuego de que hablaba fray Juan de la Cruz. . .; la lectura se le hizo insufrible" (OC, pp. 266-7). His violent streak is once more awakened when he finds in the woods a rusty sword, which he has polished, and which he brandishes in imaginary combat: "se complacía . . . en empuñarla y blandirla con fuerza, en hacerla silbar en el aire" (OC, p. 268). Ramiro's "mystic" episodes constitute yet another way of pursuing "glory," another path to reach the status of hero, as will be further discussed in the following sections.

There is one last detail that should be noted to stress the importance of mysticism, mostly as codified by the literary portrayal of Teresa de Ávila, through her influence in the characters of Guiomar, Aixa and Ramiro, in La gloria, and that detail is the author's testimony regarding his readings of the Spanish mystics and his interpretation of them:

Cuando uno lee los libros del persa Algazel o el Hayi Ibn Jagzan del árabe español Abentofail, cree uno estar leyendo a Santa Teresa, o a fray Luis de Granada, o a San Juan de la Cruz. . . . Toda la honda y poética literatura religiosa en que se inspiraron, a su vez, Algazel y Abentofail y otros escritores islámicos . . . esa cosa muy antigua y había sido propalada en España por rabinos y alfaquíes. . . . Era, en fin, como un polvo atmosférico, que acabó por incrustarse en la mística española, cuya profundidad huele a siglos y siglos de meditación y ascetismo. Hay un fantasma sufi en cada celda ibérica. ⁴⁹

3. Why Rosa de Lima? The "Epilogue" to La gloria has baffled some of Larreta's most respected critics. Some, like Berenguer Carisomo, contend that it sets yet another example of piety, and is in keeping with the book's alleged moral message. Others, like David William Foster, see it as "cynically ironic," a commentary on Ramiro's pursuit of "glory." Jansen insinuates its incongruency by pointing out that its brevity seems excessive in comparison to the novel's lengthy chapters. Many others choose to ignore it. My contention is that the epilogue's intent is ironic, but that the results of such an intent are weakened not only by the epilogue's brevity but by the inefficacy of a narrative capsule that leaves many points, developed at length in the novel, unresolved.

Enrique de Gandía's substantial study of the epilogue in its historiographical contexts (see pages 25-6, above) is extremely helpful in elucidating some of the major keys that Larreta barely alluded to in his text. Gandía calls Ramiro the "last conquistador," and not without good reason; from a historical viewpoint, his flight to the colonies was a perfect solution to the problems that besieged him, ⁵⁰ and his dreams of an Eldorado were typical: "Soñaba con alguna región de las Indias, donde las plantas, las frutas, las aves, las estrellas, todo fuera nuevo para él y nada le recordase la tierra vieja y maligna en que había nacido. . . ." (OC, p. 271). His desire for a kind of amnesia and "glory" is plentifully rewarded, but not in the way that he had anticipated. Gandía's reconstruction of Ramiro's Peruvian episode may be summarized as follows: he first refers to the transformation that the thirst for gold provoked in

many colonists ("se hacían feroces y sanguinarios en América"); then, he explains the powerful attraction that Huencavélica posed for the Spaniards ("Huencavélica era el nombre famoso de un cerro y unas minas en las cuales se reunían mineros y bandidos; todos con la esperanza de hacerse ricos"); next, he describes the exploitation and diseases to which the Indians who worked the depths of the mines were subjected; finally, he assesses the spiritual atmosphere of Perú in 1605 ("El año 1605, en que murió don Ramiro, fue en verdad, en el Perú, el año de los milagros y de los hechos extraños").⁵¹ Unfortunately, Gandía does not bring critical acumen to his erudition: he calls Ramiro "San Ramiro de Huencavélica" and pairs him off with Rosa de Lima as a saintly representative of Spanish America. Most interesting in the series of historical facts that Gandía reports, however, is the reported occurrence of "miracles" in the year of Ramiro's death.

Larreta's interest in Perú, and particularly in Rosa de Lima, can be traced back to the 1890's, when he frequented the literary salon of two Peruvian ladies then living in Buenos Aires: "Oía allí hablar con frecuencia de la 'Ciudad de los Reyes.' . . . Le vino entonces la idea de escribir una novela basada en la figura de Santa Rosa de Lima. Comenzó entonces a documentarse. . . . interesándose⁵² sobre todo en las Tradiciones del gran peruano Ricardo Palma." Palma's account of the "miracles" that allegedly took place in Perú at the beginning of the seventeenth century varies greatly from Gandía's: it is burlesque. In "El virrey de los milagros" (1604-1606), he mocks the legendary traditions that narrate a series of bizarre

happenings during the reign of Viceroy Gaspar de Zúñiga Acevedo y Fonseca:

Las crónicas se encuentran llenas de sucesos portentosos, tales como la conversión . . . del libertino Selenque, que . . . asistió, sin saberlo, a sus propios funerales; rarezas del terremoto del 25 de noviembre de 1604, en Arequipa, fenomenales efectos de los rayos, resurrección de muertos, arrepentimiento de un fraile, cuya barragana dejaba, como las mulas, las huellas del herraje; apariciones de almas de la otra vida, que venían a dar su paseito por estos andurriales, y pongo punto a 53 la lista, que, a seguirla, sería cuento de nunca acabar.

He then proceeds to tell a few more "miracles," in detail, which turn out to be more piquant. It is highly plausible that, if not in tone, then at least in atmosphere, Larreta found the reputed mysticism of colonial Perú, as narrated by Palma in this Tradición, highly propitious for the dénouement of La gloria. There is another text by Palma that should be cited as perhaps having had an influence on the epilogue. "El Rosal de Rosa" begins in the year 1581, when the Hospital del Espíritu Santo was built on a lot which, some thirty years before, had been the seeding ground for the first rosebush planted in Perú. 54 Next to the hospital was the modest property of Gaspar Flores, whose daughter, christened Isabel, would be born some five years later. According to "El rosal de Rosa," the rosebush had not been introduced in Perú in 1552, but some years after the girl's birth: "Las rosas no se producían en el Perú. . . . Grande fue, pues, la sorpresa de la virgen limeña cuando se encontró con que espontáneamente había brotado un rosal en su jardincillo." Isabel's beauty was likened to that of a rose,

and she was thereafter called "Rosa." Palma then skips to the year 1669 to narrate an anecdote referring to Rosa's beatification process: Pope Clement IX expressed his disbelief ("¿Santa? ¿Y limeña? ¡Hum, hum! Tanto daría por una lluvia de rosas"). At that moment, ⁵⁵ Palma continues, rose petals fell on the pope's table. In Larreta's epilogue, the image of Rosa dropping a flower on Ramiro's body is somewhat reminiscent of Palma's "lluvia de rosas."

Although the preceding observations are useful in partially answering the question "Why Rosa de Lima?", there are a few more details that should be noted. The influence of Teresa de Ávila, so important in Ramiro's life, had to be transformed into another source of comparable "holiness," and this source had to be found in América. Moreover, it would be more consistent, and a more believable transition, if Ramiro's inspirational source continued to be female. Rosa de Lima was perfect: having as her model Caterina di Siena, Rosa's exercises in the mortification of the flesh were famous for their harshness; because of her mystical trances, she was suspected of being an alumbrada; like Teresa, she was questioned by ⁵⁶ the Inquisition. In Larreta's novel, she is codified in accordance with the saintly clichés more appropriate to the purposes of the epilogue. Rosa "ha nacido santa." She knows that "el sufrimiento y la pobreza son para Dios las más altas dignidades de esta vida." She visits hospitals, "entra en las covachas de los cholos y los indios, buscando las fiebres, las llagas, la lepra" (OC, p. 274). Ramiro, having been impressed not only by her beauty but also by her prodigious saintliness, is once more "converted" and brought over to the right-

eous path, in full swing from his cruelties as a treasure hunter in Huencavélica. As his friend tells Rosa: "Una envidia santa traspasó su corazón encallecido al escuchar las bendiciones de los miserables y al ver a tanto desgraciado que se echaba de hi-nijos en el suelo para besaros los pies. Abandonó sus galas, re-partió joyas y dinero entre los menesterosos, y habiéndome conta-giado su nuevo frenesí, llevóme consigo a los campos para borrar con el bien todo el mal que habíamos sembrado por ellos" (OC, p. 277). The language here is deceptively straightforward, even if it is the language of a simple man. Ramiro's motivation in following Rosa's steps (as he had followed Teresa's), remains the pursuit of "glory." The key words are envidia and frenesí. He wants power through veneration; he wants to be a saint so that people would kneel at his feet as they kneel at Rosa's. The epilogue's ambiva-lence does not conceal the author's main point, which is to mock Ramiro's conscious desire to pursue glory, heroism and pseudo-saint-hood through an imitation of unconscious, religiously-inspired be-havior. While Ramiro is the caricature of a saint, either as codified by medieval hagiographical legend, or the great Spanish mystics of the seventeenth century, the life of Rosa de Lima follows a definite, established pattern:

In forming the company of Jesus, Loyola had drawn upon his aristocratic and military background, and the Jesuit combination of Spanish militarism and religious zeal ex-plains the success of the order in establishing its in-fluence in virtually every aspect of European and Latin American culture. The soldiers and saints of Iberia put Catholicism on the offensive in the Old World and the New. . . . New World saints reflected the predominant

values of Hispanic Catholicism religiousness. The vitae of Rosa de Lima, Martín de Porres, Pedro Claver . . . recalled the supernatural elements of Mediterranean wonder-workers, visionaries and penitents as these had been elaborated in the hagiography and cultic activity of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In some cases New World saints patterned themselves explicitly after their European models, but even where the kinship appears to be more general it is unmistakable. ⁵⁷

Instead of following the pattern just described, Ramiro's life, and his death, are more akin to the pattern of pseudo-sainthood as defined by Clissold (see pages 154-5, above), and is reminiscent of the legend of St. Julien l'Hospitalier, as re-codified by Flaubert.

Larreta's choice of colonial Perú is not gratuitous: it can be seen as a manifestation of Americanismo in a novel ostensibly preoccupied with identity and ethnicity at a time when these problems were being discussed by Argentine thinkers in a series of book-length essays. ⁵⁸ Rosa de Lima fulfills a function similar to that of Teresa de Ávila, not only in reference to Ramiro's life, but also within the larger context of the relation between a specific country or region and a particularly popular saint, that is to say, a sustaining relationship in terms of national identity. Ramiro is the link between Teresa de Ávila and Rosa de Lima; that this link is codified in parodic terms and as a pseudo-saint can perhaps be interpreted as Larreta's bleak assessment of the future of the Spanish colonies.

B. The literary model

La gloria and La Légende de Saint Julien l'Hospitalier. In a

brilliant analysis of the Trois Contes, John R. O'Connor has shown how the symbol of "a double cone formed by tracing a line along the outer edges of two interpenetrating gyres, or vortices, the apex of each vortex in the middle of the other's "base" constitutes "the geometrical matrix" underlying this work. He also explains that Flaubert's interest in this symbol can be traced to his notes for an unwritten story, to be called "La Spirale," and whose purpose would have been "to have described an antithetical life, the hero's sufferings in the empirical world being matched by the increasing splendor of his dreams." ⁵⁹ O'Connor's theory can be applied to Larreta's novel, in which the ironic conceit finally cancels itself out with the hero's almost suicidal death; his subsequent redemption through Rosa de Lima's prayer displaces the contextual meanings of the novel's underlying theme, the concept of glory. The remark that closes the literary space, descriptive of Rosa's prayer, is an authorial intrusion which qualitatively defines not only what has just happened but also Ramiro's entire life: "Y ésta fue la gloria de don Ramiro." By referring us back to the novel's title and the changing significance of gloria in it, Larreta (like his character had done with his own life) is almost suicidally "cancelling" his own text.

In La Légende de Saint Julien l'Hospitalier, the association of knight and saint is stringly delineated through the juxtaposition of military and religious imagery: the castle's courtyard stones were "nets comme le dallage d'un église;" the archer guarding this

castle "s'endormait comme un moine." Julien's mother ruled her household as if it were "l'interieur d'un monastère." After Julien's birth, two different oracles are uttered by mysterious figures who literally "vanish" from the literary space: to the mother, a hermit announces Julien's future sainthood; to the father, Julien's blood-lust and worldly glory are predicted. ⁶⁰ Thus, the fusion of opposite forces, nonetheless co-existing in the character of Julien and manifested within the narrative context, is established at the beginning of the story. Otto Rank's definition of the hero (see page 147, above) can also be applied: Julien is born of distinguished parents and seemingly incomprehensible cautionary prophecies are uttered immediately ⁶¹ after his birth. Flaubert's treatment of the St. Julien legend, however, introduces a twist into the traditional features of the hero: the presence of animals is a negative one, not only because of their role, first as victims then as victimizers, but also because animality itself functions as a modality of Julien's intrinsic being. When the stag tells him, three times: "Maudit! maudit! maudit! Un jour, coeur féroce, tu assassineras ton père et ta mère," he is not predicting a future action, but confronting Julien with his own self. His later redemption, achieved through military deeds particularly pleasing to a typical storybook-like emperor, results in his marriage to the emperor's daughter. He is thus, in the tradition of the legendary hero, re-instated into the social order with due honor and rank, at least for a while.

Similar patterns are established in La gloria. There is a mystery about Ramiro's birth, not to the reader, who participates as

an accomplice in Larreta's voyeuristic attitude towards his character, but to several members of the social structure of which Ramiro is part. He had been cursed before his birth by his grandfather, a negative father figure whose rejection and contempt for the boy had marked him at an early age. As the novel begins, Ramiro is symbolically in one of the castle's tall towers, his "ivory tower," where he can be away from his morose grandfather and his fanatically religious mother. There he listens to chivalry tales or romances told by the squire Merano and the servant women. In that opening passage, a long, impressionistic description of Ávila includes a definition of it as "la ciudad guerrera y monástica." The "warring" faction is represented by Medrano, also a father figure, but a strong, re-assuring one to Ramiro; as the boy plays with the squire's sword, doña Guiomar (the "monastic" influence) enters and tells the boy: "Otras serán . . . las armas que has de esgrimir cuando entres al servicio de Dios y de su Santa Iglesia" (OC, p. 19). Ramiro's wavering between the opposing forces in his life (la espada contra la sotana), already internalized at an early age, remains a constant throughout the novel: the conflict is not resolved and Ramiro's arrival at pseudo-sainthood is rather arbitrary. His only heroic act also occurs in a rather arbitrary way: when he is fourteen, one of Blázquez Serrano's dogs contracts rabies and escapes to the forest; following Medrano and the other men, Ramiro disappears into the wilderness, only to reappear in the next paragraph, fait accompli: "Media hora después, una de las criadas de Beatriz veía entrar en el

patio de la casa al nieto de don Iñigo, trayendo en una mano una ancha espada toda roja de sangre y en la otra la cabeza del perro" (OC, p. 42). This incident, as Berenguer Carisomo has pointed out, is an ironic note, echoing the chivalry stories that Ramiro is so fond of, but, like many other "chivalrous" incidents in his life, leading nowhere: "hasta la recompensa de Beatriz enciende, sin una sombra, la ilusión de la aventura perfecta. El poeta endulza la fantasía de Ramiro y del lector para hacer más agrio su posterior desengaño."⁶² As in a fairy tale, the gory killing and decapitation have occurred outside the literary space, and Ramiro's only motive seems to be heroic courage, spurred by the desire to show himself off to Beatriz, a task at which he succeeds. Although Ramiro's heroic deed is lost within the novel's scope, so as to seem almost inadvertent, it is significant in a two-fold way: it temporarily establishes him as a "hero" within the social order and it links him, even if indirectly, to Saint Julien, in terms of the descriptions of the hunt: "Il tua des ours à coup de couteau, des taureaux avec la hache, des sangliers avec l'épieu" (Oeuvres, II, p. 629). But whereas in Ramiro violence is alternated in oscillating rhythms with a false piety, in Julien the change is extremely more radical, it is a transformation that overtakes him after the accidental murder:

The terms of the duality in 'La Légende de Saint Julien l'Hospitalier' are those of father and mother, the male and female principles, and the story traces the waxing and waning of the influence of each in the single but divided personality of Julien. . . . The influence of the father, who presides over Julien's education in weaponry

and the hunt will predominate first. The influence of the mother, who presides over her son's religious education, predominates from the moment at which Julien recognizes that he has killed his parents. ⁶³

In Larreta's novel, Ramiro's "conversions" to a life of penitence and asceticism can never be taken seriously, since they are paired with paroxysms of violent, murderous activity. The dichotomy that dominates his actions, however, induced by opposing forces symbolized by maternal and paternal figures, seems to be patterned on Flaubert's text.

By establishing a pattern similar to that of Flaubert's Légende, yet making his character not a saint but a pseudo-saint, whose demise is precipitated by his identification with his former victims and by self-effacement (in taking the place of another in the mine La Hedionda ⁶⁴ Ramiro ceases "to be"), Larreta is deceiving his character, making him believe that he is really destined for sainthood. This device is best exemplified in the passage dealing with Ramiro's "hermit" phase. After his "transverberation," Ramiro leaves Toledo in the classic "hermit" attire: "Vestido de áspero burriel y sosteniendo con el bordón, por encima del hombro, la humilde barjuleta. . . ." When asked by wayfarers to share their horses, he would reject their offers, "él sonreía santamente y marcaba en el polvo con más fuerza la huella de sus sandalias." After settling down in a cave and praying constantly for a few days: "Se comparó a los admirables anacoretas de la Tebaida, y tuvo por seguro que en los tiempos venideros su historia sería leída en hogares y refectorios para edificación de las almas." Finally, tired of read-

ing his mystical tracts, he falls into total apathy, doing nothing, bored by this false apprenticeship into sainthood. The situation would begin an antithetical reverse when Ramiro finds a sword: "hincaba la punta de cierto modo en el tronco de los árboles para recordar la terrible estocada con que había dado muerte a Gonzalo." His identity crisis is precipitated by his encounter with a horseman who refuses him bread and who dares to spit on the crucifix that Ramiro has held up to press his demand. Ramiro lifts his sword against him but the mysterious Moor stopped him with the startling revelation: "¡Ah! ¡Ramiro, Ramiro, sólo falta ahora que acuchilles al hombre que te engendró!" (OC, pp. 265-9). Larreta's intention can be detected through the text's ambiguities: first, Ramiro is seen from the outside, his clothes are what define him. His impersonation of a hermit even leads him to wear a "saintly" smile. His vanity reaches such limits that he does not hesitate to compare himself to genuine anchorites; moreover, his ultimate goal, the glory of this world, has remained unchanged, and he is convinced that he will appear in a future catalogue of saint's lives. His violent temperament is once more aroused when the sword he finds evokes for him Gonzalo's murder, and the entire "hermit" experience comes to a sudden halt when he almost becomes a parricide. For Ramiro, self-deception will not be possible until the next religious experience, which he would have years later in Perú, through Rosa de Lima.

As has been mentioned before, Ramiro's enthusiasm in emulating Rosa de Lima's charitable life is motivated by envy ("Una envidia snata traspasó su corazón encallecido al escuchar las bendiciones

de los miserables"). As the friar continues to tell Rosa in the epilogue, Ramiro's almost suicidal death is a result of yet another impersonation. As he had been a hermit before, so now he becomes a miserable creature working in sub-human conditions ("disfrazado de salvaje pasaba todos los días más de cinco horas en las entrañas de la tierra"), until he contracts a fatal disease, characterized by fever, and dies. Looking into his face, Rosa intuits that "aquellos ojos habían contemplado, antes de extinguirse, alguna visión deslumbradora" (OC, p. 278). If we take as valid Jonathan Culler's definition of the sacred as being "the sentimental purified by irony,"⁶⁶ then we are confronted in the epilogue of Larreta's novel, as we are when reading Flaubert's Légende, with one of its manifestations in a fictional space. Irony, then, is what saves Ramiro's Spanish-American experience from being reduced to a series of sentimental vignettes. At first, the friar's capsule narration seems to be unbearably sentimental, but its context is displaced through a series of ironical phrases or "key" words. For instance, Ramiro has "lost" his name and is referred to as "el Caballero Trágico," who was "un gran arrepentido" and whose conversion should be considered as an "ejemplo para pecadores." It is mentioned that even while stealing, looting and killing, this repentant sinner never stopped receiving the sacrament of communion. After the aborted rape attempt on Rosa and his subsequent transformation, el Caballero Trágico "gemía como un hombre que no osa arrancarse el dardo con que acaban de herirle." As has been mentioned above, the word envidia is loaded with implications as to Ramiro's motives, and, finally, the fact that Ramiro

takes the place of another man ("disfrazado de salvaje") further emphasizes the sense of displacement suggested throughout the novel. That Ramiro's story as narrated by the friar is not very believable does not matter. What is important is that the distancing that had been established at the beginning of the novel has been preserved through the use of irony and through the arbitrary portrayal of the sacred, an effect similar to that achieved by Flaubert in his tale: ". . . in 'Saint Julien' the result announced by the title and the distancing performed by the claim that the text recounts the story as represented in a stained-glass window allow us to structure the story as the progress toward sainthood, although Julien does not effectively and empirically become a saint . . . for that would require an interiority and psychological investigation which Flaubert deliberately eschews." ⁶⁷ The Légende ends with a vision: ("Le toit s'envola, le firmament se déployait; et Julien monta vers les espaces bleus, face à face avec Notre-Seigneur Jésus, qui l'emportait dans le ciel"), only to be followed by the almost infuriatingly casual remark: "Et voilà l'histoire de saint Julien l'Hospitalier, telle à peu près qu'on la trouve, sur un vitrail d'église, dans mon pays" (Oeuvres, II, p. 648). Ramiro's story, subtitled Una vida en tiempos de Felipe II, and therefore acquiring an exemplary dimension, ends with a symbolic gesture by Spanish America's patron saint: "Rosa de Santa María arrodillóse piadosamente y murmuró una plegaria por el alma de aquel muerto," followed by the author's ending remark, like a slap in the face, reminiscent

of the futility of Ramiro's existence: "Y esa fue la gloria de don Ramiro" (OC, p. 278).

In Flaubert's tightly-constructed tale, the symbolism of self-confrontation, presaged by the stag's "prediction," is consummated in Julien's final vision: "Julien, who as a baby 'ressemblait à un petit Jésus' . . . here experiences the complete realization of the mirror image of himself. . . ." ⁶⁸ The epilogue of La gloria asserts, through Rosa's intuition, that Ramiro has had a "visión deslumbradora" before his death, but this vision remains a mystery, and it is the reader's task to try to elucidate Larreta's purposeful ambiguity. If the vision has been "external," projecting Ramiro's yearnings for glory into images of eternal bliss and sainthood, then the concept of gloria loses strength through the use of irony. However, if the vision has been one leading to self-acceptance and self-knowledge, then Ramiro's search for glory has been authenticated and the function of irony throughout the novel has been to show how a conscious pursuit to establish an identity without a recognition of one's inner self will be fruitless. Thus, the meaning of glory is once more displaced, and Ramiro's gloria is to have come face to face with himself.

Notes

1. Enrique Larreta, La naranja, in Obras completas (Madrid: Plenitud, 1954), p. 1170.
2. René Grousset and Émile G. Léonard, eds. Histoire universelle, I. Dès origines à l'Islam (Paris: Encyclopédie de la Pléiade/NRF, 1960), p. 1198.
3. Hyppolite Delehaye, The Legends of the Saints, trans. Donald Attwater (New York: Fordham Univ., 1962), pp. 127-8.
4. Webster's New World Dictionary, 1970 ed.
5. Otto Rank, The Myth of the Birth of the Hero, trans. F. Robins and S.E. Jellife (New York: Robert Brunner, 1952), p. 61.
6. Webster's
7. Webster's
8. L.P. Wilkinson, The Roman Experience (London: Paul Elek, 1975), p. 200.
9. Edward McNall Burns, Western Civilizations. Their History and Their Culture (New York: Norton, 1969), pp. 263-4.
10. Histoire, I, pp. 1193-5.
11. Enrique Larreta, La gloria de don Ramiro, in Obras completas, pp. 126-7. All further references to this work appear in the text.
12. Américo Castro, La realidad histórica de España (México: Editorial Porrúa, 1954), p. 138.
13. Castro, Realidad, pp. 141-50.

14. McNall Burns, pp. 357-8.
15. Castro, Realidad, p. 362.
16. "Spain," New Encyclopaedia Britannica: Macropaedia, 1980 ed.
17. For a good survey of the various religious sects that appeared in Spain during this time, see Álvaro Huerga, Predicadores, Alumbrados e Inquisición en el siglo XVI (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1973).
18. André Jansen, Enrique Larreta; novelista hispano-argentino (1873-1961), trad. F. Murillo Rubiera (Madrid: Cultura Hispánica, 1967), p. 92.
19. Stephen Clissold, The Saints of South America (London: Charles Knight & Co., 1972), p. 6.
20. "There is humour in the fact that nowhere had purity of descent (sangre limpia) been more vaunted than in a land where even the noblest dared not, in the Golden Age, trace his ancestry too far." William C. Atkinson "Spain: The Country, Its Peoples and Languages," in Spain: A Companion to Spanish Studies, ed. E. Allison Peers (1929; rpt. London: Methuen & Co., 1963), p. 1.
21. See "Cristianismo frente a Islam," in Castro, Realidad, pp. 136-201.
22. Castro, Realidad, p. 152.
23. Grousset and Léonard, eds. Histoire universelle, II. Dès l'Islam à la Reforme (Paris: Encyclopédie de la Pléiade/NRF, 1964), pp. 292-3.
24. Castro, Realidad, p. 141.
25. Castro, Realidad, pp. 190-7.
26. Clissold, p. 2.
27. Joseph Campbell, The Masks of God: Occidental Mythology (New York: Viking, 1964), p. 488.
28. Helmut Hatzfeld, Santa Teresa de Ávila (New York: Twayne, 1969), p. 42.
29. Castro, Realidad, p. 92.
30. Castro, Realidad, p. 340.

31. Hatzfeld, Santa Teresa, pp. 138-9.

32. Doña Guiomar de Ulloa, member of an illustrious family from Ávila, was a widow at twenty-five, led a pious life under Teresa's influence and was also extremely helpful to Teresa during the first few years of the latter's efforts to institute the Carmelite Reform. It was to her house, where Teresa lived at that time, that the papal authorization from Rome arrived, allowing Teresa to start the convent of San José de Ávila. See Hatzfeld, Santa Teresa, pp. 17-8.

33. For a summary of the reforms introduced by Teresa to the Carmelite Order, see Luis Santillano, "Estudio preliminar" to Teresa de Ahumada, Obras completas (Madrid: Aguilar, 1963), pp. 28-30.

34. The dagger symbolizes the phallus and is an attribute of Hecate as the hermaphroditic witch-goddess; it is often a weapon used by traitors; a dagger made out of wood was the typical attribute of Vice in morality plays. See Ad de Vries, Dictionary of Symbols and Imagery (London: North Holland Publishing Co., 1974), p. 126.

35. Jansen, p. 242.

36. See Cervantes, Don Quijote, Part II, Chapters XL and XLI (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1973), pp. 517-25.

37. Jansen, p. 241.

38. Américo Castro, España en su historia. Cristianos, moros y judíos (Buenos Aires: Losada, 1948), p. 324.

39. Raymond Queneau, ed., Histoire des littératures, I. Littératures anciennes orientales et orales (Paris: Encyclopédie de la Pléiade/NRF, 1962), p. 857.

40. Robert Ricard's article, "Sainte Thérèse: gloria accidental," offers an interesting and perceptive analysis of the various connotations of gloria, specifically in Teresa's work and peripherally in the context of Spanish mysticism. See Études sur Sainte Thérèse, eds. R. Ricard and Nicole Péliisson (Paris: Centre des Recherches Hispaniques, 1968), pp. 9-19.

41. William J. Entwistle, "Spanish Literature to 1681," in Peers, Spain, p. 128.

42. Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, Saints and Society. The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000-1700 (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago, 1982), pp. 150-1.

44. Campbell, pp. 448-9.

45. See Paul Werrie, Thérèse d'Avila. Sa naissance, sa passion, sa mort (Paris: Mercure de France, 1971), pp. 126-31.

46. See Antonio Márquez, Los alumbrados. Orígenes y filosofía, 1525-1559 (Madrid: Taurus, 1972), pp. 86-94.

47. Teresa de Ahumada, Vida, XXIX, Obras, p. 178.

48. Helmut Hatzfeld, Estudios literarios sobre mística española (Madrid: Gredos, 1968), pp. 14-5.

49. Enrique Larreta, La naranja, in Obras completas, p. 1172.

50. "Sevilla atraía no solamente a los armadores, los importadores, sino también a los impresores, los editores, todo el negocio castellano. Este desplazamiento de la actividad comercial no bastaba para compensar la ruina de la industria y el empobrecimiento general de las provincias del Norte y del Centro. Así, una parte importante de la población (del siglo XV al siglo XVII se han contado más de diez millones de emigrados) se decidió arrostrar todos los riesgos para ir a buscar fortuna al otro lado del mar. Don Ramiro siguió la corriente general al descender hacia el Sur y después al pasar a América." Jansen, pp. 93-4.

51. Enrique de Gandía, Don Ramiro en América y otros ensayos (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Rosso, 1934), pp. 35-55, 65-9.

52. Jansen, p. 55.

53. Ricardo Palma, Tradiciones peruanas (Madrid: Aguilar, 1964), p. 248.

54. Clissold, p. 75.

55. Palma, p. 197.

56. For an account of Rosa de Lima's life, see Clissold, pp. 75-117.

57. Weinstein and Bell, pp. 191-2.

58. For example, José María Ramos Mejía in Las multitudes argentinas, 1899, and Carlos Octavio Bunge in Nuestra América, 1905. See Alberto Blasi, "Un conflicto de ideas en el ensayo argentino (1900-1925), Revista Interamericana de Bibliografía, 28 (1977), 255-61.

59. John R. O'Connor, "Flaubert: Trois Contes and the Figure of the Double Cone," PMLA, 95 (1980), 812.

60. Flaubert, La Légende de Saint Julien l'Hospitalier, in Oeuvres, II (NRF/Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1952), pp. 623-5. All further references to this work appear in the text.

61. Among the sources for Flaubert's text are the Golden Legend by Jacobus de Voragine, the stained-glass window at the Rouen Cathedral depicting the St. Julien legend, Eustache-Hyacinthe Langlois' Essai historique et descriptif sur la peinture sur verre, and Victor Hugo's La Légende du beau Pécopin et de la belle Baldour. See René Dumesnil, Gustave Flaubert, L'homme et l'oeuvre (Paris: Desclée, De Brouwer et Cie., 1947), pp. 388-91.

62. Arturo Berenguer Carisomo, Los valores eternos en la obra de Enrique Larreta (Buenos Aires: Sopena, 1946), p. 39.

63. O'Connor, p. 818.

64. In spite of the symbolic connotations of its name, in reference to Ramiro's story, the mine La Hedionda ("the stinking one") was one of several that were being exploited in Huencavélica, Perú, during the earlier part of the sixteenth century. See Gandía, pp. 66-7.

65. Ramiro's state of mind, not only in attitude, but also in terms of its brief duration, can be compared to Emma Bovary's, after her illness resulting from Rodolphe's desertion: "Elle entrevit, parmi les illusions de son espoir, un état de pureté flottant au-dessous de la terre, se confondant avec le ciel, et où elle aspira d'être. Elle voulut devenir une sainte." Flaubert, Madame Bovary, in Oeuvres, I (NRF/Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1951), p. 521.

66. Jonathan Culler, Flaubert, The Uses of Uncertainty (New York: Cornell Univ., 1974), p. 226.

67. Culler, p. 227.

68. O'Connor, p. 821.

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