

Gothic, Gender and Regenerationism in Emilia Pardo Bazán's Galicia

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates Emilia Pardo Bazán's fiction predicated on the idea of a Galician regional Gothic deriving from elements of English literary tradition and nineteenth-century Spanish *costumbrismo*. While the recurrent use of Gothic elements in her literary output has been acknowledged and studied by a number of scholars, my investigation aims to shed some light on the reasons why this writer ultimately resorts to this genre. My first level of analysis concentrates on Gothic manifestations in nineteenth-century Spanish fiction, and how Pardo Bazán adopts this genre and adapts it to her Realist and Naturalist conventions. I maintain that the primary choice for the Gothic aesthetic responds to a necessity to portray the most basic features of Galician peculiarities – its distinctive landscape and its rural *Volksgeist* –. In this way, Edmund Burke's contribution to the theorization of the Sublime reveals itself to be a satisfactory resource to Pardo Bazán, who was well familiarized with the concept. The use of Gothic elements equally functions as an instrument of social criticism to raise empathy for the backwardness that Galicia suffered during the last third of the nineteenth century. Thus, while addressing the issue of women's subordination, the author develops distinctive narrative patterns frequently associated with the so-called Female Gothic. Meanwhile, the depictions of rural characters as savage, superstitious and ignorant indicate the author's preoccupation with the psychological processes of the Gothic and the reactions among the reading public. In depicting the plight of rural Galicia, she is actually making her readers aware of the necessity to bring this region closer to modernity, that is, to Europe. My second level of analysis focuses on the psychological dimension of the Gothic. In the exploration of such motifs as hallucinations, nightmares, uncanny locations, or hysterical attacks, Pardo Bazán's texts call for a psychoanalytic reinterpretation of these terms. If readers of Gothic fiction seek to decipher hidden meanings within texts, I will attempt to demonstrate that a psychoanalytic approach to Pardo Bazán's use of Gothic fiction happens to be a necessary step to the better

understanding of her work. Taking all this into account, this thesis will try to show that the use of Gothic devices Pardo Bazán employs are constant throughout her literary career and help her to describe the distinctive peculiarities of Galicia while functioning as a tool of social criticism.

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INTRODUCTION

That Gothicism is closely related to Romanticism is perfectly clear, but it is easier to state the fact than to prove it tidily and convincingly. There is a persistent suspicion that Gothicism is a poor and probably illegitimate relation of Romanticism, and a consequent tendency to treat it that way. There are those, indeed, who would like to deny the relationship altogether.¹

This thesis focuses on the circumstances in which Naturalist writer Emilia Pardo Bazán avails herself of elements of traditional Gothic fiction and elements of nineteenth-century Spanish *costumbrismo*, constructing in the process a Galician regional Gothic. I will try to demonstrate that the Gothic machinery to which she resorts, either through pictorial or psychological processes, allows her clearly to portray her vision of the Galician *Volksgeist*. This portrayal of Galicia is created through a rigid opposition against the defective values she observes in Mediterranean Spain. In reinforcing this opposition, Pardo Bazán appears to be participating in a *regenerationist* project consisting of bringing Galicia closer to Europe and so to modernization.

The word “Gothic” has adopted different meanings and connotations in the course of Western history. Initially, the Goths were a Germanic tribe originated from Scandinavia who, in the decline of the Roman Empire, extended their influence throughout much of southern Europe. When dealing with architecture, the term has been used to refer to the revival of the medieval “Gothic” aesthetic in Great Britain during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which contrasted with the prevailing neo-Classical style. This revival, however, is usually referred to as “Neo-Gothic”. During these centuries, a large number of buildings

¹ Robert Hume, “Gothic versus Romantic: A Reevaluation of the Gothic Novel”, *PMLA*, 84 (1969), 282-290 (p. 282). Hume explores the existent connections between these genres, and considers the early Gothic novels as precursors of Romanticism in their concern with sensibility, the sublime and their approach to the irrational. However, Hume himself points out that Romanticism, unlike the early Gothic fiction, assumes the existence of answers to the problems afflicting human beings.

where erected or reconstructed in Great Britain, the Houses of Parliament in London being the most emblematic example. In the sixteenth century, Renaissance humanists had attributed the medieval style of architecture to the northern tribes, which would give a clear explanation of why this revival would be immediately interpreted as a reconstruction of the past. The term Gothic has equally been associated with the warring, barbaric behaviour of the Germanic tribes. From the perspective of an enlightened mind, the Gothic architecture revival shared strong links with the uncivilized, brutish world of the Middle Ages to the extent that the noun “Goth” would become a synonym of “barbarian”. By the eighteenth century, “Gothic” had become a metonymic term to designate any cultural or social attitudes that resembled the Middle Ages or any akin, unenlightened period.²

The reconstruction of a dark past combined with the barbarian spirit of the Germanic tribes favoured the rise of the Gothic style of writing in the eighteenth century. This new literary mode, which I will refer to as traditional, classic or original Gothic, reacted against the rational precepts that neo-Classicism (or Enlightenment) predicated. Indeed, the Enlightenment’s rational thought had challenged ideas based on tradition, superstition and faith, and had alternatively promoted the scientific method and empirical observation as the only way to arrive at logical conclusions. Writers of the Gothic style sought to explore feelings that neo-Classicism had actually suppressed, usually by creating irrational scenes and rousing awe-inspiring emotions of terror. In other words, the Gothic was the immediate reaction to the necessity of experiencing extreme emotions through fear and mystery, emotions that had long been restrained. Not surprisingly, the first Gothic authors would often situate their stories in medieval times, a period deeply associated with superstition and barbarism, and would portray images of ruinous buildings as projections of the decay of human civilization.

² Robert Mighall, “Introduction Outside in: Gothic Criticism and the Pull to Interiority”, in *A Geography of Victorian Gothic Fiction: Mapping History’s Nightmares* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 11-26 (p. 16).

The most common channel to explore non-rational experiences was the novel, for it was the quickest mode to reach the reading public. While it is not easy to provide a direct definition of what Gothic fiction is, literary criticism has usually explained it by enumerating its recurrent characteristics: use of medieval settings or, alternatively, Catholic countries (Italy and Spain), mountainous landscapes (the Alps), places that exert great physical and emotional power (castles with labyrinthine passages, convents and prisons), a dominant male figure that acts like a villain, and a sensitive, naïve heroine. Through the repetitive use of these prominent features, Gothic authors projected the necessity to overcome the civilized and rational principles of Enlightenment.

Spanish literature was not unfamiliar with the Gothic tradition, yet its cultivation was not as prolific as in England, France, Germany or the United States. While José Cadalso's *Noches lúgubres* (1789/90) constitutes an isolated early manifestation of Gothic literature in Spain, the genre was not definitively introduced until the second decade of the nineteenth century, chiefly through translations from English and French classics. In the 1830s, however, there were autochthonous incursions into the genre that combined elements of the supernatural with typically Spanish characteristics: the weight of morality, the taste for the macabre, the importance of religion, or the necessity of depicting credible scenarios. Agustín Pérez Zaragoza would be one of the most prominent practitioners of the supernatural, but his work would be heavily criticized. And although the genre never really caught on among Spanish writers, neither was it cast aside. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Realist and Naturalist authors would show an interest in the Gothic and would indeed incorporate elements of the Gothic tradition into their works. Pardo Bazán would be one of the authors to experiment with the Gothic by combining aspects of this fiction with her Naturalist conventions. In this thesis, I will explore the motivations that led this author to assimilate elements of the Gothic style of writing.

This introduction aims at contextualizing the history of Gothic fiction and how this literary mode, which I will consider a genre, penetrates Spain at the beginning of the nineteenth-century, and how it evolved until being adopted by Pardo Bazán. Firstly, I will offer an overview of the first Gothic manifestations in England and its subsequent geographical expansion throughout Europe and North America. Then, I will explore the negative reception the genre experienced in Spain when it was first introduced, and its reception during the last third of the century, turning my attention to Emilia Pardo Bazán's deployment of this genre. With this, I will attempt to show how Pardo Bazán resorts to elements of the Gothic tradition and elements of nineteenth-century Spanish *costumbrismo* to portray the basic characteristics of the Galician *Volksgeist*, while condemning the backwardness Galicia suffers at this stage of the nineteenth century.

Classic Gothic fiction, popular from the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries, constitutes an originally English creation, whose origins are frequently linked to Horace Walpole's novel *The Castle of Otranto* (1764).³ At a moment in which the world was to be explained rationally and scientifically, Walpole's novel embraced the mysterious and the supernatural, and placed great emphasis on fear and horror.⁴ The possibility of rousing inner emotions and the necessity to feel irrational experiences that had long been restrained by the prevailing neo-Classical value system contributed to the novel's immediate success. The genre was soon to be imitated by such writers as Clara Reeve in *The Old English Baron* (1777), Ann Radcliffe in *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794), or Matthew Lewis in *The Monk* (1796). *The Castle of Otranto* had nonetheless established the conventions for what literary

³ Enrique Rubio Cremades situates the origins of Gothic fiction in Tobias Smollett's *The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom* (1753), but agrees in that its recognition came with *The Castle of Otranto*. See Enrique Rubio Cremades, "Recepción de la novela gótica y sentimental europea", in *Historia de la Literatura Española. Siglo XIX (I)*, ed. by Guillermo Carnero (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1997), pp. 614-7.

⁴ The fantastic is introduced through the sightseeing spectacle of ghosts, apparent giants, statues that bleed, portraits that come to life, or helmets falling out of the sky. Horror, then, emerges from the interaction of the supernatural and the rational.

criticism would come to be considered as recurrent Gothic features, some of these listed by Guillermo Carnero in *La cara oscura del Siglo de las Luces*:

un protagonista impío, orientado fatalmente al mal; el castillo repleto de misterios terroríficos; la acción situada en la Edad Media; y la afirmación de que existen acontecimientos que escapan a las leyes habituales de la Naturaleza, y que tienen idéntico grado de realidad.⁵

All these features were systematically adopted by subsequent Gothic writers, and adjusted or modified in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Thus, parallel to English Gothic fiction, akin literary expressions started to emerge in Europe. In France, authors like Marquis de Sade (1740-1814) and François Guillaume Ducray-Duminil (1761-1819) would follow this direction, whereas in Germany, the so-called *Schauerroman* or “shudder novel” would be mainly represented by Friedrich von Schiller (1759-1805), Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), and E.T.A Hoffmann (1776-1822).⁶

The English Gothic began to decline in popularity in the nineteenth century, and Jane Austen’s parody *Northanger Abbey*, written around 1798 but published in 1818, indicated that the genre was beginning to become obsolete. Her protagonist, Catherine Morland, young, sensitive and naïve, turns out to be an accomplished reader of Gothic novels, who determines to interpret her life in *Northanger Abbey* as if she were one of Ann Radcliffe’s heroines. The overexcited imagination of Austen’s protagonist marked a milestone in the history of Gothic fiction, when suggesting that real terror is not found in ghosts, churchyards or castles, but within one’s mind. Incidentally, Austen’s novel turns out to be useful to distinguish between

⁵ Guillermo Carnero, *La cara oscura del Siglo de las Luces* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1983), p. 109.

⁶ William Hughes notes that French writings that approach the Gothic are dependent of translations from British Gothic tradition. Particularly influential is Ann Radcliffe, who seems to stimulate the interest of Marquis de Sade. At the same time, he observes that “French Gothic” shows an “intense awareness of the competing power of church and state, often translated into a struggle between progressive and regressive forces”. Alternatively, he sees the *Schauerroman* and the English Gothic novel are “parallel rather than intimate”. The first does not have a supernatural focus and recalls the historical novels of chivalry in the same way that Horace Walpole evokes the feudal past. See William Hughes, *Historical Dictionary of Gothic Literature* (Plymouth: Scarecrow Press, 2013), pp. 106 and 111.

the notions of horror and terror, which I will fully develop in chapter IV through specific examples in Emilia Pardo Bazán's fiction. Although the subtle distinctions between the two emotions vary from one author to another, scholars tend to define terror as the psychological reaction to imminent danger, whereas horror is the response to the sensorial experience of the grotesque and the macabre. Fear to the unknown, suspense, or psychological suggestion are all ideas related to terror. On the contrary, explicitness, physical revulsion, or violence are directly associated with terror. Gothic fiction tends to combine both emotions, although the reader's response may be different in each case. *Northanger Abbey*, in particular, offers a perfect account of the terror Catherine feels as she reads Gothic novels. From her safe domestic position, the protagonist's imagination is stimulated through the reading experience.

In spite of its devaluation by the turn of the century, English Gothic persisted and evolved in different forms throughout the nineteenth century. Titles like *Frankenstein* (1818), *Wuthering Heights* (1847), *Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (1886), and later *Dracula* (1897) clearly illustrate the developing of the genre, more and more concerned with the dark side of the human mind.⁷ In North America, Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804-1864), and most notably Edgar Allan Poe (1809-1849) had likewise exemplified the expansion and evolution of British Gothic fiction overseas. Hawthorne's works would reproduce Puritan thinking through the emotional consequences of human actions. Poe's tales, on the other hand, would resort to traditional Gothic elements, like the gloomy atmosphere and the presence of the supernatural, but would pay more attention to the psychological processes of the human mind. Madness would occupy a prominent place in his fiction, and death, including the effects of decomposition, premature burial and reanimation of bodies would be also recurrent themes. José F. Colmeiro, in his study of the Spanish detective novel, recalls the strong impact of Poe in Europe by mid-nineteenth century. He notes how Charles Baudelaire's translations of his

⁷ *Frankenstein* was first published anonymously in 1818. Some years later, Shelley revised the text, and a new edition was published in 1831 with some changes of characterization and style.

tales into French, gathered under the name of *Histoires extraordinaires* (1856), decisively contributed to the propagation of his work among European intellectual circles. According to Colmeiro, the first version of *Historias extraordinarias* in Spain appeared in 1858 and was positively received by both critics and members of the reading public.⁸

The first manifestations of Gothic fiction in Spain had nonetheless appeared around 1820, precisely as the genre began to lose popularity in Great Britain.⁹ Rubio Cremades enumerates the scant output of strictly autochthonous Gothic novels, and considers Agustín Pérez Zaragoza's *Galería fúnebre de historias trágicas, espectros y sombras ensangrentadas, o sea, el historiador trágico de las catástrofes del linaje humano* (1831) as the most representative example of Gothic fiction in Spain.¹⁰ Such a consideration is probably due to the fact that the work did not differ too much from the classic English formula, because as Rubio Cremades notes, it is full of "mansiones solitarias, gritos de lechuzas y mochuelos en la

⁸ José F. Colmeiro, "Poética de la novela policiaca", in *La novela policiaca española: teoría e historia crítica* (Barcelona: Anthropos, 1994), pp. 21-84 (p. 32).

⁹ Gothic fiction entered in Spain, throughout the first four decades of the nineteenth century, mainly through French translations of classic English romances. David Roas identifies nine titles:

- Regina Maria Roche, *Children of the Abbey* (1798), translated as *Los niños de la Abadía* (Madrid, 1808) and *Óscar y Amanda o los descendientes de la Abadía* (Barcelona, 1818, 1828, 1837 and six more reissues between 1868 and 1921); *Clermont* (1798), translated with the same title (Madrid, 1831) and *The Monastery of St. Columb; or, The Atonement* (1814), translated as *El monasterio de San Columban o El caballero de las armas rojas* (Paris, 1839).
- Sophia Lee, *The Recess* (1785), translated as *El subterráneo o las dos hermanas, Matilde y Leonor* (Madrid, 1817 and 1818).
- Ann Radcliffe, *A Sicilian Romance* (1790), translated as *Julia o los subterráneos del castillo de Mazzini* (Valencia, 1819, 1822, 1840 and Paris, 1829); *The Romance of the Forest* (1791), translated as *Adelina o La abadía de la selva* (Madrid, 1830) and *La selva y la abadía de Santa Clara* (Paris, 1833); *The Italian* (1797), translated as *El italiano o El confesionario de los penitentes negros* (Paris, 1832 and Barcelona, 1838, 1843); *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794), translated as *Los misterios de Udolfo* (Paris, 1832).
- Matthew Gregory Lewis, *The Monk* (1796), translated as *El fraile o la historia del padre Ambrosio y de la bella Antonia* (Paris, 1821).

See David Roas, "La crítica y el relato fantástico en la primera mitad del siglo XIX", *Lucanor*, 14 (1997), 79-109.

¹⁰ Rubio Cremades mentions in this order Valladares de Sotomayor's *La Leandra*, Mor de Fuentes' *La Serafina*, Francisco de Tójar's *La filósofa por amor*, Gaspar Zavala's *La Eumenia*, Bernardo Maria de Calzada's *El viajador sensible*, Vicente Martínez Colomer's *El Valdemaro*, and Vayo's *Voyleano o la exaltación de las pasiones*. See Rubio Cremades, p. 616.

noche cerrada, duendes, apariciones fantásticas, cabezas ensangrentadas, puñales, venenos, ajusticiamientos”.¹¹

Despite enjoying great popularity among the reading public, the Gothic did not initially convince Spanish writers. Larra and Mesonero Romanos, for example, fiercely attacked and ridiculed Zaragoza’s work and did not take the genre as a really serious one.¹² Contemporary Spanish writers, however, did not completely disregard the genre, but instead of a strong formulaic structure, as used in English Gothic, would merely opt to employ isolated Gothic elements. In this way, Romantic authors such as José Zorrilla, Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer and Rosalía de Castro would resort to the Gothic without necessarily being considered as “Gothic authors”.¹³ Furthermore, in spite of being strongly connected to Romanticism, the Gothic was by no means a heritage exclusive to this movement, and in the course of the nineteenth century, there was a growing interest in the genre, cultivated by Realist authors like Alarcón, Galdós, Clarín or Emilia Pardo Bazán, on whom this thesis concentrates.

Pedro Antonio de Alarcón (1833-1891), in particular, embodies a transitional figure halfway between the Romantic and the Realist aesthetic. Although he did not know Poe’s work by the beginning of the 1850s, he was deeply familiar with the Gothic Romantic tradition, and was certainly acquainted with Scott, Dumas, Hugo, Balzac and Sand.¹⁴ One of Alarcón’s best-known “Gothic” stories is his novella *El clavo*, published in 1853. As a

¹¹ Ibid., p. 616.

¹² Larra’s 1832 article “¿Quién es el público y dónde se le encuentra?” and Mesonero’s 1837 “El Romanticismo y los románticos” are testimony to their disdain.

¹³ José Zorrilla resorts to the supernatural most notably in *Don Juan Tenorio* (1844) and *El alcalde Ronquillo* (1845). Bécquer’s Romantic prose legends, on the other hand, present a considerable number of fantastic elements that are directly related to the Gothic tradition. In *La cruz del diablo* (1860) and *El monte de las ánimas* (1862), for example, he creates terror by inserting ghostly figures, apparitions or pacts with the Devil within dark settings. In *El monte*, however, the figures are only ever suggested, not seen. Besides, like other Gothic stories, the events narrated in *El monte* take place in the Middle Ages. To a lesser extent, Rosalía may recreate Sublime depictions of Galicia, as in the poem “Ora, meu meniño, ora”, included in *Cantares gallegos* (1863).

¹⁴ According to Colmeiro, it is very unlikely that Alarcón was acquainted with Poe when he began to write his first works at the beginning of the 1850s. It is most probable that his first contact with the American writer had taken place during his visit to Paris in 1854. In those days, Poe began to be well known in France thanks to reviews by the press and translations into French by E.D. Forgues and Baudelaire himself. See Colmeiro, p. 90.

transitional writer, Alarcón tries to break free from the shackles of Romanticism by basing this text on a “causa célebre” or true story. He situates the events between 1844 and 1853, and incorporates the setting of the churchyard among other typically Gothic ingredients: dark nights, storms, thunder and lightning, gloomy chimes and phantasmagorical descriptions of the female protagonist.

Together with Alarcón, Emilia Pardo Bazán’s work is determinative in order to understand the development of the Gothic genre. While literary criticism has certainly acknowledged a constant presence of Gothic elements in her literary production, not too much research has been carried out on it. Rather than exhaustive studies, one can find numerous allusions or a few short but significant works on her relationship with the Gothic that have largely helped scholars to understand better the extent to which this genre had managed to survive throughout the second half of nineteenth-century Spanish literature. Among the most influential studies, special mention should be made to the works of Stephen M. Hart, Janet Pérez, Clark Colahan and Alfred Rodríguez, and Abigail Lee Six. The majority of these studies, however, have paid a great deal of attention to the use of Gothic devices in *Los pazos de Ulloa* (1886), overshadowing typically Gothic works such as *Pascual López: autobiografía de un estudiante de medicina* (1879).¹⁵ Furthermore, these studies have tended to identify and

¹⁵ Stephen M. Hart explores the existing connection between gender and Gothic in Pardo Bazán’s *Los pazos de Ulloa*. Following Even Kosofsky Sedgwick’s definition of the Gothic, Hart attempts to show the striking coincidence of the gender with the Spanish novel. In his study, he concentrates on four elements that happen to be rather recurrent in *Los pazos*. These are the sleep-like and death-like states; the subterranean spaces and live burial; the unspeakable; and the nocturnal landscapes and dreams. While Hart’s analysis sets out a fresh approach to the presence of the Gothic in Pardo Bazán, he fails to establish any relationship between the Gothic and Galicia, or the necessity to depict Galicia through the Gothic.

Janet Pérez, for her part, revisits the main aspects of traditional Gothic fiction and applies these to *Los pazos*. Through a feminist perspective, Pérez contends that the use of Gothic devices encloses an intentional parodical function, particularly when portraying the priest Julián. The same parodical intention of the Gothic had indeed been examined by Colahan and Rodríguez in a seminal analysis of the genre in *Los pazos*.

Besides other prominent nineteenth- and twentieth-century realist/naturalist authors, such as Benito Pérez Galdós, Miguel de Unamuno and Camilo José Cela, Lee Six studies the presence of Gothic traits in Pardo Bazán’s fiction, particularly in her novella *Un destripador de antaño*. She maintains that Gothic fiction in Spain has been overshadowed by more reputable movements from the nineteenth century, namely Romanticism, Realism and Naturalism. However, she shows how the use of the Gothic has enriched these movements, and contends that the genre has served “to enhance the realism of the main plot”. Pardo Bazán’s Galicia is indeed described through Gothic images that happened to be remarkably realistic. In her study, Lee Six focuses on three

describe the presence of Gothic elements in Pardo Bazán without really exploring the historical-literary circumstances and the reasons why she decides to resort to such elements. Unlike a number of studies that tangentially recognize the presence of the Gothic in her works, or simply underestimate that presence, this thesis aims at shedding some light on the circumstances and reasons why Emilia resorts to the Gothic.

Pardo Bazán has been and still is, decisively and without reservation, classified within the group of Spanish Realist and Naturalist authors. With regard to her incursion into the Gothic tradition, however, some critics have defended an unobtrusive, perhaps tangential approach towards the influence of this genre on her literary output. In a recent study by María Geadá, the author holds that Pardo Bazán's works would show "el terror de la clásica novela gótica pero con una apariencia totalmente casual".¹⁶ Similarly, Abigail Lee Six argues that the author's treatment of Gothic elements in *Un destripador de antaño* (1890) is actually a dissimulated, subtle approach. Thus, while commenting on the Naturalist style of the story, Six concludes that "the result – however well disguised – is a Gothic tour de force, seamlessly fused not only with her own unique brand of naturalism but also the conventions of the traditional tale that she often uses in her short fiction".¹⁷ In suggesting a "well disguised" use of Gothic components, Six is disregarding the spatial and temporal circumstances in which

specific motifs to study the evolution of Gothic narratives in Spain. These include the incarceration of the madwoman, a common motif explored throughout the nineteenth century by Female Gothic authors in particular. She also tackles the theme of the *Doppelgänger* when analysing Galdós' *La sombra*, and finally that of bloodlust. She points out that Pardo Bazán "replaces the Gothic horror with the arguably more disturbing naturalist depiction of peasant ignorance and brutality", and in this way, "Gothic horror entertainment metamorphoses in harrowing naturalism". See Stephen M. Hart, "The Gendered Gothic in Pardo Bazán's *Los pazos de Ulloa*", in *Culture and Gender in Nineteenth-Century Spain*, ed. by Lou Channon Deutsch and Jo Labanyi (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), pp. 216-29; Janet Pérez's, "Naturalism and the Gothic: Pardo Bazán's Transformations of the Genre in *Los pazos de Ulloa*", in *Studies in Honor of Donald W. Bleznick*, ed. by Delia V. Galván, Anita K. Stoll and Philippa Brown Yin (Newark: Juan de Cuesta, 1995), pp. 143-56; Clark Colahan and Alfred Rodríguez, "Lo 'gótico' como fórmula creativa de *Los pazos de Ulloa*", *Modern Philology*, 85 (1986), 398-404; and Abigail Lee Six, "Gothic Gore in Emilia Pardo Bazán, *Un destripador de antaño* (1890)", in *Essays in Hispanic Literature and Culture in Honour of David Henn*, ed. by A. Lee Six, S. M. Hart and D. Gagen (London: Centre of César Vallejo Studies, 2008), pp. 76-86.

¹⁶ María Geadá, "La literatura gótica en el Romanticismo español", *Hispanet Journal*, 4 (2011), 1-15 (p. 8).

¹⁷ Abigail Lee Six, "Bloodlust", in *Gothic Terrors: Incarceration, Duplication, and Bloodlust in Spanish Narrative* (Cranbury: Associated University Presses, 2010), pp. 102-46 (p. 105).

Pardo Bazán adopted and adjusted a foreign genre that had long gone out of fashion abroad.¹⁸ In other words, Pardo Bazán is not an English Gothic writer, but a Spanish Realist and Naturalist writer who assimilates elements of traditional English and American Gothics. The result of the work, therefore, must necessarily be quite different from eighteenth or early nineteenth-century Gothic stories. In addition to this, it is worth considering whether those elements are intentionally, as the verb itself implies, disguised. As I will show in the first chapter, the fact that Pardo Bazán herself had recognized the footprint of the Romantic spirit, including the Gothic, in her career as a writer is, in this regard, particularly enlightening.

Pardo Bazán's approach to the Gothic has caused different impressions among literary critics. In this sense, there is another aspect I would like to tackle, which is whether or not Gothic functions as a parodical instrument in her texts. In commenting on the use of Gothic devices in *Los pazos de Ulloa*, Colahan and Rodríguez point out that the author "construye la novela dentro de una pauta típicamente gótica con actitud serio-cómica e intencionadamente paródica". There is no question that some parts of the novel parody the rural world in which most of the setting takes place, and yet I feel this view fails completely to understand the writer's true vision of Galicia, which I explore in chapter III. For the author, Galicia is explained and defined in Gothic terms, and these do not necessarily have to convey negative ideas that would ultimately result in a parody. The source of the parody, then, is not to be found in the Gothic elements she employs, but in the social context of the rural world, depicted as ignorant, brutal, or superstitious. This constitutes an innovative approach towards the treatment of Gothic devices in Pardo Bazán that is intimately related to specific spatial and temporal coordinates represented through Galicia and its socioeconomic circumstances.

In sum, when considering her incursion into the Gothic as coincidental, disguised or parodic, literary critics have implicitly thrust the potential for this genre into the background,

¹⁸ Colahan and Rodríguez point that between 1796 and 1830 the reading public's taste underwent a substantial change with regard to Gothic fiction in Great Britain. See Colahan and Rodríguez, p. 398.

a trend I will try to change here. We should also note that the Naturalist tendency, which in Spain started to take hold at the beginning of the 1880s, had eclipsed Pardo Bazán's attitude towards the use of Gothic writing, then an out-of-fashion genre in Great Britain. When examining the historiographical context carefully, we can find a good number of reasons for this: in the first place, neither Pardo Bazán nor her contemporary writers would ever refer to the elements she employed as "Gothic", mainly because the critical formulation of this genre did not begin to take shape until well into the twentieth century in Great Britain, a situation I will expand upon in chapter II. This does not mean, however, that Spanish scholars were not able to recognize the distinctive characteristics that conformed that specific literary genre, which they tended to call "literatura de miedo" or "literatura fantástica".¹⁹ Emilia, like her contemporaries, was very well acquainted with British and American Gothic literatures that had long pushed their way into Spain through translations from both English and French in the years prior to the appearance of Romanticism in the 1820s. References in works like *Apuntes autobiográficos*, *La cuestión palpitante* or *La literatura francesa moderna* do actually constitute a strong evidence of such knowledge.

The second reason lies in the fact that Gothic fiction has systematically been overlooked within the framework of Spanish literary studies. As Miriam López Santos notes, Gothic fiction has been regarded as a simplistic, mediocre subgenre unworthy of attention, to the extent that early literary criticism had denied the existence of an autochthonous Gothic literature in Spain.²⁰ In order to illustrate this devaluation, suffice it to mention José Cadalso's *Noches lúgubres*, which constitutes an unusual early manifestation of the so-called Spanish Gothic. Considered morally dangerous for its sacrilegious content, the work was posthumously published in instalments between 1789 and 1790. As a neo-Classic poet, and

¹⁹ Francisco Fernández, "The Gothic Genre Beyond Borders: Matthew Lewis's Influence on José de Espronceda's *El estudiante de Salamanca*", *The Coastal Review*, 2 (2008).

²⁰ Miriam López Santos, "'Ces doux frémissement de la terreur'. La adaptación de un género extranjero en los albores del Romanticismo español" (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2010), p. 1

despite the importance of this work as for its yet questionable contribution to the flowering of Spanish Romanticism, José Cadalso does not typically stand out as a precursor of Gothic fiction in Spain. Cadalso's ambivalent posture is effectively explained by Guillermo Carnero, who defines the Enlightenment as a double-faced movement, one being "alumbrada por la razón sistematizadora y ordenancista" whereas the other "queda en la penumbra, mucho más atractiva, de la valoración de lo irracional".²¹ This double approach also reflects the everlasting subordination of Spanish literary criticism to realist and rational precepts.

The hostility toward fantastic literature would still be commonplace four decades after the apparition of *Noches lúgubres*. As explained above, Zaragoza's 1831 *Galería fúnebre* was harshly criticized and underrated when it was brought out, as critics considered that the function of a poet did not consist of arousing strong emotions (of horror) with blood. However, this collection does have far less than subtle horrific violence in it, and therefore it is necessary to distinguish between psychological suggestion and gory depiction, or the fine distinction between terror and horror, which I will develop in chapter IV. Even at the end of the nineteenth century there was an obsessive tendency to identify prose fiction with realism, which made it difficult to overcome the underestimation of fantastic or Gothic literature.²² There is little wonder, in this regard, that Pardo Bazán's approach to the Gothic had been overlooked and even discredited until recently, something this thesis attempts to remedy.

The third reason why Pardo Bazán's Gothic has been overlooked is the fact that Naturalism and the Gothic are, in appearance, opposed artistic movements. The Gothic genre is, on the one hand, an original English literary creation that emerged as a reaction against the tyrannical age of reason during the second half of the eighteenth century. In other words, the Gothic arose as an emotional and aesthetic manifestation that rejected the excessive Rationalism that dominated Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Thus, if

²¹ Carnero, p. 16.

²² F. Lázaro Carreter, "El realismo como concepto crítico-literario", *Estudios de poética* (Madrid: Taurus, 1976), p. 121-42.

Rationalist philosophies rejected the existence of the irrational and conceived superstition as a symptom of ignorance, the Gothic embraced the world of the occult as a condition and primary necessity for fear. On the other hand, Realism and Naturalism appeared, in principle, as a return to the same rationalist doctrine that the Gothic had actually reacted against. Indeed, Naturalism would seek to faithfully depict reality through observation and a scientific approach mainly based on detailed descriptions of settings and psychological characterizations of individuals.

At first sight, it seems evident that the supernatural component of the Gothic would clash with the realistic necessity of Naturalism, whose first aim had been to transmit convincing sketches of reality. Yet the two are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Suffice it to think of a work like Henry James' *The Turn of the Screw* (1898) to confirm this. Once again, one should bear in mind the importance of distinguishing between psychological suggestion and explicit horror. As anticipated above, Realist and Naturalist authors have frequently assimilated elements of the Gothic and Romantic traditions. Such is the conclusion José Manuel González Herrán attempts to draw in his analysis of Pardo Bazán's *La Tribuna* (1883). González Herrán considers that this novel is more Romantic than Naturalist, in as much as "perduran procedimientos, actitudes y gestos propios de la estética literaria inmediatamente anterior al realismo, más vigente de lo que suele creerse en la novela española de principios de los ochenta".²³ The endurance of Romanticism during the last third of the nineteenth century has been acknowledged and thoroughly studied by a number of scholars.²⁴ It should be no surprise, then, that the convergence of Gothic, Romantic and

²³ José Manuel González Herrán, "La Tribuna, de Emilia Pardo Bazán, entre Romanticismo y Realismo", in *Realismo y naturalismo en España en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX*, ed. by Yvan Lissorgues (Barcelona: Anthropos, 1988), pp. 497-512 (pp-497-8).

²⁴ Particularly relevant are the studies by Donald L. Shaw and Cristina Patiño Eirín about Alarcón and Pardo Bazán respectively. See Donald L. Shaw "Romanticismo y anti-romanticismo en *El niño de la bola* de Alarcón", and Cristina Patiño Eirín, "*El cisne de Vilamorta* de Pardo Bazán: los mimbros románticos de su realismo", in *Asimilaciones y rechazos: presencias del romanticismo en el realismo español del siglo XIX*, ed. by Lieve Behiels and Maarten Steenmeijer (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999), pp. 31-8.

Naturalist elements in Pardo Bazán's works constitutes a constant feature throughout her career. Moreover, it must be emphasized that, beyond the assimilation of the aforementioned elements, she would masterfully reconcile the contradiction that these literary manifestations enclose by highlighting the primitiveness and brutality of a society, positivistically depicted within a magnificent and wild Nature.

All in all, this thesis will look at how Pardo Bazán adjusts the Gothic to the corresponding spatial, temporal and literary coordinates, an aspect literary criticism has frequently disregarded. Galicia represents, in this respect, the source of the Sublime, which, opposed to the Beautiful, constitutes an aesthetic manifestation of certain elements of Nature and the supernatural that Gothic fiction had first adopted and expanded. Now, in order to understand this, we need to establish the existing relationship between the Gothic and the aesthetics of the Sublime. In literary studies, the Sublime is understood as an aesthetic category and constitutes an obscure source of danger able to provoke powerful emotions on individuals. These emotions derive from the ideas of pain, astonishment, vastness, abruptness or obscurity, while terror is, in all cases, the ruling principle of the Sublime. These qualities find their opposites in the Beautiful, which is often identified with the ideas of smoothness, symmetry, smallness, clarity or calmness. The Beautiful is considered as a subjective quality that allows the individual to experience emotions such as love and affection. In this respect, there is no question that the Gothic generally falls into categories of the Sublime, but may also fall into those of the Beauty in so far as it is a subjective concept.

The origin of the Sublime is frequently traced back to *On the Sublime*, a treatise attributed to the Greek philosopher Longinus and probably written in the early first century AD. In this work, the author would understand the term as the most elevated style in literary writing, and focused on its poetic and rhetorical effects. The concept of the Sublime was recovered in 1634 through Boileau's translation into French, and gained great popularity in

Great Britain thanks to William Smith's 1739 translation into English. Longinus' principles were immediately absorbed in Europe and the original meaning of the concept evolved over time. The most influential work would appear in 1757, when Edmund Burke published *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, translated into Spanish in 1807 for the first time by don Juan de la Dehesa, Professor of Law at the University of Alcalá de Henares.²⁵ The work, which established the contrast between the notions of the Sublime and the Beautiful, became a nearly immediate reference for contemporary English Gothic authors. These would consciously adopt it as an effective catalogue for contextualizing the setting of their stories. Immanuel Kant, on the other hand, would likewise develop his opinions about the Sublime, first in *Beobachtungen über das Gefühl des Schönen und Erhabenen* (1764) and more specifically in his *Kritik der Urteilskraft* (1790).²⁶ However, it would be Burke's work that would decisively influence Gothic fiction in England and overseas.

In effect, a number of studies have demonstrated that the Sublime was already a significant concept in eighteenth and nineteenth century Spain.²⁷ Following the Romantic conception of North and South in this country, the Sublime happened to be a useful category with which authors like Pardo Bazán could realistically depict regional particularities and contrast them with others. As I will explain in chapter II, Pardo Bazán was familiar with the concept of the Sublime and she would actually make use of Burke's aesthetic treatise in order to create powerful emotional responses in her readers while depicting the grandeur of the Galician landscape and the singularity of its people. Through physical and psychological

²⁵ Translated as *Indagación filosófica sobre el origen de nuestras ideas acerca de lo sublime y lo bello*. According to *Manual del librero hispano-americano*, this is first and the only Spanish edition in the nineteenth century.

²⁶ Translated into English as *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime* and *Critique of Judgment* respectively. Kant shared with Burke that the feeling of awe and terror caused by the Sublime was inspired by Nature. However, unlike Burke, he believed that that feeling resides in our minds and this would make us superior.

²⁷ James Mandrell, "The Literary Sublime in Spain: Meléndez Valdés and Espronceda", *Modern Language Notes*, 106 (1991), 294-313.

descriptions, the Sublime would help her to project a realistic portrait of her region (as dark, rough, vast and superstitious), while exciting powerful emotions of terror in the reader. We should take into consideration, however, that Burke uses the notions of horror and terror indiscriminately, suggesting that the Sublime is associated with both.

In literary studies, the concept of the Sublime still remains an unexplored category in the works of Pardo Bazán. However, in most of her stories, Galicia itself provides the necessary sources of the Sublime, and these can be classified into three groups: a) natural elements, which comprise the mountains, luxuriant vegetation, mist, tempests, and darkness; b) supernatural elements, including the approach to death; superstitions based on ignorance, but also on religion and local folklore, such as the belief in the hereafter, ghostly apparitions, or extraordinary beings, and c) architectural elements, which encompass ruined country estates or *pazos*, monasteries and convents, churchyards and medieval cities, namely Santiago de Compostela. Indeed, on architecture, the association between Gothic architecture and the Sublime is a by-product of the association Gothic-Romantic, where Gothic is taken to stand for aspirational and infinite rather than measured and symmetrical. In practice, Gothic comes to be seen as a manifestation of the Sublime in its attempt to externalize less formal and more pronouncedly emotional expression. There is an additional factor here which is the link between the Sublime and ruinous or venerable: imposing architecture is therefore more likely to be Gothic or Sublime, and Gothic architecture acquires a greater investment of the Sublime when seen, for example, in poor climatic conditions or darkness.

Pardo Bazán was well aware of the impact that all these sources might cause on the reader and hence, on the psychological effects of the Sublime experience. In effect, as I will exemplify below, the aesthetic category of the Sublime is to provoke an awe-inspiring feeling and terror, *usually* connected to a scene of natural magnificence, but also to a sensation of pleasure. It should be noted that all the sources that inspire the Sublime in this classification

constitute a perfect depiction of Galician particularity. It is exactly this particularity that Pardo Bazán attempts to highlight and to promote far above other Spanish identities, particularly the Castilian and Andalusian, which she despised. Then, the use of Sublime iconography helps her to construct an identitarian *regenerationist* discourse through which she tries to move Galicia away from the defective values of Spanish identity, and bring the region closer to Europe and modernization.

Most of Pardo Bazán's works open with Sublime and melancholic references, much attuned with the stereotypical Galician character that many authors have so frequently defended.²⁸ I will now offer an introductory exemplification of these Sublime references, which I will develop throughout the following chapters. A typical instance of the aforementioned openings is found in her tale "La resucitada" (1908), where the narrator describes the *apparent* resurrection of the protagonist, Dorotea de Guevara, down to the last detail:

Ardían los cuatro blandones soltando gotazas de cera. Un mucielago, descolgándose de la bóveda, empezaba a describir torpes curvas en el aire. Una forma negruzca, breve, se deslizó al ras de las losas y trepó con sombría cautela por un pliegue del paño mortuorio. En el mismo instante abrió los ojos Dorotea de Guevara, yacente en el túmulo.²⁹

The tale, published eleven years after the appearance of Bram Stoker's *Dracula*, contains evident elements of Gothic vampire narratives: the candles, the bats, the shadows, the coffin and the un-dead. These elements, all sources of the Sublime, seek to transmit the author's idea of Galicia and its people as opposed to other regions, but they also form an

²⁸ In *The New Spaniards*, John Hooper explains that stereotype: "it is not perhaps surprising that [Galicians] should have many of the characteristics associated with Celtic races – a love of music, a fascination with death, a tendency towards melancholy and a genius for poetry". See John Hooper, *The New Spaniards*, (London: Penguin, 2006).

²⁹ Emilia Pardo Bazán, "La resucitada", in *Obras completas (novelas y cuentos)*, ed. by Federico Carlos Sainz de Robles, (Madrid: Aguilar, 1973), p. 1576.

important part of the Galician rural imaginary and its fascination with death. Death indeed holds a significant position in Gothic narratives: for Burke, it contributes to the Sublime because it represents the ultimate level of physical pain. As such, death is feared because it arises ideas of pain and terror, but also because it constitutes a mystery that repels in Western cultures. Nonetheless, while death is accepted and perceived as the conclusion of earthly life in Christian societies, resurrection escapes any natural or scientific reasoning. In the Protestant tradition, resurrection has been regarded as a spiritual event, and Catholicism, on the contrary, has considered the phenomenon as both spiritual and corporeal. It is therefore not surprising that traditional Gothic narratives would often link this phenomenon to monstrosity or the un-dead: vampires, creatures of the devil, or the monster in *Frankenstein*, for example, have been physically and emotionally corrupted after the act of resurrection. Resurrection is therefore a transgression of natural law that Gothic fiction adopts as a device able to arise emotions of terror and horror. In “La resucitada”, Pardo Bazán plays with the ambiguity between what it seems and what it really is. In fact, we are informed that Dorotea “sabía que no estaba muerta” and that “creía que asomaban caras fisgonas de espectros y sonaban dolientes quejumbres de almas en pena”.³⁰ The key word here, “creía”, contributes to the uncertainty of the events narrated. As in many other novels and tales, this ambiguity enables the author to incorporate supernatural elements in her fiction. In incorporating the supernatural component, even by means of rational approaches akin to Realist and Naturalist precepts, Pardo Bazán successfully conveys the real and true meaning of Galician idiosyncrasy.

Besides the evident Sublime iconography, the tale offers a simultaneous reading concerning the theories of terror and horror related to the Gothic. This reading corresponds to Sigmund Freud’s concept of the Uncanny, which I develop extensively in chapter V and

³⁰ Ibid., p. 1576.

which functions as an additional guide in the analysis of a number of Gothic devices in Pardo Bazán. For Freud, objects are Uncanny, and therefore terrifying, when they become familiar to us. However, this familiarity is strange and disturbing at the same time, creating what is known as cognitive dissonance, and ultimately leading to the rejection of the object. In the tale, when Dorotea returns from “death”, we learn how her husband “chilló al reconocerla; chilló y retrocedió”. In fact, “disimuladamente, todos la huían”.³¹ Dorotea becomes an Uncanny object, repudiated and rejected within her own family; she actually becomes the source of terror and horror that Pardo Bazán employs to excite powerful emotions on the reader.

While the protagonist’s resurrection is treated with ambiguity, the outcome of the story shows the brutality of Galician society, strongly influenced by superstition and blind faith. When madness gets hold of Enrique, Dorotea’s husband, he decides to lock her up in churchyard: “– De donde tú has vuelto no se vuelve... Y tomó bien sus precauciones. El propósito debía realizarse por tal manera, que nunca se supiese nada; secreto eterno”.³² Given the ambiguity with which the narrator describes the events, Dorotea’s resurrection might have a neurological explanation if considering catalepsy as a possible option. This nervous condition, which ultimately explains the supernatural component, had been previously used as a literary theme by authors that cultivated the Gothic style of writing throughout the nineteenth century. In Edgar Allan Poe’s “The Fall of the House of Usher” (1839), we learn that Madeline Usher suffers from catalepsy and is buried alive by her brother Roderick. Similarly, in “The Premature Burial” (1844), the narrator explains his fears of being buried alive. In English literature, passages of deathlike trances occur, for example, in Dickens’ *Bleak House* (1853) or in George Eliot’s *Silas Marner* (1861). Given that Pardo Bazán was

³¹ Ibid., p. 1577.

³² Ibid., p. 1577.

highly familiar with English and American literatures, it is not surprising that she might have found inspiration here.

As the analysis notes, “La resucitada” constitutes an excellent example of the presence of Sublime iconography in Pardo Bazán. Similarly, the Uncanny, as a theory of the Sublime, proves to be especially useful to account for the psychological processes concerning the characters within a Galician milieu. Additionally, Emilia makes use of superstition and strong religious beliefs to denounce the backwardness and its resulting barbarism in Galician rural communities.

In Pardo Bazán’s narratives, we find other instances where the opening passages describing natural elements do not present such clear Sublime iconography and yet the language is deeply charged with emotional significance. In *El cisne de Vilamorta* (1884), for example, the narrator describes the night of a full moon in Galicia without really evoking ideas of the Sublime:

La tristeza del crepúsculo comenzaba a velar el paisaje: poco á poco fué apagándose la incandescencia del ocaso, y la luna, blanca y redonda, ascendió por el cielo, donde ya el lucero resplandecía. Se oyó distintamente el melancólico diptongo del sapo, un soplo de aire fresco estremeció las hierbas angostadas y los polvorientos zarzales que crecían en el camino; los troncos del pinar se ennegrecieron más, resaltando á manera de barras de tinta sobre la claridad verdosa del horizonte.³³

The use of such a lyrically charged language (tristeza, crepúsculo, velar, apagándose, luna, cielo, melancólico, ennegreció) is not coincidental in this passage; in fact, other novels such as *Los pazos de Ulloa* start with numerous and well-known references to the wild and untamed Nature of the Galician landscape, where the language is still evocative and poetic.

³³ Emilia Pardo Bazán, *El cisne de Vilamorta*, 2nd edn (Madrid: Ricardo Fé, 1885), pp. 5-6.

Unlike *El cisne*, however, these descriptions can ultimately convey powerful sources of the Sublime. When Julián, the protagonist of the novel, makes his way to the old *pazo* through the thick vegetation of the Galician forest, he finds himself “tétricamente impresionado”.³⁴ As he gets to the feudal castle, we learn he is filled with a sense of apprehension and awe, a power Burke had described as Sublime. In *The Rise of the Gothic Novel*, Maggie Kilgour argues that human beings “need to feel the existence of a power that transcends individuality”, that power able to “break down the opposition between subject and object, impressing the beholder with a sense of self-annihilation” and becoming “as it were, part of the work contemplated”.³⁵ Julián does ultimately become part of that work.

One might be tempted to believe that the ideas inspired by the Sublime necessarily exclude the Beautiful, and the descriptions that Pardo Bazán projects over Galicia are therefore something other than idealizations. However, the distinction between the Sublime and the Beautiful as defined by Burke does not imply that the Sublime cannot be Beautiful, for as he suggests, these two qualities can actually be allied in the same object: “in the infinite variety of natural combinations, we must expect to find the qualities of things the most remote imaginable from each other united in the same object”.³⁶

Thus, not only are these descriptions expected to rouse readers’ emotions, but also to inform them of what Galicia is like and how different it is from other Spanish regions. This approach to what I will call Galician Gothic is intrinsically associated with the conception that Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) had sustained about nationality, which was none other than the notion of the *Volksgeist*.³⁷ According to Herder, each nation, as collective entity, previous to any state of political system, harbours in its interior a series of distinctive qualities

³⁴ Emilia Pardo Bazán, *Los pazos de Ulloa*, ed. by M^a de los Ángeles Ayala, 9th edn (Madrid: Cátedra, 2007), p. 97.

³⁵ Maggie Kilgour, *The Rise of the Gothic Novel* (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 26 and 30.

³⁶ Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas on the Sublime and Beautiful* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), p. 60.

³⁷ Herder does not use the term “Volksgeist”, but phrases such as “Geist des Volkes” (spirit of the people) or “Geist der Nation” (spirit of the nation). The term “Volksgeist” was actually coined by Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel in 1801.

that, heirs of their own history and culture, are projected upon present aspects, such as language, race and customs. Such a vision, developed in his *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte der Bildung der Menschheit* (1774), rejected Enlightenment rationalism, which impeded the free expression of each nation and defended a uniform development of the Universe based on classical precepts. As a vindication of cultural individuality, German Romanticism would subsequently adopt the concept of *Volksgeist*, and the brothers Friedrich and August Wilhelm von Schlegel, in particular, would adapt the notion to the study of languages and literature. August Wilhelm's Romantic theory would eventually be introduced in Spain through Johann Nikolaus Böhl von Faber (1770-1836), namely through his article "Reflexiones de Schlegel sobre el teatro, traducidas del alemán", published in *El Mercurio Gaditano* in 1814. In this article, Böhl resurrected loosely translated parts of Schlegel's thinking over the Spanish Golden Age, previously developed in his *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur* (1808), in an attempt to revitalize Spanish literature through a special emphasis on Calderón de la Barca and Lope de Vega, both of whom had been condemned by neo-Classicism for not having followed the precepts of Aristotle and Horace.³⁸

In this sense, my thesis introduces a new line of argumentation beyond the existing studies, as I maintain that Pardo Bazán's use of Sublime iconography involves a desire to highlight Galician uniqueness (its *Volksgeist*) versus Spanish collectiveness. As mentioned above, the sources of the Sublime are easily found in its landscape, in its folklore, and in its architectonic constructions. Taking this into consideration, the effect created by the employment of such sources would project an apparently contradictory vision of Galicia, especially when tackling the folklore resources. In this vision, the use of Sublime elements, associated with the depiction of rural characters as barbarian, ignorant and superstitious, would unavoidably contribute towards diminishing the image of the region. In spite of this,

³⁸ Derek Flitter, "Böhl von Faber and the establishment of a traditionalist Romanticism", in *Spanish Romantic Literary Theory and Criticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 5-22 (p. 6).

there is no question that Pardo Bazán loved and cared about her homeland. At the peak of the Galician *Rexurdimento*, Pardo Bazán directed *La Revista de Galicia*, which in the words of Ana María Freire López intended to “levantar a Galicia de la postración intelectual y cultural en que se encontraba el país a la altura de 1880”.³⁹ Furthermore, her presence in the foundation of the “Sociedad del Folk-Lore Gallego” in 1884, her exhaustive ethnological labour throughout her whole life, her speech about Galician regional poetry in 1885, and works like *De mi tierra* (1888) or *Por la Europa católica* (1902), constitute other significant examples of her deep appreciation for Galicia.

I therefore believe that the use of Gothic devices through projections of Sublime iconography responds to a double necessity: one the one hand, Gothic devices convey a message charged of social criticism to inform about Galicia’s backwardness with a view to provoking a reaction in their readers. On the other hand, Pardo Bazán attempts to establish the parameters that distinguish Galician and Spanish particularities, vindicating the virtue of Galicianness and rejecting Spanish *casticismo*. Interestingly, the aesthetic of the Sublime, its origins and its boundaries are directly linked to the north, to Europe, which makes it move away from Mediterranean Spain and the purest *casticismo*. Aware of this, Pardo Bazán would opt for a Europeanizing project by means of which she would attempt to bring Galicia closer to Europe and thus to modernization. Precisely, this project was to be based on the concept and language of *Volksgeist* discourse that accepted regional distinctiveness in race, customs and landscape, a project she would particularly develop in her novel *Insolación* (1889) and other works, such as *De mi tierra*, *Por la Europa católica* or her *costumbrista* article “La gallega”, published in *Las mujeres españolas, americanas y lusitanas pintadas por sí mismas*.

³⁹ Ana María Freire, “*La Revista de Galicia* de Emilia Pardo Bazán (1880)”, in *Del Romanticismo al Realismo: Actas del I Coloquio de la Sociedad de Literatura Española del Siglo XIX*, ed. by Luis F. Díaz Larios and Enrique Miralles (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 1996), pp. 421-9 (p. 426).

As a Romantic adoption, the *Volksgeist* is strongly connected to Spanish *costumbrismo*, which developed parallel to Romanticism from the 1830s.⁴⁰ From this decade onwards, under Isabel II's reign (1833-1867), the Spanish novel had adopted two directions. The first direction included the “novelas sentimentales o seudohistóricas”, thus termed by Francisco Giner de los Ríos, who saw them “plagadas de situaciones de relumbrón, de inverosímiles caracteres, de catástrofes inesperadas”.⁴¹ Giner's definition is symptomatic of the general disdain this genre had caused as a result of the excessive sensibility and idealism, and as we shall see in the first chapter, Pardo Bazán herself would manifest such disdain during her youth.

The second direction of the novel was the *costumbrista* form itself. This would comprise a compilation of picturesque descriptions of regions (usually Andalucía, Cantabria and Galicia), their customs and traditions, and would essentially include typifying characters framed within well-defined local settings. The *costumbrista* form harbours a Romantic base and meets a conservative and political nature clinging to the purest *casticismo* so as to emulate the local, the regional, and to highlight distinctiveness within Spanish pluriculturalism. Romanticism and *costumbrismo* therefore look at recovering the available traditional material within the autochthonous folkloric baggage, while confronting the

⁴⁰ The origins of *costumbrismo* are intrinsically related to the popular press, and it is without surprise after 1833 that a great number of *costumbrista* articles began to be published in periodicals, standing out those by Ramón Mesonero Romanos (1802-1882), Serafin Estébanez Calderón (1799-1867) and Mariano José de Larra (1809-1837). Critics have generally regarded Mesonero Romanos as the highest *costumbrista* representative in Spain. Considered the father of the Spanish Realist novel and founder of *El Semanario pintoresco español* (1836-1857), Mesonero would write most of his works using the pseudonym “El curioso parlante”. It should be highlighted that Mesonero's first work, *Mis ratos perdidos, o ligero bosquejo de Madrid en 1820-1821* is first published in 1822, during the Liberal Triennium, the period in which freedom of press had been momentarily re-established. His main collection of journalistic articles is published in the following two decades. Among them, special mention should be made to *Panorama Matritense* (1832-1835) and above all to *Escenas Matritenses* (1836-1842). In these two works, the author makes use of both prose and verse in order to portray the city of Madrid. Further, his *costumbrismo* ranges over a number of scenes and types belonging to a familiar environment, and is capable of depicting the ordinariness and contemporariness of the capital city. Similarly, the Andalusian Estébanez Calderón, also known as “El Solitario”, left a considerable legacy with works such as *Cristianos y moriscos* (1838) and *Escenas andaluzas* (1847). While Mesonero Romanos situates his works in Madrid, Estébanez Calderón chooses the south of Spain. Both writers show a preference towards the traditional and the *castizo* against progress and foreign interference.

⁴¹ Francisco Giner de los Ríos, “Consideraciones sobre el desarrollo de la literatura moderna”, in *Obras completas*, (Madrid: Espasa, 1919), III, pp. 222-3.

anxieties that the Napoleonic invasions had generated. However, the circumstantialities and ordinariness that *costumbrismo* was to exhibit contrast with Romantic exoticism and its capacity to go beyond space and time. In fact, Pardo Bazán situates her stories in well-known places, namely Galicia and Madrid, and in the present time.

It is generally agreed that *La gaviota* (1849) by Fernán Caballero (1796-1877), née Cecilia Böhl von Faber, represents one of the first *costumbrista* manifestations in Spain. *La gaviota* accidentally anticipates the diffusion that the regionalist novel would reach in the following years. The moralizing intention of the *costumbrista* form is present throughout the whole of this work, and the author may transmit such moral through characters, claiming that the aim of these novels is “[ayudar] mucho para el estudio de la humanidad, de la historia, de la moral práctica, para el conocimiento de las localidades y de las épocas”.⁴² Similarly, in the prologue to the novel, the author expresses her intention to “dar una idea exacta, verdadera y genuina de España, y especialmente del estado actual de su sociedad, del modo de opinar de sus habitantes, de su índole aficiones y costumbres”,⁴³ and she distinguishes between “ensayo” and “novela”: “Escribimos un ensayo sobre la vida íntima del pueblo español, su lenguaje, creencias, cuentos y tradiciones. La parte que pudiera llamarse novela, sirve de marco a este vasto cuadro, que no hemos hecho más que bosquejar”.⁴⁴ When the author asserts “una idea verdadera y genuina de España”, she actually means Andalusia, the region to where she restricts her novels. Here she collects all the popular knowledge, which she depicts not without certain idealization, while projecting a still very conservative Romantic sensibility.

Just as Fernán Caballero had idealized Andalusia, Pardo Bazán would most certainly idealize the Galician landscape through a conservative Romantic sensibility, a landscape she knew intimately. As showed in the passage of *El cisne de Vilamorta*, Pardo Bazán succeeds in

⁴² Cecilia Böhl von Faber, *La gaviota*, ed. Carmen Bravo-Villasante (Madrid: Castalina, 1979), p. 215.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

portraying an idealized vision of Galicia while resorting to *costumbrista* sketches and Sublime depictions of Nature, and this is exactly what distinguishes her regionalism from Fernán Caballero's, which is much more attuned to the premises of the Beautiful.

In order to explain all these aspects, this thesis will offer close reading analyses of a representative selection of texts by Pardo Bazán. The goal of these analyses is to conclude that the author employs the Gothic imagery with the purpose of highlighting and elevating Galiciannes far above other peninsular idiosyncrasies. Similarly, I will demonstrate that Pardo Bazán attempts to denounce the backwardness that her regions suffers and thereby to promote its modernization by bringing it closer to the socioeconomic and ideological progress, which she situates in Europe.

Taking all this into consideration, the present thesis is divided into five chapters that show Pardo Bazán's attitude and evolution towards traditional Gothic fiction and the fantastic aspect of it. The first chapter introduces the author's literary background through a historical-biographical approach. By examining her *Apuntes autobiográficos*, I will evaluate her early acquaintance with and interest in foreign Gothic fictions and their repercussion in her own literary career. I will similarly call attention to how her native Galicia, its folklore and its attraction for the fantastic would exert a great impact in Emilia's subsequent adoption and adaptation of Gothic devices. This introductory chapter will also tackle Pardo Bazán's first approach to the novel and her opinions about Naturalism in *La cuestión palpitante*. As will be shown, the rise of Realism and Naturalism do not automatically exclude the Gothic or its fantastic component, as is evidenced in her initial novel, *Pascual López. Autobiografía de un estudiante de medicina*.

While supporting the idea that Pardo Bazán was directly influenced by English Gothic literature, the second chapter focuses on the role that English literary tradition has played in the consolidation of nineteenth-century Spanish Gothic fiction. I will attempt to demonstrate

how Pardo Bazán, in particular, employs traditional Gothic devices to depict the social and landscape peculiarities of her native region in a faithful way. Among others, she resorts to the gloomy atmosphere, ruined mansions, the symbolism of the journey as a bridge that unites two different worlds, and the “supernatural explain’d”.⁴⁵ In this way, the representations of Sublime iconography expose a regional *costumbrismo* that Emilia had previously inherited from a conservative Romanticism. I will revisit English canonical novels such as *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, *Frankenstein*, *Wuthering Heights* and *Dracula* in order to establish parallelisms with and degree of influence on some of her tales and her novels, particularly *Pascual López* and *Los pazos de Ulloa*.

When analysing the employment of Gothic devices to depict the peculiarity of Galicia, it is legitimate to wonder whether this use might convey negative ideas of the region. Thus, in assessing the effects that the use of Gothic paraphernalia might have created on the public reader, the third chapter explores Pardo Bazán’s apparently contradictory vision of Galicia. While the Gothic serves the author to portray the peculiarities of her region in a realistic way, particularly the rural sphere, I have found that most of the devices employed strongly contribute to degrade the vision she projects of rural Galicia. However, I maintain that the systematic use of Gothic fiction forms part of a project consisting of bringing this region closer to Europe and modernity, a *regenerationist* process that seeks to uncover the local idiosyncrasies within Spain and to vindicate the virtue of Galicianness over *casticismo*. As representative texts, I will use, among others, *Por la Europa Católica*, *Insolación*, and the article “La gallega”.

The understanding of Pardo Bazán’s perception of Galicia, particularly in relation to the rural world and the situation of women, also helps us to understand the process by means of which she assimilates the Gothic genre. The fourth chapter therefore investigates the way

⁴⁵ The term “supernatural explain’d” was coined by Ann Radcliffe to account for the apparently paranormal phenomena that is ultimately explained in a rational way.

Pardo Bazán perceives, adopts and adapts Gothic fiction. I argue that most of her novels follow narrative and plot conventions that bring Pardo Bazán closer to what has come to be known as Female Gothic. Although some of the texts I analyse in this chapter do not present explicit Gothic elements, they do show, however, a series of conventions that can help us to understand her perspective on the (female) Gothic and her subsequent treatment of its devices in other novels and tales. These conventions include, for example, her vision on women's education, mother/father/daughter relationships, forced marriages, incestuous relationships, the cult of domesticity and sensibility, and uncanny locations. In order to contextualize this analysis, I include an account of the figure of the woman reader, in Britain and Spain, and her relation with the Gothic novels. The primary texts used for this analysis are *Memorias de un solterón*, *La Tribuna*, *Los pazos de Ulloa* and *La prueba*. To a lesser degree, I also include references to Pardo Bazán's "La mujer española", Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, and Radcliffe's "On the supernatural in Poetry".

In the analysis of the Female Gothic it becomes evident that Pardo Bazán's novels and tales leave a great deal of room for psychoanalytic discussion. It is not new, in this regard, that the connection between the Gothic and psychoanalysis is a very intimate one. Sigmund Freud found in the Gothic the real and true source of imaginary for the formulation of his influential essay "The Uncanny" (1919), whereas literary criticism has long tackled the Gothic through psychoanalysis. In this sense, David B. Morris, in his "Gothic Sublimity", considers that Freudian psychoanalysis offers a more detailed explanation of the Gothic than Burke's account of the Sublime: "Freud, I believe, offers us a much improved theory of terror, a theory which helps to explain why sublimity is a vital, integral part of the Gothic novel, not merely an incidental, ornamental, scenic prop".⁴⁶ The Uncanny, then, is especially useful when exploring the psychological makeup of characters in Pardo Bazán's Gothic texts.

⁴⁶ David B. Morris, "Gothic Sublimity", *New Literary History*, 16 (1985), 299-315 (p. 300).

Freudian psychoanalysis, in particular, and the Gothic offer answers to the problems affecting the self, sexuality, desire or fear. In fact, readers of Gothic fictions have always experienced a necessity to decipher hidden meaning within texts, that is, to establish logical and causal links between the contradictory or ambiguous elements they encounter throughout their reading. Thus Pardo Bazán's approach to the supernatural, for example, allows us to reach satisfactory conclusions in so far as mysteries are never left unresolved. This approach enables Emilia to incorporate fantastic elements while remaining faithful to the realist conventions typically present in nineteenth-century Spanish literature.

Given the great correspondence between the Psychoanalytic and Gothic elements in Pardo Bazán's texts, it becomes necessary a more detailed study of these. Consequently, chapter V offers an extensive research on Freudian psychoanalysis with a view to complementing the analysis of Female Gothic fiction. While centring on *Los pazos de Ulloa*, the analysis focuses on key concepts such as hysteria, interpretation of dreams and *Doppelgänger*, all related to the Uncanny. I will revisit Freud's concept to justify its importance within the Gothic by comparing it and contrasting it to the Sublime, and will try to demonstrate the viability and necessity of a psychoanalytic approach towards the study of Pardo Bazán's use of Gothic fiction.

By and large, Emilia Pardo Bazán's incursion into Gothic fiction signifies one of the richest and yet not sufficiently recognized contributions to nineteenth-century Spanish literature. Her interest in the genre can be understood, not only through the foreign works she had read from her youth onwards, but also through a reinterpretation of her apparently ambiguous view of Galicia. In this sense, her relationship with the Gothic discloses a regional *costumbrismo* that her Naturalism would adopt from a manifestly conservative Romanticism. In examining these connections, we can ultimately understand the presence and the function of the Gothic element in her work.

In these lines, the originality of this thesis lies in three main points: firstly, it establishes the direct connections existing between classic Gothic fiction and the use Pardo Bazán makes of it. While authors like Colahan, Rodríguez and other authors have identified a number of Gothic elements and have drawn some parallels between these and the English tradition, no one has overtly analysed the immediate influence Gothic narratives had on Pardo Bazán. As noted in *Apuntes autobiográficos*, *La cuestión palpitante* or *La literatura francesa moderna*, Emilia was deeply familiar with and influenced by the foreign genre, either through translations or through the original source. The inclusion of Gothic elements must therefore not be understood as coincidental, as some of the aforementioned theorists have argued, but conscious and carefully planned. By the same token, no literary critic has yet suggested the circumstances and the reasons why this writer assimilates elements of this genre at a time when authors were expected to comply with scientific and rational principles based on the Positivist precepts Naturalism would strengthen. As shown in her novels and tales, the Gothic projects her vision of Galician *Volksgeist*, which often represents a direct source of the Sublime. However, it also appears as having an ambivalent functionality: while it defines and celebrates Galician particularity (Galiciannes), it may also contribute to degrading its image.

On a second level of analysis, I have observed that the celebration of Galiciannes is reinforced through continuous oppositions against the defective characteristics she perceives in Mediterranean Spain. According to the author, these characteristics, based on the traditional values of *casticismo*, promote stagnation and backwardness, and prevent the modernization of the country. In this respect, I maintain that the Sublime, a concept strongly associated with the Gothic and the north, serves Emilia to bring her region closer to Europe and therefore to modernization. This constitutes a *regenerationist* project that rejects Spanish *casticismo*, vindicates Galicianness and raises social awareness about the stagnation Spain and her region suffer from at the end of the nineteenth century.

Secondly, the thesis constitutes a fresh approach in that it explores the process of transculturation by means of which the author adapts the genre to nineteenth-century Spanish literature and the specificity of Galicia. When looking at the spatial and temporal coordinates in which Emilia assimilates and adapts elements of the traditional Gothic fiction, one needs to consider the importance that aspects like realism or morality still had in Spain during the second half of the nineteenth century. The transculturation would therefore imply the necessity to reconcile Naturalism and the Gothic genre. As indicated, both literary manifestations appear to be mutually exclusive in that the former seeks to depict reality through detailed, rational and objective descriptions and scientific principles, while the latter welcomes the irrational and the occult. In this reconciliation, it is fundamental to look at the way Emilia deals with the supernatural or the fantastic in her fiction and the subsequent differentiation between psychological suggestion and explicit horror. It is frequent, in this regard, that the supernatural phenomena that abound in her novels and tales are ultimately explained in a rational way, a technique Ann Radcliffe had previously exploited.

Finally, the thematic and narrative conventions that bring Pardo Bazán's texts closer to the Female Gothic can only be fully understood through a Psychoanalytic approach. While the reading of Pardo Bazán's texts as Female Gothic represents an unexplored approach, the motifs found in this analysis motivate a Psychoanalytic interpretation of her literature. In particular, Freudian psychoanalysis favours the exploration of Pardo Bazán's use of the Gothic far beyond Burke's catalogue of terrifying sources. The Uncanny and the phenomena associated with it (dreams, hysterical fits, paranoia, etc.) offer a profound psychological makeup of Pardo Bazán's characters. The additional factor here is that this psychological dimension of the characters is able to excite powerful emotions of terror on the reader, just as the objects considered as immediate sources of the Sublime. This constitutes a new and original approach to the study of Gothic motifs in Pardo Bazán's fiction.

CHAPTER I

EMILIA PARDO BAZÁN'S LITERARY WORLD

El romanticismo, como época literaria, ha pasado, siendo casi nula ya su influencia en las costumbres. Mas como fenómeno aislado, como enfermedad, pasión o anhelo del espíritu, no pasará tal vez nunca. En una o en otra forma, habrá de presentarse cuando las circunstancias y lo que se conoce por medio ambiente faciliten su desarrollo, ayudando a desenvolver facultades ya existentes en el individuo.¹

Nineteenth-century Spanish Realism and Naturalism have always been intrinsically associated with the idea of regionalism; the idea of framing a literary work within a particular place, emphasizing the distinct idiosyncratic values of the Spanish people while depicting their particular customs or *escenas costumbristas*. Regionalism had indeed been commonplace in Spanish Literature before Romanticism brought it back to glorify the spirit of each people, that is to say, the *Volksgeist*. Thus, nineteenth-century Spanish Realist novelists like Alarcón and Valera principally situate their novels in Andalucía; Pereda, on the other hand, in Santander; Clarín, in Oviedo or Vetusta; Pérez Galdós, in Madrid, but also in Castile; and Emilia Pardo Bazán, in Galicia. It is namely this latter author who attempts to incorporate in her works the European forms of Gothic aesthetics, inherited from the Romantic tradition, from an identitarian perspective. The Galician author is certainly influenced by European Gothic tradition in the same manner that most Spanish writers had been throughout the nineteenth century.²

¹ *El cisne de Vilamorta*, p. 4.

² Amongst others, José de Urcullu, the aforementioned Agustín Pérez Zaragoza and Antonio Ros de Olana are all representative writers of nineteenth-century Spanish Gothic fiction.

A study of Pardo Bazán's approach to Galician regionalism is incomplete without understanding the circumstances in which she first came into contact with European and English Gothic literature, and the motivations that led her to introduce elements of this genre into her works. In examining some of her most remarkable works carefully, one can observe that Pardo Bazán employs Gothic aesthetics not only to depict the landscape and typical weather phenomena of Galicia, but also its cultural and social backwardness with regards to cities like Madrid and Europe in general. By incorporating such aesthetics, she is able to describe a rural Galicia, uneducated and backward, unable to keep up the pace of the incipient progress accentuated by the rise of the Industrial Revolution in some Spanish cities and its consolidation in Europe. In so doing, Pardo Bazán constructs a distinct Galician regional Gothic, which derives both from the European tradition and from elements of nineteenth-century Spanish *costumbrismo*.

In this first chapter, I will offer a historical-biographical approach to evaluate Emilia Pardo Bazán's acquaintance with traditional Gothic fiction, whose origins are to be traced back mainly in Great Britain in the second half of the eighteenth century. Together with her Gothic background and its connections to Romanticism, I will examine Pardo Bazán's debt to both European and Spanish Romanticism and how this literary movement would affect her whole literary career. For this reason, it will be necessary to underscore that the rise of Realism – and then Naturalism – in Spain does not necessarily exclude the Gothic or the fantastic aspect of it. In fact, these literary trends tend to incorporate fantastic elements of the Gothic tradition although mostly approached from a rational point of view.

Emilia Pardo Bazán y de la Rúa-Figueroa (16 September 1851 – 12 May 1921) was born in the Galician city of A Coruña into an aristocratic Catholic family. She was the only child of Amalia de la Rúa Figueroa y Somoza, and José Pardo Bazán y Mosquera. Since her

early childhood, her father, activist of the progressive liberal party and supporter of Olózaga, would put a lot of effort into his daughter's education.³ As a child, she did not attend a proper educational institution, so it was first her mother that taught Emilia at home to read before she eventually entered a French school in Madrid.⁴ As she would later admit in her *Apuntes autobiográficos*, she showed a great interest in painting, but despised music and knitting tremendously, a confession that would somehow prophesy her subsequent and notorious feminism.⁵

Emilia would soon realize that her only real vocation was for reading, finding in her family no impediment at all but rather encouragement and support. During one of her holiday summers in the seaside town of Sanxenxo, she explains how she would spend hours at the house library examining engravings and memorizing whole sequences of her favourite books. In A Coruña, she would read Solís' *La conquista de México*, Plutarch's *Varones Ilustres*, Cervantes' *Novelas ejemplares*, as well as a series of scientific magazines her father had been subscribed to. It is in A Coruña too that she first made contact with Ducray Duminil's *Les petits orphelins du hameau* (1800), the *Etelvina* and, as she herself points out, "otras novelas del género terrorífico o lacrimoso que tragué con el buen apetito propio de la edad, pero que no pude leer segunda vez".⁶ It should be noted, in this regard, that the first Gothic novels were

³ Xosé Ramón Barreiro Fernández clarifies that despite being an active member of the progressive party, like all Pardo Bazán's ancestors, he belonged to the "ala más moderada del mismo", which partly explains the reason why he had been elected mayor of A Coruña in 1854. As a progressist, he would receive the daily newspaper *La Iberia* and this double facet, that of an intellectual and that of a progressist, somehow allowed his daughter to combine her intellectual curiosity with the traditional duties that girls' education involved. See Xosé Ramón Barreiro Fernández, "La ideología política de Emilia Pardo Bazán. Una aproximación al tema", in *Estudios sobre la obra de Emilia Pardo Bazán. Actas de las Jornadas Conmemorativas de los 150 años de su nacimiento*, ed. by Ana María Freire López (A Coruña: Fundación Barrié de la Maza, 2003), pp. 9-35 (p. 20).

⁴ In 1857, the law of Claudio Moyano established compulsory education for girls and boys. In the cities, bourgeois boys attended school, but girls usually remained at home. The most frenchified families would send their girls to expensive boarding schools run by some French woman. See Eva Acosta, *Emilia Pardo Bazán. La luz en la batalla* (Barcelona: Lumen, 2007), p. 32.

⁵ I have used Ana María Freire López's edition published in 2001. See Ana María Freire López, "La primera redacción, autógrafa e inédita, de los *Apuntes autobiográficos*", *Cuadernos para Investigación de la Literatura Hispánica*, 26 (2001), 305-336.

⁶ *Apuntes autobiográficos*, p. 317. François Guillaume Ducray-Duminil (1761-1819), concerned about the moral message of tales, wrote several novels. The *Etelvina* Pardo Bazán refers to in her *Apuntes* most likely

notorious for their mediocrity as far as their literary quality was concerned. They narrated implausible stories verging on the absurd and, as I will show in my next chapter, Jane Austen's satire, *Northanger Abbey* was the consequent reaction towards the mediocrity of this genre. Pardo Bazán alludes to such a mediocrity when commenting on these two novels, which may probably have been her first contact with the Gothic novel. Judging from her autobiographical notes, however, her most influential books up to that point in time would have been none other than *El Quijote*, the *Bible*, and the *Iliad*. Over the course of the years, these three novels would somehow synthesize Pardo Bazán's aesthetic and ideological creed: the representation of the harshest realism and the most moderate idealism; loyalty to Catholicism; and exaltation of aristocratic values in search of honour and glory.

Towards the end of the 1850s, Emilia and her family would spend their summers in Galicia and their winters in Madrid. As we learn in her *Apuntes*, it was at the French school she attended in the capital that she learnt French and first established contact with French literature through La Fontaine's fables and Jean Racine. By that time, she had already familiarized herself with Spanish Romantic poets such as Zorrilla, "el gran mago de la música y la armonía, el poeta rumoroso como la creación, como los hondos bosques" and had even ventured to compose her first ballads.⁷ Despite not reaching sufficient literary quality, she managed to publish some of her early poems in the *Almanaque* of *La Soberanía Nacional* that Manuel Soto Freire directed in those days. Some of her early poems, written between 1865 and 1867, were only compiled and published in Maurice Hemingway's posthumous book, *Poesías inéditas u olvidadas* (1996).⁸ Other different poems, like those collected in the edition of *Himnos y sueños*, written between 1866 and 1875, show the unequivocal influence of English, French and German Romanticisms, as José Manuel González Herrán has noted in

corresponds to *Ethelwina; or, The House of Fitz-Auburne*, written by T.J. Horsley Curties in 1799, and first translated into Spanish as *Etelvina o historia de la baronesa de Castle Acre*, Madrid, Repullés, 1805.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 319.

⁸ Emilia Pardo Bazán, *Poesías inéditas u olvidadas*, ed. by Maurice Hemingway (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1996).

his study of Pardo Bazán's early verse (1865-1875).⁹ Thus some poems, like the one that opens the book, are introduced through quotes from Victor Hugo, and others refer to Lord Byron and Heine, poets that had previously influenced Spanish Romanticism.¹⁰

By 1866, she had already written her first short story "Un matrimonio del siglo XIX", published in *Almanaque para 1866* of *La Soberanía Nacional* and retrieved by Juan Paredes Nuñez in 1979.¹¹ She had also brought out the unfinished novel, *Aficiones peligrosas*, which appeared as a newspaper serial in *El Progreso*. The novel, discovered by Nelly Clémessy and edited by Paredes Nuñez in 1989, could be considered as autobiographical in so far as the author depicts a young lady that is keen on reading, but very aware of the dangers that this hobby can bring about.¹² Particularly Romantic was her poem *El Castillo de la Fada. Leyenda fantástica*, published in 1866 as well. The meter and verse characteristics of this poem are, according to González Herrán, debtors of Espronceda's poetics. In addition to Espronceda, Eva Acosta suggests that the composition had been equally inspired by the readings of duque de Rivas and Zorrilla.¹³

Emilia's attraction for the fantastic is not a chance one. During her summer holidays in Galicia, she would become acquainted with the folklore of the rural world, a world that would turn out to be as attractive as *textual* literature itself. At home, the young girl would hear stories of all sorts told by the servants and peasants that worked under her family's orders. She would hear about the *Santa Compañía*, or the procession of souls that wandered around the Galician forests at midnight; the *trasgos* and *nubeiros*, little domestic goblins well

⁹ José Manuel González Herrán, "Una 'romántica rezagada': la poesía juvenil inédita de Emilia Pardo Bazán (1865-1875)", *Romanticismo 7. La poesía romántica. Actas del VII Congreso. Centro Internacional de Estudios sobre Romanticismo Hispánico-Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Filosofici* (2000), pp. 107-24.

¹⁰ Despite her poor knowledge of German, Pardo Bazán translated some poems by Heine into Spanish. It was Nelly Clémessy that first studied Emilia's translations from German. See Nelly Clémessy, "Contribution a l'étude de Heine en Espagne. Emilia Pardo Bazán, critique et traductrice de Henri Heine", *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Nice*, 3 (1968), 73-85.

¹¹ Emilia Pardo Bazán, "Un matrimonio del siglo XIX", in *Los cuentos de Emilia Pardo Bazán*, ed. by Juan Paredes Nuñez (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1979).

¹² Emilia Pardo Bazán, *Aficiones peligrosas*, ed. by Juan Paredes Nuñez (Madrid: Palas-Atenea, 1989).

¹³ Acosta, p. 59.

known for their mischievous deeds; the *meigas*' spells and their so-called evil eye. She would also learn about the *curandeiros* and their ability to heal incurable diseases; the *lobishome*, a werewolf that terrified the neighbours of Allariz; and bandits that assaulted travellers and burgled *pazos* in search of objects of value.¹⁴ Further, she was certainly acquainted with the pilgrimage route to *San Andrés de Teixido*, where according to the popular belief, “vai de morto o que non foi de vivo”.¹⁵ It was generally believed that those who did not visit the sanctuary of San Andrés while they were still alive would return as reptiles when they died. Within a few years, Emilia would incorporate all the elements of folk wisdom into her literary production. Equally significant, it was through these oral stories that Emilia would learn Galician, Galicia's own language, as the language used within the familial domain would be mainly Spanish.¹⁶

At fourteen, Pardo Bazán already boasted of having read all sorts of texts, but had still not managed to read the French Romantics due to moral censorship and family restrictions; or as she would write in *La cuestión palpitante* (1883), “obras que su fama satánica apartaba de mis manos”: Dumas, George Sand and Victor Hugo.¹⁷ As a matter of fact, the readings of these authors, which were believed to show an ambiguous sentimentalism and boundless imagination, were strongly discouraged for their being pernicious for young ladies.¹⁸ In her

¹⁴ The most notorious *lobishome* in Galicia was Manuel Blanco Romasanta (1809-1854), known as the Werewolf of Allariz. Romasanta, who earned his living as a guide for travellers, is considered to have been the first documented serial killer in Galicia. He was charged with the murder of a number of people that travelled through the mountains of Ourense and Lugo. Romasanta was believed to use his victims' fat to make soap that he later sold.

¹⁵ A rough translation into English would be “If you don't go in life, you'll go in death”.

¹⁶ For further information about Pardo Bazán's first contact with Galician folklore, see Acosta, pp. 39-40.

¹⁷ By 1860s these authors were still considered as deleterious by the Catholic Church. José María Merino recalls that “el *Index Librorum Prohibitorum et expurgatorum*, en 407 años –entre 1559 y 1966 – prohibió la lectura, sucesivamente, de todo Rabelais, de los cuentos de la Fontaine, de los ensayos de Montaigne, de *El sueño del juicio final* –luego «de las calaveras»- de Quevedo, de Dante, de varias obras de Descartes, de Montesquieu, de Diderot, de Dumas... “Madame Bovary”, Stendhal, Balzac, Zola, Victor Hugo, Galdós, Anatole France, Gide, Sartre”. See José María Merino, “Reflexiones sobre la literatura fantástica en España”, in *Ensayos sobre ciencia ficción y literatura fantástica: actas del Primer Congreso Internacional de literatura fantástica y ciencia ficción*, ed. by Teresa López Pellisa and Fernando Ángel Moreno Serrano (Madrid: Asociación Cultural Xatafi, 2009), pp. 55-64 (p. 62).

¹⁸ Acosta, p. 56.

autobiography, she details how she first came across a copy of *Notre Dame de Paris* (1831) and the joy she experienced as she first read the novel in secret:

Aquello sí que se podía llamar novela: allí no sucedían, como en las de Cervantes, cosas que a cada paso estaba uno viendo, sino unas cosas tan grandes, raras y extraordinarias, que para idearlas se necesitaba también un entendimiento fénix y sin par, por lo cual deducía yo que la novela era un género que sólo podían cultivar gentes dotadas de maravillosa inventiva; y mucho tiempo me duró esta idea, presentándose la novela como una cosa inaccesible para los simples mortales. Si alguien me dijese entonces que podría llegar a escribir una novela, me hubiera reído lo mismo que si me dijiesen que podía construir una catedral. Mucho tiempo después aún me quedaban rastros de esa idea.¹⁹

Judging from these words written in 1886, it appears to be that Pardo Bazán attaches a great value to a series of matters that could be well associated with Romanticism: on the one hand, she contrasts Cervantes' realism with Hugo's idealism, underscoring the great imaginative capacity of the latter. On the other hand, the author offers a rather implicit definition of what the novel had meant for her at that point of her life by referring to a space where "cosas tan grandes, raras y extraordinarias" happen and ultimately evoking the Gothic novel with which she was already familiarized. In other words, the vocabulary that Pardo Bazán utilizes to describe the reality of the novel inevitably brings to mind Burke's premises on the Sublime and Beautiful, which I will analyse in my second chapter. As we will see, this description significantly moves away from the vision that Spanish literary criticism had shaped of Realist aesthetics at this point of the nineteenth century, where idealism was to be accepted as long as it were sufficiently discreet. But while Pardo Bazán's description refers

¹⁹ *Apuntes autobiográficos*, p. 320.

back to her particular adolescent thinking, she still recognizes that this conception of the novel had remained for a long time afterwards.

In her *Apuntes*, she describes the year 1868 as one of great significance: “Tres acontecimientos importantes en mi vida se siguieron muy de cerca: me vestí de largo, me casé y estalló la Revolución de septiembre de 1868”. When she was only sixteen years old, Emilia got married to José Quiroga Pérez Pinal, Carlist and student of Law at the University of Santiago de Compostela.²⁰ The wedding ceremony took place on 10th June at the chapel of *Pazo de Meirás*, a property that the bride’s parents owned not far away from A Coruña. Fourteen years later, however, they would split up due to both intellectual and ideological divergences. While married, the couple decided to settle in Santiago, where Quiroga was to continue his studies at the University and Pardo Bazán would help him to study. One year after the wedding, her father was elected *diputado* for A Coruña, and the family, including the married couple, moved to Madrid.²¹ A short time before Amadeo de Saboya’s abdication in 1873, she set out on a four-month trip together with her husband, her parents and her uncle around Europe, visiting Paris, Geneva, Vienna, Venice and Verona. It would actually be in Italy where Emilia would compose her *Apuntes de un viaje. De España a Ginebra* (1873), probably her first travel notes.²² The trip would awaken in Emilia a great deal of interest in languages and a desire to read authors in the original:

²⁰ In her biography of Emilia Pardo Bazán, Carmen Bravo-Villasante points out “Pérez Deza” as José’s second family name. See Carmen Bravo-Villasante, *Vida y obra de Emilia Pardo Bazán. Correspondencia amorosa con Pérez Galdós* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1973), p. 26.

²¹ Barreiro Fernández notes that while praising and complying with the Constitution of 1869, José Pardo Bazán expresses his disagreement with the decrees that Amadeo de Saboya’s Government promulgated in so far as these decrees restricted the rights of the Catholic Church in Spain. See Barreiro Fernández, pp. 20-2.

²² In the *Simposio Internacional sobre Literatura de Viajes* (Toledo, September 1996), González Herrán presented the unknown text written by Pardo Bazán under the title “Un inédito de Pardo Bazán. *Apuntes de un viaje. De España a Ginebra*”. The manuscript was provided by the Real Academia Galega, where Pardo Bazán had deposited it once finished. Other travel texts by Pardo Bazán include *Mi romería* (1888), *Al pie de la torre Eiffel* (1889), *Por Francia y Alemania* (1889) and *Por la Europa católica* (1902). See José Manuel González Herrán, “Un inédito de Pardo Bazán. *Apuntes de un viaje. De España a Ginebra*”, in *Actas del Simposio Internacional de Literatura de Viajes. El Viejo Mundo y el Nuevo*, ed. by García Castañeda (Madrid: Castalia, 1999), pp. 177-87.

haciendo un género de vida más propio para despertar necesidades intelectuales cogía libros y repasaba mis temas ingleses, porque me había propuesto leer en su idioma a Byron y a Shakespeare. Aquel mismo año pude saborear a las orillas del Po y el canal de Venecia poesías de Alfieri y Ugo Fóscolo, prosa de Manzoni y Silvio Pellico, y ver en Verona el balcón de Julieta y en Trieste el palacio de Miramar, y en la gran exposición de Viena los adelantos de la industria, que miré con algo de romántico desdén, y en el cual resurgió mi vocación, llamándome con dulce imperio.²³

The Romantic overtones in the passage above are evident: firstly, it is noteworthy the allusion to two countries intimately linked to the exoticism that English Romanticism had searched: Switzerland and Italy.²⁴ It was by Lake Geneva that Byron, Polidori, Mary Shelley and her husband, Percy, wrote their ghost stories. In a strictly metaphorical sense, the trip from Spain to Geneva, as explicitly stated in the title, becomes an initiation and experimental trip where Pardo Bazán establishes contact with the origins of Romanticism. In a like manner, Italy had become of topical interest among a great number of Romantic and Gothic writers (Radcliff, Byron, Polidori, etc.) who decided to situate their stories in that exotic country and Pardo Bazán also experiments with exoticism both physically, as she herself travels to Italy, and through the readings of the Italian Romantics she mentions above. Finally, the passage hints at the nostalgia for tradition as expressed by the Romantic ideals of past and present: the first phase of the Industrial Revolution (1750-1850) meant a change of attitude with regards to the traditional rural world; on the one hand, industrialization blurred the differences between

²³ Vittorio Alfieri (1749-1803), precursor of Italian Romanticism stood out as a play writer; Ugo Foscolo (1778-1823), born in Italy, was strongly influenced by Goethe. He cultivated poetry, drama and short novel; Silvio Pellico (1789-1854) kept relations with Friedrich von Schlegel, Madame de Staël and Lord Byron; Alessandro Manzoni (1785-1873) is considered the most representative of the Italian Romantic poets.

²⁴ See Henry H.H. Remak, "Exoticism in Romanticism", *Comparative Literature Studies*, 15 (1978), 53-65. Remak explains the inclusion of Switzerland and Italy within the exoticism searched for the Romantics.

the urban and rural worlds while communication and transport advances kept the two worlds together.

Therefore, there was a breaking-off with the local that came along with a sense of nostalgia of both time and space. Folklore, for example, would involve an attempt to bridge a spatial and temporal distance. In this respect, probably because the Industrial Revolution in Spain was belated and incomplete, Pardo Bazán would find herself trapped in the dilemma of tradition and modernity (Spain/Galicia versus Europe) for she seems to belong to the two worlds: while we can define Pardo Bazán as a modern and contemporary woman, there are clear nostalgic feelings in accordance with the sensibility expressed towards her native Galicia. Thus, sensibility, regarded as a non-rational experience, and namely the Gothic, as an idealizing instrument of a glorious past would become a constant, perhaps unconscious resource in Pardo Bazán's literary output.

Back in Spain a few months later, Pardo Bazán came into contact with Krausism through her friend, Francisco Giner de los Ríos. Not only did Karl Krause's ideas encourage her to brush up her German, but also awakened an idealist concern that would lead her to the the reading of mystic poets such as Santa Teresa de Jesús and Luis de Granada, "el mejor descanso para una cabeza [católica]", as she wrote in *Apuntes*; she became more and more interested in Schelling's study of identity and Kant's "Pure Reason" which, in turn, led her back to Descartes, Saint Thomas, Aristotle and Plato. The knowledge of German she would acquire would allow her to obtain a better understanding of "los poetas, los artistas": Schiller, Goethe, Bürger and Heine, of whom she published, in 1883, her study *Fortuna española de Heine*.²⁵

²⁵ Joham Cristoph Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805) was, together with Goethe, one the most important play writers in Germany. Schiller's ballads, like Goethe's and Bürger's influenced significantly the concept of popular poetry in Spain. As a representative of the "Schauroman" in Germany, he is known for his unfinished Gothic novel, *The Ghost-Seer* (1789); Joham Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) was known for being one of the founders of Romanticism and intimately linked to the Gothic tradition; Gottfried August Bürger (1747-1794) is considered as the last representative of the "Sturm und Drang" (storm and impulse) literary movement against

In 1876, her first child, Jaime, was born and, a few days after his birth, she decided to make herself known as a writer by participating in the “Juegos Florales” of Ourense, where the second centenary of the birth of the Galician essayist Benito Jerónimo Feijoo was to be celebrated. From this author, she would recall, Emilia inherited her two main vocations: arts and sciences. According to Walter T. Pattison, there are several reasons that explain Pardo Bazán’s attachment to Father Feijoo: “First, he was Galician, born in a village near the city of Orense. He was loyal to his region, defending its inhabitants against the slurs and scorn of other Spaniards, although at the same time he sought to eradicate the superstitious beliefs of his fellow Gallegans”.²⁶ While Pardo Bazán would certainly defend the interests of Galicia and its people, it is not so obvious that she aimed at eradicating the superstitious beliefs of other Galicians. At most she would display this reality in her writings and advise about the dangers of such beliefs; after all, superstition formed part of the Galician folklore she would later study.²⁷

Among other influential writers that participated in the “Juegos Florales” was the feminist Concepción Arenal, from whom Emilia snatched the competition prize with her *Estudio crítico de las obras de Feijoo*. Current criticism suggests that the prize was not at all fair. To give an example, Marina Mayoral, in her essay “Emilia Pardo Bazán ante la

Enlightenment rationalism. The movement is generally conceived as prior to Romanticism – or part of it, according to Hans Juretschke. See Hans Juretschke, *Historia de España: La época del romanticismo (1808-1874)*. *Orígenes. Religión. Filosofía. Ciencia*, 1 (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1989), p. 69. Among other Gothic ballads, he wrote “Leonore” (1773) and “Der Wilde Jäger” (1778). These two poems were later translated and adapted by Scott. In English, “Leonore” appeared as “William and Helen” in *An Apology for Tales of Terror* (1799); “Der Wilde Jäger” was first published as “The Chase” in 1796 and reappeared three years later, together with the former, in the same anthology; in Matthew Lewis’ *Tales of Wonder* (1801), it would appear as “The Wild Huntsman”. Heinrich Heine (1797-1856) is probably the last of the German Romantics. He was strongly influenced by Spanish Golden Age drama and, as a Hispanist, intervened in the gradual recuperation of Spanish culture.

²⁶ Walter T. Pattison, *Emilia Pardo Bazán* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1971), p. 31.

²⁷ With regards to the campaign against superstition initiated by Feijoo, Pardo Bazán indicates the following: “Hay quien no se la agradece, antes opina que nos desacreditó algún tanto á los ojos de los extranjeros, haciendo que el país menos supersticioso de Europa cobrase reputación del más infestado de semejante plaga, y que hasta se nos atribuyesen errores que nadie había oído nombrar por aquí. No es del todo infundada esta apreciación”. Her last sentence is symptomatic of the author’s concerns about other’s opinions, “el qué dirán”. It also suggests that a real campaign against superstition, like that of Feijoo’s is not comparable to displaying people’s beliefs in writing. See Emilia Pardo Bazán, “Feijoo y su siglo”, in *De mi tierra* (Vigo: Xerais, 1984), pp. 121-81 (p. 178).

condición femenina”, regards Arenal’s work as of higher quality than Pardo Bazán’s.²⁸ After the contest, Emilia would occupy her time nursing her child, and writing poems and occasional regional essays; among other works, she wrote several articles against Darwinism that she would publish in Juan Manuel Ortí y Lara’s magazine, *La Ciencia Cristiana*. In 1881, with the help of Giner de los Ríos, Emilia brought out her book of poems, *Jaime*, dedicated to her first child.

While writing poems and in spite of her intellectual vehemence, the Galician author would not show much interest in the novel, which she regarded as a minor genre, a mere pastime. Instead, she would pay more attention to poetry, a genre she had been cultivating since she was a child, as well as experimental science or essays. One might almost expect that the Romantic novels she had read during her adolescence had shaped a wrong impression of what the novel really meant. In other words, she was reluctant to regard a novel – not to say a Romantic novel – as a serious literary work. In her *Apuntes*, she recognizes that by the mid-seventies she had never heard of Galdós nor Pereda, and was hardly acquainted with Alarcón. In the same manner, she insinuates that her incipient interest in the novel was mainly due to the fact that she was more acquainted with foreign authors: “Vi entonces desfilar ante mí, en italiano, los *Novios* de Manzoni, las *últimas cartas de Jacopo Ortis*; en inglés leí mucho de Walter Scott y no poco de Litton (sic) Bulwer y Dickens; en alemán a Werther; en francés mucho de Víctor Hugo: ¡pero todavía seguía ignorando la novela española!”²⁹ It is hardly surprising that the novelists she mentions had made their incursion into the Gothic novel in

²⁸ Marina Mayoral, “Emilia Pardo Bazán ante la condición femenina”, in *Estudios sobre la obra de Emilia Pardo Bazán. Actas de las Jornadas Conmemorativas de los 150 años de su nacimiento*, ed. by Ana María Freire López (A Coruña: Fundación Barrié de la Maza, 2003), pp. 101-14.

²⁹ Pardo Bazán refers to the sentimental novel *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (*The Sorrows of Young Werther*), written by Goethe and first published in 1774. The novel is regarded as one of the most representative of the ‘Sturm und Drang’ movement. It tells the tragic story of an unrequited love that leads the protagonist to commit suicide.

one way or another and, while Pardo Bazán does not mention the writings she is alluding to, we should not overlook this significant confession.³⁰

It would not be until the mid-seventies that Pardo Bazán began to be interested in the Spanish novelists mentioned above, as well as others like Juan Valera. To her surprise, they did not write Romantic historical novels in the line of Scott, Hugo, Dumas or Manzoni, but rather they represented typical contemporary sketches of life. When reading Valera's *Pepita Jiménez*, for example, she notices how both the level of observation and realism set this sort of novels apart from what she had previously read, but could not help noticing a clear influence from Cervantes and the picaresque novel. She concludes that the author's imagination is so credible that makes it hard to distinguish between fiction and reality.

We should note here that in the second half of the nineteenth century, Spanish Realist novelists found in the historical novel the intrinsic problem consisting of not being able to reproduce mimetically and positivistically a faithful depiction of the past. However, in the battle between Idealism and Realism, or the period that corresponds to the transition from Romanticism to Realism, some authors still cultivated the historical novel: Galdós' *Episodios Nacionales* is a paradigmatic example of the reconciliation between Historiographical Science and intuition (or Realistic imitation vs. Romantic imagination). Interestingly, the first text that Pardo Bazán read by Galdós was *Episodios Nacionales*. This work, which would eventually comprise forty-six novels, constitutes a study where the author illustrates Spanish history

³⁰ Lord Edward Bulwer-Lytton (1803-1873). He wrote "The Haunted and Haunters; or, The House and the Brain", first published in *Blackwood's Magazine* in August 1859. The tale is considered as one of the best works regarding the topic of haunted houses. Charles Dickens (1812-1870) cultivated the Gothic to some extent. He wrote, among other Gothic tales, "The Signalman" (included in the 1866 Christmas edition of *All the Year Round*), a short story about ghostly warnings of danger before a railway accident happens. One of the themes of the tale is the Signalman's struggle between rational and supernatural. Its credibility connects the story to the subsequent school of psychology. Walter Scott's (1771-1832) fascination for the supernatural is unquestionable and tends to intersperse his novels with Gothic poems such as "Wandering Willie's" or *The Tapestry Chamber; or, The Lady in the Sacque*, both included in *Redgauntlet* (1824). He also wrote reference books such as *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft* (1830), and published *An Apology for Tales of Horror* in which Scott himself, along with Robert Southey, M.G. Lewis and John Aikin wrote nine Gothic poems.

from the Battle of Trafalgar to the Bourbon Restoration.³¹ By this time, the literary environment had been already influenced by Positivism and French Philosophy that, in some ways, had substituted German metaphysics.

Pardo Bazán's conception of contemporary literary aesthetics so far was, to my mind, anachronistic and strongly determined by Romantic principles that indeed prevailed throughout her literary career. These principles are based on: regional patriotism (most of the time national equals popular); strong Catholicism (believes in the free will of the individual, although most of the time her novels show otherwise); and freedom (strong supporter of women's independence). All in all, Emilia tried to make a scientific work of art out of the novel and she would apply the deterministic principles of Taine, Darwin and Comte.³²

The discovery of the Spanish authors encouraged her to write her first novel in 1879, *Pascual López. Autobiografía de un estudiante de medicina*. After all, she reflected in her *Apuntes*, “si la novela se reduce a describir lugares y costumbres que nos son familiares, y caracteres que podemos estudiar en la gente que nos rodea, entonces puedo atreverme”.³³ Nelly Clémessy has regarded this novel as “una historia entre realista y fantástica, con amena pintura de la bohemia estudiantil santiaguesa y romántica evocación del ambiente compostelano”.³⁴ Eva Acosta, on her part, perceives the novel as having “un marcado carácter costumbrista, raíces en la picaresca española y una trama de tintes mágico-románticos que hacen pensar tanto en *Fausto* como en *Frankenstein*”.³⁵ Such amalgamation of reality, fantasy and *costumbrismo* clearly synthesizes Pardo Bazán's aesthetic and ideological creed at this

³¹ The first series, written up to 1874, comprises ten novels.

³² In 1859, Charles Darwin brought out *On the Origin of Species*, considered as the basis of evolutionary biology. Darwin maintained that every species is determined by forces of heredity and environment. Hippolyte Taine published in 1864 *Histoire de la littérature anglaise*, where he would defend that literature is determined by race and environment, and the individual by arbitrary physiological laws. Together with August Comte, the father of Positivism, he would provide Zola with the concept of determinism applied to literature.

³³ *Apuntes autobiográficos*, p. 330.

³⁴ Nelly Clémessy, “Emilia Pardo Bazán, novelista”, in *Estudios sobre la obra de Emilia Pardo Bazán. Actas de las Jornadas Conmemorativas de los 150 años de su nacimiento*, ed. by Ana María Freire López (A Coruña: Fundación Barrié de la Maza, 2003), pp. 41-6 (p. 41).

³⁵ Acosta, p. 146.

early stage of her literary formation. In the same line, Donald L. Shaw has underlined that “la mezcla de elementos y personajes convencionales y fantásticos le señalan como perteneciente, si acaso, al prerrealismo alarcóniano”.³⁶ In fact, favourable criticism encouraged her to keep cultivating the novel genre, discovering, in this manner, her true vocation. Thus, between 1876 and 1880, she began to collaborate with the Ourense newspaper *El Heraldo Gallego* where she wrote texts ascribed to the genre of “costumbres”, which she herself situated in authors such as Fernán Caballero. It is also in that same newspaper that she published in 1878 a study dedicated to Fernán Caballero focusing on the treatment of reality. In 1880, she assumed the charge of the *Revista de Galicia* in A Coruña, where she published her essay ‘Estudios de la literatura contemporánea: Pérez Galdós’. Emilia’s father, in fact, had already collaborated with the foundation of this magazine in 1850.

In 1881, she published *Jaime*, her only book of poems dedicated to her son and, most importantly, she brought out *Un viaje de novios*, a novel based on her experiences during the visit she paid to Victor Hugo in Paris and a short stay at Vichy Spa. It was here that Emilia first came into contact with French novelists of international stature such as Balzac, Flaubert, Daudet, the Goncourt brothers and Zola. While Romantic features are still present in this second novel, the prologue exposes a particularly relevant formulation in order to understand what Naturalism means for Pardo Bazán. At no time does the author ever mention the term “Naturalism” and, instead, she declares herself “realista a la española”, that is to say, she

³⁶ Donald L. Shaw, *Historia de la literatura española: El siglo XIX* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1983), p. 236. In *Historia de mis libros*, Alarcón himself recalls the authors that had influenced him: In the first place, he names Espronceda and Zorrilla, who had served him as models for his poems. When he wrote his first short stories, he recognizes to have been influenced by Walter Scott, Alejandro Dumas and Víctor Hugo, but clarifies to have felt closer to Balzac and Jorge Sand, “por hallarlos más profundos y sensibles”. He also mentions Alfonso Karr and, finally, Cervantes, Goethe, Manzoni, Byron, Quevedo, Dickens and Shakespeare. Surprisingly, Alarcón does not mention Edgar Allan Poe, from whom some critics, like Ricardo Marín-Ruiz, maintain he had taken his fantastic and horror tales. See Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, *Historia de mis libros*, in *Obras completas D. Pedro A. de Alarcón*, ed. by Luis Martínez Kleiser (Madrid: Ediciones Fax, 1943) pp. 3-28 (pp. 4, 7, 8), and Ricardo Marín-Ruiz, “Two Romanticisms but the Same Feeling: The Presence of Poe in Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer’s *Leyendas*”, in *A Decent into Edgar Allan Poe and his Works: The Bicentennial*, ed. by Beatriz González Moreno and Margarita Rigal Aragón (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), pp. 35-46 (p. 35).

pursues an “estudio social, psicológico, histórico” and does not necessarily search for an educational or moralizing intention. It is precisely in this novel that the author laid the foundation of the Realist aesthetic for which she would opt for a great part of her artistic career. It is in the prologue too that Pardo Bazán upholds the idea of a Realism “no desdeñoso del idealismo”.³⁷ David Henn points out, in this respect, that “such scenes or descriptions are at least to some degree counterbalanced by the harsher, more realistic narrative elements”.³⁸ At any rate, idealism together with imagination and sentimentalism would most definitely be present above all in the first period of her novelistic output, which covers, to my mind, the years from 1879 to 1887, that is to say, from *Pascual López* to *La madre naturaleza*. And Pardo Bazán is aware of the weight of Romanticism as she herself recognizes in *La literatura francesa moderna* (1911): “También el lirismo romántico era realidad, y muy intensa, en su momento, y acaso el sentir romántico sea eterno, aunque se transforme su expresión literaria”.³⁹

Between 1882 and 1883, Pardo Bazán started to publish, in *La Época*, twenty articles about Naturalism that would later figure in a book entitled *La cuestión palpitante*. In the course of time, this literary movement would certainly become a frequent *leitmotiv* in her critical essays. At first, the articles she wrote caused great scandal and consternation⁴⁰ – most of the time due to ideological and aesthetic prejudices – among the male intellectual public, not because of its unquestionable literary quality, but for being a woman, wife and mother, the one to defend and spread a foreign movement such as Naturalism. On an interview with

³⁷ Emilia Pardo Bazán, *Un viaje de novios*, in *Obras completas (novelas y cuentos)*, ed. by Federico Carlos Sainz de Robles, (Madrid: Aguilar, 1973), p. 44.

³⁸ David Henn, *The Early Pardo Bazán* (Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1988), p. 210.

³⁹ Emilia Pardo Bazán, *La literatura francesa moderna. El naturalismo* (Madrid: Prieto, 1911), p. 24.

⁴⁰ According to González Herrán, the aesthetic and ideological confrontation caused by Naturalism irresistibly evokes the everlasting confrontation between tradition and progress that has affected contemporary Spanish history: “el enfrentamiento entre detractores (Alarcón, Valera, Menéndez Pelayo) y matizados partidarios (Alas, Pardo Bazán, Altamira) del naturalismo no es sino un episodio más de una serie de querellas estético-ideológicas que se producen en los ambientes intelectuales españoles de la segunda mitad del siglo XIX y que, en último término, remiten siempre a ese enfrentamiento entre tradición y progreso que ha marcado la historia de España”. See prologue to Emilia Pardo Bazán, *La cuestión palpitante*, ed. by José Manuel González Herrán (Barcelona: Anthropos, 1989), p. 21.

Rodrigo Soriano, editor of *La Época*, that appeared in the fourth edition of *La cuestión palpitante*, Zola himself stated the following words: “Lo que no puedo ocultar es mi extrañeza de que la Sra Pardo Bazán sea católica ferviente, militante, y a la vez naturalista; y me lo explico solo por lo que oigo decir de que el naturalismo de esa señora es puramente formal, artístico y literario.”⁴¹ The idea that Pardo Bazan’s Naturalism is more likely to be formal than ideological would survive up to nowadays. Cristiana Fimiani, for example, maintains that Pardo Bazán had taken from French Naturalism “los elementos formales que consideró necesarios para revitalizar la corriente realista nacional.”⁴²

In Spain, the question of Naturalism emerged before the Spanish press started to echo Zola’s proposal in 1876, and had been actually brewing since the Revolution of 1868. However, the debate celebrated at the Ateneo de Madrid and chaired by Valera in 1875 had shown that the idealist tendency, *apparently* opposed to Realism and debtor of Romanticism, still had a great influence in that country. Indeed, Romantic idealism constituted, to a greater or lesser extent, the grounds upon which nineteenth-century Spanish Realism was based, as well as regionalism and the *Volksgeist*. The combination, in its proper time, of fantasy and reality was applauded by a number of authors considered as Realists, like Galdós, whose novel *La desheredada* (1881) constitutes his first incursion into the experimental novel. It would only be by the end of the 1880s that to a certain extent Realism would be dissociated from Idealism. During these years, a great emphasis was placed on psychological, spiritual processes. This level of realistic complexity, explains Jeremy T. Medina, “was attained in Spain only after the novelists were able to surpass the purely regionalistic or costumbristic depictions of a non-critical and superficial *mundo idílico*”.⁴³ However, the coexistence of

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 122.

⁴² Cristiana Fimiani, “Emilia Pardo Bazán de cara a ‘la cuestión palpitante’ del Naturalismo español, *Revista de humanidades y ciencias sociales* (2012) 76-99 (p. 84).

⁴³ Jeremy T. Medina, *Spanish Realism: The Theory and Practice of a Concept in the Nineteenth Century* (Maryland: Studia Humanitatis, 1979), pp. 58-9.

realistic and idealistic elements had long been commonplace in Spanish literature and would actually persist in the course of the following years.

In spite of the fact that Juan Valera had not read anything about Zola or any French Naturalist novelists, he refused the idea of adapting foreign tendencies to Spanish Literature and condemned the opinions expressed by Pardo Bazán in *La cuestión palpitante*. Although he accepted some aspects of Naturalism, he fiercely attacked the deterministic and pessimistic nature of the new movement.⁴⁴ Valera, who also maintained that Naturalism was a continuation of Romanticism, had joined the debate in 1886, quite late to be taken into consideration. Like Valera, but much more reactionary, Alarcón would vividly rebuke everything coming from abroad, especially from France, and branded the new movement as “vulgar, indecente, feo, pornográfico y sucio”. In *La cuestión palpitante*, Pardo Bazán would answer such characterisation by establishing a distinction between “inmoral” and “grosero”: “*Inmoral* es únicamente lo que incita al vicio; *grosero*, todo lo que pugna con ciertas ideas de delicadeza, basadas en las costumbres y hábitos sociales; bien se entiende, pues, que el segundo pecado es venial, y mortal de necesidad el primero”⁴⁵ and recalls that “la inmoralidad que entraña el naturalismo procede de su carácter fatalista, o sea del fondo de determinismo que contiene; pero todo escritor realista es dueño de apartarse de tan torcido camino, jamás pisado por nuestros mejores clásicos”.⁴⁶ Judging from these words, we can most definitely assert that some of her novels would be as immoral and sinful as Zola’s. In the prologue to the second edition of *La cuestión palpitante*, Clarín first praised and congratulated Emilia on her work and her great intelligence, but as their friendship ended in 1889, his praise turned into fierce criticism.

⁴⁴ Juan Valera, *Apuntes sobre el nuevo arte de escribir novelas*, in *Obras Completas* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1946), pp. 610-704.

⁴⁵ *La cuestión palpitante*, p. 282.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 282.

Among her goals, Pardo Bazán attempts to present in *La cuestión palpitante* a descriptive vision of Zola's Naturalism while criticizing the matters she regards as negative ones. Firstly, she refuses Romantic idealism, but later, she seems to accept it. She also refuses, as is widely known, determinism as understood by Zola, that is to say, the role that heredity and environment exert over the individual, which incidentally is opposed to Saint Augustine's conception concerning the ideas of free will and Grace:

Someter el pensamiento y la pasión a las mismas leyes que determinan la caída de la piedra; considerar exclusivamente las influencias físico-químicas, prescindiendo hasta la espontaneidad individual, es lo que propone el naturalismo y lo que Zola llama en otro pasaje de sus obras “mostrar y poner de realce la bestia humana”.⁴⁷

She, however, admits that heredity and environment can somehow influence individual behaviour but never accepts that human beings are inevitably doomed to a pre-established fate:

Sin embargo, no separándonos un ápice de las enseñanzas de la Iglesia, admitimos que el cuerpo influye en los movimientos del alma, que los estados totales o parciales de sueño, de enfermedad, de embriaguez, de pasión, de cólera o de locura motivan resoluciones inexplicables en ánimos equilibrados, que las circunstancias empujan de un modo eficaz, aunque no irresistible, al hombre, que la naturaleza humana está viciada por el pecado, y que no somos espíritus puros, por lo cual rechazando la tesis materialista de Zola, aceptamos sus investigaciones reales y verdaderas, y algo de su pesimismo en lo que se refiere al convencimiento de la miseria humana.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 150.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 383.

In addition to Zola's determinism, Pardo Bazán ironically refuses the novel's utilitarian function that French Naturalism preaches: "el artista que se proponga fines distintos de la realización de la belleza tarde o temprano, con seguridad infalible, verá desmoronarse el edificio que erija".⁴⁹ This idea corresponds to Gautier's aesthetic principle of *l'art pour l'art* (usually translated into English as "art for art's sake") whose ultimate aim was the creation of beauty. She would probably think of Alarcón or Fernán Caballero, who considered that the work of art should necessarily contain a moral message.

Currently, there are more and more scholars who vehemently question Pardo Bazán's Naturalism, at least that orthodox Naturalism that Zola preaches and Emilia seems to emulate. Among many others, González Herrán is particularly reluctant to accept such a term in so far as labels such as "naturalismo católico", "naturalismo experimental" or "naturalismo a la española" is proof enough to conclude that ascribing some of her novels to the Naturalist aesthetics is wrong.⁵⁰ González Herrán considers that the apparent incoherence of *La cuestión*, that is, the radical ambiguity of the author, reflects the difficult conciliation between her Catholic convictions and Naturalist determinism. However, beyond the exclusivist visions that have been formed in the course of the last three centuries, I believe there is no one like Pardo Bazán that can reconcile both convictions and, as she herself recognized, she cannot be defined as a radical defender of Naturalism but recognizes what is good, aesthetically speaking, as far as the Spanish literary scene at that moment is concerned.

By and large, Naturalism cannot be limited to Zola's original conception; it can indeed adopt different variations in order to satisfy ideological and aesthetic needs and can chronologically situate Spain at the level of other European countries. In an article dedicated to Alarcón, Pardo Bazán would admit: "Todo el que lea mis ensayos críticos comprenderá que ni soy idealista, ni realista, ni naturalista, sino ecléctica. Mi cerebro es *redondo*, y debo a Dios

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 264.

⁵⁰ José Manuel González Herrán, "Emilia Pardo Bazán y el Naturalismo", *Ínsula: Revista de Letras y Ciencias Humanas*, 514 (1989), pp. 17-8 (p. 17).

la suerte de poder recrearme con todo lo bueno y bello de todas las épocas y estilos”.⁵¹ This confession encloses, on the one hand, a necessary justification of the fierce attacks she received from the critics when adopting foreign tendencies into Spanish literature. On the other hand, it explains her attitude towards Zola’s doctrine, that is, the way she adapts Zola’s doctrine to her aesthetic and Christian beliefs.

Although she would not meet Zola until 1885, the year in which the Goncourt brothers organized a literary gathering in Paris, it is in 1884 that Pardo Bazán began to distance herself from Zola’s creed, as she herself writes in her *Apuntes autobiográficos*. It would be wrong, nonetheless, to assume a homogeneous approach, that is, an exclusively Realist/Naturalist approach in Pardo Bazán’s works from this moment onwards. And by extension, it would be wrong to exclude the fantastic genre from the Realist perspective that the novel had adopted throughout the nineteenth century. Certainly, we cannot say that the fantastic was always cultivated as a separate genre but novels and tales frequently combined both fantastic and Realist elements. Such an approach to the fantastic indicates the strict, homogeneous vision that nineteenth- and twentieth-century criticism had of the novel. As a matter of fact, fantastic fiction would be marginalized precisely because it did distance itself from the Realist conventions. For this reason, in order to understand Pardo Bazán’s Naturalism it is equally important to understand her relationship with the Gothic tradition.

When the debate over Naturalism had calmed down by 1885, Pardo Bazán came into contact with the Russian novel during her travels to Paris in the winters of 1885 and 1886. One year later, she would give a series of speeches in the Ateneo of Madrid that would publish under the title of *La revolución y la novela en Rusia*. There she met Lev Tikhomirov and Isaac Pavlovsky, exiled Russian novelists in France. During those years, Pardo Bazán read the works of Gogol, Turguenev, Tolstoy or Dostoevsky, and soon realized the affinities

⁵¹ Emilia Pardo Bazán, “Pedro Antonio de Alarcón – las novelas largas”, *Nuevo Teatro Crítico*, 10 (1891), 20-68.

between Russia and Galicia as far as the peasantry situation was concerned; that is between the “mujik moscovita y el labriego de mi provincia gallega”. She also praised the social purposes of the Russian novel and its avoidance of obscenity and triviality, like the Naturalist novel. Among the Russian authors, Emilia felt particularly attached to Ivan Turguenev, an attachment that Francisca González Arias analyses in “La poética de Galicia en los cuentos de Emilia Pardo Bazán”.⁵² For González Arias, Emilia saw in Turguenev a model that reaffirmed her own tendencies, so he did not exactly exert a direct influence on the Spanish author. Both writers were able to recreate social and psychological environments framed within talented landscape descriptions. They both were able to depict the vices and insensibility of human beings, their dreams, the superstitious beliefs that had inspired their imagination.

I consider, in this respect, that the Russian novel gave Emilia the enthusiasm and necessary motivation to expand on the regionalist and folkloric elements of her own literary output at a time in which regionalism had been largely superseded among the Spanish Realist/Naturalist writers. Pardo Bazán will never abandon Galician regionalism and, with the crisis of Positivism and Naturalism, she will pay a lot of attention to the psychological processes of her characters, an aspect tackled by Gothic fiction. As I will show in the next chapter, the Gothic elements she employs reaffirm the conservative regionalist nature of her work.

⁵² Francisca González Arias, “La poética de Galicia en los cuentos de Emilia Pardo Bazán”, in *Estudios sobre Pardo Bazán. In Memoriam Maurice Hemingway*, ed. by José Manuel González Herrán (Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 1997), pp. 147-69.

CHAPTER II

EMILIA PARDO BAZÁN AND THE GOTHIC TRADITION

“This is certainly a beautiful country! In all England, I do not believe I could have fixed on a situation so completely removed from the stir of society. A perfect misanthropist’s heaven”.¹

This second chapter explores the English origins of Gothic fiction and its characteristics within the specificity of the British Isles, bringing into focus the rise of the genre as a reaction against so-called Age of Reason and the necessity to revive experiences of horror and terror. Considering this, writers of Gothic fiction would consequently evoke Edmund Burke’s ideas on the Sublime, which I will expand on throughout the chapter. In order to understand the different motivations that the Gothic had in England and in Spain, I will concentrate on the role that English literary tradition has played as key determinant in the consolidation of the Gothic genre in nineteenth-century Spain. While the original Gothic would not be altogether compatible with the Spanish literary and socio-historical context, I maintain that Spanish fiction adopts and adapts it to its specific circumstances. For example, when approaching the Gothic, the use of moralizing techniques in opening prologues justifying the presence of fantastic elements would vary throughout the century as they depended upon political, social or literary conventions. In examining this process of transculturation, I will attempt to demonstrate how Emilia Pardo Bazán resorts to traditional Gothic ingredients so as to satisfy an aesthetic and ideological need within the specificity of the Galician rural community. By aesthetic, I refer to the Sublime iconography that this region superbly depicts both lyrically and realistically. By ideological, I understand the author’s faithfulness to her Naturalist conventions that, far from being confronted with the Gothic genre, adopt it and adapt it so as to uncover the harshest side of the Galician country people, whilst participating in the

¹ Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights* (Rockville: Arc Manor, 2008), p. 7.

regenerationist project consisting of bringing Galicia closer to modernization. In order to illustrate Pardo Bazán's employment of the Gothic, I will analyse her 1879 *experimental* novel, *Pascual López. Autobiografía de un estudiante de medicina* and the relation this novel bears with typically English Gothic. In addition to this novel, I will also explore the use Gothic motifs in six of her short tales so as to prove the existence of that distinct regional Gothic mentioned above.

Before the analysis of Pardo Bazán's use of the Gothic in some representative works, it is fundamental to remember the origins of the genre in England and its almost immediate transference to continental Europe. In his work, *The History of Gothic Fiction* (2000), Markman Ellis explores the origins of the Gothic genre, which he situates in the late eighteenth century, but suggests that the "history of Gothic fiction" must be traced back to the 1920s: "Literary criticism first located the gothic novel as a separate and discrete entity in the 1920s in a series of critical studies by Edith Birkhead, Eino Railo and, later, Montague Summers".² However, it should be probably more precise to talk in terms of "critical formulation" rather than "history" inasmuch as Gothic writing, although labelled under alternative names such as "Germanic" and "romance", was indeed commonplace since the late eighteenth century.³ Ellis adds that the studies mentioned above, reinforced by later and unspecified decisions from 1960s on, established and also produced the canon of Gothic texts, which would begin with the novels by Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1764) and Ann Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794).

² Markman Ellis, *The History of Gothic Fiction* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), p. 12. Edith Birkhead's *The Tale of Terror: A Study of the Gothic Romance* (1921) situates the origins of the Gothic Romance in Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto*. She, then, examines the novel of suspense, going through the novel of terror and its satires, and finally discusses the Gothic tradition in America in the works of Poe and Hawthorne. On the other hand, Eino Railo published in 1927 *The Haunted Castle: A Study of the Elements of English Romanticism* where he explores the influences on Gothic motifs. Montague Summers, on his part, wrote several works dealing with the history of witchcraft and the figure of the Vampire, but his work on Gothic fiction, *A Gothic Bibliography* (1940) is particularly significant.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

Strictly speaking, Gothic fiction is a mid-eighteenth century English artistic creation and must therefore be explained within the parameters of that particular time and that particular place in order to comprehend its meaning in continental Europe. In accordance with Maggie Kilgour's study of the genre, the emergence of Gothic fiction has been read "as a sign of the resurrection of the need for the sacred and transcendent in a modern enlightened secular world which denies the existence of supernatural forces or as the rebellion of the imagination against the tyranny of reason".⁴ Thus the Gothic first emerged as an emotional and artistic expression reacting against the dominant enlightened thought which fostered rational reasoning in order to confront ignorance, superstition and abuse of Church and State authority, with the ultimate goal of reaching happiness and welfare. Kilgour adds that the Gothic "has been associated with a rebellion against a constraining neoclassical aesthetic ideal of order and unity, in order to recover a suppressed primitive and barbaric imaginative freedom".⁵ In other words, the Gothic responded to a need to subvert the Rational postulates by recovering alternative worlds able to revive repressed elements from the past, that is to say, a need to experience passion and terror.

These alternative worlds were to be found in the medieval and in Elizabethan Literatures, namely in Shakespeare, but also in subsequent authors like Milton. In this respect, Ann Radcliffe's essay "On the Supernatural in Poetry" had identified in these two authors the worlds that define the Gothic novel proper:

The passions have been awakened from [Shakespeare's and Milton's] sleep, and by whose magic a crowded Theatre has been changed to a lonely shore, to a witch's cave, to an enchanted island, to a murderer's castle, to ramparts of an

⁴ Kilgour, p. 3.

⁵ Ibid., p. 3.

usurper, to the battle, to the midnight carousal of the camp or the tavern, to every various scene of the living world.⁶

This characterization of the Gothic responds to Sublime motifs that clearly contrast with the rationalism that so-called Age of Reason preached. Thus, by the second half of the eighteenth century, English literature experienced a revival of the ghostly terror explored by authors like Shakespeare in plays like *Hamlet* or *Macbeth*, but repressed by the dominant enlightened thought. The new Gothic novels and poems constitute the resurrection of the ghostly terror once cultivated or, in Freudian terms, the return of the repressed.

The obsession for Reason that characterized the Enlightenment coincided, in England, with the first phase of the Industrial Revolution. As mentioned above, the Industrial Revolution meant a change in interpersonal relations, previously framed within a local microcosm that now gave way to a global one as a result of communication and transport advances. Such advances, together with new and more efficient forms of production, allowed the development of trade at a large scale which, in turn, favoured the consolidation of Capitalism as the new economic system. The cities underwent enormous transformations that inevitably led to the disappearance of the traditional social order guaranteed by God and there is no question that Reason played a crucial role in this process of transformation, which would progressively dominate all the spheres of knowledge. The Industrial Revolution and its social, economic, scientific and political consequences encouraged the emergence of the bourgeoisie or middle class, first in Great Britain and then in Europe. Gothic fiction approaches with nostalgia past times in which individuals were defined, says Kilgour, “as members of the ‘body politic’, essentially bound by a symbolic system of analogies and correspondences to their families, society and world around them”.⁷ The Gothic, then, contrasts this idyllic vision of the past with the modern depraved, selfish and rational bourgeois society. Texts would

⁶ Ann Radcliffe, “On the Supernatural in Poetry”, *The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, 16 (1826), 145-52 (p. 151).

⁷ Kilgour, p. 11.

tackle themes concerning family values and domesticity, as well as exacerbated sentimentalism, which clearly indicate that the main consumer of this type of fiction was the middle class.

The belated Industrial Revolution in Spain and rise of the middle class in 1868 may explain one of the reasons why this genre did not completely catch on there as in other European countries. As I will explain below, there did exist, however, an extensive corpus of fantastic texts in Spain, which would most of the time lack the traditional components of the English Gothic novel: haunted castles in the mountains, gloomy landscapes, the Alps, persecutions, tyrannical villains, submissive heroines and naïve heroes.⁸

So what role has English fiction played in the consolidation of a Gothic literature in Spain? Literary criticism has paid scant attention to Gothic manifestations within nineteenth century Spanish fiction, partly due to its exclusiveness, for its being conceived as inherent to English and American studies. This lack of attention is also due to the failure to discriminate between Gothic and Romanticism by the first third of the nineteenth century and above all because Gothic emerged in Spain quite before Romanticism. Thus, when Romanticism was settled in Spain, it was first understood in terms of the Gothic, as it is illustrated in this passage found in the prologue to Ramón López Soler's *Los bandos de Castilla* (1830):

Libre, impetuosa, salvaje por decirlo así, tan admirable en el osado vuelo de sus inspiraciones como sorprendente en sus sublimes descarríos, puédese afirmar que la literatura romántica es el intérprete de aquellas pasiones vagas e indefinibles que, dando al hombre un sombrío carácter, lo impelen hacia la

⁸ The English Gothic has been always characterized by a rigid formulaic structure. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick offers some of the elements that define the original Gothic: "Priesthood and monastic institutions; sleeplike and deathlike states; subterranean spaces and live burial; doubles; the discovery of obscure family ties; affinities between narrative and pictorial art; possibilities of incest; unnatural echoes or silences; unintelligible writings; and the unspeakable; garrulous retainers; the poisonous effects of guilt and shame; nocturnal landscapes and dreams; apparitions from the past; Faust- and Wandering Jew-like figures; civil insurrections and fires; the charnel house and the madhouse". See Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *The Coherence of Gothic Convention* (London: Methuen & Co., 1986), pp. 9-10.

soledad, donde busca en el bramido del mar y en el silbido de los vientos las imágenes de sus recónditos pesares. Así, pulsando una lira de ébano, orlada la frente de fúnebre ciprés, se ha presentado al mundo esta musa solitaria, que tanto se complace en pintar las tempestades del universo y las del corazón humano; así, cautivando con mágico prestigio la fantasía de sus oyentes, inspírales, fervorosa, el deseo de la venganza, o enternéceles, melancólica, con el emponzoñado recuerdo de las pasadas delicias. En medio de horrorosos huracanes, de noches en las que apenas se trasluce una luna amarillenta, reclinada al pie de los sepulcros, o errando bajo los arcos de antiguos alcázares y monasterios, suele elevar su peregrino canto semejante a aquellas aves desconocidas, que sólo atraviesan los aires cuando parece anunciar el desorden de los elementos la cólera del Altísimo o la destrucción del Universo.⁹

López Soler attempts to define Romanticism by falling into the premises of the Gothic. In fact, the passage evidences a great deal of Sublime iconography in the way understood by Edmund Burke. The use of words such as “pasiones”, “sombrió”, “soledad”, “bramido”, “fúnebre”, “tempestades”, “mágico”, “fantasía”, “horrorosos”, “sepulcros”, “desorden”, etc, etc. hint at what Gothic fiction meant in Spain at this moment in time. The Spanish author himself recognizes, in the same prologue, that his work is a mere imitation of Walter Scott’s style, which he appropriates with the purpose of making it known and “manifestar que la historia de España ofrece pasajes tan bellos y propios para despertar la atención de los lectores como los de Escocia y de Inglaterra. A fin de conseguir uno y otro intentos hemos traducido al novelista escocés en algunos pasajes e imitádole en otros muchos”.¹⁰ It is widely known that the lack of a national literary production together with the lack of originality during the first third of the nineteenth century led Spanish authors to imitate and even

⁹ Ramón López Soler, *Los bandos de Castilla, o el caballero del cisne: novela original española* (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 1999), I, p. 2.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

translate foreign works like López Soler had. It is noteworthy too that while adopting a foreign style and such particular aesthetics, he attempts to describe and explain a concept such as Spain.

But rather than “falling into the trap of disciplinary colonialism”, as Stephen M. Hart has argued in his study on gendered Gothic in *Los pazos de Ulloa*,¹¹ Spanish fiction adopts and adapts the Gothic without undergoing a process of subordination with regard to the English literary tradition. So, besides the penetration of English Gothic influences in Spain, Spanish literature still maintained, during the first third of the nineteenth century, an unequivocal debt to manifestations of the fantastic throughout the history of Iberian fiction.¹²

¹¹ Hart, p. 216.

¹² It would be difficult – not to say impossible – to establish a definite date or a particular author so as to situate the origins of fantastic fiction in Spanish Literature. In fact, the supernatural component of the Gothic that some nineteenth-century Spanish texts show has been always present since the earliest literary manifestations in the Iberian Peninsula. In *Poema de Mio Cid*, the fantastic aspect occurs through a dream to comfort and encourage Rodrigo. Unlike *Beowulf* or the French epic poems, the use of the supernatural in *Mio Cid* is limited and discreet. At this early stage, however, it would be more accurate to talk of a religious supernatural that would take the form of Christian interactions between human beings and divinity. For the *mester de clerecía*, in particular, the purpose of written language in *cuaderna vía* compositions was to mediate between humans and the divine, and Gonzalo de Berceo’s works exemplify how saints’ intervention would facilitate salvation for both the author and his audience, in such a way that the text would acquire the consideration of divine matter. In *Vida de Santa Oria*, the devout protagonist reaches her salvation and ultimately saintliness through reading. On the other hand, Berceo himself functions as a *peregrino auctoritatis*; he too reaches salvation through writing. The marvellous in the form of divine miracles is especially significant in Alfonso X’s *Cantigas de Santa María*. These poems constantly deal with supernatural elements half between the sacred and the profane, two western qualities whose relation with each other was a very intimate one during the Middle Ages. In some instances, the protagonists of those *cantigas* act driven by superstitious beliefs. Such is the case of *cantiga* no. 104: “Esta é de cómo Santa María fixo que lle saíse sangue da cabeza á muller que quería facer feitizos de amor ao seu amigo co corpo de Xesús Cristo, que o traía na touca, ata que o quitou”. The *cantiga* tells how a young woman, advised by her female neighbours, commits sacrilege when casting a love spell consisting of placing a consecrated host under her wimple. As the lady’s head starts to bleed, she realizes her sin and decides to enter a convent after repenting before God. The source that causes superstition is, in fact, very similar to the one that boosts faith and, before the Council of Trent (1545-1563) determined that superstition was an imitation of true mercy, medieval laws would act against any suspicious conducts. In the thirteenth century, however, witchcraft (*brujería*) and sorcery (*hechicería*), were both included under the category of superstitious practices. While the former implied a pact with the devil, the latter was conceived as a series of rituals based on occult powers to obtain a benefit. Fernando de Rojas’ *Celestina* is a clear example of sorcerer in the fifteenth century. The heroic deeds narrated in the best-known knight-errantry novel, *Amadís de Gaula*, are also a catalogue on the treatment of the supernatural in medieval Literature: princesses, wizards, enchantments, etc. Similarly, *El Conde Lucanor* is impregnated with supernatural elements combined with the corresponding dose of morality that characterizes Iberian/Spanish Literature. During the Golden Age, the fantastic was also a common motif among Spanish authors. Cervantes tackled the supernatural in different ways and deliberately played between reality and fantasy as we can observe in *El Quijote*. While this novel may be said to be a parody of knight-errantry novels and so the supernatural elements that occur in it, Cervantes wrote other tales such as *Persiles y Segismunda* and *El relato de Rutilio* where the fantastic (flying blankets, sorcery, etc.) is not at all explained. By the eighteenth century, translations of French sentimental novels, like Madame de Genlis’ and Florian’s became commonplace in Spain. Similarly, a great number of English novels were translated into Spanish, and authors like Swift and Richardson began to be widely known by the end of the century. Due to the fierce censorship, these authors did not have the same impact

Evidently, the supernatural or the fantastic has adopted different forms throughout the centuries and critics, as José María Merino has noted, have often been reluctant to admit or study such manifestations for their being regarded as a subgenre inferior to others in Spain or, in the particular case of Gothic fiction, for not being intrinsically Spanish.¹³ In this respect, it is equally remarkable the fact that Spanish Literature has constantly been defined as essentially Realist, an approach which has done nothing but complicate the studies of the fantastic and ultimately Spanish Gothic fiction.

Contrary to popular belief and the fact that the translations of Scott's works, amongst others, had sometime been censored because he was a Protestant, the social, political and religious situation in Spain at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of nineteenth century did not stop the English Gothic novel from being adopted and assimilated. In her exhaustive essay on the adaptation of the English Gothic in Spain at the turn of century, Miriam López Santos points out that the actual circumstances favoured the process of assimilation in Spanish Literature, which had generally been dominated by Realism and moralizing principles throughout the eighteenth century:

la conciencia de atraso en la adaptación de las ideas europeas, herederas de una férrea censura inquisitorial y gubernamental, de teóricos y preceptistas condiciona la adaptación de la novela gótica en la asimilación de su fórmula básica y en la inclusión de nuevos elementos que le son propios, lo que permite hablar de la particularidad hispánica, frente a la forma original, sin arriesgar el

as in other European countries. In spite of this, for Luis Alberto de Cuenca, the Spanish Gothic rises precisely at the end of the eighteenth century: "No es raro percibir un gusto muy marcado por la fantasía y el terror en las últimas décadas del siglo XVIII y las primeras del siglo XIX. Se trata de una especie de prelude de lo que será más tarde el Romanticismo en su época de pleno florecimiento. La transición del lenguaje poético ilustrado al discurso romántico pasa por un idioma intermedio que podríamos llamar 'gótico'". See Luis Alberto de Cuenca, "Los vampiros y el Padre Feijoo", in *Bazar. Estudios literarios* (Zaragoza: Lola Editorial, 1995), pp. 95-103. For more information on the fantastic in seventeenth-century Spanish Literature, see Joan Estruch's *Literatura fantástica y de terror española del siglo XVII* (Barcelona: Fontamara, 1982). For information on reception of Gothic novel in Spain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Rubio Cremades, pp. 614-17.

¹³ José María Merino, "Reflexiones sobre la literatura fantástica en España", in *Actas de Primer Congreso Internacional de Literatura Fantástica y Ciencia Ficción* (Madrid: Asociación Cultural Xatafi, 2008), pp. 55-64 (p. 55).

juicio de que tanto España como Europa constituyen dos entidades homogéneas y enfrentadas.¹⁴

López Santos too suggests that the taste for what would later be known as Gothic started in Spain even before the proper translations of foreign texts. The first novels usually dealt with both the laws governing the Enlightenment principles of order, morality and sobriety, and the actual precepts of the Sublime that characterize the Gothic text. Now, in order to avoid censorship, Spanish authors and so translators were obliged to include clarifying prologues warning about the moral value of their works while justifying that the presence of the vices depicted were mere examples of conduct to be avoided. A good example of how authors and translators tried to avoid censorship is Goethe's *Werther*, first translated from French as *Cartas morales sobre las pasiones* in 1802. In her analysis of the moral function of prologues, María Jesús García Garrosa states that they "justifican ante la censura que la pintura de los vicios y pasiones es necesaria para hacerlos aborrecibles y para crear un contraste con la virtud, cuyo triunfo final no admitirá lecturas equívocas".¹⁵ A perfect example of this can be found in the aforementioned Agustín Pérez Zaragoza's *Galería fúnebre de espectros y sombras ensangrentadas, o sea el historiador trágico de las catástrofes del linaje humano* (1831), a collection of Gothic tales translated and adapted from foreign sources. This piece of work, says the author,

se compone de sucesos horrosos y verídicos, y la escrupulosa atención que procuré emplear en su elección, el cuidado con que envuelve, bajo el velo de la historia, lecciones de la más austera moral, y la sinceridad con que la presento,

¹⁴ López Santos, p. 2.

¹⁵ María Jesús García Garrosa, "La Leandra, novela moral", *Anales de la Literatura Española de la Universidad de Alicante*, 11 (1995), 129-42 (p. 129).

me hacen esperar que el público ilustrado e indulgente la mirará como una colección interesante, amena e instructiva.¹⁶

The combination of “sucesos horrorosos y verídicos”, that is, idealism-realism, does not only indicate the progressive transition from Romanticism to Realism, but also the characterization of the Spanish Gothic at this point of the nineteenth-century. This realism is precisely what distinguished Spanish Gothic from the original English and European Gothics, and also the reality that is able to define the essence of a particular Gothic in Spain at this time. At any rate, López Santos underlines that, both in Britain and Spain, the aim of the Gothic is all the same: “sacudir los resortes anímicos del lector, provocar en él respuestas estéticas, psicológicas y emocionales, más allá de dichas lecciones [morales] que no hacen sino esconder las exigencias impuestas por el régimen, ahondando en nuestros propios miedos y angustias, en nuestros deseos más ocultos”.¹⁷ This scholar considers that *El Valdemaro* (1792), *El Rodrigo* (1793) and *La Leandra* (1797) are amongst the first Gothic works written in Spanish language.¹⁸ While translations were popular, the three of them show the unequivocal influence of eighteenth-century rational ideology in their prologues. Translations, alternatively, were usually altered and adapted to the Spanish taste, in such a way that they would become depictions of national standards. Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos notes that “de esta forma eran originales los traductores que, reescribiendo la historia, la adaptaban al medio español, pero también preparaban a los españoles para lo que venía desde fuera y a los

¹⁶ Agustín Pérez Zaragoza, *Galería fúnebre de espectros y sombras ensangrentadas, o sea el historiador trágico de las catástrofes del linaje humano*, ed. by Luis Alberto de Cuenca (Madrid: Nacional, 1977), pp. 47-8.

¹⁷ López Santos, pp. 4-5.

¹⁸ The pre-Romantic novel *El Valdemaro* was written by Vicente Martínez Colomer (1762-1820) and represents an example of the medieval adventure fiction at the end of the eighteenth century. *El Rodrigo. Romance épico*, by Pedro Montegón (1745-1824), was published in twelve books. It is settled in the eighth century and is generally classified within the historical novel. The last of the works listed above, *La Leandra. Novela original que comprende muchas*, was written by the Galician author Antonio Valladares de Sotomayor (1737-1820), and it constitutes a collection of sentimental works published in nine volumes between 1797 and 1807. Like most of the novels published during these years, *La Leandra* justifies its moral character in the prologue. For more information see García Garrosa, pp. 128-42, and Ana L. Baquero, “El viaje y la ficción narrativa española en el siglo XVIII”, in *Libros de Viaje*, ed. by F. Carmona Fernández and A. Martínez Pérez (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1995), pp. 21-30.

propios escritores para componer obras nuevas”.¹⁹ Consequently, López Soler’s *Los bandos de Castilla* can be regarded as original as far as the incorporation of autochthonous elements is concerned, that is to say, he attempts to construct a national expression of the Spanish *Volksgeist*. In this sense, literature and arts in general are not individual productions, but expressions of a common and autochthonous spirit.

As explained before, the rise of the Realist novel in the second half of the nineteenth century did not prevent Spanish writers from tackling the fantastic elements of the Gothic. Alarcón, Galdós, Valera and Pardo Bazán approached this genre in one way or another. So despite the conventionalisms of literary criticism at that time and the reluctance with which contemporary criticism has addressed the fantastic when studying this period, the inclusion of the fantastic has to be considered as intrinsic to Spanish Realism. Realism and the fantastic are therefore not two opposed parallel movements as some critics, like Isabel Román Gutiérrez, have defended in their study on Spanish Realism.²⁰ In fact, Realism, as debtor of *costumbrismo* and representative of the folk spirit, and Gothic/Romantic fiction are not exclusive movements, but they complement each other basically because they all portray the *Volksgeist* I have alluded to above.

While one can firmly argue that Emilia Pardo Bazán’s Naturalism is a debtor of Zola’s own doctrine, her tendencies towards Gothic fiction could not be explained but for the English – and even North-American – literary tradition. As I showed above, texts like *Apuntes autobiográficos*, *La cuestión palpitante* or *La literatura francesa moderna* explicitly show that Emilia was well acquainted with British and American authors that had previously cultivated the Gothic. However, since the term “Gothic genre” was not commonplace until the second decade of the twentieth century, Pardo Bazán would employ alternative names to define the same concept. In her *Apuntes*, she would allude to the Gothic as the “género

¹⁹ Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos, *La novela del siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Júcar, 1991), p. 209.

²⁰ Isabel Román Gutiérrez, *Historia interna de la novela española del siglo XIX. Hacia el realismo* (Sevilla: Alfar, 1988).

terrorífico o lacrimoso”,²¹ while in the other two essays, she would use labels such as “fantasmagórica”,²² when referring to Ann Radcliffe’s production and “manera tétrica y terrorífica”, in the case of Hoffmann and Poe.²³ Alternatively, in *Pascual López*, she would denominate this genre as “literatura demonológico-fantástico-trascendental”.²⁴

Among the most representative Gothic authors, or authors highly influenced by the Gothic, she names Poe, Marryat, Scott, Radcliffe, Mary Shelley, and the Brontë sisters, authors she unconditionally praises. She also alludes to a number of British authors that had had a relationship with Gothic fiction in one way or another, as for example, Jane Austen, Dickens, Scott and Lord Byron. The abundance of typical British Gothic devices in a great number of Pardo Bazán’s works is therefore too evident to be ignored, and it should come as no surprise that, influenced by these writers, she had incorporated the devices so as to serve an ideological and aesthetic need that would likewise complement the Naturalist doctrine she would defend at least in the first years of her career.

Emilia cultivated the Gothic both in her novels and in her tales. However, it is in her tales that she allowed herself to introduce stronger components of the Gothic more openly and without reservations. Among many other examples, it is worth mentioning “La resucitada”, “Vampiro”, “La calavera” or “El espectro”. As commented in the introduction, “La resucitada” contains elements that can be directly related to the Gothic vampire narratives: the coffin, the bats, the darkness, the candles or the un-dead. When Pardo Bazán wrote the tale in the first decade of the twentieth century, it is very likely that she had found her inspiration in works such as Sheridan Le Fanu’s *Carmilla* (1871) or Bram Stoker’s *Dracula* (1897). Indeed, her tale “Vampiro”, published in *Blanco y Negro* in 1901, seven years before “La resucitada”, represents a faithful description of the parasitic *modus operandi* of this evil being, absorbing

²¹ *Apuntes autobiográficos*, p. 317.

²² *La cuestión palpitante*, p. 294.

²³ *La literatura francesa moderna*, p. 232.

²⁴ Emilia Pardo Bazán, *Pascual López. Autobiografía de un estudiante de medicina*, in *Obras completas (novelas y cuentos)*, ed. by Federico Carlos Sainz de Robles, 2nd edn (Madrid: Aguilar, 1956), p. 62.

the vitality of a young girl who eventually gets sick and dies. On the other hand, “La calavera” (1893) has been regarded influenced by Guy de Maupassant’s “Lui?” (1883).²⁵

Through the use of a human skull that acts as the consciousness of the psychotic protagonist, Pardo Bazán succeeds in creating a psychological Gothic story where imagination plays a key role. While the parallels between “La calavera” and “Lui?” have been identified and thoroughly analysed, I feel there exists a more subtle connection with previous Gothic works, particularly with Edgar Allan Poe’s “The Tell-Tale Heart”, published in 1845.

Despite the existing parallels, the influence of this tale on Pardo Bazán has not yet been acknowledged and studied. The common elements include, in the first place, the setting itself. Both Poe and Pardo Bazán choose the protagonists’ bedrooms as the main stage set. It is in their bedrooms where the protagonists experience their anxieties and fears; where they come into contact with the source of their anguish: an old man’s “vulture eye” (an “Evil Eye”), in “The Tell-Tale Heart, and a skull that comes into being, in “La calavera”.²⁶ Regardless of the increasing signs of mental illness, the protagonists insist on their sanity. It is only through the main narrator in “La calavera” that readers are informed about the potential delirium of the leading character: “El chiflado habló así”.²⁷ Moreover, as a consequence of their obsessions and paranoid delusions, we know that the two men experience serious difficulties to sleep; they both hear voices, which causes great unease in them. In “The Tell-Tale Heart”, the first person narrator explains that “above all was the sense of hearing acute”, and that he could “heard all things in the heaven and in the earth”.²⁸ Similarly, the protagonist

²⁵ See Thomas Feeny, “Maupassant’s “Lui?” and Pardo Bazán’s “La calavera”: A Possible Case of Influence”, *South Atlantic Bulletin*, 41 (1976), 44-7. Similarly, Cristina Patiño Eirín, however, devotes an entire article to establishing parallelisms between Guy de Maupassant and Pardo Bazán. Along with other tales, she compares the narrative techniques employed by Emilia in “El mausoleo”, published within *Sud-Express* (1902) and those by Maupassant in *Décoré* (1883). See Cristina Patiño Eirín, “Presencia del relato fantástico de Maupassant en algunos cuentos de Pardo Bazán”, *Cuadernos de Estudios gallegos*, 41 (1994), 511-23.

²⁶ Edgar Allan Poe, “The Tell-Tale Heart”, in *Tales of Mystery and Imagination* (London: Wordsworth, 2008), pp. 221-5 (p. 221).

²⁷ Emilia Pardo Bazán, “La calavera”, in *Nuevo Teatro Crítico*, 29 (Madrid, 1893), pp. 5-14 (p. 5).

²⁸ “The Tell-Tale Heart”, p. 221.

of “La calavera” admits that “oía como en sueños una vocecilla estridente, sibilante, mofadora”, while he describes his difficulties to get to sleep:²⁹

Yo sepultaba la cabeza entre las sábanas temiendo oír; pero el caso es que oía, oía; la voz de la calavera penetraba a través de aquel muro de lienzo, y, deslizándose como una sierpe en el hueco de mis oídos, llegaba a mi cerebro excitado por el estúpido temor y la sugestión del insomnio, que se convierte muy luego en el insomnio mismo.³⁰

These auditory hallucinations, which could actually be a symptom of schizophrenia, derive, in effect, from the objects that torture them: the skull and the eye. To stop this torment, they decide to get rid of the objects in question. Thus, in “The Tell-Tale Heart”, the narrator kills the old man with a lantern while he is sleeping, whereas in “La calavera”, the skull is burnt and the remains thrown away. As can be seen, the murder is explicit in Poe’s tale. Pardo Bazán’s, however, leaves a lot of room for imagination, especially after the confession of the protagonist: “Lo célebre es que no me atreví a volver a acostarme. Pasé el resto de la noche en un sillón, azorado, nervioso, como si custodiase el cuerpo de un delito, la prueba de un crimen”.³¹ The truth is that we know very little or nothing about the origins of the skull and how the narrator did actually “acquire” it; we cannot know whether or not he has committed a murder. Yet had it not been for the anxiety he experienced after getting rid of the skull, he would have never felt the necessity to tell the story to the main narrator: “La calavera ya no estaba en su zócalo de terciopelo... ¡Pero si viese usted! De la habitación no había salido. Estaba más cerca de mí, estaba precisamente en el sitio de donde yo quise arrojarla. ¡Aquí, aquí! – repitió, golpeándose la frente y el pecho”.³² Interestingly, the narrator of “The Tell-Tale Heart”, convinced that the police officers would know that he has killed the old

²⁹ “La calavera”, p. 6.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 9.

³¹ Ibid., p. 13.

³² Ibid., p. 14.

man, breaks down and reveals his crime: “I admit the deed! – tear up the planks! – here, here! – it is the beating of his hideous heart!”.³³ The auditory hallucinations, or the voice of their consciousness, is what ultimately determines that both characters end up betraying themselves: the “Evil Eye” could then be reinterpreted as “Evil I”, whereas the skull comes to represent the protagonist’s own conscious – his head and his heart.

“La calavera”, then, can be regarded as an illustrative example of the way Pardo Bazán adapts the fantastic component of the foreign genre to both the Galician context and the conventionalisms of nineteenth-century Spanish literature. As can be seen, she includes elements intrinsically associated with the Galician imaginary, such as the fascination with death and the macabre. These elements, consider as direct sources of the Sublime in Burke’s repertoire of terrifying instruments, were regularly explored by Gothic authors beyond location and atmosphere. At the same time, the use of macabre imagery is indicative of a tendency present in Spanish literature since the Middle Ages.³⁴ For Fernando Martínez Gil, the taste for the macabre responded to a secular conception of death which did not automatically replace the Christian tradition:

El sentimiento de lo macabro no constituía una mera atracción morbosa. Era el resultado de una concepción profana de la muerte que descuidaba toda trascendencia y se centraba sobre todo en la disolución material del cuerpo. Esta concepción no sustituyó a la cristiana, sino que se superpuso a ella creando una situación conflictiva llena de contradicciones.³⁵

Pardo Bazán’s Catholicism does not prevent her from including the aforementioned elements. In fact, Galician folklore is full of profane symbology that the author tends to combine with more Christian aspects. This amalgamation of the sacred and the profane is

³³ “The Tell-Tale Heart”, p. 225.

³⁴ Joël Saugnieux regards Arcipreste de Hita’s *Libro de buen amor* as the only original macabre text in Spanish literature. See Fernando Martínez Gil, *La muerte vivida: muerte y sociedad en Castilla durante la Baja Edad Media* (Toledo: Diputación Provincial, 1996), p. 64.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

superbly reflected in her collection of tales entitled *Cuentos sacroprofanos*, published in 1899. All in all, we can safely argue that Pardo Bazán finds inspiration for her tales, not only in Gothic stories such as Poe's, but also in Galician folklore, which in this case remains associated with the Sublime through the fascination for the macabre or death itself. The subtle fusion of fantasy and reality serves Emilia to portray, faithfully and convincingly, the complexity of Galician *Volksgeist*.

In a like manner, her tale "El espectro" (1909), which shares a striking resemblance with Poe's "The Black Cat" (1843), introduces elements of psychological terror to account for the protagonist's apparent madness, his "desequilibrio". Like the narrators in many of Poe's tales, Lucio Trelles suffers from hallucinations, probably derived from alcohol intoxication. He explains how one day he decides to kill a white cat that has been long tormenting him. But he kills his mother instead: "Hice fuego...Un grito me heló la sangre...Me arrojé al cenador...Mi madre estaba allí...Envolvía su cabeza una toquilla blanca".³⁶ Since then, the white cat appears to him, like a ghost, when least expected. I find that the parallels between "The Black Cat" and "El espectro" are too powerful to be ignored. In the first place, both protagonists are explicitly said to be mentally disturbed and to be driven by sadistic urges. In Poe's tale, the protagonist describes in great detail how he would deliberately torture the cat before he eventually killed it:

My original soul seemed, at once, to take its flight from my body; and a more than fiendish malevolence, gin-nurtured, thrilled every fibre of my frame. I took from my waistcoat-pocket a penknife, opened it, grasped the poor beast by the throat, and deliberately cut one of its eyes from the socket!.³⁷

³⁶ Emilia Pardo Bazán, "El espectro", in *Cuentos completos*, ed. by Juan Paredes Nuñez (A Coruña: Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza, 1990), p. 75.

³⁷ Edgar Allan Poe, "The Black Cat", in *Tales of Mystery and Imagination* (London: CRW Publishing Limited, 2003), pp. 309-21 (p. 311).

In “El espectro”, Lucio gives an account of his cruelty in a similar way: “Resolví que, si alguna vez lo atrapaba solo, su merecido le daría. Al efecto, llevaba siempre conmigo un diminuto *bull-dog*, y ya no veía el momento de meter una bala en la panza gorda del monstruo, del odiado animalejo”.³⁸ Sadism, or the pleasure obtained from torturing and killing innocent living beings, is a recurrent characteristic in Gothic fiction. Interestingly, it is also associated with one of the main characteristics of nineteenth-century Galician rural *Volksgeist*, which is that of barbarism. Pardo Bazán, in practically her entire literary corpus, unceasingly attacks the cruelty associated with rural communities, and very frequently, she opposes this feature to civilization. The opposition barbarism versus civilization is clearly evidenced in her novel *Los pazos de Ulloa*, which I analyse further on in the thesis. In knowing the impact these images of cruelty might have on her readers’ emotions, she would use them as a tool of social criticism, ultimately to raise awareness about the situation of Galicia.

Other parallels between Poe’s and Pardo Bazán’s tales include alcohol abuse and superstition. If in “The Black Cat” the insanity derives from the protagonist’s inebriation, in “El espectro”, this is implied from the fact that his hallucination occurs on his way back home one evening after attending a social gathering. Furthermore, in both tales the cat functions as a source of superstition which moves the protagonists to action: they both feel revulsion towards this animal and are determined to get rid of it at all costs. As the narrator of “The Black Cat” confesses, “I am almost ashamed to own – that the terror and horror with which the animal inspired me, had been heightened by one of the merest chimeras it would be possible to conceive”.³⁹ In Pardo Bazán’s tale, Lucio maintains that superstition is linked to insanity in one way or another: “Lucio Trelles sostiene la teoría de que desequilibrado lo es todo el mundo; que a nadie le falta esa ‘legua de mal camino’ psicológica; que no hay quien

³⁸ “El espectro”, p. 75.

³⁹ “The Black Cat”, p. 317.

no padezca manías, supersticiones, chifladuras”.⁴⁰ Superstition is, after all, one of the principles of the Sublime, but also one of the profane elements present in Galician imaginary.

Besides these common characteristics, both Poe and Pardo Bazán resort to the motif of the *Doppelgänger* to create sinister, uncanny representations of reality. The *Doppelgänger*, or the phantasmal counterpart of a living being, is represented in “The Black Cat” through the appearance of a second cat. This cat shares extraordinary similarities with the first one: it is black, it is missing an eye and it shows great affection towards its owner. The only feature that distinguishes this second cat from the first one is a white patch that gradually acquires the shape of the gallows. This could be interpreted as the narrator’s guilty conscious, but it is also an anticipation of his final punishment. In “El espectro”, the spectrum (the cat) represents the mother’s counterpart: when Lucio claims “Envolvía su cabeza una toquilla blanca”, he is directly projecting the image of the white cat. The identification of the mother with the cat becomes stronger when his friend, the narrator, asks him a compromising question: “¿Había algún motivo para que ella recelase que usted..., en fin, que usted... podía ser capaz... de... ‘eso’?”.⁴¹ The tone of the question suggests a stormy relationship between Lucio and her mother; just as that of Poe’s narrator and his wife. In this respect, it is noteworthy that the two cats are indirect triggers for the murders of two women. Like in “El espectro”, the narrator of “The Black Cat”, murders his wife when he is intended to kill the second cat: “this blow was arrested by the hand of my wife. Goaded by the interference into a rage more than demoniacal, I withdrew my arm from her grasp and buried the axe in her brain”.⁴² Although violence is a *leitmotiv* in Poe’s tales, it does not have the social protest dimension of Pardo Bazán’s. Violence against women occupies a prominent place in Emilia’s works and it constitutes a main characteristic of Galician barbarism, something she describes by means of a constant use of Gothic machinery. As I will exemplify in chapter IV, her texts show a

⁴⁰ “El espectro”, p. 73.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 75.

⁴² “The Black Cat”, p. 318.

conspicuous preoccupation with the plight of women in Galicia and Spain, clearly illustrated through crude representations of gender inequality.

In sum, the fantastic occupies, in Pardo Bazán's works, a relevant position, as it was custom amongst the realist and naturalist writers in the second half of the nineteenth century. However, despite the clear parallels that exist with other works, her tales are not famous for following a pattern or being influenced by a particular author of Gothic fiction. Taking all this into consideration, we can safely argue that Pardo Bazán incorporates Gothic devices into her literary production without confronting them with her Naturalist tendencies, because the fantastic does not at all exclude the realist. As I have suggested, the English and American Gothics had penetrated Spain by undergoing a series of changes that strongly depended upon the political, social, religious and literary circumstances.

Despite the apparent contradiction that Naturalism and the Gothic entail as opposed literary approaches, I feel that Pardo Bazán's Naturalism, regardless of her notorious eclecticism, shares important aesthetic and ideological forms with the literary Gothic that first emerged in Britain at the end of the eighteenth century. In order to give a deeper account of the author's treatment of Gothic devices, it would be fundamental to examine her British literary background more thoroughly. As most nineteenth-century writers, Pardo Bazán proves to be familiar with Burke's *Philosophical Enquiry*, where he provides an important contribution to the theorization of the Sublime, an aesthetic concept he attempts to endow with functional content while comparing and contrasting it to Beauty. As I have pointed, Pardo Bazán's works reveal a great deal of Sublime iconography, such as the "obscurity", "vastness", "the cries of animals", "magnificence" or "feeling and pain". However, there do not exist direct allusions to the concept, with the sole exception of a letter Emilia sent to Galdós from Paris in 1889. In the correspondence, we find that the Galician novelist was well aware of the meaning of the Sublime as explained by Burke. In the letter, she writes: "Ahora

es cuando van idealizándose y adquiriendo tonos color rosa, azul y oro, las excursiones de Zurich, las severas bellezas de Munich, las góticas y místicas curiosidades de Nürenberg y en especial la sublime noche de Francfort”.⁴³ The use of the word “sublime” in this context, along with Emilia’s knowledge of English Literature seem to be enough to make credible her acquaintance with Burke’s ideas, whose account of the Sublime and Beauty therefore offers a feasible frame to situate her perception toward her treatment of Gothic elements.

As we have seen, Pardo Bazán evokes in her works Sublime iconography as perceived by Burke and his contemporaneous Gothic writers; thus she reconciles Naturalism and the Gothic by depicting the fight for the integration and adaptation of the individual into a society that turns out to be hostile and framed within the magnificence of a Sublime Nature in its most virginal and primitive state. As a matter of fact, the Gothic usually deals with the confrontation between the frameworks of mainstream society and the unfamiliar phenomena that lie outside it. And it is precisely this depiction that most Gothic writers had attempted to transmit, lyrically or more positivistically.

Thus Gothic writers find in Nature the true *locus horribilis* where especial emphasis is, most of the time, placed on fear and terror. In Mary Shelley’s *Frankenstein*, isolation is the immediate effect of domestic rejection. The creature is not only rejected by his creator and society, but also corrupted and turned into a demonic being, which makes him flee to the North Pole. Victor’s thirst for knowledge and glory deprives him of domestic affection as he isolates himself in order to reach his aims. When realizing he has failed, he seeks refuge in the mountains of Chamonix, where a storm, amongst the wild and violent scenery, emphasizes the fight between Nature and the individual. Apart from *Frankenstein*, the depiction of this *locus horribilis* is a common motif among writers that, to a certain extent, cultivated the Gothic through the nineteenth century: Emily Brontë depicts, in *Wuthering Heights*, the

⁴³ Carmen Bravo-Villasante, “Aspectos inéditos de Emilia Pardo Bazán (Epistolario con Galdós)”, *AIH Actas IV* (1971), 199-204 (p. 199).

solitude and brutality of the Yorkshire moors representing emotional, Sublime sensitive experiences constantly in contrast with more sensible ones. Although published half a century later, Bram Stoker's *Dracula* still presents Nature as a terrifying force that turns against the defenceless individual. Thus the journey that Jonathan Harker embarks on to Transylvania represents, as Ellis points out, the regression "to a pre-modern feudal world populated by uneducated and fearful peasants: the land of folklore and superstition".⁴⁴ In fact, Transylvania, like the Alps or the Yorkshire moors, entails an awesome grandeur that ultimately encounters a Sublime experience. Harker's journey – a journey beyond science – implies the transition from the cultured modern society to the primitive and savage world; a battle not only between science and superstition, but also between good and evil. Alternatively, Dracula's journey to London, the capital of the Empire, is perceived as a slow but gradual process that threatens to break the social and economic stability that had been acquired with Industrialization.

The symbolism of the journey as a bridge that separates two different worlds becomes a literary trend that can also be appreciated at this point in Spain. Benito Pérez Galdós' *Doña Perfecta* (1876) presents Pepe Rey, the epitome of the new Spanish urban Bourgeoisie that, backed by the Revolution of 1868, attempted to establish an ideology based on Krausist tenets. His studies in Mathematics and Engineering are symptomatic of a rational attitude halfway between the social and ideological changes that affect him. Galdós highlights the modernity that represents Pepe by introducing him in the long-established traditionalism, both moral and political, that defines Orbajosa, the Castilian town where he travels. In so doing, the author introduces the idea of the two Spains: barbarism versus civilisation. Pepe travels by train, a mean of transportation that efficiently allows him to move around the urban geography of the country but which, symbolically, fails to reach the inaccessible Orbajosa.

⁴⁴ Ellis, p. 190.

From a Marxist viewpoint, the development of means of communications during the second half of the nineteenth century favoured the dissemination of a nation-building project by the Bourgeoisie. This project corresponds to the efforts by political power to homogenize its rationalist national perspective in the social sphere; the project with which Pepe himself identifies. Taking this into account, Pepe must leave the train and therefore modernity, and change it for the mare Licurgo has prepared for him. This transition indicates, not only that Orbajosa keeps away from the development of modernity, but also its segregation from the new revolutionary proposal of national identity. Orbajosa appears, in effect, opposed to this social uniformity and, instead, remains clinging to the pre-revolutionary moral values. From the beginning, Pepe struggles to understand the way the locals behave. This includes, for example, the way of understanding and applying justice. In the scene where Pepe finds out that six burglars have been killed by the Civil Guard without having had a trial or the right to self-defence, the narrator explains his reaction: “El caballero no comprendía”.⁴⁵ Licurgo, however, tries to make Pepe understand they proceeded properly: “Yo le aseguro al Sr. D. José – añadió con energía el legislador lacedemonio –, que está muy retebién hecho. El juez les marca un poco y después les suelta”.⁴⁶

Similar to Stoker’s Transylvania and Galdós’ Orbajosa, Pardo Bazán’s rural Galicia is indeed depicted as the uncivilized world of folklore and superstition.⁴⁷ This responds to the necessity to picture her region and its traditions in a realistic and convincing manner. One of the most celebrated examples is to be found in the first chapter of *Los pazos de Ulloa*, where

⁴⁵ Benito Pérez Galdós, *Doña Perfecta*, ed. by Rodolfo Cardona (Madrid: Cátedra, 1996), p. 78.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 78-9.

⁴⁷ In her prologue to *La Tribuna*, Pardo Bazán situates Marineda (A Coruña) to the level of Orbajosa and other fictitious towns: “Quien desee conocer el plano de Marineda, búsquelo en el atlas de mapas y planos privados donde se colecciona, no sólo el de Orbajosa, Villabermeja y Coteruco, sino en el de las ciudades de R***, de L*** y de X***, que abundan en las novelas románticas. Este privilegio concedido al novelista de crearse un mundo suyo propio, permite más libre inventiva y no se opone a que los elementos todos del microcosmos estén tomados, como es debido, de la realidad.”. See Emilia Pardo Bazán, *La Tribuna*, in *Obras completas (novelas y cuentos)*, ed. by Federico Carlos Sainz de Robles, 2nd edn (Madrid: Aguilar, 1956), p. 103. However, Marineda represents a clear allusion to A Coruña, an urban space that conditions Pardo Bazán’s approach to reality and limits the use of Gothic devices.

the arrival of the priest Julián at the *pazo* is emphasized, not only by the primitiveness of the locals and the wildness of Nature, but also by the breakdown of rational knowledge. This is first perceived in the impossibility of the villagers to specify distances accurately. As the priest approaches the *pazo*, he asks a road worker how far he is from his destination, to which the man answers “un bocadito, un bocadito”.⁴⁸ Julián refuses to continue “ignorando las leguas de que se compone un bocadito”.⁴⁹ A few steps further ahead, he finds a young woman breastfeeding her infant at the door of her dwelling and asks her the same question. The answer of the woman is as disappointing as that of the road worker: “Una carrerita de un can”.⁵⁰ For the first time, Julián experiences the contrast between the urban and the rural worlds, which would actually be the main topic *Los pazos de Ulloa* revolves around:

Experimentaba el jinete indefinible malestar, disculpable en quien, nacido y criado en un pueblo tranquilo y soñoliento, se halla por vez primera frente a frente con la ruda y majestuosa soledad de la naturaleza, y recuerda historias de viajeros robados, de gentes asesinadas en sitios desiertos. -¡Qué país de lobos! - dijo para sí, tétricamente impresionado.⁵¹

The above quote directly evokes the traditional English Gothic plots in which travellers were usually exposed to being assaulted and robbed on their journeys. It is rather evident that Pardo Bazán deliberately attempts to recreate the English Gothic in a Galician milieu. The depiction of Nature she offers contrasts with other Spanish novelists' such as those by Fernán Caballero when describing an ideal Andalusia, and emphasizing its Beauty, a distinction that clearly highlights a contrast between northern and southern Spain, consonant with the Romantic ideals of North and South.

⁴⁸ *Los pazos*, p. 95.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

Furthermore, the relation of the Gothic to Naturalism bears analogy with that of the medieval romance to the novel, this latter being a relation that can be traced back to the late seventeenth century. In his work *The Rise of the Novel* (1957), Ian Watt observes that what distinguished the novel as a new literary genre was its unprecedented approach to reality. Both Watt and Ellis argue that the techniques of formal realism that the novel adopted “shared the empirical method of science, based on the observation of events in everyday ordinary life”.⁵² On the contrary, the genre of the romance was, as a rule, to be kept out of ordinary and contemporary reality and, instead, opted for remote and exotic locations with frequent and abundant idealizations, where, as Ellis points out, “the supernatural, miraculous and wonderful were given ample attention”.⁵³

By the seventeenth century, the romance began to decline in relevance and popularity, and even though the novel had already gained much ground one century later, the former did not completely disappear by that time, partly, so as to satisfy the public reader’s taste for this genre. The Gothic form would, then, reconcile the romance and the novel, which can be explained in terms of an amalgamation of what is commonly denominated Gothic novel. Formally, the term Gothic novel involves a contradiction for while the novel seeks to provide empirical explanations based on scientific methods, the Gothic’s attachment to the supernatural invalidates any empirical approaches.

Nonetheless, as Ellis points out, “the gothic consistently approaches the supernatural as if it can be described or observed in the mode of formal realism”.⁵⁴ An example is to be found in Ann Radcliffe’s *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, where any sort of supernatural incident is finally resolved, that is, in Radcliffe’s own words, the “supernatural explain’d”. In this novel, Emily is convinced that the chamber she sleeps in in the castle is haunted and she can even perceive the presence of ghosts around her. In the end, the servant explains that the ghosts

⁵² Ellis, p. 18.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 19.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 22.

were actually pirates: “To prevent detection they had tried to have it believed, that the chateau was haunted, and having discovered the private way to the north apartments, which had been shut up ever since the death of the lady marchioness, they easily succeeded”.⁵⁵ In the same way, *Frankenstein* provides a perfect account of how the supernatural is confronted by means of scientific developments: when restoring life to death matter, Victor Frankenstein’s experiment, drawn upon scientific explanations, involves a challenge to the incredulous reader. Emilia Pardo Bazán’s approach to the Gothic is intimately related to that of both Radcliffe’s and Shelley’s insofar as she too suggests rational explanations to any given supernatural facts. As we have seen in tales, such as “La resucitada”, “La calavera” or “El espectro”, Emilia plays with psychological suggestion in order to introduce the fantastic in the stories. This characteristic is always treated ambiguously or is rationally, but subtly, explained. This shows how Naturalism and the fantastic are not necessarily mutually exclusive, but they complement each other just in the same manner that romance and novel had in the terms mentioned above.

In addition to this, it would suffice to note Pardo Bazán’s first approach to science as a key determinant for the Naturalist artistic creation. This approach finds its counterpart in the scientific Enlightenment and its impact on Gothic writers in the late eighteenth century. Ellis explores this relationship between science and Gothic fiction by arguing that “Despite the categorical counter-gothicism of much enlightenment science, substituting knowledge for superstition, writers of fiction in the gothic mode found a creative opportunity in science”.⁵⁶ In this respect, Pardo Bazán declares, in a letter to Menéndez Pelayo, dated 5th May 1883, that “Lo que hay en el fondo de la cuestión es una idea admirable, con la cual soñé siempre: la unidad de método en la ciencia y el arte,” adding, in *La cuestión palpitante*, “Puede y debe el

⁵⁵ Ann Radcliffe, *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (London: Limbird, 1826), p. 310.

⁵⁶ Ellis, p. 122.

arte apoyarse en las ciencias auxiliares”.⁵⁷ However, in *La nueva cuestión palpitante* (1894), she would admit having changed her mind on that respect: “a vueltas de otras objeciones de las teorías de Zola, insistí bastante en condenar su propósito de borrar las fronteras que dividen el campo de la ciencia del arte”.⁵⁸

This statement means that most of her early novels and tales still display the combination of science and art, her first novel being *Pascual López. Autobiografía de un estudiante de medicina*, the example that best represents this amalgam. While this piece of work cannot be considered a Naturalist novel in its entirety, it shows, as I shall examine below, evident traces of Pardo Bazán’s tendencies to the Naturalism she would develop in the following years.⁵⁹ In addition to the incipient Naturalism in this first novel is the juxtaposition of evident Gothic overtones following the British tradition, and revealing intertextual hints that clearly evoke novels such as *Frankenstein* and characters like Faustus. This intertextuality is not coincidental; rather it is quite likely that Pardo Bazán had thought of these texts to write *Pascual López*. As we read the novel, we are explicitly informed that Pascual’s predisposition to suggestion, that is, to believe in supernatural phenomena, could be determined by characters like Faustus, but for the fact that he had never seen the opera in this case: “El espectáculo se ofreció a mi vista turbada, me dejó cosido al umbral. No conocía yo entonces por cierto ninguna de las obras maestras de la literatura demonológico-fantástico-trascendental, tan en boga actualmente; no había visto *Fausto*”.⁶⁰ This passage overtly indicates the author’s appropriation of Gothic fiction to recreate the life and experiences of a student of Medicine in Santiago de Compostela.

⁵⁷ *La cuestión palpitante*, p. 153.

⁵⁸ Emilia Pardo Bazán, *La nueva cuestión palpitante*, in *La cuestión palpitante, La revolución y la novela en Rusia, La nueva cuestión palpitante*, ed. by Carlos Dorado (Madrid: Bercimuel, 2009), p. 440.

⁵⁹ Benito Varela Jácome points out that August Comte’s doctrine of Positivism is definitely introduced in Spain by 1876. See Benito Varela Jácome, *Estructuras novelísticas de Emilia Pardo Bazán* (Santiago de Compostela: Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos, 1973), p. 54.

⁶⁰ *Obras completas*, p. 62.

This example demonstrates that Pardo Bazán finds in the Gothic a useful tool with which she is able to endow the Naturalist work with a primarily aesthetic concept. The choice of the Gothic is by no means an arbitrary one; for this aesthetic form is the tool that best represents the idiosyncrasy of the Galician people, as well as their environment, she superbly succeeds in portraying: apparitions, witchcraft, ghostlike scenes, ruined castles and churchyards, a wild landscape, the remains of a feudal society, stormy weather, the discovery of family bonds, the sensibility of a heroine or obscure alternative medical practices. Hence one might assume that the existence of Gothic devices reveals a regional *costumbrismo* that Pardo Bazán's Naturalism would have inherited from a conservative Romanticism. In this respect, it should be noted that the way she portrays the rural differs significantly with regard to other nineteenth-century Galician regionalists, such as her compatriot Rosalía de Castro, or even a generation later Valle-Inclán with *Comedias bárbaras* (1907). Rosalía's *Cantares gallegos* (1863) presents a series of poems that can be categorized as *costumbristas*, among which we must mention "Nosa Señora da Barca" or "Un repoludo gaiteiro", where Rosalía extols Galician customs, like parties, dances and music, without alluding to any sort of Sublime facts, but highlighting its Beauty. This view largely moves away from the somewhat snobbish and crude perspective with which Pardo Bazán tends to portray rural Galicia.

Most significantly, the Gothic elements that Emilia Pardo Bazán employs expose a series of deficiencies within Galician rural society, which deliberately contrasts with the urban world. In other words, Pardo Bazán clearly underlines the binary opposition barbarism versus civilization in an attempt to raise her readers' empathy for the backwardness of Galicia and, ultimately, situate this region at the same level as other European regions. Thus, there is little wonder that most of her idealized and bucolic descriptions of the Galician countryside contrast with the representations of the depraved and primitive community that inhabits this land. In *Los pazos de Ulloa*, the priest Julián remembers Señor de la Lage's well-known

words: “La aldea, cuando se cría uno en ella y no sale de allí jamás, envilece, empobrece y embrutece”, a statement that ultimately attempts to justify villagers’ position with regard to the civilized world.⁶¹ Similarly, the sentence also reflects the principles of determinism and the importance of heredity and environment exert on individual, principles of Zola’s Naturalism. Perucho, who has been born in the countryside, lives practically in the wild and is even mistaken by a dog in the *pazo*: [Julián] advirtió que lo que tomaba por otro perro no era sino un rapazuelo de tres o cuatro años”.⁶² Again, the vision that Pardo Bazán maintains about the Galician peasant varies significantly with that of Rosalía de Castro who, in *Cantares gallegos* writes:

¡Que reposo! ¡Que luz...! ¡Que garruleiro,
brando cantar dos váreos paxariños
cando ó salir do sol polo quinteiro
douraba fontes, lagos e campiños!
¡Que libre respirar...! ¡Que placenteiro
ir e vir dos cabirtos xuntadiños!
¡Que frescas, que polidas, que galanas
iban co gando as feitas aldeanas!⁶³

While this passage can be regarded as a perfect *cuadro de costumbres*, it lacks the Sublime quality of Pardo Bazán’s works and, in fact, falls into the premises of Beauty as defined by Burke. The Sublime encloses a cathartic functionality insofar as it provides the reader with a vision of the backwardness of a community clinging to superstition and the past. In Pardo Bazán’s novels and tales, we find numerous examples we might well consider *cuadros de costumbres* that give us an idea of the power that superstition exerts over Galician villagers. These superstitions and attitudes include the witch, the folk healer, the *Santa*

⁶¹ *Los pazos*, p. 113.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 111.

⁶³ Rosalía de Castro, “Aló no currunchiño máis hermoso”, in *Cantares gallegos* (Madrid: Akal, 2000), pp. 196-7.

Compañía, the howling of dogs, the *trasno*, churchyards, the confinement of women within a domestic place (*pazo*), and so on.⁶⁴ With these, she attempts to spread out the idea she holds of Galicia among her readers; the idea of a traditional, backward and brutish society. Emilia was nonetheless very committed to Galician culture and, despite having never used the regional language, she created the *Revista de Galicia* in 1880 and “El Folk-Lore Gallego” in 1884 as projects to regain its prestige.⁶⁵ To me, the sketches Pardo Bazán presents – helped by the lengthy descriptions – were intended to raise non-Galician readers’ sympathy towards the backwardness of this region and do something in order to make them aware about Galicia’s intellectual and social stagnation. Just as Burke points out:

The most lively and spirited verbal description I can give, raises a very obscure and imperfect *idea* of such objects; but then it is in my power to raise a stronger *emotion* by the description than I could do by the best painting. This experience constantly evinces. The proper manner of conveying the *affections* of the mind from one to another, is by words.⁶⁶

Likewise, these sketches show the particular *Volksgeist* of rural Galicia, and through the representation of these, Pardo Bazán establishes her personal view of what Gothic fiction means for her; in other words, one can be certain that Pardo Bazán constructs a distinct Galician Gothic which makes the coexistence of idealism and realism possible.

The coexistence of idealism and realism is clearly perceived in *Pascual López*. Here Pardo Bazán offers a vision of the traditional Galician rural community through the eyes of

⁶⁴ In her tale “Compañía”, the narrator defines what this superstition consists of: “Es una legión de muertos que, dejando sus sepulturas, llevando cada cual en la descarnada mano un cirio, cruzan la montaña, allá a lo lejos, visibles sólo por la vaga blancura de los sudarios y por el pálido reflejo del cirio desfalleciente. ¡Ay del que pisa la tierra en que se proyecta su sombra! Si no se muere en el acto la vida se le secará para siempre a modo de hierba que cortó la *fouce*.” See, *Obras completas*, p. 1448. The legend of “La Santa Compañía” is one of the most widely spread superstitions in Galicia and has indeed endured the passing of time.

⁶⁵ One should not forget that Pardo Bazán decision to write in Spanish was more practical than sociopolitical. On the one hand, her command of the regional language was not as good as her knowledge of Spanish. On the other hand, she considered Spanish as the only language that would allow her to succeed in her career as a writer. See Dario Villanueva and Xosé Ramón Barreiro Fernández, “Motivos para no escribir en gallego” (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2012), [on Video].

⁶⁶ Burke, p. 60.

her protagonist, a young country man who has been sent to study Medicine in Santiago de Compostela. The novel's autobiographical form highlights the perspective of the Galician villager in Santiago by contrasting his experiences in this urban space with the values and popular beliefs he was instilled into by his family in the country. In so doing, Pardo Bazán discovers a simple and unadorned dichotomy that could be explained in terms of a confrontation between rural archaism and urban modernity.

In the first chapters, Pascual provides the reader with detailed sketches or *cuadros de costumbres* associated with student life; he narrates how he spends “horas muertas en un cafeticho, teniendo una copilla de ron o marrasquino delante y asido con la indecisa mano el seis doble del dominó o la torre del ajedrez”.⁶⁷ More interestingly, he provides faithful descriptions of Santiago, stimulating Sublime experiences in a Burkean way: “Monumentales edificios, altas Iglesias...en las largas noches invernales, cuando en las angostas calles se espesa la oscuridad y la enorme sombra de la catedral se proyecta en el piso de la *Quintana de muertos*...la impresión que produce Santiago es solemne”.⁶⁸ The imposing architecture the narrator describes here, its “grandeur”, acquires a great investment of Sublime, particularly as being associated with darkness and poor climatic conditions. While these descriptions stand out because of their impressionistic realism, Pascual López is, nonetheless, conditioned by his rural background and the fantastic perception that results from it. Hence, the melodramatic and romantic overtones with which Pascual utters these words. To put it differently, the Galician rural world, the world frequently associated with the supernatural and the occult, is what ultimately excites Pascual's emotions and what explains his predisposition to suggestion. Through her protagonist, Pardo Bazán succeeds in presenting the effects of rural backwardness on country people.

⁶⁷ *Obras completas*, p. 15.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

Pascual's Chemistry tutor, a certain Professor Félix Onarro of Irish origin, contributes to giving the novel the fantastic component that every Gothic novel must be made up of. Onarro takes advantage of Pascual's stupidity and chooses him to participate in an experiment consisting of transforming coal into diamonds. The description Pascual makes of Onarro is nonetheless based upon others' impressions:

Rodeábale cierto misterio, muy favorable a su fabulosa reputación científica. Se contaba de él lances inauditos y peregrinos, inverosímiles exploraciones geológicas por las montañas. El habrá penetrado más adentro que nadie en la sima y galería pavorosa del Pico Sacro... Para completar el mito, se aseguraba que su venida a Santiago obedecía al propósito de entregarse con completa libertad y aislamiento a unas investigaciones acerca de la piedra filosofal.

In using words like "inaudito", "inverosímiles" and the suppositional future "habrá penetrado", Pascual shows himself reluctant to accept such theories. Nevertheless, he is too close to his rural bonds and finally opts to accept the fantasies that shroud Onarro. The fantastic aspect of the rural world is more explicitly evidenced a few pages later. In the eighth chapter, in his first visit to Professor Félix Onarro's house, Pascual starts describing the "aldaba de hierro, figura de monstruoso dragón, que más parecía despedir que convidar a la entrada".⁶⁹ Once inside, he continues describing the interiors of the house, which easily awakes the vision of the labyrinthine passages of a castle in a Gothic novel:

Hízome cruzar varios pasillos y habitaciones, frías y sin muebles, en que nuestras pisadas retumbaban con eco solemne y lúgubre, y señalándome al extremo de un gran salón, en que las paredes lucías aún pálidas cenefas y descoloridos frisos al temple, una puerta, bajo la cual se filtraba una línea luminosa.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 61.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 62.

As I pointed before, Pascual is not influenced by Gothic fiction in the same way as Jane Austen's heroine in *Northanger Abbey*; he has never read a Gothic novel and yet he is able to describe meticulously the interior of the house as if it were the castle of one of them. As a few lines further down, as the young student confesses his fears, we learn that his ability to describe the house through Sublime terminology comes from the oral tales he would listen to from his parents or grandparents in rural Galicia:

lo que a mí me asusta son ciertas cosas que... vamos, serán niñerías y simplezas, pero no puedo remediar el temor que me causan. Montañés nació, y criéme entre mil cuentos de asombro; allí, en las noches sin luna, vemos pasar con sus antorchas sepulcrales la misteriosa procesión de la *Compañía*; allí, los fuegos fatuos del cementerio... se consideran almas de difuntos que vagan entre la niebla y, realmente, como tienen aquella maldita gracia de correr detrás del que escapa y de huir del que los sigue.⁷¹

It must be remarked that when Pascual asserts "Montañés nació" he is certainly setting up a cause-effect relationship based on the determinism that Naturalism would later postulate: superstition, introduced here by means of Gothic devices, is ultimately the effect of having been born in a rural space. Had Pascual been born somewhere else, these terrifying elements would not torment him. Pascual's imaginative disposition is, to a large extent, conditioned by the rural *Volksgeist*, which prompted him to believe in the supernatural. It can be then observed Pardo Bazán's recurrence to the Gothic so as to explain what one might call rational idealism insofar as Pascual is always aware of his tendencies to fantasy.⁷²

The autobiography represents an old rhetorical strategy that Pardo Bazán recovers in order to satisfy the realist conventions expected at the time the novel was written. But also, it

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 62.

⁷² Similarly, the legend "El rayo de luna" by Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer establishes the limits that separate reality and fantasy. The legend introduces a young noble man who, one night, sights the ghostly shadow of a lady in a forest. Every night, he awaits her in the forest until he finds out that what he believed was a lady is actually a ray of moonlight.

is in fact the villager's autobiography that helps her to resolve the dilemma between realism and fantasy that the novel establishes by recurring to so-called rational idealism. In fact, Pascual, aware of his tendency to fantasy, warns the reader about the transition from realism to the fantastic: "Desde ahora empieza el relato de hechos que al principio eran solamente singulares, mas después se tiñeron de color fantástico".⁷³ Pascual is then aware that he is influenced by all kinds of superstition inherited from a rural background. This passage evokes Juan Valera's *Las ilusiones del doctor Faustino* (1874-1875), in which don Faustino López de Mendoza, described as a "filósofo racionalista" is confronted with the supernatural in a slightly different manner. After receiving a letter from his "inmortal amiga", María, we learn that Faustino, "dos o tres noches casi juzgó inevitable la aparición de un espíritu, y sacó de su corazón fuerzas para recibirle con valor y sin amilanarse".⁷⁴ As a matter of fact, María becomes a type of supernatural being in Faustino's imagination: "Mientras más tiempo pasaba, después de haber visto materialmente a la mujer, más persistía la imagen, adquiriendo cierta consistencia fantástica".⁷⁵ Like Pascual López, Faustino struggles to find a rational explanation for such fantastic encounters. As it was custom at the time in which the novel was written, the narrator struggles to demonstrate the truthfulness of the extraordinary events they describe. Only by being aware of the fantastic can the novel reconcile Realism and the supernatural ingredient the author decides to apply.

In the light of these examples, one might conclude that Pardo Bazán's aim was to satirize the Gothic genre in the way that Jane Austen had in *Northanger Abbey*.⁷⁶ This English novel presents Catherine Morland, a young country lady whose passion for Gothic novels prevents her from perceiving the borderline that separates reality from fantasy. Her susceptibility to psychological terrors is symptomatic of a culturally established moral that

⁷³ *Obras completas*, p. 39.

⁷⁴ Juan Valera, *Las ilusiones del doctor Faustino* (Madrid: Castalia, 1970), p. 180.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

⁷⁶ Although published in 1818, *Northanger Abbey* was sold to a publisher by 1803.

regarded women as emotionally inferior to men, and were therefore confined within a society that turned out to be an unknown evil. But while Austen's intention focused on warning the public reader about the dangers that the compulsive reading of Gothic novels might entail, Pardo Bazán's approach to this genre was by no means a negative one. She herself was a consumer of Gothic novels, and *Pascual López* offers a perfect account of her tendency toward this genre, as these words that Professor Onarro addresses to Pascual illustrate:

La imaginación...envuelta en las nieblas de la ignorancia..., y acaso dominada por preocupaciones adquiridas...Y es evidente que usted es un ignorante. Eso no impide a veces tener mucho talento. Hoffmann, el inimitable cuentista, soñaba despierto con trasgos, hechicerías, espectros y apariciones. Y usted puede estar adornado de brillante fantasía, sin que deje de ser un ignorante.⁷⁷

It is not, then, the Gothic genre that she satirizes, but the source of ignorance, which is to be found in the superstition itself. Thus, while the German author is implicitly branded as an ignorant, he is, nonetheless, praised for his artistic talent, which ultimately lies in his imagination. In the same manner, Pascual's fantasy is a symptom of the ignorance that country people represent for the writer – always tinged with a lyric expression that results in a jocular and ridiculous situation – rather a far distant perspective from that of Rosalía de Castro in *Cantares gallegos*.

The representation of ignorance tinged with the imagination of country people is present in a large number of Pardo Bazán's tales. For example, in "La Compañía", a short tale published in 1901 in *Blanco y Negro*, the author shows how the combination of these two qualities can bring about fatal consequences. This short tale displays Caridad, a young country man who, like Pascual, is conditioned by the rural world he belongs to: "Las historias de la abuela eran a la vez su única escuela y su único teatro, el pasto de su imaginación

⁷⁷ *Obras completas*, p. 52.

virgen, fresca, insaciable, de chiquillo que no sabe leer, y que presiente la novela y la poesía, indentificándolas, en su ignorancia, con la vida y la realidad”.⁷⁸ As a matter of fact, such oral literature, or “el mundo triste y agorero de la vieja mitología galaica”, that is, Galician Gothic, lead Caridad to confuse the notions of “seeing” and “believing”: “creía a puño cerrado..., ¿qué es creer?, ‘veía’”.⁷⁹ The tale is incidentally described through the Sublime iconography of the Galician countryside which somehow seems to predispose individuals to fear and to believing in the supernatural: “Invierno...un día corto, lluvioso y triste, la noche es clara y de luna...en la ladera más abrupta de la montaña se oye el *oubear* del lobo hambriento...y la queja casi humana del mochuelo”.⁸⁰ As his grandmother brings out the legend of the “Compañía”, Caridad is enveloped by both fascination and fear. When trying to see the procession of the dead, he makes his way to the churchyard and instead of the “Compañía” what finds there is a group of young countrymen, to whom Caridad used to rob, waiting to kill him. Regardless of Pardo Bazán’s ostensible rejection of moralizing endings, the tragic outcome of this tale is particularly symbolic as far as “poetic justice” is concerned. Thus, the last words, uttered by the youngsters who intended to startle Caridad, demonstrate the consequences that superstition can lead to: “– Quedas escarmentado”.⁸¹ With the aid of Gothic paraphernalia, Pardo Bazán highlights, once again, Galician barbarism. At the same time, she seems to warn the reader about the social backwardness of her region.

A similar “moralizing” ending can be drawn from *Planta Montés*, published in *La España Moderna* in 1890. Again, the author resorts to the innocence of a young country boy to display the repercussions of ignorance and superstition. When Cibrao arrives in Marineda (A Coruña) to work as a servant in a house, his health begins to deteriorate. The doctor who attends him determines that his illness is all due to mere superstitious beliefs: “no tiene nada

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 1448.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 1448.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 1447-8.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 1449.

anoche oyó ladrar, digo, aullar a un perro, y jura que el dicho perro ‘ventaba’ su muerte”.⁸²

The doctor concludes that he cannot do anything to save his life and resolves that superstition can be only treated with more superstition: “A mal de superstición, remedio de ensalmos”.⁸³

As the tale ends up with Cibrao’s death, the narrator wonders whether this outcome will be credible or not: “¿Será creído el desenlace de este caso auténtico, no tan sorprendente para los que nacimos en la brumosa tierra de los celtas agoreros como para los que en regiones de sol tuvieron cuna? El temor a la incredulidad me paraliza la mano. Apenas me determino a estampar aquí que Cibrao amaneció muerto en su cama”.⁸⁴ It should be noted here that the narrator’s use of first person plural “nacimos” and not “nacieron”, indicates that she too participates in the popular belief she describes. The remarks of the narrator are then too ambiguous so as to confirm a clear moralizing outcome for she seems to be playing with the borders that separate reality from fantasy.

The representation of ignorance is particularly significant when it comes to the realm of Medicine. Pardo Bazán’s approach to science – or pseudo-science – in *Pascual López* evidences one of the many negative attitudes that rural people share with regard to Medicine: “Señor don Félix, no crea usted que es la parte científica lo que a mí me llama la atención, y me entusiasma y arrebató; no, señor; lo que me hace a mí tillín son los millones”.⁸⁵ With these words, Pardo Bazán criticizes village people’s circumspection for Medicine and, therefore, progress. Instead, she highlights their hypocrisy in suggesting that the source of all their interests lies in money itself.

Similarly, in her short story *Un destripador de antaño*, the Galician author underlines the confrontation between the rejection of proper doctors and the devotion to *curanderos* (folk healers): “¡Ei!, Jacoba: o tú vas a pedirle a don Custodio la untura, o yo la espicho. No hagas

⁸² Ibid., p. 1334.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 1334.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 1334.

⁸⁵ Ibid., pp. 65-6.

caso del médico; no hagas caso, si a mano viene, ni de Cristo Nuestro Señor; a don Custodio has de ir; que si él quiere, del apuro me saca con sólo dos cucharaditas de los remedios que sabe hacer”.⁸⁶ Certainly, Pardo Bazán shows herself to be ambiguous for she tries to transmit a moral message in her novels, for as she comments in her prologue to *Pascual López*:

De encerrar *Pascual López*, en su género, alguna verdadera belleza, contendría también alguna enseñanza. De no, las enseñanzas que tratase de inculcar alcanzarían sólo a hacer más tediosa la novela. Claro está que en mi pensamiento alguna significación moral tienen los personajes de la obra.⁸⁷

If there is any sort of didactic intention, this would be actually explained with reference to the dangers that derived from fantastic practices such as necromancy. Along these lines, *Curado* narrates the story of a young man who dies after being attended by a *curandero*. The irony of such medical practice lies in the fact that after having discovered he is actually dead, the locals decide to call the *curandero* again.

All in all, the significance of Emilia Pardo Bazán’s first novel, *Pascual López*, may be due to different factors. Firstly, it represents the germinal element of the Naturalism that would develop in the following years, which can help readers to understand most of her later novels. While Pardo Bazán disapproves of the idea of Naturalist determinism as that which subordinates human conduct to physiological and environmental patterns, *Pascual López* shows that the individual is deprived of the free will she later defends in *La cuestión palpitante*. If Pascual had been born in a city, he might not be tormented by superstition; if he had not met Professor Onarro, he might have found happiness with his beloved. Despite such adversities, he eventually learns his lesson, and also the reader is urged to learn through Pascual’s mistakes. Secondly, the novel reconciles the apparent opposition between Realism and rational idealism by endowing the fantastic with coherent explanations. In so doing,

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 1312.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 13.

Pardo Bazán allows herself to introduce a series of Gothic devices, by means of sketches or *cuadros de costumbres*, which enable the faithful depiction of the Galician rural people to show what, to her mind, is a backward and ignorant community clinging to superstitious beliefs. The incorporation of terrifying elements, partly influenced by the English literary tradition, should not be understood as an attempt to parody the Gothic genre, but the ignorance of the rural community in which backwardness has primacy over progress. Finally, it should be pointed out that even when repressing the use of Romantic devices, there are certain passages, such as the descriptions of Santiago, that evoke lyric and nostalgic overtones, tinged with realistic elements. This evidences Pardo Bazán's notorious eclecticism, which prevails throughout her literary career.

CHAPTER III

UNDERSTANDING EMILIA PARDO BAZÁN'S VISION OF GALICIA

En las páginas que hoy salen á luz resuena el acento apasionado y asoma el tierno interés que inspiran las cosas familiares, no el riguroso análisis crítico. Que me arroje la primera piedra el escritor ajeno á flaquezas tan disculpables, exento de piedad y amor por el pedazo de España donde haya nacido.¹

In the preceding chapter, I have suggested that Emilia Pardo Bazán robustly attempts to convey her vision of Galicia by resorting to the range of the Gothic paraphernalia she mainly adopts from English and American fictions. In adopting foreign elements, the author successfully constructs a Galician Gothic of its own, portraying the unique peculiarities of this region while representing direct sources of Sublime iconography. Consequently, the Galician Gothic she constructs embodies a regional *costumbrismo* that emphasizes the everlasting differences, not only between rural and urban Galicia, but also between Galicia and Otherness. Such differences make up the regional idiosyncrasy, which is ultimately defined and understood through continuous binary oppositions, including the aforementioned rural versus urban world, barbarism versus civilization, stagnation versus progress, Europe versus Spain, or Galicia versus Spain versus Madrid.

As I have exemplified through *Pascual López*, *Los pazos de Ulloa* and some of her tales, the Gothic resources she employs largely contribute to degrade the image of rural Galicia. In depicting her characters as ignorant, superstitious and barbarian, she exposes the weakness of a sickly and backward society, and eventually projects a negative vision. However, the writer would constantly set herself up as a strong supporter of her region and its culture, and some of her works, such as *De mi tierra* or *Por la Europa católica* show an unconditional love towards her motherland. We should not forget that she had founded the

¹ *De mi tierra*, p. 7.

Centro Regional Gallego, as well as *La Revista de Galicia*, which constituted the first project on which she would collaborate to stimulate Galician culture. She had equally declared herself in favour of the poetry of the *Rexurdimento*, as expressed in “La poesía regional gallega”, and promoted the creation of the Real Academia Galega, inaugurated in 1905 and based in Emilia’s own home in A Coruña from 1906.² It is therefore evident that Emilia Pardo Bazán was moved by an affectionate sentiment towards a land she idealized, a land she loved and cared about. In this sense, the perspective shown by Pardo Bazán appears to convey a positive and idealized vision of Galicia, a region that, nonetheless, presents a series of deficiencies reinforced by means of a continuous use of Gothic images and motifs.

In view of the above, this chapter explores the apparently contradictory vision that Pardo Bazán projects of Galicia, which results from the effect created by the use of the Gothic resources she typically resorts to. Through these resources, the author does not only aim at showing the differences that exist between Galician and Spanish idiosyncrasies, but also she emphasizes the necessity of overcoming the social, political and economic paralysis that Spain in general and Galicia in particular suffer from. In order to do so, she considers that establishing contact with Europe is essential in the process towards modernity. The Europeanization the author opts for represents a *regenerationist* process in which she gradually uncovers the existing local differences that give identity to every single region of the peninsula. These differences, understood in terms of landscape, customs and race, are constructed upon a modernity-oriented discourse where the author, from an idealized perspective, vindicates the virtue of Galicianness and rejects so-called *casticismo*, which ultimately allows her a closer identification with Europe. In this regard, the adoption and adaptation of foreign literary trends, like Gothic fiction and Naturalism; schools of thought,

² Rosalía de Castro’s husband, Manuel Murguía would be the first president of the RAG. However, due to the continuous discrepancies between this author and Pardo Bazán, the latter did not attend the inaugural event of the institution, celebrated on 4th September 1905. See Silvia Carballido Reboredo, “Emilia Pardo Bazán en ‘La Voz de Galicia’ . Edición y recopilación de textos de y sobre Emilia Pardo Bazán (1883-1901)” (supervised research work, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 2005).

like Krausism and Positivism; or nineteenth-century racial theories form part of a project consisting of bringing European literary aesthetics, ideals and modernization closer to Spain and, above all, to Galicia.

Through this perspective, I believe that Pardo Bazán seeks to isolate Galician idiosyncrasy from the imperfections she observes in the whole Iberian territory as she looks to establish an ultimate connection between Galicia and Europe.³ Such an approach would possibly allow her readers to understand her true vision of Galicia. Taking this into consideration, the author shows herself sensitive to the Spanish intellectual movement known as *Regeneracionismo*, much in vogue at the end of the nineteenth century and reinforced after the fall of the last American colonies of the Spanish Empire in 1898. In those days, there existed a sector, within *Regeneracionismo*, that defended both folklore and regionalism as the essence of identity, but these concepts were to be understood from the perspective of European philosophy.⁴ Thus it became imperative to separate regional idiosyncrasy from traditional conventionalisms, which had certainly brought about paralysis and stagnation.⁵ Miguel de Unamuno, the greatest exponent of this movement, developed these arguments through his idea of *intrahistoria*. In *En torno al casticismo*, published as such in 1902,⁶ Unamuno would maintain that Castile symbolized the essence of “Spanishness”, but always

³ The connection between Galicia and Europe would be more thoroughly developed by the Galician Generation of Ramón Otero Pedrayo in the 1920s and 1930s: The *Grupo Nós*. Otero Pedrayo’s novel *Arredor de si* (1930) explores the symbolism of the journey as a necessity to find one’s own identity. In the novel, the young Galician Adrián Solovio embarks on a trip around a series of cities in Spain, but it is only after his trip to Paris and Berlin that Adrián discovers a strong affinity with his motherland: “Por Galicia e na Galicia era Adrián europeo e planetario”. See Ramón Otero Pedrayo, *Arredor de si* (Vigo: Galaxia, 2009), p. 156.

⁴ In commenting on Machado’s *Regeneracionismo*, Francisco Rodríguez Marín points out the function of folklore as a “herramienta regeneracionista”, emphasizing the importance of *Volksgeist* in the construction of regional identities. See Francisco Rodríguez Marín, *Cantos populares españoles* (Sevilla: Renacimiento, 2005), p. 21.

⁵ Manuel Suárez Cortina, “Las élites intelectuales y la política en la España liberal”, in *El regeneracionismo en España: política, educación, ciencia y sociedad*, ed. by Manuel Suárez Cortina, y Vicent L. Salavert Fabiani (Valencia: Prensas Universitarias de Valencia, 2007), pp. 277–8.

⁶ *En torno al casticismo* is the result of a series of articles published in *La España moderna* throughout 1895.

from a European perspective that would help the country to overcome the old prejudices that had resulted in the fall of the Empire and the notion of Spain built by the Restoration.⁷

In the same line, José Martínez Ruiz (Azorín) considered that Pardo Bazán clearly represented this movement, a movement that could combine both traditionalism and modernity in the conceptualization of the idea of Spain. This combination found a parallel in the current tendency within the so-called “Generación del 98”.⁸ In spite of this, Pardo Bazán’s apparent contradictory ideas of Galicia require a reflection on the reasons and aspects that had motivated these ideas. What is, then, Pardo Bazán’s real vision of Galicia? What is she trying to portray? Does she idealize or degrade the image of her land? In answer to these questions, this chapter tackles four main points. The first point revolves around what in my opinion constitutes Pardo Bazán’s preoccupation with the backwardness of her country, which was aggravated after the collapse of the last colonies in America. Through different writings, the author would manifest the urgent necessity of Europeanizing the nation. My second level of analysis will deal with the circumstances on which the author had based her idea of Galicia, which was considered superior to other Spanish regions in terms of Nature, landscape and people. The third level of analysis compares the opposite visions that the author shows of Galicia, Spain and Europe with the purpose of describing the “Spanish temperament” and warning that the aspects intrinsically associated with Spanishness foster backwardness and are contrary to the ideas of progress and modernization that Europe symbolizes. Finally, I will analyse the superiority with which Pardo Bazán seemed to endow Galicia in an attempt to

⁷ Restoration brought a conservative, monarchic and catholic essence to the idea of Spain. Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, designer of this state model of the Restoration, created a parliamentary system from a biased liberal moderado perspective, deliberately excluding other existing ideas at that time.

⁸ As Roberta Johnson notes, “Azorín apunta que este ‘tradicionalismo’ moderno de la Pardo Bazán también se destaca en su temática, porque ha sabido absorber lo extranjero sin perder sus cualidades españolas. En esto encuentra un paralelo en los miembros de su propia generación y da el ejemplo de la asimilación de las ideas de Nietzsche por medio de Pablo Schmitz”. Roberta Johnson, “Azorín y las escritoras”, in *Azorín en el primer milenio de la lengua castellana: actas del Congreso Internacional* (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1998), pp. 47-54 (p. 52).

isolate it from the negative aspects that characterize Spanishness and ultimately to bring it closer to the European progressive postulates of modernization she had always longed for.

In tackling Pardo Bazán's preoccupation with the backwardness of her country and the necessity of initiating a process of Europeanization, I maintain that a large number of her novels, tales and essays establish a hierarchical relationship between Galicia, Spain and Europe, where European thinking influences the way of understanding Spanishness and Galicianness. This hierarchy becomes more and more acute and noticeable towards the end of the nineteenth century and, above all, after the Spanish-American War in 1898.

In his essay, "Emilia Pardo Bazán's concept of Spain", Ronald Hilton suggests that Spain's defeat at the hands of a power she despised aroused in her a bitterness and a revulsion which led her to criticize the Spain of her day mercilessly.⁹ Nevertheless, it must be remembered that Pardo Bazán's hostility towards provincial Spain, and especially towards Andalusia, is not new, and long before any accurate predictions of defeat, she had already manifested such hostility in her probably autobiographical novel *Insolación*.¹⁰ In this novel, "she" would vigorously criticize the prototypical figure of the Andalusian and the vulgarity of traditional feasts such as bullfighting. In an attempt to justify the repercussions of bullfighting in nineteenth-century Spain, Cathryn Bailey contends the following:

in the long North American and European tradition of criticizing Spain, it has been often argued that bullfighting was further proof that Spain was actually more Eastern than Western, or more African than European. According to Adrian Schubert, "The true horror of the bullfight was that it turned Spaniards

⁹ Ronald Hilton, "Pardo-Bazán's Concept of Spain", *Hispania*, 34 (1951), 327-42 (p. 329). Similarly, one year later, in another article, "Emilia Pardo Bazán and the Americas", Hilton suggests that the author's "hatred" toward the United States came precisely from the destruction of the last remains of the Spanish Empire: "she was staggered by the simple fact that the Anglo-Saxons were victorious over the Spaniards". While Hilton tends to use the word "hatred" gratuitously, Pardo Bazán's repulsion towards the New World is a well-known fact. See Hilton, "Emilia Pardo Bazán and the Americas", *The Americas*, 9 (1952), 135-48 (p. 135).

¹⁰ *Insolación* is probably based on the sporadic love affair Emilia had with José Lázaro Galdiano whom she met at the Barcelona Exposition in 1888.

from Europeans into Africans... The bullring brought Spaniards down to the level of the Moors, and the bullfight was nothing more than an African ferocity”.¹¹

The existing arguments against bullfighting let Emilia isolate Galicia from the values that Spanishness represented and bring this region closer to European values. Besides her narrative works, there are quite a number of examples in her essays as well as in her journalistic articles where the author describes, analyses or discusses bullfighting.¹² However, it is in her novel *Insolación* that she introduces the concept of the barbarian Spaniard as an intrinsic feature of racial inheritance to account for their behaviour or temperament: “España es un país tan salvaje como el África Central, que todos tenemos sangre africana, beduina, árabe o qué sé yo”.¹³ As will be shown shortly, racial heredity played, in the author’s opinion, an important role in constructing and creating regional identities.

In this same line, she would publish, in 1902, *Por la Europa católica*, a travel book where she would express her concerns about Spain and where she would promulgate her well-known pro-European ideas. On this occasion, the author embarks on a trip to Belgium with a view to finding the remedies and lessons – or the so-called “filtro mágico” – to the ills afflicting Spanish society.¹⁴ In a distinctly snobbish tone, she begins advising how rare these types of journeys are in Spain, a country where no one seems to travel but for a good practical reason: “En España la afición á viajar sin objeto determinado, por el viaje sólo, no se ha difundido todavía. Causa cierto asombro que yo la profese”.¹⁵ It is undeniable that Pardo Bazán’s interest in the idea of travelling is intimately associated with the incipient

¹¹ Cathryn Bailey, “‘Africa begins at the Pyrenees’: Moral Outrage, Hypocrisy and the Spanish Bullfight”, *Ethics and the Environment*, 12 (2007), 23-37 (p. 31).

¹² González Herrán notes in Pardo Bazán “no es infrecuente en sus artículos y crónicas de actualidad, en sus apuntes de viaje y en sus conferencias, la presencia de la fiesta de toros, sea para describirla, analizarla o discutirla”. José Manuel González Herrán, “Emilia Pardo Bazán y la fiesta de los toros (1875-1921)”, in *Fiesta de toros y sociedad* (Sevilla: Fundación Estudios Taurinos, 2003) pp. 591-604 (p. 592).

¹³ Emilia Pardo Bazán, *Insolación*, in *Obras completas (novelas y cuentos)*, ed. by Federico Carlos Sainz de Robles, 2nd edn (Madrid: Aguilar, 1956), p. 415.

¹⁴ Emilia Pardo Bazán, *Por la Europa católica*, (Madrid: Est. Tip. de I. Moreno, 1902), p. 19.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

development of the means of transport, such as the train, which had reached her native A Coruña when she was a child. The means of transport and the possibility of shortening distances boded, by the mid-nineteenth century, the advent of progress and the overcoming of the social paralysis that gripped the country. We must recall, in this respect, that Benito Pérez Galdós, with whom Pardo Bazán maintained a close, intimate relationship, had implemented this idea in his works, particularly in *Doña Perfecta*. Therefore, the development of the means of transport meant the possibility of coming into contact with Europe and the subsequent Europeanization Pardo Bazán had so wholeheartedly wished for.

In Azorín, however, the Europeanization that the development of means of transport symbolizes is ambivalent in relation to the characterization of the Spanish landscape. In his chapter of *Castilla* (1912), “Ventas, posadas y fondas”, the author laments that some *ventas* “están cercanas a caminos y travesías que han sido hechos inútiles por carreteras nuevas y ferrocarriles. De esas rutas sólo quedan unas paredes tostadas por el sol, calcinadas; los techos se han hundido y se muestra roto el vigamen y podridos y carcomidos los cañizos.”¹⁶ In this chapter the author reviews the history of these lodgings and explores an intrinsic relationship between them and the Spanish landscape, claiming that the *ventas* “son inseparables del paisaje de España”.¹⁷ For Azorín, these inns are essential to understand the history of Spain, somehow synthesized in the illustrative names they have received: el de Miravete, el de Arrebatacapas, el de Lápice, el de Despeñaperros, el de la Mala Mujer, el del Judío, or el del Moro. Further, the narrator explains how these lodgings enable the travellers to relish the beauty of the Castilian landscape at its best; “unos lugares desde donde la vista del viajante fatigado descubre, después de una penosa subida, un amplio, vasto, claro, luminoso

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 48.

¹⁷ Azorín, “Ventas, posadas y fondas”, in *Castilla* (Madrid: Edaf, 1996), p. 49.

panorama”.¹⁸ As can be perceived, Azorín’s tone is quite nostalgic in this passage, and moves the reader through a trip around the Castilian landscape, which he sometimes romanticizes.

Nevertheless, the lodgings, as the development of new means of transport derived from the Europeanization are, for Azorín, a way of understanding the current reality of Spain, attuned with European influence. But above all, these elements represent a way to show the hidden past of the history of Spain. Thus, for Azorín, the train is ambivalent because it involves the integration of the European element in the understanding of past and present Spanish reality.

The Galician Countess, on her part, did consider Europeanization as the only way out of the socio-economic and political backwardness of Spain at this moment in time, and in *Por la Europa católica* firmly claims “¡Europeicémonos!” for the nation’s sake. She finds in Europe the source of culture that might actually civilize her savage motherland: “Manda la cultura viajar sin aparente necesidad una vez al año, y más si hay estancamiento y tendencia regresiva – manía de andar hacia atrás, que no falta entre nosotros”.¹⁹ Indeed, she regards herself as a messiah that is to liberate Spain from the cultural backwardness in which everybody appears to be immersed:

¡Apenas hace tiempo que me europeizo, y que comunico al público lo que veo en la madre Europa! Voy pensando en esto, mientras el tren, dejándose atrás la montuosa Galicia, rueda por las llanuras castellanas, vestidas con la opulenta alfombra rubia de la mies acabadita de segar.²⁰

The author exploits the motif of the train as a metaphor for the modernization she wishes for Spain. Emilia, who travels on the train, adopts the function of an educator that is to transmit the necessity of progress through Europeanization. The train departs from the

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 47.

¹⁹ *Por la Europa católica*, p. 17. Note the sarcastic tone of her words, which incidentally evoke the second Commandment of the Church: “Confesar los pecados mortales al menos una vez al año, en peligro de muerte, y si se ha de comulgar”.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 19.

mountainous Galicia and continues through the arid Castilian landscape. Consequently, the train must have had the potential to transform and regenerate Spanish values from a progressive and Europeanizing perspective.

It is noticeable the fact that Europeanization is, for Emilia, as for Unamuno, a decisive factor for the genuine knowledge of the essence of Spain, as well as for the overcoming of the stagnation in which the country is immersed. Unamuno rejected the conservative *casticismo* of Restoration. For him, such a *casticismo* emerged from the exaltation of the most relevant events in the History of Spain, as well as from the entire social, political and intellectual world, a world built around that *casticismo* that distorted the knowledge of the genuine reality of Spain, the “intra-historical” reality. Unamuno also considered Europeanization as a necessary process against the manipulation promoted by the traditionalist and historical *casticismo*, and he therefore constructed his so-called “intra-historical” discourse by approaching the contemporary philosophical movements in Europe, particularly German ones.

From a similar point of view, Pardo Bazán assumed that the real and true knowledge of Spanish idiosyncrasy is determined by the understanding of elements coming from Europe, as exemplified in the unfinished novel *El niño de Guzmán*, which appeared as a newspaper serial in *La España Moderna* in 1900. Pedro de Guzmán, having been born in northern Europe and brought up in England and Germany boasts a solid education in Spanish culture thanks to his Irish tutor O’Neal. Being passionate about Spain, O’Neal desires to share all his knowledge with Guzmán, but unfortunately, his vision of Spain is quite an obsolete, Romantic one, anchored in the past. He struggles to make Guzmán aware of the nobility of the Spanish race through literature, and through the romanticized reality narrated by Cecilia Böhl von Faber, Guzmán is instilled with a false idea of contemporary Spain. Such idealizations

ultimately contrast with the protagonist's disappointment as he visits Spain and discovers the mediocre reality of the country.²¹

In this sense, it becomes clear that the topic of the journey means for Pardo Bazán a method by means of which she is able to establish the existing differences between peninsular backwardness and European modernization. For the author, then, the journey constitutes an instrument through which she can reflect the binary oppositions she had already set up when implementing the Gothic in her narrative production. From this perspective, as a recurrent topic in her works and a possible trend in the second half of the nineteenth century, Pardo Bazán resorts to the symbolism of the train to express the transition between two opposed worlds: that of barbarism and superstition (Galicia), and that of civilization and modernity (Europe). Castile, physically situated between the two worlds, serves Pardo Bazán to establish comparisons and contrasts. Although Castile does actually function as a transitional space, she does not hesitate to describe with harshness the aridity of its fields and the roughness of its people; she looks down on its landscape and considers it as inferior with regard to that of Galicia, an attitude already perceivable in Rosalía de Castros's *Cantares gallegos*.

This collection of poems inaugurates the Galician movement known as *Rexurdimento*. Throughout the length and breadth of her poems, Rosalía idealizes the Galician landscape and diminishes Castile in a similar way to Pardo Bazán. In "Castellanos de Castilla", one of her best-known compositions, the poet does not only denounce the abuse committed against Galician immigrants in Castile, but also she takes the opportunity to degrade their fields and glorify Galicia's.

Que Castilla e castellanos,
todos nun montón, a eito,
non valen o que unha herbiña

²¹ Rebeca Sanmartín Bastida, *Imágenes de la Edad Media: la mirada del realismo* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2003) p. 585.

destes nosos campos frescos.

Despite frequent representations of the *locus amoenus* and constant references to Galicia's beauty, there are a few occasions when Rosalía recreates Sublime scenes so as to conceptualize Galician Nature, in consonance with the Gothic and Romantic preference for the awe-inspiring and obscurity.

Así se espicaba Rosa
no medio da noite negra,
ó pe dunha negra porta,
toda de lañas cuberta.
Mentras tanto murmuxaban
por antre a robreada espesa
do río as revoltas ágoas
e os berridos da tormenta.
Todo era sombras no ceo,
todo era loito na terra,
e parece que a Compañía
bailaba antre as arboredas
cas chuchonas enemigas,
e cas estricadas meigas.²²

Por la Europa católica, however, represents a more blunt and detailed comparative study between Galicia and Castile, and above all between Europe – the motherland in her opinion – and Spain in general. No sooner does her train leave Galicia than Pardo Bazán begins to contrast the exuberance of its landscape with the aridity of the Castilian fields and, in echoing Rosalía's verse, the novelist describes them as “los campos más áridos y feos de la

²² Rosalía de Castro, “Ora, meu meniño, ora”, in *Cantares gallegos* (Madrid: Akal, 2000), p. 154.

Península”.²³ In this respect, we must note that, for Pardo Bazán, the train constitutes a narrative element that allows her to discover the most characteristic aspects of the landscape, either Galician or Castilian. The train journey entails the fleeting inclusion of trees and natural elements that the author intrinsically associates with the landscape idiosyncrasy of the territory she is going through, a technique that is also used in *Un viaje de novios*:²⁴ “se extendían monótonas las interminables campiñas; los raíles señalaban como arrugas en la árida faz de la tierra”, and similarly, “el tren corría, corría, dejando atrás las interminables alamedas de chopos que parecen un pentagrama donde fuesen las notas verde claro, sobre el crudo tono rojizo de las llanuras”.²⁵ Again, we can see a display of words conveying negative ideas to describe the Castilian landscape: “monótonas”, “interminables”, “arrugas”, “árida”, “crudo”. In short, Pardo Bazán’s use of the train journey enables her to carry out a comparative study of Spanish regions. Following Rosalía’s technique, when describing the unsightliness of Castile, she immediately rushes to idealize, through excessive bucolic descriptions, the landscape of Sarria, a Galician village not far from the Castilian border:

Y cuando le llamo lindo pueblecito, no es por adjetivar: es que el paisaje de Sarria – un paisaje de *transición*, donde se transforma insensiblemente la blandura mimosa de la campiña gallega en la severidad no adusta aún de los primeros campos de Castilla – merece el calificativo. El fondo de montañuelas realza el cuadro de la llanura con depresiones suaves, salpicada de blancas casitas, de chalets, de Pazos solariegos, de arbolado y de jardines. El pueblo forma una colina trepando las nuevas calles á enlazarse con las antiguas, que ascienden hasta rendirse á los pies del castillo señorial, el cual todavía

²³ *Por la Europa católica*, p. 10.

²⁴ Francisco Martín Martín, *Palabras y memorias de un escritor: José Luis Sampedro*, (A Coruña: Netbiblo, 2007), p. 57.

²⁵ *Obras completas*, p. 72-3.

mantiene erguido su torreón. No lejos del castillo, reposa soñando el convento y su iglesia monumental.²⁶

Pardo Bazán's works show a great interest, acknowledged by critics, in the fascination that the Galician landscape generates, as well as in the interaction between landscape and characters, an aspect that can be easily found in *La madre naturaleza* or in *Los pazos de Ulloa*.²⁷ As can be observed in *Por la Europa católica*, the author does not skimp on praise to describe the beauty of the Galician landscape. On the one hand, she employs a series of diminutives that clearly transmit the great affection she feels towards her land: "pueblecito", "montañuelas", "casitas", a frequent technique also used by Rosalía in *Cantares gallegos*. On the other hand, Pardo Bazán enhances the grandeur of the Galician buildings, which evoke the Gothic architectural constructions described in nineteenth-century English and North-American Literatures: "Pazos solariegos", "castillo señorial", "iglesia monumental", "convento". Such vivid descriptions are proof of an unconditional "regionalismo afectivo", as Marisa Sotelo Vázquez puts it.²⁸ The praise of the architectural constructions shows that not all the Gothic devices she employs convey a negative meaning. For Miguel Anxo Murado, authors like Rosalía and Pardo Bazán were partly able to soften, at least among certain sectors of scholars, the eminently negative character that everything associated with Galicia had conveyed until that moment.²⁹ The description of the Galician landscape, in contrast with the aridity of Castile should therefore be understood as one step forward to dignifying Galicianness in Pardo Bazán's works.³⁰

²⁶ *Por la Europa católica*, pp.13-4.

²⁷ For more information on the impact of Pardo Bazán's treatment of the landscape, see Almudena Mosquera Fernández, *Experiencias didáctico musicales en la ESO: El realismo y la fantasía, la palabra y la imagen. Su contribución a la adquisición de competencias* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 2011), p. 180.

²⁸ Marisa Sotelo Vázquez, "Fundamentos estéticos de la crítica literaria de Emilia Pardo Bazán", in *La elaboración del canon en la literatura española del siglo XIX*, Sociedad de Literatura Española del siglo XIX (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2002), p. 419.

²⁹ Miguel Anxo Murado, *Otra idea de Galicia* (Barcelona: Debate, 2008), p. 86.

³⁰ It is widely believed that Rosalía de Castro's *Cantares gallegos* lauds Galician landscape to counteract its deteriorated vision by 1863. María López Sánchez supports this idea and contends that that "idealización sérvelle a Rosalía para facer unha exaltación compensatoria da visión degradada do imaxinario dominante", and

To the glorious Galician monuments, Pardo Bazán juxtaposes the vulgarity of the Castilian structures. There is a particular construction, however, that she finds tremendously abhorrent: the bullrings; “si muchos pueblos han erigido teatros, en casi ninguno ha dejado de alzarse flamante, insolente de vida, con su arquería mudéjar, la plaza de toros”.³¹ In the eyes of Pardo Bazán, bullfighting is, in effect, among the worst of vices in Spain and blames this spectacle for the slackness Spanish people suffer from: “Y no es lo peor que haya toros, sino que ellos absorban nuestro jugo, y constituyan, á nuestras alturas, nuestra única y exclusiva preocupación...”³² As aforementioned, literary critics have thoroughly examined and discussed Pardo Bazán’s contempt for bullfighting. For Benito Varela Jácome, the author’s literary production “critica duramente el espectáculo de los toros, alude a la excitación producida por el sol, acusa al público de feroz, porque paga para ver matar”.³³ In fact, she regards bullfighting as responsible for the Spanish people’s aboulia or apathy, one of the most common hysterical symptoms described in the nineteenth century. The author maintains these

concludes that “a intencionalidade é, expresamente, modificar o valor historicamente vencellado ao termo *Galicia*”. See María López Sández, *Paisaxe e nación. A creación discursiva do territorio* (Vigo: Galaxia, 2008), p. 107. In fact, since the sixteenth century, attacks to Galicia’s image had been commonplace. Góngora, for example, contributed to degrade the image of Galicia and in one of his sonnets, he wrote:

Pálido sol en cielo encapotado,
 mozas rollizas de anchos culiseos,
 tetas de vacas, piernas de correos,
 suelo menos barrido que regado;

campo todo de tojos matizado,
 berzas gigantes, nabos filisteos,
 gallos del Cairo, búcaros pigmeos,
 traje tosco y estilo mal limado;

cuestas que llegan a la ardiente esfera,
 pan de Guinea, techos sahumados,
 candelas de resina con tericia;

papas de mijo en concas de madera,
 cuevas profundas, ásperos collados,
 es lo que llaman reino de Galicia.

See Luis de Góngora, *Obras completas*, ed. by Millé Giménez (Madrid: Aguilar, 1966), p. 339. Golden Age Spanish Literature greatly contributed to consolidate the stereotypical image of the Galician as rough, poor and ugly if a woman. Thus, Frei Felipe de la Gándara y Ulloa, author of *El cisne occidental* (1878), wrote in this work that the language spoken in Galicia is the “lenguaje que hoy usan nuestros montañeses y es el menos culto y el más duro en sus voces y en su pronunciación”.

³¹ *Por la Europa católica*, p. 12.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 12.

³³ Varela Jácome, p. 132.

ideas in her writings and directly associates paralysis and social stagnation with the *fiesta nacional*: “Por la tarde los toros estuvieron concurridísimos. ¡Oh, multitud, piedra berroqueña!”³⁴ *Por la Europa católica* denounces the absurdity of bullfighting and suggests that the spectacle along with the resulting aboulia prevent the country from growing morally and artistically:

Acuso á los toros de que agotan toda nuestra sensibilidad nerviosa de que disponen los españoles, y devorando su sangre, como la devora y abrasa un vicio, un hábito desordenado les deja fríos é inertes para todo lo demás, no sólo para lo conveniente, sino también y en primer término para lo bello para los goces de la imaginación y de los sentidos mismos, en lo que pueden tener de escogido y de intenso. Pueblo que se entrega á los toros completamente, no volverá á enriquecer las artes como las enriquecimos nosotros en los siglos que pasaron.³⁵

As the passage suggests, bullfighting causes stagnation, for it leaves Spaniards “fríos e inertes”. Furthermore, it affects people’s perspective towards what they consider beautiful and creative. For Pardo Bazán, Spanish people cannot be productive as a nation; they cannot create a truly representative art, worthy of their glorious history, if they let bullfighting prevent the country from progressing.

In addition, it is interesting to note the direct juxtaposition of Galician architectural constructions with the Castilian and Andalusian ones. While the Galician constructions are strongly connected with the Sublime and Europe, the others, as Cathryn Bailey had pointed out, are implicitly associated with the uncivilized world, with Africa. Pardo Bazán was fully aware of the ideas circulating in Europe about bullfighting and did not hesitate to take advantage of these to distance Galicia from the rest of Spain.

³⁴ Javier Figuero, Carlos G. Santa Cecilia, *La España del desastre* (Madrid: Plaza & Janés, 1997), p. 176

³⁵ *Por la Europa católica*, pp. 12-3.

Interestingly, Fernán Caballero's *costumbrista* work, *La gaviota*, condemns bullfighting as well. The novel, set in the period between 1836 and 1848, introduces German doctor and musician Stein, who having fought in Carlist Wars in Navarra, heads for the south, where a bull attacks him and fatally wounds his dog. Stein arrives in the fishing village of Villamar and meets Marisalada Santaló (Gaviota), a rough-mannered sixteen-year old girl, whose only real attribute is her beautiful singing voice. He immediately falls in love with her and they marry soon afterwards. Encouraged by the Duke of Almansa, they both travel to Seville, where Marisalada finds money and success through her voice and enhancing artistic potential. At the peak of her success, however, she meets bullfighter Pepe Vera, with whom she commits adultery. This episode clearly anticipates the unfortunate outcome, an exercise in poetic justice, as Pepe Vera is symbolically killed in the bullring and Marisalada falls ill and loses her voice.

The purpose of the novel, as its author advises in her prologue, was “dar una idea exacta, verdadera y genuina de España”.³⁶ In order to accomplish this purpose, she explains, “es indispensable que, en lugar de juzgar a los españoles por manos extrañas, nos vean los demás pintados por nosotros mismos”,³⁷ a thought that Pardo Bazán among others had also shared.³⁸ Now, Pardo Bazán's thinking moves away from Fernán Caballero's, who condemned modernization and exalted the traditional values of Spain. Fernán Caballero was herself a *casticista*, but this did not prevent her from opposing bullfighting.³⁹ Yet one should

³⁶ *La gaviota*, p. 39.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

³⁸ Mesoneros Romanos was aware of the stereotypes surrounding Spanish identity. As Dorde Cuvardic García explains, “la pintura de las costumbres locales, para Mesonero Romanos, tiene la intención de refutar los *errores comunes* (como diría Feijóo) o estereotipos que tienen los extranjeros sobre la sociabilidad española contemporánea”. A paradigmatic example of this is to be found in his “Las costumbres de Madrid”, whose aim is to reject the wrong descriptions that foreigners make of Spain. See Dorde Cuvardic García *El flâneur en las prácticas culturales, el costumbrismo y el modernismo* (Paris: Societé des écrivains, 2012), p. 287.

³⁹ Flitter comments on Fernán Caballero's “exaggerated mood of xenophobia” by suggesting that “The only sympathetic foreign characters are those who reveal themselves to be enamoured of Spain and traditional Spanish culture, a point which itself illustrated the author's *casticismo*”. See Derek Flitter, “Romantic Traditionalism in the Work of Fernán Caballero”, in *Spanish Romantic Literary Theory and Criticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 151-74 (pp. 161-2).

not interpret her traditionalism as a rejection of foreign influence in Spain, although she did condemn the approach to English and French models of Europeanization. Her *costumbrismo* should then be understood within the context of German Romanticism.⁴⁰ One should bear in mind, however, the gap of time existing between Fernán Caballero and Pardo Bazán. In addition, the former's novels were often written significantly earlier than their date of publication.

By contrast, Pardo Bazán develops her arguments against bullfighting in more detail. In spite of the common belief that Spanish people are characterized by their vitality and inability to master their impulses, Pardo Bazán considers that the “indígenas”, as she sarcastically calls them, make a bad use of their energy in attending bullfighting spectacles. Hilton points out that the author's surprise when reading Barrès' *Du sang, de la volupté, et de la mort* (1894), with its exaltation of Spanish energy, must have been noteworthy.⁴¹ In fact, a number of French writers, including Stendhal, Mérimée and Taine would share the same vision as Barrès with regards to the “Spanish temperament”. In this respect, Pardo Bazán and Miguel de Unamuno shared the same opinion. For Unamuno, Barrès' works offered a number of prejudiced considerations with regard to Spanishness and his arguments should therefore be rejected.⁴² Unamuno and Pardo Bazán agree about the necessity of offering a Europeanizing perspective towards the Spanish character that would ultimately end the backwardness originated by the association of the aspects considered as alien to progress and civilization, such as bullfighting. In this respect, she prioritizes the Europeanization of Galicia over that of Spain.

⁴⁰ Flitter devotes a chapter to examining Fernán Caballero's Romantic traditionalism, or more specifically to the way her *costumbrismo* “links with the Romantic conceptual pattern prominent in literary criticism”. The connection of *costumbrismo* and Romantic thinking can fully be understood when examining the influence of her father's ideas, on the one hand, and the impact of Herder's *Volksgeist*, on the other hand. See Flitter, pp. 151-2.

⁴¹ Hilton, p. 330.

⁴² Miguel de Unamuno, *Americanidad* (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 2002), p. 164

While Pardo Bazán would incessantly claim a rapprochement of Spain and mainly Galicia to Europe, it appears that the author could not put up with the idea of being associated with the “España de pandereta”, that is, its *castizo*, frivolous, festive and stereotyped aspects, and felt profoundly offended, not to say embarrassed, by any judgement coming from abroad. Her tale “Vengadora” presents the story of an American woman ashamed of the attitude of her country towards Spain after the war of 1898. She confesses her rejection of imperialism in so far as it prevents humankind from the possibility of universal fraternity.⁴³ This story is an example of Pardo Bazán’s rejection of the exclusively foreign definition of the Spanish character, an idea on which the author insists in *Por la Europa católica*. Here, the novelist alludes again to such foreign judgements and incidentally attempts to demonstrate that they are mistaken. However, this does not mean that Pardo Bazán accepts the *castizo* concept of Spain. In the following passage, we can see how Pardo Bazán not only criticizes the imposition of a foreign perspective on Spain, but also the perspective of the Spaniards themselves.

No diré que un extranjero, al pasar de prisa por España, tenga probabilidades de acertar en sus precipitados juicios; en cambio, el español, conociendo ya el terreno que pisa, ve en un momento la señal característica de un período, el sentido que lleva la vida patria. En este particular, los viajes por mi patria no pueden infundirme ideas tranquilizadoras.⁴⁴

It is through this argument that her criticism of bullfighting acquires great significance, for its being a cultural aspect attached to Spanish *casticismo*, which she rejects and which made Spain become more and more backward. From her point of view, bullfighting is not compatible with Europe and modernization. It is actually the cause of the problems afflicting the country: stagnation, slovenliness and indifference towards culture and

⁴³ Bravo-Villasante, p. 209.

⁴⁴ *Por la Europa católica*, p. 12.

what is going on in Europe. In this regard, while Pardo Bazán shared opinions with some relevant members of the “Generation of 98”, such as Miguel de Unamuno, she did not agree with the most conservative sectors that also belonged to this “generation” of authors, namely Ángel Ganivet and Ramiro de Maeztu. Her negative vision of Castile evidently clashed with some of the idealizations exemplified by some members of the “Generation of ‘98”.⁴⁵ The Castilian landscape, as the authentic symbol of the Spanish soul, its austerity and sobriety does not fit in Pardo Bazán’s perspective of Spain. The disagreement with the *noventayochistas* highlights the idea of a divided country between the *casticistas* and the *européizantes*. There is no question that Pardo Bazán strives to dissociate herself from the subjectivity that characterizes the “Generation of ‘98” and the pessimism caused by the collapse of the Spanish Empire. As we have seen, however, the author sympathizes with the authors that show a Europeanizing spirit, like Miguel de Unamuno.⁴⁶

Now, when dealing with the aforementioned aboulia and paralysis in Spanish society, Pardo Bazán tackles one of the most popular topics in *fin de siècle* Spanish literature. Authors like Azorín, Baroja and Unamuno would deal with such a problem in their novels. Azorín’s *La voluntad*, for example, was published in 1902, coincidentally the same year as *Por la Europa católica*. In this novel, the protagonist who, besides his name, shares strong biographical parallels with the author, experiences the disappointment and frustration that afflicts Spain at this moment in time. On a day trip from Madrid to Toledo, Azorín reflects on the decadence of the Castilian towns as he sits in a café to have a drink:

Estos pueblos tétricos y católicos no pueden producir más que hombres que hacen cada hora del día la misma cosa, y mujeres vestidas de negro y que no se lavan. Yo no podría vivir en un pueblo como éste; mi espíritu inquieto se ahogaría en este ambiente de foscura, de uniformidad, de monotonía

⁴⁵ The best-known idealization of the Castilian fields is Antonio Machado’s *Campos de Castilla* (1912).

⁴⁶ Emilia Pardo Bazán, “La nueva generación de novelistas y cuentistas de España”, *Helios*, 12 (1904), pp. 257-70.

eternal... ¡Esto es estúpido! La austeridad castellana agobia a esta pobre raza paralítica⁴⁷

As can be observed, Azorín's tone here is radically different from his tone in *Castilla*, published ten years later. The juxtaposition of "tétrico" and "católico" is not a fortuitous one. In fact, the novel presents churches associated with darkness and the Sublime: "A ratos la puerta del templo se abre y las profundas tinieblas son rasgadas por un relámpago de viva y cegadora luz solar"⁴⁸. Through the protagonist's reflections, we find some hints about the presumable anti-Catholicism of the novel: "El catolicismo en España es pleito perdido: entre obispos cursis y clérigos patanes acabarán por matarlo en pocos años"⁴⁹. Critics agree that José Martínez Ruiz was influenced by Nietzsche's philosophy, which regards human existence as an eternal recurrence of the same. For Nietzsche, this eternal recurrence implies God's death, as there does not exist a transcendental world, and thus there is no life beyond death. This situation explains why the philosopher considers the western world is driven by nihilism, that is to say, humans have discovered that to live leads inexorably to death. So as to escape from this vicious circle, humans need will to power, to live every single day as if it were their last. Following Nietzsche's perspective, Azorín considered that religion fosters paralysis because it promotes the existence of a transcendent world that has been dismantled. In this way, Azorín blames Catholicism for not being able to produce an appropriate alternative to evade nihilism.

In *Camino de perfección*, also published in 1902, Pío Baroja depicts the existential conflicts of Fernando Ossorio who, tormented by his own fears, decides to embark on a purifying trip with the sole purpose of finding significance in his own existence. As in *La voluntad*, Nietzsche's thinking is perceptible throughout the novel and, once again, the symptoms of aboulia are present throughout:

⁴⁷ Azorín, *La voluntad* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 1965), p. 168.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

Fernando se encaminó hacia el pueblo; cruzó un puente, y tomando una senda, fue hasta pasar cerca de una iglesia gótica con una portada decadente. Llegó a la plaza; había dejado de llover. Se sentó en un café. A su lado, en otra mesa, había una tertulia de gente triste, viejos con caras melancólicas y expresión apagada, echando el cuerpo hacia adelante, apoyados en los bastones.⁵⁰

When dealing with Galician characters, and particularly with Galician women, Pardo Bazán adopts a completely different attitude. While some of her contemporaries show a great concern for existentialist matters and its consequences around 1898, her concerns about the Galicians are of a different nature. With some exceptions, the Galician characters she describes do not suffer from aboulia.⁵¹ However, as a *regeneracionista*, Emilia looks for a solution to the problems of Galicia and opts for a modernity-oriented discourse as that in *Por la Europa católica*. Among other issues, such as education and literacy campaigns, it was evident to Pardo Bazán that women should be included in this process of regeneration.

This discourse can also be found in her *costumbrista* article “La gallega”, which constitutes a perfect account of what she considers to be a Galician woman from an ethnocentric viewpoint. The author begins her article by establishing a racial typology based on the different peoples that inhabited Galicia throughout the centuries: “Celtas, helenos, fenicios, latinos y suevos”, emphasizing the superiority and nobility of their bloodlines, which she considers as “yuxtapuestas, nunca confundidas”⁵².

Racial theories depicted by Gobineau, Chamberlain and Gumplovitz had a significant impact upon nineteenth-century European nationalist theories, promoting the appearance of new ideological movements that would base the concept of nation on the nature of the

⁵⁰ Pío Baroja, *Camino de perfección: (Pasión mística)* (Madrid: Caro Raggio, 1972), p. 109.

⁵¹ Julián, the priest from *Los pazos de Ulloa* is perhaps the Galician character that best represents the symptoms of aboulia.

⁵² Emilia Pardo Bazán, “La gallega”, in *Las mujeres españolas, americanas y lusitanas pintadas por si mismas*, ed. by Faustina Saez de Melgar (Barcelona: Biblioteca Hispanoamericana, 2006), p. 40.

individual.⁵³ As theoreticians like Gobineau proclaimed the superiority of the Aryan race and the importance of preserving it, there emerged new racial theories in Galicia that defended the existence of a Celtic past in this Iberian region. Thus, in the process of the construction of a distinctive Galician identity, regionalists and nationalists like Manuel Murguía and simply regionalists like Pardo Bazán contributed to the emergence of a Celtic myth, which provided the region not only with a historical identity but also with a supposedly “superior race”. While Pardo Bazán was familiarized with the racial theories that had circulated around Europe in the nineteenth century, it is reasonable to think that Murguía had strengthened her views.⁵⁴ Similarly, Eduardo Pondal shared with Emilia the paradigm of the Sublime Galician landscape. The novelist wrote the following about him:

Eduardo Pondal hoy es acaso el único hombre en España que con algún derecho puede usar el término de *bardo*, que a lo mejor se dan a sí propios, con mucha formalidad, los copleros de seguidilla o los rimadores de odas pindáricas y sonetos argensolianos. Sólo a Pondal le es lícito decir:

Pasajeros rumores de los pinos
que arrullasteis los días de mi infancia
y encantasteis un tiempo mis oídos,
sobre la oscura tierra de Brigandsia
pasasteis, mas el bardo transeúnte
aún recuerda el rumor de vuestras alas.⁵⁵

⁵³ Ramón Máiz, “Raza y mito céltico en los orígenes del nacionalismo gallego: Manuel M. Murguía”, in *Revista española de investigaciones sociológicas* 15 Madrid, 1984. p. 149.

R. Gobineau, *Essai sur L'inegalité des races humaines*, Paris, 1853-5.

Houston Stewart Chamberlain, *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1912.

Louis Gumplowitz, *La lutte des races. Recherches sociologiques*, Paris, 1893.

⁵⁴ Brian J. Dendle, “The Racial Theories of Emilia Pardo Bazán”, *Hispanic Review*, 38 (1970), 17-31 (p. 19).

⁵⁵ *De mi tierra*, pp. 71-2. The verses belong to the dedicatory prefacing Pondal’s *Rumores dos Pinos* (1877). The poem subsequently appeared in *Queixumes dos pinos* (1886). Unlike Rosalía’s *Cantares gallegos*, this work represents a full account of Galician iconography of the Sublime.

Precisely, in Pardo Bazán's "La gallega", there is a type of race in Galicia that prevails over the others: "el de la noble raza celta: el de Bretaña e Irlanda"⁵⁶. Its women are positively described as industrious, tall, blue-eyed and pale-skinned. Not surprisingly, Pardo Bazán compares Galicians' beauty to that of the Breton and Irish women and contrasts it to that of the Andalusians: "No arde en sus ojos la chispa de fuego que brilla en los de las andaluzas; su pie no es leve, ni quebrado su talle; mas, en cambio, el sol no logra quemar su cutis, y sus mejillas tienen el sano carmín del albaricoque maduro y de la guinda temprana".⁵⁷ The skin of Andalusian women is burnt because of the sun; this can be interpreted as a sign of destruction and, as pointed before when commenting on bullfighting, a sign of stagnation. However, the skin of Galician women is healthy, carmine red. This indicates that their blood flows through their bodies, it is not burnt, as in the case of Andalusians. In addition, Galician women combine tradition ("albaricoque maduro") with new perspectives more akin to youth ("guinda temprana"). This is linked to Pardo Bazán's own idea of Galicia: bringing together tradition and modernity as the best model to represent the Galician and Spanish identities.

Emilia projects in the Andalusians the traditional definition of the "Spanish temperament", thoroughly developed during Spanish Romanticism and supported by subsequent authors, such as the ones mentioned above.⁵⁸ In this regard, Pardo Bazán's vision did not at all differ from Barrès'. As can be observed, Pardo Bazán's conception of the "Spanish temperament" is an entirely Romantic one and associates it with the colour red, passion and fire: "arde", "chispa", "fuego", "brilla", "sol", "quemar", "mejillas", "carmín", "guinda". In this sense, Prosper Mérimée's novella *Carmen*, written in 1845 and published in 1847, contributed heavily to the common association of the southern Spanish woman with this colour. Further, for Pardo Bazán, there is an intimate correspondence between race and environment or, in other words, an identification of race and heredity, understood in terms of

⁵⁶ "La gallega", p. 40.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 40.

⁵⁸ Havelock Ellis, *Soul of Spain* (Kessinger Publishing, 2003) p. 20.

distinctive physical and emotional traits. In this particular case, for example, Andalusians show both physically and emotionally the signs of a warm climate, an argument she would expand on in *Insolación*.⁵⁹ Similarly, in “La mujer española”, Pardo Bazán compares the Andalusian character to that of the Madrid people, suggesting that their affinity “descubre la preponderancia del elemento semítico o africano”. The defence of the “African element” is also developed by Gabriel Pardo in *Insolación*. With regards to the “elemento semítico”, we should take into consideration Bazán’s infamous anti-Semitism.⁶⁰ For the author, having African or Semitic blood is symptomatic of the despotic and jealous nature of Spanish men, which also explains the backwardness of the country. Probably for this reason, Pardo Bazán tries to distance Galician people from the African and Semitic heredity. In “La gallega”, she does not include these groups in her typology of Galician races, and in *La cristiana* and *La prueba*, the narrator explains that the Semitic blood of the Galician family was “una rama desgajada del tronco portugués Cardoso Pereira, tronco israelita si los hay”.⁶¹ The wave of anti-Semitism that overtook Europe at the end of the nineteenth century greatly affected Spain and some critics point out that Pardo Bazán’s anti-Semitism was, in fact, imported from France.⁶² However, anti-Semitism in Spain had itself been a well-known issue since the Middle Ages, and it would probably be more correct to believe that Pardo Bazán had adopted her racial feelings from her immediate milieu. Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer was himself

⁵⁹ Eighteenth and nineteenth environmental theories tended to associate environment with human adaptability. J. G. Herder, for example, maintained that physical environmental was the direct cause of biological and cultural differentiation.

⁶⁰ Dendle offers a rich analysis in which he demonstrates Pardo Bazán’s anti-Semitism through her novels, namely *Una cristiana* and *La prueba*. Dendle points out that her anti-Semitism is, nonetheless, not confined to these two novels, for “as early as 1882, in San Francisco de Asís, she accepts medieval accusations that the Jews are guilty of ritual murder”. See See Dendle, p. 29.

⁶¹ Emilia Pardo Bazán, *Una cristiana* (Barcelona: Linkgua, 2007), p. 29.

⁶² Isidro González García, “España y el problema judío en la Europa del siglo XIX”, *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna y Contemporánea*, 7 (1986), 123-40 (p. 138).

notoriously anti-Semitic and Benito Pérez Galdós addressed this racial prejudice in his novel *Gloria* (1877).⁶³

The deterministic traits of race and environment are clarified in Emilia's *Insolación*, where she exemplifies the consequences of being exposed to alien climatic phenomena through the Galician widow Asís Taboada. As she arrives in Madrid, Asís meets Pacheco, an Andalusian with whom she attends the Fair of San Isidro despite not knowing much about him. There, the combination of sun, heat and alcohol makes Asís behave in an indecorous, embarrassing manner. Effectively, another Galician, Gabriel Pardo, who had previously appeared in *Los pazos* as Nucha's brother, blames the sun for the Spaniards' behaviour and ultimately for Asís'. For Gabriel, "de los Pirineos acá; todos, sin excepción, somos salvajes", an idea strongly associated with France and the famous remark that "Africa begins at the Pyrenees".⁶⁴ However, in referring to the Galicians, Gabriel claims: "nosotros lo disimulamos un poquillo más". Like Pardo Bazán, Gabriel establishes a subtle regional typology, uncovering Pardo Bazán's racial theories in the Iberian Peninsula. In a conversation with Asís about the Spaniards' supposed savagery, Gabriel defends the peaceful nature of Galicians: "Concederé que usted sea la menor cantidad de salvaje posible, porque al fin nuestra tierra es la porción más apacible y sensata de España".⁶⁵

⁶³ Yolanda Montalvo Aponte examines Bécquer's anti-Semitism in his article "El judío errante" and his legend "La rosa de Pasión". She contends that his sentiment results from his Catholic traditionalism. See Yolanda Montalvo Aponte, "Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer y el antisemitismo", in *El olivo y la espada*, ed. by Pere Joan i Tous (Tübinge: Romania Judaica, 2003), pp. 283-92. In *Gloria*, Galdós expressed the religious fanaticism of intransigent Catholicism toward Judaism by the second half of the nineteenth century. As Danielle Rozenberg points out, *Gloria* stands for an "alegato a favor de la tolerancia". See Danielle Rozenberg, "La cuestión judía en el enfrentamiento de las dos Españas (1860-1939)", in *La España contemporánea y la cuestión judía* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2006), pp. 71-117 (p. 95).

⁶⁴ According to Bernard F. Reilly, this statement is often attributed to Napoleon. Catherine Simpson, however, suggests that the sentence was first uttered by Alexandre Dumas, père, and Richard Herr, on his part, is supposed to have been uttered by Louis XIV. See Bernard F. Reilly, "Santiago and Saint Denis: The French Presence in Eleventh-Century Spain", *The Catholic Historical Review*, 54 (1968), pp. 467-83 (p. 467). Catherine Simpson, "Tenemos un defecto": Europe and the Repressed *macho ibérico* in Vicente Esquivá's *Lo verde empieza en los Pirineos*", *Arizona Journal of Cultural Studies* 12 (2008), pp. 111-23 (p. 111). Richard Herr, *A Historical Essay on Modern Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), p. 3.

⁶⁵ On a trip to Galicia, her friend, Miguel de Unamuno, would express a similar idea about the Galicians' character: "Respiré ya en Orense, pero sobre todo en La Coruña, un aire social de tolerancia y de amplitud de criterio que contrasta con el hosco inquisitorialismo que nos sofoca en otras partes de España". See Miguel de

From an ethnocentric and Naturalist perspective, Pardo Bazán emphasizes the influence of environment and heredity on the configuration of an ethnic group. Thus, in “La gallega”, she clarifies that race is a deterministic factor intrinsically related to the environment: “Siempre que cruzo, en los flemáticos coches de la llamada diligencia, el trecho que separa a Lugo de León, me entretengo considerando el íntimo enlace que existe entre la tierra y la mujer, la relación que guardan los paisajes con las figuras que los animan”.⁶⁶ As in *Por la Europa católica*, the author stresses the existing differences between Galicia and Castile, as she implicitly attempts to endow both regions with two personal, distinct racial identities. In this manner, as she advances through the Castilian landscape, she perceives a physical difference with respect to the Galician women:

Corridas algunas leguas más, al entrar por los poblachones del territorio leonés, asómanse a las ventanas o salen por las puertas de las casuchas terrizas, mujeres de enjuta piel pegada a los huesos, semblantes de recias y angulosas facciones de color arcilla o ladrillo, cual si estuviesen amasadas con el árido terruño o talladas en la dura roca de las sierras.⁶⁷

The negative connotation with which Pardo Bazán depicts Castile and Castilian women becomes evident. Not only does she use pejorative diminutives to describe the territory – “poblachones”, “casuchas” – but also to reify women and identify them with the elements of the landscape. It becomes evident that Pardo Bazán works hard to dissociate Galician women from other Iberian models, and besides the pre-supposed racial differences between them, the writer tackles the attitude of the Galicians towards work. To the eyes of Emilia, the Galicians, unlike other Spanish women, have historically undertaken typically masculine roles. In this sense, the novelist establishes a strong connection between the roles

Unamuno, “Paisajes y recuerdos (Paisajes. De mi país. Por tierras de Portugal y de España. Andanzas y visiones españolas)”, in *Obras Completas*, 6 ed. by Ricardo Senabre (Madrid: Fundación José Antonio de Castro, 1911), p. 336.

⁶⁶ “La gallega”, p. 40.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

performed by their husbands outside of the family sphere and the subsequent functions that Galician women were forced to undertake at the forefront of traditionally masculine tasks such as farming and cultivation: “No desmiente la mujer gallega las tradiciones de aquellas épocas lejanas en que, dedicados los varones de la tribu a los riegos de la Guerra o a las fatigas de la caza, recaía sobre las hembras el peso total no sólo de las faenas domésticas, sino de la labor y cultivo del campo”.⁶⁸ Such an aspect of Galician women was accentuated throughout the nineteenth century as their husbands migrated to America to earn a living and women took charge of both domestic and agrarian duties. Such was Miguel de Unamuno’s impression on a trip he made to Galicia: “El paisaje es en Galicia femenino, y luego apenas se ve más que mujeres trabajando el campo; los hombres están fuera, navegando, pescando, en América, en el interior de España. Allí quedan, en la tierra vieja, mujeres y niños”.⁶⁹

The reality that both Pardo Bazán and Unamuno described in these writings has reinforced, throughout the years, the so-called myth of Galician matriarchy, a distinctive regional marker of identity elaborated during the *Rexurdimento* with the sole purpose of distancing this historical nationality from Spain. While Galician matriarchy lacks any scientific grounding, the author provides several examples so as to demonstrate the power of Galician women before Spanish ones. Thus, in “La mujer española”, she insists over and over again on the same idea: “La labor agrícola, al menos en el noroeste, si no recae exclusivamente sobre la mujer, por lo menos la lleva a medias con el hombre”.⁷⁰ Unamuno, on his trip to the north-western region, would likewise point out: “Es muy frecuente oír en Galicia y en boca de gallegos: ‘Aquí la mujer, si no es superior, es igual al hombre cuando menos’”.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 41.

⁶⁹ “Paisajes y recuerdos”, p. 333.

⁷⁰ Emilia Pardo Bazán, “La mujer española y otros artículos feministas”, ed. by Leda Schiavo. (Madrid: Editorial Nacional, 1976), p. 165.

⁷¹ “Paisajes y recuerdos”, p. 333.

The arguments that Pardo Bazán and Unamuno maintain about the myth of Galician matriarchy certainly derive from the *Rexurdimento*. In fact, it was Manuel Murguía, one of the driving figures of this movement that developed the idea of the Galician woman's power in order to strengthen the identity of historical nationality:

“la gallega no teme la falta del hombre, pues sabe vivir sola y llevar por entero sobre sí el peso diario del trabajo. No se extrañe, pues, que allí donde la mujer no necesita del apoyo del hombre para vivir, ésta sea independiente, y no sólo tenga hijos naturales, sino que este hecho vaya acompañado de un valor no muy común en la que no tiene manera de vivir, ni conocido, ni fácil: el de criarlos a su lado. Si en otras partes la mujer lo es todo por su marido, aquí lo es por sí misma”⁷²

Along with the myth of Galician matriarchy, Pardo Bazán's racial discourse on the superiority of Celtic blood finds a parallel in the racial theories Murguía made use of in order to vindicate Galicia as a nation. In his introduction to *Diccionario de escritores Gallegos* (1862), Murguía suggests that the “superiority” of Galician women derives from the fact that Galician was a Celtic region itself, an idea that is similarly echoed in Pondal:

Esa misma historia nos dice que hay otras regiones no menos bellas y espléndidas, pero habitadas por razas varoniles, en las cuales el hombre parece desdeñar instintivamente como indignas de él las frivolidades de la musa caprichosa, y quizás Galicia sea una de esas venturosas comarcas. Quizás desde que el celta habitador de estas montañas, dejó a la mujer y al sacerdote el cultivo de la sabiduría que enerva y debilita, tan severa lección viene repitiéndose de generación en generación, y el hombre de estos campos

⁷² Manuel Murguía, “La mujer de Orense”, in *Os galegos pintados por sí mesmos. A muller tradicional*, ed. Ricardo Polín, (Vigo: Xerais, 1996) p. 125.

aprende desde la infancia á buscar en los dulces sueños de la poesía el pasajero descanso.⁷³

Murguía works hard to offer an idealizing vision of the Galician woman by glorifying the values of an emergent nation. In 1865, he published the first volume of *Historia de Galicia*, where he rejected the idea of the Iberian Peninsula as an indivisible nation and proposed the construction of Galicia as a nation or nationality. By the end of the nineteenth century, Murguía, echoing Herder's thinking, still maintained that the concept of nation was necessarily linked to the concepts of race, language and history. In echoing Herder, he claims:

Galicia tiene territorio perfectamente delimitado, raza, lengua distinta, historia y condiciones creadas gracias a esa misma diversidad, y por lo tanto necesidades que ella sólo mide en toda su intensidad, aspiraciones que ella sólo sabe a dónde llegan. Constituye, pues, una Nación porque tiene todos los caracteres propios de una nacionalidad.⁷⁴

Pardo Bazán's arguments about race and history are strongly connected with the idea of nationalism previously developed by Murguía during the *Rexurdimento*. However, although both writers shared similar ideas about race and its important role in the construction of a Galician identity, Pardo Bazán was not a nationalist like Murguía. As a matter of fact, she denies the existence of peninsular nationalities as manifested in her "Cancionero Popular Gallego" included in *De mi tierra*: "no hay nacionalidades peninsulares, ni quiera Dios que se sueñe en haberlas, ni permita, si llega este caso inverosímil, que lo vean mis ojos".⁷⁵ For the author, nationalist ideologies and also the *Rexurdimento* are to be considered as the origin of separatist movements, something to be avoided. In this respect, after Rosalía's death in 1885, the "Círculo de Artesanos de Coruña" organized a contest to pay tribute to the poet.

⁷³ Ibid., *Diccionario de escritores Gallegos* (Vigo: Compañel, 1862), p. 25.

⁷⁴ Ibid., "El Regionalismo", in *El Eco de Galicia*, Buenos Aires, 1899.

⁷⁵ Emilia Pardo Bazán, "Cancionero Popular Gallego", in *De mi tierra* (Vigo: Xerais, 1984), pp. 90-120 (pp.100-1).

There, Pardo Bazán uttered the following speech: “el renacimiento lleva en sí un germen de separatismo, germen poco desarrollado todavía, pero cuya presencia es imposible negar, y que acaso sea el único fruto político y social de este florecimiento poético”.⁷⁶ Pardo Bazán is above all a regionalist without political or ideological principles; rather she professes that “regionalismo afectivo” Sotelo Vázquez had referred to in her article.

This affection does not prevent Emilia from depicting Galician barbarism ruthlessly, a barbarism mostly transmitted through the primitive impulses of Nature as described in novels like *Los pazos de Ulloa*, impulses that are ultimately transformed in violent representations of the rural world through Gothic devices. There are numerous examples of violence in Pardo Bazán’s novels and tales taking place in Galicia. In “La gallega”, she reminds us once again that despite the supposed strength of Galician women, these are subordinated to familial tyrannical male figures; the grandfather, the father, the husband and the son: “Pobre mujer que de todos es criada y esclava, del abuelo grañón y despótico, del padre mujeriego y amigo de andar de taberna en taberna, del marido brutal quizás, del chiquillo enfermizo que se agarra a sus faldas lloriqueando”.⁷⁷

In her novella *Un destripador de antaño*, the young Minia is brutally slaughtered at the hands of her aunt and uncle, Pepona and Juan Ramón, so as to get her “untos” and sell them to a *curandero*. As the author announces in her prologue, the figure of the “ripper”, “asesino medio sabio y medio brujo” is a deeply rooted legend in Galicia.⁷⁸ At the end of the story, we learned that both perpetrators have been punished in different ways: “A Pepona la ahorcaron en La Coruña. Juan Ramón fue sentenciado a presidio”.⁷⁹ In the light of this verdict, one could argue that justice has eventually triumphed. However, it is quite striking that the woman has been condemned to death while the man sentenced to an unspecified

⁷⁶ “La poesía regional gallega”, p. 40.

⁷⁷ “La gallega”, p. 40.

⁷⁸ Emilia Pardo Bazán, *Un destripador de antaño*, in *Cuentos*, ed. by Juan Paredes Núñez (Madrid: Taurus, 1984), pp. 95-120 (p. 95).

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

period of imprisonment even when he is supposed to be as guilty as his wife. As commented on my chapter II, this novella constitutes a perfect example of Galician Gothic.

In “Las medias rojas” (*Por esos mundos*, 1914), the beautiful country girl Ildara reaches the age of adulthood and plans to set sail to an unknown country and try her luck. Unlike other northern regions like Catalonia or the Basque Country, early twentieth-century Galicia remained largely agricultural and poor and, as indicated before, mass migration towards industrialized cities in Spain and other countries, particularly in Latin America, became a reality. Like most women of her age, Ildara is very vain about her physical appearance; she fixes her hair, “peinado a la moda de las ‘señoritas’”⁸⁰ and has bought a pair of red stockings with the money she has earned from selling some eggs. Her father disapproves of his daughter’s attitude and no sooner does he see Ildara’s stockings than he gives her a brutal beating that results in a retinal detachment and a lost tooth. The tale introduces the abusive treatment of women, a highly topical subject even today. While her father goes unpunished, Ildara loses the opportunity of commencing a new life: “nunca más el barco la recibió en sus concavidades para llevarla hacia nuevos horizontes de holganza y lujo. Los que allá vayan, han de ir sanos, válidos, y las mujeres, con sus ojos alumbrando y su dentadura completa...”⁸¹

While presenting certain supernatural elements, her tale “Vampiro” constitutes another paradigmatic illustration of women’s vulnerability when getting married. Fifteen-year old Inesiña is obliged to marry Fortunato Gayoso, a man five times her age. While the young girl had indulgently cared for him until he died, her husband had long before devised a plan: “Sabía Gayoso que Inesiña era la víctima, la oveja traída al matadero; y con el feroz egoísmo de los últimos años de la existencia, en que todo se sacrifica en afán de prolongarla, aunque

⁸⁰ *Obras Completas*, p. 1474.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1475.

sólo sea horas, no sentía ni rastro de compasión”.⁸² As Gayoso progressively gets his strength back and rejuvenates, Inesiña contracts a disease and eventually succumbs to a slow, suffering death. Although no one in the village can accuse Gayoso of murder, the sharp sense of justice is mixed with that of superstition. Thus when finding out that Gayoso is searching for a new wife, the village threatens him with violence: “De esta vez, o se marcha del pueblo, o la cencerrada termina en quemarle la casa y sacarle arrastrando para matarle de una paliza tremenda”.⁸³ In short, “Vampiro” does not only deal with the vulnerability of young women who have to marry old men, but also with the way justice is administered when ignorance and superstition govern a Galician village.

“En silencio”, published in *La Ilustración Española y Americana* in 1914 and set in Marineda, features the premeditated murder of Aya at the hands of her husband as he discovers she has been unfaithful to him. For days, the husband neatly plans his revenge and, when everything seems to be ready, he kills her and walls her up before selling the house and setting sail for Buenos Aires with both his luggage and hers.⁸⁴ The crime goes unpunished and the man succeeds in escaping making everybody believe that his wife has gone with him.

Violence is therefore a negative but intrinsic characteristic of the Galician *Volksgeist*. As shown here, and as I will expand in my next chapter, violence against women functions as both a loathsome regional sign of identity as well as a Gothic element the author has adopted from abroad. In this regard, the combination of violence with the idealizations of Galicia, sometimes of its people, forms part of a *regenerationist* project understood as a campaign to raise people’s awareness of women’s plight in society and bring her region closer to Europe. While the author condemns violence against women, she celebrates the strength of the Galicians by vindicating a matriarchal society, a distinctive feature within Spain. To the

⁸² Ibid., p. 1310.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 1311.

⁸⁴ The procedure of walling up a corpse is similarly perceivable in Edgar Allan Poe’s “The Black Cat” (1843). When the protagonist accidentally kills his wife with an axe, he determines to wall the corpse up in the cellar, “as the monks of the middle ages are recorded to have walled up their victims”: See “The Black Cat”, p. 318.

Countess, matriarchy, together with history, landscape and race are the mainstreams upon which Galicia's nobility is based. As we have seen, her works present all the main postulates described in nineteenth-century racist ideologies. She was, in fact, familiar with the racial theories that circulated around Europe during the nineteenth century. She defends, in the first place, the idea of a superior race and gives extraordinary importance to the nobility of the "Galician race". From an ethnocentric perspective, she supports Herder's conception that a community is the reflection of the race it belongs to, and like Murguía, the novelist clings to the Galician Celtic myths as an attempt to enhance the supremacy of the Galician race within Spain and situate it at a European level. The search for differential peculiarities based on supposed Celtic origins responds, in both cases, to the necessity of constructing a new sense of identity based on northern influences. Therefore, to strengthen the links between Galicia and Europe, Emilia adopts the Gothic, a northern influence, like the Celtic myth itself.

CHAPTER IV

THE FEMALE GOTHIC AS A RESPONSE TO PARDO BAZÁN'S NATURALISM

And what are you reading Miss – ? ‘Oh! It is only a novel!’ replies the young lady...in short, only some work in which the greatest powers of the mind are displayed, in which the most thorough knowledge of human nature, the happiest delineation of its varieties, the liveliest effusions of wit and humour, are conveyed to the world in the best-chosen language.¹

This chapter explores the ways Emilia Pardo Bazán adopts the characteristics of the Female Gothic and how she applies these to a number of her texts, even when not containing explicit Gothic elements. It also explores the ways in which (Gothic) novels were perceived by the reading public throughout the nineteenth century; the apparent consequences that reading had on women, and how Pardo Bazán reflects this situation on her novels whilst being influenced by and adapting the conventions of the Female Gothic.

When analysing Gothic fiction, one cannot help but notice the extensive corpus of texts produced by women that have tackled this literary mode since the late eighteenth century. In my second chapter, I pointed to some of the classic British female novelists that in one way or another, had had a connection with the Gothic. These included Ann Radcliffe, Jane Austen, who was not a Gothic author *per se*, and later on, Mary Shelley and Emily Brontë. In Spain, alternatively, Pardo Bazán adopted the aesthetic essence of the English Gothic and adapted it to the specificity of the Galician context in accordance with her Naturalist conventions.

It has been suggested that the rise of the so-called Female Gothic style began in England in the 1790s and developed in opposition to the Gothic literature that had primarily

¹ Jane Austen, *Northanger Abbey*, ed. by James Kinsley and John Davie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 24.

been written by men.² At first, such a distinction was mainly due to the way terror was perceived and experienced by men and women respectively: while the former located fear “in the ‘other’ – women, Catholics, Jews, and ultimately the devil”, female writers of the Gothic, on the other hand “uncovered the terror of the familiar: the routine brutality and injustice of the patriarchal family, conventional religion, and classic social structures”.³ As we shall see, despite these basic gender distinctions, Gothic fiction did not necessarily split into feminist and misogynist points of view depending on the author’s gender.

It is equally noteworthy the fact that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, both in Britain and Spain, the greatest consumers of (Gothic) novels were, as a matter of course, women. Some of them were young girls, others wives and mothers attached to domestic male-dominated environments. Furthermore, with the support of charity schools in Britain and Spain, and the subsequent rise of literacy, domestic service in bourgeois homes exposed unmarried female servants to reading opportunities.⁴ In Spain, examples of reading habits among women working as servants are not so evident, to the extent that illiteracy still affected the lower classes until well into the twentieth century.

Ideologies surrounding women’s reading habits throughout these two centuries happened to be diametrically opposed: on the one hand, reading was generally believed to function as a mechanism of control, a safe occupation that guaranteed women would remain within the domestic domain. On the other hand, this mechanism of control gave women the opportunity to experience emotions outside the private realm that in other respects would have remained unaltered. Reading novels in particular was therefore regarded as a dangerous and disturbing activity that put at risk social and domestic stability. As noted in the first

² Kari J. Winter, “Breaking Silence”, in *Subjects of Slavery, Agents of Change. Women and Power in Gothic Novels and Slave Narratives (1790-1865)* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1992), pp. 17-53 (p. 21).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁴ G.J. Barker-Benfield, “Women and Eighteenth-Century Consumerism”, in *The Culture of Sensibility* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp. 154-214 (pp. 166-7).

chapter, Pardo Bazán herself had been denied the access to certain novels that her father would deem as harmful. In this sense, novels were believed to facilitate communication in the form of an encoded message, a channel through which the writer and the reader were able to establish a recognizable coded dialogue that addressed the issue of women's subordination. To put it another way, women were able to identify themselves with what they read and it is for this reason that novels were regarded with suspicion, consequently selected and supervised carefully by a male authority.

Taking all this into consideration, I have divided this chapter into two parts: the first part deals with the figure of the woman reader, and how her social conditions have determined the production of distinguishable plot and narrative patterns in what is generally known as the Female Gothic novel. In the second part, I will focus my attention on Pardo Bazán's vision of female education, in the form of reading, within some of her novels that, despite not having significant Gothic traces, do give readers insights into her understanding and subsequent application of the Gothic style of literature.

From the seventeenth century onwards, with the rise of literacy and the increase of the press, reading became a common activity in Europe. It is frequently argued that such a habit originated in the Protestant ideal, which states that every single person should independently have the right to be able to read the Sacred Writings.⁵ This revolutionary approach to reading was first received with scepticism, to the extent that reading on one's own was believed to involve a prodigious responsibility when interpreting a text such as the Bible. Therefore, the spread of literacy throughout the following centuries, as well as the growth of a female reading public that were most of the time perceived as naive, partly contributed to the idea that literature was a "socially subversive influence".⁶ Romances, argues Maggie Kilgour,

⁵ Kilgour, p. 6.

⁶ Ibid., p. 6.

offered readers false expectations of an idealized existence, whereas novels exposed them to a miserable and unadorned reality.⁷ Since the Gothic novel represents an amalgamation of these two literary approaches, one can then understand why this genre in particular was first seen as a damaging influence. Although detached from Protestant ideals, this reality affecting the novel was still perceived in Spain during the second half of the nineteenth century. Clarín's *La Regenta* (1884) represents a paradigmatic example of this approach to reading. As a child, the protagonist Ana Ozores, being a devout Catholic, conceives reading as a “manantial de mentiras hermosas”, which reveals, to a certain extent, a sinful attraction to such an activity.⁸ Her continuous exposure to reading and her inability to distinguish between realism and fantasy ultimately causes her to be unfaithful in marriage. It cannot be overemphasized that readers like Emilia Pardo Bazán were victims of the bad reputation novels had at this juncture in time.⁹

As a matter of fact, before Clarín published *La Regenta*, Pardo Bazán had already tackled this bad reputation in her first novel, *Aficiones peligrosas*, which she wrote at the early age of fifteen. This text is a faithful reflection of both the author's and the public's attitude towards novels by 1866. Since novels were considered as a detrimental genre for women, the author would insist on the moralizing function of *Aficiones*,¹⁰ something she would later deny in *La cuestión palpitante*: “el artista que se proponga fines distintos de la realización de la belleza, tarde o temprano, con seguridad infalible, verá desmoronarse el edificio que erija”.¹¹ In spite of these declarations, seventeen years before, while writing *Aficiones*, she had most definitely supported didactic aims as an indisputable function of

⁷ Ibid., p. 6.

⁸ Leopoldo Alas “Clarín”, *La Regenta*, ed. by Juan Oleza, 2 vols (Madrid: Cátedra, 1984), I, p. 236.

⁹ Like Pardo Bazán, Ana Ozores had been forbidden to read certain French novels during her youth: “Vio un tomo en francés, forrado de cartulina amarilla; creyó que era una de aquellas novelas que su padre le prohibía leer”. In fact, when she learnt to read as a child, we know about the restrictions she experiences: “Al fin supo leer. Pero los libros que llegaban a sus manos no le hablaban de aquellas cosas con que soñaba”. Ibid., pp. 249 and 236.

¹⁰ Note that previous female writers, like Fernán Caballero, had actually encouraged the moralizing path, something for which she had been heavily criticized.

¹¹ *La cuestión palpitante*, p. 264.

literature. The first lines of the novel are dedicated to the readers and they inform about the moralizing intention of the text:

no tengo únicamente el objeto de mostrar las escenas como podría hacerlo con las vistas de un estroboscopio, sino de dirigir las reflexiones del lector hacia el fin moral que me propongo; y en este concepto, suplico á los míos atiendan más al fondo, pues ésta les dejará mucho que desear.¹²

The moralizing intention responds to the trend of the moment and *Pascual López*, her first complete novel published thirteen years later, would still present an ambiguous approach as far as the intention of the novel is concerned. While the novel is divided into five chapters, the final of the third and beginning of the fourth chapters are missing. This text undertakes the function of the modern novel and the effects it provokes in readers. The first chapter presents the main characters and the protagonist Armanda. In a conversation about reading novels, Armanda's father, Antonio, makes this significant remark: "Las novelas distraen mucho y hacen pasar un rato agradable. Yo las tengo una afición decidida".¹³ To this argument, Armanda's godmother answers "Esa afición en V. Antonio, no es peligrosa. Las cabezas desarrolladas ya, los talentos claros y firmes, no vacilan con esas producciones".¹⁴ Before Armanda's mother dies of consumption, she warns Antonio to take care of what Armanda reads:

Armanda tiene una imaginación exaltada; tu sabes cuan facilmente se extravían esas constituciones fogosas. Cuida pues de moderar su ardor; presérvala de ese veneno disfrazado que se llama lectura; explota la naciente afición que por ella muestra, ofreciéndole producciones que pueda resistir su débil cabeza¹⁵

¹² *Aficiones peligrosas*, pp. 41-2.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

I feel, however, that Pardo Bazán enables a female textual identity, perhaps unintentionally, in such a way that her female readers are able to recognize, in fiction, situations that evoke their own personal circumstances. To put it another way, she attempts to make women aware of the role they perform in society. This perspective is analogous to the reader-response principle that classical Gothic writers would take into account. But in spite of the fact that a number of Emilia's novels do not present explicit Gothic elements, they do however offer a series of narrative and plot conventions that I consider fundamental so as to understand her perspective on (Female) Gothic fiction. These conventions include, for example, her vision of so-called women's education, mother/father-daughter relationships, forced marriages, incestuous relationships, the cult of domesticity and sensibility, and mystifying locations.

As anticipated, however, the figure of the reading woman has been addressed from polarized perspectives. In this respect, Catherine J. Golden offers a lavish analysis on women's reading habits in Victorian British and American fiction that can readily be extrapolated to the situation of reading habits in Spain during Pardo Bazán's life. In her work, Golden explores the way women were represented according to different ideologies in and against this activity. With regards to the reasons why women should read, Golden argues that reading became a fundamental part of every woman's education, "improving knowledge, confidence, social grace, as well as intellect and imagination".¹⁶ This approach was intimately related to the cult of gentility in Victorian England, but also to the figure of the Spanish New Woman, as I will show later in my analysis of Pardo Bazán's *La prueba* (1890). In addition to this, reading also became a means that guaranteed women's position in the domestic sphere. In her study on the origins of Gothic fiction, Kilgour contends that "books provided a means

¹⁶ Catherine J. Golden, "Women Readers and Reading in Victorian Britain and America", in *Images of the Women Reader in Victorian British and American Fiction* (Florida: University Press of Florida, 2003), pp. 17-47 (p. 21).

of remaining in the home, and so conforming to the dominant image of the perfect female, and yet communicating, in an albeit mediated fashion, with the world outside”.¹⁷

Kilgour’s argument seems to reinforce the ambiguous idea that Gothic reading was necessary to regulate and control women’s impulses to remain at home. Besides, for this scholar, the Gothic “offered to its readers a momentary subversion of order that was followed by the restoration of a norm, which, after the experience of terror, now seemed immensely desirable”.¹⁸ Again, this quote underlines the necessity of Gothic fiction to maintain the *status quo* in the private sphere even when reading might momentarily subvert the pre-established domestic codes. In Pardo Bazán’s *Un viaje de novios*, we observe how Lucía’s suitor, Aurelio Miranda, gradually takes control of his future wife’s life and neatly plans the most appropriate readings for her: “Traía a la niña diariamente alguna baratija, para ella desconocida hasta entonces, ya un cromó, ya una fotografía, ya lindas flores, ya números de periódicos ilustrados, ya novelas de Fernán Caballero o de Alarcón”.¹⁹ As we can see, the narrator advises us about the way Lucía’s education is being vilely manipulated. She is presented as an infant, a “niña”, who is discovering the ordinary, banal pleasures of the world: a card, a picture, a bunch of flowers... As pleasurable as these are, Miranda brings Romantic and Gothic stories for Lucía to read. Interestingly, Fernán Caballero, whose novels combine reality and idealism, is well-known for her moralizing outcomes. The same could be said about Alarcón, who incidentally stands out as being one of the first Realist authors to have cultivated the Gothic in Spain. It is not coincidental that Miranda chooses these authors with the ultimate aim of “educating” Lucía, whilst exciting her emotions in a controllable and temporary way.

Among other arguments that supported the idea why women should read were those concerning conjugal congeniality and excellent motherhood. In *Un viaje de novios*, the lack of

¹⁷ Kilgour, p. 80.

¹⁸ Ibid., p.8.

¹⁹ *Obras completas*, p. 80.

congeniality, that is, the inability of Lucía to provide stimulating conversation to her husband, anticipates the catastrophic consequences of their marriage:

Acertó éste a ponerse al nivel de conversación de Lucía, y mostrose muy enterado de cosas femeniles, infantiles dijera mejor; y llegó el caso de que la niña le consultase acerca de su peinado, de sus trajes, y Miranda muy serio le dispusiese bajar o subir dos centímetros el talle o el moño.²⁰

Woman's intellect was, in fact, a virtue that enabled both understanding of her own self and competence as far as her familial duties were concerned, namely, providing stimulating conversation to her husband and teaching their children to read and write. Following Golden's argument, it is not surprising that Miranda abandons Lucía precisely when she gets pregnant. Golden expands on her argument and maintains that reading prepared women for these responsibilities as wives and mothers. Not surprisingly, books would be carefully selected and read principally aloud within the familial private sphere; a measure that undoubtedly ensured the appropriateness of their content, free from dangerous or pernicious encounters. But at the same time, Golden points out that the practice of reading aloud would "promote family unity, aiding closeness and boosting the familial bond".²¹ The idea Golden is alluding to is that of the cult of domesticity, which originated in the eighteenth century and became strongly idealized during the nineteenth century.

In order to exemplify Golden's argument, we can analyse certain passages from Pardo Bazán's *La Tribuna* in which the author attempts to display the perception society would hold towards women's reading habits by 1868. More accurately, these passages present a male's standpoint about women reading books such as novels and their detrimental consequences on "the weaker sex". This approach to reading is intimately associated with the negative image of Gothic fiction from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Like in *Un viaje de novios*, we

²⁰ Ibid., p. 80.

²¹ Golden, p. 24.

find out in *La Tribuna* that Amparo's boyfriend, Baltasar Sobrado, is accustomed to bringing novels for her to read out, but when he observes the woman's sensibility towards this literary genre, he is determined to interrupt the activity:

Discurriendo medios de entretenerse, Baltasar trajo a Amparo alguna novela para que se la leyese en voz alta; pero era tan fácil en llorar la pitillera así que los héroes se morían de amor o de otra enfermedad por el estilo, que convencido el mancebo de que se ponía tonta, suprimió los libros.

In the light of these examples, it can be argued that reading aloud, at this point of the century, could still guarantee the appropriateness of a woman's readings and Pardo Bazán, of course, resorts to the figure of a man, Baltasar Sobrado, in order to display a commonplace attitude towards this genre around 1868. Similarly, the narrator warns the reader about the excessive fantasy and consequent ignorance that result from reading novels and poems:

En medio de la vulgaridad e insulsez de su vida diaria y de la monotonía del trabajo siempre idéntico a sí mismo, tales azares revolucionarios eran poesía, novela, aventura, espacio azul por donde volar con alas de oro. Su fantasía inculta y briososa se apacentaba en ellos.²²

The concept of fantasy, as related to Gothic literature, is present throughout Pardo Bazán's literary career. Patrick Bridgwater points out that Gothic, "is a subset of fantasy".²³ This explains that novels, and Gothic novels in particular, were regarded with suspicion for their power to excite women's emotions. It must be remembered, however, that when *La Tribuna* was published in 1883, Pardo Bazán's negative attitude towards the novel had already changed. Therefore, as the narrator of the novel refers to harmful concepts such a "fantasía inculta", it seems that Pardo Bazán is evoking her own youth, fifteen years back,

²² *Obras completas*, p. 141.

²³ Patrick Bridgwater, *The German Gothic Novel in Anglo-German Perspective* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2013), p. 583.

when she was forbidden to read Gothic novels like *Notre Dame de Paris* for their being regarded as immoral and pedagogically pointless.

If reading out loud in Spain was believed to promote the family unit while preventing negative consequences on women, public reading was symptomatic of widespread illiteracy. Pardo Bazán illustrates this practice in *La Tribuna*, where she describes the working-class conditions in the cigarette factory of Marineda, comprising of the years from Isabel II's dethronement to the proclamation of the first Republic, that is, from 1868 to 1873. From the beginning of the novel, we find that Amparo, the working-class girl, has learnt to read and write at school and, in the course of time, she has developed the ability to read out the newspaper to her work colleagues, all of them illiterate, in the cigarette factory of Marineda, where her reading education earned her the nickname of *la tribuna* (woman orator). Similarly, we learn that Amparo also reads the progressive newspaper *La Soberanía Nacional* to her hairdresser in exchange for material compensation.²⁴

Lo cierto es que Amparo, que seguía leyéndole al barbero periódicos progresistas, pidió el sueldo de la lectura en objetos de tocador. Y reunió un ajuar digno de una reina, a saber: un escarpidor de cuerno, una lendrera de boj; dos paquetes de horquillas, tomadas de orín; un bote de pomada de rosa; medio jabón *aux amandes amères*, con pelitos de la barba de los parroquianos, cortados y adheridos todavía; un frasco, casi vacío, de esencia de heno, y otras baratijas del mismo jaez.²⁵

Despite being praised for her voice quality, her pitch and her energy when reading out to her co-workers, Amparo is by no means a good reader and, as the narrator points out, she

²⁴ The “Soberanía Nacional” is a key concept predicated on the Constitution of 1812, according to which sovereignty is essentially vested in the people and it is therefore their right to establish the fundamental laws. The newspaper *La Soberanía Nacional* was founded by the “progresista” Ángel Fernández de los Ríos in 1864.

²⁵ *Obras completas*, p. 122.

“declamaba, más bien que leía”.²⁶ The fact that Amparo is a “bad reader” will determine her downfall when Baltasar Sobrado, abandons her with child. Amparo fails to interpret properly the meaning of newspaper articles, which underlines once more the limited education the protagonist received while being at school:

A fuerza de leer todos los días unos mismos periódicos, de seguir el flujo y reflujo de la controversia política, iba penetrando en la lectora la convicción hasta los tuétanos. La fe virgen con que creía en la Prensa era inquebrantable, porque le sucedía con el periódico lo que a los aldeanos con los aparatos telegráficos: jamás intentó saber cómo sería por dentro; sufría sus efectos sin analizar sus causas.²⁷

As with Gothic novels, newspaper articles became a patriarchal means of control aiming at reinforcing the patriarchal society by manipulating women. Judging from the narrator’s words, it seems that newspapers would intentionally prevent women from thinking for themselves. In other words, newspaper articles would ultimately alienate women like Amparo, who blindly believes everything she reads. Besides showing that Amparo is unable to analyse the information she reads, the passage might as well be symptomatic of Pardo Bazán’s contempt for bad press. In this regard, the author herself distinguishes in the newspaper, *La Ilustración Artística*, among other documents, between what she considers as being good or bad press. In spite of the fact that she praises the work of journalists in general, she nonetheless expresses her disapproving perceptions towards the sensationalist press and the excessive information concerning bullfighting, a fiesta I have expanded on in my previous chapter.²⁸ On the contrary, she considers that educational articles would be more appropriate:

²⁶ Ibid., p. 123.

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 123-4.

²⁸ Ana M^a Freire, “La obra periodística de Emilia Pardo Bazán”, in *Estudios sobre la obra de Emilia Pardo Bazán. Actas de las Jornadas Conmemorativas de los 150 Años de su Nacimiento* (A Coruña: Fundación Pedro Barrié de la Maza, 2003), pp. 115-32 (p. 118).

“¿Por qué no suprimís las revistas de toros, y dedicáis ese espacio y esas galanas plumas á oficios más educadores, y á la larga, hasta más recreativos y amenos?”²⁹

It seems that Pardo Bazán wishes to endow women with the autonomy that education can offer, criticizing that a bad education may reinforce the ideals of domesticity and docility. As I explained in my previous chapter, she also considers that activities like bullfighting foster stagnation and prevent the country from growing morally and economically. One can then understand why people like Amparo might contribute to the country’s backwardness, even when she seems to stand for the ideals Pardo Bazán supports: progress, culture, education, Krausism, Europe... But despite appearances to the contrary, she is unable to interpret and to question the information she reads because she has not received a solid education. This limitation predisposes Amparo to failure.

In short, Pardo Bazán utilizes Amparo’s lowbrow culture in order to show her contempt for what she considered as bad press. But also, she explicitly blames this means of communication for not being more pedagogical, and ultimately for contributing to the country’s stagnation. For this reason, Amparo’s downfall may be interpreted as the moralizing outcome of the novel. If Amparo had received a good education, she would have been able to interpret and criticize newspaper articles; she would have actually been able to read novels while controlling her emotions and her imagination. This moralizing function ultimately responds to the *regenerationist* project Emilia had started with a view to moving Galicia forward.

The analysis of *La Tribuna* leads us directly to the arguments supporting why women should not read. If reading aloud in Victorian Britain and Spain was considered as a healthy and virtuous activity that favoured morality and the cult of domesticity, isolated reading was still commonplace in both these countries. Reading on their own, argues Golden, exposed

²⁹ *La Ilustración Artística*, p. 250.

women to worlds beyond the restrictions of Victorian gentility by finding “empowering role models in the books they read and in the lives of the female authors who wrote them”.³⁰ However, and perhaps due to this argument, solitary reading was regarded with fear for it also “exposed an innocent female to murder, vice, and sexual scandal. If she read in secret for escapism, the number of objectionable books she consumed remained unchecked”.³¹ We know, in this regard, that the Regenta reads by herself, and the first scandal she is involved in is intimately associated with her love of reading:

Ana soñó en adelante más que nada batallas, una Iliada, mejor un Ramayana, sin argumento. Necesitaba un héroe y le encontró: Germán, el niño de Colondres. Sin que él sospechara las aventuras peligrosas en que su amiga le metía, se dejaba querer y acudía a las citas que ella le daba en la barca de Trébol.³²

This quote explains the gender argument against the reading woman. In other words, women, like *la tribuna* and Ana Ozores, were believed to read differently from men for “they possessed greater morality, sensibility, intuition, piety, and empathy”, which, in due time, could become something dangerous for a woman.³³ Novel consumption, observes Golden, led to addiction and, therefore, to moral decline.³⁴ Opponents considered that access to sexual knowledge would foster an unrealistic vision of life and would ultimately lead women to ruination.³⁵ Amongst the books considered the most immoral, Golden lists “racy French novels, inexpensive ‘blue books’ or ‘shilling shockers’ also called ‘horror Gothic’ (tales of supernatural horrors and violent crimes), Newgate novels (which sentimentalized vice and crime), romances, and sensation fiction (which stunned the readers with domestic poisoning,

³⁰ Golden, p. 28.

³¹ Ibid., p. 39.

³² *La Regenta*, p. 237.

³³ Golden, p. 30.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 38.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 38.

sexual scandal, crime, and kidnapping)”.³⁶ Among other examples, Jane Austen’s *Northanger Abbey* introduces a young lady addicted to Gothic novels and shows how suspense is precisely the cause of this addiction. Alternatively, in *La Regenta*, moral decline is represented through adultery. This is the immediate consequence of Ana Ozores’ addiction to reading, including novel reading.

Concisely, all these arguments for and against women’s reading customs are especially enlightening when analysing the particularities of the novel and, more significantly, the Gothic novel, for it brings up the polarized, if not ambiguous, ideologies concerning the woman reader throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For this reason, it must be stressed that Gothic fiction, in particular, had belonged to the list of objectionable readings since the early nineteenth century and besides the gender and moral arguments that account for the detrimental effects of reading on women, there were different and frequent artistic manifestations against this activity, most of them parodies of women’s reading habits.³⁷

Despite all the objections raised against the dangerous effects of reading, it seems that, far from being forbidden, the nineteenth-century cult to domesticity and social order was more important than any moral or psychological consequences that reading, and particularly Gothic reading, could bring about. As a consequence, this double approach towards the female reader enabled, in my opinion, both the production and consumption of Gothic fiction throughout the nineteenth century and up to the present day.

These particular approaches towards female readers lead us to examine a new literary category genuinely made by and addressed to women: the Female Gothic. The term Female Gothic was coined by Ellen Moers in her work *Literary Women* (1977) to refer to the “work that women writers have done in the literary mode that, since the eighteenth century, we have

³⁶ Ibid., p. 39.

³⁷ An example of this is to be found in James Gillray print “Tales of Wonder!” (1802), in which the author caricaturizes three women with disfigured faces listening to a fourth one reading out a Gothic novel in a candlelit sitting-room. As its own title reads, the illustration was dedicated to Matthew Lewis as an “attempt to describe the effects of the Sublime and Wonderful”. The novel depicted is none other than Lewis’ *The Monk*.

called the Gothic’’.³⁸ At first glance, Moers’ evaluation entails nothing but a rather essentialist notion of gender identity consisting of separating the Female Gothic from other types, namely, the irremediably denominated Male Gothic.

Since Moers’ first analysis of the Female Gothic, there has been a continuing critical debate as to whether this term should be considered as a separate genre, and new attempts to offer a more accurate definition have been made. It is noteworthy, however, the dependence on the Male Gothic to contextualize and define a female one. This approach underlines, to my mind, the marginalization of a style of writing that has always been kept under close scrutiny of the male’s gaze, and these gender divisions should be therefore taken as provisional rather than fixed, universal ones. Alternatively, we can still contend that this partitioning attends to both chronological and practical reasons solely. As for chronological, I mean the number of Gothic texts written by male authors before actual Female Gothic texts began to appear at the end of the eighteenth century. In this respect, the progenitor female authors, Clara Reeve and Ann Radcliffe, would certainly adopt the genre from male Gothic writers, like Horace Walpole or John Aikin, adapting it to their own literary conventions. To be precise and discussed later on, Ann Radcliffe is the paradigm that critics of the Gothic have tended to choose in order to theorize the Female Gothic.

As a general rule, the Female Gothic plot deals with the experiences that affect the persecuted heroine, constantly threatened by the presence of a villain that torments her. Pardo Bazán’s novels and tales often present victimized and tormented women at the hands of tyrannical male figures. In *Pascual López*, Pascual’s fiancée Pastora is victim of his stupidity and egoism, which eventually makes her take the veil. Nucha, from *Los pazos de Ulloa*, suffers the cruelty of don Pedro when she decides to marry him and commence a new life in the *pazo*. In *La madre naturaleza*, their daughter Manuela similarly suffers the consequences

³⁸ Ellen Moers, *Literary Women* (London: The Women’s Press, 1977), p. 90.

of being born female in rural Galicia. In *Un viaje de novios*, Lucía unhappily marries Miranda to satisfy her father's wishes. The reader witnesses how her husband beats her and eventually abandons her when he finds out she has been seeing another man. In *El cisne de Vilamorta*, Leocadia's uncle rapes her and leaves her pregnant. The woman meets the young poet Segundo García with whom she falls in love and for whom she is willing to leave it all, even her little child. But Leocadia's love is unreturned. Segundo leaves for America and Leocadia takes her life. In a similar way, Amparo's boyfriend from *La Tribuna* abandons her with child when they were to get married. Even in *Memorias de un solterón*, Feíta's father threatens her with violence and forbids her to pursue an education.

Additionally, in the Female Gothic the heroine is represented through her numerous virtues, which revolve around the cult to the eighteenth-century sensibility: modest, quiet, chaste, innocent, emotional and educated. Pardo Bazán's heroines generally comply with these characteristics and sometimes they are even elevated to a divine status. Thus Pastora's face is described as being "parecido al de una Virgen de cera",³⁹ whereas Nucha is said to have cried so much that her "párpados tenían ya el matiz rojizo que dan los pintores a los de las Dolorosas".⁴⁰ On the other hand, Manuela's temples are "rameadas de venas azules y su frente convexa la hacían semejante a las santas mártires o extáticas que se ven en los museos".⁴¹ There is no doubt that the comparisons with the divine respond to the wish to exalt the sensibility, purity and benevolence of these heroines, but there is an additional factor here, which is the intrinsically religious component of nineteenth-century Spanish literature. While Pardo Bazán is manifestly influenced by the characteristics of the Female Gothic plot, the conventionalisms of Spanish literature, together with her strong Catholicism, definitely contribute to the makeup of her characters.

³⁹ *Obras completas*, p. 24.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 339.

Equally important in the Female Gothic plot is that the heroine is most of the time framed within the confines of a castle or mansion, where she is kept under the strict surveillance of a male authority, either her husband, father or close acquaintance, from whom she struggles to escape. In Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, for instance, the villain Montini imprisons Emily along with her aunt, Madame Cheron, in the castle of Udolpho with the purpose of taking control over the French properties the latter possesses. For Kilgour, the castle of Udolpho portrays "a private domestic sphere of feudal power, based on the absolute authority of the despotic lord".⁴² It is then "a stock gothic property that has been read as a symbol of both patriarchal power and the maternal body".⁴³ This space finds its counterpart in the bourgeois domestic domain, symbolically regarded as a prison, where the reader is also confined. As in the first Female Gothic novels, Pardo Bazán resorts to the imaginary of seclusion to centre upon the idea that real terror is, in fact, within the patriarchal domestic sphere. In *Pascual López*, for example, Pastora ends up in a convent, and in *Los pazos*, Nucha is secluded in the old feudal manor. Some female characters are simply condemned to work as servants in a house, like Esclavitud from *Morriña* (1889), and others are consigned to perform suitable jobs for women, essentially as teachers, in their own homes. Leocadia from *El cisne de Vilamorta* represents a perfect example of this imprisonment.⁴⁴ There is little doubt that Pardo Bazán took this tendency mainly from British and North American Female Gothic tradition.⁴⁵

⁴² Kilgour, p. 119.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 119.

⁴⁴ As can be observed, throughout the nineteenth century, the space where a woman was to be secluded shifted from environments alien to her, such as a castle, to more familiar ones like her own home, a "woman's place". Gilbert and Gubar pay considerable attention to the nineteenth-century female writers' anxieties about spatial constrictions. They point out how "women like Dickinson, Brontë, and Rossetti were imprisoned in their homes, their father's houses; indeed, almost all nineteenth-century women were in some sense imprisoned in men's houses". These authors come to the conclusion that the representations of confinement reflect "the woman writer's own discomfort, her fear that she inhabits alien and incomprehensible places". See Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic. The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* (New Haven and London: Yale Nota Bene, 2000), pp. 83-4.

⁴⁵ There are numerous cases in nineteenth-century British and North American fictions where women are imprisoned in their own homes. Besides the English novel, *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, Nathaniel Hawthorne's

Together with the imaginary of confinement, there are other characteristics associated with the Female Gothic, which are useful to later understand the application of the Gothic in Spain. These are the treatment of suspense, the explanation of supernatural incidents and the symbolism of the marriage at the end of a story. In this way, Radcliffe's novel, just like other Female Gothic ones, encourages suspense by insinuating to the reader supernatural experiences or perilous circumstances that remain unresolved until the outcome of the story. These insinuations contemplate Radcliffe's own distinction between "terror" and "horror".

Throughout the eighteenth century, the experience of terror was to refer to a very strong feeling of fear, whereas horror was considered as the emotional result of that experience, where fear was to conflate with revulsion. For Radcliffe, "terror and horror are so far opposite, that the first expands the soul, and awakens the faculties to a high degree of life; the other contracts, freezes, and nearly annihilates them".⁴⁶ Along these lines, Devendra P. Varma adds a more blunt distinction between the two concepts, stating that the difference between "Terror and Horror is the difference between awful apprehension and sickening realization: between the smell of death and stumbling against a corpse".⁴⁷ Being a woman and a writer in the eighteenth century explains the importance for this distinction when dealing with a novel such as *The Mysteries of Udolpho*: decorum was certainly a principle that was to be maintained at a time when the Cult of Sensibility had acquired so much influence. In other words, Radcliffe clearly avoids the explicitness of repulsive and sadistic images (horror), and opts for more suggestive and intriguing techniques (terror) with which she is able to stimulate the imagination and ultimately to create suspense through Sublime experiences. In this regard, Radcliffe's approach separates itself from that of coetaneous male authors, such as Lewis

Rappaccini's Daughter (1844) and Charlotte Perkins Gillman's *The Yellow Wallpaper* (1892) are just two examples of North American Female Gothic.

⁴⁶ Ann Radcliffe, "On the Supernatural in Poetry", *New Monthly Magazine* (1826), pp. 145-52 (p. 150).

⁴⁷ Devendra P. Varma, *The Gothic Flame: Being a History of the Gothic Novel in England: Its Origins, Efflorescence, Disintegration, and Residuary Influences*, ed. by Gregory A. Waller (New York: Russell and Russell, 1957), p. 130.

himself, who was more inclined towards explicit horror, although he did not neglect terror if the occasion warranted it.

Suspense, and therefore terror, is then reinforced by strengthening the reader's perception of events to one single point of view, usually the protagonist's. As I showed in the second chapter, this is same type of suspense *Pascual López* exhibits. The terrors the protagonist experiences as he arrives in Santiago de Compostela are simple projections of his mind; there are not shocking, grotesque or atrocious events that could in any way be associated with a horrifying experience, and yet the reader's imagination is stimulated through Pascual's psychological suggestion, that is, through his terror. Like Radcliffe, Pardo Bazán relies on a conservative and rational approach when she writes this piece of work, and avoids unresolved mysteries or grotesque images to describe the events and emotions lived through by the characters. Some four years after the publication of *Pascual López*, however, the explicit nature of Naturalism would indeed facilitate the representation of more graphic imagery aiming at provoking feelings of disgust and revulsion, that is, horror. Numerous texts by Pardo Bazán explicitly exhibit this Gothic horror in the years that followed the publication of her first novel. Among many others, we can name the previously analysed: "Las medias rojas", "Vampiro", "En silencio" and her novella *Un destripador de antaño*. All these works are more graphic than suggestive, which indicates the direction adopted by Pardo Bazán when dealing with the Gothic. Nevertheless, she never abandons the intriguing obscurity revolving around the Galician landscape and its Folklore, which leads to imaginative experiences and moments of excitement, and which becomes a direct source of the Sublime. Examples of this are found not only in *Pascual López*, but also in major works such as *Los pazos de Ulloa* and *La madre Naturaleza*. With Naturalism, Pardo Bazán succeeds in combining terror and horror; the psychic and the physical.

When opting for terror, Pardo Bazán, like Radcliffe, employs the “supernatural explain’d” formula, which re-establishes the order that terror had presumably altered throughout the reading; the order that is ultimately emphasized most of the time by means of a happy ending through the marriage between the heroine and her lover. This formula, intrinsically associated with the rational principles of neo-Classicism, represents another characteristic of the Female Gothic that Pardo Bazán appropriates one century later.

Now, while the final marriage entails rather a conservative ideological element, some critics, like Hoeveler, consider that the Female Gothic depicts women who, assuming their acceptable roles within the oppressive patriarchy, actually subvert the patriarch’s power, enabling them to take control of the system. Such an approach leads Hoeveler to the idea that Female Gothic novelists construct female characters as victims who ultimately become victimizers. This tendency is what the author recognizes and labels as “gothic feminism”.⁴⁸ However, I feel closer to Eugenia DeLamotte’s reading of the traditional Female Gothic writings as “an overt reinforcement of the same domestic ideology that, at another level, their narratives show to be cause of terrible suffering”.⁴⁹ In fact, both the happy endings and the marriages seem to confirm the conservatism of, at least, the first Female Gothic writings. In Pardo Bazán’s novels and plots married heroines or women that look for marriage tend to end up in tragic circumstances or in a convent, in the best of cases: the aforementioned Pastora from *Pascual López*, Lucía from *Un viaje de novios*, Amparo from *La Tribuna*, Leocadia from *El cisne de Vilamorta*, Nucha from *Los pazos*, Manolita from *La madre Naturaleza*, etc. Pardo Bazán’s tendency therefore points completely in the opposite direction to Radcliffe’s approach; in fact, she seems to follow Mary Wollstonecraft’s revolutionary treatise, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), where the author attacks the idealisations with

⁴⁸ Hoeveler, p. 6.

⁴⁹ Eugenia C. DeLamotte, “Speaking ‘I’ and the Gothic Nightmare: Boundaries of the Self as a Woman’s Theme”, in *Perils of the Night: A Feminist Study of Nineteenth-Century Gothic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 149-93 (p. 189).

which Gothic novels, such as Radcliffe's, represent the domestic sphere. It was generally believed, among their detractors, that the reading of these types of novels would raise false expectations, such as the final happy marriage, that might consequently lead women to rebel against the *status quo*.⁵⁰ They found Gothic fiction to foster infantile attitudes that prevented those who read these novels from moral maturation. Similarly, Wollstonecraft explains that too much sensibility could lead women to a state of madness; hence the importance of offering them an adequate education so as not to become victims of the patriarchy where they live.

While a number of Female Gothic and sentimental novels may regard domestic incarceration as an idealistic means through which women can reach freedom, Wollstonecraft and Pardo Bazán see this representation as the result of a manly construction that induces women to resign to a role in society and succumb to the male authority. As a consequence, women are deprived of the "right use of reason", an attribute traditionally more akin to men and, by contrast, are to conform to and give free rein to their feelings and sensibility. For Wollstonecraft and Pardo Bazán, this vision of the "uneducated woman" prevents women from contributing to society in the same way as men and, therefore, stops "the progress of knowledge and virtue; for truth must be common to all".⁵¹ In spite of these allegations, the author sustains the idea that women should be educated to be good mothers and wives, a vision that by no means prevents her from being regarded as a feminist in the contemporary meaning of the word. Despite her criticisms to the sentimental novel, Wollstonecraft succeeds in incorporating social issues regarding women's situations into Gothic fiction.

Supported by the current spirit of Krausism, Pardo Bazán wrote various essays, like "La mujer española" (1890) in an attempt to demonstrate women's competence in society both morally and intellectually. Like Wollstonecraft, Pardo Bazán believed that the education

⁵⁰ Golden, p. 39.

⁵¹ Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (London: Dent, 1985).

of women was essential not only to liberate them from their subservient role in a mainly male-dominated society, but also to modernize and develop the country. In this regard, she underlines that education offered at schools gave privilege to men and neglected women. Therefore, she encouraged them to read, an activity that most women of her time, including herself and some of her female characters, were sometimes obligated to perform in secret.⁵² Pardo Bazán, convinced that social status determines educational opportunities, would certainly depict this plight into her Naturalist doctrine.

With regard to education, it is necessary to emphasize that by the end of the nineteenth century, adult illiteracy in Spain was estimated at still 55-60 percent, a comparable rate to other Southern and Eastern European countries, but far inferior to others such as France, Germany or England, where educational systems had undergone expansion, and illiteracy had been nearly eradicated.⁵³ Notwithstanding, during the second half of the nineteenth century, the country experienced an increase in women's literacy. This rise was particularly important in urban areas, where around 40-50 percent of the total readership was constituted by women.⁵⁴ By the end of the century, almost 50 percent of women from Madrid were considered to be literate.⁵⁵ Yet this percentage was much lower if compared to the totality of the nation, for it was believed that one third of adult Spanish woman were still illiterate by 1900.⁵⁶

Akiko Tsuchiya considers that the growth of female literacy was due to two main factors: firstly, there was an increase in the publication of popular magazines written and read

⁵² Teresa A. Cook, "Emilia Pardo Bazán y la educación como elemento primordial en la liberación de la mujer", *Hispania*, 60, (1977), 259-65. Although this argument may make an enormous difference from the reality around the English Gothic, the education that Pardo Bazán received was, like in other Spanish bourgeois and aristocratic families, very similar to the education wealthy women received in nineteenth-century England.

⁵³ Carolyn P. Boyd, "The Spanish Educational System and its Critics, 1857-1900", in *Historia Patria: Politics, History, and National Identity in Spain, 1875-1975*. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 3-40 (p. 8).

⁵⁴ Akiko Tsuchiya, "Consuming Subjects: Female Reading and Deviant Sexuality in Late Nineteenth-Century Spain", in *Marginal Subjects. Gender and Deviance in Fin-de-siècle' Spain* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), pp. 76-111 (p.76).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

⁵⁶ Boyd, p. 8.

by woman. Secondly, writing became a profession among women belonging to higher economic and cultural walks of life, and Pardo Bazán must of course be situated in this category. Tsuchiya argues that ecclesiastical and medical-scientific authorities received the feminization of the reading public with suspicion and were therefore obliged to control and regulate their readings. As a consequence, there was a great number of conduct manuals in the form of “medical-social” or “clinical-social” addressed to women.

In addition to this, there were scarcely any qualified teachers. Education at primary and even secondary schools was therefore deficient in most instances. Like (Gothic) novels, education was regarded with suspicion in so far as it might “encourage social discontent and insubordination”.⁵⁷ Middle-class girls, whose families were willing to finance their education, would most of the time receive, in Pardo Bazán’s words, “una educación de cascarilla” (adornment lessons).⁵⁸ Such an education included, along with other subjects, geography, foreign languages (often French), painting and music. These lessons, aimed at enhancing women’s taste and proper public behaviour with a view to their future life as mothers and wives, are not significantly different from the education that coetaneous Victorian women would receive in Britain.⁵⁹

A well-known example of this education is described in Pardo Bazán’s *Un viaje de novios*. This “Castilian” novel, which initiates Pardo Bazán’s Naturalism, revolves around the train trip of the recently married Lucía and Aurelio Miranda to Paris. The couple leaves León and when they reach Venta de Baños, Miranda gets off to have a coffee while Lucía falls asleep in the carriage. As he returns to the compartment he realizes he has forgotten his wallet in the café and rushes back to pick it up but he misses the train. When Lucía wakes up she finds that Miranda is not in the compartment and instead there is another passenger, Ignacio

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 7.

⁵⁸ “La mujer española”, p. 51.

⁵⁹ It is interesting to note here the double and ambiguous meaning of the Spanish word “educación”, being either “academic instruction” or “proper behaviour”.

Artegui, with whom she falls in love. As the confusion is clarified, Artegui pays for Lucía's train ticket and they continue together all the way to Bayonne. There, Artegui and Lucía go their separate ways and the woman waits for her husband in a hotel. Once in Paris, Lucía finds out that Artegui is about to commit suicide and she hastens to dissuade him. The man then suggests to her that they could flee to the United States but her religious beliefs prevent her from accepting such an idea and she therefore goes back to her husband. But Miranda, who has discovered Lucía's visit to Artegui, hits her and leaves her. Lucía goes back to Spain, alone and pregnant.

The outcome of the novel is indicative of Lucía's precarious education. After having received the adornment lessons referred to above, the narrator describes with sarcasm her worthless academic tuition:

Allí [en el colegio] enseñaron a Lucía a chapurrear algo el francés y a teclear un poco el piano; ideas serias, perdone usted por Dios; conocimientos de la sociedad, cero, y como ciencia femenina – ciencia harto más complicada y vasta de lo que piensan los profanos –, alguna laborcica tediosa e inútil, amén de fea: cortes de zapatillas de pésimo gusto, pecheras de camisa bordadas, faltriqueras de abalorio.⁶⁰

As in many Female Gothic plots, Lucía suffers the consequences of having a despotic father that prevents her from growing intellectually. He manipulates her education to the extent that she loses track of reality, for the knowledge she acquires at school does not allow her to develop her intellectual capacity at all. This is exactly the type of education Pardo Bazán condemns, as it limits women to the domestic realm while fostering ignorance and stagnation.

⁶⁰ *Obras completas*, pp. 74-5.

Therefore, we can see that the most influential people in charge of Lucía's tuition had been two men: her father, don Joaquín, and a Jesuit named Urtazu:

No se desmentía en tan lúcido ejemplar la raza del recio y fornido anciano, del padre que allí se estaba derecho, sin apartar de su hija los ojos. El viejo, alto, recto y firme, como un poste del telégrafo, y un jesuíta bajo de edad mediana, eran los únicos varones que descollaban entre el consabido hormiguero feminil.⁶¹

While Lucía's father would put all his efforts for Lucía to acquire "conocimientos que la realzasen", father Urtazu contributed to the moral and religious education of the young lady.⁶² In this way, we could almost blame both male authorities for Lucía's final downfall. In addition to these authorities, we cannot forget that Baltasar Sobrado brings her novels he has carefully examined before she is allowed to read them out. Reading therefore functions a mechanism of control that gives Lucía the opportunity of experiencing new yet temporary emotions within the safe familiar domestic realm. In this sense, Baltasar also participates in her education by preparing her for her future responsibilities as wife and mother. These men, like in Female Gothic fictions, are the ultimate villains Lucía has to fight against.

There can be little doubt that the narrator adds this rider about male instructors while anticipating the tragic outcome of the novel. Therefore, the determinist references over heredity and religion in accordance with the education that women were to receive is especially meaningful in this novel. Furthermore, as with Naturalism, determinism is strongly associated with the Gothic. For Maggie Kilgour, for example, "Shelley's later revision [of *Frankenstein*] increased the element of determinism in the text, to make Victor present himself as a victim of fate".⁶³ Indeed, Gothic fiction contributes to spreading out a determinist vision of reality in social and ideological terms. In other words, in many Gothic novels we see

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 70.

⁶² Ibid., pp. 74-5.

⁶³ Kilgour, p. 210.

how power always remains in those who already have it. In *Frankenstein*, however, Victor is unable to control his life after giving life to the creature. Power is a static element, which is most of the time held by tyrannical male figures that torment innocent women. It is evident that Pardo Bazán resorts to the Female Gothic with the intention of condemning the plight of women in her novels. In fact, the conflict between Lucía and the villains that manipulate her education is a projection of the social order imposed by the patriarchy.

Pardo Bazán illustrates women's limited education in a considerable number of her novels and warns about the terrible consequences of this. In *El cisne de Vilamorta*, she describes a typical dressmaking lesson unveiling once more the deficient education girls received.

Al paso que distribuía la tarea a las niñas, diciendo a una: “Ese dobladillo bien derecho”: y a otra: “El pespunte más igual, la puntada más menuda”; y a ésta: “No hay que sonarse al vestido, sino al pañuelo”; y la de más allá: “No patees, mujer; estáte quietecita”.⁶⁴

The teacher, Leocadia Otero, participates in the corrupted education women would receive. Her words “no patees, mujer” could be interpreted as a type of educational repression induced by a woman who has eventually accepted the rules of the patriarchy. When she says “estáte quietecita”, she is, in effect, reinforcing women's traditional duty to remain still and quiet in society and, at the same time, she is evoking and promoting the paralysis the country suffers from. As the narrator notes, the teacher herself has received limited academic instruction: “poseía la mediana instrucción de las maestras, rudimentaria”, and has now become an avid reader of “novela y verso”.⁶⁵ Leocadia, a sort of Galician Bovary, has succumbed to the pleasures of reading novels in secret, without the close supervision of a male authority:

⁶⁴ *El cisne de Vilamorta*, p. 77.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-2.

Consagró á la lectura los ocios de su vida monótona y honesta. Leyó con fe, con entusiasmo, sin crítica alguna: leyó creyendo y admitiéndolo todo, unimismándose con las heroínas, oyendo resonar en su corazón los suspiros del vate, los cantos del trovador y los lamentos del bardo. Fue la lectura su vicio secreto, su misteriosa felicidad... ¡Si pudiese dar cuerpo á lo que sentía, al mundo fantástico que dentro llevaba!... Almacenada se quedaba tanta poesía y tanta sensibilidad allá en los senos y circunvoluciones de su cerebro.⁶⁶

Leocadia, like Amparo, is a bad reader, for she accepts without question everything she reads as true. Like in Gothic stories, she identifies herself with the heroines of her novels, and the events she encounters through the experience of reading affect her profoundly. The narrator points out that reading has actually fed her imagination and excited her sensitivity; and she now wishes life could follow the pattern of fiction. This experience anticipates the catastrophic outcome of the heroine.

Leocadia's education and love for reading can explain her terrible suffering. From virtually the beginning of the novel, we learn about her painful past and her miserable love life in the present. Although Leocadia claims that she is widow, the narrator informs us that she was sexually assaulted by her uncle, and her son Dominguito is, in fact, the result of this crime. Leocadia has a secret affair with the second-rate poet Segundo, an idle young man half her age. In order to help Segundo to publish his poems, Leocadia mortgages her own house, but when she finds out he is in love with another woman, she commits suicide by taking rat poison. The fact that Leocadia is a teacher is in itself ironic, for she is unable to control her life and be more realistic.

From the perspective of the Female Gothic, we should take into consideration that Leocadia experiences two traumas. Firstly, she is raped and, secondly, she is abandoned, just

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 22.

like Amparo from *La Tribuna* or Lucía from *Un viaje de novios*. Rapes and traumas in general are intimately related to female characters in the Gothic novels, inasmuch as these texts promote a “normal” behaviour that every woman should comply with. Nevertheless, when submitting women to this “normal” behaviour, they are being predisposed to suffering a trauma. Gothic novels therefore contribute to consolidate that trauma. Michelle Massé claims that all Gothic heroines “have been taught to want love, in whatsoever guise, above all else”. “Normal” feminine development is then “a form of culturally induced trauma” and “the Gothic novel is its repetition”.⁶⁷ According to this, Pardo Bazán raises awareness about the traumas that women suffer from in society, as well as their consequences, like Leocadia’s suicide. This protagonist is the prototypical Female Gothic heroin fighting against a patriarchal villain who, in turn, proves to be her downfall.

In both *Un viaje de novios* and *El cisne de Vilamorta*, Pardo Bazán portrays the Galician barbarism in similar ways. The development of the narrative plot shows a desire to represent the downfall of the two characters very explicitly; thus Lucía is brutally beaten up when her husband finds out she has seen Artegui, whereas Leocadia dies in the most disturbing way possible as she ingests rat poison. These tragic endings share striking similarities with the Female Gothic plots as far as its explicit violence against women is concerned. This explicitness is, beyond question, the result of that obscene accuracy intended by Naturalist authors, but interestingly it also coincides with the concept of horror as understood in Gothic novels from the eighteenth century onwards. In short, Pardo Bazán succeeds in creating a feeling of revulsion through the psychological and physical torture of uneducated Galician women. Barbarism and horror are therefore linked through the sensorial experience of repugnancy. In other words, Pardo Bazán reconciles once again the contradiction existing between Naturalism and Gothic horror.

⁶⁷ Michelle Massé, *In the Name of Love: Woman, Masochism and the Gothic* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp. 4 and 7.

In “La mujer española” Pardo Bazán warns that the type of education described above fosters ignorant women and childish attitudes: “limita a la mujer, la estrecha y reduce, haciéndola más pequeña aún que el tamaño natural, y manteniéndola en perpetua infancia”.⁶⁸ With these words, the Countess reiterates Wollstonecraft’s viewpoint that inappropriate female education results in childish manners, which emphasizes the idea that women are products elaborated upon men’s will. Likewise, Pardo Bazán also recognizes the paradoxical situation of a society that allows women to receive an education while depriving them of pursuing a professional career. Hence, it is evident that the acceptance of these lessons is only assured as long as they do not exceed the limits of “aficiones” (hobbies) and do not become a serious and real “vocación” (vocation).⁶⁹

As with Victorian Britain, Spanish women were to be educated primarily to satisfy and please their husbands. To put it differently, female education is symptomatic of the efforts made by a bourgeoisie concerned with appearances and mannerisms. This reasoning finds its explanation in Spaniards’ obsession for progress during the late nineteenth century, to keep up with modern European countries. Pardo Bazán takes up in earnest this preoccupation that affects “progressive” bourgeois men in “La mujer española”:

Por más que todavía hay hombres partidarios de la absoluta ignorancia en la mujer, la mayoría va prefiriendo, en el terreno práctico, una mujer que sin ambicionar la instrucción fundamental y nutritiva, tenga un baño, barniz o apariencia que la haga “presentable”. Si no quieren a la instruida, la quieren algo educada, sobre todo en lo exterior y ornamental. El progreso no es una palabra vana, puesto que hoy un marido burgués se sonrojaría de que su esposa no supiera leer ni escribir.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ “La mujer española”, p. 51.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 51.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 51.

While this passage introduces the notion of female education as a primary condition to progress, Pardo Bazán's ironic tone throughout the quote is obvious. To the Countess, the Spanish man does not distinguish between "apariencia" and "progreso", suggesting the real conservatism of those who claim to be liberals:

el hombre no se conforma con que varíe o evolucione la mujer. Para el español, por más liberal y avanzado que sea, no vacilo en decirlo, el ideal femenino no está en el porvenir, ni aun en el presente, sino en el pasado. La esposa modelo sigue siendo la de cien años hace.⁷¹

In the light of these examples, it should be noted here that despite the fact that Pardo Bazán tends to construct male characters as victimizers based on non-fictional attitudes, there are exceptions that deserve special mention. In *La Prueba* (1890), sequel of *Una Cristiana* (1890) and published in the same year as "La mujer española", the author exposes the question of women's education as a real necessity for progress. In the first chapter of the novel, Luis Portal relates to his friend Salustio how he met *Mo*, the English girl and how much he praises her education and ability to hold a conversation of any sort:

Ya sabes que a mí no me hace feliz la ignorancia cerril de la mujer española. Me gusta una muchacha instruída, capaz de alternar en conversación, despreocupada, con aficiones artísticas y conocimientos en todas las materias...Esta creo que es la mujer del porvenir. Bueno, pues mi *Mo* realiza ese tipo.⁷²

The "mujer del porvenir" or "New Woman" entails a notion that Pardo Bazán presumably took from English or American feminist movements to describe a type of intellectual woman interested in a wide range of questions, such as science, religion, sexuality or literature. Indeed, as Portal points out, we know that *Mo* reads Shakespeare and can

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 30.

⁷² *Obras completas*, p. 621.

provide stimulating conversation to men: “siempre hablábamos de cosas indiferentes, de esas que son conversación velada para las madrileñas: de política, de ciencias, de literatura, de artes, hasta de religión”.⁷³ Initially, Portal finds in *Mo* the ideal model that every Spanish woman should follow, for in the eyes of liberal thinkers like Portal himself, education and progress are inseparable notions that strengthen the nation’s supremacy. However, a few lines further on, one can observe that *Mo* too has received “una educación de cascarilla”, as Pardo Bazán calls it, for she too: “pintaba a la acuarela, tocaba al piano, escribía ‘impresiones’, bordaba y hasta sabía levantar mapas”.⁷⁴ *Mo*’s frivolous education anticipates Luis Portal’s final decision to break up the relationship as she proposes to him; Portal’s initial affection towards the young girl is now transformed into profound disenchantment. In the eyes of the progressive Spaniard, *Mo* no longer embodies the “New Woman” he had longed for. Rather, she stands for the same despicable vice Portal observes in the Spanish bourgeoisie and, more specifically, in a bourgeois girl’s upbringing:

A *Mo* le han enseñado a pintar, pero sin estudio del modelo vivo, flores y pájaros únicamente; *Mo* toca el piano...como cualquiera; a Shakespeare lo lee, conformes..., pero en edición expurgada; *Mo* conoce la historia de su país..., según un compendio para niños.⁷⁵

The pursuit of marriage is by no means a new theme in the novels of Pardo Bazán. Like in Female Gothic fiction, marriage remains a common motif that very commonly represents the heroine’s submission to the control of a male authority, but it is also a conservative means to guarantee social and economic welfare. Marriage is, in effect, the quickest and safest way for social improvement, namely, among Spanish bourgeoisie, an attitude that the Countess condemns in “La mujer española”:

⁷³ Ibid., p. 622.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 623.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 690.

Siendo el matrimonio y el provecho que reporta la única aspiración de la burguesa, sus padres tratan de educarla con arreglo a las ideas o preocupaciones del sexo masculino, manteniéndola en aquel justo medio, con tendencia a la inmovilidad [que] desea el español para su compañera.⁷⁶

Bourgeois girls' education is marriage-oriented. It is therefore evident that fathers show themselves reluctant and suspicious to send their daughters to school, let alone to university. Unlike most late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Gothic novels written by female authors, Pardo Bazán disapproves of loveless market marriages, largely due to an orthodox Catholic vision, but above all because they represent a social imposition that restricts and nullifies women as human beings. Furthermore, marriages also promote stagnation ("inmovilidad"), preventing women from maturing and the country from progressing. Again, this vision responds to Pardo Bazán's *regenerationist* discourse consisting of modernizing the country by raising readers' awareness about the social backwardness of Galicia and Spain in general.

It is not surprising that the Naturalist novels of Pardo Bazán place much emphasis on heredity and environment as responsible factors of individual behaviour. Hence, the implicit moral message that the author attempts to transmit is that lack of education leads individuals to rely on their instincts rather than their reason. In this particular case, like in many Female Gothic novels, arranged marriages often result in expected catastrophic endings in accordance with the author's subjective viewpoint. There is no doubt that Pardo Bazán kept in mind her female readership, most of whom were, as matter of fact, bourgeois girls aspiring to achieve social improvement through marriage.

There are numerous examples throughout Pardo Bazán's literary production that focus upon the topic of marriage market and the disastrous consequences in which they result. In

⁷⁶ "La mujer española", pp. 50-1.

some instances, the attempted marriage is not finally carried out, as in *La prueba*, even so, the course of the narrative does not anticipate a flattering ending at all. Such is the case of the protagonist of *La Tribuna*, Amparo, the worker at the cigarette factory of Marineda, whose greed and eagerness to ascend the social scale determines her final ruin. In the course of the narrative, the reader learns about Amparo's working-class background, her precarious working conditions at the cigarette factory, her refusal to marry a "barquillero", and how she manages to establish contacts with the bourgeoisie through her affair with Baltasar Sobrado. Amparo's naivety is symptomatic of the deficient education she received and it is partly this sign of weakness that prevents her from succeeding in life. When her mother warns Amparo that Baltasar will never marry her, she replies: "No sé por qué no. Hoy en día no estamos en tiempos de ser los hombres desiguales...Hoy todos somos unos, señora..., se acabaron esas tiranías".⁷⁷ At this point, her mother's answer is crucial to understand the determinism that Pardo Bazán's Naturalism would soon predicate:⁷⁸ "¡Y te lo creíste! El pobre, pobre es. Tú te quedarás pobre, y el señorito se irá riendo...".⁷⁹ These words suggest the strength that heredity and environment exert over the individual, leaving no expectations for social improvement. Disregarding her mother's warning, Amparo trusts Baltasar will keep his word to marry her, but alas he eventually abandons her with child, quite a recurrent technique both in Pardo Bazán's and in the "sensation novels".

The author's moralizing tone is evident at the end of the novel. As mentioned before, she denies any intention in her novels. However, in the prologue to *La Tribuna*, she writes:

no sé encubrir que en este libro, casi a pesar mío, entra un propósito que puede llamarse *docente*. Al artista que sólo aspiraba a retratar el aspecto pintoresco y

⁷⁷ *Obras completas*, p. 179.

⁷⁸ Pardo Bazán finished *La Tribuna* in 1882 and published it one year later, as her essays on *La cuestión palpitante* began to be published in *La época*.

⁷⁹ *Obras completas*, p. 179.

característico de una *capa social* se le presentó, por añadidura, la moraleja, y sería tan sistemático rechazarla como haberla buscado.⁸⁰

The same “moraleja” can be drawn from *Los pazos de Ulloa*. The novel presents the figure of the matchmaker father don Manuel Pardo, whose scruples when deciding the perfect match for his daughters are highlighted by the narrator: “imponía suma rigidez y escrúpulo en la elección de sus relaciones y en la manera de educar a sus hijas, a quienes traía como encasilladas y aisladas, no llevándolas sino de pascuas a ramos a diversiones públicas”.⁸¹ Once more, Pardo Bazán resorts to a Female Gothic theme, that of female confinement, to account for the misogynistic, patriarchal education young women would receive. If in the traditional Gothic novel, patriarchal villains would systematically seclude women within a castle, now parents and husbands do the same within a domestic place. Thus the sisters are said to be “encasilladas y aisladas” at home by their own father. As on other occasions, the narrator is trying to raise awareness about the plight of Galician women.

Don Manuel Pardo allows his nephew don Pedro to marry his daughter Nucha despite his initial objections. We then find out that these objections lie in mere financial matters: “acabó por declarar que a las demás chicas les daría algo al contraer matrimonio, pero que a Nucha...como esperaba heredar lo de su tía”.⁸² Nucha gets married to don Pedro and, after giving birth to her daughter Manuela, she dies. We could ask ourselves whether this tragic ending was necessary or could have been avoided. I feel the ending could not be otherwise, for Nucha embodies the traditional woman Pardo Bazán disdains: she is silent, sensitive, weak and submissive. Had don Pedro married Rita, Nucha’s sister, the ending would have probably been a very different one. In the eyes of don Pedro, however, Rita represents a symbol of conventional femininity lacking the sensibility that characterizes the traditional woman:

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 103.

⁸¹ *Los pazos*, p. 185.

⁸² Ibid., pp. 211-2.

Lo que más cautivaba a su primo, en Rita, no era tanto la belleza del rostro como la cumplida proporción del tronco y miembros, la amplitud y redondez de la cadera, el desarrollo del seno, todo cuanto en las valientes armónicas curvas de su briosa persona prometía la madre fecunda y la nodriza inexhausta. El marqués presentía en tan arrogante hembra, no el placer de los sentidos, sino la numerosa y masculina prole que debía rendir.⁸³

It could therefore be argued that the tragic ending of *Los pazos* could have been easily avoided if don Pedro had chosen Rita and not Nucha. They could have got married and maybe don Pedro would have had the son he had always longed for. However, the ending, beyond being a fortuitous outcome, forms part of a moralizing plan regarding the side-effects which too much sensibility can lead to. Similarly, the author makes clear her repudiation of the disturbing relationship between Nucha and don Pedro, continued by the incestuous affair between Manuela and Perucho in *La madre naturaleza*. Incestuous relationships are likewise common in Gothic fiction and they involve not only a grotesque violation of the order of Nature upon how human relationships are established, but also they suggest an uncanny fear of alien entities that threaten to invade and break the familial private space. In *Los pazos*, however, don Pedro searches for a woman within his extended family who can give him a son, “el continuador del nombre”.⁸⁴

A very different direction is taken in *Memorias de un solterón*, which revolves around the memoirs of Mauro Pareja and his account of his affair with Fe Neira (nicknamed Feíta), who represents the New Woman.⁸⁵ Feíta reflects Pardo Bazán’s ideal of the modern woman, and we can easily establish a number of parallelisms between them both. Some scholars regard *Memorias de un solterón* as a feminist work, and although the novel does not tackle

⁸³ Ibid., p. 187.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 187.

⁸⁵ *Memorias de un solterón* (1896) corresponds to the second part of *Doña Milagros*, published two years before. Pardo Bazán catalogued both novels under the name of *Adán y Eva*.

this theme as a primary one, it is important to note that by the date of its publication in 1896, the first feminist movements had already begun to appear in Spain

Feíta is described as a self-cultivated woman who searches for professional success and emancipation through her education. Unlike Amparo from *La Tribuna*, Feíta aims at earning her own living without depending on a husband to maintain her; she believes in her abilities to make her way into the world despite the obstacles imposed by her father, Benicio Neira. Feíta's reasoning results in frequent discussions on emancipation with her father, who understands education to be a masculine matter, privileging in this case, his son Froilán. In one of the conversations she has with Mauro, Feíta expresses her concerns about this subject:

¿No ve usted que a mí, como enseñar, no me han enseñado ni esto?

Coser, border, rezar y barrer, dice mi padre que basta a una señorita. Un día recuerdo que hasta me puse de rodillas para que me enviasen al Instituto, como a Froilán, y papá salió con que me hartaría a azotes si volvía a hablar de semejante cosa... ¿me quiere decir usted de qué he de vivir cuando mi padre se vaya al otro mundo?⁸⁶

Benicio is the epitome of the Gothic tyrannical father; he would never hesitate to beat his daughter if this were to dissuade her from pursuing a career. Feíta, on the other hand, represents a modern Gothic heroine struggling to liberate herself from the patriarchal yoke imposed by her own family. Mauro agrees with Feíta's ideas, but excited about contradicting and annoying the young girl, he replies: "usted vivirá de lo que gane su marido". His words offend Feíta deeply: "¡Maridito! Sí, que andan los mariditos mantenedores de sus mujeres por ahí a patadas... ¡Me parece cargante y retecargante y hasta humillante la ocurrencia!"⁸⁷ Ironically, Mauro and Feíta get married at the end of the novel. Although this marriage seems to be based on common ideological principles, Feíta marries Mauro to restore the family

⁸⁶ *Obras completas*, p. 470.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 470.

economy, which had been ruined due to her father's incompetence when his wife dies. As she explains, the death of her mother is the cause of her family's downfall: "Muere mi madre, que hacía milagros en la economía. Viene el desconcierto, el préstamo, la hipoteca, los apuros, el trueno".⁸⁸ As in Female Gothic stories, the figure of the mother is absent and the heroine must face the adversities of the unscrupulous patriarchy. One could almost say that the incompetence of Feíta's father to manage the familiar economy is what ultimately leads her to marriage. There are evident parallels between Feíta and her mother inasmuch as they gradually gain power through financial management; while her mother would keep the household accounts, Feíta eventually finds a job as a teacher and so she achieves economic and familial emancipation. In this manner, Feíta's development culminates not with her being a mother, but an independent woman in economic terms.

In the light of this personal achievement, one could wonder whether a loveless marriage, *on Feíta's part*, was necessary. To my view, Pardo Bazán is trying to subvert the typical Female Gothic plot for Feíta to succeed in society. She represents the insubordinate woman that fights against the terror of patriarchy to achieve emancipation. As mentioned before, the novel was published in 1896, when the first feminist movements began to appear. Therefore, the subversion of the Female Gothic characteristics can be interpreted as a reflection of the social change that affects the Spanish context at this moment of the nineteenth-century.

Although not tackling the historical implications of the novel, literary critics have already analysed Feíta and Mauro as gender-subversive characters. In particular, Mark Harpring and Beth Wietelmann Bauer describe them as ambiguously gendered protagonists.⁸⁹ Rather than ambiguous, which incidentally conveys unspecific or negative ideas, I maintain

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 506.

⁸⁹ See Mark Harpring, "Homoeroticism and Gender Role Confusion in Pardo Bazán's *Memorias de un solterón*", *Hispanic Research Journal*, 7 (2006), 195-210. Beth Wietelmann Bauer, "Narrative Cross-Dressing: Emilia Pardo Bazán in *Memorias de un solterón*", *Hispania*, 77 (1994), 23-30.

that Pardo Bazán subverts the traditional gender roles in this novel to explore and expand her discourse on the New Woman at this moment in time. Mauro, who initially rejects marriage, is not only portrayed as a bachelor and a provincial *señorito*, but his continuous references to fashion directly refer him to the world of the feminine, which ultimately compromises his masculine authority. Elizabeth Ordóñez considers Mauro as alien to the patriarchy, for he shows no desire whatsoever to experience marriage and fatherhood, especially to avoid the domestication of women.⁹⁰

These reflections lead us to conclude that Mauro does not represent a threat for Feíta and so she can safely marry him. As a matter of course, his femininity does certainly guarantee the termination of the patriarchy in Feíta's life once they get married. Accordingly, the heroin finds in Mauro not only a financial opportunity that will put an end to the instability of her family, but also a long wished opportunity to initiate an intellectual career without anybody criticizing her. These considerations, together with their intellectual congeniality, convince the young girl to marry Mauro.

Feíta, on the other hand, is branded as a “marimacho” who concentrates her efforts on studying to achieve independence through a job. Wietelmann Bauer, in particular, focuses her analysis on the protagonists' infractions “against standard dress codes” to account for Pardo Bazán's desire to gain a voice of authority in her narrative, but also to satisfy her readers' fantasies and to experience uncommon feelings. In addition to this, I find that Feíta projects exactly the same qualities one could see in a despotic male figure. When she visits Mauro's library, he feels deeply offended when she hardly notices his presence:

Chafaba también mi amor propio masculino que tabique por medio se
encontrase una mujer dedicada a un serio trabajo, a una labor intelectual, sin

⁹⁰ Elizabeth Ordóñez, “Revising Realism: Pardo Bazán's *Memorias de un solterón* in the Light of Galdós' *Tristana* and John Stuart Mill”, in *In the Feminine Mode: Essays on Hispanic Women Writers*, ed. by Noël Valis and Carol Maier (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1990), pp. 146-73.

acordarse de mi más que de la primera camisa que vistió. Nunca una soltera disponible se había manifestado tan despreocupada de mi vecindad.⁹¹

In ignoring the sensitive Mauro, Feíta demonstrates she is able to dominate him. More importantly, Mauro feels his masculinity is being severely injured, highlighting the idea that their traditional gender roles have been subverted. In this respect, Feíta's argument about her idea of freedom is particularly revealing: "Creí que la libertad consistía en salir sola a la calle. No; también consiste en *estar sola* dentro de casa".⁹² To put it in a simple way, ignoring her husband while being at home allows her to reach freedom. Therefore, these words confirm that the final marriage between intellectual equals is no more than a means to guarantee the remaining within the bourgeoisie, a very common trend in Female Gothic narratives. In conclusion, we can safely confirm that *Memorias de un solterón* incorporates the characteristics of the Female Gothic, but the author adapts these to reflect the difficult social changes affecting Galician woman, such as Feíta, at the end of the nineteenth century.

The examples that have been offered help us to understand the vision Emilia Pardo Bazán might have had of the traditional Female Gothic novels such as Ann Radcliffe's. From her essay "La mujer española" and the incorporation of the ideas it postulates into her novels, we are certain that she felt closer, but *only* closer, to Mary Wollstonecraft's perception of the Gothic. On the one hand, she battles against the ideal final marriages that a number of Gothic novels propose, even when endings like the one in *The Mysteries of Udolpho* are actually happy and no evidence of patriarchal authority is shown. As a feminist author, Pardo Bazán believes that forced marriage is symptomatic of patriarchal power structures, a bourgeois commodity tending to stasis and conformity. It involves a hypocritical philosophy of domesticity that relegates women to the realm of the home but, at the same time, celebrates their *authority* within it, Feíta being the best example. Thus, loveless marriage implies the

⁹¹ *Obras completas*, p. 484.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 503.

idealization of the private world; a prison which bourgeois women are reluctant to leave for the economic advantages it involves. Equally important, perhaps, is the fact that the marriage-oriented education that women receive prevents them from pursuing a serious and bona fide one. This, just as in domestic life, tends to regression and prevents progress.

At this point, Pardo Bazán is confronted once more with the constant dilemma between her conservative Catholicism and her role as a feminist writer. As with other matters, Emilia shows quite a contradictory vision as far as her religious beliefs are concerned. There is no doubt that she was a devout Catholic, but her “progressive” ideas made her adopt a more tolerant position towards what is often understood as Neo-Catholicism, a reactionary movement intimately related to Carlism.⁹³ Although apparently she never renounced completely the conservative form of Catholicism, she certainly showed a more open perspective towards the plight of women in Spain. Consequently, her objection towards loveless marriages is explained both in religious and feminist terms.

Additionally, Pardo Bazán juxtaposes the conventional marriage with the figure of the tyrannical father. Myriads of Gothic novels revolve around the relation between a daughter and her tyrannical father, such as *The Castle of Otranto*, *The Monk*, or even *Rappaccini's Daughter*. Others, however, present benevolent fathers who transmit their knowledge to their daughters, like Monsieur St. Aubert to Emily in *The Mysteries of Udolpho*. In the novels of Pardo Bazán, the father acts as an oppressive force that prevents the daughter from growing both morally and intellectually. Subsequently, the father is substituted by the husband and, in taking on this role, the wife is relegated to an ever-infantile state. Nucha's weakness, for instance, is symptomatic of the values her father has instilled in her, and her weakness is not only physical, but also emotional. Feita also suffers the effects of having a tyrannical father but, unlike Nucha, she has received an intellectual education. This allows her to make proper

⁹³ Pattison, p. 5.

decisions and choose a husband that matches her ideals. The fact that Amparo does not have a father ultimately explains her resolve and strong character.

Equally significant is the relation between these women and their mothers. As Kilgour points out, the conventional Female Gothic plot replaces father-son relations with mother-daughter ones. She suggests that, for Radcliffe, the heroine's discovery of the identity of her mother enables her to fulfil her female role in the private sphere. In other words, the development of the heroine culminates with her becoming a mother, usually after marriage. Mother-daughter relations are particularly significant for Pardo Bazán and, like in many Gothic novels the mother, often absent or dead, exerts enormous influence over her daughter's development. When Nucha's mother dies, she assumes her role by looking after her brother, Gabriel. The priest Julián explains it to don Pedro as follows: "Cuando el señorito Gabriel quedó sin mamá de pequeñito, lo cuidó con una formalidad que tenía la gracia del mundo, porque ella no era mucho mayor que él. Una madre no hiciera más... Le llamaba su hijo".⁹⁴ Nucha finds her role in the private sphere as a mother and falls ill as a consequence: "Parece que el peso del chiquillo la rindió y por eso quedó más delicada de salud que las otras [hermanas]".⁹⁵ Actually, Julián's following words, "es un ángel", evoke Nucha's new position in the domestic sphere as "ángel del hogar".⁹⁶

Finally, with regards to the setting, Radcliffe and other Gothic writers often situate the action in a distant and exotic location that allows reading women to fantasize and experience

⁹⁴ *Obras completas*, p. 197.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

⁹⁶ The nineteenth-century literary image, "The Angel in the House" comes from the title of a poem by Coventry Patmore (1823-1896), published in 1854 for the first time. Patmore defines, in this poem, the Victorian feminine ideal that became popular during the Industrial Revolution. The ideal femininity was based on women's role as wives and mothers, and their submission to a male authority, usually their husbands. The term was applied to Spanish Realist fiction by Bridget A. Aldaraca to account for the domestic ideology of the Spanish Bourgeoisie, and their new attitudes and social habits centred on family, offspring, education and the role of women within the private realm. See, Bridget A. Aldaraca, *El ángel del hogar: Galdós and the Ideology of Domesticity in Spain* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 1991). As I shall explain in the next chapter, Pardo Bazán deliberately uses the term "ángel" in *Los pazos de Ulloa* to describe the female protagonist and her function within the domestic sphere. This example shows the author's acquaintance with the term and possibly with Patmore's poem.

sensations beyond the domestic sphere impossible to fulfil otherwise. Pardo Bazán, on the contrary, opts for closer, uncanny settings, be it Marineda, Ourense or Santiago de Compostela, suggesting that real terror is not temporary, but imminent even after the act of reading. In this sense, Pardo Bazán's novels and tales are much closer to mid-Victorian "sensation novels". The frequent distancing from the real world that characterizes the classical Gothic novel does not make sense according to Pardo Bazán's point of view, for distance does not present reality as it is. Rather, reality appears distorted and difficult to describe; a perspective that, at first glance, may represent an irreconcilable idea for the Naturalist author. In this respect, Kilgour notes that the Gothic revival has often been described as a form of regression; an immature genre rising in infantile resistance towards the suitable development of the Realistic novel. Should this statement be certain, it would not be applicable to Pardo Bazán. In situating most of her novels and stories in Galicia, she exposes a social reality that unveils the latent tension between the civilized and the barbaric, just as progress and regression; past and present.

All in all, the plot and narrative conventions that Emilia Pardo Bazán adopts share significant similarities with the ones found in the prototypical Female Gothic novel. On the one hand, the texts that have been shown present sketches of life that affect a young woman who reaches maturity at the end of the novel, either through marriage, maternity or both. The transition from girlhood to adulthood involves a process of domesticity and economic exploitation whereby a male authority (the villain) symbolically entraps the woman in the bourgeois familial space. Just as in the Female Gothic, Pardo Bazán's novels emphasize that it is precisely the bourgeois domestic world where real terror is encountered and, in order to achieve this effect she refuses, to a certain extent, to distance the setting from her reading public by situating the action in familiar spaces. With regards to their endings, Pardo Bazán's novels are reactionary rather than revolutionary. Her female protagonists do not rebel against

the pre-established social order that repress them; instead, they reaffirm their conventional roles as wives or mothers after marriage. Even Feíta, who remains faithful to her ideals, eventually succumbs to marriage. In substituting the happy endings that characterize Radcliffe's novels for tragic ones, Pardo Bazán shows, perhaps unintentionally, a moralizing intention based on her feminist ideology intimately related to female education in form of reading.

CHAPTER V

THE PSYCHOANALYTIC APPROACH TO THE GOTHIC IN *LOS PAZOS DE ULLOA*

“The poets and philosophers before me discovered the unconscious; what I discovered was the scientific method by which the unconscious can be studied”.¹

The preceding chapters have referred to recognizable motifs that easily evoke a psychoanalytic approach towards the analysis of any given Gothic text. These include, among others, incest, repression, *Doppelgänger*, dreams, hallucinations or traumas. This chapter draws attention to specific psychoanalytic motifs in Emilia Pardo Bazán’s *Los pazos de Ulloa* within the Gothic context that frames the novel. The choice for this particular novel is motivated by the explicit connection it displays between psychoanalysis and the Gothic.

Along these lines, one must note that the terrifying devices that the Sublime provides are not sufficient to understand the parallel psychologies of fright present in Pardo Bazán’s novel. These psychologies of fright are indeed Gothic devices manifested through psychoanalytic motifs, namely through Freud’s concept of the Uncanny. In other words, the Sublime is not sufficient to explain the terror produced through, say, hallucinations or dreams, simply because these motifs, albeit Gothic and psychoanalytic, do not fall under the premises of the Sublime as defined by Burke. Furthermore, I consider that the author shows a conspicuous preoccupation with the psychological makeup of the two main characters, Julián and Nucha, while resorting to a wide array of (proto) psychoanalytic material, such as the unconscious, interpretation of dreams, or repression.

¹ Lionel Trilling, “Freud and Literature”, in *The Liberal Imagination: Essays on Literature and Society* (London: Martin Secker and Warburg, 1951), pp. 34-57 (p. 34). The words belong to Sigmund Freud and are cited by Trilling in this essay. Trilling studies the relationship between Freud and Romanticism, and concludes that psychoanalysis is the “one of the culminations of the ‘Romanticist’ literature of the nineteenth century”.

A number of scholars, including Abersio Núñez, Stephen M. Hart, Maurice Hemingway or Currie Kerr Thompson, have convincingly tackled the characters' psychological dimension in Pardo Bazán's *Los pazos*. These scholars have usually focused their analysis on explicit psychoanalytic approaches when dealing with the interpretation of dreams (Thompson), or on more general psychological manifestations (Núñez, Hemingway) that refers us directly to the exploration of psychoanalytic elements, particularly those associated with hysteria and aboulia. Hart, for his part, has devoted quite an unconventional study to the connection between the representation of gender in *Los pazos* and the Gothic.

However, no author has yet tackled the close relationship that exists between the Gothic and psychoanalysis or, at least, the idea that Gothic devices, as used by Pardo Bazán in *Los pazos*, allow further exploration of psychoanalytic ideas, which ultimately contribute to a new perspective of the psychological depiction of characters. In other words, there exist a strong connection between the psychoanalytic processes of characters and the way those so-called psychologies of fear, the Uncanny and the Sublime, are represented in Pardo Bazán's work. In exploring this connection, we can understand the degree of influence psychoanalysis and Gothic fiction exerted on Pardo Bazán by the mid-1880s. This last chapter consists of two parts: the first part attempts to demonstrate the viability of a psychoanalytic approach towards the study of Gothic fiction to account for the psychological characterization of the characters. To that end, I will revisit Freud's influential essay, "The Uncanny", and try to justify its importance within the Gothic by comparing and contrasting it to the Sublime. These two concepts, the Uncanny and the Sublime, constitute the aesthetics of terror upon which Gothic fiction and *Los pazos* is grounded. This first part aims at filling an important gap in Pardo Bazán's novel while reconciling the empirical approach of psychoanalysis with the irrationality of the Gothic. In the second part of the chapter, much of the attention will be placed on Julián's nightmare as an irrational expression of the Gothic, but also as an example

of the Uncanny, and how Uncanny and Sublime experiences predispose the two main characters of *Los pazos* to developing their well-known nervous-lymphatic temperament and ultimate hysteria. In characterizing the protagonists' psychologies in this way, I will demonstrate how Pardo Bazán reinforces her idea of rural Galicia as backward and barbaric, and ultimately her *regenerationist* discourse.

The choice for psychoanalytic readings when undertaking a literary work of art has been and still is frequent among academic critics who assume the author's repressed emotions to be present at the moment in which the text is created. Put differently, texts are believed to have been modelled by the author's unconscious wishes, revealing themselves in dreams, depictions of human relationships, and uses of ambiguous and figurative language.² These assumptions are particularly interesting when the literary work of art is a Gothic text, because this genre reveals the same motifs one could find in a psychoanalysis essay. However, a fundamental difference between the eighteenth and nineteenth century writers, to those from the twentieth century onwards, should be noted here: unlike the former, we can be certain that twentieth-century Gothic producers – being literary or cinematographic – are aware of the rhetoric of psychoanalysis and very often their productions rely on typically Freudian images.³

² French literary historian critic, Sainte Augustine Beuve (1804-1869), conceived a writer's work to be greatly influenced by their own life, experiences, character and background. He understood the analysis of a literary piece of work as the search of the author's intention, as well as a compilation of biographical data, what is today commonplace in historical criticism. See Christopher Prendergast, "The Profession of Criticism", in *The classic: Sainte-Beuve and the nineteenth-century culture Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 1-17 (p. 2).

³ An illustrative example in contemporary Gothic fiction is the English horror film *Peeping Tom*, directed by Michael Powell and released in 1960.³ The film presents Mark Lewis, a sexually repressed young man who works as a focus puller for a London film studio. Mark dreams of becoming a filmmaker himself, and in his spare time, he photographs pinup girls, whose pictures he then sells in a local shop. But Mark has an even darker side: he is also a compulsive murderer who becomes obsessed with filming the terrifying expression of women in the moment of their death. One night, he accompanies a prostitute to her bedroom where he records her murder while stabbing her with a knife he had hidden in the tripod of his camera. As the film progresses, we learn that Mark himself was subjected to the experiments of his father, a scientist who investigated the effects of terror by filming his patients. In this film, the Gothic atmosphere is clearly placed at the service of an extensive psychoanalytic machinery: exhibition of deviant sexuality through voyeurism or scopophilia, elements of

Alternatively, the lack of author awareness is precisely the reason why psychoanalytic interpretations in nineteenth-century literary studies have likewise found numerous detractors who fiercely condemn its procedures due to both the unscientific nature of its theories and to its hypothesized anachronistic perspective.⁴ However, as pointed out above, Gothic fiction itself presents narrative elements and images that psychoanalysis would make use of one century later in order to examine and understand human behaviour. As psychoanalysts interpret dreams and unconscious actions, readers of the Gothic would seek to find hidden meanings in the narrative so as to reach a logic and coherent understanding of the plot. Nevertheless, it must be taken into consideration that Gothic fiction favours imagination over reality and, therefore, it is not possible to reach objective and rational truths at all.

One of the reflections of psychoanalysis in Gothic literature is the treatment of the past. Maggie Kilgour suggests that psychoanalysis is to be considered as another “gothic, necromantic form, that resurrects our psychic pasts”.⁵ The individual is regarded as imprisoned and immobilized in an unnoticed past, suggesting in this way “the power of the personal past to determine, unconsciously, one’s actions in the present”.⁶ This vision brings to mind the Female Gothic motif of women’s confinement in patriarchal societies and the consequent stagnation of society. But also, the way the past determines the present coincides with one of the principles of Naturalism, which is nothing other than determinism itself. That vision also coincides with that of the Gothic, which yearns for and idealizes past times, where the individual was defined through his or her relation to others, and not as an autonomous, independent being. The Gothic caricaturizes the modern individual by fragmenting and

castration, abused child, disturbing relationship between father and son, repression, and *Doppelgänger*. See *Peeping Tom*, dir. by Michael Powell (Anglo-Amalgamated, 1960).

⁴ Cognitive and evolutionary Psychology, as well as Neurobiology and contemporary Psychiatry regard psychoanalysis as a pseudoscience. Philosopher Karl Popper, who affirms that psychoanalytic approaches violate the principle of falsifiability, shares this opinion. However, neither can these approaches be demonstrated to be invalid. Similarly, Argentinean physicist Mario Bunge rejects this “pseudoscience” due to its inability to interact with other disciplines such as biological sciences. On his part, literary critic George Steiner, considers psychoanalysis as mere literary fiction.

⁵ Kilgour, p. 220.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

alienating them from the world; it accentuates sexual conflicts in such a way that family relations are, as a matter of fact, defamiliarized.

The defamiliarization of family relations is expressed as a key element present both in psychoanalysis and Gothic fiction: Kilgour asserts that, “incest in particular, both in the gothic and for the later Romantics, suggests an abnormal and extreme desire (a violation of natural familial ties) that is antithetical to and subversive of social requirements [...] a parody of the modern introverted nuclear family”.⁷ For all these reasons, we can therefore argue that a psychoanalytic approach to Gothic fiction reveals itself particularly thought-provoking.

In order to explain the association of psychoanalysis with the Gothic, it is necessary to understand the Uncanny and the Sublime as psychologies of fright. Long before Sigmund Freud formulated the discourse of psychoanalysis in *The Interpretation of Dreams* at the beginning of the twentieth century, Gothic fiction had already addressed, albeit with a different vocabulary, the conflicts that revolve around unconscious psychological processes.⁸ In fact, psychoanalytic readings of the Gothic sustain the return of the repressed, a process by which repressed elements, preserved in the unconscious, are never annihilated and always reappear in the conscious mind in a less recognizable way. Taking all this into account, the rise of Gothic fiction in the eighteenth century can be understood as a reaction against the Enlightenment, the tyrannical age of reason, reaffirming the necessity for imaginative stimuli and supernatural phenomena. As we shall see below, in Freudian psychoanalysis, the return of the repressed will be represented by so-called Uncanny experiences, underlining in this way the disturbing power that the past exerts over the present. Therefore, the idea of the Uncanny is a typical aspect of psychoanalysis that helps us to explain the power of past over present in Gothic fiction.

⁷ Ibid., p. 12.

⁸ The Gothic constantly alludes to typically psychoanalytic themes such as the Oedipal conflict, incest or fraternal rivalry.

The influence of the past on the present is likewise associated with Jacques Derrida's conceptualization of Hauntology, according to which, individuals can never get rid of their past. In fact, this always returns in a phantasmagorical yet recognizable way, that is, in an Uncanny way. Gothic literature is thus directly related to Derrida's concept, inasmuch as labyrinthine narratives of the Gothic awake the fears and fantasies of the reader. As Glennis Byron and Dale Townshend have noted, "Hauntology is at the core of Gothic performativity, as the genre's labyrinthine fictionality painstakingly unearths the fears and the fantasies of its audience".⁹ Derrida's *hauntological* ghosts awake the individual's repressed anxiety as they encounter an Uncanny experience that makes them find out that they do not belong to their own time or any other time they can remember.

In 1919, Freud published one of his most famous essays, "Das Unheimliche", translated into English as "The Uncanny". He begins his essay with a long etymological definition of the German terms *heimlich*, meaning "familiar", "native" or "belonging to the home", and *unheimlich*, meaning "unfamiliar", "uncanny". The *unheimlich* is frightening, contends Freud, "precisely because it is *not* known and familiar".¹⁰ Yet the distinction between *heimlich* and *unheimlich* is sometimes blurred as the former, since associated with the familiar and therefore the private, can also mean "that which is concealed and kept out of sight".¹¹ Consequently, he concludes that the meaning of *heimlich* may well coincide with that of its opposite.

Following the definitions, Freud analyses E.T.A. Hoffmann's Gothic story "The Sand-Man" focusing on the main character, Nathaniel, and his relationship with the rest of the male characters in the story. As a child, we learn how Nathaniel is terrified by the Sand-Man, an evil figure who is believed to rip out children's eyes, and whom Nathaniel later associates

⁹ Isabella van Elferen, "Gothic Sonic", in *The Gothic World*, ed. by Glennis Byron and Dale Townshend (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), p. 432.

¹⁰ Sigmund Freud, "The 'Uncanny'", in *Writings on Art and Literature*, ed. by Neil Hertz (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), pp. 193-233 (p. 195).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 199.

with the lawyer Coppelius, the eerie man he blames for his father's death. As a young student, Nathaniel meets the frightening optician Coppola from whom he buys a pocket spy-glass which enables him to spy on Professor Spalanzani's daughter, Olympia, with whom he soon falls in love. However, Olympia happens to be an automaton created by Spalanzani himself with help from Coppola. When Nathaniel discovers her real nature and finds out that Coppola, the Sandman, has provided, and eventually torn out, her eyes, he falls into a state of insanity. Once Nathaniel has recovered from his illness, he is determined to marry his betrothed Clara. A few days before the wedding takes place, they climb the tower of the Town Hall from where Nathaniel catches sight of Coppelius (also Coppola and the Sandman), and overcome by panic, jumps off the tower and kills himself.

When analysing Hoffmann's story, Freud suggests that the anxiety resulting from the fear of losing one's eyes is a substitute for the dread of being castrated and constitutes the most disturbing instance of the Uncanny, for it represents the awakening of the ghosts that inhabit the subconscious since childhood: "anxiety about one's eyes, the fear of going blind, is often enough a substitute for the dread of being castrated. The self-blinding of the mythical criminal, Oedipus, was simply a mitigated form of the punishment of castration".¹² For Derrida, this "awakening of the ghosts" constitutes an example of Hauntology. In both Gothic fiction and psychoanalysis, ghosts seek to "haunt" the individual by awakening their subconscious minds and making them have a difficult Uncanny experience. But the Uncanny also deals with actual "ghosts". Nicholas Royle has argued that the most striking example of the Uncanny is indeed related to ghosts and haunting. Echoing Freud's words, Royle recalls that the Uncanny deals with everything that is supposed to be hidden but for that reason has come to light. The Uncanny too deals with what is "elusive, cryptic, still to come (back)".¹³

Through the spy-glass used by Nathaniel, the *heimlich* (hidden) becomes *unheimlich*

¹² Ibid., p. 206 .

¹³ Nicholas Royle, "Literature, Teaching, Psychoanalysis", in *The Uncanny: An Introduction* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 51- 74 (p. 51).

(unsecret). The union of these two concepts leads to the idea of the *double* or *Doppelgänger* Freud explains in his essay, and which can be regarded as a projection of the uneasiness caused by repetitive or recurrent situations.¹⁴

As explained in previous chapters, the *Doppelgänger* is also a Gothic device that deals with the difficulty to see reality clearly; with everything that remains obscure or hidden, and once discovered, no one really knows how to interpret it. The hidden or the unknown may result in a crisis of identity which, in turn, leads to the doubling of one's personality. As Neil Cornwell puts it, "On the psychological side, the accentuation may fall on character analysis (most commonly on villainy) or on a crisis of identity, often introducing the *Doppelgänger* theme (which, in its turn, may resolve itself into a supernaturally or a psychically induced 'double')".¹⁵

Freud then examines the anxiety experienced by individuals who must constantly confront undesirable recurrent situations, such as chance occurrences, *déjà vu*, etc. This "repetition-compulsion" as he calls it, responds to instinctual repetitive acts that were often distressing in earlier states of life, and is therefore perceived as Uncanny in adulthood. As John O'Neill recalls, Freud associated the repetition-compulsion with a demoniacal possession, while those people affected by a traumatic neurosis were compared to the haunted.¹⁶ Freud concludes that the Uncanny is then the return of an earlier psychic state (neurosis), or an infantile narcissism (childhood) that has remained repressed as the ego developed. The return of the repressed responds to the apparition of forbidden desires that unconsciously show resistance to them.

¹⁴ The term "Doppelgänger" was first used by the German Romantic novelist Johan Paul Friedrich Richter, better known as Jean Paul, in his novel *Siebenkäs*, published in 1796. See Dimitris Vardoulakis, "The Return of Negation: The Doppelgänger in Freud's "The 'Uncanny'", *Substance*, 35 (2006), 100-16, (p.100).

¹⁵ Neil Cornwell, "European Gothic and Russian Literature", in *European Gothic: A Spirited Exchange 1760-1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p. 110.

¹⁶ John O'Neill, "Digging Psychoanalysis", in *Freud and the Passions* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), p. 206.

In spite of the fact that Freud ultimately adapts fiction to psychoanalysis when appropriating Hoffmann's story for his critical approach, his essay on the Uncanny proved to be satisfactory amongst critics of the Gothic. As Kilgour points out, "Freud's concept of the 'Uncanny', through which something once familiar becomes estranged from us, is often invoked to explain the gothic's defamiliarisation of reality".¹⁷ The Uncanny too provided critics with new vocabulary to express concepts that had long been established in fiction since the eighteenth century; concepts that somehow reflected writers' obsession with the unconscious and the inner self.

The dark quality of the Uncanny brings us back to another concept previously adopted by Gothic fiction: the Sublime. As defined by Edmund Burke, the Sublime is whatever that can incite the ideas of pain and danger in one's mind. The Uncanny and the Sublime constitute two psychologies of fright, but while the Uncanny represents, in Freudian psychoanalysis, a necessary condition for terror, that terror is itself a prerequisite for the enunciation of the Sublime. As Burke argues: "Indeed terror is in all cases whatsoever, either more openly or latently the ruling principle of the sublime".¹⁸ Burke claims that since the Sublime is partially based on a painful experience, it must necessarily be linked to something terrifying or frightening. At any rate, the category of Sublime must be always connected with terror or horror.

While Harold Bloom claims that the Uncanny "appears to be the authentic modern version of what was once called the Sublime",¹⁹ Donna Heiland, among other scholars, distinguishes, like Freud, between the two. She, nonetheless, emphasizes the idea that "the Uncanny resembles the Sublime insofar as it is an aesthetic that is based on the psychology of fear, yet that fear is untempered by the twinge of pleasure that Edmund Burke associates with

¹⁷ Kilgour, p. 220.

¹⁸ Burke, p. 97.

¹⁹ Harold Bloom, "Introduction", in *Blooms's Modern Critical Views: The Bible*, ed. by Harold Bloom (New York: Infobase, 2006), pp. 1-15 (p. 2).

the sublime”.²⁰ As a matter of fact, both the Sublime and the Uncanny produce a “cognitive dissonance” effect, whereby an individual is confronted with two opposed, conflicting ideas that simultaneously repel and attract each other: by contrast, the Sublime implies the combination of pleasure and terror, that is to say, the pleasure of reading a Gothic novel. The Uncanny is, similarly, associated with the idea of “repetition-compulsion” by which an individual is likely to relive traumatic experiences.

The most important difference between these two concepts is probably the perspective through which they are perceived. Sublime experiences always result from external forces that exert a great power over the individual. The Uncanny, on the contrary, is motivated by internal drives that revolve around the familiar and the private sphere, so it cannot be held at a distance. Ironically, Uncanny experiences alienate the individual from the world by defamiliarising reality in such a way that they no longer know how to live in the world. Moreover, Sublime experiences are more physical, more pictorial, and so very susceptible to being depicted in paintings²¹. The Uncanny, on the contrary, is a more psychological experience that makes use of psychoanalytic discourse to account for the hidden meanings that lie underneath the narrative.

In her literary works, Emilia Pardo Bazán introduced elements and images that would subsequently reflect the principles on which psychoanalysis would be based. The relationship between Freudian criticism and the Spanish author is not a casual one and, as evidence shows, since the 1970s and 1980s, psychoanalytic approaches have increasingly been applied to Female Gothic fiction. A great number of the theories that rose throughout these two decades suggest ways of reading that draw attention to the confinement and escape of a woman that

²⁰ Donna Heiland, “From the Sublime to the Uncanny”, in *Gothic and Gender: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), pp. 77- 97 (p. 78).

²¹ Painter Caspar David Friedrich (1774-1840) is considered the greatest exponent of German Romanticism. His landscapes show a great deal of Sublime iconography and usually juxtapose the insignificance of defenceless individuals with the grandeur and magnificence of Nature. In Spain, the Galician Romantic landscape painter, Genaro Pérez de Villaamil (1807-1854) similarly reproduces Sublime emotions by means of Gothic ruins, overcast skies, gloomy mountains or subdued, but warm colours.

yearns for emancipation in a man's world. In fact, as the analysis in my previous chapter shows, Female Gothic narratives frequently revolve around secluded women who struggle to escape their villains. These villains seek to isolate women within a domestic space as "angels in the house", which incidentally prevents them from growing morally and intellectually. Pardo Bazán fights against this tendency, a tendency that moves the country away from Europe and alternatively tries to promote the regeneration of Galician and Spanish societies.

Subsequent critics, such as Norman Holland and Leona Sherman read the Female Gothic as a rewriting of the male Oedipal struggle, suggesting the heroine's difficulties when attempting to separate from her mother.²² In this line, Maggie Kilgour maintains that the Oedipal nature of the Gothic is "obsessed as it is with family rivalry, and with a satanically ambiguous villain whose self-sufficiency is both his glory and his damnation".²³ Other critics, such as Ruth Parkin-Gounelas, explore the subject of hysteria as a psychoanalytic diagnosis from the late nineteenth century to the present. I therefore suggest that Pardo Bazán's literary production can be analysed through a combination of these approaches. This combination highlights the intimate relationship existing between the literary resources employed by Pardo Bazán and the resources employed by Gothic fiction, as well as the interpretation these should receive through an appropriate psychoanalytic approach.

Together with the psychoanalytic approach is the application of the Gothic devices. While scholars like Thompson have openly addressed psychoanalysis in Pardo Bazán's work, a considerable number have acknowledged an unquestionable influence of Gothic fiction through the presence of a series of elements. Psychoanalysis and the Gothic have yet been tackled separately; and the establishment of a direct link between Freudian psychoanalysis and the Gothic in *Los pazos* constitutes an approach that has not yet been explored by literary criticism, even when the connection between these two phenomena has already been accepted

²² Norman Holland and Leona Sherman, "Gothic Possibilities", in *New Literary History* (1977), pp. 281-2.

²³ Kilgour, p. 220.

and thoroughly studied. In a recent work, Michelle Massé devotes a whole chapter to examining the existing relationship between Gothic and Freudian psychoanalysis in particular. For Massé, the Gothic “is such a genre, one that is important for psychoanalytic critical inquiry not solely for its ongoing popularity and easily recognizable motifs, but for the affinities between its central concerns and those of psychoanalysis”.²⁴ The link between the two is too strong to be ignored in any given analysis of Pardo Bazán’s work. In this regard, I consider there exists reconciliation between the logical positivism of psychoanalysis, attuned with the Naturalist postulate, and the irrational expression of the Gothic.

Taking this into consideration, I will examine now the representation of psychoanalytic motifs within Emilia Pardo Bazán’s *Los pazos* and the manner in which they shape the configuration of both the feminine and masculine characters through their Uncanny experiences. More specifically, I will focus my attention on the existing relationship between the two central characters, Julián and Nucha, and how the author defines them both through their feminine temperament. The nightmare Julián suffers the night he decides to remain in the *pazo* serves as a starting point to understand the psychological configuration of these characters that are likewise defined both by Naturalist and Gothic images. Julián’s nightmare can actually be interpreted through Freud’s influential work *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900). The application of what we can consider as Gothic terror (the nightmare) together with its interpretation from a psychoanalytic perspective represents a new and relevant approach to the study of *Los pazos*.

The Interpretation of Dreams meant the real and true consolidation of Freudian psychoanalysis. Dreams became an important key to psychoanalysis because they would occur while being asleep, that is, while being unconscious. Unlike the hypnosis practised by some of his contemporaries, dreams were not authoritarian, and so Freud considered that the

²⁴ Michelle Massé, “Psychoanalysis and the Gothic”, in *A New Companion to the Gothic*, ed. by David Punter (Oxford: Blackwell, 2012), pp. 307-20 (p. 309).

free association of ideas they provided made it easier to understand the hidden meanings of neurotic symptoms, just as in Gothic narratives. He also believed that dreams frequently revealed information about repressed sexuality and conceived them as representations of wish-fulfilments that would echo repressed desires. In finding out the latent meaning of dreams, the psychoanalyst could then uncover a patient's problem. Evidently, nightmares are not supposed to be classified as wish-fulfilment and, in this regard, Freud explains that bad dreams or "anxiety-dreams", as he calls them, are the consequence of repressed mechanisms having failed.²⁵ Freud adds that dreams present a "manifest content" and a "latent content" which turns out to be the true meaning of the dream.²⁶ In this sense, also nightmares hide a meaning that represent a wish-fulfilment desire and that is not always easy to decipher. The nightmare experienced by Julián can be analysed through a psychoanalytic perspective, especially when taking into account the events that take place before he goes to sleep.

Before describing Julián's nightmare at the end of chapter XIX, the narrator warns the reader about the actual nature of the dream: "[su] fundamento son siempre nociones de lo real, pero barajadas, desquiciadas y revueltas merced al anárquico influjo de la imaginación".²⁷ This clarification bears a certain analogy with Pardo Bazán's characterization of Pascual López, whose imaginative spirit, conditioned by his rural background, had predisposed the young Galician student to believe in the supernatural. Like Pascual, Julián's imagination is symptomatic of having been exposed to the rural *Volksgeist* epitomized in the microcosm of the *pazos* of Ulloa. Thus, the evening before the nightmare, Julián experiences a series of events that he associates with the supernatural and the fantastic: first, he gazes in fright at the cartomancy session carried out in the kitchen by the thus alleged witch, María la Sabia. The figure of the witch or *sabia* is a long established element in Galician popular imagination that

²⁵ Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, ed. by Stephen Wilson (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth, 1997), p. 46.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

²⁷ *Los pazos*, p. 297.

Gustavo Fabra Barreiro has defined as that “mujer capaz de desentrañar las causas de lo esotérico, recóndito y arcano, y de poner remedio a los maleficios que ocasionan”.²⁸ When approaching rural customs and Galician idiosyncrasy the *sabia* and her cartomancy sessions must be considered as part of the Galician *Volksggeist*. Card reading formed part of the Galician customs and *Volksggeist*, and people did actually show an extraordinary interest in esoteric practices. Fabra Barreiro points out this relevant aspect as he explains how Galicians would impose a “conservadurismo costumbrista permaneciendo la tendencia antigua a lo arcano y esotérico”.²⁹ As can be seen, Pardo Bazán resorts to a typical psychoanalytic motif (the dream) to describe a Gothic scene (the witch’s session) that, in turn, portrays the idiosyncrasy of Galicia, its customs, traditions and superstitions.

Furthermore, card reading constitutes, as Jesse Molesworth demonstrates, a recurrent Gothic element since the eighteenth century.³⁰ Although the classical Gothic writers such as Mary Shelley or Polidori did not explicitly refer to cartomancy, there does now exist an inexplicable trend to associate these and other Gothic writers with card reading. Therefore, the scene Julián observes in the kitchen represents a typical *costumbrista* sketch of the Galician rural world, framed within the Gothic milieu of the *pazo*, that the priest fails to understand: “el capellán bajó, algo confuso de su espionaje involuntario, pero tan preocupado con lo que creía haber sorprendido, que ni se le ocurrió censurar el ejercicio de la hechicería”.³¹ The key words in this quote, “creía haber sorprendido” indicate not only Julián’s disposition to make reality and fantasy interact, but also his failure to interpret a social semiotic system as far as Galician rural folklore is concerned: while Julián regards the session as blasphemy, the witch

²⁸ Gustavo Fabra Barreiro, and others, *Los gallegos* (Madrid: Istmo, 1984), p. 208.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

³⁰ Jesse Molesworth, “Natural Preternaturalism: The Gothic Novel and the Rise of Tarot Cartomancy”, in *Chance and the Eighteenth-Century Novel: Realism, Probability, Magic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 212. According to Molesworth, it was in 1785 that the first book devoted to tarot appeared: *Etteilla, ou manière de se récréer avec un jeu de cartes*.

³¹ *Los pazos*, p. 294.

plays down its importance by considering it a mere pastime: “por se reír un poco”.³² Julián begins to be influenced by the Gothic, and his imagination leads to a fit of terror.

When he returns to his bedroom, his imagination continues tormenting him: “Ni él mismo sabía lo que le correteaba por el magín... El capellán le daba vueltas en su cerebro excitado: a la niña [Nucha’s daughter] la robarían para matarla de hambre; a Nucha la envenenarían tal vez”.³³ Julián attempts to seek protection in Jaime Balmes’ readings, but his efforts to remain calm are futile³⁴:

el quejido constante de la presa, el gemir del viento en los árboles [...] la luna bogaba en un cielo nebuloso, y allá a lo lejos se oía el aullar de un perro, ese aullar lúgubre que los aldeanos llaman ventar a la muerte, y juzgan anuncio seguro del próximo fallecimiento de una persona.³⁵

His imagination reaches its peak when he hears a shout coming from Nucha’s bedroom and, as he hurriedly enters her bedroom to attend her, he believes don Pedro is mistreating her, when actually he is only trying to kill a spider. The illusions created by Julián therefore reflect the Galician rural imaginary that Pardo Bazán depicts by means of a series of Gothic devices. As on other occasions, the author attempts to highlight Galicia’s barbarism through these devices.

Most philosophical and psychological treatises of the time used to expose the power that imagination exerted over the dreamer. In *The Philosophy of Sleep* (1834), Robert Macnish writes: “Much of the horror experienced in nightmare will depend upon the natural activity of the imagination, upon the condition of the body, and upon the state of mental

³² Ibid., p. 294.

³³ Ibid., p. 294.

³⁴ Jaime Balmes (1810-1848) was a Catalan Catholic philosopher known for his “common sense philosophy”. In this sense, Balmes relies on reason and common sense in order to find the truth. Thus there is little wonder that Julián resorts to Balmes’ readings in order to reach a logical truth.

³⁵ *Los pazos*, p. 295.

exertion before going to sleep”.³⁶ Freud, like Macnish, agrees that the oneiric experience is based on recent events: “I should say that every dream is connected through its manifest content with recent experiences, while through its latent content it is connected with the most remote experiences”.³⁷ Julián’s “supernatural” experiences and his predisposition to imagination certainly determine the content of the dream he has. Similarly, the nightmare Pascual López suffers just after his meeting with the priest don Nemesio also informs us about the influence of daily activities on the dreamer: “La desordenada e inconsciente actividad de mi cerebro transformaba lo ocurrido durante el día en fantástica sucesión de disolventes cuadros”.³⁸ Therefore, when the narrator of *Los pazos* says “nociones de lo real” mixed with the “influjo de imaginación”, she is actually suppressing the liminal space between reality, being awake, and fantasy, being asleep. As will be explained below, the suppression of this limit unleashes a disturbing feeling of derealisation in the dreamer. In order to emphasize the destructive nature of Pascual’s dream, and therefore superstition, Pardo Bazán employs the word “disolventes”, a word that in nineteenth century Spain was commonly used by Neo-Catholics to describe ideas that threatened traditional hegemony.³⁹

In his dream, Julián begins to experience a gradual and uncanny transformation of the familiar spaces concerning the *pazo* leading to a feeling of derealisation: “no veía la huronera tal cual la había visto siempre, con su vasta mole cuadrilonga, sus espaciosos salones, su ancho portalón inofensivo... había mudado de forma”.⁴⁰ The orchard and the pond are likewise transformed into a moat, and while the solid walls are filled with arrow loops, the gate is now a drawbridge with squeaking chains. In short, Julián has unconsciously

³⁶ Robert Macnish, *The Philosophy of Sleep* (Glasgow: W.R. McPhun, 1830), p. 122.

³⁷ Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, ed. by Stephen Wilson (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth, 1997), p. 116.

³⁸ *Los pazos*, p. 52.

³⁹ Derek Flitter, “Romantic traditionalism in the work of Fernán Caballero”, in *Spanish Romantic Literary Theory and Criticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 165.

⁴⁰ *Los pazos*, p. 297.

transformed the *pazo* into a “castillote feudal”, a typical prison in Female Gothic novels.⁴¹ The narrator attempts to provide a rational explanation of such a dream by establishing a cause-effect relation based on previous experiences: “indudablemente Julián había visto alguna pintura o leído alguna medrosa descripción de esos espantajos del pasado que nuestro siglo restaura con tanto cariño”.⁴² These words undoubtedly herald Freud’s subsequent assumptions that oneiric episodes are based on previous experiences.

Then, Julián’s dream represents an uncanny experience that leads him to transform the house into a castle in accordance with his “hauntological” memories of what he knows about the Middle Ages. Furthermore, with this reasoning, the narrator evokes the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century British conception that indiscriminate reading, particularly Gothic reading, that would reinforce a woman’s sensibility and eventually lead to dangerous situations. However, the fact that this idea was associated with women and not with men emphasizes once more Julián’s feminine disposition and tendency to hysterical fits.

The uncanny experience entails a series of Gothic images that culminate in a terrifying and Sublime experience. The description of the nightmare continues with the apparition of don Pedro, who is holding a strange weapon and threatens to hit Julián over the head with it. At this point, the narrator slows down the account of events and finally freezes this scene in order to accentuate Julián’s anguish: “Ése no hacía movimiento alguno para desviarse, y la bota tampoco acababa de caer; era una angustia intolerable, una agonía sin término”.⁴³ The sensation of paralysis experienced by Julián and, ultimately the reader, gradually increases as an ugly owl alights on his shoulder preventing him from moving or even shouting: “Quiso gritar: en sueños el grito se queda siempre helado en la garganta”.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 297.

⁴² Ibid., p. 297.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 298.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 298.

Indeed, Julián's paralysis has a psychological explanation that brings the reader direct Gothic images of superstition and fright. In modern Psychiatry, the term "Old Hag Attack" is commonly used to refer to a type of sleep paralysis that often coincides with terrifying hallucinations in the form of nightmares. This attack, described by Christopher Frayling in *Nightmare. The Birth of Horror*, explains Julián's dreaming experience convincingly. Frayling offers an interpretation of John Henry Fuseli's painting *The Nightmare*, first exhibited at the Royal Academy of London in 1782, and how nineteenth- and twentieth-century fiction appropriates this masterpiece that has become "the way of visualising bad dreams".⁴⁵ The painting shows a dreaming girl lying on her back. Over her stomach there is an incubus or mara, a devil that appears in dreams, expressing erotic connotations and, in the background, there is a blind horse, the incubus' means of transport. Fuseli painted another version of *The Nightmare* in 1790; he added a mirror that does not reflect the incubus, suggesting that the nightmare is just a figment of the dreamer's imagination. Similarly, creatures of the devil have a reputation for not having a reflection, Stoker's *Dracula* being one of the most celebrated examples of this belief. In Gonzalo Suárez's cinematic version of *Los pazos de Ulloa* (1985), Nucha's nightmare before the wedding can be easily compared to Fuseli's painting. At first, we find Nucha sleeping on her left side, she then changes her position and, before waking up, she is lying on her back. Opposite her bed, there is a mirror which clearly reflects the movement of indiscernible objects, presumably the incubus vanishing as Nucha wakes up.

Moreover, the "Old Hag Attack" that Julián suffers that night is similarly caused by the associations with María la Sabia. According to the Collins English Dictionary, a hag is (1) "an unpleasant ugly old woman", and (2) "a witch". This definition makes sense when associating the owl with the figure of the witch, María la Sabia, whom Julián had only seen

⁴⁵ Christopher Frayling, "Prologue: The Nightmare", in *Nightmare: The Birth of Horror* (London: BBC, 1996), pp. 6-12 (p. 6).

for a few hours – maybe minutes – that evening before the nightmare.⁴⁶ In medieval Bestiaries, the owl is usually associated with a bird of ill omen and, in Julián’s dream; it clearly anticipates the tragic ending of Nucha. Furthermore, the owl also used to symbolize the figure of the Jews that rejected Christ.⁴⁷ In this respect, Pardo Bazán’s notorious anti-Semitism may help us to understand why she has chosen this bird to torment the dreams of a Catholic priest.⁴⁸ In addition, the power of witches to shift shape and transform themselves into animals, especially birds, is well known. One hardly needs to say that the Galician countryside, its villagers and their superstitions predispose Julián to experiencing this nightmare.

Following the scene of the owl, Julián manages to escape and jumps into the moat, which has been transformed into a millpond. At this stage, the images that the priest observes have completely changed; the feudal castle vanishes, and is soon substituted by a tower from where Julián spots the figure of Saint Barbara who, in turn, becomes the Jack of Clubs. The symbolism of this scene is particularly relevant in this context insofar as Saint Barbara represents a clear allusion to Nucha, Julián’s alter ego. M^a de los Ángeles Ayala explains how Saint Barbara’s father, Dioscoro, had a tower built in order to preserve his daughter’s beauty and protect her from the outside world.⁴⁹ The young girl had devoted her life to God and therefore rejected a favourable marriage proposal she had received through her father. While her father was absent, Saint Barbara had one more window built in her tower which, together with the other two, would symbolize the Holy Trinity. When her father returned, he killed her and, as punishment for this, he was struck by lightning.

⁴⁶ Juan V. Solanas also identifies the owl with María la Sabia because of its hair colour, its “greñas blancas”. The witch is described with the same words in chapter III. Solanas offers an interesting analysis of Julián’s dream by identifying the elements of the dream with the actual characters of the novel. See Juan V. Solanas, “Estructura y simbolismo en *Los pazos de Ulloa*”, *Hispania* 64 (1981), 199-208 (p. 200).

⁴⁷ Nona C. Flores, “Parodic Animal Physicians from the Margins of Medieval Manuscripts”, in *Animals in the Middle Ages* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1996), pp. 67-81 (pp. 77-8).

⁴⁸ Dendle, p. 29.

⁴⁹ See footnote in her edition of *Los pazos*, p. 298.

The analogy drawn between Saint Barbara and Nucha is evident: they are both confined by tyrannical male figures; Saint Barbara's father confines her in a tower, and Nucha is condemned to spend the rest of her life in the *pazo* alongside her husband. The transition from the *pazo* to the tower in Julián's dream makes sense therefore when understanding the uncanny connection between Saint Barbara and Nucha. The relevance of this scene lies in the fact that it also synthesizes one of the main characteristics of traditional Female Gothic fiction, which is the female confinement to the boundaries of a castle.⁵⁰

The uncanny phenomena continues towards the ending of the nightmare, where the narrator describes Julián's confusion between the horse of swords, that awaits the Jack of Clubs, and Saint George, "el valeroso caballero andante de las celestiales milicias, con su dragón debajo, un dragón que parecía araña, en cuya tenazuda boca hundía la lanza con denuedo".⁵¹ Again, Pardo Bazán delineates a subtle analogy with the spider scene where don Pedro Moscoso kills a spider with his boot. In this scene, situated just before Julián's nightmare, Nucha memorizes the celebrated legend of Saint George and the dragon as she unconsciously shouts "San Jorge..., ¡para la araña!".⁵²

The end of the nightmare describes Saint George plunging his lance into the animal's mouth. Surprisingly, Julián is the one that feels the pain in his own side. When he wakes up, he discovers it had been his hand that had caused him the pain: "Despertó repentinamente, resintiéndose de una punzada dolorosa en la mano derecha, sobre la cual había gravitado el peso del cuerpo todo al acostarse del lado izquierdo, posición favorable a las pesadillas".⁵³ It should be noted here that Fuseli's painting similarly portrays the young girl slightly turned to her left side, and in the cinematographic version, Nucha is likewise sleeping on her left side.

⁵⁰ The figure of the confined woman is found everywhere throughout the history of universal literature. Among other examples, it must be mentioned Nathaniel Hawthorne's *Rappaccini's Daughter*, Charlotte Perkins Gillman's *The Yellow Wallpaper* and, in Spain, Federico García Lorca's *La casa de Bernarda Alba*.

⁵¹ *Los pazos*, p. 298.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 296.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 299.

These associations emphasize Julián's feminine characterization. Furthermore, the narrator subtly endows Julián's nightmare not only with a rational explanation, but also with a scientific one. In this regard, Currie Kerr Thompson's analysis of the use and function of dreaming in Pardo Bazán's novels supports the author's acquaintance with the "somatic dispositions" theory of dreaming by suggesting that, "nineteenth-century scientific views held that dreams were insignificant from a psychological point of view and merely reflected physiological conditions of the dreamer".⁵⁴ Thompson studies six dreams from four different novels and comes to the conclusion that Pardo Bazán was influenced both by the somatic dispositions and the psychological theories of dreaming. Some Psychological articles published in the 1850s actually argued that certain positions predisposed the dreamer to nightmares. The following extract is taken from a Psychology journal published in 1854:

In the course of these investigations we have clearly indicated four states of the muscular system, either as predisposing the kind of dream, or as directly inducing the phenomena during the sleeping vision: – Firstly. The incapacity of moving, arising from some uncomfortable position of the limbs, inducing cramp; or from pressure on the heart, from lying on the left side, as in nightmare; in both phases affecting *per se* the circulation.⁵⁵

The excerpt indicates that nineteenth-century psychology studies actually relied upon the somatic dispositions theory. The approaches described by Thompson, the somatic and the psychological, should therefore be regarded as interdependent and not as separate, opposed ones. Pardo Bazán's enthusiasm for scientific readings has already been stated, and it should be no surprise that she was acquainted with the latest publications of this sort. The extract also accounts for Julián's difficulty in moving, as he experiences the paralysis referred to above.

⁵⁴ Currie Kerr Thompson, "The Use and Function of Dreaming in Four Novels by Emilia Pardo Bazán", *Hispania*, 59 (1976), 856-62, (p. 856).

⁵⁵ Forbes Winslow, "The Journal of Psychological Medicine and Mental Pathology" (London: J. Churchill, 1857), p. 300.

The parallel drawn between the scene in which don Pedro kills the spider, and the scene where the horse of swords, transformed into Saint George, who presumably sinks his lance into Julián's side can be said to have some sort of sexual connotation. When the lance held by Saint George, which symbolically represents don Pedro, penetrates Julián's body, we may as well identify the priest with Nucha. As will be explained hereinafter, this identification is accentuated the next morning when Julián meets Nucha in her bedroom.

Technically, a nightmare is a form of derealisation, but it is not until the following morning that Julián, already awake, experiences a feeling of depersonalization expressed by means of an alteration of his own perception: "Los sueños de las noches de terror suelen parecer risibles apenas despunta la claridad del nuevo día: pero Julián, al saltar de la cama, no consiguió vencer la impresión del suyo. Proseguía el hervor de la imaginación sobreexcitada".⁵⁶ Surprisingly, Pascual López had previously suffered, albeit to a lesser degree, from the same sensation as he woke up: "Cuando desperté, bañado en sudor copioso, pude pensar que continuaba el sueño".⁵⁷ From a psychoanalytic perspective, depersonalization, defined as a conscious disorder, tends to accompany derealisation, which primarily affects physical reality. In "The Uncanny", Freud argues that the elimination of a series of limits causes a disturbing defamiliarization with reality. Limits such as reality and dream, life and death, consciousness and unconsciousness are confused. Consequently the subject, Julián, feels himself deprived of his *heim*, which provides him with a viewpoint over the world. In the eyes of Julián, reality does actually resemble the nightmare he has just had: "miró por la ventana, y el paisaje le pareció tétrico y siniestro: verdad es que entoldaban la bóveda celeste nubarrones de plomo con reflejos lívidos, y que el viento, sordo unas veces y silbante otras, doblaba los árboles con ráfagas repentinas".⁵⁸ This quote is a lyric depiction of Galician meteorological phenomena through Sublime iconography which ultimately finds its

⁵⁶ *Los pazos*, p. 300.

⁵⁷ *Pascual López*, p. 52.

⁵⁸ *Los pazos*, p. 300.

source in the terror experienced by Julián. This Sublime experience encounters an uncanny feeling when the priest is no longer able to recognize the place where he lives: “una atmósfera fría le sobrecogió, y la gran huronera de piedra se le presentó imponente, ceñuda y terrible, con aspecto de prisión, como el castillo que había visto soñando”.⁵⁹ The level of confusion is here accentuated by the fact that reality is defined through dreams – “*como el castillo que había visto soñando*” – and not the other way around.

The uncanny experience of the nightmare establishes a connection between Julián and Nucha. It is on that same morning that Julián finds Nucha “algo más desemblantada que de costumbre. Al abatimiento que de ordinario se revelaba en su rostro afilado, se agregaba una contracción y un azoramiento, indicios de gran tirantez nerviosa”.⁶⁰ The description seems to suggest that Nucha has somehow had, or at least sensed, Julián’s nightmare. In addition to this, it is on that same morning that Nucha first shows her early symptoms of estrangement. Don Pedro’s wife, like Julián, is deprived of her *heim*, Santiago, and consequently suffers from the same derealisation as the priest. In the pazo, she begins to experience hallucinations:

No se lo digo a Juncal por vergüenza; pero veo cosas muy raras. La ropa que cuelgo me representa siempre hombres ahorcados, o difuntos que salen del ataúd con la mortaja puesta: no importa que mientras está el quinqué encendido, antes de acostarme, la arregle así o asá; al fin toma esas hechuras extravagantes aun no bien apago la luz y enciendo la lamparilla. Hay veces que distingo personas sin cabeza; otras al contrario les veo la cara con todas sus facciones, la boca muy abierta y haciendo muecas... Esos mamarrachos que hay pintados en el biombo se mueven; y cuando crujen las ventanas con el

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 300.

⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 300-1.

viento, como esta noche, me pongo a cavilar si son almas del otro mundo que se quejan⁶¹

Like Julián, Nucha is also affected by the rural *Volksgeist* that the microcosm of the *pazo* embodies. However, when Julián reproaches don Pedro's wife for her beliefs in the supernatural, she immediately corrects him:

¡Si yo no creo! ¿Usted se figura que soy como el ama, que dice que ha visto en realidad la *Compañía*, con su procesión de luces allá a las altas horas? En mi vida he dado crédito a paparruchas semejantes: por eso digo que debo de estar enferma, cuando me persiguen visiones y vestiglos”.⁶²

Taking this clarification into account, Pardo Bazán uncovers, by means of the uncanny experience, the dichotomy that revolves around the whole novel of *Los pazos de Ulloa* once again: rural versus urban world or, in other words, barbarism versus civilization. The civilized attitude of Nucha is superimposed upon the primitiveness of the *pazo*. It is for this reason that she tries to reach a rational justification for the hallucinations she suffers, and comes to the conclusion that she must be ill.

In the light of these examples, it seems that Julián and Nucha are harmonious characters. The most evident connection between the characters is established by means of the hallucinations they suffer; both are influenced by the milieu of the *pazo*, and this causes a great effect on them. But hallucinations are not the only liaison between them. As the story progresses the affinity existing between Julián and Nucha grows in an unforeseen manner.

A strong connection between them both is heightened in chapter XX when Nucha, having confessed her visions to the priest, declares:

Lástima que la sangre no se compre en la tienda..., ¿no le parece a usted?”.

Julián goes on and adds: “O que...los sanos no se la podamos regalar a...los

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 302.

⁶² Ibid., p. 302.

que...la necesitan... [...] Dijo esto el presbítero titubeando, poniéndose encendido hasta la nuca, porque su impulso primero había sido exclamar: ‘Señorita Marcelina, aquí está mi sangre a la disposición de usted.’⁶³

Blood sharing indicates a symbol of love communion that clearly invokes the Christian Sacrament of the Eucharist where bread and wine are consecrated and respectively become the Flesh and Blood of Jesus Christ. By means of this ritual, Jesus’ blood becomes a pledge of His love before the crucifixion in order to keep His memory alive. Like Jesus, Julián is willing to give Nucha his blood as a token of his love towards her. But this love must be understood as pure brotherly love, not sexual, and in insinuating his willingness to give his blood to her, Julián is pointing out the existence of an implicit bond between them both far above the evidence of a reciprocal affection. The effect created through Nucha’s and Julián’s words is, nonetheless, mawkishly sentimental.

Surprisingly, Abersio Núñez informs us of one more parallelism between Jesus Christ and Julián.⁶⁴ As Julián reads Kempis compulsively, his words, says the narrator,⁶⁵ “le entraban en el alma a manera de hierro enrojecido en la carne”.⁶⁶ As a consequence of his readings, Julián attempts to share his mysticism with Nucha: “Si la señorita me pide que la ayude a llevar la cruz, enseñémosle a que la abrace amorosamente. Es necesario que comprenda ella, y yo también, lo que significa esa cruz. Con ella se va a la felicidad única y verdadera”.⁶⁷ Núñez points out that nineteenth-century science deemed mystical religiousness

⁶³ Ibid., p. 303.

⁶⁴ Abersio Núñez, “Histeria, abulia y la constitución del sujeto masculino/emasculado en *Los pazos de Ulloa*”, *LLJournal*, 6 (2011).

⁶⁵ Thomas von Kempis (1380-1471) was a German mystical author and a canon regular. He is famous for having written *De imitatie Christi*, where he developed his ideas on piety. Note that Kempis is one of the favourite readings of Ana Ozores in *La Regenta*. In her study “Hysteria and Historical Context in ‘La Regenta’”, Noël Valis suggests a connection between mysticism and hysteria in the novel. As Fermín de Pas observes the woman reading Kempis and other mystical authors, such as Santa Teresa, the narrator claims: “veía a su amiga demasiado inclinada a las especulaciones místicas, temía que cayera en el éxtasis, que tenía siempre complicaciones nerviosas”. See Noël Valis, “Hysteria and Historical Context in ‘La Regenta’”, *Revista Hispánica Moderna*, 2 (2000), 325-51 (p. 338). The quote is from *La Regenta*, p. 264.

⁶⁶ *Los pazos*, p. 369.

⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 368-69.

as clear evidence of hysteria and, judging from this reasoning, Julián and Nucha could be easily said to be hysterical characters.⁶⁸

The link established between them both is framed within the rural landscape of the *pazo*. After Julián insinuates Nucha his willingness to give her his blood, there is a moment of silence. Immediately after this, the narrator describes the melancholic landscape that surrounds the *pazo*:

Eran las montañas negras, duras, macizas en apariencia bajo la oscurísima techumbre del cielo tormentoso: era el valle alumbrado por las claridades pálidas de un angustiado sol: era el grupo de castaños, inmóvil unas veces, otras violentamente sacudido por la racha del ventarrón furioso y desencadenado...A un mismo tiempo exclamaron los dos, capellán y señorita: – ¡Qué día tan triste!⁶⁹

As can be seen, there is a strong Sublime concentration of words referring to the Nature elements: “negras”, “duras”, “macizas”, “oscurísima”, “tormentoso”, “pálidas”, “angustiado”, “violentamente”, “sacudido”, “racha”, “ventarrón”, “furioso”. These words, which describe the mountains, the sky, the light and the wind, synthesize the particularities of Galician countryside and meteorological phenomena, that is, the Galician rural idiosyncrasy Julián and Nucha have to face. The exclamation that Julián and Nucha utter in unison – “¡Qué día tan triste!” – is an indication of the level of affinity that exists between them both. In fact, one might almost say that this piece of utterance corresponds to one single person that is actually split into two. The narrator informs the reader that Julián shows himself aware of this “rara coincidencia de los terrores de Nucha y los suyos propios”.⁷⁰ For the first time, this revelation, along with the degree of complicity achieved, allows him to express fears about the house openly: “esta casa... es un poco *miedosa*. ¿No le parece? – Los ojos de Nucha se

⁶⁸ Núñez, p. 1.

⁶⁹ *Los pazos*, p. 303.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 303.

animaron, como si el capellán le hubiese adivinado un sentimiento que no se atrevía a manifestar”.⁷¹ The scene reaches its point of highest tension when both characters go down to the damp, gloomy cellar and begin to have macabre visions that, along with the breaking of a storm, increase their susceptibility to suggestion. The phenomena described contribute to achieving the experience of horror as defined in chapter IV, that is to say, the fear caused by sensorial factors, such as the explicit ghastly visions they have.

In the light of these examples, I consider that Julián’s psychological characterization is clearly connected to that of Nucha. In the first place, Julián is described in the same terms as the female counterpart and, namely, he is defined through his well-known nervous-lymphatic temperament, which would eventually lead him to hysteria. Much has been written about this, but Maurice Hemingway’s impeccable analysis of psychological functions in *Los pazos de Ulloa* is still useful to understand the common categorization of temperaments in the nineteenth century:

Lymphatic (characterised by pale or pink skin, sluggishness and physical weakness), the sanguine (characterised by a ruddy countenance and a robust constitution), and nervous (characterised by flabby muscles, abrupt impulsive reactions and mobile features). These temperaments could exist in individuals either singly or in a combination of two, for example the nervous-lymphatic.⁷²

In depicting the priest in such a way, and most importantly, in juxtaposing him to Nucha, Pardo Bazán ends up by feminizing him. In the second place, the nervous-lymphatic temperament that both characters exhibit might predispose them, according to nineteenth-century medical treatises, to hysteria,⁷³ a traditionally feminine disease that will be thoroughly analysed in the next section of this chapter. As will be shown below, Nucha is more explicitly

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 303.

⁷² Maurice J. Hemingway, *Emilia Pardo Bazán: The Making of a Novelist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 33.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 33.

associated with this disease, whereas Julián, on the contrary, is only described through the hysterical symptoms that define both of them.

Julián's feminine characterization is equally well known, but critics have not reached an agreement about the reasons why the author decided to depict him this way. I believe that in portraying him as a woman, Pardo Bazán unconsciously conveys the idea that gender is not a fixed attribute in a person and, nonetheless, women are still represented through rigid and exclusive roles within society. Julián and Nucha could be argued to be the two sides of the same coin; they represent two sexes, but only one gender.⁷⁴ It is sex, however, that matters in *Los pazos* society and that considerably *determines* Julián's survival and Nucha's death. As a matter of fact, the level of affinity that these two characters reach towards the climax of the novel helps the author to highlight sex inequality through determinism.

Let us then examine the priest's feminine portrayal from a psychoanalytic point of view and how the author creates an analogy with Nucha from the very beginning. As early as in the second paragraph of the novel, he narrator presents Julián through an ironic feminine characterization:

Iba el jinete colorado, no como un pimiento, sino como una fresa, encendimiento propio de personas linfáticas. Por ser joven y de miembros delicados, y por no tener pelo de barba, pareciera un niño, a no desmentir la presunción sus trazas sacerdotales.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Judith Butler expands upon the performative conception of gender, sex and sexuality: "Originally intended to dispute the biology-is-destiny formulation, the distinction between sex and gender serves the argument that whatever biological intractability sex appears to have, gender is culturally constructed: hence, gender is neither the casual result of sex nor as seemingly fixed as sex. The unity of the subject is thus already potentially contested by the distinction that permits of gender as a multiple interpretation of sex". See Judith Butler, "The compulsory order of sex/gender/desire", in *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990), pp. 1-34 (p. 6).

⁷⁵ *Los pazos*, p. 94.

As can be observed, Julián does not represent the prototype of masculinity expected in the 1860s. He is fragile, delicate and does not even have a beard.⁷⁶ Julián's feminization is, moreover, satirized by his association with a strawberry; he is not sufficiently masculine to be described by means of the Spanish expression "rojo como un pimiento". In making this clarification, the narrator attempts to catch the reader's attention while establishing a contrast between these two foods. While peppers are characterized for being spicy and somewhat bitter, strawberries are sweet and delicate like Julián.⁷⁷ Due to his affected feminine qualities, Julián is, from the very beginning, attached to the group of "personas linfáticas", within which women are chiefly the most numerous. In emphasizing Julián's feminine nature, Pardo Bazán is once again underlining the contrast that exists between the civilized world and the barbaric microcosm that the *pazo* succeeds in conveying. From the feminine perspective in which the novel was written, I understand, in this regard, that the feminine has been traditionally fraternized with the civilized, orderly, but also delicate world of the city, whereas the masculine responds to the conventional idea of the barbaric and rough aspect of the rural realm, just as the Sublime.

To such degree, Julián resembles Nucha in that both come from the urban world and both suffer from the same nervous-lymphatic temperament that the author describes when they arrive at the *pazo*. This temperament is repeatedly associated with women, an association that Pardo Bazán eagerly attempts to stress whenever she has a chance:

A Julián le ayudaba en su triunfo, amén de la gracia de Dios que él solicitaba muy de veras, la endebles de su temperamento linfático-nervioso, puramente femenino, sin ardores ni rebeldías, propenso a la ternura, dulce y benigno como

⁷⁶ Eduard Beherend-Martínez has analysed the representation of masculinity in early modern Spain and observes that having a beard among other attributes such as dark hair and skin would form part of the Mediterranean ideals of masculinity. See Eduard Beherend-Martínez, "Manhood and the Neutered Body in Early Modern Spain", in *Journal of Social History* 38, 4 (2005), p. 1076.

⁷⁷ Maurice J. Hemingway, "Emilia Pardo Bazán, *Los pazos de Ulloa*: punto de vista y psicología (1977)", in *Estudios sobre Emilia Pardo Bazán: In Memoriam Maurice Hemingway*, ed. by José Manuel González Herrán (Santiago de Compostela: Consorcio de Santiago de Compostela, 1997), pp. 389-403 (p.399).

las propias malvas, pero no exento, en ocasiones, de esas energías súbitas que también se observan en la mujer, el ser que posee menos fuerza en estado normal, y más cantidad de ella desarrolla en las crisis convulsivas.⁷⁸

The nervous-lymphatic temperament of Julián is explained through a double perspective in his description: on the one hand, this temperament defines Julián as a physically weak being. On the other hand, his nervous system experiences great activity. Nineteenth-century medical treatises display this double aspect of nervous-lymphatic temperament along these lines:

Unas veces los individuos son muy colorados, tienen una cabeza gruesa, el pecho fuerte, y la apariencia musculosa; pero sus carnes están muy flojas, llenas de grasa fluida y linfa, y su sistema nervioso tiene una grande actividad.⁷⁹

Taking this medical explanation into account, one can see how in the passage quoted before, the narrator describes Julián by underscoring his physical weakness while pointing out his ability to get his nervous activity excited and cause reactions that are similarly observed in women. Thus the nervous-lymphatic temperament, physical weakness and, ultimately, hysteria, are the actual links that exist between Julián and Nucha.

Nucha's weakness becomes manifest as she waits to give birth to her child. Máximo Juncal, the doctor, attests that urban women are more likely to develop a nervous-lymphatic temperament due to their customs and lifestyle:

A las mujeres se les da en las ciudades la educación más antihigiénica: corsé para volver angosto lo que debe ser vasto; encierro para producir la clorosis y la anemia; vida sedentaria, para ingurgitarlas y criar linfa a expensas de la

⁷⁸ *Los pazos*, p. 115.

⁷⁹ Alexis Boyer (Barón) and Philippe Boyer (Barón), *Tratado de las enfermedades quirúrgicas y de las operaciones que les convienen*, ed. by don Miguel Pachego (Madrid: Compagni, 1851), p. 24.

sangre... Mil veces mejor preparadas están las aldeanas para el gran combate de la gestación y alumbramiento, que al cabo es la verdadera función femenina.⁸⁰

Nucha's husband too, the villain don Pedro, identifies the nervous-lymphatic temperament as typically attached to the urban world and, therefore, separates Julián and Nucha from the rural *Volksgeist* that the *pazo* synthesizes. In don Pedro's opinion, no woman in the village could ever suffer the physiological disorders that Nucha experiences:

Estoy convencido – dijo enfáticamente – de que semejantes cosas sólo les pasan a señoritas educadas en el pueblo y con ciertas impertinencias y repulgos... Que les vengan a las mozas de por aquí con sínopes y desmayos... Se atizan al cuerpo media olla de vino y despachan esta faena cantando.⁸¹

In spite of don Pedro being so convinced of his reasoning, Máximo Juncal, the doctor, warns that the nervous-lymphatic temperament, although most typically associated with urban spheres, can manifest itself in the rural realm as well: “No, señor, hay de todo... Las linfático-nerviosas se aplanan... Yo he tenido casos”.⁸² Juncal points out that the dividing line that separates the city from the *pazo* can actually fade from the experience of the nervous-lymphatic temperament, as Nucha and Julián demonstrate, and they both seem to approach themselves to the village *Volksgeist* by means of their nervous-lymphatic temperament.

Pardo Bazán also shows that Julián's temperament allows him to fade the dividing line between reality and fantasy, and go deep into the uncanny episode of the dream:

Su temperamento no poseía el secreto de ciertas saludables reacciones, con las cuales se desecha todo vano miedo, todo fantasma de la imaginación [...] el vapor propio de Julián era valor temblón, por decirlo así; el breve arranque nervioso de las mujeres.⁸³

⁸⁰ *Los pazos*, p. 261.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 271.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 295.

In this passage, the narrator attests that the nervous-lymphatic temperament of Julián facilitates access to the rural *Volksgeist* that the *pazo* and its inhabitants embody, for it results in the disturbing dream where the *pazo* turns into a castle, a typically Gothic image. The passage finishes by means of an evident parallelism between Julián and Nucha. In pointing out that Julián's temperament is typical of women, the narrator is implicitly alluding to Nucha, who also comes into contact with the rural *Volksgeist* through her temperament.

Since the nervous-lymphatic temperament predisposes to hysteria, Pardo Bazán suggests that this disease can be experienced by both men and women, just as Breuer and Freud would point out in their *Studies on Hysteria* (1893-1895).⁸⁴ Consequently, the hysteria that derives from the nervous-lymphatic temperament described above strengthens the links existing between Julián and Nucha; they both suffer from the impulses that define such a nervous-lymphatic temperament and hysteria, where the fight between thought and action is established.

Let us now explore the hysterical manifestations in *Los pazos* and, more accurately to the interpretations of Julián and Nucha before and after Freud. Hysteria was one of the most discussed diseases during the nineteenth century. It chiefly affected women, but also men. Its symptoms were very varied and, for that very reason, a proper diagnosis was an arduous undertaking in most cases. Among many others, its symptoms included hemiplegia or paralysis of one side of the body, muscle contractions, hallucinations, aphonia, fits, blindness, deafness, numbness in different parts of body, menstrual and digestive disorders, sensation of a ball in the throat, melancholia, migraines, epileptic convulsions, uncontrolled laughter, crying, spasms and delirium.⁸⁵

Pre-Freudian treatises often suggested that only women were considered to suffer from this affliction, in part because the word hysteria is itself a Greek loan deriving from

⁸⁴ Sigmund Freud, and Josef Breuer, *Studies on Hysteria* (London: Penguin Classics, 2004). p. 309.

⁸⁵ Catherine Jagoe, and others, *La mujer en los discursos de género: textos y contextos en el siglo XIX* (Barcelona: Icaria, 1998), p. 340.

hyster, which means “womb”. At first, it was widely believed that hysteria was caused by a humoral disorder, something that would make a woman’s womb wander throughout her body. Although this theory was abandoned in the seventeenth century, hysteria was still considered an intrinsically feminine disease long afterwards, and euphemistic terms were usually employed to diagnose a man presenting hysterical symptoms. Elaine Showalter lists some of the euphemisms doctors employed in her analysis of the history of this disease:

Although male hysteria has been clinically identified at least since the seventeenth century, physicians have hidden it under such euphemistic diagnoses as neurasthenia, hypochondria, phthiatism, neurospasia, eleorexia, koutorexie, Briquet's syndrome, [and in the twentieth century] shell shock, or post-traumatic stress disorder.⁸⁶

If a man were to be diagnosed as having hysteria, he would immediately be branded as effeminate.⁸⁷ Sometimes, however, in spite of not being explicitly diagnosed with this disease, a man presenting hysterical symptoms would be equally likely to be branded as effeminate. Such is what actually happens to *Los pazos*’ priest, Julián. The character constitutes a very illustrative example of how Pardo Bazán uses euphemistic terms so as to highlight his hysteria and so his feminine affection without properly mentioning the disease itself. In chapter XXVI, when the priest thinks over don Pedro becoming an MP and going to Madrid with Nucha and their newborn baby, he is said to experience “una hipocondría mortal”.⁸⁸ Although Julián shows all the possible symptoms to be easily diagnosed as suffering from hysteria at this point of the nineteenth century, Pardo Bazán does not refer to him as a proper hysterical character. Instead, Julián is introduced and described by means of comparisons with women’s character, behaviour and afflictions throughout the whole novel. By these comparisons, Pardo Bazán

⁸⁶ Elaine Showalter, *Hystories: Hysterical Epidemics and Modern Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), p. 64.

⁸⁷ Patricia Mayayo, *Louise Bourgeois* (Guipúzcoa: Nerea, 2002), p. 66.

⁸⁸ *Los pazos*, p. 354.

succeeds in portraying an effeminate, androgynous character. I consider that the mere fact of insinuating his hysteria might be more ironic and, therefore, more insulting than mentioning the actual disease. However, in playing with Julián's sexuality, Pardo Bazán is ultimately deconstructing the historical opposition that exists between "man" and "woman" when trying to define these concepts. Therefore, in giving flexibility to gender, it seems that the author breaks the barrier that relegates each sex to a socially pre-established function, and implicitly strengthens and broadens the role of women in society.

Regardless of the author's ironic allusion to Julián's hysteria, men could, as a matter of fact, suffer from this disease. During the 1880s, the decade in which *Los pazos* was first published, the French neurologist, Jean Martin Charcot brought out the case histories of more than sixty men and children suffering from hysteria.⁸⁹ It was at the Salpêtrière Hospital in Paris that Charcot developed his extensive works on hypnosis and hysteria. He announced that hysteria did not have a genital origin and consequently affected women and men in the same manner. He similarly regarded hysteria as a neurological disorder of the nervous system, and struggled to get this disease recognized as such. Before Charcot, this disease had been usually regarded as something fake and its symptoms were, likewise, believed to be exaggerated or disproportionate. It therefore was not uncommon to associate patients presenting its symptoms with a "hysterical personality" in a pejorative manner.⁹⁰

Freud admired Charcot and his views of the relationship between mind and body influenced the Austrian neurologist enormously.⁹¹ He was especially attracted by Charcot's emphasis on the idea that the effects of hysteria were not necessarily related to an organic cause. From these insights, Freud would be able to make "the radical shift from the long-held

⁸⁹ Mark S. Micale, "Charcot and the Idea of Hysteria in the Male: Gender, Mental Science, and Medical Diagnosis in Late Nineteenth-Century France", in *Medical History* (1990), pp. 363-411 (p. 365).

⁹⁰ Milagros Sáiz and others, "Fundación y establecimiento de la psicología científica: La psicología científica francesa", in *Historia de la psicología* (Barcelona: UOD, 2009), pp. 83-97 (p. 93).

⁹¹ Ruth Parkin-Gounelas, "The Subject of Hysteria", in *Literature and Psychoanalysis: Intertextual Readings* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), pp. 131-62 (p. 135).

view of hysteria as a physical disease causing psychological symptoms to that of a psychological disease producing quasi-symptoms".⁹² It was from this psychological disease that Freud would develop the whole theory of psychoanalysis.

A psychoanalytic diagnosis of hysteria must be then conceived as specific to the last decade of the nineteenth century. But judging from their *Studies on Hysteria*, it seems that both Breuer and Freud observe and accept the pre-established hysterical symptoms when examining their patients. Some of these are physical and particularly recurrent: paralysis, phobias, aboulia, visual disorders and hallucinations.⁹³ If examined carefully enough, one can find that these series of hysterical symptoms are present throughout *Los pazos* to a lesser or greater extent.

The paralysis experienced by Julián in his nightmare constitutes so far the most obvious symptom of hysteria in this character. It is noteworthy that this symptom is externalized while being unconscious, that is to say, while being asleep. If the act of being asleep is compared to that of being hypnotized, then we can arrive at interesting conclusions in this regard. Charcot, Breuer and Freud considered that hypnosis could give them insights into a patient's problems. Hypnosis was, as a matter of fact, the first and most common procedure to treat patients with neurotic problems like hysteria.⁹⁴ In this manner, Pardo Bazán could be said to function as a psychoanalyst in as much as she puts Julián to sleep with the intention of uncovering his inner, unconscious fears, or rather, the glaring symptoms of his hysteria.

The paralysis Julián suffers derives from unconscious fears that, in turn, are caused by hallucinations. In this respect, Julián's nightmare must be considered as a type of visual disorder that inevitably results in the confusion between reality and imagination. In *Los pazos*, visual disorders are hysterical symptoms intimately associated with both Nucha and Julián,

⁹² Ibid., p. 135.

⁹³ Freud and Breuer, p. 4

⁹⁴ Freud began using hypnosis to treat patients in 1886.

the hysterical characters who, incidentally, show themselves to be conditioned by the phantasmagorical atmosphere of the *pazo*. This aspect of theirs is distinctly shown in chapter XX, when Nucha, accompanied by Julián, decides to go down to the basement to convince herself that the hallucinations she suffers are just figments of her imagination.⁹⁵ Once in the basement, a thunderstorm breaks out. The lightning that accompanies the storm, together with the gloomy, Sublime atmosphere of this setting causes Nucha to have a hysterical fit. Her hallucinations then become stronger: “Se me figuró al abrir que estaba ahí dentro un perro muy grande, sentado, y que se levantaba y se me echaba para morderme”.⁹⁶ There is every indication that Nucha could suffer, in Freud’s terms, from zoöpsia or animal hallucinations, and these would constitute a symptom in hysterical patients.⁹⁷ Intimately associated with her hallucination, Nucha also reveals her fear or phobia of dogs. As will be explained now, this revelation bears a great affinity with Breuer’s and Freud’s studies on phobias and hysteria.

The cases presented in *Studies on Hysteria* offer various examples of hallucination just as described in *Los pazos*: Anna O., one of the Breuer’s patients diagnosed as having hysteria, would suffer from frightening hallucinations in which she would allege that she had seen heads, skeletons and black snakes.⁹⁸ Similarly, one of Freud’s hysterical patients, Frau Emmy von N., would present hallucinations of animals, corpses and fear of thunderstorms. The Austrian neuropathologist’s examinations would lead him to conclude that some of her hallucinations would correspond to the primary phobias of human beings, and particularly neuropaths.⁹⁹ These phobias are to be traced back to some traumatic event that would have taken place sometime in the patient’s childhood. Like these two patients, Nucha also suffers from hallucinations and, judging from Breuer’s and Freud’s reasoning, it is most likely, but

⁹⁵ *Los pazos*, p. 303.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 305.

⁹⁷ Freud and Breuer, p. 63.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 27 and 38.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 87

not demonstrable, that her phobias and hallucinations were also established by traumatic events in her childhood.

Although in vain, the priest attempts to comfort Nucha through rational explanations. In fact, not only does Julián fail to convince Nucha that her visions are just figments of her mind, but it is also Julián that experiences the same hallucinations as Nucha. When approaching the priest's perception of reality, it seems that the narrator finds it easier to resort to free indirect speech in order to transmit Julián's thoughts:

En la penumbra de aquel lugar casi subterráneo, en el hacimiento de vejestorios retirados por inservibles y entregados a las ratas, la pata de una mesa parecía un brazo momificado, la esfera de un reloj era la faz blanquecina de un muerto, y unas botas de montar carcomidas asomando por entre papeles y trapos despertaban en la fantasía la idea de un hombre asesinado y oculto allí.¹⁰⁰

As can be seen, Julián is unable to keep himself in touch with reality. Like Nucha, Julián cannot help experiencing the same phantasmagorical sensations, and this evidences his hysteria in this scene. Pardo Bazán employs free indirect speech, a rather common narrative technique employed among Realist and Naturalist writers so as faithfully to convey characters' thoughts. Thus while Julián is unable to account for his own hallucinations, the narrator succeeds in transmitting his thoughts as faithfully as can be. In uncovering the characters' thoughts and ultimately their perception of reality, one can therefore see the level of affinity that exists between Nucha and Julián. In short, Pardo Bazán links these two characters when describing their predisposition to believe in the supernatural and their tendency to suffer from hysterical visual anomalies.

Equally noteworthy is the fact that the psychoanalytic machinery displayed when approaching the psychologies of these two characters is undoubtedly placed at the service of

¹⁰⁰ *Los pazos*, pp. 305-6.

the Gothic ambience of the *pazo*. Thus the use of words such as “penumbra”, “subterráneo”, “vejstorios”, “ratas”, “momificado”, “faz blanquecina”, “muerto”, “carcomidas”, “fantasía”, “asesinado” and “oculto” respond to the most typically Gothic devices much in vogue since the eighteenth century. These devices are as Sublime as Uncanny; Sublime because they represent Julián’s and Nucha’s fears, and Uncanny because they represent a defamiliarized perspective of a familial setting, the *pazo*, which incidentally leads to that fear, the same fear that results in the hysteria experienced by both characters.

In brief, both Julián and Nucha respond to the clinical manifestation of hysteria as described by Breuer and Freud in *Studies on Hysteria*. Indeed, the manifestations concerning visual anomalies described in this essay were all associated with a sensation of terror suffered by the patients treated. In this respect, Víctor Novoa has corroborated the theory that vision disorders might indeed cause terror and hysteria.¹⁰¹ In the novel, these vision disorders are furthermore accentuated by the Gothic images aforementioned. As a result, one can argue that Nucha’s and Julián’s hysteria is the immediate consequence of having being exposed to a wide range of Sublime iconography.

In such a situation, Nucha struggles to keep herself in touch with reality with the purpose of bringing her outbreaks of hysteria under control. Her efforts, far from being fruitful, intensify her level of hysteria, causing new symptoms:

Nucha de repente, se incorporaba lanzando un chillido, y corría al sofá, donde se reclinaba lanzando interrumpidas carcajadas histéricas, que sonaban al llanto. Sus manos crispadas arrancaban los corchetes de su traje, o comprimían sus sienes, o se clavaban en los almohadones del sofá, arañándolo con furor... Aunque tan inexperto, Julián comprendió lo que ocurría: el espasmo inevitable,

¹⁰¹ Víctor Novoa, *Psicoanálisis: teoría y crítica* (México: Universidad Autónoma de San Luis Potosí, 1999), pp. 96-7.

la explosión del terror reprimido, el pago del alarde de valentía de la pobre Nucha.¹⁰²

As can be observed in this scene, Pardo Bazán widens Nucha's clinical manifestations of hysteria. On the one hand, the narrator points out Nucha's uncontrollable laughter, confused with her crying, a description that, according to a number of scholars' studies, constitutes the culminating phase of every single outbreak of hysteria.¹⁰³ On the other hand, the spasm that Julián appreciates represents a manifestation of epileptic disorders that, in turn, respond to proper symptoms of hysteria. Charcot identifies these spasms with what he calls "clownism" phase of hysterical attacks. This phase follows the epileptic phase of the typology that he establishes and, although it may be regarded as unreliable and unconvincing from today's perspective, the author of *Los pazos* might have taken into consideration this typology when elaborating Nucha's psychology.

The fact that hysteria is always intrinsically associated with experimenting sensations of terror is equally striking. The terror experienced by Nucha is, to a large extent, a direct consequence of her cloistering in the *pazo*. In finding herself imprisoned in such a space, Nucha channels her repression, that is, her "terror reprimido", through Sublime reflections that eventually, result in her hysteria. Julián, who also experiences that sensation, clearly understands Nucha's suffering, and it is he who implicitly informs the reader about the diagnosis of their condition.

Julián's hallucinations are more or less of the same nature as those of Nucha. In chapter XXII, when he goes hunting, the priest dares not shoot a hare because he sees it adopt the figure of a monster. The monster soon turns back its original condition of hare, but this surprisingly maintains a rather mystifying correspondence with the image of a woman:

¹⁰² *Los pazos*, p. 307.

¹⁰³ Margaret Muckenhaupt, *Sigmund Freud: Explorer of the Unconscious* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 35.

A la claridad lunar divisa por fin un monstruo de fantástico aspecto, pegando brincos prodigiosos, apareciendo y desapareciendo como una visión: la alternativa de la oscuridad de los árboles y de los rayos espectrales y oblicuos de la luna hace parecer enorme a la inofensiva liebre, agiganta sus orejas, presta a sus saltos algo de funambulesco y temeroso, a sus rápidos movimientos una velocidad que deslumbra. Pero el cazador, con el dedo ya en el gatillo, se contiene y no dispara. Sabe que el fantasma que acaba de cruzar al alcance de sus perdigones, es la hembra, la Dulcinea perseguida y requestada por innumerables galanes en la época del cielo, a quien el pudor obliga a ocultarse de día en su gazapera, que sale de noche, hambrienta y cansada, a descabezar cogollos de pino, y tras el cual, desalados y hechos almíbar, corren por lo menos tres o cuatro machos deseosos de románticas aventuras.¹⁰⁴

Once again, Julián seems to be conditioned by the Gothic milieu of el *pazo* and, in his imagination, he projects the phantasmagorical image of a monster. The image paralyzes Julián who decides not to shoot. Evidently, Julián suffers from the visual disorder associated with hysterical outbreaks and, at the same time, he experiences a muscle paralysis that prevents him from acting naturally on a hunting day. The paralysis obliges Julián to keep himself at the level of imagination considering that the mere movement of the hare would incite him to pull the trigger and act normally at the level of reality. The subtle association of the hare with the figure of a woman and her visibly disadvantageous position in society is equally outstanding. Like women, the hare is chased, wooed and objectified by lustful suitors. In other words, Julián succeeds in transmitting rather a feminist message that would somehow echo Pardo Bazán's ideas in this regard. In addition to the feminist background, there is an undertone of Julián's sensitivity in this passage that synthesizes his ability to feel sympathy and empathy

¹⁰⁴ *Los pazos*, pp. 317-8.

for the opposite sex, and particularly for Nucha. Unlike the rest of the men that appear in the novel, Julián is the only one that can express these feelings, and so the narrator employs a number of words that clearly describe the women's/hare's suffering: "perseguida", "requestada", "hambrienta", "cansada". In expressing these feelings and his inability to pull the trigger, Julián is nevertheless displaying a traditionally stereotypical behaviour associated with women. Again, Pardo Bazán decides to feminize the priest in order to accentuate the hysterical disorder he suffers.

Julián's hallucinations continue throughout the years and up to the outcome of the novel. In chapter XXX, Julián returns to the *pazo* ten years after Nucha's death. There, he experiences once again a visual disorder when he thinks he sees Nucha. This episode, incidentally, results in another outbreak of hysteria:

Al pisar el atrio de Ulloa notaba una impresión singularísima. Parecíale que alguna persona muy querida, muy querida para él, andaba por allí, resucitada, viviente, envolviéndole en su presencia, calentándole con su aliento. ¿Y quién podía ser esa persona? ¡Válgame Dios! ¡Pues no daba ahora en el dislate de creer que la señora de Moscoso vivía, a pesar de haber leído su esquila de defunción! Tan rara alucinación era, sin duda, causada por la vuelta a Ulloa, después de un paréntesis de dos lustros. ¡La muerte de la señora de Moscoso! Nada más fácil que cerciorarse de ella... Allí estaba el cementerio. Acercarse a un muro coronado de hiedra, empujar una puerta de madera, y penetrar en su recinto.¹⁰⁵

Again, Pardo Bazán points out that hallucinations within the context of the *pazo* are possible and likely to happen. It is evident that the atmosphere of the house predisposes Julián, as it had predisposed Nucha, to believe in the supernatural. The *pazo* enables Julián to

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 400.

give free rein to his imagination that, ultimately, results in a visual disorder. In so doing, Nucha remains permanently associated with the Gothic context of the pazo, something she had struggled to avoid fiercely. Ironically, Julián must look for Nucha in the churchyard, behind a wide wall covered with ivy and a wooden door. The priest thus associates again the Sublime atmosphere of the *pazo* with Nucha's hysteria, which is projected in his own visual disorder in believing she is alive. Throughout this scene, Julián highlights the importance of the influence of the Gothic atmosphere that the Galician rural *Volksgeist* represents, and from which both Nucha and Julián had struggled to escape.

Besides the hallucinations and visual disorders, Julián presents an important hysterical symptom that critics have usually overlooked, but has equally a lot to do with his phobias. This symptom is his aboulia or pathological inability to make decisions. Núñez tackles this pathology in his analysis of Julián and offers the example in which the priest sees evidence of domestic violence on Nucha's wrists and does nothing in that respect.¹⁰⁶ He prefers to keep silent rather than trigger a confrontation with don Pedro: "Siempre encontraba pretextos para aplazar toda acción".¹⁰⁷ For Freud, these inhibitions of will or inability to act might be simply the consequence of a phobia, and it would be wrong to regard aboulias as symptoms distinct from the corresponding phobias.¹⁰⁸ Julián's fear is, in this regard, don Pedro, and so the *pazo* and the masculine world by extension. It is don Pedro that best synthesizes the *pazo*, its rusticity and barbarism.

Finally, there are other symptoms that can be catalogued as physical. Thus the sensation of having a lump in one's throat was commonly considered as a response to another hysterical symptom. This idea, stated by J.L. Brachet in *Traité de l'hysterie* (1847) and elaborated by Hemingway in his analysis, is equally applicable to the two main characters of *Los pazos*. When Nucha first meets Perucho in chapter XIV, she asks Julián about his mother.

¹⁰⁶ Núñez, p.1.

¹⁰⁷ *Los pazos*, p. 354.

¹⁰⁸ Freud and Breuer, pp. 88-9.

The priest, perfectly aware that the boy's parents are none other than don Pedro and Sabel, decides to answer half of the question, but he gets very nervous: "¿De la criada? Pero... ¿está casada esta chica? Creció la turbación de Julián. De esta vez tenía en la garganta una pera de ahogo".¹⁰⁹ Nucha too experiences this symptom at least once, surprisingly, when she confesses to Julián her fears about Perucho being don Pedro's son: "No, no y no; esto no es nada; un poco de ahogo en la garganta. Esto lo... noto muchas veces; es como una bola que se forma allí... Al mismo tiempo parece que me barrenan la sien."¹¹⁰ The sensation of a lump in her throat is this time accompanied by unpleasant migraines, another hysterical symptom widely recognized in the nineteenth century as mentioned before. While there is no evidence of Pardo Bazán's acquaintance with Brachet's theories on hysteria, Hemingway suggests that the author of *Los pazos* might be drawing on the Goncourt brothers, who did use Brachet in the composition of *Germinie Lacerteux* (1864).¹¹¹ As detailed in chapter I, Pardo Bazán came into contact with the Goncourt brothers in 1881, five years before the publication of *Los pazos*.

By and large, through Julián's and Nucha's predisposition to suggestion, the nightmare of the former and their hallucinations, Pardo Bazán encourages suspense in the same way as Ann Radcliffe had. By encouraging suspense, she is deliberately giving rise to terror that, at the same time, is reinforced by Sublime depictions such as the weather phenomena, the sound of wind, the cries of animals, "magnitude in building" (the *pazo*), feeling and pain (Nucha's illness) or darkness. By means of subtle rational and "scientific" illustrations, Pardo Bazán ultimately explains the "supernatural" returning, in this way, to the safe, pre-established order. This returning, more reactionary than revolutionary, situates Pardo

¹⁰⁹ *Los pazos*, p. 242.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 324.

¹¹¹ *Germinie Lacerteux*, written by the Goncourt brothers, is considered as one of the best examples of French Naturalism. The novel portrays the conditions of life in the lower classes in Paris through the protagonist, Germinie, a country girl who, after being abused and getting pregnant, becomes the servant of Mademoiselle de Varandeuil. As the story progresses, Germinie experiences strong fits of hysteria, and eventually succumbs to alcoholism, theft and lechery until she dies.

Bazán's novel within the traditional Female Gothic fiction. Likewise, in providing the novel with rational, scientific explanations, the author reconciles the existing romantic overtones with the Naturalism she defends. Both Gothic and Naturalist are finally linked through the identification of Julián and Nucha, a crude antithetical and subversive vision of a social code that is only restored when Nucha dies.

My approach to the psychological complexity of the two main characters constitutes a new and original contribution towards the study of Pardo Bazán's work. As the chapter has shown, scholars like Maurice Hemingway had already considered the novel as a hybrid work containing a firm Naturalistic framework and a prominent psychological component that becomes stronger as the novel progresses. In spite of employing psychoanalytic vocabulary, Hemingway regarded that psychological complexity as a mere consequence of the novelistic maturity of the author, and never really explored the psychoanalytic dimension of the novel or the existing link between psychoanalysis and the Gothic. By contrast, authors like Currie Kerr Thompson have acknowledged the psychoanalytic meaning of the novel when examining the role of dreams and nightmares, but have nonetheless disregarded their function as important Gothic devices.

As has been shown, psychoanalysis has not only provided us with new vocabulary to complement the analysis the Gothic text. As Kilgour contends, "psychoanalysis helped give the gothic a new 'profundity', by seeing it as the revelation of the private life of either the individual or his culture that had been buried by habit, the conscious will, and forces of individual and social repression".¹¹² In examining the ways in which Emilia Pardo Bazán's Gothic narratives reflect Burke's catalogue of the Sublime, we have found a perfect sampler of terrifying tools: dark nights, storms, goblins, ghosts, witches, imposing mountains, ruined buildings or gloomy forests. This enumeration of Sublime imagery, however, has not been

¹¹² Kilgour, p. 220.

sufficient to justify the parallel psychologies of fear present in the text analysed. Along these lines, the Uncanny, as defined by Freud, happens to be particularly significant for Pardo Bazán's use of the Gothic, namely when dealing with the psychology of her characters. Among the psychoanalytic literary themes that have been considered as Uncanny, we have identified the phobias afflicting the two characters, uncertainty about sexual identity, *Doppelgänger*, dreams, or *déjà vu*. Freud's concept of the Uncanny allows us to explore Gothic elements in Pardo Bazán's texts that in other respects would remain unapproachable.

The Uncanny represents, in this regard, a decisive concept for understanding the psychologies of fear that derive from the inner drives, the familiar and the private sphere. The Uncanny, together with the Sublime constitute the aesthetic of fear that revolves around the whole novel of *Los pazos de Ulloa*. Furthermore, the nervous-lymphatic temperament that defines the characters shapes the ultimate link between them. Such a temperament, intrinsically associated with women, has consequently been demonstrated to predispose Julián and Nucha to hysteria and, although the author does not define the male character as properly hysterical, he shows, like Nucha, most of the hysterical symptoms described before Freud and by Freud himself.

CONCLUSIONS

Emilia Pardo Bazán's appropriation of foreign Gothic devices allows us to draw a series of firm conclusions that shed new light on their *raison d'être* within typically Naturalist or Realist works. When understanding the reasons of this appropriation, we can ultimately value her contribution to nineteenth-century Spanish literature in a more accurate manner. In outlining the main devices Pardo Bazán employs, one could establish a typology of recurrent Gothic devices and identify their functions in the text.

Looking back carefully, the Gothic machinery Pardo Bazán employs can be easily classified into three main categories. The first one comprises what I have come to call the visual or pictorial Gothic, through which she describes adverse climatic phenomena, apparitions, resurrections, ruined castles, convents, and churchyards. These elements, intrinsically related to the essence of Galicia, are all direct sources of the Sublime and can actually provoke stronger emotions such as terror, astonishment and awe. Alternatively, the Burkean distinction between the Sublime and Beautiful does not imply that the former necessarily excludes the latter. As a matter of fact, Sublime descriptions of the Galician landscape are frequently idealized in Pardo Bazán's works, the introduction to *La madre naturaleza* being one of the most evident and famous examples. In addition, the visual Gothic owes a great deal to Pardo Bazán's Romantic heritage. Thus the lyric tone shown in a Gothic-like passage, such as some of the urban descriptions of *Pascual López*, is due to a strong Romantic influence, something that Pardo Bazán herself had acknowledged in the prologue to *El cisne de Vilamorta*.

The second category corresponds to the folk Gothic which, combined with the pictorial Gothic, accounts for traditional, pagan customs and beliefs in Galicia, such as the *Santa Compañía* or procession of the dead, folk healers, witches, amulets and goblins. As aforementioned, it is in 1884 that Pardo Bazán, assisted by Antonio Machado Álvarez, founds

the “Centro Regional Gallego” or “El Folk-Lore Gallego”, an institution devoted to defend and disseminate Galician culture. As a part of her task, the author makes an exhaustive rearrangement of popular customs and traditions she had already included or would later include in her works. Consequently, the convergence of Gothic elements, within a mostly Realistic and Naturalist literary career, means, above all, the result of an extraordinary ethnological work that aimed at transmitting the popular essence of rural specificity in nineteenth-century Galicia. As we have seen, these folk elements can only occur within the context of the visual Gothic, so a cartomancy session, for example, would most typically take place on a windy night, inside a *pazo* and next to a fire. It should also be noted that both the visual and the folk Gothic facilitate narrative development and stimulate psychological suggestion by inciting characters to action. By way of illustration, Pascual López, Julián and Nucha are all expected to stimulate narrative action after having been exposed to the experience of the Galician Sublime and its folklore. Similarly, most of the folk Gothic elements coincide with typical *costumbrista* sketches, such as the aforementioned cartomancy session. This coincidence emphasizes the Gothic nature of the Galician specificity.

Finally, the third category of this typology includes the representation of Gothic psychopathologies, which enclose barbarism, like violence against women, incestuous relationships between siblings (namely Perucho and Manolita in *La madre naturaleza*, and probably Nucha and her brother Gabriel, “su más amante hermano”, in *Los pazos de Ulloa*),¹ hysterias, paranoiac characters, and hidden desires. There is no question, in this regard, that the representations of Gothic psychopathologies in Pardo Bazán’s works are as crude as merciless, but they likewise serve as instruments able to depict Galician peculiarities *from her own viewpoint*. Further, in struggling to create a faithful and realistic environment, the author does not hesitate to superimpose crudity over the idealism she sometimes promulgates in

¹ The fact that Nucha receives a golden ring from Gabriel two or three days before her wedding is strikingly symbolical. The ring unites them through marriage: “púsolo en el dedo meñique de la mano izquierda, y allí se le reunió el otro anillo que en la iglesia le ciñeron”. *Los pazos*, p. 213.

works, such as *De mi tierra*. This forms a project consisting of revealing the underlying social backwardness and particularly the plight of Spanish and Galician women at this moment in time.

Taking this preliminary classification into consideration, we can now concentrate on the more specific conclusions that I have drawn from each separate chapter. In the first chapter, I showed how Pardo Bazán's *Apuntes autobiográficos* sets itself as an indispensable document to understand her initial contact with the Gothic tradition. We know that the influence of the Gothic comes, in the first instance, from a number of European countries, where the genre had had a stronger impact in previous years. These countries would include England, the genre's birthplace, where Emilia would draw special attention to Lord Byron, Dickens, Walter Scott and Bulwer-Lytton; France, where Ducray-Duminil and particularly Victor Hugo would take up an important place in her readings; Germany, with Schiller, Goethe and Bürger, all of them representatives of the "Schauerroman" and the "Sturm und Drang"; and Italy, with Alfieri, Foscolo, Manzoni and Pellico. It is necessary to emphasize that her early readings had been strongly marked by the imprint of Romanticism and the taste for the Gothic style, perceived in the above authors.

In this sense, *Apuntes autobiográficos* also points to the scant regard for Romantic literature and namely the novel form by the mid-1860s in Spain, and the impact this disparaging situation had on Emilia's own literary career. In illustrating her first encounter with Hugo's *Notre Dame de Paris*, Pardo Bazán synthesizes the incessant battle between idealism and realism in Spain, for the novel's excessive sentimentalism was considered to have negative effects when combined with the boundless imagination of young women. These remarks directly call to mind the social situation of the English Gothic novel by the beginning of the nineteenth century, when Jane Austen wrote *Northanger Abbey* to advise of the dangerous effects these sort of readings could bring about. It is evident that the novel form did

not yet enjoy great popular acceptance in Spain by the mid-1860s, for it was similarly associated with idealist trends inherited from Romanticism that might cause negative consequences. It should come as no surprise, then, that Pardo Bazán's first impressions of the novel genre had not been as positive as one might expect, yet in the course of time, she would find the formula that would ultimately characterize her fiction. This formula is clearly set in the prologue to her second novel, *Un viaje de novios*, where she defends a Realist work "no desdeñoso de idealismo", heir to the Romantic period. As a matter of fact, Spanish Realism, together with regionalism and the *Volksgeist* were based upon Romantic idealism.

The combination of Realism with idealism likewise explains Pardo Bazán's self-recognized eclecticism, but also the presence of fantastic elements within an unquestioned Realist or Naturalist piece of writing. During her experimental stage, *Pascual López* presents a perfect combination of literary trends that makes it difficult to be classified within a particular genre. As we have seen, the text displays elements of the Gothic novel, but also elements of Realist *costumbrismo*, Romantic idealism, or Picaresque motifs. While this novel can be considered as experimental, her subsequent works would still combine different genres and aesthetics, without ever leaving the Romantic idealism that impregnated her first novels.

Given the difficulties in classifying Pardo Bazán's literary style, the first chapter has also attempted to shed some light on her relationship with Naturalism by revisiting her influential essay *La cuestión palpitante*. I have tried to show that the French-originated movement is perfectly adaptable to Pardo Bazán's literary conventions and religious beliefs. In fact, while the debate over Naturalism had cooled down by 1885, Emilia would never completely abandon the aesthetics of this movement, sometimes confused with the aesthetics of the Gothic, the grotesque and the sordid.

Strongly linked to these aspects is her early acquaintance with Galician folklore and the rural world, which would ultimately become sources of the Sublime landscapes depicted

in most of her literary writings. In her own words, she first came into contact with popular culture through Galician oral tales she would hear, near the warmth of a fireplace, from peasants and servants; tales she would appropriate eventually to become part of her fictional creativity. In her autobiography, she recalls recurrent popular motifs she would employ in her works, such as the feared *Santa Compañía*, the *meigas*, the *trascos*, the *curandeiros* and the *lobishome*.

In sum, the first chapter has demonstrated that Emilia Pardo Bazán's taste for the Gothic came from abroad. Not only was she directly influenced by Romantic authors who, to some extent, had cultivated the Gothic genre, but also by Naturalist doctrine, which combined with the Gothic constituted a perfect vehicle to depict the Galician *Volksgeist* with which she was intimately familiarized.

Chapter II explored the process of transculturation by means of which Pardo Bazán adopted the Gothic tradition and adapted it a specific literary and socio-historical context. As Gothic fiction is an original English creation, it could only be explained and understood within the frameworks of the British Isles. In this context, the interest in non-rational experiences was part of the reaction against eighteenth-century Age of Reason, and the first Gothic writers would explore intense emotions of terror by usually settings their stories in medieval worlds or in far-off lands. Pardo Bazán's Gothic does not represent a reaction against neo-Classicism and neither does it primarily attempt to rouse emotions of terror, but yet she unequivocally adopted elements from the English Gothic tradition, like storms, dark nights, wild Nature, ruined castles, and so on.

In the appropriation of such a foreign genre, Pardo Bazán, like her contemporary compatriots, would never completely abandon the aspects that were most closely tied to Spanish literary history. These would include, in the first place, the weight of morality, which is most visible in the prologues to some of her novels, but also in the outcome of the stories.

In the adaptation of foreign Gothic elements, we should furthermore take into account her rigid loyalty towards Catholicism. Unlike traditional English Gothic authors, Pardo Bazán would never attack the Catholic Church in any way and, indeed, she would attempt to reconcile the Naturalist approach to determinism with her religious beliefs. The third aspect in this process of transculturation was the importance of portraying realistic and positivistic scenarios in accordance with the Spanish taste for realism. This aspect is particularly important when differentiating between psychological suggestion and explicit horror. As I have demonstrated, the fantastic elements she uses are never left unresolved and are actually explained by highlighting her characters' susceptibility to suggestion; characters that are ultimately conditioned by deterministic environmental factors, such as having been born in rural Galicia.

Although Naturalism and the Gothic seem in principle mutually exclusive literary aesthetics, Pardo Bazán succeeds in reconciling both of them precisely through an empirical approach based on Radcliffe's "supernatural explain'd" formula. By means of rational explanations, the fantastic can be successfully integrated within any given Naturalist text. Equally important is the way in which Pardo Bazán highlights the Sublime elements of Nature in opposition to the helplessness of individuals. This technique is prevalent in a large number of classic and Victorian Gothic novels, as we have seen, from *The Mysteries of Udolpho* to *Dracula*. Finally, the fusion of science and art represent another step in the reconciliation of Naturalism and the Gothic. In supporting her stories with scientific explanations, she is able to endow them with solid positivist credibility. As other Gothic novels, most notably Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* and Stevenson's *Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*, Pardo Bazán shows herself to be concerned not only with the dark side of the human psyche, but also with being able to transgress the forbidden boundaries of pre-established social precepts. In this

sense, she eventually resorts to pseudo-scientific practices, such as alchemy in *Pascual López* and to folk healing in numerous tales to demonstrate its negative effects on society.

In establishing the reasons that lead Pardo Bazán to choose the Gothic genre, I have pointed out the following factors: firstly, it functions as a tool to depict the Galician specificity, its *Volksgeist*, in a realistic and convincing way. In resorting to Gothic motifs, Pardo Bazán is able to describe the autochthonous natural and artificial elements that surround her characters. In this way, the Alps, so frequently portrayed in original Gothic novels, give way to the gloomy, mountainous Galician landscape. By the same token, the traditional castle and the prison become a *pazo* and a convent, which are manifestations of both emotional and patriarchal power. Other elements, such as the atmospheric phenomena, the churchyards and even medieval cities (Santiago de Compostela in this case) remain unchanged. In the second place, the Gothic highlights the deeply rooted binary opposition between barbarism and civilization. The Gothic may sometimes recreate sordid, vulgar and macabre scenarios attached to rural spaces. Just as the classic villain of Gothic novels, Pardo Bazán creates figures of male authorities that exert a sadistic power over defenceless women. These villains are frequently placed within rural environments where women, either wives or daughters, are in turn imprisoned within the confines of the familial house. The substitution of remote places for more familiar ones, and the castle for domestic environments is very much attuned with Victorian Gothic, which showed that terror is not out of one's reach but within one's proximity. Finally, Pardo Bazán's Gothic functions as an instrument to raise empathy for the backwardness from which Galicia suffered by the second half of the nineteenth century. In other words, the Gothic serves as social criticism to account for the plight of an uneducated rural microcosm and the appalling situation of women.

In highlighting Galicia's peculiarities by means of different sources of the Sublime, Pardo Bazán is setting up continuous and direct oppositions between Galicia itself and the rest

of the Spanish regions. In chapter III, I have tried to demonstrate that the Gothic elements she employs to portray regional peculiarities heavily contribute towards the deterioration of the image of Galicia, most notably with regard to the rural sphere. This can be mainly observed, on the one hand, through the Sublime descriptions of natural elements, which make this region move away from the stereotypically charming, idyllic and picturesque worlds that writers like Fernán Caballero had outlined in their novels. On the other hand, the psychological profile of Pardo Bazán's rural characters, portrayed as ignorant, brutish and superstitious does likewise diminish the image she projects of this region.

I should insist, however, that in spite of not falling into Burke's definition of the Beautiful, Pardo Bazán does indeed idealize the Galician landscape as shown in the illustrative introductions to *La madre naturaleza* or *El cisne de Vilamorta*, for example. In this sense, we should not forget that the Sublime is a subjective aesthetic concept and, as such, it does not at all exclude the premises of the Beautiful. The Sublime, its awesome grandeur, is in fact characterized by its dual effect of repulsion and attraction, or fear and pleasure.

As indicated above, the use of the Gothic can sometimes highlight the regional deficiencies she principally observes in rural Galicia. It therefore may function as a means to show the socio-political and economic paralysis her motherland suffers from by the last decades of the nineteenth century and the necessity to overcome that plight. However, the Gothic can similarly show distinctiveness and can therefore serve as an effective tool to reaffirm one's identity within a group. Through a detailed analysis of *De mi tierra*, *Por la Europa católica*, *Insolación* and "La gallega", I have shown that the Gothic forms part of a *regenerationist* discourse aiming at bringing Galicia closer to Europe (the north) and ultimately modernization. In this respect, it is not coincidental that the Gothic is associated with Europe and the north, whereas Mediterranean Spain is more akin to the stereotypical

southern standards she fiercely criticizes. These include bullfighting, architectural structures (mainly bullrings), arid landscapes, aboullic, impulsive and apathetic temperament, racial inferiority, and despotic manners of Spanish men.

In order to establish stronger regional and identity distinctiveness, Pardo Bazán decides to expand on the myth of Galician matriarchy which had been previously developed during the *Rexurdimento* and which celebrated women's power within a country that has traditionally been dominated by men. Pardo Bazán provides a number of examples with which she attempts to demonstrate that Galician women have, in effect, undertaken agricultural activities that have often been associated with men. This distinctiveness should be considered as part of the project towards the process of modernization so desired by Pardo Bazán. However, she does not neglect the physical and sexual violence to which Galician women are subjected within the familial sphere.

Considering the plight of Galician women during the nineteenth century, and Pardo Bazán's commitment towards this issue, chapter IV concentrated on the development of the so-called Female Gothic fiction. The first part of the chapter explored the different approaches to women's reading habits in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I explained how reading novels, in particular, was first addressed from polarized perspectives, for while reading guaranteed women's remaining within the domestic sphere, novels gave them the opportunity to discover new worlds where social order would be momentarily subverted. In addition, reading was believed to prepare women for their roles as wives and mothers, promoting stimulating conversations, family unity and domesticity. Together with these arguments, there were others that supported the idea that reading could cause negative effects on young ladies, so this activity was highly inadvisable. These arguments were based on insubstantial gender, medical and moral theories. In this line, Gothic novels were considered particularly immoral

because they directly exposed women to unrestricted worlds where they were able to witness scenes of violence and explicit sex, mainly rapes.

As explained throughout the second part of the chapter, reading Gothic novels written by women was regarded as an encoded dialogue that addressed the issue of women's subordination within a patriarchal society. Women would feel an affinity with what they read and would be subtly encouraged to think about their role in society. In her literary works, either Gothic or not, Pardo Bazán would explore narrative and plot conventions that are closely akin to the Female Gothic patterns. These conventions comprise the education of women and their roles and relationships within the familial sphere. As I have shown, the education of women constitutes a key area of concern in this form of writing, both for Pardo Bazán and other authors of the Female Gothic. Thus, in her essay "La mujer española" she explicitly theorizes about its importance, not only to liberate women from the patriarchal yoke that has weighed them down for centuries, but also to modernize Spain and particularly Galicia. In a more implicit way, most of her stories enclose an intended moralizing intention at the end, where poorly educated women fail in society following an unfortunate relationship with a father, a husband or both. Lucía from *Un viaje de novios*, Leocadía from *El cisne de Vilamorta*, Amparo from *La Tribuna*, Nucha from *Los pazos de Ulloa* and her daughter Manuela from *La madre naturaleza* are some examples of failing women that have received an insufficient education. Interestingly, all of these women are Galician, which suggests the necessity of denouncing the situation and taking urgent action in that region.

In order to demonstrate that Pardo Bazán's plot and narrative techniques are strongly connected to those found in Female Gothic fiction, I have also analysed the relations between some female characters and their mother, but also with their fathers. In this regard, I have observed that the figure of the mother is usually absent in her works, which brings them closer to the prototypical Gothic plot. Although sisters may take the role of mothers, as Nucha

does with her brother Gabriel, it is usually fathers that assume that role. Their inability to educate their daughters properly ultimately leads to the heroine's downfall. As stated before, this technique is quite a recurrent one in typically Female Gothic works, such as *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, *Frankenstein* or *Rappaccini's Daughter*.

Lastly, I have shown that unlike the first Gothic novels, Pardo Bazán situates her novels and tales in the present time and in well recognizable locations. In situating the setting in places like Ourense, Santiago de Compostela or Marineda, she is suggesting that terror is immanent and can actually be found even after the act of reading. By the same token, when focusing the origin of every conflict within the domestic realm, one can conclude that female readers are subtly encouraged to re-evaluate their position in society. This technique, very common in Female Gothic fiction, is similarly perceptible in mid-Victorian "sensation novels". As a whole, this chapter has demonstrated that Pardo Bazán's narrative and plot techniques taken from the Female Gothic serve to denounce the plight of Spanish women, and particularly Galician women, during the second part of the nineteenth century. Further, these techniques function as a warning to the importance of education to liberate women from the patriarchal yoke, and in this way, her plots enclose a moralizing strategy she would never openly come to accept.

Considering the attention Emilia Pardo Bazán pays to interpersonal and family relationships, one cannot ignore a manifest preoccupation with the psychological portrayals of characters. For this reason, my last chapter has aimed at demonstrating this preoccupation by bringing to light the evident (proto) psychoanalytic material she uses in her works, including the interpretation of dreams, her approach towards hysteria, repression, or the unconscious. All these elements are present in psychoanalysis, but also in Gothic narratives. My first level of analysis sought a connection between Burke's notion of the Sublime and Freud's Uncanny, suggesting that both concepts are actually psychologies of fright. Both are concerned with

psychological processes, but if the former derives from physical, external drives able provoke an emotion in the individual, the latter results from internal forces that are to be found in the familiar or private settings, which ultimately leads to the defamiliarization of such places. Therefore, the Sublime tends to be considered as more akin to the pictorial nature of the Gothic, whereas the Uncanny forms part of Freud's psychoanalytic discourse. For this reason, the Sublime is not sufficient to understand Pardo Bazán's use of the Gothic in a novel such as *Los pazos de Ulloa*. Psychoanalysis can explain a number of Gothic elements that are mostly related to the psychologies of the characters. As I have explained, however, Gothic fiction and psychoanalysis pursue similar objectives, as they aim at uncovering coded meanings. In fact, both revolve around hermeneutical processes consisting of observing, interpreting and deciphering all the material within a text. It is for these reasons that a psychoanalytic approach to the Gothic happens to be interesting as well as necessary.

My second level of analysis concentrated on the psychoanalytic motifs employed by Pardo Bazán in *Los pazos de Ulloa*. As I have exemplified, some of the Gothic representations are incorporated and described through psychoanalytic motifs, being hysteria, derealisation, dream paralysis, interpretation of oneiric experiences, hallucinations or phallic symbology. Julián's nightmare, for example, which had resulted from having being exposed to the rural *Volkgeist*, is contextualized with a series of typically Gothic settings: gloomy meteorological phenomena; the *pazo* itself, which is incidentally transformed into a feudal castle; the cartomancy session carried out by the "witch" María la Sabia; or intertextual allusions to John Fuseli's *The Nightmare*. These elements are all sources of the Sublime, but we need a psychoanalytic interpretation to understand them completely (the interpretation of dreams).

In addition to the nightmare, I have also tackled the existing relationship between the two protagonists, Nucha and Julián, and their feminine temperament in order to demonstrate

their affinity from a psychoanalytic point of view. In this respect, I have focused my analysis on their urban origin, their predisposition to psychological suggestion, the hallucinations they suffer, the level of defamiliarization experienced in the *pazo*, their reciprocal affection, their mystical religiousness and, above all, their hysterical symptoms. In accordance with the nineteenth-century medical treatises shown in the chapter, these hysterical fits should be considered as the direct consequence of their well-known nervous-lymphatic temperament, which Maurice Hemingway has thoroughly studied. As I have illustrated through several examples, this condition, together with his physical weakness, strengthens Julián's feminine characterization, bringing him closer to Nucha. This characterization frequently results in comical scenes, where Julián is ironically ridiculed and humiliated. But most importantly, in emphasizing his effeminacy, the narrator implicitly suggests that there is not a generic distinction between the two characters, and that what really matters in the novel is not gender, but sex. It is sex, in effect, that determines Julián's survival and Nucha's death after the experience of motherhood, and it is sex that ultimately breaks the existing affinity between them.

The Gothic and psychoanalytic devices that I have analysed in this chapter can be Sublime and Uncanny. Both of them are able to cause characters to undergo experiences of fear. Thus, visual disorders or hallucinations, for example, are usually caused by Sublime scenes, like storms that make it difficult to perceive reality properly, or like the *pazo* that predisposes urban characters to fantasy and to madness. We should not forget that the fact of being cloistered in the *pazo*, a traditional familiar setting, is a characteristic of nineteenth-century Female Gothic fiction, a means to denounce women's position in an oppressive patriarchal system. In this way, Nucha's and Julián's hysterical symptoms are therefore caused by Sublime representations of the settings to which they are exposed.

This last chapter is relevant for a number of reasons: first, it proves that a psychoanalytic approach is viable to understand, not only the psychologies of the main characters, but also the employment of Gothic devices in *Los pazos*. Secondly, through the incorporation of psychoanalytic motifs, Pardo Bazán creates suspense and ultimately terror in the same way as Anne Radcliffe in *The Mysteries of Udolpho*. This explains the importance of considering the psychoanalytic approach when tackling the Gothic. Finally, the psychoanalytic devices used to describe the psychologies of Julián and Nucha, the existing affinities between them, and their opposite outcomes reveal an intention to denounce the plight of Galician women at this moment in time.

As a whole, the adoption of foreign Gothic devices represents more than a mere trend in Pardo Bazán's fiction. It is a literary aesthetic resource, but also an important means to depict the social reality of the Galician context. With this resource, she succeeded in finding the real and true formula that would permit her to combine a Realist world, defined through typical *costumbrista* sketches, with the purest idealism of Romanticism. Yet it is through the Gothic devices that Pardo Bazán would ultimately make her Naturalism faithfully reflect the individual's degeneration in a crude and heartless world along with most Sublime representations of Nature. The use of the Gothic, then, would form part of a *regenerationist* project consisting of defining and demarcating Galician's distinctiveness within the Spanish territory and bring the region closer to the standards of modernization that had been achieved in Europe after the Industrial Revolution. All this would ultimately allow Emilia to transmit the Galician popular wisdom, which she had so eagerly learned as a child. By recovering this material, she would emphasize the Gothic nature of her region, so close to Spain and yet so different.

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