

THE MORTALITY OF TYPES:  
TECHNOLOGY, LANGUAGE, AND PROSE IN ROMANTIC SPAIN

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments.....	111
Table of Contents.....	iv-v
Introduction.....	1-25
I: Prose in Spain's Romantic Period	
Social Individualism and Literary Trends.....	26-36
Contemporizing the Historical Novel.....	36-48
The Popular Novel of Socialist Theme: Factual versus Idealist Prose.....	48-65
Travel Literature: Antonio Flores, Royal Chronicler.....	65-87
The Meaning of Realism for Author and Reader.....	87-94
II: Universalism and Particularism in Language	
Rationality versus Idiosyncrasy.....	95-109
Universal Linguistic Systems in Romantic Spain..	109-131
The Linguistic Dilemma in an Atmosphere of Literary and Philosophic Compromise.....	132-147
III: The Meaning of Semiological Systems in Romantic Spain	
Tachygraphy.....	148-156
Orthography.....	156-166
The Rendering of Language to Deaf-Mutes.....	166-172
Unarticulated Language.....	172-179
Hieroglyphics.....	179-188
Telegraphy.....	188-198
IV: The Periodical Press, Historiography, and Prose Fiction	
Standardization and Privatization in the Print Medium.....	199-221

Print Media and Perceptual Change.....	221-231
Periodicalization and Historiography.....	231-239
Print Media and Fictional Prose: Print as Reality Itself.....	239-252
V: Visual Arts in Romantic Spain	
Idealism and Naturalism in Pictorial Artistry..	253-262
The Popular Press as a Meeting Ground for Literary and Nonliterary Visual Spectacle.....	262-276
Photographic Technologization of Pictorial Arts.....	276-295
Practical and Popular Photography.....	296-307
The Perceptual Significance of Photography and Its Relation to Literature.....	307-328
VI: The Correspondence Between the Medium and Modes of Typification	
Technological Standardization, Typical Expres- sion, and the Analysis of the Type.....	329-346
Physiognomic Expression and the Literary Type..	346-357
Phrenological and Magnetic Sciences: Per- ceptual Significance.....	358-372
Epilogue.....	373-397
Bibliographies	
List of Works Cited.....	398-479
Some Supplementary References.....	480-481
Brief Description of Some Periodical Volumes...	482-492
Abstract.....	493-496

## INTRODUCTION

My intention is to describe the Spanish response to, and interpretation of, a broad field of cultural phenomena, in a period commonly called Romantic. I expect first to discuss in a general way the kinds of prose literature that achieved most popularity during Spain's Romantic period, then the relationship of these categories of prose to costumbristic literature and to the general atmosphere of particularistic universalism that was characteristic of the period; through a discussion of the chronicles of Antonio Flores, I hope to show the modal conditions of Spanish prose at mid-century and, by this, to indicate the position of the "realist" novel of the later half of the century with respect to Spanish Romantic technologization, both industrial and artistic. I shall also explain the function of universalist linguistic systems within a general philosophical atmosphere, and then deal with the question of language on the level of semiological systems, whether these systems were of principally scientific intention (tachygraphy, orthography, language for deaf-mutes, telegraphy) or merely fashionable (hieroglyphics). One of the most influential forms of technology during the Romantic period was the periodical press, so I would consider its perceptual significance for the common reader, as well as its relation to literary prose expression of both factual and fictional purport. Scarcely less indicative of perceptual trends and expressive needs was popularized photographic technology, and I would

consider its meaning in the area of visual arts; then, through a discussion of its significance with respect to its antecedents, such as engraving, and to important contemporaneous technologies, such as the periodical press, the connection between visual technologization and literary making might be established. I would terminate with a treatment of the meaning of the type in both technology and literature and elaborate upon these concepts with an exposition of scientific trends in physiognomics during Spain's Romantic period. I hope to achieve by this method of investigation a fresh critical basis for nineteenth-century Spanish costumbristic literature in its various manifestations. The Romantic transformation of prosaic experience into expressive signs having new meaning, and the consequent changes which experience itself must undergo when orders of expression are altered, are the primary concerns here.

My critical procedure and the object of my investigation encourage the consideration that facts which may at once appear to be objective are, often, statements about our means of investigation, rather than about the circumstances that these means of investigation purport to explain. Much of the material for this study, then, was the result of investigation in the popular vehicle for both information and literature in Romantic Spain, the periodical. (Correspondingly, I have usually opted for editions of the period, even when later editions were available; also, I have retained orthographic peculiarities in quotations, but obvious misspellings in the originals have

been corrected, and accentuation has been normalized according to today's standards.) It is commonly known that much of what was published during the Spanish Romantic period was not Spanish in origin, but came instead from the press of other countries. However, to distinguish between what was "Spanish" in origin and what was not, is seldom an easy task, and the same difficulty exists even for so-called original literature published at that time in book form, as one critic of the day knew when he made reference to the 1838 publication of Serafín Estébanez Calderón's Cristianos y moriscos: the scarcity of books of this sort encouraged authors to work the adjective original into their title when their books were not translations, and even when original did appear, the public should have been grateful if the title did not lie.<sup>1</sup> It is undeniable, nevertheless, that those articles which appeared in the periodical press appeared often as the result of some kind of selection, and we may assume that this process of selection was, more often than not, the result of an intellectual need, regardless of how we might look upon that need today. It is also an assumption of this study that what informational content was divulged through the popular media was accessible, at least, to a large enough number of individuals) to merit attention today, and in this regard, G. S. R. Kitson Clark has commented appropriately: "To be properly understood, romanticism must be considered not only as something which affec-

<sup>1</sup>"Novela española." in El Español, Revista Literaria, I, No. 2 (June 8, 1845), p. 2.



ted some of the leading minds of the day, it must be considered as a popular movement, even a vulgar movement; with the expressions of exalted politics and important thought must be read much that was ephemeral and seems to us absurd. But the case is that, when all these things are considered, they present an element in the public mind which cannot be disregarded by those who desire to understand how men thought or why they acted."<sup>2</sup>

None of this is to imply that in Spain's Romantic period the common reader represented a large percentage of the population, especially in comparison with countries of greater middle-class population, such as France and England. We will, in fact, often be concerned with periodical publications written by lettered men and directed to a popular reader still in the making. Even so, it seems all the more significant to regard the early popular press as a principal determinant of the general intellectual state of the country, whose literary tradition, especially during the early years of the widespread periodical, was continually described as lamentable:

The English reader cannot but be struck with the paucity and unimportance of the works written by modern Spaniards. . . . The reasons . . . may be reduced to two--the one, restrictions on the production and sale of literary works--the other, the very small demand for them. . . . In fact, the writings of the modern Spaniards deserve notice rather

<sup>2</sup>"Romanticism and Popular Culture," originally "The Romantic Element, 1830-1850" (1955); rev. rpt. in Romanticism: Problems of Definition, Explanation, and Evaluation, ed. John B. Halsted (Boston, 1965), p. 95.

as illustrating the state of knowledge in that country, than for their own intrinsic value. . . . There are certainly no giants in modern Spain, and the number of the enlightened among its writers is small; but the productions of this small number will be found approaching the general average of literary mediocrity.<sup>3</sup>

Concerning the works that had been published in Spain just prior to the popular periodical, Francisco Almela y Vives gave some indication of these in his description of the "Catálogo de los libros destinados a la subscripción de lectura" that was issued by the important publishing house of Mariano de Cabrerizo (1827 [?]), and which showed that although the Spanish section was the most plentiful, the foreign section contained 158 foreign titles, 84 percent of which were French.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup>Antonio Alcalá Galiano, "Literature of the Nineteenth Century. Spain," in The Athenaeum. No. 340 (May 3, 1834), p. 333.

<sup>4</sup>El editor don Mariano de Cabrerizo (Valencia, 1949), pp. 193-195. I know of no study dealing with Spain that is comparable in depth and importance to that written by Richard D. Altick, dealing with England (The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900 [1957; rpt. Chicago and London, 1963]); had such a work been available, then many of my assumptions concerning Spain's common reader might have been stated with more precision. The nearest thing to Altick's work is the remarkable book by José F. Montesinos, Introducción a una historia de la novela en España, en el siglo XIX, seguida del esbozo de una bibliografía española de traducciones de novelas, 1800-1850, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1966), in which the author states as an ideal what Altick in fact carried out: "El ideal sería poder determinar siempre de una manera precisa qué gentes leían unas cosas y otras, a qué públicos estaban destinadas. Por desgracia los documentos de que disponemos no son abundantes ni elocuentes a este respecto, a menudo son tardíos, de tiempos en que las modas comenzaban a pasar y era fácil ironizar sobre ellas. Los tendremos en cuenta siempre que puedan revelarnos algo" (pp. 55-56). Also helpful is Reginald F. Brown, La novela española, 1700-1850 (Madrid, 1953).

There were few formulated reports of the day that afforded us now a clear idea of the state of the reading public itself in Spain during the first years of the reign of Isabel II; however, the Floresta Española did comment that the reason for the eternally meager book trade in Spain was, simply, that the Spanish read so very little.<sup>5</sup>

The ecclesiastics were those who had contributed most to the book industry, those who had read most, and those who had studied most; others (presumably jurists, physicians, and military figures) had read only those items required for their work, and even book commerce with colonies overseas had been lost. The last of these causes for the lamentable state of the reading public in Spain, such as the Floresta listed them, was due in some degree to the success of Spanish book commerce that had been struck up between foreign countries and the Americas through the work of the émigrés of Spain's revolutionary years prior to the revival of the popular press in Spain, as Professor Vicente Llorens shows.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup>"Estado actual del comercio de librería en España," in No. 14 (April 4, 1835), p. 54. Earlier, in the days of Carlos III, the Floresta continued, so few even knew how to read that literary firms collapsed financially. Today, we have the repetitious costumbristic sketches of the fiel de fechos to prove this periodical's claim that in the time of Carlos III, there was a minimum of eight thousand Spanish localities whose mayors (alcaldes) and magistrates (regidores) were forced to affix their "X" (la señal de la Cruz) on public documents, since these officials did not know how to read or sign their names.

<sup>6</sup>Liberales y románticos: Una emigración española en Inglaterra, 1823-1834, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1968), p. 156. The excellent study is a just reminder that the political situation under Fernando VII was such that the Spanish nation was bereft of intellectual potential as a result of the emigrations

Although Spain's book industry remained in a sorry state some years after the upsurge of the popular press--largely, perhaps, because of the lack of publishers who were clever, intelligent, and assertive enough to stimulate genius and to search out a market for their publications, as one reporter remarked--no matter what the consensus was, said the same reporter, the public was more inclined than it had been to buy books, whenever these books met their approval, or whenever news of them reached the public's ears.<sup>7</sup> The case of the Spanish common reader remains unfortunately obscure.

Ideally, I would give equal attention in the following study to the immense quantity of popular literary material and to the more discursive stuff of the periodical press, but since I opt for the latter, I warrant the reader often to consider for himself the applicability of the subsequent

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that followed the withdrawal of Napoleon's forces from the Peninsula in 1813 (see, for example, p. 10).

<sup>7</sup>"Del ramo de librería en España," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, 2nd Ser., III, No. 52 (December 26, 1841), p. 415. Contrariwise, Silvio Silvis de la Selva directed a letter years later to the publisher of the Portuguese Revista Peninsular, pointing out that "no falta quien escriba, antes falta quien lea" ("Revista de Madrid. Carta . . .," in I, No. 12 [1855], p. 568). A study by Carlo M. Cipolla, Literacy and Development in the West (Baltimore, 1969) reveals astonishing figures: in 1857, the "estimated approximate rate of adult illiteracy" (i. e., inability to read) was 75 percent of the total population; compare this figure with 30-33 percent in England and Wales and with 40-45 percent in France. In 1877, Cipolla observes, a survey of the total population of Spain showed that 72 percent were totally illiterate. Luis Monguió discovered, through Julio Nombela's memoirs, that the novels of periodical issue were the first that permitted Spanish authors to earn a living wage (see "Crematística de los novelistas españoles del siglo XIX," in Revista Hispánica Moderna, XVII, Nos. 1-4 [January-December 1951], p. 116).

information to such prose categories as travel literature, manners, the historical novel, and other fashions in Spanish Romantic prose. My option in favor of discursive material rests on the fact that, time and again, studies which take into account Romantic literary manifestations, to the exclusion of other sources, indicate that there must be more beneficial ways in which to view Spain's mid-nineteenth century and to comprehend the Romantic phenomenon. Several literary critics and historians of ideas, especially, have rejected the use of literary content as sole evidence for a notion of Romanticism, and notable among these is Arthur O. Lovejoy, who lent impetus to the resolution of the sticky business of isms in general. "It is one of the instructive ironies of the history of ideas," Lovejoy said, "that a principle introduced by one generation in the service of a tendency or philosophic mood congenial to it often proves to contain, unsuspected, the germ of a contrary tendency--to be, by virtue of its hidden implications, the destroyer of that Zeitgeist to which it was meant to minister"; thus, Lovejoy prompted a rediscovery of the fact that, in spite of the accountable figures who labeled themselves either Classic or Romantic, there never perdured only two mutually exclusive parties.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup>Chapter X ("Romanticism and the Principle of Plenitude") of The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea (1936; rpt. New York, 1960), p. 288. Lovejoy's aim was to describe a change in the perception of the universe: the concepts of uniformity and diversity change position on a scale of priorities, neither disappearing entirely, the latter gaining over the former, until diversity as content and novelty as mode of pre-

Several prominent figures of Spain's Romantic period clearly saw the intellectual danger that lay in the failure to accept, with a nominalistic eclecticism, both Classicism

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sentation constituted, throughout the greater part of the nineteenth century, the basic stuff of the new world view. Reminiscent of Lovejoy's observation is the more recent comment by Mariano Baquero Goyanes ("Prerromanticismo y retórica: Antonio de Capmany," in Studia Philologica: Homenaje ofrecido a Dámaso Alonso por sus amigos y discípulos con ocasión de su 60º aniversario, I [Madrid, 1960], p. 186): "el clasicismo de los románticos y el romanticismo de los clásicos son algo más que un juego de palabras o una fácil paradoja." The intellectual historical approach abides by the belief that no aspect of reality is truly external to literature, and the corollary that literary production is a constituent factor of total reality: "Intellectual history is more concerned than cultural history with the ideas themselves, and assumes their importance, both as cultural manifestations and as agents in the culture. Unlike the historian of philosophy, the intellectual historian concerns himself with 'minor' as well as 'major' ideas, especially if the minor idea (or, in a useful phrase, the 'failed' idea) was widely-referred to in the time and place he studies. One might say, among much else, that the intellectual historian concerns himself with taste in ideas and tries to find explanations for such taste in any given period or place. Intellectual history is an inclusive and a systematic study, involving chiefly a willingness on the part of its practitioner to read widely in texts often in themselves uninteresting. Oddly enough, such reading can produce interesting results: the sum of such parts is far less than the whole they produce" (Rosalie L. Colie, "Literature and History," in Relations of Literary Study: Essays on Interdisciplinary Contributions, ed. James Thorpe [New York, 1967], pp. 15-16). Both Frank Kermode and Ian Watt have stressed the need for a treatment of the novel which would involve a scope of information such as that which intellectual history provides, and in so doing, they have implicitly rejected criticism that adheres to the idea of "genius as autonomous, as having an authority of its own apart from its moral context," an idea that flourished in the Romantic period, according to Northrop Frye, and which was greatly intensified in the nineteenth century. (see Frye, Chapter I ["The Romantic Myth" (1963)]; rev. rpt. in A Study of English Romanticism [New York, 1968], p. 22). "The study of the novel," said Frank Kermode, "ought to involve more than structures of research or terminology proper to itself. . . . The novel ought also to be considered a branch of a wider subject, involving other kinds of fiction, other historical and typological enquiries. Perhaps it should even be considered in relation to the typologies of the sociologists and the

and Romanticism as simultaneously practicable. For example, Antonio Alcalá Galiano told the Ateneo de Madrid (February 22, 1839) that he disapproved of the Romantics of his day, because they "huyen de Scila y se estrellan en Caribdis," and in so doing, he unwittingly foretold a challenge set forth recently by George Boas: "to produce something termed as Ism which was not a protest . . . all movements [like Romanticism] are summed up in a proposition of policy, not in propositions of fact. And the policies, as I say, are programs of protest," but "if two men are united in protest, they need not agree on what they would substitute for that which they disapprove of. Though there is only one contradictory to any given proposition, there are several contraries."<sup>9</sup> How exemplary of this point of view was Juan Valera's comment that whether Spain's Romanticism appeared for the first time or was revived in 1834, Romanticism, which had been a successful literary revolution against the French preceptors, did not have to be thought of, in 1854, as a militant sect, but rather as a thing of the past; and if in

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psychologists, even the mathematicians. It seems possible that we have been somewhat provincial in determining the scope of our critical interests" (see "Novel, History and Type," in *Novel*, I, No. 3 [Spring 1968], p. 238). See, also, Ian Watt, "Second Thought Series: Serious Reflections on The Rise of the Novel," *ibid.*, p. 213: "It still seems to me that the whole question of the historical, institutional and social context of literature is very widely ignored, to the great detriment not only of much scholarly and critical writing, but of the general understanding of literature at every educational level."

<sup>9</sup>Boas, "Ruminations on a Sentence," in Studies in Romanticism, II, No. 1 (Autumn 1962), p. 55; Alcalá Galiano, paraphrase by "J. de la R." (presumably José de la Revilla), "Ateneo de Madrid. Sección de literatura," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, 2nd Ser. I, No. 10 (March 10, 1839), p. 80.

the time of Alcalá Galiano and Valera there was something erroneous about sustaining a rigid dichotomy between the concepts of Classicism and Romanticism, even when attempts were made to assign to the terms precise characteristics in order to sum up "propositions of policy," then it is more incorrect today to sustain the dichotomy between these "schools."<sup>10</sup>

No single definition suffices to explain a long-standing

<sup>10</sup>See Valera, "Del romanticismo en España y de Espronceda," in *Obras completas*, II, ed. Luis Araujo Costa, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1949), p. 9. Similarly, Francisco Pi y Margall, who thought that Romanticism in Spain had come full circle in a tripartite development that ended in the regrettable triumph of José Zorrilla over the second-generation Romantic, José de Espronceda, remarked that "el romanticismo [having been a revolución gloriosa for the freedom of forms] no fué en todos los pueblos de la raza latina más que una protesta" ("Del romanticismo," in *La América*, I, No. 20 [December 24, 1857], pp. 6-7). Naturally, as the century progressed and the protests waned, the eclectic position gained preeminence. José Leopoldo Feu, for example, thought that "la revolución romántica . . . hubiera triunfado por completo si el mismo espíritu imitador de que quería desasirse no la aprisionara a su vez, al punto de hacerla transigir también con un género bastardo y exótico, que por lo anti-religioso, anti-monárquico y anti-moral, no podía germinar y florecer en tierra española" ("El romanticismo en España," in *La América*, V, No. 21 [January 8, 1862], p. 8). Feu, who denied the unique Germanic origin of Romanticism and the effect of the few translations of Goethe and Schiller in Spain at a significantly early date, said that Romanticism in Spain "tampoco venía a simbolizar el espíritu cristiano de los Schlegels, ni era efecto de una pronunciada reacción filosófica contra la tendencia materialista. Entre nosotros, por fortuna, nunca se había cegado el raudal de los puros sentimientos morales, y la misma corte madrileña que se encenagaba brutalmente en las saturnales de la degradación, se avergonzaba de profesar teóricamente el materialismo; así que en el terreno literario mal podía pensarse en restaurar el alma humana, cuando el materialismo no tenía sectarios especulativos y cuando si bien tal cual escritor novicio daba oídos a la hechizadora profesión de fé del vicario saboyano no había quien pudiera llamarse paladinamente partidario del sistema de la naturaleza" (*ibid.*, No. 20 [December 24, 1861], p. 10).



temperamental strain in a totality of individuals. In bespeaking an intellectual historical approach any holistic view of Classicism or Romanticism becomes invalid. Observations regarding style or fashion, then, must not exclude alternatives; that is, they must not force every fresh view to conform to one given meaning, or all descriptive variants that one might voice for the sake of further explanation to fall outside of the limitations of that meaning and to remain, consequently, erroneously looked upon as impertinent. For this reason, E. H. Gombrich insists, in an essay indispensable to every critic, that "only against the background of alternative choices can the distinctive way also be seen as expressive."<sup>11</sup> It also seems insufficient to regard man as only a storehouse of inherited myths and temperamental potential. For as conditions external to the individual mind are altered, especially on a broad, popular scale, so do individual modes of perception and expression change, and for practical purposes, these new conditions might bear little resemblance to those which constituted preceding realms of individual choice. Therefore,

<sup>11</sup>"Style," in International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, XV, ed. David L. Sills (New York, 1968), p. 353. Gombrich goes on to suggest that "if the term 'style' is thus used descriptively for alternative ways of doing things, the term 'fashion' can be reserved for the fluctuating preferences which carry social prestige" [my underscoring]. "If we really want to treat styles as symptomatic of something else (which may, on occasion, be very interesting), we cannot do without some theory of alternatives. If every change is inevitable and total, there is nothing left to compare, no situation to reconstruct, no symptom or expression to be investigated. Change becomes the symptom of change as such, and to hide this tautology, some grandiose scheme of evolution has to be called in" (E. H. Gombrich, Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation [1960; 1961; rpt. New York, 1965], pp. 21-22).

to assume with Jacques Barzun that Romanticism may exist in any place and at any time is remnant uniformitarianism, but co-operative today with the doctrine of creative individualism, so that it shows up as if in answer to what Morse Peckham once called the "static metaphysic" that still remains "for most people . . . the unrealized base for most of their values, intellectual, moral, social, aesthetic, and religious."<sup>12</sup>

In attempting to affix notions of periodicity to isms, we are not granted anything that is inviolably concrete. Preferences can be associated with periods of history, but chronological assignments to these preferences must be qualified through distinctions concerning how the preferences in question came about, what other preferences might ultimately have been expressed, and why, if in the end there was indeed an option, this option was as it was. Fashions often have their analogues outside of the chronological period of concern, but it is necessary to remove fashions from abstraction, and to point out that certain fashions were particular to certain

<sup>12</sup>"Toward a Theory of Romanticism," in PMLA, LXVI, No. 2 (March 1951), p. 10. Jacques Barzun has asserted that "if an attitude becomes noticeable or dominant in a given period, its elements must be latent in human beings, or in certain human beings, all the time" (Classic, Romantic and Modern, originally Romanticism and the Modern Ego [1943], 2nd ed. [Garden City, New York, 1961], p. 9). The idea that conditions external to the individual might alter his modes of perception and expression was implicit in Spain's Romantic period, in José María Quadrado's remark that "los mismos que nos sacian hoy de romances y fragmentos nos hubieran molido, años atrás, a anacreónticas y pastorales" ("De los bandos literarios," originally in La Palma, pp. 16-18; rpt. in La Palma: Palma, 1840-1841, ed. Gaspar Sabater [Madrid, 1950], p. 154).

times and certain modes of understanding. To achieve this end is to first take into account a vast history of phenomena related to the period selected (more or less arbitrarily) for treatment. Through a continual consideration of the alternatives of choice we achieve a critical stance that tempers the leftover Romantic shibboleth "genius," and which places emphasis upon contemporaneous relationships instead. In this way, we also achieve a closer approximation to the total significance of the fashion in question. We are asking how specific preferences came to exist, not only stating denotatively what the preferences were, or descriptively what the preferences were like. Our awareness of the effectual means through which the particular vision arises, and then through which artistic event occurs, may lead us to see how changes can be introduced which sooner or later yield a new vision and a resultant new style.

In the past, Spanish Romanticism has often been denied "exact chronological limits," but the recent contrary views of Professors Edmund L. King and Russell P. Sebold call to the fore the difficult question of Spanish Romanticism's periodicity.<sup>13</sup> Professor Sebold observes that "las nuevas ideas traídas a España hacia 1834 no son tanto causa cuanto consecuencia del

<sup>13</sup>King, "What is Spanish Romanticism?," in Studies in Romanticism, II, No. 1 (Autumn 1962), pp. 1-11; Sebold, "Sobre el nombre español del dolor romántico," in Insula, XXIII, No. 264 (November 1968), pp. 1, 4-5. (F. Courtney Tarr said that "in Spain--as elsewhere--romanticism has no exact chronological limits" ["Romanticism in Spain and Spanish Romanticism: A Critical Survey," in Bulletin of Spanish Studies, XVI, No. 61 (January 1939), p. 36].)

romanticismo," thus suggesting that we speak in terms of a primer romanticismo rather than a prerromanticismo. He emphasizes the falsity of "la noción del romanticismo español, según la cual se lo ve como algo traído de fuera a última hora," and in a recent public lecture given at the University of Pennsylvania (November 21, 1969), he has stressed the "evolutionary, not revolutionary" aspect of Spanish Romanticism. On the other hand, Professor King projects truly Spanish Romantic feeling beyond that period of time usually called Romantic, resting his definition upon the description of a critical, or revolutionary, situation, and rejecting as not genuine the Romanticism of the age prior to the desperate importation of European systems of thought (the delegation of Julián Sanz del Río to Germany in 1843):

I am willing to accept the view that Romanticism is a set of attitudes rather than a unified conception of the world, but I find it inconceivable that such a set of attitudes, however contradictory they may be of one another, is not at some point connected with a unified conception of the world. . . . Romantic expression is always a practical reconstruction of what has been theoretically destroyed. . . . The Spanish Romantics did not really, in a profound way, go through the spiritual experience behind the Romantic attitudes, and that is why their Romantic literature is more rhetorical than expressive. They are answering questions that they have not asked (pp. 3, 8).

Even when chronological limits for Spanish Romanticism are suggested, these might be conceived of in very different ways, as is indicated in the disparity of these views, and this raises the question of how to talk about a Romanticism that was common to the rest of the cultural world at the same time

that it was, in a word, Spanish. I would attempt to discuss this question indirectly, that is, through a treatment of whatever scientific atmosphere was characteristic of the historical focal point in the arguments of both Professors King and Sebold.

It is impossible to state with chronological precision at what point in the Romantic era destruction yielded to reconstruction, analysis to synthesis, prosaic vision to poetic vision, and so forth. But our inability to do so might be lessened if we designated whether we were assigning to the above complementary factors the perceptual or expressive significance that might pertain to either of the complementary factors of each set. The critical approach which achieved this would better represent the esthetic position of the artist. For example, aside from the discrepancy between revolutionary and evolutionary Romanticism that characterizes the respective arguments of Professors King and Sebold, the view of Romanticism as reconstructive lies at the crux of Professor King's allocation of Spanish Romanticism to the latter half of the nineteenth century; meanwhile, at the crux of Professor Sebold's allocation of Spanish Romanticism to the eighteenth century lies the view of Romanticism as analytical thought. But in the evaluation of these critical interpretations, we find, upon close examination, that the concern of the former is expression, whereas the concern of the latter is perception. It appears, therefore, that if there were some accord with regard to the bases of discussion, the seemingly disparate views

might congenially produce a single, broader view of Spanish Romanticism.

It was certainly so that in the 1840's the Spanish were consciously opting between a vision of the world that was, primarily, either analytical or synthetical. One mid-century writer associated these opposing facets of man's vision with their temperamental and expressive complements ("La pesquisa o la inquisición tienen los ojos siempre abiertos y el corazón cerrado; la poesía al contrario, cierra los ojos y abre el corazón. . . . Aquélla es suspicaz, insidiosa, busca siempre faltas e imperfecciones; ésta es confiada, generosa, busca los primores, embellece más las bellezas"); and José María Quadrado noted with respect to his century that it had complied satisfactorily with the destructive (analytical) portion of its mission, since it gnawed away at itself for want of a better passtime, sarcastically rending the selfsame ideas it proclaimed as its own basis, and that it remained relatively empirical and nonopinionative ("ha comparado y analizado más, pero ha juzgado menos que el [siglo] pasado").<sup>14</sup> It was this atmosphere

<sup>14</sup>"Poesía y prosa," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, No. 23 (June 4, 1848), p. 184; Quadrado, "De la literatura en el siglo XIX" and "De la tristeza en la imaginación," originally in La Palma, pp. 1-4 and 125-127, 133-135, rpt. in La Palma: Palma, 1840-1841; ed. Gaspar Sabater (Madrid, 1950), pp. 133, 147. As if in agreement with Quadrado, Antonio Neira de Mosquera commented some years later that the disputador y superficial, indisciplinado nineteenth century had aligned itself with philosophical systems only in order to doubt them, that it was egoistically and presumptuously inquisitive, and finally, that it had assumed the distinctive characteristic of atheism in all matters except religious ones ("De la novela moderna," in Revista de España, de Indias y del Extranjero, XII [1848], pp. 181-182, 187).

of empiricism that nineteenth-century Spanish costumbristic literature depicted, although it was the synthetical expression which the costumbristic artist relied upon for the representation of his diversitarian view. Thus, it was only natural that master technologists of synthesizing media of expression, such as the periodical press, should have been among those to affirm extreme diversitarianism while they projected means for its resolution on the level of expression. For example, Ramón de Mesonero Romanos, during the early years of his masterwork, the Semanario Pintoresco Español, wrote about el espíritu de asociación (in 2nd Ser., I, No. 52 [December 29, 1839], p. 412) and remarked that "esta [época] se multiplica y subdivide por millonésimas partes, átomos imperceptibles, entre los seres contemporáneos, de suerte que no parece sino que todos nacimos faltos de alguna cosa, y que nos buscamos e incorporamos por instinto, para formar entre todos un juicio completo, o una verdadera y sólida voluntad." And not long after, Francisco Navarro Villoslada commented in his introduction to the periodical El Siglo Pintoresco (in I, No. 1 [April 1845], p. 1) that "el siglo en que vivimos habrá de distinguirse más bien por el armonioso conjunto de pequeños y parciales esfuerzos, que por el violento y eficaz empuje que deba darle la mano robusta de una superior inteligencia." Both Mesonero Romanos and Navarro Villoslada were particularizing in their vision, they tell us, yet their medium of expression, the periodical, was as synthesizing as any known popularly at the time in Spain. They planned to aid themselves

technologically in order to represent the multiplicity that they confirmed. Given this seeming contradiction in terms, then, how must the critic of costumbristic literature set about resolving it? This, it appears, is the central problem with which the critic is faced, and it has been phrased in general terms already by David Lodge; that is, if the literary text is going to be the interaction between what is prefigured and what is achieved on the level of expression, and not, merely, a sign for what was prefigured, then how can we establish an unobtrusive dichotomy between signs that express experience, and the fact of experience, when the signs are themselves a part of that experience?<sup>15</sup> No sign, either linguistic, strictly speaking, or technological, functions in the abstract. This is why knowing something about semiotic function in a given historical period allows us to approximate a knowledge of the sort of vision that signs are meant to express. Moreover, we can thereby learn how new perceptual realities came to exist through contemporaneous, functional shifts in analytical and synthetical means of expression.

In this study the focus is the scientific means through which language and literary fashions evolve. This focus affords a pattern of the intellectual needs of the Spanish Romantic intellect as sensory perceiver. Although scientific events do have their analogues, too, in other periods of time, it is those

<sup>15</sup>"Towards a Poetics of Fiction: An Approach Through Language," in Novel, I, No. 2 (Winter 1968), p. 161.



most revolutionary events that provide us a measure for changing patterns of perception and expression, as Thomas S. Kuhn seems to be saying in The Structure of Scientific Revolutions with his remark that "the normal-scientific tradition that emerges from a scientific revolution is not only incompatible but often actually incommensurable with that which has gone before" ([1962; rpt. Chicago and London, 1968], p. 102). Professor Kuhn maintains that "it is hard to see how new theories could arise without . . . destructive changes in beliefs about nature. Though logical inclusiveness remains a permissible view of the relation between successive scientific theories, it is a historical implausibility" (p. 97). However, no technology has only one significance in a broad historical perspective; technologies breed expressive trends that contradict those expressive needs which the same technologies were originally intended to satisfy. As a matter of fact, technologies like the book, the train, and the photograph, undergo revolutions that cause them to become mere objects of the external reality, the perception of which they fostered, rather than the transmitters of that reality. These new modes of comprehension are about-faces that call for new and seemingly contradictory means of expression, new technological "languages." Thus the photograph, a logical extension of individualistic book technology, gave itself up to become the basic content of relatively non-individualistic forms like the cinema. But an important corollary of these speculations, and one which applies in general to this study, is that techno-

logies are not simply fashioned in answer to a predeterminable expressive need, nor are they merely the causes of expressive variation. They function as languages, and as such, they are as much manipulators of human experience as they are manipulated by human beings; they are an integral part of man's experience. This is why it is so necessary to emphasize the rôle of linguistic and technological models in Spain's mid-nineteenth century, even in what Pío Baroja once called the relatively unscientific atmosphere of the "Generación de 1840" ("En Literatura, muy poco. . . . En Ciencia, poco o nada").<sup>16</sup> In the relation between costumbristic expression, especially the literature of types, and contemporaneous scientific activity could be seen the attempt (not always a successful one) to achieve a synthesizing terminology, linguistic or technological, by which to signify the new diversitarian experience. In the creative attempt to express democratically, through universally interpretable signs, the perception of ceaseless novelty, we see reflected the artistic position of the writer contending with nineteenth-century reality, too rapidly changing its too diverse elements to be put forth in any highly logical format with no other mechanization than that of the discursive language that fostered the perception of diversity.

What does the technologization of art's expressive means

<sup>16</sup>"Tres Generaciones. Conferencia leída en la Casa del Pueblo de Madrid el día 17 de mayo de 1926," in Obras completas de . . ., V (Madrid, 1948), p. 573.

signify in a broad perspective of esthetics? An illusion of continuous discovery on the part of the informed, as opposed to the apparent presence of the preordaining informant, had become increasingly possible through highly syntactical expressive media, but once the syntactical apparency of mediatory elements disappeared from perceptibility, the iconic and revelatory nature of the object of perception began to be restored. So as literature adapted itself to new linguistic and technological means in the Romantic period, it underwent the foregoing change, seldom clearly perceptible, of course, rather fluctuating between these expressive modes. Nevertheless, both discovery and revelation, through the syntactical and the iconic, respectively, may mean novelty for the perceiver; that is, both syntactical apparency (discovery) and iconic simultaneity (revelation) of mediatory elements may constitute "realism" for the perceiver, depending upon his historical circumstance, and it is precisely the importance of such critical attention to circumstance that Harry Levin has underscored in a recent consideration of the nineteenth-century novel: "The unprecedented mobility of the period has made for many rapid changes in the apprehension of reality, so that the realism of any novel has a purely relative meaning, dependent not only upon its apprehenders but upon its context both social and literary: that is to say, it can never be literally real, and yet at best it bears a closer resemblance to our notions of actuality than anything we may have encountered in our previous reading. It is not without reason that

fiction means falsehood, that most novels seem palpably untrue, and that the truthful one is so rare an exception."<sup>17</sup> In his account of the methodization which art underwent in the nineteenth century, Wylie Sypher maintains that, in this ambience for artistic creation, the artist became a functionary, that is, more a technician than a craftsman, and that "so far as science became programmatic during the nineteenth century the artist felt instinctively at odds with science, even though, perversely, various artistic movements themselves tended to be programmatic"; "the presence of things was not mythical."<sup>18</sup> Now, the exhausted term "realism" can become meaningful as a "victory over language," as S. Bacarisse shows by removing his criteria for realism in the literature of Benito Pérez Galdós from the tiresome concern shown by many critics for the strictly descriptive details of contemporaneous reality, and by redefining "realism" in the following way: "Writing is realistic to the extent that the conceptual

<sup>17</sup>"Toward a Sociology of the Novel," in Journal of the History of Ideas, XXVI, No. 1 (January-March 1965), pp. 153-154.

<sup>18</sup>Literature and Technology: The Alien Vision (New York, 1968), pp. 229, 244. Thus, Wylie Sypher registers "realism" as "a paradox, since it is admittedly one of the most artificial of all styles" (p. 59). Indeed, writers and critics have long insisted upon dealing with "realism" as an artistic ploy, rather than as mimetic equivalent to reality itself, and this approach is easily appreciated once we take into account the self-exhausting fashion of prescriptive authorship. For this reason, perhaps, "Charlotte Brontë rejected Jane Austen's 'daguerreotyped' fiction as 'more real than true,' and Hardy, criticizing Zola, defined art as 'more truthful than truth'" (Robert Gorham Davis, "The Sense of the Real in English Fiction," in Comparative Literature, III, No. 3 [Summer 1951], p. 200).

and logical properties of language are neutralized giving the illusion of perceptual acquaintance with content."<sup>19</sup> That is to say, the writer who attempted to lend the illusory quality of "perceptual acquaintance with content" to his literature must "suspend knowledge in order to depict in self-effacing language pure reality." By this argument, Professor Bacarisse seems to intuit the Romantic fluctuation, on the level of expression, between syntactical apparency and iconic simultaneity. But none of this means that the writer in fact excluded himself from his work. Whether he saw from the one point of view or from random points of view, he was still there; thus, Wylie Sypher considers "the fiction of authorial silence" to be "the most preposterous of all theories" (p. 105). But the writer was, perhaps, less apparently there in the latter case. The writer found means of offsetting the two most important properties of language (which are, according to Professor Bacarisse, conceptualization and linearity, or logic); the model forms of the Enlightenment era were no longer satisfactory. These forms had functioned too independently of the creative self, which grew increasingly concerned with the immediate and the new, rather than the external, classical model, and in this regard, Charles V. Aubrun has said that "les préoccupations esthétiques ou morales des XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles, les éclairages rationalistes, politiques ou sentimentaux des XVIII<sup>e</sup> et XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles déforment dans cette littéra-

<sup>19</sup>"The Realism of Galóós: Some Reflections on Language and the Perception of Reality," in Bulletin of Hispanic Studies, XLIII, No. 4 (October 1965), p. 248.

ture les données du réel tout autant que le font les règles d'Aristote dans la tragédie ou la doctrine néoplatonicienne dans le roman pastoral."<sup>20</sup> To this effect, then, I would point out that technology lent to nineteenth-century prose a contemporaneous historicity, by providing adequate technological and linguistic means with which to satisfy the requirement of the reader's "perceptual acquaintance with content."

<sup>20</sup>See the review of Costumbristas españoles, ed. E. Correa Calderón (Madrid, 1950), in Bulletin Hispanique, LIII, No. 3 (1951), p. 327.

I: PROSE IN SPAIN'S ROMANTIC PERIOD

Arthur O. Lovejoy once traced the movement from "particularistic uniformitarianism" ("the revolt against the standardization of life [which] easily becomes a revolt against the whole conception of standards") to a later aspect of Romanticism ("the belief in the sanctity of one's own idiosyncrasy--especially if it be a group idiosyncrasy"), which resulted in "a great deal of sickly and sterile introversion in literature-- a tiresome exhibition of the individual Ego, these eccentricities being often, as is now notorious, merely conventions painfully turned inside out, since a man cannot by taking thought become more original or 'unique' than Nature has made him."<sup>1</sup> Marshall McLuhan extends this view, now, in a revolutionary theory of technological explosion-implosion, whereby, "as the nineteenth century heated up the mechanical and dissociative procedures of technical fragmentation, the entire attention of men turned to the associative and the corporate."<sup>2</sup> So, as the nineteenth-century perceptual norm became exhaustively analytical, and as the individual grew more and more autonomous, particularization led to its own destruction, partly because the Romantic failed to maintain a compromise

<sup>1</sup>Chapter X ("Romanticism and the Principle of Plenitude") of The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea (1936; rpt. New York, 1960), pp. 312-313.

<sup>2</sup>Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man (McGraw-Hill; rpt. New York, 1964), p. 50. Likewise, Lewis Mumford has affirmed that with the new "megatechnics" man deprived himself of his own autonomous personality (see the introductory chapter to Mumford's The Myth of the Machine: Technics and Human Development [New York, 1967]).

between the diversitarian vision permitted by synthesizing media and his desire to establish the particular and individual as the only possible given. This has been the central concern of many of the best evaluations written in our century on the nineteenth-century liberal trend. In these studies, the Romantic period is understood, because of the aforementioned reversal of vision and expressive means, as paradoxical. George Boas sees that "in searching for the unique, one lands in the pool of the Collective Unconscious," and Lionel Trilling has summed up Romantic paradox thus:

The conscious and the unconscious life of liberalism are not always in accord. So far as liberalism . . . moves toward organization, it tends to select the emotions and qualities that are most susceptible of organization. As it carries out [these] ends it unconsciously limits its view of the world to what it can deal with, and it unconsciously tends to develop theories and principles . . . that justify its limitation. . . . In the very interests of its great primal act of imagination by which it establishes its essence and existence--in the interests, that is, of its vision of a general enlargement and freedom and rational direction of human life--it drifts toward a denial of the emotions and the imagination. . . . It is one of the tendencies of liberalism to simplify, and this tendency is natural in view of the effort which liberalism makes to organize the elements of life in a rational way.<sup>3</sup>

Conveniently understood, the disparate concepts of unique nation and unique individual arose in chronological

<sup>3</sup>The Liberal Imagination: Essays on Literature and Society (1950; rpt. Garden City, New York, 1954), pp. 8-9; Boas, "The Romantic Self: An Historical Sketch," in Studies in Romanticism, IV, No. 1 (Autumn 1964), p. 15.



succession, but careful review reveals a parallel development of these two ideas. Peter Demetz, in drawing an important distinction between the creations of Sir Walter Scott and Balzac, has attributed this development (from depiction of national type to depiction of individualized character) to a preference for the scientific (zoological) type over the type of universalist tradition, and Juan Valera, in 1854, recognized that literary "local color" derived from the intensified particularism found in Romantic works of historic theme-- as it turns out, an ironic comment on the goals and achievements of these Romantic works: "Los trastornos y revueltas por que hemos pasado, y lo extraordinario y nuevo de muchas cosas presentes, han despertado en los hombres gran vigor y agudeza de comprensión para las remotas, así en el tiempo como en el espacio: y de aquí nace (a par de las relaciones de viaje y de las historias ad narrandum non ad probandum, en las cuales no se omite menudencia alguna, por microscópica que sea), ese amor y cuidado con que se procura conservar en el día en toda obra de arte, lo que llaman color local."<sup>4</sup>

The French Revolution was, of course, an expression of the feeling for national individuality, an ideal that the writings of Madame De Staël, for example, clearly emphasized in such a way that the idea of homogeneity was implicit in the con-

<sup>4</sup>"Del romanticismo en España y de Espronceda, "in Obras completas, II, ed. Luis Araujo Costa, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1949), p. 9; Demetz, "Balzac and the Zoologists: A Concept of the Type," in The Disciplines of Criticism: Essays in Literary Theory, Interpretation, and History, eds. Peter Demetz, Thomas Greene, Lowry Nelson, Jr. (New Haven and London, 1968), pp. 397-418.

cept of any individual nation. But at the stage when individualized man was becoming exclusive even of other men grouped under the rubric of his own nation, costumbristic writing (literature of types, above all) enjoyed its greatest success. We have an analogy between ethics and esthetics whereby the particularity of the homogeneous group is seen for the contradiction that it in fact is: There could be no truly unique individual, if he were essentially the same as his national fellows; there could be no truly unique artistic subject, if all his qualities were recognizable as those selfsame qualities of the homogeneous group.

In France, advanced technologization furthered these basically perceptual distinctions at a relatively early date, by affording the linguistic means and the economically synthetic technological means of expression which could accommodate the analytic vision. In Spain, later on, the particularistic vision, which synthetic expression tried to accommodate, grew to be the perceptual norm, largely through democratizing technology and the new language of the Romantic period. Justifiably or not, Spain's new vision gave Nicomedes Pastor Díaz cause to boast, in favor of the particularizing trend of Spanish literary characterization, that "la sociedad francesa no es tan variada como la nuestra. Las clases allí se parecen más unas a otras, y los individuos entre sí. Allí hay más homogeneidad, más unidad de carácter, más nacionalidad que entre nosotros; y esto que es un bien en política, en literatura conduce a la monotonía. . . . Aquí más que clases hay indivi-

duos."<sup>5</sup>

Technologization was coessential with the bifaceted ideal that embraced both loss of lofty rhetoric in literary language and the resultant democratization of literature. This ideal was clearly perceptible in a query of Gregorio Amado Larrosa, a translator of Jules Michelet: "Las galas del lenguaje, los brillantes sofismas del poeta, las invenciones ingeniosas y deslumbradoras del novelista, ¿qué son las más de las veces sino el pomposo traje de la vanidad?"<sup>6</sup> In an earlier pronouncement, Cayetano Cortés had suggested an interpretation of Romanticism that is in striking contrast to that which has persisted among ourselves for decades: The locus of art, he thought, was to be found in the common vision, not in the individual one, for "el individualismo es la muerte de la literatura, como la anarquía lo es de la libertad y la independencia del orden."<sup>7</sup> For Cortés, the country that was moralmente incapacitada could not produce brilliant literature if literature was a reflection of social reality; thus, he could explain Spain's estado lamentable de las letras, where

<sup>5</sup>"De las novelas en España, con motivo de la publicación de Sab, novela original, por la Señorita Doña Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda," originally in El Conservador (December 19, 1841); rpt. in Obras, III, ed. Antonio Ferrer del Río (Madrid, 1867), p. 76.

<sup>6</sup>"Revista de la quincena," in Revista de Cataluña, I (1862), p. 74; ref. Antonio Palau y Dulcet, Manual del librero hispanoamericano, IX, 2nd ed. (s. v. Michelet).

<sup>7</sup>"De la literatura contemporánea," in El Pensamiento, I, No. 10 (1841 [?]), p. 231.

hope for a solution in this regard rested in the literary representation of a common vision:

En esta anarquía de inteligencias que trabaja indistintamente a todas las clases sociales que viven una vida moral, no es dado a nadie encontrar un pensamiento común, sorprender una emoción general que por su relación con los pensamientos y las emociones de la muchedumbre sea a propósito para ser traducido en una obra literaria cualquiera. De modo que en la alternativa de dirigirse los escritores a una civilización de piedra, o de realizar un imposible encontrando eco en el corazón de todos, prefieren encerrarse en los pensamientos individuales y dar libre vuelo a su imaginación, sin más ley que su gusto, ni otra regla que su capricho. El hecho es que la literatura formada de este modo no reúne ninguna condición de grandeza y de brillantez, porque le falta el principio de toda buena inspiración, la simpatía; el punto de apoyo de toda obra notable, la comunidad de opiniones; la base fundamental de todas las grandes ideas, de todos los sentimientos profundos, el contacto con la humanidad (pp. 230-231).

Then, the question of a dichotomy between the esthetic and the social values of literary undertaking was raised again in another regard by Nicomedes Pastor Díaz in a speech before the Real Académica Española on November 7, 1847, on which occasion he pointed out "hasta qué punto la participación en los negocios públicos de los que cultivan las letras y profesan las ciencias, puede ser causa o síntoma de decadencia en la literatura de una edad"; the answer was, simply, that understanding degenerated into intellectual gymnastics and word-fencing in periods of history where knowledge did not engage itself in social affairs, and only that art which had practical significance could be long-lasting.<sup>8</sup> The democratization of

<sup>8</sup>In Discursos leídos en las recepciones públicas que

the means of literary making was simultaneous with the democratization of literary content, but this situation was not often recognized until a retrospective vision of nineteenth-century prose was possible.

ha celebrado desde 1847 la Real Academia Española, I (Madrid, 1860), pp. 29-30, 38. Antonio Neira de Mosquera thought that the novel itself should be "el último liceo del siglo XIX," not "caballeresca, sino filosófica; tampoco antigua, sino de los tiempos presentes, y como ellos sentenciosa, satírica, aguda y observadora" ("De la novela moderna," in Revista de España, de Indias y del Extranjero, XII [1848], pp. 183, 188). The broad acceptance of the idea that literature should have as its primary purpose a social mission might have derived in part from the prologues of Victor Hugo, whose literary philosophy incited José María Quadrado to hail Alberto Lista y Aragón "decano de nuestra moderna literatura," as a result of Hugo's loss of followers among the literati of Spain: "Confesamos en verdad que no podemos comprender al mismo Víctor Hugo ni dejar de sonreírnos, cuando en sus prólogos nos habla de una misión que cumplir y de un edificio que levantar, del cual sólo debe juzgarse en su conjunto. Cuando terminado el drama o la novela ha agitado deliciosamente el corazón en encontrados sentimientos, y ha dejado indeleble sello en la imaginación, para nosotros su misión está ya cumplida, y su edificio levantado" ("Victor Hugo y su escuela literaria," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, 2nd Ser., II, No. 24 [June 14, 1840], p. 190; and later in La Palma, pp. 69-72, 77-80; rpt. in La Palma: Palma, 1840-1841, ed. Gaspar Sabater [Madrid, 1950], pp. 217-228). See the letter which Hugo addressed to Charles Baudelaire years later, on October 6, 1859: "Je n'ai jamais dit: l'art pour l'art; j'ai toujours dit: l'art pour le progrès" (in V [Correspondance, 1836-1882] of Oeuvres Posthumes de Victor Hugo [Paris, 1898], p. 225). Antonio Alcalá Galiano's literary history is speckled with observations concerning the relation of literature to social history, often to the point where one is inseparable from the other; see, for example, his account of Ángel de Saavedra, Duque de Rivas, whom Alcalá Galiano ultimately praises, notwithstanding the aristocratic lineage of the Duque: "Those higher branches of the nobility of Spain . . . have, through the policy of the government and their own faults, sunk nearly into insignificance, and become the victims of their own imperfect mental and moral cultivation. It is impossible that he who breathes the atmosphere of Spanish high life (still more artificial and corrupt than that of other countries) can inhale the spirit of true poetry" ("The Literature of the Nineteenth Century. Spain," in The Athenaeum, No. 346 [June 14, 1834], p. 451).

Private voice and moral sentence had to divorce themselves from the novel of observation, in order for the novel to conform to the standardized technology that would efficiently yield the literature of apparent objectivity that had long been heralded, especially in countries other than Spain, such as France. But the effectuation of such literature had been retarded in persistently sententious prose. Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch, who believed that "variando el estado social, forzosamente había de variar la literatura que es su expresión," knew also that the writer of his day was preoccupied with his own individuality, which he often applied abusively; this was as if to say that a popular and utilitarian literature should not echo the voice of one author alone.<sup>9</sup> Hartzenbusch's restorations of Juan de Zabaleta's seventeenth-century costumbristic pieces are a splendid example of the disappearance of sententiousness in Romantic narrative. For the nineteenth-century critic, the significance of these nine versions of Zabaleta is clearly outlined in Hartzenbusch's statement of purpose and procedure that is the introduction to the version of "El galán," and in the note to the version of "La comedia," where

<sup>9</sup>"Sobre el carácter de la literatura contemporánea. Apuntes leídos en el Ateneo Científico y Literario de esta Corte," in Revista Literaria de El Español, 2nd Ser., I, No. 17 (April 26, 1847), p. 258; and later in El Siglo Pintoresco, III, No. 7 (July 1847). Similarly, in the early twentieth century, Manuel Abril astutely saw the contradiction implicit in the novela tendenciosa of Felipe Trigo: Ideological bias detracted from the purest "naturalism," although the novela tendenciosa often did try to use the former in order to achieve the latter (Felipe Trigo: Exposición y glosa de su vida, su filosofía, su moral, su arte, su estilo [Madrid, 1917], p. 232).

it was explained that Hartzzenbusch (sic Hartzembuch) lifted from Zabaleta's most interesting chapters "la parte filosófica indigesta, bien que dejando en su lugar las consideraciones más oportunas y conservando todo lo perteneciente a la pintura de personas, lances y caracteres."<sup>10</sup> Hartzzenbusch was drawn to Zabaleta's pieces because they represented the distant point of view of the espía and the objectivity which the costumbristic prose artists of the nineteenth century favored increasingly: Zabaleta "se tomó el trabajo de averiguar y describir minuciosísimamente. . . . Representó a la sociedad española de su época mucho más fiel y exactamente que los novelistas y autores dramáticos, porque éstos pintan por lo regular cuadros de invención, y Zabaleta no inventa, sino que retrata." For this reason, and in spite of "la pesadez de la obra de Zabaleta," who "empedró sus artículos descriptivos con reflexiones morales, políticas y religiosas en tanta abundancia, y tan impertinentes las más, que no hay paciencia bastante para resistir la lectura de un capítulo entero," Hartzzenbusch was convinced that he could rewrite

<sup>10</sup>"Costumbres españolas del siglo XVII: El galán," in El Siglo Pintoresco, I, No. 4 (July 1845), pp. 79-80; "Costumbres españolas del siglo XVII: La comedia," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, New Ser. II, No. 7 (February 14, 1847), p. 53. See W. S. Hendrix, "Notes on Collections of Types, a Form of Costumbrismo," in Hispanic Review, I, No. 3 (July 1933), p. 209; Hendrix, who bibliographed the versions of Zabaleta, neglected to mention that "El glotón que come al uso" was reprinted, eight years after the 1846 version in El Siglo Pintoresco, in El Correo de Ultramar, III, No. 68 (1854), pp. 246-247. For comparisons of the versions, see the Zabaleta works in collated form prepared by George Lewis Doty: El día de fiesta por la mañana, in Romanische Forschungen, XLI, No. 2 (1928), pp. 147-274; El día de fiesta por la tarde (Jena, 1938).

Zabaleta's pieces so that they would appeal to the perceptual tastes of nineteenth-century readers.

Seventeenth-century costumbristic prose differed from that of the nineteenth, insofar as the latter was more philosophico-political than theological, and nineteenth-century costumbristic prose also represented a departure from lofty themes and grandiloquent rhetoric.<sup>11</sup> These facts showed up also in Hartzzenbusch's distinctive play upon words to the effect that "El día de fiesta es el Panorama matritense del siglo XVII, o los españoles del tiempo de Felipe IV, pintados por uno de ellos" [my underscoring]. That is, with this play upon words he might have meant to point out the evident private voice of the seventeenth-century author in comparison with the multiple voice of the masterful periodical publications incorporatively entitled Los españoles pintados por sí mismos, and in comparison, also, with the new tonal variety of the Panorama matritense of Ramón de Mesonero Romanos. There do occur conditions that are not of a strictly literary nature which change not only the way in which literature is made, but also the way in which literature is perceived, and for this reason Hartzzenbusch

<sup>11</sup>See Margarita Ucelay Da Cal, Los españoles pintados por sí mismos, 1843-1844: Estudio de un género costumbrista (Mexico, 1951), p. 31; also, ed. E. Correa Calderón, Costumbristas españoles, I (Madrid, 1950), p. xli. On the other hand, there was no doubt, as Willard F. King says in agreement with José F. Montesinos, that the moralizing tendency of the seventeenth century (which Hartzzenbusch sought to eliminate) carried over into the novelistic prose of the nineteenth (Prosa novelística y academias literarias en el siglo XVII [Madrid, 1963], p. 214).



could rightfully say that "El día de fiesta de D. Juan de Zavaleta no se lee ya porque no se puede leer."

The historical novel corresponded to the remnant, and only partial, universalist tendency toward homogeneity that was embodied in political nationalism. Generally, it did not, to the extent of the novel of socialist theme yet to come, represent the infinitely diversified contemporaneous world of the more analytical vision that arose with synthetical nationalism. On the other hand, certainly, the sententious work of epic strain that Pedro de Prado y Torres (as late as 1854) posited as the model novel, did not fully represent the realistic intention of future novels: "¿Qué es novela? Entiendo que sea una ficción en la que se introducen personajes ideales para la representación de una acción no verdadera, pero sí verosímil: vestidos y adornados de virtud más que humana, enemigos perseguidores del vicio, la virtud está colocada en su más alto triunfo, y el vicio se demuestra siempre envilecido."<sup>12</sup> The historical novelist stressed "the one-ness of experience and the unity of the past with the present," H. Butterfield has noted; it was the general rule that the historical novelist came to synthesize historic past with historical contemporaneity: Even the historical fictions in Romanticism

<sup>12</sup>"La historia y la novela," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, No. 46 (November 12, 1854), p. 365; article dated "Valladolid 21 de noviembre de 1854" (sic). See Julián Marías Aguilera ("Un escorzo del romanticismo," in Ensayos de convivencia [Buenos Aires, 1955], p. 228): "El auge de las nacionalidades no es sino la forma política de ese temple vital que hacía sensible al hombre romántico para la diversidad de lo real."

were "being recreated in a specifically Romantic form, as symbols of certain aspects of the poet's own age. . . . What is being rejected, one feels, is the social reality of the earlier age; what is being preserved is a latent or potential Utopia in it: a social ideal with some meaning for the writer's attitude to his own time."<sup>13</sup> Under these general precepts, Sir Walter Scott was enthusiastically received, in translation, first by the Spanish émigrés in London (1825); and for almost every Spaniard of the Romantic period, whether partial to or opposed to the cultivation of the historical novel, Scott remained the writer most capable of an equitable distribution between historical factuality and universalist historicism, such that "el orden, la razón y la justicia dominan en Walter Scott sobre el caos de los acontecimientos."<sup>14</sup> The factuali-

<sup>13</sup>Northrop Frye, Chapter I ("The Romantic Myth" [1963]), rev. rpt. in A Study of English Romanticism (New York, 1968), pp. 36-37; Butterfield, The Historical Novel: An Essay (n. p., 1924), p. 86. To deny the socio-political function of the historical novel would be to perceive this literature incorrectly, as if it had a strictly esthetic purpose; furthermore, the lack of popularity of this literary genre among critics of recent decades, intent upon viewing the work of art as autonomous, is another indication of the historical novel's impossible remove from socio-political fact. Bernardino Fernández de Velasco, Duque de Frías, thought that an author had a case of mal romanticismo whenever he used "lo pasado para hablar de lo presente, sin echar de ver la incongruencia que no puede menos de haber en épocas tan diametralmente opuestas entre sí" (paraphrased, probably by José de la Revilla, "Ateneo de Madrid. Sección de literatura. Sesión del 19 de marzo de 1839," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, 2nd Ser., I, No. 11 [March 17, 1839], p. 88). The procedure of which the Duque spoke has been termed legitimación by Jaime Vicens Vives ("El romanticismo en la historia," in Hispania, X, No. 41 [Wisconsin, 1950], p. 754): "La evasión hacia el Medievo no fué . . . repugnancia hacia la realidad circundante, sino fin deliberado para justificar un anhelo de reforma social, cultural, política y literaria."

<sup>14</sup>M. Milá (presumably Manuel Milá y Fontanals), "Moral

zation of the novel in Spain has been discussed by Antonio Regalado García, and if we give credit to Strother B. Purdy's observation that Manzoni "wanted in general to improve upon Scott's careless handling of historical sources," we may see, in the work of the Italian novelist, too, the factualization of the historical novel.<sup>15</sup> But if it was really Scott who

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literaria. Escuela escéptica: Walter Scott," in Album Pintoresco Universal, I (September 1841), p. 108. Vicente Llorens (Liberales y románticos: Una emigración española en Inglaterra, 1823-1834, 2nd ed. [Madrid, 1968], pp. 165-166) observes that José Joaquín de Mora's translations Ivanhoe (1825) and El talismán (1826), for the publisher Ackermann, drew praises from Blanco White and Alcalá Galiano. The latter critic believed that by the mid-1830's, "no prose work deserving of notice [had] been produced in Spain since the revolution of 1823, if we except Navarrete's" (see "Literature of the Nineteenth Century. Spain," in The Athenaeum, No. 340 [May 3, 1834], p. 332); he found the few examples of the historical genre that had been published in Spain by that time to be a welcome replacement for "tame, monotonous, and uncharacteristic poetry," but in 1834, he had seen advertised and had not yet read "a few novels, two or three of them, of the class called historical, El Bastardo de Castilla, El Conde de Contamina, and, La Conquista de Valencia, and one, Las Costumbres de ogaño, (The Manners of our own Days,) professing to portray Spanish society as existing in the present day. These productions are quite a novelty in Spanish literature, as, with the exception of that feeble production La Serafina, no original fiction has been produced in Spain, in an age so prolific in works of this description among all other European nations" (See No. 346 [June 14, 1834], pp. 452-453). Throughout Spain's Romantic period, and into the twentieth century, the revival of the novel in Spain has been attributed to the imitations of Scott (see, for example: José de la Revilla, the "Introducción" to Museo de las Familias, I [January 25, 1843], p. 4; F. Courtney Tarr, "Romanticism in Spain and Spanish Romanticism: A Critical Survey," in Bulletin of Spanish Studies, XVI, No. 61 [January 1939], p. 14).

<sup>15</sup>Purdy, "Manzoni, Stendhal, and the Murder of Prina: A Counterpoint of Literature and History," in Studies in Romanticism, VII, No. 3 (Spring 1968), p. 153. Regalado García observes that Galdós preferred Scott the novelist of realism, and Scott's mediocre characters, to more "Romantic" aspects of the earlier novelist, and Regalado also cites 1848 as the point at which the Spanish realized that for a novel to be historical, it did not have to be medieval in theme (Benito Pérez Galdós y la novela

initially saved the genre of the novel by lending a sense of history to the "tipos uniformes de imposible virtud y de imposible perversidad," (the "figuras blancas del todo, o del todo negras"--such as those which one found in Richardson's Clarissa [sic Clara Harlowe]), and by approximating his depictions to "los hombres que hablan, que se mueven a nuestro lado," then it was Spain's own Ramón de Mesonero Romanos in whose work lay "el embrión de la futura novela contemporánea, que da muestras de querer desarrollarse con vigor":

Las plumas de algunos modernos escritores se han ejercitado con éxito singular en trabajos preparatorios exactamente iguales a los del pintor, que proponiéndose ejecutar un cuadro histórico va recogiendo los retratos de las personas que deben figurar en él, como bocetos parciales que luego han de formar un conjunto armónico y prolijamente acabado. Hablamos de esa multitud de escenas, caracteres y pinturas de costumbres que ya sueltas, ya recopiladas han visto la luz pública en estos últimos años, género en que poseemos un modelo de gran valor como es el señor Mesonero Romanos y mu-

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histórica española, 1868-1912 [Madrid, 1966], pp. 145, 166). Regalado remarks that "cuando la preocupación moral por las costumbres adquiere un contenido histórico, es decir, cuando aparece la necesidad de considerar cierto comportamiento individual y colectivo dentro de una época específica, y no simplemente como una manera de ser de la naturaleza humana, es cuando se hacen presentes las posibilidades de la novela histórica" (p. 154). Manzoni joined the ranks of Scott in the eyes of many Spaniards, for example, the Duque de Rivas (see the "Discurso de contestación del Excmo. Señor . . .," in Discursos leídos en las recepciones públicas que ha celebrado desde 1847 la Real Academia Española, II [Madrid, 1860], pp. 412-413; in reply to Cándido Nocedal's speech of May 15, 1860). Although Antonio Alcalá Galiano held Manzoni in high praise, he hesitated to categorize I Promessi Sposi in the genre of the historical novel (see "De la novela," in La América, No. 17 [November 12, 1862], p. 12).

chísimos imitadores.<sup>16</sup>

Indeed, contemporaneity was a quality essential to all forms of Spanish Romantic prose, and if this was visibly so in the trend of the historical novel, it was even more so shortly after in costumbristic prose.<sup>17</sup> Each artist was

<sup>16</sup>See, first, the commentary by "S. B. de C." (presumably Salvador Bermúdez de Castro) on the novel La protección de un sastre, by [Miguel de los Santos] Álvarez ("De la novela moderna," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, 2nd Ser., II, No. 19 [May 10, 1840], pp. 150-151); also, concerning Mesonero Romanos, the unsigned "Novela española," in El Español, Revista Literaria, I, No. 2 (June 8, 1845), p. 4. "R. de M. R." (evidently Mesonero Romanos) understood that the novel to be cultivated in the immediate future ought to be a compromise between the historical novel in the manner of Scott and the costumbristic prose ushered in by way of Cervantes when he ousted the novel of the marvelous (see "La novela," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, 2nd Ser., I, No. 32 [August 11, 1839], p. 254.

<sup>17</sup>Margarita Ucelay Da Cal (Los españoles pintados por sí mismos, 1843-1844: Estudio de un género costumbrista [Mexico, 1951], p. 16) insists that "la contemporaneidad es una nota imprescindible"; Clifford Marvin Montgomery (Early Costumbrista Writers in Spain, 1750-1830 [Philadelphia, 1931], pp. 19, 90) finds the quality of contemporaneity in the generic forerunners of costumbristic literature, as well. Critics of this and the past centuries are in agreement concerning the kinds of prose that were most successful in the Spanish Romantic era and following, although not all of the critics view the chronology of this success in the same order. Max Aub, ed. (La prosa española del siglo XIX, I [Mexico, 1952], pp. 13-14) has divided the nineteenth century schematically into thirds, naming the respective predominant literary modes: history (1808-1833: French invasion--change of regency); costumbristic sketch (1833-1868: reign of Isabel II); short story and novel (1868-1898: Restoration era--loss of colonies). Juan Martínez Villergas viewed the chronological succession of literary modes in Spain's nineteenth century thus: "A la novela de costumbres sucedió la novela histórica, y por lo regular no es historia ni novela; ésta cedió el campo a la novela socialista, que no sirve ni para descalzar a la novela histórica, y por último, hasta que tengamos el abominable placer de hallar cosa más insípida, el gusto público se ha fijado en los viajes, que son a la novela de costumbres lo que el baile al drama" ("Los viajeros franceses," in El Correo de Ultramar, III, No. 77 [1854], p. 386). These literary

obliged to sense the particularities of the age in general and those of the social condition of his subject; that is, the critic "debe sentir como se siente en cada edad, en cada condición, en cada siglo, en cada clima, si pretende que alcance su jurisdicción a los escritores de todos tiempos y países, y que su juicio sea competente y acatado."<sup>18</sup> Thus, the subject of costumbristic art was often historical, just as it was seldom historic. Romantic contemporaneity implied the belief in the given place and time as particular attributes, or functions, of the individual nation or man, a conviction without which Luigi Monteggia could not have explained Romanticism as he did, and without which Antonio Alcalá Galiano, in England, would not have paused to write that Spaniards ought to turn their attention "to their own country, and the realities of its everyday life, which might, moreover, be followed by an-

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modes corresponded with changes in politics and in the authors' purposes, and they implied, as well, distinctions among modes of perceiving reality: "La moderna escuela ha abandonado, o poco menos, el carácter puramente recreativo de la novela y el de las ficciones mitológicas, románticas y pastorales de la poesía, para identificarse en la verdadera vida y aspiraciones del siglo. El primer género empezó a hacerse político en Walter-Scot [sic], social en Víctor Hugo y Sué, y posteriormente escéptico en la mayor parte de los novelistas, particularmente en los franceses" (J. Güell y Mercader [presumably José Güell y Mercader], "Apuntes sobre el carácter de la literatura moderna," in Revista de Cataluña, 2nd Ser., No. 5 [February 1, 1863], p. 265).

<sup>18</sup>José María Quadrado, "Sobre la crítica literaria," originally in La Palma, pp. 53-56; rpt. in La Palma: Palma, 1840-1841, ed. Gaspar Sabater (Madrid, 1950), p. 210. Jaime Balmes affirmed that "cada individuo, cada nación, cada época tiene su carácter, tiene su modo de ver las cosas, de imaginarlas, de sentir las" ("De la originalidad," in La Civilización, II [1842], p. 366).

other beneficial consequence--that of rendering Spanish life, as it is, more fully known to foreigners."<sup>19</sup>

If "pernicious" was to be the modifier most often applied to the novel of socialist theme by those critics who spoke out against it, "anachronistic" was the one most used, in an analogous tone, to refer to the historical novel. Almost immediately following the popular reception of the historical novel in Spain, this literature was regarded as an anachronistic pack of lies, even though it did represent a new sense of history. Corradi (January 25, 1839), for example, denied the possibility that historical subjectivization might result in a truthful representation: "Apoderándose [las novelas modernas] de los sucesos de la edad media para asunto de sus fábulas, incurrían en un verdadero anacronismo; porque sus autores no podían de modo alguno trasladarse a épocas tan oscuras, ni participar

<sup>19</sup>Alcalá Galiano, "Literature of the Nineteenth Century. Spain," in The Athenaeum, No. 346 (June 14, 1834), p. 453: "Let [the poets of Spain] arise, and make their poetry that which it has been supposed to be by half-informed critics, but which assuredly it is not, national and natural. Instead of vague descriptions, let them give us characteristic pictures of their own beautiful scenery--instead of the fables of a worn-out mythology, let us hear their own popular traditions and superstitions--in place of characters copied from foreign works, let them observe human nature in their own land, and draw after it--and should they return to the past, acquaint themselves with history, and they will find no difficulty in clothing their figures rightly." Monteggia's "Romanticismo," originally in El Europeo, I, No. 2 (October 25, 1823), pp. 48-56; rpt. in Bulletin of Spanish Studies, VIII, No. 31 (July 1931), pp. 144-149. In our own century, George Boas understood that Honoré Daumier's phrase "Il faut être de son temps" was "one of the most important slogans of the French Romantic philosophers and artists" (see "Il faut être de son temps," in The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, I, No. 1 [Spring 1941], p. 52).

del entusiasmo de los siglos que en ellas pretenden pintar."<sup>20</sup> Indeed, by mid-century, the historical novel that had been sufficiently modernized within the arbitrary limits of the romance tradition to have been perceived, in part, as non-fiction, had little or none of the illusion that the Barón de Bigüezal or the common-reader public had once found in the less "anachronistic" kind. Bigüezal's model historical novel was recognizably anachronistic, partly because of its failure to satisfy the need for contemporaneity, which had been heightened in the development of a Romantic consciousness. Salvador

<sup>20</sup>[Either Juan or Fernando] Corradi; paraphrased by José de la Revilla, presumably, "Ateneo de Madrid. Sección de literatura," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, 2nd Ser., I, No. 6 (February 10, 1839), p. 48. Cf. the Barón de Bigüezal at the same session of the Ateneo: For the modern novel, "hay menos riesgo en valerse de la historia de [la edad media] que de la contemporánea: primero porque la ilusión se aumenta a medida de la mayor distancia que nos separa de los objetos: segundo porque las acciones contemporáneas pueden no estar todavía bien aclaradas; pueden ser obscurecidas o encomiadas en demasía por el espíritu de intriga o de pasiones particulares" (ibid.). Ramón de Navarrete ("La novela española," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, New Ser., II, No. 11 [March 14, 1847], p. 83) said that the historical novel was an unsatisfactory genre, because no matter how much one unearthed parchments, it was impossible to show to the present generation just how relative was the past to contemporary instincts and vices. F. Courtney Tarr mentions that Larra, who died in 1837, during the years of the First Carlist War (1833-1839), had called for a literature that did not echo the past, but rather mirrored the present, but that the War was not reflected as actuality in Spain's literature of 1833-1845 (see "Romanticism in Spain and Spanish Romanticism: A Critical Survey," in Bulletin of Spanish Studies, XVI, No. 61 [January 1939], p. 29). Pierre Lioni Ullman has demonstrated that in a considerable degree Larra followed the practice he was pleading for, his satirical remove notwithstanding (see "Larra's Satire of Parliamentary Oratory During the Ministry of Martínez de la Rosa: A Historical and Stylistic Analysis," Diss. Princeton 1962).



Costanzo exemplified this perceptual change that was enhanced in the Romantic period, when he saw, in the historical novel that typically projected the present upon the past, the errors in insufficiently programmed historical detail, rather than fiction's enchanting illusion itself: "Hay por último en España una multitud de novelas históricas muy modernas, cuyos protagonistas y demás personajes, que florecieron en el siglo XIII o XIV, dejan traslucir en todos sus discursos y diálogos, que están muy al corriente de nuestros usos, costumbres y civilización actual, así que no les falta más que salir de sus respectivos sepulcros para pasearse con nosotros en frac y sombrero de copa."<sup>21</sup> There was a growing dependence upon contemporaneity of subject matter as a means of achieving a credibility level that would match the illusion of contemporaneity that a medium like the periodical press contributed to narrative. And it was probably because of the growing dependence upon contemporaneity of subject matter, which occurred along with technologization, that J. Guillén Buzarán could be led to think, quite mistakenly, that until the novels of Scott, Arlincourt, Chateaubriand, Hugo, and Sue, the ancient romances and the chivalric and pastoral novels were all useless for doctrinal ends.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup>"De la necesidad e importancia de seguir un buen método regular y constante en los estudios indispensables para los jóvenes que aspiran a distinguir por su esmerada educación," in Museo de las Familias, 2nd Ser., XXIII (1865), p. 148.

<sup>22</sup>Juan Guillén Buzarán (presumably), "Sobre las novelas en España," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, 3rd Ser., II, No. 43 (October 27, 1844), p. 338.

The reader's perceptual preparation for the acceptance of the literal truth of the written word, that is, the reader's general readiness to accept this truth, was partially a function of the democratization of the print medium in the form of the periodical. The historical novel had to achieve a level of credibility to match the effects of the new media. Its anachronistic aspect, then, was due in part to the genre's relationship, even on a philosophical level, to the uniformitarian and centralizing book technology of the past centuries. The diminution of the subjectivist view in historiography and the factualization of fictional narrative were outgrowths of the diversitarian view, and both illustrated an increasingly critical need for technology to develop expressive means that would cope with this view. Thus, at the time, the need to lend objectivity and contemporaneity to romance found one of its most promising means in the periodical press, a phenomenon which in other countries occurred at a much earlier date than in Spain, as we can see by the example of Defoe, a reporter, gazeteer, and maker of government documents.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, the historian's collection of facts also demanded a more and more effective means of expedient synthetical expression.

In comparison with the French, the Spanish were slow in

<sup>23</sup>"The world is so taken up of late with novels and romances,' began the preface to Moll Flanders, 'that it will be hard for a private history to be taken as genuine'" (Robert Gorham Davis, "The Sense of the Real in English Fiction," in Comparative Literature, III, No. 3 [Summer 1951], p. 205).

achieving a positivistic prose narrative; the Spanish novel remained, said Fermin Gonzalo Morón, rooted in the "parte heroica y sublime, siendo notablemente inferior en la cómica y positiva," but Francisco Martínez de la Rosa, in the prologue to his Doña Isabel de Solís, recognized that even the most recreational of the novels of the day had to exhibit "cierto fondo de realidad," if they were to suit the general public's taste.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, since the common reader was being conditioned, with the help of technology, to accept literal content as realistic fact, Eugenio de Ochoa found it particularly necessary to criticize the historical novels of two of the most famous of the Spanish cultivators of the genre, Patricio de la Escosura (Ni rey ni roque) and Francisco Navarro Villoslada (Doña Blanca de Navarra: Crónica del siglo XV): "No deberían emplear los hombres de talento como el Sr. Escosura para interesarnos el manoseado recurso de contarnos patrañas bautizadas con el nombre de verdades históricas y de abusar malignamente de la credulidad de aquellos lectores benévolo que estudian la historia en las novelas y creen como artículos de fe cuánto aquéllas, si son históricas, refieren."<sup>25</sup> But

<sup>24</sup>See: Gonzalo Morón, "Juicio crítico del Panorama matritense del Curioso Parlante," in Revista de España y del Extranjero, II (1842), p. 32; also, the reference to Martínez de la Rosa in the unsigned "Novela española," in El Español, Revista Literaria, I, No. 2 (June 8, 1845), p. 2.

<sup>25</sup>The review of Escosura's novel originally in El Artista, II, pp. 117-119; rpt. in El Artista: Madrid, 1835-1836, ed. José Simón Díaz (Madrid, 1946), p. 125. To his generally favorable critique of Doña Blanca de Navarra Ochoa added that "se puede reconvenir a Navarro Villoslada por no haberse aprovechado más de los grandes elementos que le ofrecía la historia, para

Juan Valera, toward the end of the century, differed entirely in his opinion concerning what was the function of literature with regard to its authors and readers. Because the periodical could establish its own reality, Valera warned that apparently factual reality was, sometimes, the result of perceptual error, an illusion that brought unjust criticism upon the author whose primary intention was the presentation of a fiction. Thus, Valera could exonerate Jules Verne and Dumas from the charge, on the part of their reading public, that they distorted facts of history and natural science in their writings: "Pero ni Dumas ni Verne tienen la menor culpa de esto. La culpa es sólo de quien se empeña en aprender en las novelas cosmografía, geología e historia."<sup>26</sup> If the novel was to be the complement of history, in order to achieve this purpose, the novel required a certain programmatization on the level of expression, in order to satisfy the diversitarian vision of its author, according to Antonio Gil y Zárate (January 25, 1839): "Las novelas actuales más ordenadas en su plan, más variadas en sus incidentes, pueden reputarse como complemento de la historia, puesto que hacen lo que ésta no puede hacer, como es penetrar en lo interior de las clases sociales, y pintar hasta sus usos

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aumentar el interés de su narración" (in El Renacimiento, 2nd Ser., I, No. 8 [May 2, 1847], p. 62.

<sup>26</sup>"El periodismo en la literatura. Contestación al discurso de recepción de Don Isidoro Fernández Flórez en la Real Academia Española el 13 de noviembre de 1898," in Obras completas, III, ed. Luis Araujo Costa, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1947), p. 1184.

y costumbres domésticas."<sup>27</sup>

José F. Montesinos has said that the propagandistic potential of the novel of socialist theme, another example of factualized prose fiction, generally went unrecognized by the common reader as having this thematic intention.<sup>28</sup> But this is only one indication of the developmental remove of the authorial voice from the fiction of "realism." This is not to say, certainly, that the novel of socialist theme had no doctrinal intention. On the contrary, as Iris M. Zavala points out in a fascinating review of this topic so much in need of critical treatment, it is the subject of doctrinal literature that changes, in passing from the first to the second third of the nineteenth century, not the genuinely doctrinal purport of this literature.<sup>29</sup> The novel of socialist theme of the 1840's was

<sup>27</sup>"Ateneo de Madrid. Sección de literatura," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, 2nd Ser., I, No. 6 (February 10, 1839), p. 48. "Desfigurando la historia e induciendo errores gravísimos a los lectores incautos," said the Duque de Rivas, "la novela histórica se hace tan mala como la socialista. . . . El romance histórico que debe ser una explicación de la historia, es . . . una falsificación completa de ella. No quiere esto decir que la novela histórica deba tener la veracidad de la crónica" ("Discurso de contestación del Excmo. Señor . . .," in Discursos leídos en las recepciones públicas que ha celebrado desde 1847 la Real Academia Española, II [Madrid, 1860], p. 412; in reply to Cándido Nocedal's speech of May 15, 1860).

<sup>28</sup>Introducción a una historia de la novela en España, en el siglo XIX, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1966), p. 93.

<sup>29</sup>"Socialismo y literatura: Ayguals de Izco y la novela española," in Revista de Occidente, 2nd Ser., XXVII, No. 80 (November 1969), pp. 170-171: "Tanto en el siglo XVIII como a principios del XIX el escritor instruye y educa dentro de las líneas del reformismo burgués. La situación cambia notablemente durante el trienio 1820-23, cuando se crea una litera-

a clear indication that whether or not the doctrinal authorial voice was apparent, it was intentionally propagandistic; on the other hand, it was the reactionary, traditionalistic censors of the novel of socialist theme who struggled to restrict this literature by openly admonishing the reading public against it. Coupled with the democratization of subject matter the diminishing sound of the sententious voice helped to make for a novel to which the common reader could sense himself more immediately related, that is, more necessary in a participatory capacity. Although thematic Socialism might have by-passed the popular reader's perception, for the lettered man, who still sought the authorial voice in the book, socialist theme in novelistic prose appeared as the basis for argumentation. In the field of philosophy, then, Socialism was, naturally, immediately identified as pernicious doctrine. Jaime Balmes ratified José Ferrer y Subirana, who disagreed with Bentham's utilitarianism and supported instead Constant and De Bonald, and Balmes accused Robert Owen of having parroted the materialists and of having suggested that man's subjective will was nonexistent and that his character was an

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tura republicana y democrática, y una prensa claramente subversiva que se propone atacar las instituciones vigentes. Sin embargo, hasta donde sé los escritores del trienio no utilizaron la novela con este propósito; la década del 30 verá el surgimiento de la novela española impulsada por las traducciones francesas e inglesas. La novelística llega a cobrar tanto ímpetu que llegará a ser 'uno de los géneros literarios más discutidos por los censores y los moralistas,' al reflejar con fidelidad el ambiente social contemporáneo."

accidental fact without spontaneity.<sup>30</sup> Despite these ideological quarrels, for the reader of the fictions of socialist theme, the lack of apparent sententiousness signified the achievement of a contemporaneity; that is, unapparency of sententiousness in fictional data allowed the reader to sense himself a force of order for the information being presented to him in the course of his readings. It would seem that these fictions represented a perceptual departure from the way in which romance was read, and that this departure was, probably, enhanced with the periodicalization of the press.

<sup>30</sup>See the review of Ferrer y Subirana's translation, Observaciones religiosas, morales, sociales, políticas, históricas y literarias entresacadas de las obras del Vizconde de Bonald (in La Civilización, III [1842], pp. 380-384). Also, see José Ferrer y Subirana, "Bentham: Escuela utilitaria," in La Civilización, I-II (1841-1842), pp. 529-545; 18-29, 289-304, 433-446. "El socialismo" appeared the following year (in La Sociedad, II, pp. 307-313, 344-352, 353-357, 358-366, 445-452, 453-457), wherein Balmes attacked the 1840 manifesto of Owen; for Balmes, Thomas More (and not Owen, the Comte de Saint-Simon, or François Marie Charles Fourier), was the philosopher of Socialism who rightfully managed to incorporate Christian doctrine into his philosophy and who did not propose, thereby, the destruction of the existing social order. Sabino de Armada, who thought that skepticism was a "cancer" and the only principle governing Spanish society, attacked the Sansimonianos, Furrieristas, Ovennianos, and all novelists who proposed perfection through Socialism, under the guise of false Christian charity ("Breves reflexiones sobre el socialismo," in El Laberinto, II, No. 31 [September 15, 1845], pp. 351-352). Like Jaime Balmes and Sabino de Armada, Antonio Flores challenged "esos falsos apóstoles del socialismo, que prometiéndolo todo no dan nunca nada," and who "se han propuesto gobernar el mundo desde su gabinete, y no logran otra cosa sino trastornar de vez en cuando la sociedad con sus irrealizables y funestas utopías"; furthermore, he leveled an attack against George Sand's novel Spiridion and called the authoress a social and religious anarchist, an accusation not in the least uncommon, in spite of the popularity of George Sand's works among Spanish Romantics (see the Crónica del viaje de Sus Majestades y Altezas Reales a las Islas Baleares, Cataluña y Aragón, en 1860 [Madrid, 1861], pp. 239-240, 88).

Eugène Sue, introduced to his reading public as the godson of the Empress Josephine, a doctor among the Cien Mil Hijos de San Luis prior to his careers as ocean voyager and student of art, and the son of an illustrious family of international renown in the field of medicine, was perhaps the most popular representative in Romantic Spain of the democratic narrative of socialist theme.<sup>31</sup> Ángel Fernández de los Ríos, who was of the opinion that Sue could not justifiably be criticized for immorality when he indicated the causes and remedies for social defects in his writings, thought Los misterios de París to be "profundamente filosófica . . . destinada a marcar la época en que la novela ambicionando algo más que entretener y recrear con el simple desarrollo y desenlace trivial de un hecho, se ha propuesto influir activamente en el movimiento general de las ideas que conducen a mejorar la condición de la especie humana."<sup>32</sup> Another of Sue's bibliographers, who

<sup>31</sup>"Eugenio Sue," in El Dómine Lucas, No. 13 (April 1, 1845), p. 100. José F. Montesinos (Introducción a una historia de la novela en España, en el siglo XIX, 2nd ed. [Madrid, 1966], pp. 93-94) quotes Juan Valera as having spoken of the more than twenty editions of Los misterios de París that appeared in Spain in a single year, eleven of which Montesinos was able to document for the period 1843-1845; to this one would have to add serial publications in periodicals, twelve editions of El judío errante printed between 1844 and 1846, and eight editions of Martín el expósito between 1846 and 1847. Regarding the last of these novels Á[ngel] F[ernández] de los Ríos ("Revista del mes de julio," in El Siglo Pintoresco, II, No. 7 [1846], p. 165) remarked that it was "el acontecimiento literario de más ruido que ha habido recientemente," and that "casi todos los periódicos de Madrid [la] han reproducido en sus folletines."

<sup>32</sup>"Apuntes biográficos. Eugenio Sué [sic]," in El Siglo Pintoresco, II, No. 9 (September 1846), p. 211. Ramón de Navarrete thought that the Misterios was the French work most



signed himself "R.," commented that no author before Sue had written Romantic works with a socio-political objective:

"algunos por incidencia han soltado ciertas reflexiones de

suited to Spain's moral needs, although he expressed certain reservations; it was Navarrete's understanding that among the most popular French writers (Sue, Sand, Soulié, Balzac), the former pair had left the latter two authors in their wake, and that interest in Dumas had waned, because Dumas failed to expound a consistent philosophical system ("La novela española," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, New Ser., II, No. 15 [April 11, 1847], pp. 117, 119). Juan Martínez Villergas and [Antonio] Ribot y Fontseré ("El Jesuita") saw in the Misterios "reflexiones filosóficas importantísimas para la vida práctica" (Los políticos en camisa, I [1845], p. 265). Rafael Benítez Claros, in drawing a comparison between Flores' Fe, Esperanza y Caridad (first published in the folletín of La Nación [1850-1851]) and Sue's Les Mystères de Paris (1842-1843), found that Flores did not intend his novel for political ends, while Sue tried to make of his literature an incitation to popular insurrection ("Antonio Flores y Eugenio Sue," in Revista de Literatura, II, No. 4 [October-December 1952], p. 278). According to Benítez Claros, Flores was composing Fe, Esperanza y Caridad in 1845, just following the year of publication of his translation of Sue (Los misterios de París [Madrid: Boix, 1844]). One of Flores' most successful competitors, not only in the narrower field of translations of Sue, but also in the broader realm of periodical literature of the most popular quality, was the brilliant writer-publisher, Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco. Ayguals de Izco pitted his Dómine Lucas, La Carcajada, and La Risa against Flores' Laberinto (at the instigation of Flores himself--see the publisher's notice in El Dómine Lucas, No. 2 [May 1, 1844], p. 13), and he remarked, upon the issue of his own Spanish editions of Sue's works, that these had, in the past, fallen unfortunately into malas manos for translation, probably a reference to Flores' work (see Ayguals de Izco's propagandistic review in his own favor, "Obras completas de Mr. Eugenio Sue, traducidas al castellano por D. Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco y D. Juan de Capua," in El Dómine Lucas, No. 16 [July 1, 1845], p. 127). Both El Dómine Lucas and El Fandango, another publication by Ayguals de Izco's publishing concern, La Sociedad Literaria, provide a wealth of bibliographical detail regarding translations of Sue as well as the literary works of Ayguals de Izco himself; for example, María, la hija de un jornalero, heralded by the Sociedad Literaria as "el triunfo de la novela española" for its technological artistry, as well as for its expressly socialistic moral intention after the fashion of Sue's works (see "La novela española" and "Triunfo de la novela española," in El Dómine Lucas, Nos. 22 [supplement], 23 [January 1, February 1, 1846], pp. 1-4, 178-181).

esta naturaleza; pero Sue es el primero, según creemos, que ha tomado a la novela como medio de comunicación para propagar sus observaciones sobre abusos sociales, políticos, y hasta religiosos, dilucidando materias de la más alta trascendencia."<sup>33</sup> In general, Sue's great popularity according to the critics, was attributable to the moral concerns implicit in his narratives. He was the artist par excellence of the people's narrative, and for Antonio Alcalá Galiano, appearing somewhat reactionary now, and often more inclined to consider the esthetics of literature than to seek in literature a moral significance, many of Sue's books were food only for the middle-class mind, but "perjudiciales como propágación, tanto de dogmas erróneos y perniciosos en política y moral, cuanto de mal gusto en literatura."<sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup>"Bibliografía. Obras de Eugenio Sue," in Revista Barcelonesa, II, No. 14 (May 9, 1847), p. 223.

<sup>34</sup>"De la novela," in La América, No. 17 (November 12, 1862), p. 13. This opinion was not unique at the time: "Creemos en resumen que la novela de nuestros vecinos [incluso Los misterios de París y El judío errante de Sue] es viciosa en su pensamiento, . . . porque quiere hacer de ella una especie de comunismo social: en sus conatos, porque no describe las pasiones sino para pintarlas con un hierro ardiendo: en su fin, porque apenas ve a Dios" ("Juicio de la novela de los franceses," in Círculo Científico y Literario [1854], p. 266; article signed by "El Autor de los Viajes" and dated "junio 8, 1855" [sic; 1854 (?)]). As early as 1839, when, according to Montesinos, only two titles by Sue had been published in Spanish translation, Escario told the Ateneo de Madrid that the virtue of the current (French?) novel was its doctrinaire quality; however, "sin que por eso deje de notarse en muchas de ellas cierta intención de moral perniciosa, de la misma suerte que en las composiciones dramáticas se ha hecho moda el sacar frailes a la escena con caracteres odiosos" (Escario, paraphrased probably by José de la Revilla, in "Ateneo de Madrid. Sección de literatura," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, 2nd Ser., I, No. 6 [February 10, 1839], p. 48; the two translations in

Alcalá Galiano's comments were only one example of many negative responses to Sue at that time, and probably no single incident was more indicative of the schismatic opinions regarding the effect of the novels of socialist theme than that involving Cándido Nocedal, the Duque de Rivas and Juan Valera. When Nocedal spoke before the Real Academia (May 15, 1860), and when the Duque de Rivas replied to this speech, they both expressed the idea that the novel tended to operate in excess, propagating certain ideas that ought not be popularized; the effect of the frivolous, impassioned, and impious philosophy of the eighteenth century was, Rivas thought, the conversion of the novel into the battering-ram (un formidable ariete) of society.<sup>35</sup> But in the same year Juan Valera, who like his uncle Alcalá Galiano, usually preferred to see esthetic rather than ethical qualities in literature, leveled a severe attack against Nocedal's speech: "Sin novelas, lo mismo que con novelas, hubiera habido siempre socialistas, panteístas, neocatólicos y otros sectarios."<sup>36</sup> Valera accused Nocedal of philosophical Realism, because Nocedal had fixed his conception of the novel according to the prescriptions of the Dictionary

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question here were Atar Gull, o La venganza [1835] and El gitano, o El contrabandista en Andalucía, trans. M. Noriega [Paris, 1836]).

<sup>35</sup>"Discurso del Excmo. Señor Don Cándido Nocedal," in Discursos leídos en las recepciones públicas que ha celebrado desde 1847 la Real Academia Española, II (Madrid, 1860), pp. 371-402; "Discurso de contestación del Excmo. Señor Duque de Rivas," *ibid.*, p. 411.

<sup>36</sup>"De la naturaleza y carácter de la novela," Obras completas, II, ed. Luis Araujo Costa, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1949), p. 201.

of the Real Academia ("historia fingida y tejida de los casos que generalmente suceden o son verisímiles"). In large part the polemic between the two men did represent two discordant philosophical approaches, insofar as Necedal's deductive approach did not conform to Valera's conception of the novel as ideal synthesis, autonomous in genre, in form, and in subject, that is, of the novel as antidote against "los individuos de la clase media" that often force us to "seguir un carril, amoldarnos en una misma turquesa y ajustarnos a cierta pausa [sic; pauta (?)]." It was not the literal meaning of works of literature that could be pernicious; reading could not teach new vices because evil was a limited thing, and on these ethical grounds Valera, one of Spain's most ardent spokesmen for idealism and for art for art's sake, denied the accusations of immorality with respect to realistic content even in works that did not exhibit idealism.<sup>37</sup> For Rivas, likewise, "la novela en absoluto no es buena ni mala"; nevertheless, he met Necedal and Valera halfway, for he believed that society ought to punish severely the writer who used artistic design to influence the reader to some desired end. However, contrivance of plot on the part of Eugène Sue, in particular, was most likely the result of the demands of the periodical medium in which Sue worked, as Ángel Fernández de los Ríos clearly indicated in the above "Apuntes," and as an unsigned commentary on the con-

<sup>37</sup>"Del romanticismo en España y de Espronceda," in Obras completas, II, ed. Luis Araujo Costa, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1949), p. 11; essay dated Madrid, 1854.

cluding episodes of Sue's El judío errante implied: "Sucede a[Sue] lo que a un tramoyista de teatro, que confía siempre en la maquinaria para salir adelante en la situación más embarazosa, y hacer que los espectadores le dispensen la falta de verosimilitud, deslumbrando sus ojos con cuatro luces de Bengala."<sup>38</sup>

Valera, like Rivas, could not tolerate the programmatisation of the novel in literary kinds like the "novela de tesis"; thus, Valera's mention of Nocedal's "deplorable confusión de la verosimilitud vulgar y de la científica, con la verosimilitud artística o estética," and Valera's calling attention to the utter lack of idealism in otherwise permissibly prosaic works (Paul de Kock, Pigault Lebrun, some plays by Bretón de los Herreros). His position calls for clarification, then, since he admitted erudite factualization, as well as poetic fancy, in the novel. He argued, for example, in his attack against Nocedal, that "la falsificación no es un pecado antiestético; será, a lo más, una falta de tacto y de conveniencia en las circunstancias actuales, en que muchos, sabiendo o pretendiendo saber la historia, no consentimos que nos la desfiguren, ni para distraernos e interesarnos un rato" ("Naturaleza," p. 195). On the contrary: "En el día es menester dar a la novela y al drama históricos lo que se llama el color local y de la época, y aunque la exactitud en estas cosas

<sup>38</sup>"Conclusión del Judío errante," in El Español, Revista Literaria, I, No. 15 (September 8, 1845), p. 16.

más es merecimiento de arqueólogo y de erudito que de poeta, todavía da muestras de serlo eminente quien aprovecha con acierto esos materiales que la ciencia proporciona, y adorna con ellos sus ficciones sin aburrirnos ni fatigarnos. Walter Scott, si bien algo prolijo a veces, es admirable por su verdad histórica, y si aplaude el lector en él al erudito por los que sabe, aún aplaude más al inspirado por lo que adivina" (*Naturaleza*, p. 196).<sup>39</sup> It is obvious from this that for Valera art's content was not thoroughly new, or nonfactual; on the contrary, in reality there was nothing constitutively new under the sun except mediatory forms, and "sacar de ningún autor, por original que sea, por raro y peregrino que se muestre en pensamientos, estilo y lenguaje, cien pensamientos o cien frases que tengan una verdadera originalidad" was hardly possible.<sup>40</sup> He applied the notion that the perfection of language

<sup>39</sup>Valera's opinion regarding the autonomy of the novel might have been supported by Isaac Pastor Díaz, even though the latter considered Balzac's *La piel de zapa* (*La Peau de chagrin*) to be "la encarnación viva de nuestro siglo, porque si bien hay muchas obras alemanas más profundas, no resumen en sí mas que la duda, les falta el positivismo" ("*Literatura moderna*," in *Museo de las Familias*, 2nd Ser., XXI [1863], p. 149). "Mirad ese gigantesco árbol," Isaac Pastor Díaz invited, "que con sus tendidas ramas lo cubre todo; mirad el más gigantesco ser del poblado bosque que a pesar de su grandeza es el que más pequeña raíz tiene. Es la novela. Es esa mezcla anómala, mitad prosa, mitad poesía, que participa de lo individual de la lírica, de lo grande de la épopeya, de la universalidad del drama, es el género literario que con éste comparte el imperio del mundo, es el género más importante de nuestra edad, por cuantas razones de importancia social, estética or racional puedan alegarse" (p. 148).

<sup>40</sup>"La originalidad y el plagio," in *Obras completas*, II, ed. Luis Araujo Costa, 2nd ed. (Madrid 1949), p. 457; essay dated 1876. Cf. the prior claim, by Rafael María Baralt, that "reservando la invención y las reformas para los asuntos, las

had been reached and that literature did have certain forms ("las leyendas, materia épica, religiones y mitologías") which would not, as such, reappear. Now that the diverse tools of language and literature had been forged, he thought, in order to produce an original result one might only use these tools in distinct ways. Valera's position found best expression in a remark that today startles the Romantic mind, which persists in its conviction of its own self as originator: We are blind in thinking, he said, that an author is truly original when he is not copying a specific model; what is instead the case is that his expression is so commonplace that his source can hardly be detected, and "lo que aquí se hace es afirmar que las cosas nuevas, pensadas y dichas, son muchas menos de los que se imagina" (p. 461). Consequently, "la verdadera y buena originalidad ni se pierde ni se gana por copiar pensamientos, ideas o imágenes, o por tomar asunto de otros autores. La verdadera originalidad está en la persona. . . . Para ser, pues, original en el buen sentido, no hay que afanarse mucho ni poco en decir y pensar cosas raras. Basta con pensar, sentir y expresar lo que se piensa y se siente, del modo más sencillo" (p. 457). It was natural, then, that Valera should find justification for

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ideas principales, y las infinitas aplicaciones coetáneas de las Humanidades en sus relaciones con la vida actual de la nación tendremos una literatura nueva sin necesidad de formar una nueva lengua; y lengua y literatura se renovarán sin cambiar de naturaleza, se perfeccionarán sin corromperse, tendrán originalidad sin ser extravagantes" ("Discurso del Sr. D. . . .," in Discursos leídos en las recepciones públicas que ha celebrado desde 1847 la Real Academia Española, II [Madrid, 1860], p. 48).

the destruction of Greek and Arabic books and Indian hieroglyphs by the Caliph Omar, Cardinal Cisneros, and Juan de Zumárraga: "¿Qué quemarían de importante y que no haya quedado en otros libros? Casi se puede afirmar que nada. En este sentido, pues, deben considerarse los personajes citados como bienhechores de la Humanidad, ya que quitaron de en medio tanto inútil quebradero de cabeza" (p. 468).

Both extremes, the application of scientific principles to literary prose and Spain's second thoughts concerning this procedure, serve to underscore the fact of technological influence. But it is incorrect to think of this influence as an aspect of an evolution toward a sole finality which was objectivity. If one does not also recognize that in Spain the novelist of "realism" sought to lend to the novel a subjective idealism, then one is hard put to explain many of the critical biases of Juan Valera and Emilia Pardo Bazán, to cite only two examples.<sup>41</sup> In the second half of the nineteenth

<sup>41</sup>Let Emilia Pardo Bazán, who stated that "el empeño de los novelistas contemporáneos es retratar fielmente, sin que se manifieste en el retrato el modo de pensar del pintor," serve as our example here (cited in La prosa española del siglo XIX, I, ed. Max Aub [Mexico, 1952], p. 51). The Condesa de Pardo Bazán, one of the most famous, and controversial, novelists of her day, was partially responsible for the explication of Darwinism and the theories of Zola in Spain (see Harry L. Kirby, Jr., "Pardo Bazán, Darwinism and La Madre Naturaleza," in Hispania, XLVII, No. 4 [Wisconsin, December 1964], pp. 733-737). Pardo Bazán distinguished between scientific determinism, implicit in Darwin and Zola, and providentialist determinism, more in keeping with Catholic doctrine, to which the Condesa subscribed. She opted in favor of Hegelian esthetics, which she related to novelistic "idealism" and to the doctrine of art for art's sake, and which she favored above Zola's tendency to deliver moral message and to describe the prosaic physical realm. Her views were explained in her



century the Spanish prose artist, generally speaking, was concerned with recovering the subjective aspect of prose narrative, and this was true even among those of Spain's writers most commonly associated with objective point of view in novelistic composition. From the early to the late years of nineteenth-century Spanish prose, there was a manifest progression from an emphasis upon moral sententiousness

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own famous theoretical work, La cuestión palpitante (see ed. Carmen Bravo-Villasante [Salamanca, Madrid, and Barcelona, 1966], pp. 33-36, 47-48), first published as a series of articles in La Época, beginning November 7, 1882. Juan Valera argued in 1861, in agreement with his uncle, Alcalá Galiano, that the moral end of art is secondary to the esthetic ideal ("Qué ha sido, qué es y qué debe ser el arte en el siglo XIX," in Obras completas, II, ed. Luis Araujo Costa, 2nd ed. [Madrid, 1949], p. 220). Valera thought that all art should be non-reflective, a point of view which is explainable not on a purely intellectual basis, but by taking into account his religious convictions, also: "Yo soy racionalista, si por racionalista se entiende el que desecha toda autoridad que no sea la de su razón para todo lo que no se demuestre que es de revelación divina: y sin embargo, a pesar de mi racionalismo, no me satisface ni convence ninguno de los sistemas filosóficos inventados desde Descartes hasta ahora, como consecuencia del sistema de Descartes. El método subjetivo me parece estéril o inclinado fatalmente al error. . . . El punto de partida del pensador tiene que ser el pensamiento mismo, la reflexión, el sujeto: pero, pasada la primera reflexión, debe el pensamiento salir de sí mismo para contemplar el objeto inmutable y necesario en quien está el ser y la causa y la razón y la ciencia" ("Filosofía de lo bello: Discurso pronunciado en el Ateneo de Madrid por el Señor Don Juan Valera," in La América, III, No. 23 [February 8, 1860], p. 9). Later, in 1896, Valera situated Zola's novelistic purpose in contrast with his own ("Fines del arte fuera del arte," in Obras completas, II, ed. Luis Araujo Costa, 2nd ed. [Madrid, 1949], p. 917). See, also, Valera's further differences with the Condesa in the years 1887 and 1901 ("Con motivo de las novelas rusas: Carta a Doña Emilia Pardo Bazán" and "Un discurso de Doña Emilia Pardo Bazán en los juegos florales de Orense. . .," ibid., pp. 715-723, 1076-1079). Valera's opposition to Pardo Bazán was sometimes exaggerated unnecessarily; only recently has the Condesa's opposition to the programmatization of the novel, and to the artistic application of scientific determinism, been underscored for a more objective appreciation of her critical pieces (see Walter T. Pattison, El naturalismo español: Historia externa de un movimiento literario [Madrid, 1965], pp. 99-125).

to an emphasis upon positivistic exposition, but the latter was acceptable only when conjoined with an esthetic idealism. Pardo Bazán's arguments were, certainly, indicative of this, when she pitted Hegel, specifically, against Zola. A programmatic method of procedure was still being assimilated by the Spanish novelists at the end of the century, but the esthetic historicist approach, characteristic of Viconian historians and reminiscent of the German idealists and literary artists of the eighteenth century, also was leaving its mark on Spanish writers. In this regard, Jules Michelet, Vico's commentator and translator, criticized Balzac and George Sand for their unwarranted inclusion of a mass of factual observations in the novel, a procedure which he considered a parody of the historian's manner.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>42</sup>John Atherton, "Michelet: Three Conceptions of Historical Becoming," in Studies in Romanticism, IV, No. 4 (Summer 1965), p. 228. Antonio Palau y Dulcet gives no evidence of Spanish editions of Giambattista Vico; he does, however, register a significant translation of Johann Gottfried von Herder (s. v.) prior to 1800, and another of Jules Michelet (s. v.) prior to 1850 (see Manual del librero hispanoamericano, VI, IX, 2nd ed.); in the succeeding decades, there appeared many Spanish editions of Michelet. It is generally agreed that Vico was not internationally known in the eighteenth century, but that diffusion of his philosophy of history began with the Italian political exiles at the turn of the century (see Renato Treves, "Vico y Alberdi: Notas para la historia de la filosofía jurídica en la Argentina," and Ignacio Weiss, "Pedro de Angelis y la difusión de la obra de Juan Bautista Vico," both in Vico y Herder: Ensayos conmemorativos del segundo centenario de la muerte de Vico y del nacimiento de Herder [Buenos Aires, 1948], pp. 331-356, 357-387). Francesco Salfi was the first to call attention to Vico in France, between 1819 and 1820, and following Salfi, Pierre Simon Ballanche and Victor Cousin carried out studies of Vico and German idealism in the 1820's; in 1827, when Jules Michelet first published his renowned translation with biography and explication of Vico's system, Théodore Jouffroy published a comparison of Bossuet, Vico, and Herder in Le Globe, the periodical that had

Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch hypothesized that the ideological juncture of Christianity, Liberalism, and Socialism, when achieved in Spain, might work on a level with the forth-

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already published a comparison of Vico and Condorcet. It was after 1830 that Vico gained great popularity among literati on an international scale, and it is of particular interest that Juan Donoso Cortés had written on the Viconian philosophy of history in the 1830's (see Treves, pp. 353-354). Erich Auerbach has described aesthetic historicism as a "reaction against the European predominance of French classicism" and has seen that "the most vigorous impulse [for the diffusion of aesthetic historicism all over Europe] came from Germany, from the so-called Storm and Stress group of the 1770's, from the first works of Herder and Goethe and their friends; later from the Schlegel brothers and the other German romantics" ("Vico and Aesthetic Historicism," originally in The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, VIII [December 1949], pp. 110-118; rpt. in Scenes from the Drama of European Literature [New York, 1959], pp. 183-198). Emilio Lorenzo has remarked that it was Valera who appeared "desde el primer momento como un decidido admirador de Goethe, dando por sentado que éste es el escritor por excelencia, dotado de una mente clara y brillante, donde se refleja el mundo visible y se ordenan imágenes y representaciones, 'según conviene a la aparición celestial de la belleza'" ("Goethe, visto por los españoles del siglo XIX," in Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos, No. 88 [April 1957], p. 63). Lorenzo mentioned, also, that L. G. de Pardo was the first and only Spaniard of note to meet Goethe personally, although others, many anonymously, were publishing accounts of Goethe in the periodical press; most of these were biographical and translated from French or English originals. It is significant that one account presented Goethe as the opposite of the people's poet: "Yo jamás seré popular," went the advice of Goethe. "Todas mis obras se han hecho para hombres escogidos, no para el pueblo. ¡Desdichado de quien escribe para las masas en vez de escribir para ciertas personas que tienen las mismas simpatías y tendencias que él!" (see the "Consejos de Goethe a los literatos," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, III, No. 117 [June 24, 1838], p. 609). This account might help to explain the idealist position of Spanish admirers of Goethe, such as Valera, who recognized in Goethe's poetry the embodiment of German philosophical transcendentalism ("Del romanticismo en España y de Espronceda," in Obras completas, II, ed. Luis Araujo Costa, 2nd ed. [Madrid, 1949], pp. 9-10, especially; article dated 1854). It is likely that translations such as that by Francisco Pelayo Briz (Fausto [Barcelona: I. López, 1864]) were the immediate result of the pace-setting book by Antonio Angulo y Heredia, Goethe y Schiller, su vida, sus obras y su influencia en Alemania: Lecciones pronunciadas en el Ateneo de Madrid (Madrid, 1863).

coming juncture, then soon to occur, of the two literatures representative of the nineteenth century, that is, the formally correct and not very original literature prior to France's July Revolution and the newer literature that was "más libre, más favorable al ingenio, más ocasionada también a los extravíos."<sup>43</sup> This desire to bring expressive means into co-ordinate function with ideology shows that the literature of socialist theme, for example, so popular among the Spanish Romantic admirers of France's popular literature, did not only represent an attempt to contend with a society of diverse interests on a political or economic level. It also represented an attempt to manipulate, on the level of expression, a diversitarian view of the world, and in this sense, the literature of types of the nineteenth century, the periodical press, and other technological forms which had as their main end the synthesis of the problematically variegated vision, may be interpreted as the blood relatives of the socialist thematics.

In the technologically democratized costumbristic genre and in the novel of socialist theme could be seen the shift from the historic to the contemporaneously historical, from the synthetic to the analytical vision, and from the type to the particular individual. Nevertheless, the costumbristic

<sup>43</sup>"Sobre el carácter de la literatura contemporánea. Apuntes leídos en el Ateneo Científico y Literario de esta Corte," in Revista Literaria de El Español, 2nd Ser., I, No. 17 (April 26, 1847), pp. 259, 261; and later in El Siglo Pintoresco, III, No. 7 (July 1847).

genre exhibited a hesitancy to let these thematic, perceptual, and expressive changes come about. Of the three kinds of novels (históricas, de acontecimientos maravillosos, de costumbres) that an author might compose, one critic said, only the cultivators of the costumbristic genre "saben acomodar los datos de la observación, conformándolos con el tipo que su fantasía les presenta."<sup>44</sup> Thus, the costumbristic genre served as a point of accord between the universalist

<sup>44</sup>"De la novela en general," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, III, No. 143 (December 23, 1838), p. 819. Despite all indications, there were still those who viewed these popular trends with distrust. Guillermo Forteza, who feared the inevitability of escepticismo and French sensualismo, opted in favor of idealismo in his summarization of the costumbristic genre: "Dos escuelas diametralmente opuestas dominan en la novela de costumbres contemporáneas: la idealista y la realista, cuyo exclusivismo conduce, o a la abstracción sobrado metafísica o poética, o al prosaísmo, enemigo de toda artística belleza" ("Influencia de la novela en las costumbres," in La América, IV, No. 19 [December 8, 1860], p. 9). Antonio Alcalá Galiano ("De la novela," in La América, No. 17 [November 12, 1862], p. 14) commented somewhat bitterly that the invention of the term realismo was nothing more than "poner nuevo nombre a una cosa vieja." According to Harry Levin, who traces the history of this term ("What is Realism?," in Comparative Literature, III, No. 3 [Summer 1951], p. 196), Alcalá Galiano was quite right, for Schiller had analogized "antique Realismus [and] the idealistic outlook of the romantics." Robert Gorham Davis specifies further, explaining that in England, indeed, "the distinction between the realist . . . and the sensational [novelists] had been generally recognized by reviewers and by the sensational novelists themselves," that early in the second half of the nineteenth century, "realism" had come to have a favorable or neutral sense, and that later, "realism" and "naturalism" were often not distinguished ("The Sense of the Real in English Fiction," ibid., pp. 215-216). In Spain, realismo acquired relative neutrality with Emilia Pardo Bazán, at least, as long as it did not smack of that "realismo transpirenaico, sino al nuestro," as she herself said in the prologue to Un viaje de novios, obviously retaining the distinction between Zola's naturalism and Spanish realismo (see ed. Carmen Bravo-Villasante, La cuestión palpitante [Salamanca, Madrid, and Barcelona, 1966], p. 19).

and the diversitarian visions, while the novel of socialist theme was exemplary by virtue of its response to the need for realism in literature at Spain's mid-century.

Technological advancements had brought on an increased distancing of the author of fictional prose from his literary craft, and further advancements were to diminish the evidence of authorial voice in prose. What was the relationship, then, between technology and an intentionally philosophical genre, such as travel literature? It may appear strange, for example, that José María Antequera should have called the Recuerdos de viaje del Curioso Parlante, by Ramón de Mesonero Romanos, an attempt at "un género de literatura absolutamente nuevo y desconocido entre nosotros," if indeed, as Edith F. Helman says, in the eighteenth century the travel literature that appeared in the periodical press had been read with the same zeal that the public showed toward narrative prose inventions in serial distribution during the following century.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Antequera, "Crítica literaria. Obras del Curioso Parlante," in Revista de Madrid, 3rd Ser., IV (1842), p. 47; Helman, "Viajes de españoles por la España del siglo XVIII," in Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica, VII, Nos. 3-4 (July-December 1953), p. 627. Many years before Antequera's review, a writer who signed himself "El Fiscal" raised philosophy to the highest level of purpose in literature of this sort and relegated both artistry and observation of incidents to lesser levels of importance: "Don Antonio Pons fué el primero que emprendió el viage de España, haciéndolo materialmente, y aunque su excelente obra tiene el mérito de la exactitud y de la originalidad, debemos sin embargo mirarla como incompleta, por haberse extendido demasiado en la explicación artística, haciendo tan compendiosa y sucinta la parte filosófica, que es el primer objeto que se debe proponer un viajero" ("Tribunal catoniano. Juicio que hace el Fiscal [s. v.] sobre el

Antequera's review, coupled with Edith Helman's observation, suggests that Mesonero's Recuerdos represented a point of juncture between the former mode of travel reports and the newer, less subjectivized reportage: "Si en [algunos cuadros] notamos exageración poética, creaciones fantásticas del autor, esto, prescindiendo de que puede consistir en que nosotros no hayamos estudiado como él la sociedad actual, consiste también en que en otros notamos una propiedad y una naturalidad que nos asombra" (p. 48). Nevertheless, Antequera's criticism remained bound by the standard of philosophical utility, traditionally required of the author of travel accounts: "Los Recuerdos de viaje," he said, "es un libro filosófico . . . y no un libro divertido, como con alguna ligereza se le ha denominado, creyendo hacer de aquél en estas palabras todo el elogio que se merece" (p. 46). Nor was the concept of philosophical utility entirely separable from the cult of reason, which was one of the bases for the factualization of prose, as Fermín Gonzalo Morón implied when he commented that "la razón y observación detenida predomina a la imaginación en el Sr. Mesonero. Ésta es más grave y profunda, que ligera y flexible. Por eso el curioso parlante nos convence más y nos agrada por la pintura exacta y por las lecciones morales, que nos hace reír."<sup>46</sup> Thus, in the nineteenth century, the sub-

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estado presente de la literatura española," in El Regaño General, I, No. 2 [June 4, 1803], p. 14). See, also, the article signed by "El Munster," "Secretaría. Correspondencia literaria del mes. Carta quinta," ibid., No. 38 (October 8, 1803), p. 302.

<sup>46</sup>"Juicio crítico del Panorama matritense del Curioso Parlante," in Revista de España y del Estrangero, II (1842), p. 34.

jectivization of travel reports came to have a certain negative value, even within the traditional philosophical terms of the genre, and whenever poetic invention was obvious, it required apology; for the "useful" travel account had increasingly historical implications, whereas the lesser type was privatized information, falsification, and lyricism. "El carácter casi indeleble que adquieren muchos viajeros, es el de mentirosos," wrote "El Amigo de los Viajes Útiles"; this and remarks like that of Jaime Balmes ("los viajeros corren riesgo de exagerar, desfigurar y hasta fingir, haciendo formar ideas muy equivocadas sobre el país que describen") could well have been attempts to remedy the shortcomings of the French in this brand of literature, especially since the days of Masson.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>47</sup>"Viajar sin objeto," in *Cartas Españolas*, II, Cuaderno 14 (August 17, 1831), p. 82; also, Balmes, Chapter X ("Relaciones de viajes") of *El criterio*, in *Obras completas*, III, ed. P. Casanovas, S. I. (Madrid, 1948), p. 602. F. Courtney Tarr notes "Masson's famous--or infamous--question of 1782 ('Que doit-on à l'Espagne? Depuis deux siècles, depuis quatre, depuis dix, qu'a-t-elle fait pour l'Europe?')" (see "Romanticism in Spain and Spanish Romanticism: A Critical Survey," in *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, XVI, No. 61 [January 1939], p. 4). Léon-François Hoffmann (*Romantique Espagne: L'Image de l'Espagne en France entre 1800 et 1850* [Princeton and Paris, 1961]) has argued that the French image of Spain was a result of her own search for new values, so that, in effect, it was France's own personality that she expressed in an implicit way in her images of Spain. Spanish criticism of the French traveler's image of Spain was being published continually. Carlos María Doncel, in his commentary on an article entitled "El baile, los bailarines y bailarinas en España," stated: "El autor confiesa ingenuamente que sus recuerdos los cuenta como los ha recogido, sin orden, sin método, recorriendo el campo con el solo fin de ver, correr, y llegar como en una corrida de caballos. Esta confesión merecía ponerse por epígrafe en la mayor parte de las obras que se han escrito sobre España" ("Sandeces de un articulista francés,"



There remains, however, a self-contradiction between the Spaniards' criticism of the French mode of reportage and Spanish travel accounts themselves, for despite the criticism of the French, the Spanish often poetized the real experience that they recorded. Despite all attempts to factualize reportage, for example, nineteenth-century Spanish travel literature resembled the historical novel insofar as it associated the contemporaneous experience with past historic events that were analogous in kind to the experiences of the traveler. Thus, in a review of Captain Cook's Sketches in Spain, Enrique Gil (presumably Gil y Carrasco) stated that the best travel accounts were written by the writer who "hace abstracción de sus recuerdos y discursos anteriores, que juzga las cosas en su valor intrínseco desnudas de las convenciones sociales y sin referirlas sino a aquellas ideas eternas, fijas e inva-

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in Revista de España, de Indias y del Extranjero, V [1846], p. 81). The general opinion of the Spanish was capsulized in a sketch by Serafín Estébanez Calderón ("El Solitario") entitled "El bolero" (in Cartas Españolas, III, Cuadernos 31-32 [December 31, 1831], p. 358): "Para que nosotros hablemos de nuestras costumbres y de nuestra literatura es preciso revolver más libros que el L'Harpe, y los viajes por España." And the criticism, by Juan Cortada y Sala, of the French travel reports (Chateaubriand) was merciless: "Los extranjeros . . . salen de su casa y se echan a volar por el mundo con una docena de cartas de recomendación, y con ánimo decidido de sacar raja donde quiera que vayan. Toman apuntes, se burlan de todo, de todo hacen ascos, a veces estafan, con frecuencia engañan, y casi siempre mienten. Critican, se dan importancia, y de vuelta a su tierra cuentan mil anécdotas que no les han sucedido, escriben un libro de viajes donde mienten más que un periódico, y nos ponen como ropa de pascua" ("Esto es un libro nuevo," in Artículos escogidos entre los publicados del año 1838 al 1868 con los pseudónimos Aben-Abulema y Benjamín, ed. Juan Sardá [Barcelona, 1890], p. 4; essay dated November 7, 1838).

riables en que se funda la esencia de lo bueno, lo verdadero y lo bello."<sup>48</sup> What happened to travel literature in the nineteenth century, in the face of the financial success of historical fiction, merits a study apart. In the light of the historicism that Enrique Gil represents here, and despite an increasing factualness in historical prose fiction, the suggested study of travel literature might reveal that much writing of factual purport underwent a considerable degree of subjectivization in the course of Romanticism. This vacillating programmatization of factually descriptive prose in nineteenth-century Spain can be seen most clearly, perhaps, in the travel reports.

One of Antonio Flores' first literary works, the travel account Un viaje a las provincias vascongadas asomando las narices en Francia, illustrates that the artist's struggle becomes one of understanding the problems of the mediation of knowledge and experience, and of understanding also the terms of his medium of expression.<sup>49</sup> The critic must take into ac-

<sup>48</sup>"Literatura extranjera. Bosquejos de España (Sketches in Spain) [sic] por el Capitán S. E. Cook, de la marina real inglesa," in El Laberinto, I, No. 10 (March 16, 1844), p. 128.

<sup>49</sup>In El Laberinto, II, Nos. 2-6, 8, 10-12 (November 15, December 1, 15, 1844, January 1, 15, February 16, March 16, April 1, 16, 1845), pp. 26-28, 42-44, 56-58, 67-70, 87-90, 120-122, 152-154, 171-172, 188-189. The installments are numbered I-X, but there appears no number VIII; the title of the piece sometimes varies (Viajes a . . .), and each numbered installment bears a subtitle indicating a stage of the journey. It appears that Flores ceased publication of the account without having terminated the narrative. The artistic problems in question here are reminiscent of what Émile Bernard called "Cézanne's suicide: aiming for reality while denying himself the means to attain it" (cited by Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Sense

count the meaning implicit in mediation itself, for if the critic attends to literal meaning only, then he perceives that the author's aims may be in contradiction with the literary result. Here, Flores' revelation of himself as technical perfectionist is in line with his criticism of the French writers of travel literature, who, "lejos de pasar en silencio lo que ven cuando no lo entienden, dan su voto sobre cosas que no han visto, contrario en un todo al que formaron aquellos por quienes supieron la existencia de los objetos en cuestión" (p. 28). At several points in his Viaje, Flores is expressly aware of the difficulties of the costumbristic artist: he is seldom satisfied with his literary sketches, he says, and in Un viaje, less than ever before; he is racking his brain, grabbing clean sheets of paper and fresh pens, in an attempt to duly represent the Basque countryside along Deva's coastal road, until, finally, he resorts to letting his pen (poetic péñola) run loose and take its own course. There begins a lyricized proliferation, followed by a series of rhetorical questions, which encourages the reader to project into the literal content, thus fulfilling on the perceptual level Flores' prior invitation to the reader to accompany him in the carriage as it moves along the road. But the reader, because he is aware of the author as technician, knows in the end that he and the author can not undergo the same experience at all. The perceptual illusion of authorial absence

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and Non-sense, trans. Hubert L. and Patricia Allen Dreyfus [1948; 3rd ed., 1961; Evanston, Illinois, 1964], p. 12).

is lost, finally, when in the last section Flores combines reference to narrative procedure with a self-referential characterization ("acostumbrado sin embargo a no pensar en lo que hago hasta dos horas después de haberlo hecho, y fiado en el 'Dios dirá' que es mi elixir favorito" [p. 189]). Despite the author's disclaimer of any artistic attempt in his travel account (p. 43), clearly he departs in practice from the stated ideal of objective reportage. On the occasion of the bullfight at Deva (p. 68), for example, in order to exemplify Basque respect for civil authority, and in order to characterize Basque fraternal love, Flores abstracts a single incident, allows for a minimum of descriptive content, and chooses instead to explain the meaning of his example and, furthermore, the reasons for this narrative procedure. As painter of the costumbristic sketch, Flores runs the gamut of poses that the cultivator of the genre might assume. His claims concerning artistic disengagement contradict those which depict the racked technician, and despite these claims, his presence helps to establish that distance between reader and narrative event in such a way that he diminishes the transparency that might afford the reader the illusion of being present at the narrative event. The question remains, then, how much of an illusion is the novel observation, which would involve, ideally, no evidence of authorial intervention.

Un viaje was one of the earliest published works of Antonio Flores. His final major work, also a travel account, was the Crónica del viaje de Sus Majestades y Altezas Reales

a las Islas Baleares, Cataluña y Aragón, en 1860, and he did not cultivate travel literature during the time between these two literary events.<sup>50</sup> A comparison of the modus operandi in Un viaje and the Crónica ought to serve a double purpose: since the two works establish chronological limits for nearly the entire corpus of Flores' work, they should permit an evaluation of changes in technique with respect to the genre of travel literature; they should also afford an opportunity to observe Flores' changing position as the descriptive prose artist attempting to represent real experience.

Flores undertook his assignment as royal chronicler bearing

<sup>50</sup>The Crónica, published in Madrid by M. Rivadeneyra in 1861, was the result of the September-October journey of Queen Isabel II, accompanied by her children and the Consort, Don Francisco de Asís. Antonio Flores had been a member of the Court since February 16, 1857, in the capacity of Oficial de la Secretaría de la Intendencia general de la Real Casa (see Rafael Benítez Claros, Antonio Flores: Una visión costumbrista del siglo XIX [Santiago de Compostela, 1955], p. 8). On previous occasions, he had accompanied the Queen to the provinces of Albacete, Alicante, Valencia, Toledo, Valladolid, León, Asturias and Galicia, as he informs the reader in the dedication to the Queen that prefaces the Crónica (p. 6). It appears that this was the first commission he received which permitted him to perform as official chronicler. It was not uncommon, however, for unofficial chroniclers of royal journeys to record entire books descriptive of these events, and several of these might serve as a basis of comparison with the Crónica composed by Flores. See: the Crónica del viaje de Sus Majestades y Altezas Reales por Granada y su provincia en 1862 (Granada, 1862), written, apparently, by Francisco Javier Cobos and Eduardo de los Reyes; José Velázquez y Sánchez, Crónica regia: Viaje de la Corte a Sevilla en 1862 (Sevilla, 1863); and another chronicle (which has just been brought to my attention), written by the critic who favored Flores' novel Fe, Esperanza y Caridad, Fernando Cos Gayón (Crónica del viaje de Sus Majestades y Altezas Reales a Andalucía y Murcia en setiembre y octubre de 1862 [?, 1863]). For an unconventional, satirical view of the Queen's sojourn in Barcelona, see the serial account (probably by Antonio Flotats) entitled "Festejos," in El Pájaro Verde, I, Nos. 1-5 (1860), pp. 3-6, 17-21, 38-42, 49-53, 67.

in mind a whole tradition of travel literature and historical writings, and he synthesized his understanding of the essential travel account in his introduction: "historias detalladas, aunque sin comentarios, de un país, de una localidad, de un monarca o de una época, escritas casi siempre por testigos oculares de los sucesos que en ellas se refieren" (p. 8). He made it clear that he intended for the book to be recognizable within a tradition of Spanish chronicles (p. 10), so, in this sense, he was working within the confines of literary prescription. He was conscious of working within an atmosphere of various genres, also, since, in his introduction, he rejected traditional recuerdos, memorias, or impresiones de viaje. Instead, in practice he included selections from the periodical press (pp. 73-74), honorific poetry (chapters XIII, XXXI), documents pertaining to the events of the journey (p. 170), fashion literature (pp. 89-91), to name the most significant, and he even apologized on one occasion for not having included the Queen's own correspondence (p. 154). The Crónica subsumed a variety of literary kinds, both contemporary and otherwise, and, as chronicler, Flores would be neither novelist (serious history was more creditable than the novel, he believed [p. 193]) nor the writer of periodical news ("los rumores son plantas espontáneas en las tierras del periodismo y nacen sin abono de ninguna especie" [p. 150]). Rather, he planned an important innovation. He would retain from tradition a concentration upon "los sucesos que a su vista pasan" and "las impresiones que en el momento les causan los pueblos que visitan," he said,

contrasting his artistic ideal with that of other writings of his time that bore such rubrics as recuerdos, memorias, or impresiones de viaje. Flores' distinction indicated a thorough concentration upon the present and the process of becoming. He felt that his chronicle should represent immediate reality more than the historical past, and by this he meant that he would pay homage to modern technology (namely, the railway and the electric telegraph [pp. 8-9]), rather than to monuments which had already been consecrated in similar descriptive accounts. Ideally, Flores thought, the chronicle should yield an impression of the here and now, rather than be the historian's projection of present realities onto the past. Therefore, his special effort in the Crónica to inform the reader about the constructions in Mola de Mahón, for example, is consonant with his general concern for the quality of immediacy: these are constructions "que se están haciendo" (p. 158), and as such, they manifest a progressive present, rather than a progressional past.

But a statement of intention is not always reflected in practice, and the Crónica exemplifies this rule of interpretation. The technological subject served Flores representationally, as both the symbol of contemporaneity and the structural model for portions of his narrative, but he did not lay aside the more traditional description of the artistic monument, since it, too, often served him as a vehicle for historiographic digression. The descriptions of the Palacio Real of Palma and Bellver Castle, whose variety of detail signal a history of events (pp. 75-79),

and the description of La Lonja, where the chronicler summons up a part of Palma's history (pp. 93-96), are examples of the use of the monument as a vehicle for digression from the narrative course that represents the journey.<sup>51</sup> What literal content and tone did not fit into Flores' plan to produce something new in historiographic literature, that is, a representation of the present in progress, required occasional apology. Although Flores claims that the departure into the subject of the tradiciones of Víctor Balaguer, on Montserrat, is "una de las pocas digresiones, acaso la única, que nos habremos permitido en este libro" (p. 257), there are other digressions that consist nonetheless in a departure from a description of a progressive present.<sup>52</sup> Nearly all of Chapter III is a description of a

<sup>51</sup>Ekphrastic literature descriptive of monuments was common in the Romantic period. Flores cited José María Quadrado (p. 76) and Pablo Piferrer (p. 78) as model authors of this kind of literature, and Flores' own periodical, El Laberinto (II), carried a series of depictions of national and local monuments. Another noteworthy example of the genre was the series depicting the monuments of Valencia, by Pascual Pérez y Rodríguez (in El Museo Universal, I-V [1857-1861]; s. v. Pérez Rodríguez [sic], El Museo Universal: Madrid, 1857-1869, ed. Elena Paez Ríos [Madrid, 1952]), who played an instrumental rôle in the propagation of photography in Spain. For further bibliographical material, see Joseph R. Arboleda, "Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer's Historia de los templos de España," Diss. Princeton 1968, pp. 254-259. In a study of Michelet ("Michelet: Three Conceptions of Historical Becoming," in Studies in Romanticism, IV, No. 4 [Summer 1965], p. 236), John Atherton said: "Often a work of art serves as an intermediary through which the historian can apprehend in visual form the transitions between epochs. . . . Frequently monuments play the same rôle, and particularly collections of monuments of different eras in which the variations in form mark the passing of time."

<sup>52</sup>Flores rested his justification for this digression on his opinion concerning the literary genre of tradicción: "respectamos todas las tradiciones populares, porque en todas ellas



rapturous vision (ensueño) brought on at the moment of embarkation from Alicante, in spite of the author's claim, later on, that "estamos escribiendo una historia, y la historia no tiene páginas para la poesía" (p. 200). The subject of the third chapter is the fantastical musings of the author, a subjective transport into seemingly impossible places, and even into other personal identities, and the chronicler appropriately describes his departure from the realm of the imagination as a return to "el más estrecho materialismo" (p. 34-38).

The noticeable variation in the degree of authorial subjectivization of real experience suffices to indicate that for the reader the Crónica is an illusion, in spite of its author's introductory claims, and one of the events of the book provides an outstanding analogue to the reader's illusory experience. In Torrero, the Monarchs go by boat up a newly constructed canal, partly in order to observe its fabrication (p. 364). The sitting-space of the boat in which they travel is decorated with pictorial representations of the real fabrications which they can witness along the route of the canal; thus, the boat becomes the artistic depiction of the reality for which it is the perceptual vehicle. No more, then, do the Monarchs witness the fabrications themselves when they look at the pictorial images which mean to depict them, than does the reader experience the actual journey when he reads the Crónica. The result of the

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hay siempre un fondo de verdad" (p. 258). Thus, the tradición lent to the prose which subsumed it an aspect of descriptive or moral truth. The same theory was expressed time and again by the novelist "Fernán Caballero": (see the study by Javier Herrero, Fernán Caballero: Un nuevo planteamiento [Madrid, 1963]).

reduction of the greatness of human experience into the verbal medium is inevitably an alteration of that experience, and any representation suffers qualitatively, in proportion as "exact" representation is intended. This, specifically, is the substance of Flores' apology for the reader's having to experience the grandiose entrance into Barcelona through the literature of the chronicle (p. 175): "No encontrando la síntesis de esos cuadros es inútil quererlos copiar con exactitud. Y como la síntesis de esas grandes escenas está en el conjunto, y el conjunto, como hemos dicho antes, no cabe en estas páginas, de aquí la necesidad de que el lector supla mucho si quiere tener algo de lo que allí ocurrió" (pp. 176-177). In this instance, Flores approximates the norm of the aforementioned Granada chronicle, which usually avoids anecdotal digression and, instead, catalogues events, naming and substantivizing real experience. In the Granada chronicle, where the writers' personalized vision is less often represented, lyricism is a literary quality generally unattempted in the prose itself. In this chronicle, lyrical mood is, in the strictest sense of the word, unspeakable; it is private to the author's mind (the collaboration notwithstanding), unattainable on the verbal level, not articulated, but rather talked about, exclusively: "El cuadro que en esa noche tuvimos la honra de presenciar, está grabado en nuestra memoria de tal modo, que basta encerrar nuestro espíritu dentro de nosotros haciendo abstracción del mundo exterior, para verlo otra vez vivo, palpitante, en todos sus detalles, con todo el esplendor

de su poesía, en toda la magnificencia de su grandeza. Ni exageramos ni inventamos; que aun yendo más allá de la parábola más atrevida, aun todavía no podremos expresar cuánto vimos y sentimos en aquella fiesta de una encantadora originalidad" (p. 77). But a cursory look at the luxurious chronicle by Francisco María Tubino, another official chronicler, gives the impression that this chronicle more closely approximates, modally, the chronicle composed by Flores than it does the one composed by Cobos and Reyes ("en las descripciones que hagamos hablará nuestro corazón en sus más espontáneas inspiraciones").<sup>53</sup>

It becomes obvious that the art of the Crónica lies partly in the establishment of a variety of modal possibilities that range between the expression of the author's experience and that expression which the reader is obliged to supply in order to fill in the complete picture. This modal variety is dependent, of course, upon the chronicler's use of language as representation, but neither the expressive projection of the chronicler alone, nor that of the reader alone, can equal the real journey. Yet there is no journey if the Crónica is not accepted, symbolically, as the journey itself, or, at least, as the linguistic vehicle for the reader's own projected journey. It is a case of two esthetic tendencies in counterpoise: on the one hand,

<sup>53</sup>Crónica del viaje de SS. MM. y AA. RR. a las provincias andaluzas: Obra dedicada al Sermo. Señor Príncipe de Asturias con permiso de S. M. la Reina (Sevilla, 1863), p. 13. Tubino, like Flores, recognizes the Queen to be la síntesis of Spanish progress and regeneration "tanto en el orden moral como en el material" (p. 7). Accordingly, Tubino begins his travel account with a description of the journey in train; however, technology, in its relationship with art, is not so problematic here as it is in the case of Flores' Crónica.

the sign is constitutive of its own reality and appears to be the thing that it stands for; on the other hand, the illusion of the real experience is achieved through the expressive sign.

The art of the Crónica could also be understood in terms of Flores' innovations upon the prescriptions of literary genre. He prefers prolixity to omission, even though this may result in an unchronological sequence of events (p. 144); nor is unchronological sequence unfitting in a work that cultivates the lyrical dream vision, in which narrative time is reordered in the author's mind so as to allow the symbolical representation of both past history and current realities in the figure of the Queen. Yet prolixity as a guiding rule is foregone toward the end, where, in order to avoid a retracing of steps, the author relies recollectively upon his own prior narration purposefully and with increasing frequency (pp. 374, 375). This factor accounts for an impression of the Romantic chronicle as the representation of a non-linear event, an impression which reinforces the image of the Queen as timeless historical figure, and which harmonizes with the many occasions when she is associated with ancestral namesakes (Isabel la Católica [p. 12]) and with other conquering royal heroes (in Palma, the Queen assumes the same chair that had served during the sojourn of the Emperor Carlos V in 1541 [p. 62]). There were, indeed, historical reasons why Flores should have wanted to construct his Crónica in such a way, and in order to achieve the commemorative significance that he did through the non-consecutive arrangement

of his data. As the opening paragraph of the first chapter explains, the Queen left on her trip just four days after Africa had signed the peace ending her war with Spain. Moreover, the chronicler's reordering of time and his projection of his own spatial terms symbolically commemorated the culmination of monarchical centralization that was the result of railroad technology; appropriately, then, Flores gave technological invention monarchical status by placing it on a level of importance with the Queen in his chronicle.<sup>54</sup>

Not all of the Crónica, however, is demonstrative of an irregular temporal and spatial becoming. Flores disassociates, by implication, such lack of consecutiveness with the literary tradition in which he is working, and indeed, a regular temporal and spatial becoming is more characteristic of the subsequent Granada chronicle. In contrast to the more personalized and unconsecutive becoming of the Crónica is the author's description of the obelisk erected in Barcelona in honor of the Queen's visit and Catalanian agricultural production (pp. 187-188). His substantive description, from bottom to top, of the obelisk composed of agricultural products, yields the perceptual illusion that the process of becoming for this small portion of

<sup>54</sup>"The steam railroad as an accelerator proved to be one of the most revolutionary of all extensions of our physical bodies, creating a new political centralism and a new kind of urban shape and size" (Marshall McLuhan, Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man [McGraw-Hill; rpt. New York, 1964], p. 103). A statistic published in the Revista de Cataluña announced that the Spanish government had granted rights of concession for forty-five railroad lines between March 16, 1847, and November 12, 1862 ("Estadística de los ferro-carriles de España," in 2nd Ser., No. 8 [supplement] [May 8, 1863], p. 455). (Spain built her first railroad in 1848 [Barcelona-Mataró].)

the book is indivisible from the construction of the obelisk image in reality. In such instances, there is a marriage of represented reality with the narrative whole, insofar as the time required to perceive and name one's reality approximates narrative time. Here, then, we are left with the impression that the Crónica, as book, is ideally, neither more nor less than the journey as it is perceived, while it is perceived. The description of the obelisk in Barcelona is a more obvious example of emblematic prose than is the emblemization of technology in the narrative of the Crónica; that is, now the subject is represented in the shaping of the totality of written words.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>55</sup>The artistic procedure is more readily seen in Flores' poem "Dulce leño," where the artist achieves a similar result, but one that is enhanced by the fact that the subject is visibly perceptible not only in the shaping, but also in the final shape of the totality of written words:

Dulce leño  
así cruzado  
del pecado  
apártame;  
y la bondad infinita  
de tu auxilio sacrosanto  
en mi llanto  
muéstrame.  
Que tú fuistes el árbol escojido  
y en tus frondosas ramas espiró  
mi Dios,  
mi gloria,  
su memoria  
en ti quedó.  
Y la sangre  
en ti vertida  
es la vida  
de mi amor;  
y un consuelo  
tu santo Calvario,  
do brotastes apoyo del cielo,  
Lecho triste de un Dios Salvador.

Flores' Crónica serves a double function, then, as the ready representation of real experience and as a symbol of the journey. That is, on the one hand, it is the mediation of the immediate experiential impressions of the Queen, in particular, and it in itself is intended to be an historical moment. But it is when Flores makes his narrative the emblematic representation of the technological subjects associated with given stages of the journey that he makes the chronicle itself the equivalent of contemporary history. Thus, throughout the course of the book, the chronicler remains mindful of his initial promise to the reader that the coloring (colorido) of the narration would always correspond to whatever mode of locomotion was particular to the portion of the journey being described (p. 316). For example, when the cortege leaves Lérida for Bujaraloz they give up steam locomotion for transportation by mule, and for Flores this means changing the narrative correspondingly: "Ya no nos trasportan a sesenta kilómetros por hora," wrote Flores, "sino que caminamos a media hora por legua, y como el paso es más contemplativo en vez de figurarnos que vemos tal o cual cosa que cruza rápida por nuestra vista, pasamos nosotros tan despacio por delante de todos los objetos, que nos sobra tiempo para copiarlos" (pp. 316-317). Thus, the moods of his descriptive responses to the events of the journey are, normally, correlative with the locomotive factor of actual experience, and,

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In Revista de Teatros, 2nd Ser., No. 48 (February 15, 1843), p. 2; later in El Católico (April 14, 1843), and in Rafael Benítez Claros, Antonio Flores: Una visión costumbrista del siglo XIX (Santiago de Compostela, 1955), p. 283.

accordingly, narrative pace is meant to signify literary modes in the chronicle. In the example above, the change from rapid observation to the possibility of contemplation implies not only a consequent change in the quantity of subject matter that Flores may be able to depict; it also prompts the expressive exercise of his fancy, that is, the accentuation of a private point of view, as we saw happen on the occasion of the departure by boat from Alicante, which is coincidental with the termination of the initial train trip. Flores' fanciful musings on the boat from Alicante constitute the subjective co-ordinate for the writer's prior experience in the train to Alicante. As one writer likewise saw, many years before Flores' Crónica, "el viajero que pasa como un relámpago, no toma interés por un país que apenas perciben sus ojos."<sup>56</sup> For Flores, it is "la época en que se ha suprimido el paso contemplativo en los viajes" (p. 9). In perceptual terms, the vision imposed upon man by the rapidly changing view from the railroad car window meant a loss of visual syntax, so Flores feels obliged to explain that only the past experience of a visit to the obelisk commemorating the battle of 1707 permits a knowledge of its historically commemorative verses: "No descubríamos desde el tren el monumento, sencillo a la verdad, que recuerda este suceso" (p. 22). Railroad technology supplied man with this new perceptual reality, then,

<sup>56</sup>"Los caminos de hierro en Inglaterra," in La Revista Europea, III (1837), p. 277. "¡Ah!" C. Beltrán lamented, "la civilización y sus beneficios tienen también graves inconvenientes! . . . El vapor, agente poderoso, universal y obediente servidor del hombre, es ciego e improvisor" ("Espediciones veraniegas," in Revista de Cataluña, II [1862], p. 457).



a poesía, as "Azorín" termed it when he spoke of the numbing, hypnotic experience which Ramón de Mesonero Romanos and Modesto Lafuente underwent during the course of their train travels.<sup>57</sup>

Steam technology made it possible for man to extend himself more rapidly into a more total world: "No puede negarse," remarked the aforementioned critic of the steam railroad in La Revista Europea, "que los caminos de hierro acortan las distancias" (p. 277). Furthermore, as Antonio Flores notices in his Crónica, the train had made it possible for man to carry his entire reality along with him to any other place, relatively instantaneously: "Desde que el hombre, a fuerza de predicar la igualdad, ha establecido una perfecta semejanza de locomoción entre su persona y los bultos de su equipaje, registrándose ambos en cada cien leguas de camino, sin detenerse en los puntos intermedios del viaje, éste va perdiendo su autonomía (permítanos la política que le usurpemos esta palabra), adquiriendo en cambio todas las condiciones del verdadero transporte (p. 21)." Flores' concern on the nonliterary level is the possibility of one's adaptation of the personal world to the depersonalizing dictates of new technology, and perhaps for this reason, Flores cherishes his vision of royal quarters that had become, in effect, locomotive: "no parece sino que esta inmensa mole de piedra [el palacio] ha dado un cable a la

<sup>57</sup>"Los ferrocarriles," in Castilla, in Obras completas, II, ed. Ángel Cruz Rueda, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1959), p. 671. "Azorín" commented on the effect of the train on the passenger's vision and implied that the passenger necessarily had to learn to see in a different way, if he were to recapitulate normal visual experience (p. 669).

industria moderna para que la arrastre hacia la orilla del mar, con sus divanes, sus alfombras y sus espejos" (p. 15). But in proportion as technological forms exhibited humanization, as was the case when the Queen had the train outfitted, so did artistic forms take on the characteristics of technological forms. This complex phenomenon of interchange between art and technology was outstanding in literature in general; for example, in Charles Dickens' narration of the "monotonous" train, called "monster, Death," narrative language is emblematic of the characteristics of the appalling personification of the rushing train.<sup>58</sup> Perhaps, too, Sterne's journey (1768) would not have been appropriately "sentimental," had the reader been technologically bombarded with such a quantity of verbal representation as was Dickens' reader. Personalization, as a stylistic characteristic of the Crónica, is representative of Flores' vision of the century as a struggle, indeed, a guerra a muerte, as Flores says, between art and technics, between craft and the standardization of craft: "por terrible que sea para la poesía el sacrificio a que hoy la condena la civilización, su triunfo es seguro. Los industriales vendrán con el tiempo a ser poetas. Cuanto más perfecto sea el bienestar material de los pueblos, más sentirán la necesidad de la poesía" (p. 254). Although man might shift in the end to craft, meanwhile the forms of creative art would reflect those of technology, as man struggled to regain his artistic self from the

<sup>58</sup>Dealings with the Firm of Dombey and Son: Wholesale, Retail, and for Exportation, ed. H. W. Garrod (1950; rpt. London, 1960), pp. 280-281.

overbearance of technology. The war to the death could be so schismatic only ideologically.

One remarkable precedent to Flores' narrative emblemization of technology was the commemorative account that closed in the following way:

Todo lo que se refiere al vapor es muy rápido; pero hay una excepción, y es el contarle, que tiene que ser pesado inevitablemente. Está visto: las funciones del vapor no se dejan referir sino en in-folio. Quería yo contar a los demás la fiesta de un día, confiado en que no era más que de un día, y me he hallado después, con que el vapor sabe meter en un día, y en pocas horas, las siguientes cosas: salida pública de SS. MM. de la villa y corte de Madrid; estreno de un gran edificio; una función de iglesia; un viaje de 9 leguas; una jornada de sitio real de tres horas; paseos por sus jardines; otro viaje de 9 leguas, y nueva entrada triunfal. Si no se ha de referir como refieren los índices ¿quién cuenta todo esto en breves líneas? Hemos tenido ya una literatura pavorosa y otra literatura vaporosa; pero ni ésta alcanza. Habría que idear para esto una especie de narración al vapor, que como se deja concluir haciendo al ferrocarril un obsequio. Este artículo tiene de lectura lo que tiene de duración ese viaje de 9 leguas. Llevado de mi buen deseo, me he resignado a dar a este artículo la longitud de un camino, a trueque de probar que el camino es breve como un artículo.<sup>59</sup>

Antonio María Rubio's artistic problem is clearly, that of having to incorporate a maximum of information within a given quantity of expression. His limitations extended beyond those dictated by literary form, certainly, to those limitations which

<sup>59</sup>Antonio María Rubio, "El ferrocarril de Madrid a Aranjuez. Su inauguración en 9 de febrero de 1851," in La España (February 11, 1851 [?]); rpt. in Eco Literario de Europa, II (1851 [sic; 1852 (?)]), p. 101.

arose with the impositions of the technological environment upon art. Because he did not want to offer a mere list of substantive terms, he initially prescribed for himself that the entirety of the literary piece would stand for its subject, the steam-engine train trip, and from this representational priority, he devised that the time required for a reading of the piece would be, in effect, that of the measured time of the journey in train. The ideal for the representation of events revolving around the technological form as subject lay somewhere between substantive indexing and lyrical proliferation, but, according to Rubio, neither was exclusively appropriate. Again, the technological environment encouraged the author to measure his composition not only literally, but also modally.

The foregoing serves, in effect, to support the theory of Robert Scholes that realism, an attitude corresponding to the historical literary mode, is "the curbing of satirical and romantic attitudes in response to scientific or empirical impulses, which were also taking shape as journalistic, biographical, and full-blown historical types of narrative."<sup>60</sup> In the Spanish Romantic period, the distinctions between fictional prose and nonfictional prose were indeed tenuous, and

<sup>60</sup>"Towards a Poetics of Fiction: An Approach Through Genre," in Novel, II, No. 2 (Winter 1969), p. 107. Scholes believes that the twentieth century exhibits an attempt to reconcile satire and romance.

it was Spain, more than France or England, Eugenio de Ochoa thought, that was the nation unable to make these distinctions:

La historia, como hoy se escribe, en sus formas y hasta en su esencia, es novela histórica: novela dialogada es el drama moderno, con sus dimensiones exuberantes, con sus lances imposibles: la filosofía misma, y aun la política, cosas de suyo tan poco novelescas, tienen hoy en las producciones de nuestros publicistas--producciones, como ahora se dice, "palpitantes de interés"--mucho de novela. La novela es realmente la fórmula de nuestra literatura, la expresión de nuestra sociedad: todo lo que se escribe, todo lo que sucede es o parece novela.<sup>61</sup>

Ochoa's affirmation of the Romantic subjectivization of historical fact, coupled with the contemporaneous factualness in fictional prose, suggests that by the time of Galdós' Episodios nacionales and Novelas contemporáneas, these distinctive subdivisions might truly have been necessary as a guide to the reader who, a priori, sought either fact or fiction, specifically.

<sup>61</sup>See the review of Francisco Navarro Villoslada's Dofia Blanca de Navarra: Crónica del siglo XV, in El Renacimiento, I, No. 8 (May 2, 1847), p. 60. Juan Valera's observations that "la música y la poesía lírica son, por cierto, las dos formas artísticas más propias de nuestra edad [1861, to be exact]," and that "es falso que nuestro siglo sea un siglo de prosa," seem a bit one-sided (see: "Qué ha sido, qué es y qué debe ser el arte en el siglo XIX," in Obras completas, II, ed. Luis Araujo Costa, 2nd ed. [Madrid, 1949], p. 223; also, "Discurso leído por el Ilmo. Sr. D. . . . en el acto de su recepción el día 16 de marzo de 1862," in Discursos leídos en las recepciones públicas que ha celebrado desde 1847 la Real Academia Española, III [Madrid, 1865], p. 255). Compare with Valera's point of view two speeches, one by José Caveda ("La poesía considerada como elemento de la historia: Discurso leído por Don . . . en el acto de su recepción en la Real Academia Española el 29 de febrero de 1852"), and the other by the Marqués de Pidal (presumably Alejandro Pidal y Món), "Contestación al anterior discurso, por el Excmo. Sr. . . ."), both in Eco Literario de Europa, II (1851 [sic]), pp. 361-377, 378-391.

It grows ever more meaningless to state, simply, that the novelist of "realism" sought to write objectively. "The realists were drawn to reality because reality had achieved some sort of status which it did not have before," S. Bacarisse has said, and this question is our concern at the present time.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>62</sup>"The Realism of Galdós: Some Reflections on Language and the Perception of Reality," in Bulletin of Hispanic Studies, XLII, No. 4 (October 1965), p. 249. Wylie Sypher, who has said that the literature of the Romantic had not yet become "highly conscious artifact," since his approach was still empirical and not "subservient to a methodology of observation and verification," has offered a tripartite view of realism, in which he distinguishes between "two different questions: the relation between empiricism and literature and the relation between technology and literature. It is not a question of simple oppositions, since there are always interactions" (Literature and Technology: The Alien Vision [New York, 1968], p. 37). There is that realism in which the artist calls attention to his mode of vision (Vermeer, Degas), in which the artist's distancing does not alienate but rather affirms his personal regard, in which the world is not presented as it is, but rather as it is seen. There is also that kind from which the artist seems absent, yet in which he has not stressed a "technological approach, although [his] finesse in managing [his] métier is a technical accomplishment. The realism of Dutch still life is a game--as it is in Harnett and trompe l'oeil, which competes with photography." There is yet a third realism, and "the difference between nineteenth-century realism and foregoing realisms is precisely that the former tended to become methodological--that is, ideological, since ideologies or theories always contaminated nineteenth-century methods in the arts, which fell victim to the technological: every method evolved a program. And the basic difference between art and technology (perhaps between science and technology also) is that neither art nor science can be programmed" (pp. 223-224). Nevertheless, Walter Riese has commented on the heightened scientific methodization in the course of the nineteenth century: "Magendie was a passionate experimenter and constantly hunting new facts; he called himself a ragpicker. In taking this confession at its face value, one is tempted to mark the passage from teacher to pupil, namely from Magendie to Claude Bernard, as the most decisive step in the history of experimental medicine, namely from simply making experiments to the experimental method. . . . Both the idea of determinism and of its use for therapeutical ends were anticipated by Magendie" ("The Impact of Romanticism on the Experimental Method," in Studies in Romanticism, II, No. 1 [Autumn 1962], p. 14.

Indeed, a growing importance of programmed externality was obvious in the gathering of knowledge in general, just as it was in the composition of prose literature, and Lewis Mumford leads us to understand that this movement "from matters of value to matters of fact . . . both resulted from the advances of technics and gave further encouragement to those advances; but, though it was hailed as a great emancipation of the spirit, we can now see that it actually involved a displacement of the rest of the personality."<sup>63</sup> The change in the compositional approach to the nineteenth-century novel might be understood as the result of the prose artist's need to re-create the complex organic work of the Author that man displaced, both in the course of his search for his unique self and in his co-ordinate cult of novelty. Both diminution of metaphysical thematics and empiricism in the very task of literary composition signaled man's vision of the self as continuously more divorced from the universal, and without relation to the external world, which man was in the process of shaking off. Thus, Paul De Man, citing Lukács, remarks that "Lukács's theory of the novel emerges in a cogent and coherent way out of the dialectic between the urge for totality and man's alienated situation. The novel becomes 'the epic of a world from which God has departed.'" "The novel . . . remains rooted," says De Man, "in the particularity of experience; as an epical genre, it can never give up its contact with empirical reality, which is an inherent part

<sup>63</sup>Art and Technics (1952; rpt. New York, 1960), p. 22; my underscoring.

of its own form. But in a time of alienation, it is forced to represent this reality as imperfect, as steadily striving to move beyond the boundaries that restrict it, as constantly experiencing and resenting the inadequacy of its own size and shape."<sup>64</sup> Whereas the empirical factualization of fictional content was man's attempt at replacing defunct externality, the artist's increased programmatization of his prose represented an attempt at replacing externality in the perfect fashion of divine authorship, and by so doing, substituting himself as Creator.

But this is not to imply that the mechanics of "realism" did not suffice to provide a realistic illusion for a majority of readers at the time when these mechanics were applied to the art of the novel. If the same mechanics of logical positivism are invalid as mimetic means for the writers of nouveaux romans, for example, it is because these writers are themselves a part of the common-reader public, whose perceptual faculties since the climactic success of the novel of "realism" have been altered, through various causes, one of which is "realistic" expression itself. The author of a nouveau roman is incorrect in assuming that the nineteenth-century novel (or, especially, the periodical, which because of its random syntax, forced the reader further toward the organization of its relatively complex diversity) did not require of the reader his constitutive self-application. Some writers today are too quick to insist upon

<sup>64</sup>"Georg Lukács's Theory of the Novel," in Modern Language Notes, LXXXI, No. 5 (December 1966), pp. 530-531.



the non-prescriptive approach to their own novelizations, and to claim, instead, a "constant invention and perpetual interrogation" for their works, denying all the while the effectiveness of the positivistic "realism" of Zola, for example, at least for the reader of Zola's day.<sup>65</sup> As the writer of an ars poetica tantamount in significance to the art itself, Robbe-Grillet is a product of scientific positivism, despite the desperate claim to a departure from alignment with the "scientific" procedure of Zola and Claude Bernard and a return to a doubting empiricism; as the writer of an ars poetica, he is quite distant from the fanciful Romantic like José de Espronceda, such as E. Allison Peers described him: "He could launch epigrams, but he could not lay down principles; he could satirise but not generalise; he could declaim against a school but he could not found one."<sup>66</sup>

For the reader of fiction, the artist's departure from craft art had a severe effect. Ultimately, it is important to recognize that in methodical realistic prose, the reader's participation in the medium of art lends, even to him, a creative rôle and makes of him an ordainer for infinite organic complexity, as had been the writer himself.<sup>67</sup> The apparent

<sup>65</sup>Alain Robbe-Grillet, For a New Novel: Essays on Fiction, trans. Richard Howard (1963; trans. New York, 1965), p. 161.

<sup>66</sup>"Later Spanish Conceptions of Romanticism," in Modern Language Review, XVIII, No. 1 (January 1923), p. 44.

<sup>67</sup>See Lowry Nelson, Jr., "The Fictive Reader and Literary Self-Reflexiveness," in The Disciplines of Criticism: Essays in Literary Theory, Interpretation, and History, eds. Peter Demetz, Thomas Greene, and Lowry Nelson, Jr. (New Haven and London, 1968), p. 184: "In the realistic novel of, say, Balzac,

absence of authorship afforded the reader himself an experience of composition, a sensation of authorship. Indirectly, one writer for the Semanario Pintoresco Español led the public to understand that the objectivization of literature fostered the democratization of literature; of course, the literature of democratic domain, meanwhile, pushed further and further toward objectivization: "Si un autor encuentra en la historia en unas Memorias o en una correspondencia familiar una aventura que le choqa, y se imagina que puede trasladarse a las tablas o una novela sin mudar nada, se engaña. La aventura conmovería al espectador o lector como sucedida, pero le sería indiferente como ficción, porque creería que podía inventarse mejor."<sup>68</sup>

The sacrifice that realism made was authorial personalism, in order that the work gain in autonomous presence, and for the aggrandizement of the "creative" reader himself. If, indeed, the perspectivism of the Cervantine critic-poet once enhanced the figure of the novelist himself, as Leo Spitzer has ob-

<sup>68</sup>"De la novela en general," in III, No. 143 (December 23, 1838), p. 818. It was the lack of co-ordination between art and technics that yielded a theatre of contrived realism and which caused Alcalá Galiano to inform the Ateneo (March 1, 1839) that for the theatrical illusion to be realistic (completa), "sería preciso que el espectador creyera hallarse realmente en el parage que se finge en el teatro, que prescindiese de la medida de los versos, y supiera que los personajes hablaban idioma distinto del suyo: de otro modo esta ilusión no puede ser distinta de la producida por la imagen de la verdad, mas no por la verdad misma" (paraphrased by José de la Revilla, presumably, "Ateneo de Madrid. Sección de literatura," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, 2nd Ser., I, No. 11 [March 17, 1839], p. 88). In the twentieth century the failure of the means of the drama of realism was perceived to the effect that a theatre of non-illusory purport was devised, by writers like Brecht, in an effort to conjoin art and technics in equal proportion, thus to restore mythical ritualism to "scientific" art.

served, it is none the less so that the common reader, now, has gained an illusion not only of the autonomy of the work, but also of his own authority with relation to the organism of art.<sup>69</sup> All of the loss of mythical sense upon the departure of the author from his work was summarized by Antonio Neira de Mosquera in Spain's mid-nineteenth century, when he described the "moderno Diablo Cojuelo que acompaña a la humanidad en todas partes, para soltar una sonrisa recatada en medio de sus triunfos y placeres": "El observador, si no puede ver, adivina; si no puede sorprender, deduce; y de la misma suerte que el ciego, por una compensación orgánica de la naturaleza, tiene más refinado el sentido del oído; el observador, por una compensación intelectual, pierde en corazón lo muchísimo que gana en cabeza. Nunca siente: siempre piensa y raciocina."<sup>70</sup>

<sup>69</sup>"On the Significance of Don Quijote," in Modern Language Notes, LXXVII, No. 2 (March 1962), pp. 126-127. Blanchard W. Bates has observed that in literary portraiture, which in both classical and modern times has had as its end "to bring an individual before the eyes of the reader," textual self-reference, such as an invitation to the reader to collaborate, is an impediment to the desired effect (Literary Portraiture in the Historical Narrative of the French Renaissance [New York, 1945], pp. 5, 111). One probable result of the illusion of literary autonomy has been the New Critic's exclusivist denial that one might acquire some degree of cognizance of the causes of artistic composition (see W. K. Wimsatt, Jr. and Monroe Beardsley, "The Intentional Fallacy," in The Verbal Icon: Studies in the Meaning of Poetry [1946; rpt. Lexington, Kentucky, 1954], pp. 3-18). The "intentional fallacy" is described as "a confusion between the poem and its origins," a fallacy which "begins by trying to derive the standard of criticism from the psychological causes of the poem and ends in biography and relativism" ("The Affective Fallacy," *ibid.* [1949; rpt.], p. 21).

<sup>70</sup>"De la novela moderna," in Revista de España, de Indias y del Extranjero, XII (1848), pp. 182-183.

II: UNIVERSALISM AND PARTICULARISM IN LANGUAGE

Although in Spain's mid-nineteenth century, rationalist views concerning the nature of syntactical thought and expression were predominant, potential distortions of linguistic logicity were latent even in the sensationalist teachings of the French rationalists. In the era of Romantic sentiment, particularistic factors vied with universalist powers of reason, although these particularistic factors might have been partially the result of rationalism. To an extent, language was understood to be the graphic depiction of these contentious aspects of mind. Isaac Núñez de Arenas, for example, remarked that "las reglas gramaticales se apoyan en leyes filosóficas; . . . la clasificación lógica de los pensamientos funda la clasificación oracional de las palabras; y . . . la manera de combinarse las ideas en la mente, descubre el origen de las leyes de la sintaxis."<sup>1</sup> But in contrast to this postulation of universal philosophical laws as the foundation of logic, and of logic as the basis of grammar, Luis González Bravo, in his "Discurso" (March 1, 1863), elaborated upon Hegel's notion that a nation's richest intuitions are found in its works of art, and that it was frequently the case that the fine arts permitted a vision of the secrets of a nation's knowledge and of the mysteries of its religion. González Bravo was neither unaware of universalist

<sup>1</sup>"Discurso leído por el Ilmo. Sr. D. . . . en el acto de su recepción el día 13 de diciembre de 1863," in Discursos leídos en las recepciones públicas que ha celebrado desde 1847 la Real Academia Española, III (Madrid, 1865), p. 525.

temperament, here, nor so particularistic in his philosophy that he resorted to the extreme of human, rather than national, individualism; thus, he could find in all manifestations of a nation's fine arts a "ley común, su razón abstracta," which he understood to be expressed in the word (palabra) of these arts.<sup>2</sup> The co-existence of the essentially different views represented by Núñez de Arenas and González Bravo, who spoke before the Real Academia in the same year, was visible earlier in Jaime Balmes, who, while he followed the general line of French rationalist philosophy in his Grammar, noted in his chapter on syntax: "Cuando se trata de expresar ideas sin mezcla de sentimientos, el lenguaje sigue el orden lógico; pero cuando el corazón está agitado, dicho orden se altera

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 379, 381. Similarly, a writer for the Revista Barcelonesa remarked that Herder "insinúa, aunque sin darlo por sentado, que comparando las lenguas entre sí pudieran deducirse de sus dotes y defectos la índole y carácter de los pueblos que las hablan, o, lo que es lo mismo, que por la fisonomía, digámoslo así de los idiomas se puede hasta cierto punto inferir la respectiva moral de las naciones" ("Consideraciones sobre la historia y filosofía de la historia," in I, No. 25 [January 17, 1847], p. 388). In our own century, Benjamin Lee Whorf has repeatedly emphasized the common language, rather than the nation, as determinative of perceptual experience and expression: "All observers are not led by the same physical evidence to the same picture of the universe, unless their linguistic backgrounds are similar, or can in some way be calibrated"; "we cut up and organize the spread and flow of events as we do, largely because, through our mother tongue, we are parties to an agreement to do so, not because nature itself is segmented in exactly that way for all to see"; "a change in language can transform our appreciation of the Cosmos" (1940, 1941, 1942; rpts. in Language, Thought, and Reality, ed. John B. Carroll [Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1956], pp. 214, 240, 263). Whorf's considerations are echoed in the anthropological-linguistic studies by Dorothy Lee, whose principal argument is that reality appears to different cultures as different, through language codes ("Lineal and Nonlinear Codifications of Reality," in Explorations in Communication, eds. Edmund Carpenter and Marshall McLuhan [1950; 1959; 1960; rpt. Boston, 1968], pp. 136-154).

sin perder la naturalidad. ¿Qué cosa más natural que los movimientos del corazón?"<sup>3</sup> Passional subjectivity might take priority over reason as a factor of expression. Thus in his answer to Condillac, Balmes accounted for the difference between the perception of an impression transmitted through sensory organs (sensación) and the experience known as sentimiento; furthermore, it seems significant in this regard that Balmes could not accept the materialism implicit in Condillac's elevation of the tactile sense to the top of the sensorial hierarchy, and that he would have retained instead the priority of sight for this position.<sup>4</sup> Nor could Tomás García Luna accept a sensationalist esthetic without reservations, so, in order to support Arteaga and to contradict the sensationalists, he paraphrased Cousin, denying that touch, taste, and smell were the primary esthetic senses; but later, following Condillac, García Luna reflected the transitional position of the linguistic theoreticians. "En el acto de hablar particularizamos las abstracciones," he iterated, and in so doing, he concluded that discriminatory linguistic usage ultimately resolved itself in stylistic individualism, both on the national and on the individual level: "Pretender que todas las oraciones se vaciaran en

<sup>3</sup>Part 3 ("Gramática general o Filosofía del lenguaje"), Book 3 of Filosofía elemental, in Obras completas, III, ed. P. Casanovas, S. I. (Madrid, 1948), p. 339.

<sup>4</sup>Book II ("De las sensaciones") of Filosofía Fundamental, in Obras completas, II, ed. P. Casanovas, S. I. (Madrid, 1948), p. 250. Cf. "De los sentidos, in Semanario Pintoresco Español, No. 10 (March 11, 1849), p. 80, in which the anonymous writer informs his reader that in man the hierarchy of the senses was, in ascending order, olfactory, auditory, visual, gustative, and tactile.

el propio molde, fuera introducir en la gramática una especie de hipocresía tan nociva para el arte de hablar, como lo es la que se usa para las costumbres."<sup>5</sup> Particularizing discourse is, necessarily, the immediate successor to abstraction. Likewise, the concept of fixity is impossible for narrative, which embodies its own vital factors. As Manuel Bretón de los Herreros, an artist of types and painter of literary scenes, demonstrated when he distinguished among narrar, referir, and contar in his synonymic collection, verisimilitude is achieved only through contextuality:

Los que conocen mejor su idioma, denotan con [el verbo contar], menos importancia y extensión en lo que se comunica a otros, que con narrar o referir. Por lo común, contar una cosa es decir solamente lo sustancial de ella, a menos que se añada con sus pelos y señales, ce por be, u otras palabras que vengan a expresar lo mismo; referirla o narrarla, es hacerla conocer con todas sus circunstancias y pormenores; y aun narrar, poco usado fuera del lenguaje poético, indica un relato más prolijo y estudiado que el que supone el verbo referir. . . . También referir y narrar difieren de contar en que, propia o figuradamente, los primeros tratan siempre verdad o cosa que se vende como tal, y el último tiene uso, tanto para lo cierto, como para lo fingido o falso.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup>"Filosofía de la sintaxis," in Revista de Madrid, 3rd Ser., IV (1842), pp. 51, 59; this article was extracted from a course in eclectic philosophy being given in Madrid's Ateneo by García Luna, a member of the Sociedad Económica de Cádiz. For the refutation of sensationalist esthetics, see "Reflexiones sobre la teoría de la belleza," in Revista de Madrid, 3rd Ser., II (1841), p. 55.

<sup>6</sup>"Sinónimos castellanos," in Museo de las Familias, 2nd Ser., XIX (1861), p. 45. Bretón de los Herreros published his synonymic collections in at least two periodicals: La América (1857-1858) and the Museo (1859-1861).

In eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Spanish concepts of eloquence, the accent on linguistic rationalism was obvious. After Spaniards, for nearly a century, had reworked French linguistic philosophy, F. Ferrer y Valls naturally opposed Feijóo's idea that "la elocuencia es naturaleza y no arte, esto es, una disposición natural más que una calidad adquirida."<sup>7</sup> Language could both be controlled and be used to control modes of thought and expression, thought Ferrer: "Otros opinan de diferente modo que nuestro sabio benedictino, y considerando [la elocuencia] como otra de tantas prendas adquiridas a fuerza de sudores y trabajos, aconsejan leer y más leer excelentes y acabados modelos para poderse proporcionar cosa tan preciosa, con cuyo parecer no hallamos de acuerdo, y así recomendamos a nuestra estudiosa juventud que si aspira a ser elocuente en sus obras estudie y lea día y noche nuestros clásicos del siglo XVI, y no dude que lo alcanzará." Ferrer's difference with Feijóo did not rest, as it might appear, in the nature of the linguistic ideal, since both regarded scientific language as a more efficacious means of mutual comprehension; it rested in a basically different understanding of the degree in which language should be made truly instrumental.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup>"Estudios literarios. De la elocuencia," in Revista Literaria de El Español, II, No. 14 (July 6, 1846), p. 217.

<sup>8</sup>The rationalist position with respect to eloquence might be readily understood if we consider that Thomas Sprat, in his seventeenth-century History of the Royal Society, often spoke harshly of eloquence, which he associated with wit and private meaning, and he set forth the "model of their design" as follows: The Society was to "make faithful Records, of all the works of Nature, or Art, which can come within their reach," so that contemporaries and posterity alike might "put a mark on the



Antonio Gil y Zárate expressed an idea similar to that of Ferrer y Valls when he said that French linguistic influence caused Spain to shed some of its rich linguistic raiment, gaining precision and expressive ease (naturalidad, exactitud y movimiento) in the process, but he was nevertheless outnumbered by those of his contemporaries who could see no linguistic or literary benefit whatsoever that the Spanish might have derived from the French during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Gil y Zárate remarked that Castilian, "ahora, en frases más cortas, se dirige rápidamente a su objeto; sus artificiosos giros solían producir afectación y oscurecer el sentido; ahora busca la claridad sin dejar de ser elegante: antes sacrificaba la verdad a la pompa de la frase; ahora con menos brillantez da más verdad a su colorido. Sin cuidarse tanto de la forma, y menos simétrica, menos acompañada, se mueve con más animación y vida, acomodándose mejor a la pintura de las pasiones humanas, y prestándose dócil a todas las necesidades de la moderna elocuencia."<sup>9</sup> Eugenio de

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Errors" and "restore the Truths, that have lain neglected." In order to accomplish this, the Society tried to "separate the knowledge of Nature, from the colours of Rhetorick, and the devices of Fancy, or the delightful deceit of Fables," avoid "vain, and useless particulars," being "bounded too much up by General Doctrines," and as for language, they tried to "render it an Instrument whereby Mankind may obtain a Dominion over Things" (cited by Francis Christensen, "John Wilkins and the Royal Society's Reform of Prose Style," in Modern Language Quarterly, VII, No. 3 [September 1946], p. 284).

<sup>9</sup>"Discurso de contestación del Excmo. Sr. D. . . . (10 diciembre 1848)," in Discursos leídos en las recepciones públicas que ha celebrado desde 1847 la Real Academia Española, I (Madrid, 1860), p. 169; the speech replied to José Joaquín de Mora. For elaboration upon this polemic, see Manuel Mourelle-Lema, who has also indicated José Nusso y Valiente as represen-

THE MORTALITY OF TYPES:  
TECHNOLOGY, LANGUAGE, AND PROSE IN ROMANTIC SPAIN

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Ochoa, who maintained the same ideals as Gil y Zárate, could not, however, be so enthusiastic yet about Spain's own language, and in the course of a comment on the dubious state of literary Castilian, Ochoa hit precisely upon the theoretical problem that gave rise to the collections of synonyms compiled by Spaniards between 1756 and his own time. He said that Spain's poetry was swelled with words (hinchazón y palabrería), noisy but lacking in substance, and that the deficiency of the Spanish language was its superabundance of words used to express just one idea: "Nuestra lengua, tal cual hoy se habla, [es] armoniosa y rica sin duda, (aunque rica de mala manera, a mi modo de ver, esto es, rica de muchas cosas que no la [sic] hacen falta, y escasa de otras que la vendrían muy bien)."<sup>10</sup>

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tative of the view that French influence had lent a philosophical exactitude to the Castilian tongue (see La teoría lingüística en la España del siglo XIX [Madrid, 1968], pp. 249-250).

<sup>10</sup>París, Londres y Madrid, in Museo de las Familias, 2nd Ser., XVIII (1860), pp. 284, 286. See Fernando Lázaro Carreter, Las ideas lingüísticas en España durante el siglo XVIII (Madrid, 1949), p. 80: according to Lázaro Carreter (cf. El Conde de la Viñaza, Biblioteca histórica de la filología castellana [Madrid, 1893], pp. 863-872), in 1756, Manuel Dendo y Ávila published his Ensayo de los synónimos (Madrid), by which he tried to eliminate the possible use of more than one word to express one concept; the effort was original in Spain at the time, notes Lázaro. The same preoccupation, expressed in nearly the same terminology as that of Ochoa, above, appeared in Thomas Sprat's History of the Royal Society almost a century before Dendo y Ávila: "[The members of the Society] have therefore been most rigorous in putting in execution, the only Remedy, that can be found for this extravagance: and that has been, a constant Resolution, to reject all the amplifications, digressions, and swellings of style: to return back to the primitive purity, and shortness, when men deliver'd so many things, almost in an equal number of words. They have exacted from all their members, a close, naked, natural way of speaking; positive expressions; clear senses; a native easiness; bringing all things as near the Mathematical plainness, as they can:

An evaluation of the synonymicons after Manuel Dendo y Ávila indicates that synonymatic investigation satisfied a need for clear distinctions which might serve to better define a world increasingly diverse to man's perceptions. Few demonstrated this propensity for nominalist particularization so clearly as José (Joseph) López de la Huerta (Examen de la posibilidad de fixar la significación de los sinónimos de la lengua castellana [Madrid, 1799]). But López de la Huerta denied his ability to discover "la perfecta y exacta significación de las voces" (p. xii) and, thereby, to correct the Castilian language thoroughly. This denial, a restatement of the ideal that had been articulated by Antonio de Capmany y de Montpalau, went beyond the French claim to the ability to fix the exact correlation between the concept and the word, insofar as the value of language, for Capmany, López de la Huerta, and their synonymist successors, did not rest in lexical quantity, but rather in the denotative power of the word. At the same time, his denial expressed Spain's own aspirations to make of Castilian a useful instrument of knowledge. Above all, language should not have recourse to ambivalence; if language were to be functional it must not permit more than one word to express a single idea: "En fin es forzoso decir, que el espíritu de discernimiento y exactitud es la verdadera luz que en un discurso distingue al hombre sabio del hombre

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and preferring the language of Artizans, Countrymen, and Merchants, before that, of Wits, or Scholars" (cited by Francis Christensen, "John Wilkins and the Royal Society's Reform of Prose Style," in Modern Language Quarterly, VII, No. 3 [September 1946], p. 286.

vulgar."<sup>11</sup> Expressive value rested in powers of particularization, not in notional abstraction. Thus, Antonio de Capmany rejected verbosity and replaced this characteristic of language with a new concept of eloquence, that is, "el talento de imprimir con fuerza y calor en el alma del oyente los afectos que tienen agitada la nuestra" (p. 2). With this, Capmany led one to understand that the highest achievement of language is the power it gives man to objectify his interior being with the least possibility of equivocal interpretation. This was precisely the same ideal revived shortly after among Spanish historians of the Romantic era, and it was also the byword for technological means of expression, such as the periodical press, and for the prose literature of "realism" that grew up with periodical publication.

It is in the nature of all denotative linguistic programs, like the synonymicons, that they provide the foundation for their own failure; denotative language cannot have significance apart from the synonymatic potential which threatens it. José López de la Huerta was singular among the many synonymists, in saying that sometimes there was meaning in only approximate definition, and on this point, particularly, he was challenged by his exacting successor, S. Jonama (Ensayo sobre la distinción de los sinónimos de la lengua castellana [Madrid, 1806]),

<sup>11</sup>Capmany, Filosofía de la eloquencia (Madrid, 1777), p. 49. See, also, Gavino Tejado (presumably Tejado y Rodríguez), "Apuntes biográficos y bibliográficos sobre el literato español D. Antonio Capmany y sobre algunas de sus obras poco conocidas e inéditas," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, New Ser., II, No. 17 (April 25, 1847), pp. 131-134.

as Lázaro Carreter informs us (Ideas, p. 86). The title of López de la Huerta's work clearly showed that the author was merely examining the possibility of fixing the definitions of synonymous words, for he believed that one word could not rightly correspond to a single idea without the simultaneous apprehension that for the single idea there exists a variety of verbal definition: "Debo prevenir, que quando aquí se trata de la diferente significación de dos o más voces, sólo se deben considerar baxo aquella idea y acepción común, que las constituye sinónimas, y que confunde sus significaciones propias o figuradas; pues de otro modo nohay, ni puede haber duda en la significación que a cada una corresponde" (p. xiii). The recognition of synonymatic potentiality should naturally be simultaneous with the attempt to particularize abstraction denotatively. The illusion which the synonymicons ultimately provide (that no meaning exists without potential modification according to its contextuality) may not be the immediate end of the discriminator of synonyms, but it is, inevitably, the broader implication of any synonymist's work. The eighteenth- and nineteenth-century figures with whom we are now concerned tried to establish, in effect, grounds on which the idealist vision might grow to be more naturalist, to use the terminology of the critics of their time. Charles Nodier, so often translated into Spanish during the first half of Spain's nineteenth century, and kept under such close surveillance by Madrid's Sociedad de Lengua Universal especially for his voice of opposition to linguistic universality, welcomed "esas, según él,

mal llamadas imperfecciones" without which languages "no serían tan bellas como las que las tienen."<sup>12</sup> Today, Stephen Ullmann welcomes synonymy, since "in the widest sense of the term, [it] lies at the root of the whole problem of style."<sup>13</sup>

No statement do I find more pertinent (despite its unintentional applicability) to the analytical act of synonymization than the following, written recently by Sigurd Burckhardt: "The modern mind distrusts abstractions, even while it is busily inventing more abstractions to feel threatened by."<sup>14</sup> The manner of thought which Burckhardt believed characteristic of our own day is the reflection of an intensely Romantic way of thinking: "We dream of a kind of nominalist paradise, where there is complete individuality without chaos, complete relatedness without reference--where we can be 'simply ourselves'

<sup>12</sup>"Lecciones de lengua universal dadas en el Ateneo de Madrid por D. Lope Gisbert," in Boletín de la Sociedad de Lengua Universal, II, No. 13 (1864), p. 13. Lope Gisbert y Tornel contested this manner of thought: "Digan lo que quieran algunos gramáticos, nadie puede negar el hecho de que las imperfecciones del lenguaje se traducen siempre por medio de errores en el espíritu." He was convinced that "aunque fuera (que no lo sería) monótona una lengua bien hecha, la preferiríamos . . . a las lenguas presentes tan variadas y bellas por sus mismas irregularidades," since "no puede llegar a la universalidad lo que nació con caracteres de localidad" ("¿Qué lengua ha de elegirse para ser universal?," in the Boletín, I, No. 11 [1864], pp. 332-333).

<sup>13</sup>Quoted by E. H. Gombrich, "Style," in International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, XV, ed. David L. Sills (New York, 1968), p. 353. Ullmann believes that context "should comprise, not only the actual words and sentences preceding and following a term, but the whole chapter, the whole book, and in some ways even the entire background and milieu" (Words and Their Use [1959; New York, 1966], p. 33).

<sup>14</sup>"Of Order, Abstraction, and Language," in The Yale Review, LIII, No. 4 (June 1964), p. 533.

and still live in what we vaguely call 'harmony' or 'organic order,' as though we were tones or flowers rather than men. Oddly--this is the paradox of all such paradisaal thinking--we fancy that only then can our lives be really 'meaningful'" (p. 535). Linguistic considerations like this might serve to qualify interpretations of Romanticism such as Northrop Frye's, which posits linguistic change as a corollary of the development of the post-Enlightenment myth.<sup>15</sup>

In technological mediation, as in linguistic demarcation, the equitonal effect peculiar to instrumental standardization cannot but grow into inflective connotation in a course of events--events, for example, that Bretón de los Herreros thought of as the contextual basis for narrative truth. Practically speaking, the rift between the less inflective forms characteristic of book technology and the more inflective forms characteristic of periodical technology was consummately apparent at the time of Spain's exemplary "realist" narrative, as Benito Pérez Galdós, in 1882, led one to believe:

<sup>15</sup>Chapter I ("The Romantic Myth" [1963]; rev. rpt. in A Study of English Romanticism [New York, 1968]): "In Western Europe an encyclopedic myth, derived mainly from the Bible, dominated both the literary and the philosophical traditions for centuries. I see Romanticism as the beginning of the first major change in this pattern of mythology, and as fully comprehensible only when seen as such" (p. 5); "Romanticism . . . is the first major phase in an imaginative revolution which has carried on until our own day, and has by no means completed itself yet" (p. 15); "The new mythology caused old things to be believed in a new way, and thus eventually transformed the spirit of their belief. It also made new types of belief possible, by creating a new mythical language that permitted their formulation" (p. 16).



Una de las mayores dificultades con que tropieza la novela en España consiste en lo poco hecho y trabajado que está el lenguaje literario para reproducir los matices de la conversación corriente. Oradores y poetas le sostienen en sus antiguos moldes académicos, defendiéndole de los esfuerzos que hace la conversación para apoderarse de él; el terco régimen aduanero de los cultos le priva de flexibilidad. Por otra parte, la prensa, con raras excepciones, no se esmera en dar al lenguaje corriente la acentuación literaria, y de estas ranchas antipatías entre la retórica y la conversación, entre la academia y el periódico, resultan infranqueables diferencias entre la manera de escribir y la manera de hablar, diferencias que son la desesperación y el escollo del novelista.<sup>16</sup>

Now from a more synchronic perspective, book technology yielded to the periodical medium of variegated tone, and the technical precision of book mediation became, more and more, an unapparent aspect of the newer periodical mediation of more random appearance. In other words, representational verisimilitude, rather than technical uniformity, was provided with the later mediatory form, which would not be characteristically equitonal or so rationally syntactical in its technically extended form, but which was, instead, increasingly inflective in comparison with the book. Periodical expression represented a technology through which the anomaly dreaded by the synonymists might become tolerable, although the periodical was not representative of logical encyclopedism. With the periodical, the individual reader would supply his own semblance of order, precisely because of more random mediation. Such a perceptual distinction perhaps accounts for the "encyclopedic" art of Diderot,

<sup>16</sup>Quoted by ed. Max Aub, La prosa española del siglo XIX, I (Mexico, 1952), p. 44.

which Georges Poulet observes: "From the very first, Diderot seems less like a single person than a succession of persons," in that no matter to where we open Diderot's work, we discover that "there is not the slightest trace of a starting point"; "The world, in each momentary order, is at both its beginning and its end, . . . because, from its beginning to its end, it is entirely assembled at every moment, in every order."<sup>17</sup> The medium of less prescriptive tendency, by providing a less denotative, more anomalous, vision, afforded also the possibility of an illusion of verisimilitude, by prompting the reader to project into the medium his own correspondences between elements of mediation, and between ideas, thus relatively heedless of external programmatization. That is, he perceived what was real to himself; he became his own criterion for realism.

But it is also necessary to try to see, in the phenomenon of language itself, the instability of the book as expressive medium. The book was forced to yield to expressive qualities of spontaneity and randomness, which superseded book technology in forms like the periodical press, and the instability of the book is visible in the frustrated nineteenth-century attempts to establish philosophical languages, and in the subsequent failure of these a priori linguistic systems to become efficacious means for the ordering and transmission of ideas. The popularized book, moreover, had to assimilate to some degree, the new expression, in order to continue to exist with more or less the same appearance it had developed in the course of

<sup>17</sup> Studies in Human Time, trans. Elliott Coleman (1950; New York, 1959), pp. 185, 186, 190.

the time since the application of movable type to its production.

The exaltation of the particular quality of national languages, a practice which had gained impetus during the Renaissance, and which became the byword in the Romantic period of national particularism, proved to be a negative factor in the attempts to establish universalist and Utopian linguistic schemes.<sup>18</sup> For the rationalists, the association between linguistic and patriotic physiognomics was concurrent with the concept of an instrumental language for the education of man up from the Confusion of Tongues, although not in accord with this idea. This distinction was obvious at an early date, in the forty-third "Pensamiento" of Beatriz Cienfuegos, where she analogized characteristics of patria and idioma; at the same time, however, she was able to assert with thorough conviction that "en la lengua tenemos el origen de todos nuestros bienes, y el infausto principio de nuestros males: con este mismo instrumento podemos labrarnos, o nuestra fortuna, o mayor desgracia. . . .

<sup>18</sup>See Albert Léon Guérard, A Short History of the International Language Movement (London, 1922 [?]), pp. 84-85. Newton had commented upon the unwieldy arbitrariness of languages of convention in his draft for a universal language: "The Dialects of each Language being soe divers & arbitrary A generall Language cannot bee soe fitly deduced from them as from y<sup>e</sup> natures of things themselves w<sup>ch</sup> is y<sup>e</sup> same to all Nations & by w<sup>ch</sup> all Language was at y<sup>e</sup> first composed" (quoted in Ralph W. V. Elliott, "Isaac Newton's 'Of an Universall Language,'" in Modern Language Review, LII, No. 1 [January 1957], pp. 7, 10).

De todo puede ser causa nuestra lengua."<sup>19</sup> Braulio Foz did not hesitate to apply the principle of national particularism in order to disprove the theory of "una primera lengua madre de todas"; implicit in his rejection of this topical linguistic concept of his day was his rejection of uniformitarian mankind, on the one hand, and the affirmation of primal social individualism, on the other: "Para que haya tres lenguas ha de haber dos primero; de una sola jamás resultarán dos, sino lo más dialectos, pero de la misma, y nunca pasarán de dialectos; esencial y característicamente no habrá nunca más de una lengua."<sup>20</sup> Indeed, with the demise of the uniformitarian philosophical systems later on, it was the value of the particular national languages that was reaffirmed, as the respective declarations of L. Couturat and Richard Lorenz revealed in our own century, when these men insisted that "in its system of derivation as well as in the rest of its structure, the international language is nothing but a purified and idealised extract, a quintessence of the European languages," and that "its vocabulary must be taken a posteriori from the international treasury, and must not be invented according to any a priori system or special idiom."<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup>"Qual es el mejor modo de hablar su propio idioma," in La Pensadora Gaditana, IV (1786), p. 101; my underscoring.

<sup>20</sup>"Del origen de las lenguas," in Revista de Cataluña, II (1862), p. 261; article dated Zaragoza, May 6, 1862.

<sup>21</sup>Couturat, "On the Application of Logic to the Problem of an International Language," and Lorenz, "The Relationship of the International Language to Science," both in International Language and Science: Considerations on the Introduction of an

There is no better indication of the characteristic bent of the philosophical language movement in Spain than the Boletín de la Sociedad de Lengua Universal, directed by Lope Gisbert y Tornel, who was its principal contributor along with another member of the Society, Pascasio Lorrio.<sup>22</sup> The Society was formed expressly to propagate the Proyecto de lengua universal of Bonifacio Sotos Ochando, an expatriate of Spain (1823), who became the tutor of Louis Philippe's sons during his sojourn in France, before returning to Spain in 1840.<sup>23</sup>

International Language into Science (London, 1910), pp. 51, 58. The theoretical departure of Couturat (a sometime editor of the works of Leibniz) from eighteenth century precept is readily visible in the following statement: "The logic which holds sway [in the international language] is not the Aristotelian logic of genus and species, but rather that logic newly constituted under the name of the logic of relationships, which is, however, as old as the world, since it lies, though obscurely, at the basis of the formative processes in our natural languages."

<sup>22</sup>The Boletín, the propagandistic vehicle for the Society whose name it bore, purported to be of monthly issue, even though in reality it was not: the first volume consisted of twelve numbers and ran from the end of 1861 well into 1864, and there were at least three more numbers (13-15) which constituted at least a part of a second volume, all of these issued in 1864. The Boletín was published in Madrid by at least three different houses (Imprenta de El Clamor Público, Imprenta Nacional, Imprenta de José Cruzado), and was financed by private contribution from time to time, and also by governmental subsidy, chiefly at the instigation of Francisco Martínez de la Rosa, whose introductory article in the initial pages of the Boletín (I, No. 1 [1861], pp. 1-9) revealed the relationship between the universal language and advancement in various branches of technology at the time. Martínez de la Rosa drew the conclusion that "los fáciles modos de comunicación, establecidos entre los pueblos y naciones, tan separadas antes cual si respectivamente no existieran, han hecho sentir, más que en ninguna época precedente, lo necesario que es aspirar por todos medios a la posible uniformidad" (from the reprint of the "Introducción" by Martínez de la Rosa, in La América, V, No. 20 [December 24, 1861], p. 9).

<sup>23</sup>See, especially, the early issues of the Boletín for

Sotos Ochando had published a detailed exposition of his plan in a series of articles in El Heraldo (May-July [?], 1845), before presenting the Proyecto to Francisco Martínez de la Rosa, at the instigation of Salustiano Olózaga and Joaquín María López, in 1853; in 1855, Antonio de los Ríos Rosas headed the committee appointed by the Cortes to examine the project.<sup>24</sup> The committee of five, (including, also, Alfonso Escalante, Pardo Osorio, Moreno Nieto, and Cánovas del Castillo) held the project in high regard, as Lorrío indicated in his collected "Opini[ón]es de varios literatos y escritores sobre la Lengua Universal del Sr. Sotos" (Boletín, I, No. 3 [1862], p. 92), when he quoted the committee's statement of approval: "La comisión en todo esto no vacila en declarar que, a su juicio, el Proyecto de Lengua Universal del Sr. D. Bonifacio Sotos Ochando es una obra bien meditada y ejecutada con singular ingenio y no escasos conocimientos literarios, digna por tanto de la atención del Gobierno y del aprecio de la Nación." It was to the credit of the Spanish nation that in the same

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bibliographical information concerning Sotos and the history of his project: Pascasio Lorrío, "Extracto del informe que, acerca del proyecto de lengua universal del Señor Don Bonifacio Sotos Ochando, dió la comisión nombrada al efecto en la Sociedad Lingüística de París," in I, No. 1 (1861), pp. 29-30; Lope Gisbert, "Memoria leída en la junta general de 9 de marzo de 1862," in I, No. 3 (1862), pp. 65-84. Throughout the periodical, there are bibliographical references to new issues of Sotos Ochando's work, and elaborations upon it by both members and non-members of the Madrid-based Society.

<sup>24</sup>It was, no doubt, the Heraldo articles to which L. G. Page referred in an explanatory review of a pamphlet that announced a proposal for a universal language ("Proyecto de lengua universal por D. Antonio Ochoa Sbisocof," in Revista de Europa, I [1846], pp. 254-255). (The anagram is complete with the retention of "D[on].")

year a committee of twenty-three from the corresponding society in Paris invited Sotos to explicate his system, which they favored over various others, some of these devised by Frenchmen; this committee honored Sotos by submitting his speech for publication in the Tribune des Linguistes. When, in 1857, Sotos returned to Spain with the desire to publish his Ensayo de diccionario, his illness forced him to name a proxy (first Pedro Mata, author of a didactic resumé of the Proyecto, who was succeeded by Gisbert), so that his plan might be pursued, and it was around this time that the Madrid Society was formed to this specific end.<sup>25</sup>

Now, in order for the universalist ideal to apply, one had to be ready to accept the existence of certain fixed and operative principles, under which language might function with maximum instrumentality. For Lope Gisbert, it seems, there was no question that such principles did exist:

En efecto, decíamos que para formar una lengua a priori, era menester hacer una gramática racional, filosófica, sin idiotismo ni excepción alguna, y ahora decimos: ¿qué son sino eso todos los trabajos de gramática general de los Desttut-de-Tracy [sic] y de cuantos le han precedido o seguido en ese vasto y utilísimo estudio? Hay en esa materia tanto y tan bueno escrito, que la dificultad para nosotros no está, ni puede estar, ni estuvo para el inventor del Proyecto [Sotos Ochando]

<sup>25</sup>The Diccionario de lengua universal, precedido del resumen de su gramática, y seguido de varios apéndices muy importantes, 2nd ed., (Madrid, 1862) is, in part, a compendium of the various publications and presentations by Sotos prior to March 1862. It takes into account, for example, the explications which appeared in 1853 and 1855, and publications which appeared in the periodical La Iberia Médica (see the Diccionario, pp. xxxiii, 159, 162).

que defendemos, en descubrir las leyes generales del lenguaje oral, sino en explicarlas con discernimiento, puesto que salvos algunos puntos menos decididos, son hoy ya cosa unánimamente admitida los principios fijos, universales de la gramática, conociéndose perfectamente el carácter de las partes del discurso, su papel respectivo en la representación de las ideas, sus accidentes naturales y las formas puras de las maneras de enlazarlas para expresar los juicios.<sup>26</sup>

So that language might afford man a means out of the Confusion of Tongues, it would have to cease to be the enemy of ideas. (The Society never forgot to remind its listeners of Voltaire's caveats and of the wishes of Leibniz and Condillac.) The new language itself would have to be a symbol of that leading out ("la representación del método analítico para investigar y descubrir") and its own safeguard against the arbitrary desnaturalización which all of the languages of the world had undergone, concurrently with their respective civilizations, up until then. In this regard, Lope Gisbert said of Sotos' language that "siendo su lengua un medio de disminuir progresivamente los errores del entendimiento, era a la vez un correctivo para curar los males de la voluntad."<sup>27</sup>

There can be no doubt that the efforts of the Society were essentially optimistic and, in considerable degree, spurred by religious intent: "En balde se pretenderá reformar

<sup>26</sup>"De la cuestión de una lengua universal," in the Boletín, I, No. 4 (May [?], 1862), p. 113.

<sup>27</sup>"Conveniencia de una lengua universal," in the Boletín, I, No. 5 (1862), p. 144.



la humana naturaleza, en vano se intentará construir una sociedad sin imperfecciones: todo ello es imposible; pero posible es con lenta y noble constancia reconquistar algo de la perfección perdida, restaurar la imagen de Dios, medio borrada en nosotros . . . y eso se ha de hacer únicamente con la difusión del bien, del bien verdadero, y, lo repetimos, con el aumento de la luz que alumbre para ver más claro el bien."<sup>28</sup>

In contrast with the critical pessimism of the early rationalists, Sotos and Gisbert held that "nunca el hombre ama el mal como mal, sino por falsa apariencia del bien"; therefore, the application and practice of the philosophical language would cause the mask of evil to drop off, Gisbert maintained, and evil would be seen and recognized for what it is. Appropriately, the first publications that the Madrid Society hoped to issue in the new language were a Catechism of Christian Doctrine, an abbreviated History of Religion since the Creation, and compendiums of the new language to be prepared for use by missionaries in foreign lands.<sup>29</sup> There is much to be said concerning a priori languages as means of achieving the spir-

<sup>28</sup>Lope Gisbert, "Contestación al comunicado que desde Barcelona nos fué remitido e insertamos en el núm. 5<sup>o</sup>," in the Boletín, I, No. 7 (1862), p. 220; reference is to the letter from Máximo Puigbert, of Barcelona, dated May 30, 1862 (see Puigbert's "Crítica imparcial del proyecto de lengua universal del Sr. D. Bonifacio Sotos Ochando," in the Boletín, I, No. 5 [1862], pp. 154-158.

<sup>29</sup>See Gisbert's "Memoria," in the Boletín, I, No. 3 (1862), p. 80. La Monarquía (December 8, 1861 [?]), with perhaps undue emphasis, noted that "la propagación del Catolicismo por nuestros misioneros" sparked Sotos to invent his system of universal language (see Lorrío's collection of "Opini[on]es," in the Boletín, I, No. 3 [1862], p. 93).

itual salvation of mankind, and this is even truer of the attempts at philosophical linguistic systems of the seventeenth-century ilk than it is of the nineteenth-century Spanish systems, for the religio-mystical aspects that had characterized projects preceding that of the Sociedad de Lengua Universal were overshadowed by the growth of rationalism. For example, as Moisés Sánchez Barrado noted, the view of the origin of language was characteristically Platonic in Francisco Sánchez (best known for his Minerva Sue de Causis Linguae Latinae [Salamanca, 1587]), and the dominant view of language as convention and artifice in the eighteenth century contrasted with the view held by the famous philologist of sixteenth-century Spain.<sup>30</sup> Nineteenth-century Spain, then, had lost a consid-

<sup>30</sup>"Estudios sobre el Brocense," in Revista Crítica Hispano-Americana, V, No. 1 (1919), p. 20. In this general regard, see Hans Aarsleff, "Leibniz on Locke on Language," in American Philosophical Quarterly, I, No. 3 (July 1964), p. 180. After the remark by Bacon upon the virtues of a real character that would represent "neither letters nor words, but things and notions" and "serve for an antidote against the curse of the confusion of tongues," John Wilkins ventured to say that "if men should generally consent upon the same way or manner of Expression, as they do agree in the same Notion, we should then be freed from that Curse in the Confusion of Tongues, with all the unhappy consequences of it" (Bacon and Wilkins cited by Clark Emery, "John Wilkins' Universal Language," in Isis, XXXVIII, Parts 3-4, Nos. 113-114 [February 1948], pp. 175, 176). Benjamin DeMott has pointed out that the seventeenth-century "English movement for the reform of language was interested in the prospect for ecclesiastical peace as well as in the meaning of meaning or in the semantic problems of the new science," and he uses as one example John Amos Comenius, who in his Via Lucis (MS 1641) reiterated time and again the religious significance of a perfect language ("Comenius and the Real Character in England," in PMLA, LXX, No. 5 [December 1955], pp. 1081, 1077). See, also, R. H. Syfret, "The Origins of the Royal Society," in Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London, V, No. 2 (April 1948), pp. 75-137, for a historical account of the relationship between Comenius and the Society.

erable degree of that understanding of language as something divine and mysterious, rather than artificial and conventional, in spite of the fact that we are able to point to utilitarian designs of the Madrid Society that were, strictly speaking, of a religious nature. This transitional point of view was exemplified by Juan Valera, in 1854, when he said that Romanticism could not possibly have signified an uncontrollable evil in the natural order of things; instead, "el verdadero y más notable defecto de los románticos ha sido la verbosidad, que ellos llaman vaguedad; porque la pompa y majestuosa armonía de las palabras no encubre lo vacío de sentido":

Nuestra lengua puede expresar los pensamientos con toda la concisión deseable, y muchos poetas españoles suelen ser concisos; los romanceros, sobre todo, y los mismos poetas románticos cuando escriben romances. Pero cuando escriben odas o se dan a filosofar, como a menudo no saben siquiera lo que van a decir, ni entienden lo que dicen, arman una jerigonza y estruendo hueco, que acaso halague los oídos, pero que siempre se resiste a la traducción en una lengua extranjera, y hasta a una traducción en prosa y gramatical, hecha en nuestra misma lengua castellana.<sup>31</sup>

Pascasio Lorrio explained that ambiguous synonymy constituted the gravest imperfection that Sotos Ochando found in both extant and former languages, neither of which the Society admitted as useful in the promotion of a true universal language.<sup>32</sup> Thus, Sotos proposed that in his philosophical lan-

<sup>31</sup>"Del romanticismo en España y de Espronceda," in Obras completas, II, ed. Luis Araujo Costa, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1949), pp. 11-12.

<sup>32</sup>"Extracto del informe que, acerca del proyecto de len-

guage which would order and preserve, not merely transmit, our knowledge, "ninguna palabra tenga nunca un sentido doble, equívoco ni vago." Indeed, there was an undeniable correspondence between the analytic synonymicons and the attempts to establish universal systems of language and script in nineteenth-century Spain, and this relationship was clearly brought out in the prologue written by Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch for José Joaquín de Mora's Colección de sinónimos de la lengua castellana:

Siendo imperfectas de suyo las lenguas, como es imperfecto el que las habla, lo mismo puede haber en ellas dos voces para una idea, que una voz para dos ideas o más. Si nunca hubiese habido en el mundo más que un solo idioma, provisto de todos los términos necesarios, y exento de toda voz no precisa; si todos los hombres pudieran estar en contacto, de manera que puesta una voz en circulación conservara perpetuamente un uso invariable; no hay duda que los sinónimos no existirían en esta lengua universal y sin anomalías; pero desde la construcción de la torre de Babel acá, las lenguas se parecen muy poco al modelo ideal figurado en nuestra suposición.<sup>33</sup>

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gua universal del Señor Don Bonifacio Sotos Ochando, dió la comisión nombrada al efecto en la Sociedad Lingüística de París," in the Boletín, I, No. 2 (1862 [?]), p. 53.

<sup>33</sup>(Madrid, 1855), p. xii. The relationship between the synonymicons and the attempts at universal languages that were philosophical was already witnessable in the conscious effort of John Wilkins in seventeenth-century England: "In a Philosophical Language every word ought in strictness to have but one proper sense and acception, to prevent equivocalness; which sense is to be restrained according to that place and relation, which the words have in the Tables" (quoted by B. C. Vickery, "The Significance of John Wilkins in the History of Bibliographical Classification," in Libri, II, No. 4 [1953], p. 336). Significantly enough, J[osé] J[oaquín] de Mora described the philosophy courses in the mid-nineteenth-century Spanish universities as algarabía ridícula, especially when "la palabra misma filosofía ha cambiado de significación, desde que ella entró

For the synonymists and the Sociedad de Lengua Universal, philosophical language was a possible corrective means. More precisely speaking, language could be used, on the one hand,

en los senderos por los cuales podría llegar a un fin decidido, claro y terminante," and Mora recommended "la modesta sensatez de los filósofos escoceses" in order to avoid two undesirable extremes: Condillac and the sensationalism of Magendie and Cabanis, on the one hand, and on the other, the German philosophers as represented by Strauss ("Del estudio de la filosofía en España," in Revista de España, de Indias y del Extranjero, X [1847], pp. 318-349). The eclectic position of José Joaquín de Mora was patent in his speech before the Real Academia on December 10, 1848, upon which occasion Mora doubted the feasibility of a universal language (see Discursos leídos en las recepciones públicas que ha celebrado desde 1847 la Real Academia Española, I [Madrid, 1860], pp. 137-158). "¿Que fué designio de la Providencia," Mora asked (p. 140), "dotar al hombre de un instrumento de comunicación con sus semejantes, capaz de satisfacer por sí solo todas las necesidades que habían de nacer sucesivamente de sus relaciones, de sus descubrimientos, de todas las vicisitudes que lo aguardaban en la carrera de la vida, de todos los progresos a que se prestaba el porvenir de la civilización? No por cierto. ¿Que fué, pues, lo que el hombre recibió del soplo divino, cuando se sintió impulsado a pronunciar ciertas voces, distintas de los sonidos imperfectos quizás y toscos de que hasta entonces se había valido? Fué lo que era necesario para aumentar después indefinidamente el caudal de sus signos hablados; fué la armazón metódica y simétrica en la cual le era desde entonces fácil colocar las adquisiciones que el tiempo y los sucesos le proporcionasen" [my underscoring]. Mora's words appear to be closer to a Lockean ideal than to the French ideal of the eighteenth century, and he remained true to these opinions which favored the idioma usual y empírico, which he considered to be more important, albeit more modest, than language whose words were taken to be not only "el vehículo, sino el instrumento, el impulso, y, en cierto modo, el origen del pensamiento" ("La ciencia del lenguaje," in La América, V, No. 9 [July 8, 1861], p. 6). According to Manuel Mourelle-Lema, Condillac's Logic was used textually for the teaching of philosophy in Spain around the end of the eighteenth century (La teoría lingüística en la España del siglo XIX [Madrid, 1968], p. 31); and Antonio Alcalá Galiano commented that alongside the static university studies of Spain's eighteenth century, "the students read and adopted as gospel the works of Locke and Condillac, Voltaire and Rousseau, Montesquieu and Mably--nay, even of Helvetius and D'Holback" ("Literature of the Nineteenth Century. Spain," in The Athenaeum, No. 338 [April 19, 1834], p. 291). Mourelle-

to undo the rhetorical complexities that prompted the concerns of these groups originally; on the other hand, it could be used to quell the growing inflection of Romantic expression. The synonymists and the Society might be equally well understood as the predictable result of a linguistic tradition characterized by lack of inflection and as the complement of the inflective tradition which they combatted in their own time. This dualistic position of the synonymists and the Society should not be understated, for there were many important figures around the turn of the century who manifested sentiments commonly thought of as Romantic, and who, at the same time, demonstrated a propensity for linguistic regulation. The effort to achieve linguistic clarity was heralded continuously from about 1775 to about 1850, by satirists of linguistic expression, such as José Cadalso, Juan Fernández de Rojas ("Fray Francisco Agustín Florencio"), Eugenio de Tapia, and "El Presidente" of El Regañón General, the periodical voice that recorded that "el arte de fingir es lo que constituye la cortesía de nuestros tiempos."<sup>34</sup> It is of utmost importance

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Lema listed the members of "un grupo de profesores auténticamente sensualistas," who taught at the University of Salamanca at the turn of the eighteenth century, and who were "partidarios de Voltaire y de J. Bentham, de Montesquieu y de Rousseau" (p. 43). He cited the Elementos de gramática castellana (Bilbao: Pedro Antonio de Apraiz, 1818) of Juan Manuel Calleja as the first effective rationalist grammar in the French line (p. 285); and he noted the followers of Calleja, among whom were A. M. Noboa, Luis de Mata y Araujo, and José Gómez Hermosilla, whose Principios de gramática general was thought to be "la única obra de este género producida en el mundo hispánico que merece llevar el título de Gramática general, o filosófica, o racionalista, o lógica" (p. 300).

<sup>34</sup>"Costumbres. Discurso . . . sobre la cortesía y la

to bear in mind, then, that in spite of the dichotomy customarily drawn between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, between Classicism and Romanticism, the aims were not so distinguishable on the level of language, and it is for this reason that the critic must scrutinize the areas of language and semiology if he is to recognize the impropriety of the traditionally accepted dichotomy. And it is equally important to spot the distinctions that established the dichotomy, the acceptability of which was somewhat justifiable. In so doing, we would find ourselves answering to some of Spain's most intelligent nineteenth-century commentators on the subject of Spanish Romanticism, such as Ramón de Mesonero Romanos, José Leopoldo Feu, and Juan Valera; we would, furthermore, satisfy to some extent those commentators of the time who lamented how void of meaning the term "Romanticism" actually was, despite the public's recourse to the term for descriptive purposes.<sup>35</sup> Julio Spini summed up the situation

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adulación," in I, No. 25 (August 24, 1803), p. 193.

<sup>35</sup>Mesonero listed the sundry applications of the term in "El romanticismo y los románticos," Album Pintoresco Universal, II (1842), pp. 518-520, 523-526; Feu, who called the Romanticism-Classicism debate an anacronismo, explained that the significance of the movement was not the same for all countries ("El romanticismo en España," in La América, V, Nos. 20, 21 [December 24, 1861, January 8, 1862], pp. 9-10, 7-8); Valera spoke, in 1876, of "la ya casi olvidada división de los poetas en clásicos y románticos" ("La originalidad y el plagio," in Obras completas, II, ed. Luis Araujo Costa, 2nd ed. [Madrid, 1949], p. 459). Even earlier than these examples, one writer ("A.") declared that he had no idea what "Romanticism meant" ("Romanticismo en las modas," originally in No Me Olvides, No. 5, p. 8; rpt. in No Me Olvides: Madrid, 1837-1838, ed. Pablo Cabañas [Madrid, 1946], p. 89). Camille Pissotlet (La Querelle Caldéronienne de Johan Nikolas Bohl von Faber et José Joaquín de Mora [Paris, 1909]) was the historian

well: "Los clásicos adoradores de las antiguas bellezas y los ultra-románticos, partidarios de un espiritualismo continuo y forzado, no advierten seguramente que parten de una misma idea estrechísima y se darían por ofendidos si alguno dijese que después de tanto disputar no se diferencian en otra cosa que en el diverso modo de explicar la misma teoría, y sin embargo, esa es la razón por la que ambas escuelas atenúan y quieren disminuir el mérito de algunos de los más eminentes reformadores del arte."<sup>36</sup>

A comparison of the Sociedad de Lengua Universal with the "imaginative" Romantics as a group show Romanticism to be in evidence as potential in the universalist ideal of the Society and the Society's conviction that it was able to approximate the godly, or Adamic, act of linguistic creation. But it was the "imaginative" Romantic who, in a denial of the knowability of a world external to the immediate self, would enhance the esthetics of contemporaneity and creative spontaneity in his expressive means. The key to a solution of the apparent contradiction lay, perhaps,

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of the "debate" that involved Eöhl von Faber, on the one hand, and Mora and Alcalá Galiano, on the other, and from which the periodicals Floresta Española and Liceo Artístico y Literario made it a special point to divorce themselves (see: the article signed "B. G.," entitled "Prosa poética," in Floresta, No. 2 [January 8, 1835], p. 6; the address "Al público" by the editors of the new series of the Liceo, II, pp. 3-7 [ref. Liceo Artístico y Literario: Madrid, 1838, ed. José Simón Díaz (Madrid, 1947), p. 43]). The polemic is evaluated by Vicente Llorens in Liberales y Románticos: Una emigración española en Inglaterra, 1823-1834, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1968), pp. 415-423.

<sup>36</sup>"Narraciones artísticas. Andrés Orgagna," in Revista Literaria de El Español, I, No. 19 (October 6, 1845), p. 9.



in the perceptual norms of these groups; that is, these norms differed, partly because of semiological and linguistic usage, and this difference resulted in the perception of realities distinct in kind.

The Enlightenment ideal of fixed principles and universal constants was, undeniably, the philosophical basis for the work of the Sociedad de Lengua Universal. On no occasion did the group subscribe to the proposition that arbitrariness in language was advantageous, unless we would mistakenly take into account here the beneficial substance that the group recognized in the a priori dictates of its own invention: The principio fijo which would afford the essential quality of unity (unidad) to the new philosophical language "habría de ser convencional, pero . . . ha de ser único, y . . . valdrá tanto cuanto más sencillo sea y más natural parezca, aun en medio de su misma arbitrariedad."<sup>37</sup> Sotos Ochando

<sup>37</sup>Lope Gisbert, "Condiciones que debe tener una lengua para ser universal," in Boletín de la Sociedad de Lengua Universal, I, No. 6 (1862), p. 167. In his resumé and explanation of the conditions for a universal language, Gisbert listed two other qualities (besides unidad), which he thought essential to the universal language. One was analogía: "entendiendo por analogía la relación más aproximada posible entre las palabras y las ideas, con arreglo a ciertas bases establecidas de antemano, puesto que en toda lengua ha de haber siempre algo de convencional. Dada, pues, una base para la generación de las palabras, consiste la analogía en que se correspondan éstas con la generación natural de las ideas, de modo que, elegidos los nombres simples para las circunstancias primitivas y elementales, resulte después cada hecho derivado y cada noción compuesta representados por un nombre cuya derivación y composición recuerden todos los signos simples correspondientes a las circunstancias, cuya reunión constituye la noción o el hecho; esta condición es la que principalmente se requiere para hacer a una lengua científica, filosófica y analítica" (pp. 165-166). The other was riqueza, that is, a "medio natural para dar nombre a todo

believed that a "natural" syntax existed for language, determined by the order in which men rationalized, and perceptible by "todos los que tienen alguna idea de las lenguas," and, therefore, that "la lengua universal debe seguir en sus reglas los preceptos que la misma naturaleza fija para el orden y colocación de las palabras, en un todo conforme con el orden en que se elaboran los juicios en el entendimiento."<sup>38</sup> Thus, Sotos Ochando's system of language was exemplary of the uniformitarian creed, which Lovejoy described more than half a century after Sotos' publications.

Lope Gisbert y Tornel, who succeeded the ailing Pedro Mata as speaker for the Society in the Ateneo de Madrid, ex-

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cuanto pueda ocurrir sin necesidad de apelar a lenguas extrañas o de formar voces caprichosas" (p. 168).

<sup>38</sup>"Proyecto de gramática," in Boletín de la Sociedad de Lengua Universal, I, No. 9 (1863), p. 261. Hans Aarsleff has shown that the understanding of language as a "mirror of the mind" is not a Lockean concept; rather, he says, it was due to the somewhat erroneous transmission of Locke to the French of the eighteenth century, who were, of course, the group from which the Spanish synonymists derived their concerns for instrumental language ("Leibniz on Locke on Language," in American Philosophical Quarterly, I, No. 3 [July 1964], pp. 165-188). Both David Givner ("Scientific Preconceptions in Locke's Philosophy of Language," in Journal of the History of Ideas, XXIII, No. 3 [July-September 1962], p. 340) and Rosalie L. Colie ("The Social Language of John Locke: A Study in the History of Ideas," in The Journal of British Studies, IV, No. 2 [May 1965], pp. 29-51) have carefully underscored the differences between Locke, who considered language as device and not as a facile point of correspondence between external reality and the mind of individual man, and those of his contemporaries, like John Wilkins, who more literally followed the Baconian principles of the consistency and knowability of nature. Later, in fact, in 1700, Thomas Baker criticized Wilkins for having pretended to fix the order of things in the structuring of his scheme, for Wilkins thus suggested that all men might know things in only one way (see Benjamin DeMott, "Science versus Mnemonics: Notes on John Ray and on John Wilkins' Essay Toward a Real Character, and a Philosophical Language," in Isis, XLVIII, Part 1, No. 151 [March 1957], pp. 11-12; and Colie, p. 41).

pressed his regret at the end of his first season in this capacity that he had not had an opportunity to teach the doctrine (doctrina) of Sotos' project; rather, Gisbert had given lectures on the historical and philosophical significance of the universal language project.<sup>39</sup> Whether or not a priori invention yielded a philosophical language that favored and symbolized unity, whether or not the public chose to accept such a language as a necessary outcome of both technological development (which required it) and man's degenerated spirit (which could be restored by it to an approximately primal state), the universal language would develop on its own account. Nicasio Álvarez de Cienfuegos, at least, had previously stated this as his sincerest wish:

A tu voz, [Academia,] todas las ciencias,  
guiadas por una lengua lógica, adelantarán

<sup>39</sup>See the four "Lecciones de Lengua universal dadas en el Ateneo de Madrid por D. Lope Gisbert, in the Boletín, I-II, Nos. 10-11, 13, 15 (1863-1864), pp. 296-307, 334-350; 5-23, 74-90. Gisbert gave his first lesson in the Ateneo on December 9, 1862, and on the following day, Pascasio Lorrío began to do the same in the central office of the Society, using a more practical approach (see the announcement, presumably by the Director, Gisbert, in I, No. 9 [1863], pp. 286-288). It appears that the lessons were popular. Eighty persons enrolled for the course given by Lorrío, and both Gisbert and Lorrío, under the direction of Sotos, were preparing a textbook for their teaching purposes; the textbook was to be entitled Manual de lengua universal, and it was to serve a similar purpose as that for which Sotos' own Cartilla de la lengua universal had been designed. Similar ways by which Sotos' project might be didactically popularized were considered in Burgos (where Eduardo Augusto de Bessón was to be in charge), in Murcia, and in Cáceres. If we consider Spain alone, Jerez de la Frontera was the first city aside from Madrid to set up a locale for the propagation of the doctrine of Sotos Ochando; the spokesman for this group was Diego González Robles, a sometime contributor to the Boletín, and the President was Ramón de Cala.

rápidamente, disipando la ignorancia, ahuyentando los errores, triunfando de las preocupaciones; así como el sol cuando, rompiendo la niebla que le ocultaba, conquista con sus rayos luminosos las cimas de los montes, y bajando después a las colinas, ganando los valles, apoderándose de las hondas cavernas, inunda, por fin, con sus luces toda la tierra. De esta manera, cultivando nuestra lengua al paso que cultivan la suya los otros pueblos, todas se prestarán de día en día nuevos auxilios, se hermanarán más y más, vendrán a ser como una sola; y la virtud, fiando la seguridad de su trono a las armas de la razón, vendrá a ser señora universal del mundo entero.<sup>40</sup>

But Gisbert's "Lecciones" showed that the attitude of the Society was not so entirely casual: "Veamos si podremos una vez hacer dar un paso a la humanidad empujándola, o a lo menos ayudándola nosotros; veamos si por una vez la humanidad en su camino deja de ser empírica y se ahorra esos difíciles ensayos, esos dudosos tanteos que tan caros le cuestan de ordinario" (p. 307). The philosophical basis for this kind of

<sup>40</sup>"Discurso de Don . . . al entrar en la Academia," in Memorias de la Academia Española, I (Madrid, 1870), p. 365; speech delivered on October 20, 1799. Half a century later (November 7, 1847), Nicomedes Pastor Díaz commented that "las academias pueden representar el saber colectivo de una sociedad en sus diversos dominios, y la participación de todos los hombres entendidos en la tarea común de la civilización de una época" ("Discurso del Excmo. Sr. D. . . .," in Discursos leídos en las recepciones públicas que ha celebrado desde 1847 la Real Academia Española, I [Madrid, 1860], p. 47). This interpretation of academic function was supported by the theory that God provided man with a methodical framework of language, a constant grammar which stood for the character of the nation, within which to order experience: "las palabras se trasladan de un pueblo a otro; pero la gramática es una propiedad inenajenable; es un elemento fijo que no se altera, ni se enriquece, ni perfecciona" (José Joaquín de Mora, "Discurso del Sr. D. . . ." [December 10, 1848], *ibid.*, p. 146).

reasoning was the Society's thoroughgoing belief in the remnant Enlightenment uniformitarianism: "De la unidad parte y a la unidad camina el género humano; la variedad no es más que el tránsito del uno al otro de estos extremos; pero aun en ella misma, cuando otra cosa no se alcanza, se busca la posible unidad, que es la armonía. La unidad además es un carácter de los esenciales a la verdad, la cual no puede ser múltiple, como no puede ser variable ni puede ser diversa, sino que ha de ser siempre una y constante para todos los tiempos y lugares" (pp. 299-300). Thus, man's harmony within a natural order of things was the shibboleth of the Society, which stood for a concept of language whereby language would be more than just a means of communication; it would be an instrumento for the acquisition and elaboration of ideas (p. 16). This way of thinking about the function of language was by no means limited to the nineteenth century in Spain. John H. R. Polt has demonstrated that Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos believed that "a universal language, though only a hope, 'o sea dulce y piadosa ilusión,' would establish 'un vínculo de unión y fraternidad' among all men," and that Jovellanos approximated the position, upheld by Condillac, that language was not only an instrument of expression but also of analysis.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>41</sup>Polt further claims that "language seems to be for Locke a convenience, the use of which does not exclude the possibility of thinking without words," and that Jovellanos, "though fundamentally in agreement with both Locke and Condillac, moves rather toward the more extreme position represented by the Frenchman." ("Jovellanos and His English Sources: Economic, Philosophical, and Political Writings," in Transac-

Belief in the possibility of an applied universal language has feeble beginnings in the eighteenth century and grows unsteadily and without vigor, as compared with the parallel movement in other countries, for a hundred years or so; and even when it burgeons in the Sociedad de Lengua Universal, it arouses skepticism in the popular press.<sup>42</sup> Still, after prolonged retardation, the movement for a truly philosophical language, one which would describe the order of reality rather than merely name things, did come to life at the middle of the nineteenth century. At that time, the appreciable voice of the Sociedad de Lengua Universal attempted to fix linguistically the order of things, rejecting thoroughly the value of etymology as a means of arriving at the nature of things and refusing, as well, to recognize any value in the modification of extant (or once extant) languages for philosophical purposes. A similar shift in perspective had been a focal

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tions of the American Philosophical Society, New Ser., LIV, Part 7 [Philadelphia, 1964], pp. 48-49). Further explanation of the relation of Jovellanos to the rationalist, in contrast to the idealist, position is implicit in a remark by Karl D. Uitti, who notes that "Condillac's notion of language as 'method' ['Toute langue est une méthode analytique, et toute méthode analytique est une langue . . . l'art de parler et . . . l'art de raisonner . . . [sont] un seul et même art'] stems from his rejection of the Cartesian doctrine of innate ideas" (Linguistics and Literary Theory [Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1969], p. 77). Apparently, Jovellanos, in 1805, distinguished between Naturalistas, whom he associated with Locke, and Idealistas, whom he associated with Descartes (Russell P. Sebold, "Enlightenment Philosophy and the Emergence of Spanish Romanticism" [November 21, 1969]; public lecture, University of Pennsylvania).

<sup>42</sup>See, for example, "El lenguaje universal en la mar," in Revista del Movimiento Intelectual de Europa, II, No. 16 (April 23, 1866), p. 125.

point for the establishment of a philosophical language in England two centuries before.<sup>43</sup> But Spain was resistant. In 1766, Fray Martín Sarmiento (Tentativa para una lengua general [Madrid]) stated that he found universal languages inter chimoeras scientiarum, even as he fittingly rejected the standardization of pronunciation on an international, or even intranational, levels: "Es quimera que todas las naciones del mundo puedan concordar en pronunciar tales y tales letras de un mismo modo; aun dentro de una nación sucede esto entre diferentes territorios."<sup>44</sup> For this reason, perhaps, Sarmiento

<sup>43</sup>This fact is borne out in two studies by Benjamin Demott, who seeks to show that the seventeenth-century English systems, later criticized for being too Aristotelian, excluded, sooner than not, the use of the primitive word of extant languages in a vocabulary which would be a "common writing"; the systems were directed instead at the devising of a mnemonic linguistic scheme which would remedy the Babylonian confusion while it served as an associative device for factual memorization ("Science versus Mnemonics: Notes on John Ray and on John Wilkins' Essay toward a Real Character, and a Philosophical Language," in Isis, XLVIII, Part 1, No. 151 [March 1957], pp. 3-12; "The Sources and Development of John Wilkins' Philosophical Language," in Journal of English and Germanic Philology, LVII, No. 1 [January 1958], pp. 1-13). It has been properly observed of Wilkins' scriptory system that it "is nothing like shorthand, to which at first sight it bears some resemblance. A character does not represent a sound, but a group of ideas, which limit themselves down to a word" (E. N. da C. Andrade, "The Real Character of Bishop Wilkins," in Annals of Science, I [1936], pp. 8-9). Ralph W. V. Elliott informs us that Newton drafted two attempts at a shorthand alphabet, apart from his plan for a universal language ("Isaac Newton's 'Of an Universall Language,'" in Modern Language Review, LII, No. 1 [January 1957], p. 5).

<sup>44</sup>The Tentativa was edited by "J. P." and reprinted in the Boletín de la Real Academia Española (XVI-XVIII, Nos. 78, 82, 84-86 [June, 1929; April, October, December, 1930; February 1931], pp. 373-382; 275-290, 571-592, 721-742; 118-135), under the general title "Escritos filológicos del Padre Sarmiento," begun in XV, No. 71 [February 1928]). Still, on March 15, 1792, the effectiveness of an a priori language

advocated a "lengua muy general para materia determinada, y en especial para la historia natural en sus tres reinos [sensitivo, vegetable y mineral]" (p. 278), the most basic expression of which would be a systematic iconography of all things in the cadena natural: "Lo primero será dibujarlas y pintarlas todas a lo vivo y a lo natural. Con sólo esto tendremos ya una lengua general que se entienda en todo el mundo, que los hombres sepan o no sepan leer y escribir. Esa lengua, de darse a entender por pinturas, sobre ser la más natural, será la más general" (p. 378). His comment is especially significant when considered in the light of Romantic taste for iconic semiology. Sarmiento's reiterated faith in an operative chain of being from God to matter, and also his praise of the penetrating understanding and disregard for forced simplification implicit in lógica natural, were in keeping with his rejection of lógica artificial. The same religious acceptance of the chain of being brought Sarmiento to reject any neologistic technical nomenclature which might contradict the natural order. Sarmiento refused to sanction, for example, that nomenclature of Linnaeus, with whom he sometimes corresponded.<sup>45</sup> It was not for man to invent a nomenclature or

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seemed unlikely: Martín Fernández de Navarrete considered that "el quimérico y anhelado proyecto de una lengua universal" could only become an effectual reality once we made the "estudio de la lengua la primaria y más importante ocupación de nuestra vida" ("Sobre la formación y progresos del idioma castellano," in Memorias de la Academia Española, III [Madrid, 1871], pp. 230-231).

<sup>45</sup>See Fernando Lázaro Carreter, Las ideas lingüísticas en España durante el siglo XVIII (Madrid, 1949), pp. 119-120.



to dictate the etymological nature of a word for all time to come; instead, history since language's primal state was thought to be incorporate in the natural language and reason of man, and it is not surprising to note that Sarmiento looked upon "las etimologías como la raíz y base fundamental para entender, penetrar y comprender el origen de las mismas voces que hablo y que antes sólo hablaba como un papagayo" (p. 733). Sarmiento's dependency upon a Euclidean system, which, he said, suited him best for the study of all things, was the clearest indication of his knowledge of the work of Leibniz, if not of the work of Bishop Wilkins and George Dalgarno, as well. Fernando Lázaro Carreter has pointed out, in addition, that "los signos del autor de la Musurgia [Athanasius Kircher] se corresponden exactamente con los dibujos de Sarmiento, y el artificio de la numeración es el mismo."<sup>46</sup>

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Contrariwise, an article supporting Linnaeus' school as representative of the variability of species, as opposed to their immutability, appeared in Spain's popular press a century later ("Estudio sobre la variabilidad de las especies," in Museo de las Familias, 2nd Ser., XXII [1864], pp. 27-29). At the same time, Víctor Cousin was represented in Spain's press as a spokesman for filosofía natural: "No dudemos pues, de que existe una filosofía natural hija del corazón y de la inteligencia del hombre, y al presentarle fielmente esa filosofía espresada en su lenguaje sencillo y verdadero que haga decir al que lo oye: eso mismo pensaba yo; es restituir al hombre lo que se le ha tomado" ("La filosofía popular," in Museo de las Familias, 2nd Ser., XX [1862], pp. 274-275).

<sup>46</sup>Fernando Lázaro Carreter (Ideas, pp. 113-124) devotes a section of his book to Sarmiento, in which he underscores the indebtedness of Sarmiento to Leibniz for the Tentativa. Joaquín Carreras y Artau (De Ramón Lull a los modernos ensayos de formación de una lengua universal [Barcelona, 1946]) permits us to understand the work of Sarmiento with regard to aspirations for a universal language centuries before in Spain. Carreras y Artau distinguishes between Lull's intention to universalize the Latin language, on the one hand, and, on the

It was generally true that the mathematically abstract linguistic and scriptory systems represented a Utopian ideal that opposed usefulness and practicality to theory and speculation. This was the way of many Spaniards of the Enlightenment period: Padre Isla, Cadalso, Cabarrus, and Campomanes (who ventured that the invention of the sewing needle was more useful than Aristotle's Logic).<sup>47</sup> Jean Sarrailh notes that the examples of these men, who stressed temporal felicity, signaled the progressional undermining of a Catholic vision of eternal unification. But from the critical point of view, it is necessary to consider materialist particularism and uniformitarianism as if in counterpoise at given moments. For example, José Segundo Flórez told the public that even in Comte's positivism, one of the most rigorously programmatic systems of the century, the fundamental sciences were considered nothing more than "ramas de un mismo tronco, separaciones arbitrarias que los hombres hacen del todo esencialmente indivisible, que es la ciencia única de la naturaleza."<sup>48</sup> And

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other, Leibniz's shift from the adoption of an extant language, like Latin, and toward his own Dissertatio de Arte Combinatoria. Leibniz's language consisted basically of a given number of simple terms, by the combination of which other more complex (that is, binary, tertiary, etc.) terms might be derived, nor was Leibniz ignorant, during the preparation of his own work, of the similar work of both Wilkins and Dalgarno, and of the work of Athanasius Kircher, an enthusiast of Lull.

<sup>47</sup>See Jean Sarrailh, "La Notion de l'utile dans la culture espagnole a la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," in Bulletin Hispanique, L, Nos. 3-4 (1948), pp. 508-509.

<sup>48</sup>"Sistema enciclopédico de Mr. Compte [sic]," in El Dómine Lucas, No. 7 (October 1, 1844), p. 51.

If Comte's programmatization in the utilitarian sciences cannot conceivably be divorced from Enlightenment uniformitarianism, certain Spanish teachings in the socio-religious sciences can likewise be understood only if we relate them to uniformitarianism. When on November 27, 1853, Rafael María Baralt replaced Juan Donoso Cortés, Marqués de Valdegamas, in the Real Academia, he considered, primarily, Donoso's famous "Ensayo sobre el catolicismo, el liberalismo y el socialismo" and argued that "la razón que a sí misma se busca para estudiarse y conocerse, sólo puede llegar con sus vanos esfuerzos al escepticismo y a la nada. El bien, finalmente, no es posible sino por medio de la acción sobrenatural de la Providencia; ni es dado concebir el progreso más que como resultado necesario de la sumisión pasiva y absoluta del elemento humano al elemento divino, y no de otra manera."<sup>49</sup> Nor did the fusion of the uniformitarian and particularist ideals remain untainted by new modes of thought. Soon the irrational factor,

<sup>49</sup>In Discursos leídos en las recepciones públicas que ha celebrado desde 1847 la Real Academia Española, II (Madrid, 1860), p. 11. Thomas P. Neill ("Juan Donoso Cortés: History and 'Prophecy,'" in The Catholic Historical Review, XL, No. 4 [January 1955], pp. 385-410) has shown Donoso's relationship to the historians who were popular among, or contemporaneous with, the Romanticists, and it appears that one of those who won Donoso's approval was Guizot. For an insight into the reception of Guizot in the popular media of the Romantic period in Spain, see the review of Guizot's Historia general de la civilización europea, o Curso de historia moderna desde la caída del imperio romano hasta la revolución de Francia (in Revista Barcelonesa, I, No. 25 [January 17, 1847], pp. 397-399): "La perfectibilidad en civilización como fin o como destino providencial de la humanidad, y los hombres mirados, bajo todos conceptos, como instrumentos u operarios de esta grande obra de la civilización del mundo, son las bases o fundamentos de todo el curso de historia de Mr. Guizot."

often associated with the "imaginative" Romantics also had its part in the mixture of world views, as Henry F. Majewski has recently pointed out with regard to the end-of-the-world myth, propagated by Louis Sébastien Mercier in Revolutionary France.<sup>50</sup>

The rationalist position, which, by the turn of the eighteenth century, was riddled with foretellings of a new vision and correspondingly new expressive modes, was plainly visible in the famous disciple of Condillac, Antoine Claude Destutt de Tracy.<sup>51</sup> It was the conviction of Destutt de Tracy that "una lengua sea sabia o vulgar, nunca se establece a designio premeditado" (p. 216); "se engañan los que imaginan que perfeccionando las otras lenguas, se las puede dar todas las propiedades del álgebra" (p. 119), because "la lógica en rigor es un puro nada, una idea radicalmente falsa, una verdadera quimera" (p. 120). Destutt de Tracy believed, furthermore that all sistemized "figuras trazadas que se toman o como escritura universal, o como lengua correspondiente a

<sup>50</sup>"The myth's development and expression represent an acute emotional response, an imaginative reaction to contemporary philosophical doctrines of inevitable progress and perfectibility, an irrational protest against the exaggerated materialism of eighteenth-century forms for life." ("Mercier and the Preromantic Myth of the End of the World," in Studies in Romanticism, VII, No. 1 [Autumn 1967], p. 1).

<sup>51</sup>Juan Justo García translated Destutt de Tracy in symbolical defense of Condillac, specifically, and of all those against whom Spain's Inquisitional prosecutors had leveled accusations of materialism (see the prologue to Elementos de verdadera lógica: Compendio, o sea, Extracto de los elementos de ideología del Senador Destutt-Tracy [Madrid, 1821], pp. viii-x, especially).

todas las otras, y propias para remplazarlas en las ciencias . . . vienen a ser en último resultado, geroglíficos o símbolos cuyos graves inconvenientes hemos visto ya" (p. 220), since "una lengua sería sin duda perfecta si fuese sonora, armoniosa, pintoresca, favorable a la música, poesía, elocuencia, que se prestase a las necesidades y placeres del hombre. La perfección mirada a este aspecto, sólo puede venir a las lenguas orales" (p. 218). Not long after the appearance of the translation by García, Agustín Durán announced that the influence of the French eighteenth-century "system of mechanical and fragmentary philosophy [which] had embraced the whole cycle of art and science, subduing, with admirable impartiality, religion and morals, poetry and prose, metaphysics and criticism, all of which it laid with equal dexterity upon its dissecting-table, . . . having passed through the whole physical and intellectual scheme, and failed throughout of solving the problems presented to it, . . . has necessarily begun to wane."<sup>52</sup> It was Germany and England, said Durán, "though far less in the latter country than in the former," that men had begun "looking into themselves" in search of "the life and spirituality and energy within," and, as if to confirm Durán's assertion, Enrique de Saavedra, Marqués de Añón, remarked many years later to the same effect:

<sup>52</sup>"Discurso sobre el influjo que ha tenido la crítica moderna en la decadencia del teatro antiguo español, y sobre el modo con que debe ser considerado para juzgar convenientemente de su mérito peculiar" (1828), trans. in The Athenaeum, No. 72 (March 11, 1829), p. 146.

Pero de donde principalmente partió el nuevo impulso que debía caracterizar la moderna poesía, fué de la docta Alemania. Región de grandes pensadores, pueblo de índole reflexiva, y lanzado recientemente en la comunidad poética europea, con sus sabios filósofos y eruditos, y sobre todo, con sus grandes poetas Schiller y Goethe, que eran al par eminentes críticos, había probado con la teoría y el ejemplo: primero, que la musa de los griegos y latinos no siempre fué bien interpretada o comprendida; y segundo, que el ideal de la belleza puede buscarse por múltiples y diversos caminos. Estos escritores y el famoso Byron, . . . estos escritores, repito, fueron los que verdaderamente fomentaron la gran revolución literaria cuyas consecuencias tocamos en nuestros días.<sup>53</sup>

In 1840, Jose María Quadrado published a denunciation of Hugo and Destutt de Tracy, and in the same year, a spokesman for Classicism pronounced Romanticism doomed to failure: "Los sistemas aportan sueños y delirios; los principios dan resultados seguros y favorables: los sistemas producen la incertidumbre y la muerte; los principios alimentan y conservan la sociedad. El romanticismo es hijo de los sistemas; el clasicismo de los principios."<sup>54</sup> It was Fichte's philosophical

<sup>53</sup>"Discurso leído por el Excmo. Sr. D. . . ., en el acto de su recepción el día 14 de mayo de 1863," in Discursos leídos en las recepciones públicas que ha celebrado desde 1847 la Real Academia Española, III (Madrid, 1865), p. 461. Saavedra's general concern was that Spain was reaching a period of analysis and monótono realismo (p. 466).

<sup>54</sup>See the introductory essay, with an epigraph by Alberto Lista, appropriately enough, entitled "Ensayo filosófico sobre el romanticismo," in Colección de autores clásicos españoles, I (Madrid, 1840), p. xxi. Quadrado, in a condemnation of "ese cúmulo de absurdos morales y literarios que no sabemos por qué ha de llamarse romanticismo," noticed that "para muchos el romanticismo de Victor Hugo en literatura es una cosa tan rancia y juzgada como el pacto social de Rousseau en política y el materialismo de Destutt Tracy en filosofía; y esta palabra rancia es la censura más amarga, y la sentencia de muerte

idealism that this anonymous writer saw the true origin of Romanticism, and in Protestantism the remnant threat to religion, for Romanticism was, he said, as much an enemy of literature as Protestantism of religion. Had the rationalist school known its limitations, it would have continued to play a brilliant rôle in Spain's mid-nineteenth century, but rationalism had degraded the soul, and German idealism, the hijo legítimo of French rationalism, was merely another extreme, for there was no more Romantic proposition than the ideation of one's world. Francisco Pi y Margall was somewhat more lenient with German idealism, but even he, some time after, could not accept Schlegel's "principio de que el genio debe permanecer extraño al mundo presente"; consequently, he asserted that whereas Goethe and Schiller failed to supersede Schlegel's idealism ("que no responde a nada real más de lo que sería, a poder existir, una sombra sin cuerpo") by lending to Schlegel a sense of the objective world, it was Schelling who finally achieved the proportionate coupling of idealism and naturalism.<sup>55</sup>

Part of the reason for Spain's unwillingness to declare her Romanticism was her reluctance to disengage herself from the perceptual norms of the uniformitarian principle charac-

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para cualquier objeto en este siglo de novedades" (Victor Hugo y su escuela literaria," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, 2nd Ser., II, No. 24 [June 14, 1840], pp. 191, 189; and later in La Palma, pp. 69-72, 77-80; rpt. in La Palma: Palma, 1840-1841, ed. Gaspar Sabater [Madrid, 1950], pp. 217-228).

<sup>55</sup>"De la decadencia del arte," in La América, I, No. 14 (September 24, 1857), pp. 5-6.

teristic of the period prior to the movement commonly called Romantic.<sup>56</sup> The reluctance to recognize diversity as a positive esthetic value, or, sometimes, the unwillingness to permit the new, was implicit in Eugenio de Ochoa's definition of the clasicista: "Lo que quiere decir clasicista es, traducido al lenguaje vulgar, rutinero, hombre para quien ya todo está dicho y hecho, o, por mejor decir, lo estaba ya en tiempo de Aristóteles; hombre para quien toda idea nueva es un sacrilegio; que no cree en los adelantos de las artes ni en los progresos de la inteligencia, porque es incapaz de concebirlas; hombre, en fin, tan desgraciado que se considera a sí mismo y a la generación presente y a las pasadas, desde el día de la fecha hasta el reinado de Augusto, como una superfetación inútil sobre la faz de la tierra."<sup>57</sup>

<sup>56</sup>Arthur O. Lovejoy once said that "the struggle to realize the purpose of nature [which was the uniformity of mankind], and the general attack upon the differentness of men and their institutions--this, with the resistances to it and the eventual revulsion against it, was the central and dominating fact in the intellectual history of Europe from the late sixteenth to the late eighteenth century" (Chapter X ["Romanticism and the Principle of Plenitude"] of The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea [1936; rpt. New York, 1960], pp. 292-293). See the resumé of this idea of Lovejoy, by Morse Peckham ("Toward a Theory of Romanticism," in PMLA, LXVI, No. 2 [March 1951], p. 11): "In a metaphysical nutshell, the older philosophy grounded itself on the principle that nothing can come from nothing. The newer philosophy grounded itself on the principle that something can come from nothing, that an excess can come from a deficiency, that nothing succeeds like excess." The present study is in thorough agreement with Lovejoy's proposal that "the uniformitarian creed had in practice been effectively dominant--while the theoretical premises of diversitarianism had, in [the Enlightenment], been constantly and with increasing frequency dilated upon, and . . . their practical implications did eventually find acceptance and application" (p. 298).

<sup>57</sup>"Un romántico," in El Artista, I (1835 [?]), p. 36;



Despite all the pejorative terminology applied by the men of letters during Spain's Romantic period to their opponent Classicists, they themselves not only saw no reason to discard precepts for artistic creation; on the contrary, they usually asserted the validity of eternally operative precepts above the creative genius, or fancy, which was being extolled in other countries at the time. This was so, even in the case of those who would allow the distinction between Classicism and Romanticism: "El genio, no hay duda, es el primer elemento de un imitador de la naturaleza"; nevertheless, "el artista que llega a presumir que la buena disposición natural, o sea el genio, basta para producir grandes cosas en las artes, se envolverá en un error grosero con el que se perjudicará a sí propio y juntamente a los progresos del arte a que se dedique."<sup>58</sup> For those like Alberto Lista,

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cited in El Artista: Madrid, 1835-1836, ed. José Simón Díaz (Madrid, 1946), p. 131.

<sup>58</sup>"J. de la R." (presumably José de la Revilla), "Artes de imitación. De la necesidad de su estudio metódico," in Cartas Españolas, IV, Cuaderno 38 (February 9, 1832), p. 168. See, also, the article by "El Consabido," entitled "Sobre clásicos y románticos," ibid., V Cuaderno 47 (April 12, 1832), pp. 32, 36: "Yo soy de aquéllos que admiten esta división [entre Clásico y Romántico]"; "ni Schiller, ni Schlegel, ni yo, ni hombre alguno racional hemos sostenido nunca que las reglas deben despreciarse, aunque sí creemos que es cohartar al talento y al ingenio creador el someterle a aquéllas que sólo son esenciales en ciertos casos, y no generales como se las supone, y lo prueban las muchas obras que existen fuera de ellas y no son perfectas y grandes." "El Literato Rancio"--who appears to have been the selfsame "Consabido," for he entitles his article the same--insisted that "estas reglas no son arbitrarias, y que en vez de estorbar al ingenio le ayudan y elevan." The deficiency of Romanticism was, in fact, its failure to offer directives for art (see ibid., IV, Cuadernos 39, 45 [February 16, March 29, 1832], pp. 201, 373). The same "leyes generales de unidad de objeto, de claridad, de

whose esthetic formation was in the Aristotelian tradition according to Enlightenment precept, artistic creation without directives was inconceivable: "No podemos concebir que exista arte sin preceptos, y la experiencia demuestra que el artista que no imite, nunca merecerá ser imitado."<sup>59</sup>

The decade of the 1840's was, indeed, the time when Spain moved to take a stance in international philosophical concerns, and although the result of her move in this direction may not have been realized with the immediacy hoped when Julián Sanz del Río was sent beyond the Pyrennees to study philosophy, Spain's historians and critics of philosophical schools did begin to speak their minds in these affairs.<sup>60</sup> But more often than not, in this decade, they sought the midpoint between the extremes of French rationalism and German idealism, as they understood these trends.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>59</sup>"De la moderna Escuela Sevillana," in Revista de Madrid, I (1838), p. 257.

<sup>60</sup>See Edmund L. King, "What is Spanish Romanticism?," in Studies in Romanticism, II, No. 1 (Autumn 1962), pp. 1-11. Manuel Mourelle-Lema (La teoría lingüística en la España del siglo XIX [Madrid, 1968], p. 300) interprets the joint instruction of Logic and Ideology (by Angel Gómez de Enterría and José López Uribe) at the University of Madrid, in 1845, as the "última muestra de la penetración oficial de las ideas gramaticales racionalistas francesas en el terreno de nuestra enseñanza decimonónica." Mourelle-Lema concludes his book by noting that "España ha sabido abrirse a las más modernas corrientes de la lingüística, entonces en boga, provenientes, principalmente, de Alemania" (p. 386).

<sup>61</sup>Whatever its philosophical roots, the ultimately conciliatory mode of the Classicism-Romanticism debate can be found in the teachings of even those figures most often associated with Romanticism. Carlos Ernesto Cook (undersigned "C.") quoted "esta sencilla verdad: que la moderación, la equidad y los afectos virtuosos son los únicos medios para

For a good number of nineteenth-century historians and critics, conciliatory philosophical solutions lay in the teachings of the Edinburgh school, whereby we see the shift

hacernos grandes y felices" ("Filosofía práctica: Estudio del corazón del hombre, o de su carácter en general y en particular," in El Europeo, II, No. 4 [January 31, 1824], p. 109). According to the report by "J. de la R." (presumably José de la Revilla) on the convocation of the Ateneo de Madrid (February 22, 1839), (either Juan or Fernando) Corradí considered himself a member of neither the clásicos nor the románticos, and literary artists were in error, Corradí said, when they judged a work to be bad because it did not conform to their respective school's precepts ("Ateneo de Madrid. Sección de literatura," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, 2nd Ser., I, No. 10 [March 10, 1839], p. 87). At the same time, the reviewer of Zorrilla's poems, undersigned "E. G." (presumably Enrique Gil y Carrasco), declared: "Poco partidarios somos por nuestra parte de esa división de escuelas, que ha convertido durante algún tiempo en campo de Agramente el campo de la literatura; porque en nuestro entender sólo hay bueno y malo en las bellas artes; y ni el desorden del vuelo poético bastará a escudarle contra el justo criterio de la lógica, ni la mezquina y fría imitación hará vibrar nunca las cuerdas del sentimiento" ("Poesías de Don José Zorrilla: Juicio de esta obra," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, 2nd Ser., I, No. 9 [March 5, 1839], p. 69). José María Quadrado could not admit to any value in the Classicism-Romanticism schism, were there no effort to reconcile the two groups: "No es como bando de destrucción y discordia que ha de sostenerse el romanticismo, sino como principio de respeto y conciliación universal" ("De los bandos literarios," originally in La Palma, pp. 16-18; rpt. in La Palma: Palma, 1840-1841; ed. Gaspar Sabater [Madrid, 1950], p. 153). Several historians and critics of Spanish Romanticism, in our own century, have argued the eclecticism of Spain's Romantic movement. E. Allison Peers ("Later Spanish Conceptions of Romanticism," in Modern Language Review, XVIII, No. 1 [January 1923], p. 38) came to the following conclusions: "First, that no general understanding or agreement was ever reached on the nature of the national type of Romanticism--that its full possibilities were never realised, except by an insignificant minority; secondly, that militant, constructive and self-conscious Romanticism in any form lived but for a few years in Spain and never, as a movement, really dominated literature at all. The freedom which it had brought was accepted; the patriotic impetus which belonged to it continued--for the rest, men fled to the justo medio and returned to the 'vermittelnde Kritik.'" F. Courtney Tarr, who emphasized Spain's tenacity to tradition ("the Hispanization of all that enters from

away from Destutt de Tracy, and even from the Germans, who were heralded by Agustín Durán in the years after Destutt de Tracy's popularity. Miguel Guilloto's resumé of José Joaquín de Mora's courses in logic and ethics according to the Edinburgh school can provide us now with an insight into why this should have been so. The Edinburgh school, it was thought, differed from the French procedure in the

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without") and the persistence of neo-Classicism in Spanish letters during the period of Romanticism, reasserted "the eclecticism which Professor Allison Peers has found to prevail in the criticism of the period, the justo medio hinted at by Martínez de la Rosa as early as 1830 and 1833, advocated by Alcalá Galiano in 1834, accepted by Lista in his Ateneo lectures of 1836 (and in later essays), and echoed in the forties and beyond by Caffete and others" ("Romanticism in Spain and Spanish Romanticism: A Critical Survey," in Bulletin of Spanish Studies, XVI, No. 61 [January 1939], p. 26). Ángel del Río, in opposition especially to Peers, found in the explanations of the justo medio and eclecticism insufficient; this eclecticism was not, essentially, "a compromise between the aesthetic tenets of the new romantic school and the survivals of a neoclassicism which, as far as artistic creation is concerned, never had any importance in Spain. This eclecticism was a mere cover or external manifestation of a more significant phenomenon: the impossibility of integrating the new ideas born in the Europe of the Reformation, of Rationalism and of the Revolution, with the national character and beliefs. Thus conceived, romanticism is but one act of the modern drama of Spain, torn between an allegiance to its tradition and the urge, forever present in Spanish culture, for the universal; it is the discovery that the two, by the very nature of the forces which created them, cannot be integrated. What happened to Spanish romanticism has happened to every other Spanish literary movement since the eighteenth century, be it neoclassicism, the realistic novel, the modernism or the poetic movement of recent years. The foreign influence, the Europeanism, is assimilated, and rebounds finally in a deeper consciousness of Spanish values and in a return to Spanish artistic tradition; not as a mere imitation, but by trying to integrate them with the new values, ideas and stylistic forms, acquired in the contact with other cultures" ("Present Trends in the Conception and Criticism of Spanish Romanticism," in Romantic Review, XXXIX, No. 3 [October 1948], p. 240).

natural sciences (an extension of Baconian method) in that it tested the analogies between the sciences and the "invisible" world, that is, the world of the consciousness and the phenomena of the soul.<sup>62</sup> It seems that the Edinburgh school was the meeting ground for the French and German schools, at least according to Spanish interpretation during the 1840's. And, in this regard, Ferrán Soldevila pointed out that Menéndez y Pelayo once remarked: the Scottish school of philosophy was the single determining factor in the direction of Catalonian philosophy in the Romantic period, excepting the philosophical influence of Jaime Balmes.<sup>63</sup>

Indeed, in the opinion of one contributor to a Barcelona periodical, José Leopoldo Feu, it was the Scottish school (Hamilton) which was so apt, because this brand of philosophy committed those Spaniards who attended solely the German philosophers to attend to things relative, finite, and conditional, and not to aspire, simply, to know the intimate reality and

<sup>62</sup>In Revista de Europa, I (1846), p. 144. It was not that Locke and Condillac themselves were so objectionable to these Spaniards, but it was thought that their philosophies had been carried to impracticable extremes by Cabanis and Broussais (see Tomás García Luna, "Educación filosófica," *ibid.*, p. 83). The following arbitrational statement is indicative of the approach of not only García Luna, but also of many Spaniards of his day: "Aun puede añadirse que los mismos sistemas que más se diferencian unos de otros, como el sensualismo y el espiritualismo, convienen entre sí en parte muy considerable. . . . La misión que toma sobre sí, más es la de completar que la de destruir" (p. 85).

<sup>63</sup>"Walter Scott y el renacimiento literario catalán" (review of Jean Amade: Origines et premières manifestations de la renaissance littéraire en Catalogne au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle [Toulouse and Paris, 1924]), in Bulletin of Spanish Studies, III, No. 10 (March 1926), p. 89.

permanent essence of things, as did the German school.<sup>64</sup> One of the aspects of German philosophy which repelled Feu was its lack of historicity (that is, contrariwise, its superabundance of historicism), and it was the Edinburgh school to which Feu could look in order to discover there an appropriate concern for historical accuracy and still retain a vision of the infinite: "En balde, dicen los escoceses, se olvida la razón histórica por la razón abstracta, en balde se aspira a determinar las evoluciones de la humanidad al través del tiempo y del espacio bajo un método constructivo o a priori, ya que, esceptuando la finalidad del hombre como individuo, ninguna idea perfecta tenemos acerca del género humano de la cual pueda colegirse su fin. . . . Ciertos filósofos alemanes . . . tuercen los hechos al compás de su deseo o los mutilan en su conjunto, para amoldarlos caprichosamente a una fórmula preconcebida" (pp. 59-60). Upon looking even deeper into the question of historical accuracy, the Romantic esthetic of contemporaneity grows more appreciable. Jaime Balmes, for example, appears to have recognized the course of this esthetic, when he remarked that "las imaginaciones muy fuertes, y la sensibilidad muy viva, no son los mejores amigos de la lógica," and, subsequently, that "el pueblo comprende más pronto el lenguaje de las pasiones que el de la razón."<sup>65</sup> There was an intimate

<sup>64</sup>"El renacimiento filosófico en España," in Revista de Cataluña, I (1862), p. 56.

<sup>65</sup>"Pensamientos sobre literatura, filosofía, política y religión," in La Sociedad, II (1843), pp. 559, 562.

relationship between the cult of the immediate and the reluctance to cultivate the model form that was external to the individual fancy. In Spain's recourse to the Edinburgh philosophers we can see, then, the demise of the a priori systems of thought and expression that the Spanish did both adopt and reject during their Romantic period, although not necessarily in any neat, chronological pattern.

Expression had to lend an illusion of simultaneity with the experience that led to the terms of expression, and it was likely through the Edinburgh school that Spain acquired an articulation, at least, of this literary and linguistic esthetic that gained in emphasis throughout the nineteenth century:

Por último vino al mundo la escuela de Edimburgo, y demostró en cuanto cabe a una verdad de observación, que el alma no contempla las cosas como la vista: que la percepción no es más que un estado del ser que percibe y que la única idea que podemos formar del alma es considerándola como el conjunto y la sucesión de todos estos estados. Hume fué el autor de tan admirable descubrimiento, y la consecuencia inmedia [sic] es, que si queremos dar cuenta de una idea, no podemos hacer más que referir lo que pasa en el interior de nuestro espíritu, la modificación de nuestra inteligencia en el momento en que aquella idea está ocupando nuestra atención.<sup>66</sup>

The technological means necessary for effecting this esthetic necessitated a compromise between expressive spontaneity and artistic programmatization, a difficult compromise which we can observe in its attempt to establish itself as such through-

<sup>66</sup>F. Ferrer y Valls, "Filosofía trascendental: Del panteísmo," in Revista Literaria de El Español, II, No. 9 (June 1, 1846), p. 130.

out the nineteenth century, and which represented, without a doubt, the sort of problem that gave rise to Francisco Flores García's significant piece entitled "Las románticas":

No me parece tampoco fuera de camino el afirmar que dentro del temperamento clásico adoptado por la generación presente, hay quizá más romanticismo que en aquella vaga contemplación y éxtasis perpetuo de la primera mitad de este siglo, si por romanticismo se entiende el absurdo y la exageración de los sentimientos y de las pasiones. Hay una razón que apoya esta creencia, cual es la que alegan los románticos en literatura al decir que su escuela es enemiga de los preceptistas y de sus reglas; y como las reglas están basadas principalmente en la verdad y en la naturalidad, de aquí que pueda llamarse, con razón, romanticismo a todo lo que se sale, en la naturaleza y en la vida, de la vía ordinaria.

Hay que confesar, sin embargo, que el platonismo, la idealidad pura de los pasados tiempos, aunque extravagante y ridícula en sus manifestaciones externas, merecía más respeto que la despreocupación y el descaro que hoy se tolera y pasa con el nombre de sistema realista. . . . Se llama realismo lo que en ley de verdad no es otra cosa que un romanticismo vuelto del revés, si vale la expresión, más deforme y menos aceptable que el que ya pudiéramos llamar romanticismo histórico.<sup>67</sup>

At least one critic of today, Albert J. Salvan, has underscored "le caractère d'actualité que le romantisme a tenté de communiquer à la littérature," but the corollary of which he

<sup>67</sup>In Galería de tipos, retratos de cuadros de costumbres (Madrid, 1879), pp. 201-204. Pío Baroja agreed that Romanticism was just a step behind "realism," but, unlike Flores García, he thought that "el primero es un realismo con formas excesivas y desesperadas, y el segundo, un romanticismo recortado y sombrío" ("Romanticismo y carlismo," in Obras completas, V [Madrid, 1948], p. 1301; essay dated May 19, 1935).



speaks (l'abandon des règles admises) was, in part, merely an apparent facet of Romantic expression.<sup>68</sup> That is, actualité was a product of programmatization, an artistic illusion of the abandonment of rules. Perhaps the picture that Juan Martínez Villergas ("El Tío Camorra") left us best serves to emphasize the problem that resulted when the unforeseen was infused in the remnant uniformitarian vision in Romantic Spain: "Aquí todo es rarezas e improvisaciones. Es el país de menos consecuencia, de menos lógica que se conoce. Es el país donde la teología disputa la verdad a las ciencias exactas, donde fallan los cálculos de la aritmética, donde el día menos pensado vamos a ver alguna demostración matemática que nos convenza de que dos y dos son catorce, que arguye más ingenio que resolver el famoso problema de la cuadratura. ¡Es mucho país!"<sup>69</sup>

<sup>68</sup>"L'Essence du réalisme français," in Comparative Literature, III, No. 3 (Summer 1951), p. 221.

<sup>69</sup>"Hay cosas que colgando parecen bolsas, y vueltas del revés bolsas otra vez," in Paliza 2, El Tío Camorra (September 8, 1847), p. 17.

### III: THE MEANING OF SEMIOLOGICAL SYSTEMS IN ROMANTIC SPAIN

The relationship between language and science is not new to history, certainly, and modern critics have suggested new ways to consider the relationship between literature and science.<sup>1</sup> Even the linguistic sign is a reflection of scientific understanding, as Francis Christensen suggested in his summary of the relationship between seventeenth-century English style and the scientific criteria propagated and practiced by the Royal Society of London:

The standard of prose style which the Royal Society adopted was dictated by the characteristic feature of its philosophy. To explain their experimental philosophy to themselves and the world, they laid hold of one of those grand antitheses by which the human mind keeps up its pendulum motion. Their philosophy was a philosophy of things, not of words; it was material, not, like so much of the old, merely notional. Its aim was to produce results beneficial to men, not to persuade them to accept one set of notions in place of another. Accordingly, in presenting the results of their investigations they sought, whether in speaking before the Society or in writing for their registers, simply to explain and record. The fundamental principle underlying their idea of style was that their results must stand or fall by their own evidence. The only test of the kind of truth they were

<sup>1</sup>Richard Foster Jones gave as the purpose of his study "to furnish a more substantial basis for the theory that in the attitude of science toward language is to be discovered the most important origin of the stylistic reformation with which the scientists were enthusiastically concerned" (Chapter V ["Science and Language in England of the Mid-Seventeenth Century" (1932)] of The Seventeenth Century: Studies in the History of English Thought and Literature from Bacon to Pope, ed. Marjorie Nicolson [Stanford and London, 1969], pp. 143-160). See, also, Marjorie Nicolson's many studies, the concerns of which are related to the ones expressed here by Jones.

concerned with was its demonstrability. The medium of words in which the investigation was recorded must be colorless.<sup>2</sup>

Ultimately, the differing degrees in which scientific method was a manifest factor in the creative process of different writers, and in different genres, may be determined only through a variety of linguistic aspects, including semiology. Linguistic signs, and neither literal content nor metalanguage alone, are an essential part of literature. Thus, an explanation of the perception of written linguistic signs might be brought to bear upon the concept of the type, both literary and abstract, and also help to define the extreme world views which we customarily denote as Classic and Romantic.

Historical descriptions of tachygraphic systems indicate that tachygraphy was probably the semiological technique most akin in actual practice to the technology of the periodical press. Juan Cornejo Carvajal, who wrote an informative and internationally comprehensive history of tachygraphic systems, seldom neglected to indicate a connection between short-hand and the press when discussing particular national developments of tachygraphic systems.<sup>3</sup> Of immediate interest to Cornejo

<sup>2</sup>"John Wilkins and the Royal Society's Reform of Prose Style," in Modern Language Quarterly, VII, No. 3 (September, 1946), p. 284; my underscoring.

<sup>3</sup>Reseña histórica del arte taquigráfico (Madrid, 1889). Cornejo Carvajal's history included three sonnets in praise of tachygraphy: one by Buenaventura Carlos Aribau, co-founder of Catalanian tachygraphy ("Martiniana mixta," as opposed to Madrid's "Martiniana pura") with Francisco Serra y Ginesta, who also collaborated with Aribau on the Tratado de la taquigrafía castellana (1816 [?]) (see Cornejo Carvajal, p. 137);

Carvajal, of course, were the two exemplary periodical publications that had been organs of tachygraphic societies during the nine-decade Spanish tradition of short-hand prior to the publication of his history: that of the Asociación Taquigráfica, in Madrid, and that of the Academia de Taquigrafía, in Barcelona (see pp. 187-188). Since the most customary applications of tachygraphy before the age of movable type were carried over into periodical press technology, it is justifiable to think of tachygraphy as untechnologized periodicalization. For example: the recording of the speeches of Roman statesmen, and of Luther later on (see Cornejo Carvajal, pp. 38-43, 72), is analogous to the intricate procedure of record which the author describes for the French Assemblée Nationale Législative de la Convention of the Revolutionary years (pp. 61-62). These proceedings were transcribed from tachygraphic notes into the journal Le Logographe (begun October 2, 1791). Later, Ángel Ramón Martí, the son of Francisco de Paula Martí and, in collaboration with Pedro Barinaga, adaptor of his father's system for Portugal (1820) and for Italy (1828), directed the Diario de las Sesiones, founded by Andrés Borrego of El Español, and also wrote a system of musical tachygraphy (see Cornejo Carvajal, pp. 113, 131). Seen from the reverse point of view, the rise of the printing

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and other sonnets by Julio Nombela and Sebastián Farnés. The most remembered today of the other Spaniards whom Cornejo Carvajal cited with regard to tachygraphy are Fray Benito Jerónimo Feijóo y Montenegro (pp. 121-122) and Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch (pp. 161, 201), both enthusiasts, and the latter a cultivator of the art.

press caused the successful revival of abbreviated forms designed for the purpose of efficient expression. Literary eighteenth-century England, the country of particular interest to Matthias Levy, another historian of tachygraphy, was the atmosphere especially likely to require the short-hand device, and, indeed, certain English literary figures did devise systems of abbreviated writing at that time.<sup>4</sup> The reasons for the conjunction of tachygraphy and periodical form should be fairly clear. Tachygraphy and the periodical press both strove for inclusiveness, rapidity, and the possibility of universally interpretable clarity. The aim of both was a lucid and truthful representation of total history, understandable to many, rather than to specialist groups only.

From the time of the revival of tachygraphy in England (Timothy Bright, Characterie: An Art of Short, Swift, and Secret Writing by Character [1588]), tachygraphic characterery was thought of as an approximation to the real objects for which the written signs stood. In other words, attempts at tachygraphic characterery represented the wish to eliminate the apparency of written media in order that the real object, or, sometimes, speech itself, should appear through the characterery. In this regard, it is useful to reflect back on Christensen's comments on the Royal Society of London: "The medium of words . . . must be colorless." Francisco de Paula Martí, early in his life a professional metal engraver, who once engraved

<sup>4</sup>The History of Short-Hand Writing; to which is Prefixed the System Used by the Author (London, 1862), pp. 10-11, 62.

in bronze an alphabetic manual for deaf-mutes, is generally recognized to be Spain's first tachygrapher.<sup>5</sup> Martí devoted many pages to an explanation of why it would not be proper to label as tachygraphic any system like the Egyptian hieroglyphics, the Chinese characters, or even the Greek siglas, and Cornejo Carvajal categorically excluded the last of these three scriptory forms from tachygraphy; instead, both recognized the notae Tironianae devised by Cicero's slave, Marcus Tullius Tiro, as the first form to satisfactorily comply with the abovementioned aims of truly tachygraphic script, although Martí remarked that, in the end, even the notae became quantitatively unwieldy (p. 11 [1]). For Martí, the hieroglyphics

<sup>5</sup>The edition of Martí's work used in this study is the Taquigrafía castellana, o Arte de escribir con tanta velocidad como se habla, y con la misma claridad que la escritura común, 2nd ed. (Madrid [?], 1813). Martí's book, based on the works of Coulon de Thévenot (1779) and Samuel Taylor (1786), was first published in 1803, then followed by a supplement in 1804; third and fourth editions appeared, with systemic revisions, in 1821 and 1824. Cornejo Carvajal (p. 157) remarked in passing that there were those who would call Juan Álvarez Guerra's Taquigrafía, o Metodo de escribir con la ligereza que se habla o se lee (Madrid, 1800) the first Spanish system, but that this was an adaptation of the English system of Taylor's An Essay Intended to Establish a Standard for an Universal System of Stenography or Short-Hand Writing, Upon Such Simple and Approved Principles as Have Never Before Been Offered to the Public; Whereby a Person in a Few Days May Instruct Himself to Write Short-Hand Correctly, and by a Little Practice Cannot Fail Taking Down any Discourse Delivered in Public. Taylor's method was adapted throughout Europe in many languages and, in the process, a version of Taylor in 1800 (Stenographia, Arte de escribir abreviado, siguiendo la palabra de un orador o la conversación viva de dos o más personas). For his own work of 1803, however, Martí used Taylor's basic linear designs, the straight line and the circle ("las líneas más susceptibles de enlace sin perder ningún movimiento"), but Martí made emendations in the signs for vowel sounds, the lack of which he found to be an impediment in Taylor's scheme (see Martí, pp. 15 [1], 10 [2]).

were scarcely more than a mnemonic device; they were, moreover, confusing and did not serve the purposes of useful communication any better than did the Chinese characters, which required more than a lifetime to learn and so much care to write. And the siglas, which were pronounced illegal under the Roman Emperors Basil and Justinian, were no more serviceable, because of the open quality that rendered them indecipherable when it was necessary to convert them into publicly interpretable records. Nevertheless, it was from the scandalous Poligraphia and subsequent Steganographia of Trithemius that Francisco de Paula Martí, turning his back for the moment upon the ideals of tachygraphy, and, for practical, though not universally interpretable ends, worked up his Poligrafía o Arte de escribir en cifra de diferentes modos, arreglado a los métodos de varios autores antiguos y modernos. Con una colección de tintas simpáticas y comunes, el modo de hacer revivir la escritura en los manuscritos antiguos y de borrar lo escrito cuando convenga (1808).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup>See Cornejo Carvajal, pp. 129-130. These works of Trithemius (Johann von Tritheim, sometimes called Tritenheim [1462-1516]) were published many times during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and appeared in one edition with a presentation by Athanasius Kircher (1663). The Poligraphia and Steganographia underwent severe ecclesiastical review in the early days of book technology, when they were supposed to be occult scriptory systems, and Francisco de Quevedo remarked upon the works in the Zahurdas de Plutón o El sueño del infierno. Francisco de Paula Martí, it seems, wrote literary works in addition to the tachygraphic and steganographic treatises mentioned; dramatic works included: El día dos de mayo, Las cuatro guirnaldas, La entrada de Riego en Sevilla, La constitución vindicada, El hipócrita pancista. Secrecy in written signs was technologized, of course, with practical justification, in a mechanism about which it was said "que con él puede escribirse toda la Biblia en el espacio

The quality of secrecy, however, had necessarily to disappear from scriptory methods, if these were to be widely practicable. So thought John Byrom, who recognized, in Regularity and Beauty, the perfect coincidence of Brevity; in Ugliness and Arbitrariness, he saw "the two qualities most opposite to the desired ends of Method, Brevity and Beauty":

A Method consisting chiefly of arbitrary Marks carries it's [sic] own Absurdity along with it. If any one is inclined to make Use of such for Secrecy, or any other Reason, he may chuse them for himself much better, than others can for him; and connecting them according to his own particular Fancy, may perhaps more easily remember them; but as they are totally inconsistent with our present Design, we must point out the Way of making regular ones in their Stead, which, without any Burthen to the Memory, will be shorter and easier upon the whole, than such, as are imposed at Random, can be.<sup>7</sup>

Indeed, chronological developments in the history of tachygraphy and within the corpora of works of individual authors,

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de una pulgada cuadrada; pero es preciso advertir que este escrito microscópico no puede descifrarse más que con el auxilio de un vidrio particular de un poder extraordinario": One reporter on the London Exhibition wrote in Spain's popular press that the mayor maravilla at the Fair, that which drew more attention than any other machine there, was this micrographic instrument, whose principal goal was to make the falsification of written signs impossible (see Salvador Manero [pub.], in Revista de Cataluña, 2nd Ser., I, No. 1 [October 1, 1862], p. 30). (Precisely which London Exhibition is referred to here is questionable, since mention is made of the 1851 Exhibition; yet this account was published in 1862, the year of London's next great Fair. I believe that the 1851 Exhibition is mentioned retrospectively, and that the device in question appeared at the 1862 Fair.)

<sup>7</sup>The Universal English Short-Hand; or, The Way of Writing English, in the Most Easy, Concise, Regular, and Beautiful Manner, Applicable to Any Other Language, but Particularly Adjusted to Our Own, posthumous edition from the manuscripts (Manchester, 1767), pp. v-vi, 4-5. See, also, "Abreviatura," in enciclopedia española del siglo diez y nueve, II (1842), p. 18.



as well, point to the rejection of the secret quality in scriptory semiology, for secrecy defeated the intentional rationality of the schemes and lent to these a supernatural flavor. Thus we have tachygraphy as the enemy of individualistic semiology, a sentiment clearly expressed in many of the treatises on the subject of short-hand forms. In mid-nineteenth-century Spain, it must have been the secretive function of the written sign against which Alejandro Oliván wrote, calling his own century the rightful and willing preserver of the sixteenth century, and affirming that "para la ortografía es época de transición, porque ¿cómo resistirán las generaciones, imbuídas del espíritu utilitario, a la tentación de reducir cada letra a un sonido, y de señalar un sonido único a cada letra?"<sup>8</sup> But, as often occurs in the devising of scriptory forms, compromises are sought between standards which allow, on the one hand, universal interpretability, that is, the perceptibility of the single intended meaning, and, on the other hand, inflected codification. Tachygraphy, of course, was no exception. Despite the affirmations of Martí and Cornejo Carvajal, the inflective direction of tachygraphy is evident, for instance, in the early example of John Willis, who composed The Art of Stenography, or Short-Writing by Spelling Characterie (1602 [?]), a work of particular interest here for its table of ideogramic "symbolicals," or pictorial signs for objects in the real world, such as a closed semicircle

<sup>8</sup>"De algunas locuciones viciosas," in Revista de España, de Indias y del Estranjero, VII, No. 24 (December 24, 1846), p. 248.

to stand for "moon" or a heart-shape to stand for "heart" (see Levy, p. 19).

We can see a striking similarity, especially in the eighteenth century, between the attitudes toward highly rhetorical language and individualistic orthography, for both disguised the Real. The semi-serious Libro de moda, for example, included an appropriately flamboyant, but representative, statement on the efficacy of language and linguistic signs for the purpose of achieving expressive truthfulness:

La idea abunda, y la expresión falta.  
La imaginación es viva, pronta, rápida,  
fecunda. La lengua pobre, torpe, estéril,  
insuficiente. Pensamos mucho, y podemos decir poco.  
Sentimos con calor, y pintamos con frialdad.

¡Quién pudiera hablar con la energía,  
con la abundancia que concibe!  
. . . ¡Cuándo las lenguas que expresan  
que comunican las ideas, estarán al nivel  
de éstas! . . . ¡Qué distancia tan inmensa  
entre el lenguaje exterior, e interior de las ideas!  
. . . ¡Cuánto pierden éstas al comunicarse! . . .

Porque nuestros idiomas están aun en la infancia.  
Porque se han formado por acaso, y no científica,  
metódicamente. Nos faltan millares de voces  
para designar millares de objetos. Somos pobres  
en frases, en modos de decir. Hay muchos confusos  
equivocos, y de dudoso, e incierto significado;  
las pasiones del ánimo no tienen expresiones  
equivalentes, signos demostrativos. No puedo  
pintar mi cólera con la voz como con las vista,  
lenguaje del alma mucho más expresivo que el de la voz.  
De una ojeada indico, demuestro, comunico, inspiro  
millares de ideas. ¡Dadme una aspiración,  
una media voz, un signo tan rápido, que produzca el mismo efecto! . . .

¡Qué son esos verbos irregulares,  
los defectivos! ¡Los nombres indecli-  
nables! . . . Trabajemos en perfeccio-  
nar la lengua, porque sin ella . . .  
no hay ciencia.<sup>9</sup>

In 1728, Gregorio Mayáns y Siscar, inspired by Antonio de Nebrija, said that he found orthography in a wretched state, that is, diverse with every hand, and even more frequently, from page to page within individual authors' works: "Al tantas o más Ortografías que Escrivientes; pues no se lee libro que en sí contenga delectreación uniforme."<sup>10</sup> Mayáns y Siscar left no leeway for individualism in orthography, which was fitted, he believed, unalterably into natural plan, like an instrument of precision: "[El que] la naturaleza de

<sup>9</sup>Juan Fernández de Rojas ("Fray Francisco Agustín Florencio"), Libro de moda, o Ensayo de la historia de los currutacos, pirracas, y madamitas del nuevo cuño, escrito por un Filósofo Currutaco y aumentado nuevamente por un Señorito Pirracas, 2nd ed. [?] (Madrid, 1795), pp. 45-47; my under-  
scoring. The edition cited here lacks a title page; I have taken the title from Antonio Palau y Dulcet (Manual del librero hispanoamericano, III [Barcelona, 1925], p. 245), and the pseudonym from the Espasa encyclopedía, s. v. "Fernández de Rojas." There exists some difference of opinion, however, concerning both title and authorship of this curious work: See ed. E. Correa Calderón, Costumbristas españoles, I (Madrid, 1950), p. xx, who cites Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo's claim that the Libro de moda was signed by "Don Preciso" (a possible error), whom Menéndez y Pelayo identified as Juan Antonio Zamácola. It would probably be more accurate to say that Fernández de Rojas published in the second edition of his book a letter written by "Don Preciso," which the "Filósofo Currutaco" answers in a false attempt to berate "Don Preciso's" criticism of the "Currutaco" as a social type; the result is, naturally, a compounded criticism of the "Currutaco," and from there the "Filósofo Currutaco" proceeds with his book.

<sup>10</sup>Cited by Miguel Luis Amunátegui Reyes, "Esteban de Terreros i Pando i sus opiniones en materia ortográfica," in Homenaje ofrecido a Menéndez Pidal: Miscelánea de estudios lingüísticos, literarios e históricos, I (Madrid, 1925), p. 127.

las letras, como la de todas las cosas, es siempre fija, i su combinación invariable, con razón enseña, que sobre ambas cosas, como polos únicos, debe estribar la máquina de la Ortografía Española: cuyo presupuesto sentado, a la naturaleza de las letras i combinaciones primitivas deve ajustarse la escritura, no aquéllas a ésta." Moreover, he thought that the least inflected, and the most impersonalized and rational written sign was the most truthfully representative and, therefore, the most "eloquent":

Pues quanta ventaja hacemos a los animales brutos pronunciando (por el común favor de la naturaleza) articuladas voces, intérpretes fieles de nuestro entendimiento; casi tanta hacemos a los demás Hombres (por especial beneficio de las Letras) los que sabiendo formarlas, nos valemos dellas, como instrumento de un admirable, i misterioso language, tanto más claro, i eloquente, quanto se manifiesta menos expresivo, i más imperceptible al torpe i ciego vulgo racional. Al tal prodigio como declarar con tanta facilidad los mas ocultos pensamientos? hablar mudamente? llegar a pintar las palabras, i conversar con los ojos? constituirnos presentes a los que están distantes? ceñir a la combinación de tan pocas Letras quantas cosas ai en la Naturaleza, ha avido, i avrá? i por último establecer un vivo comercio con los mayores sabios ya muertos?<sup>11</sup>

Similarly, Esteban de Terreros y Pando, who, like the tachygraphers, called for the elimination of all signs except those necessary for the representation of speech, reflected, by his understanding of the semiological function of the ortho-

<sup>11</sup>"Al lector que desea escribir bien," prefacing Reglas de ortografía en la lengua castellana, compuestas por el Maestro Antonio de Lebrija, Chronista de los Reyes Católicos (Valencia, 1765), p. xxiii.

graphical mark, a strictly imitational ideal. Letters were depictions of speech, nothing more, substitutions for our words, and words were the images of our ideas: "Tres cosas deben convenir perfectamente, y cada cual es una copia viva de la otra, una representación, una imagen; y en tanto será mejor y más perfecta, cuanto mejor y más simplemente la espese" (Amunátegui Reyes, p. 130). Later, however, rationalism was made to service subjectivism, and some of the Spanish prose literature that was most Romantic in attitude exemplified this desire to make the sign an equivalent of particularized emotions. This was the attitude of Manuel Ascensión Berzosa, who described the curious novel El Doctor Lafuella as a salón acústico.<sup>12</sup>

It was, precisely speaking, the individualistic flourish in orthography that the tachygraphers as a whole so seldom permitted, but many were hasty in rejecting orthographic reform in general. Certainly, both the orthographic reformists and the tachygraphers understood written signs to have followed the same path of derationalization throughout history as that which the inventors of philosophical languages

<sup>12</sup>"Prólogo" to Antonio Ros de Olano, El Doctor Lafuella: Episodio sacado de las memorias de un tal José (Madrid, 1863), pp. 5-21; rpt. in La América, VII, No. 21 (November 12, 1863), pp. 13-14. El Doctor Lafuella can be associated procedurally with lesser pieces Romantic in theme that appeared in the Spanish periodical press; take, for example, "La cantatriz: Historia sacada de los apuntes de un médico"; (unsigned translation from the Britannic Review, in Cartas Españolas, IV, Cuaderno 42 [March 6, 1832], pp. 3-1-307). The author's stated purpose, in this story about a young man who fell in love with an enchanting singer, "no es el de hacer una novela, sino el de presentar simples materiales para el observador."

recognized in the convention of the spoken word after Babel and the Confusion of Tongues.<sup>13</sup> What the tachygraphers did not see, often, was that in the orthographer's attempt to rectify script, there was also an effort to minimize conventional diversity, in spite of the fact that the orthographer's efforts did not, normally, standardize sufficiently for the tachygrapher, who was always concerned with the semiological possibilities of inclusiveness and speed. Francisco de Paula Martí was not entirely in agreement with the theory of the conventionalization of scriptory forms, and his comment on such efforts is worth noting:

Dicen que el método de demostrar cada sonido por una simple línea, fué inventado

<sup>13</sup>It was part of the main business of Madrid's Sociedad de Lengua Universal to work toward orthographic reform and a new system of punctuation (Nicolás Soldevila, "Notas sobre la Sociedad de la lengua universal establecida en Madrid," in Boletín de la Sociedad de Lengua Universal, I, No. 1 [1861], p. 31). Of course, there appeared many discussions in the Boletín devoted to this question; see, especially: "Carta Importante [from Marle (presumably C. L. Marle), former President of the Parisian Academy of Grammar; dated April 20, 1862]," in I, No. 5 (1862), pp. 152-154; Pascasio Lorrío, "Vicios ortográficos de las lenguas y perfección de este sistema en la universal," in I, No. 7 (1862), pp. 201-211; the translated extract from the current publication of Littré's Dictionary, entitled "Sobre la pronunciación del francés," in II, No. 14 (1864), pp. 60-62. Lorrío stated that "el oficio de las letras está determinado por la pronunciación que se asigna a cada una de ellas, y . . . debiera existir un estrecho consorcio entre aquélla y el uso que se hace de éstas, porque tal armonía fijaría la ortografía con toda sencillez y claridad; pero no es así: . . . no hay regla segura de pronunciación allí donde un sonido puede representarse por más de un signo, ni donde un mismo signo puede indicar distintos sonidos" (p. 203). In the articles of the Boletín generally bearing the title "¿Qué lengua ha de elegirse para ser universal?," Lope Gisbert always pointed to the lack of meaningful correspondence between sound and sign as one example of the degeneration of conventional languages, extant or once extant, which, of course, disqualified these as possible universal languages.

para escribir una sola lengua, y poder expresar las palabras de ella únicamente, y que noticiosas las demás naciones de esta gran ventaja, procuraron imitarles en sus respectivas lenguas, cuyo genio y sonido eran diferentes, y que para poderlo ejecutar tuvieron necesidad de hacer algunas modificaciones, añadiendo otros signos a los ya adoptados, y complicando por este medio aquella primera invención, de lo que resultó no sólo el alfabeto, sino también la ortografía cuyas travas se oponen directamente a la velocidad de la mano (p. 7 [1]).

Indeed, Charles L. Proudfit has recently observed that, in spite of all the intentional methodization on the part of one particular orthographer, there was a certain self-contradictory "Romantic" privatization in his work.<sup>14</sup> According to the facts of one report (signed "J. S."; presumably José Somoza), the closer we move toward the nineteenth century, the greater is the concern for the imposition of a nationally standard scriptory type of Spanish origination, and, incongruously, the programmatization of orthography grew increasingly intranational, that is, Spanish, in character, rather than more thoroughly universal, a preference that was obvious even in Somoza's own attitude.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup>"Landor's Hobbyhorse: A Study in Romantic Orthography," in Studies in Romanticism, VII, No. 4 (Summer 1968), pp. 207-217.

<sup>15</sup>"Caligrafía española," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, III, No. 113 (May 27, 1838), pp. 576-577. Somoza discussed the rigorous orthographical system established by Claudio Aznar de Polanco (1719), a system simplified later by Palomares (presumably Francisco de Santiago y Palomares), who was the predecessor, in turn, of still another orthographer, Anduaga (presumably José de Anduaga y Garimberti); later, Torcuato Torio de la Riva y Herrero (1798) based his work on that of Palomares. (See Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, Diccionario biográfico y bibliográfico de calígrafos españoles, I-II

No attempt, then, to show a relationship between Spanish ideals in the fields of tachygraphy and orthography is complete without mention of Esteban Paluzie y Cantalozella, the member of the Catalanian school of tachygraphy who adapted Francisco Serra y Ginesta's work in this field for children's use. Paluzie y Cantalozella worked in both tachygraphy and orthography, and his Tratado de taquigrafía (1847) included a section of historias morales written in tachygraphic script for the double purpose of teaching morals and tachygraphic signs to the young (see Cornejo Carvajal, p. 151). One philosophical implication of the content of Paluzie's presentation is that through the most "natural" sign we can perceive what is real. Truth, in this case moral truth, is revealed without significant impediment intervening. But Paluzie y Cantalozella also composed a remarkable volume, Paleografía española (Barcelona, 1846), presented in its entirety of 474 pages in handwritten script for the express purpose of restoring the pride of Catalonia through its manuscripts and history, and also to eliminate forever the arbitrariness in paleographic interpretation. Through this vehicle, Paluzie y Cantalozella desired to concretize a national orthography for Spain which might replace the English systems then too much in use. (Somewhat contradictory to the last claim was a statement by J[osé] S[omoza], who recorded that on January 7, 1835, the Spanish

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[Madrid, 1913; 1916], s. v., for identifications of these figures.) See, also, Tomás Navarro's register of sixteenth-century orthographers in his preliminary study ("La ortografía de Mateo Alemán") for the José Rojas Gargidueñas edition of Mateo Alemán, Ortografía castellana (México, 1950), p. xix.



government decreed that the orthographical system of José Francisco de Iturzaeta should be the one taught "en todas las escuelas y demás establecimientos de instrucción primaria del reino"; it seems that four editions of Iturzaeta on this subject appeared between 1827 and 1833, prior to his masterwork, Gramatocosmia universal, o Arte de adornar por reglas la escritura en general [see Somoza, "Caligrafía," p. 577].) Paluzie y Cantalozella's wish to establish rules with his Paleografía española for the interpretation of a regionalistic semiology, which was the result of centuries of conventional application of written hand, may be seen as an attempt to arrive at the truth of history through the rationalized, institutionalized medium. The intention here is ideologically inseparable from that which we see operative in his Tratado de taquigrafía.

Tachygraphy, more than regulated orthography, could give the illusion of a pure re-presentation of meaning, that is, of the word as this might have been perceived without the adulterating and arbitrary signs. This potentiality, obvious in Willis' "symbolicals," likely set the tachygraphers against the orthographic revisionists, in spite of the similarities of intention that we have just seen. Francisco de Paula Martí, regarding the usefulness of orthographic prescription to tachygraphy, remarked that "en la escritura taquigráfica, quando se sigue la palabra, es necesario desatenderse absolutamente de toda regla de ortografía" (p. 75). The ideal perceptual effect of tachygraphy would be indistinguishable first from

the effect of the spoken word and, therefore, from the concept of which the spoken word was thought to be an image. Nor should the time required to produce the written image of the spoken word vary in the least from the time required to effect speech: "Todos estos ahorros, y otras varias supresiones . . . son muy esenciales en un arte que se dirige sólo a fixar sobre el papel quanto se oiga, en el mismo tiempo en que se pronuncia, si observamos que el lugar que hay para escribir cada palabra, sólo es aquel leve espacio de tiempo que se emplea para pronunciar la palabra que sigue" (pp. 32-33). In order to develop perception of this equivalence between the written sign and the spoken word, which Martí was confident his signs would afford, it was necessary to create the inconspicuous sign and to practice the interpretation of it. The reward was perceptual change, even physiological change, in man:

A fuerza de leer la Taquigrafía se quedan impresos en la memoria los monogramos que forma cada palabra, y con el tiempo y la práctica se consigue el ver en su imaginación la figura que forma cada palabra en el momento que se oye pronunciar, lo qual no sólo facilita el que la mano obedezca, si no también que se lea con más facilidad quando se ve escrita, en razón de que para leer una palabra, sea qual fuere, escrita en caracteres comunes, y particularmente, si se compone de muchas sílabas, la vista tiene que recorrerla toda antes que la lengua pueda pronunciarla, y como en la Taquigrafía cada palabra, larga o corta, no forma más que un rasgo, se lee, apenas la vista se fixa en él, quando está acostumbrada a ver su figura con frecuencia (pp. 74-75).

But, equally important for Martí, tachygraphic perfection in

the sense just described served no use if tachygraphy were not semiologically intelligible; this is the reason why Martí saw fit to depart from the less particularized semiology of Samuel Taylor by means of the further institutionalization of certain sign values, which Martí understood to be appropriate even for the English language, not only for Spanish and the many others to which it was adapted (p. 17 [1]). In order to omit arbitrariness from their methods, John Byrom and Samuel Taylor tried to do away with all strokes except those necessary for the representation of distinct sounds. Byrom (p. 11) insisted, among other things, that the pen must never rise from the paper during tachygraphy and that the shortest and simplest strokes should be assigned to the most common letters. His tendency toward monogrammatic representation in this instance was an even more moderate example of the elimination of syntactical relationships in script than was Willis' inclusion of "symbolicals" a century and a half before, a foresight technically elaborated in periodical-press format, especially when the photogravure destroyed visible syntax in the periodical image. Tachygraphy was subsumed in periodical-press technology, and in this process of substitution by mechanical means, the artists of the private point of view assumed the rôles of tachygraphers, as if foretelling the illusion of depersonalized expression which would someday characterize their work. Thus, Juan Martínez Viller-gas ("El Tío Camorra"), for example, although far from representing such a complete shift, repeatedly referred to himself

as a taquígrafo in one of his periodicals, and another case in point was El Tío Tremenda, o Los críticos del malecón (1812-1813), a periodical written solely by José María Díaz del Río in such a manner that it appeared in the form of minutes, the illusory effect of which was a more democratic interchange among different voices.<sup>16</sup>

In the field of tachygraphy attempts were made to eliminate apparent relationships between individual elements of written language, that is, to make the written sign more instantaneously expressible and perceptible. Likewise, Spain developed systems of intelligible signs for deaf-mutes, which represented a departure from the seventeenth-century dactylogical tradition and a move in the direction of the more iconic method of lipreading. Although both were dependent

<sup>16</sup>See, for example, "Chismografía de ellas," in El Tío Camorra, Paliza 5 (September 29, 1847), p. 66, in which the writer assumed an artistic stance as if in the face of technological onslaught: "el Sr. Zorrilla no sabe que el "Tío Camorra" tiene sus ribetes de taquígrafo, y que un papel de cigarro y un lapicero se esconden en cualquier parte sin necesidad de tener todo lo de Macallister." See, also, "El Tío Cigüeño," Paliza 21 (January 19, 1848), p. 327. Already, in 1832, the Spanish popular press had announced a máquina taquígráfica (s. v.) shown in England by its Italian inventor, Gallí, with which one could write "más aprisa que con ninguno de los sistemas hasta ahora conocidos, o con más celeridad que la que pueda hablar ningún orador," and secure "muchas copias de un discurso a un mismo tiempo"; it was supposed that the machine was destined to produce "grandes cambios en el sistema de comunicación por escrito o por telégrafo" (in Cartas Españolas, IV, Cuaderno 34 [January 12], p. 61). See, also, the report in the Spanish press concerning L. Casolari's invention, in Italy, of a machine with which one "puede componerse un discurso al oído y a medida que el orador le va pronunciando, y hasta imprimirse antes que aquél haya bajado de la tribuna" ("Máquinas de imprenta," in Revista del Movimiento Intelectual de Europa, II, No. 9 [March 5, 1866], p. 72).

upon the phonetic alphabet for expressive purposes, the latter tended to eliminate the step-by-step logicality of dactylology, which was the spelling out of language with the fingers, lineally, letter by letter. Juan Pablo Bonet (Reducción de las letras, y arte para enseñar a ablar los mudos [Madrid, 1620]), who helped significantly to solve the problem of phonetic expression for the deaf-mute, took care to note in the introduction to his book that his system was founded upon "la grande perfección de las nuestras letras, a las cuales habiéndolas hallado su primera nominación, ha sido posible habilitar al mudo a que las conozca, y use del valor de ellas, no por vía de geroglíficos sino tan virtual y científicamente, como las usamos los que hablamos y oímos, y sin medios de violentas voces" [my underscoring].<sup>17</sup> Bonet rejected significant

<sup>17</sup>Cited from the edition of Reducción annotated by Jacobo Orellana Garrido and Lorenzo Gascón Portero ([Madrid, 1930], pp. 26-27), who explain Bonet within a brief tradition of the instruction of deaf-mutes. Bonet's primera nominación of letters was the key to his system; it was in the simplified denomination of sounds that he approximated natural language. This precept has been explained by Tomás Navarro Tomás ("Doctrina fonética de Juan Pablo Bonet, 1620," in Revista de Filología Española, VII, No. 2 [April-June 1920], pp. 150-177), who related Bonet's doctrine to that of Mateo Alemán (Ortografía castellana [Mexico, 1609]). Navarro Tomás registered Pedro Ponce as the sixteenth-century "inventor" of the systematic teaching of deaf-mutes, and he noted that Ponce's work was continued by Manuel Ramírez de Carrión, and also by Montilla and Juan Bautista de Morales; Bonet follows in this listing (see the preliminary study ["La Ortografía de Mateo Alemán"] for Mateo Alemán, Ortografía castellana, ed. José Rojas Gargidueñas [Mexico, 1950], pp. xxv-xxvi). An article entitled "Alfabeto manual de los sordo-mudos (in Semanario Pintoresco Español, 2nd Ser., IV, No. 7 [February 13, 1842], p. 52) depicted graphically a dactylological system supposedly devised by Bonet, although this does not correspond to the abecedario demostrativo in Bonet's book; the article also distinguished between dactylology and the mimical language of gesture, more

ideogramic form, for this did not conform to the rational ordering and uniform tendency of phonetic script. Thus, in his introduction he rejected hieroglyphic representation, and throughout his book, especially in the two final chapters, he denied the feasibility of lipreading. Bonet's insistence upon the difficulties of teaching lipreading with any success are carefully indicated in the annotations by Orellana Garrido and Gascón Portero (see pp. 117, 227).

In contrast with Bonet, Tiburcio Hernández, Doctor and Director in Chief at the Real Colegio de Sordo-Mudos de Madrid early in the nineteenth century, published his treatise on lipreading for the express purpose of simplifying Bonet's doctrine of pronunciation and to supply the methodological dimension whose efficacy Bonet denied.<sup>18</sup> Hernández's book, the re-

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proximate to the hieroglyph than the former, since the former relies upon a phonetic system of letters.

<sup>18</sup>Plan de enseñar a los sordo-mudos el idioma español (Madrid, 1815). See, in addition, Manuel Mourelle-Lema's appraisal of the significance of the linguistic theory of a former director of the Colegio de Sordo-Mudos, José Miguel Alea (in La teoría lingüística en la España del siglo XIX [Madrid, 1968], pp. 69-70); Alea was, also, the translator of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's Paul et Virginie (Madrid: P. Aznar, 1798) (see the many publications of the translation registered by José F. Montesinos, Introducción a una historia de la novela en el siglo XIX, 2nd ed. [Madrid, 1966], pp. 237-238). Alea based his own theory on Condillac's word-concept theory and had a special interpretation of linguistic function, insofar as he thought of speech as the manifestation of the idea by means of any sensible sign. He thought of the linguistic sign as an element in a self-nourishing, organic process, whereby "una vez representadas en signos sensibles las ideas, vuelven a entrar . . . en el entendimiento de donde han salido; que el entendimiento en este caso adquiere más facilidad para obrar de nuevo sobre ellas, dándoles más y más extensión, y formando otras nuevas, las cuales representadas igualmente por medio de signos, darán ocasión a la formación de otras diferentes."

sult of years of experimental medicine, was at once a theory of language and a practical treatise on empirical scientific method. His theoretical position was that language is conventional, determined by particular needs, and perfectible only to a degree; from here, he concluded that the inability of the deaf-mute to lip-read was merely the natural result of his being deprived of the need to perceive in that way. Bonet, who had considered lipreading not as an art, but as a faculty, was wrong, thought Hernández, insofar as the faculty that we possess is visual perception, which permits us to read any sign construed for visual apprehension. Our perception of book print, for example, is so rapid that we sometimes apprehend the verbal content of print without being conscious of the fact of the print or pausing to analyze the print medium. We are reminded of the monogramos of which Francisco de Paula Martí spoke when he explained how his tachygraphic system established equivalence between visual sign and spoken word. Similarly, for Hernández, the deaf-mute could apprehend the significance of the visual signs of speech without having to perceive all of the mechanisms that serve the speaker in his verbal articulations, in spite of Bonet's insistence to the contrary.<sup>19</sup> One of the fundamental reasons for Hernández's

<sup>19</sup>See pp. 98-103, in which the refutation of Bonet is set forth: "En otra parte senté que todos exercemos una facultad . . . qual es la de leer, o lo que es lo mismo entender la significación de los sonidos pasando los ojos con una rapidez extraordinaria sobre la multitud de cifras que componen un libro, y son otros tantos signos de las palabras que quiso transmitir a nosotros el escritor. ¿Qué tiempo ni qué espacio tienen los ojos para en una forma delgada y pequeña

methodological difference with Bonet, then, stemmed from the former's acceptance of the intelligibility of visibly mediated speech that was not lineally measured, necessarily, but rather tending to be emblematic, if not in presentation, at least in the fact of its perception. As in the case of Hernández's "prácticos en leer . . . las abreviaturas, por más que abunde de ellas qualquier libro antiguo," mediatory terminology would ideally be lost from sight, in order that, through the unapparent medium, meaning should be perceptible.

A discussion of the relationship between sign systems for the rendering of language to deaf-mutes and tachygraphy would be deficient without an indication of the historical perspective that the work of George Dalgarno affords us. Dalgarno, a member of the Royal Society of London in the seventeenth century, attempted systems of tachygraphy, philosophical language, and signs for deaf-mutes, in that progression.<sup>20</sup>

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ir analizando el valor de cada letra, y transmitir al interior la imagen de los sonidos sin intervención del oído? . . . No se crea que lo uno es muy diverso de lo otro, a causa de que en la escritura vamos viendo todos los caracteres sin dexar uno, pues los prácticos en leer entienden las abreviaturas, por más que abunde de ellas qualquier libro antiguo; y no hay hombre que no haya experimentado en sí el haberse distraído alguna vez, y sin embargo haber continuado leyendo. . . . En lo que no estoy conforme con Bonet es en considerar como independiente del arte absolutamente el que los mudos entiendan lo que se les dice por los movimientos de los labios del que habla con ellos, aunque confieso que la atención que les hace fixar la necesidad unida al arte contribuye a la obra."

<sup>20</sup>Didascalocophus, or The Deaf and Dumb Mans Tutor, to which is added a Discourse of the Nature and Number of Double Consonants: Both which tracts being the first (for what the author knows) that have been published upon either of the subjects (Oxford, 1680), p. 163; rpt. in The Works of George Dalgarno of Aberdeen [Edinburgh, 1834], pp. 111-179.



Dalgarno maintained that the deaf "could understand but very little from the motion of the lips, which, when most distinct, must be full of ambiguity and aequivocalness to them, without other circumstances concurring" (p. 133). For Dalgarno, perception depended upon the nature of the signs employed to train perception, and he rested his thesis upon his evaluation of "artificial" ("institutional") semiological communication, principally, that is, upon the comparison between "typology" ("grammatology") and "dactylology" ("cheirology"), and the application of these signs in the rendering of language to the deaf. Although Dalgarno at first considered permanent typology to be more suitable to his purpose than comparatively transient dactylology, he later changed his mind; he taught, instead, that the deaf could be trained to achieve as rapid perception through the eye as the blind through the ear, for the ear possessed no more "discerning faculty" than did the eye. One reason for his conclusion seems to have been that for the deaf (who learn words for things, unlike the blind, who learn words for words), "it can never happen that a combination of alphabetical characters making up a word, should have any affinity to, or resemblance of the thing [the spoken word, presumably] for which it is substituted" (p. 125). The "words" of dactylology are just as easily perceived as single composites as are those of typology, because, for one thing, the repetition of transient language fixes semiological meaning just as thoroughly as do typed signs, which are, in themselves, characteristically more permanent (see pp. 121-122).

Furthermore, the transient dactylological sign is more proximate to viva voce communication than is the permanent typological sign of print and orthography, for the former can be inflected by significant gesture. It is at this point in Dalgarno's reasoning that the gamut of semiological possibilities becomes apparent; from the syntactical permanence of typology, he progressed, by implication only, through dactylogy, even to the suggestion of a more emblematical sign than dactylogy. It was the last area of semiological function with which Tiburcio Hernández, for example, was so concerned.

Dalgarno, like the other inventors of sign communication for deaf-mutes, was forced to train the eye to the degree that it should have had the practical function of the ear. As these men did so, the semiological systems of their invention acquired metaphorical value useful today in evaluating the tendency of language in the Romantic period to rely less upon the lineally visual, and more upon the spontaneously oral, quality of language.

More than a century after Dalgarno, a Frenchman, Théodore Pierre Bertin, often criticized for having followed Samuel Taylor so closely that his system was unfeasible as an adaptation to the French language, appended to the Sténographie a section entitled "Alphabet Physionomique fondé sur les principes de la sténographie," which, Bertin said in the preface to his work, would serve to render silence itself perfectly

intelligible.<sup>21</sup> Eertin understood tachygraphic script to be most effective when it approximated meaning expressed through emblematic gesture, rather than through the spoken word: "Le geste, moins fugace et moins prompt à s'évanouir que la parole, fixe d'une manière plus durable l'impression des idées sur les sens; et celui que nous employons réunit à cette faculté l'avantage de concourir à graver rapidement dans la mémoire les caractères de la sténographie par l'étroite ressemblance que les traits physionomiques ont avec l'alphabet de notre système" (p. 94).

Some seventeenth-century figures had advocated universal languages of gesture, which seemed to several thinkers of the early 1800's to be so satisfactory that these langues d'action, as they were often called, were then revived. As early as 1673, Isaac Voss, a German philologist of the time of Athanasius Kircher, had advocated a universal language of gesture in his De Poematum Cantu et Viribus Rhythmi (Oxford). Then, in the nineteenth century, the aforementioned Poligraphia of Kircher was reproduced by Moussau (sic; presumably Jean Marie Moussaud; Alphabet Raisonné [Paris, 1808]), whose idea it was to give fresh credence to ideogramic notation:

Comme la pensée, peut se dépeindre séparément de la parole, on peut exprimer

<sup>21</sup>Système Universel et complet de sténographie, ou Manière Abrégée d'écrire applicable a tous les idiomes . . . inventé par Samuel Taylor . . . et adapté a la langue françoise par . . ., 2nd ed. (Paris, "l'an 3 de l'ère françoise"); "seconde édition revue et augmentée de deux planches, dont l'une présente un index d'Adversaria ou de Répertoire littéraire plus avantageux que celui de Locke avec lequel il est comparé."

immédiatement les idées, sans aucun rapport à la voix par les images mêmes des choses ou par des signes équivalents. . . . C'est l'ancienne écriture symbolique, dont les Chinois font encore usage. . . . S'il était possible de perfectionner cette ancienne écriture . . . elle serait bien supérieure à l'écriture actuelle. Dépeignant les idées au lieu des sons, il en résulterait un langage commun, un langage universel, intelligible à tous les peuples. Un livre écrit avec de pareils caractères serait français à Paris, anglais à Londres, allemand à Vienne, chinois à Pekin.<sup>22</sup>

Pierre Laromiguière (Leçons de philosophie [1815-1818]) agreed with Moussaud's idea that the arbitrariness of language was the result of its verbal nature:

Ni l'écriture alphabétique, ni les gestes alphabétiques ne peuvent être la langue universelle que nous cherchons. Les sons de la voix et la figure des lettres sont des choses trop variées et trop variables pour atteindre ce but. Il faut, pour établir une langue universelle, employer des caractères et des gestes qui montrent les objets immédiatement. Tous ceux qui se sont occupés du projet d'une langue universelle ont bien senti que ce n'était qu'au moyen de signes de cette dernière espèce qu'ils pourraient l'obtenir. Mais ils n'ont guère pensé au langage d'action, c'est-à-dire au langage des gestes. Leurs efforts se sont dirigés vers une écriture hiéroglyphique, et ils se sont donné beaucoup de peine pour trouver les caractères élémentaires de cette écriture. . . . Il ne s'agit pas d'ailleurs d'inventer cette langue universelle . . . elle existe . . . elle est par-tout . . . tout le monde la com-

<sup>22</sup>Lope Gisbert y Tornel, "Lecciones de lengua universal dadas en el Ateneo de Madrid," in Boletín de la Sociedad de Lengua Universal, II, No. 15 (1864), pp. 82-84.

prend, tout le monde la parle. . . .  
C'est la langue des gestes, la langue  
d'action.<sup>23</sup>

But advancing a step further, Destutt de Tracy, attending to Condillac's idea of the natural language of gesture, recognized in the continual departure from the natural sign the progression of expression toward rationality--the departure from non-rational synthesis and toward rational analysis--and the resultant development of an instrumental, philosophical language:

Con razón los ideologistas han explicado el origen y consecuencias de este primer lenguaje llamado de acción, que comprende los gestos, clamores, tactos que hablan a la vista, oído, tacto, y que encierra el germen de todos los lenguajes posibles: si es de todas las lenguas la menos fina, rica y desenvuelta, es la más enérgica, vehemente, y la única de que hacemos uso en el exceso de una pasión, y cuando la violencia de los sentimientos nos quita la reflexión necesaria para espresarlos con signos convencionales. . . . Este lenguaje natural y necesario se ha hecho artificial y voluntario, rehaciendo para pintar el pensamiento o sentimiento las mismas acciones que él produjo naturalmente: el uso lo ha afinado, variado y circunstanciado cada día más, perfeccionando los signos según su capacidad por conven-

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 84. Indeed, it had been a commonplace among rationalist linguists that a langue d'action was the first manifestation of sensational cognition. Condillac (Logic), for example, had remarked that 'los hombres principian a hablar el lenguaje de acción inmediatamente que sienten; y hablan entonces sin haber formado el proyecto de comunicar sus pensamientos' (Manuel Mourelle-Lema [La teoría lingüística en la España del siglo XIX (Madrid, 1968), pp. 47-48] quotes from the translation by Bernardo María de Calzada, La lógica o Los elementos primeros de pensar, 2nd ed. [Madrid: Imp. Real, 1788]). How odd, incidentally, that Moussaoud associated the hieroglyphic sign with the systems of the philosophical linguists, when, in theory, the hieroglyphic was more immediate to his own proposals.

ciones espresas. Quedando los tactos casi los mismos, los gestos han recibido desenvolvimientos capaces de formar una verdadera lengua sabia.<sup>24</sup>

And in Spain, Pedro Felipe Monlau, in accord with the French sensationalist philosophers, associated spontaneity of expression with the most natural significant forms, by distinguishing between unarticulated and articulated, natural and artificial, language; it was the more articulated and artificial sign which was the least synthetical, which was, in a word, analytical:

En el estado espontáneo el hombre no tiene otro lenguaje que el natural; no se expresa más que con gestos, movimientos y gritos. La forma de este lenguaje es sintética como su fondo. El signo es igual a la cosa significada. Si el hombre hubiese de permanecer constantemente en la esfera [sic espera] de la espontaneidad, si sus capacidades no hubiesen de elevarse a las verdaderas facultades, bastaría ese lenguaje natural. El hombre entonces hablaría toda su vida como los niños de teta o como los animales inferiores. Pero el hombre debe pasar del estado directo al reflejo; este paso hacía necesario un lenguaje también reflejo. Los gestos y los movimientos espontáneos debieron pasar a ser intencionales, o a ser más o menos dirigidos por la voluntad; los gritos o voces inarticulados debieron pasar a ser palabras o voces articuladas.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup>Antoine Louis Claude Destutt de Tracy, Elementos de verdadera lógica: Compendio, o sea Extracto de los elementos de ideología, trans. Juan Justo García (Madrid, 1821), p. 107. S. Jonama, likewise, saw in gesture the germ of a language of convenience (see Manuel Mourelle-Lema, Teoría, p. 71).

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 81; Mourelle-Lema quotes from Monlau's Elementos de psicología, that is, from the first volume of Curso de psicología y lógica, escrito con arreglo al programa ofi-

Naturally, then, Lope Gisbert, occurring just a short time after Monlau's observations, and in the capacity of propagandizer of a philosophical language, made it clear that he did not consider the langues d'action to be philosophical, in spite of their pretention to universality, for they remained subject to the limitations of arbitrary, inflected languages of convention in general. "Otros como Vossio y Laromiguière," he feared, "parece que quieren que seamos una especie de sordomudos en nuestras relaciones internacionales." But the Sociedad de Lengua Universal, convinced of the necessity for and advantages of an a priori system of words, was merely one group, however dedicated and enthusiastic, and there were contemporaries of Lope Gisbert who showed their opposition to artificial languages by advocating the effectiveness of an unarticulated semiology. Many of Spain's nineteenth-century linguistic philosophers, even those who remarked the inevitability of an instrumental language of rational analysis, were just as conscious of the significant, functional spontaneity of natural expression as they were of a philosophical language. José España Lledó, in fact, affirmed the supremacy of the articulated sign as a means of expressing the range of our experiences, but he insisted that even in certain instances of articulated language, "cuando el lenguaje de acción es muy vivo, promueve con mayor fuerza el ánimo por la gran

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cial de esta asignatura, para uso de los institutos, seminarios y colegios de segunda enseñanza, by Monlau and José María Rey y Heredia, respectively, 2nd ed. (Madrid: Manuel Rivadeneira, 1851).

impresión que causa en la fantasía.<sup>26</sup> There were those, then, who finally argued that the least rationally informative language seemed the most expressive, since it did not permit fan-

<sup>26</sup>"Origen del lenguaje," in El Liceo de Granada, IV, No. 4 (April 15, 1872), p. 49. See, also, the installments by "J. F. G.," entitled "Lenguaje de las bestias," in La Alhambra, II, Nos. 6, 8 (1839), pp. 61-64, 85-87. España Lledó argued in "Origen" that language was divinely inspired, and he rested his opinion upon linguistic theories of Humboldt (presumably Alexander), Rémusat (presumably Jean Pierre Abel), Herder, and Adelung (presumably Johann Christoph), to name a few, and principally upon Ernest Renan. In the process he rejected, as did Juan Valera, Grimm's conclusion that man would invent his own language, if the need for one existed (see Valera, "Discurso leído por el Ilmo. Sr. D. . . ., en el acto de su recepción el día 16 de marzo de 1862," in Discursos leídos en las recepciones públicas que ha celebrado desde 1847 la Real Academia Española, III [Madrid, 1865], p. 236). In a sequel to "Origen" ("Relaciones de la palabra con el pensamiento," in IV, No. 6 [May 15, 1872], pp. 81-84), España Lledó distinguished among and evaluated the linguistic theories of several tradicionalistas (De Bonald, the principal representative of tradicionalismo and an enemy of Condillac, Bonnet, and Gioacchino Ventura de Raulica); España Lledó concluded here that the word was not necessary for the formation of abstract ideas of material beings (thus rejecting the essence of De Bonald's dogma), nor for the acquisition of moral and religious ideas (thereby contradicting Bonnet and Ventura de Raulica, who had admitted the former but not the latter proposition). España Lledó considered the word a mnemonic device and a communicative means, but not a requirement for intellectual apprehension. Manuel Mourelle-Lema (who, incidentally, points out that the nineteenth century was less concerned in general with the origin of language than it was with the study and history of Castilian) observes that Jaime Balme (Ideología pura) accepted the idea of the importance of the word as auxilio for thought and reasoning, meanwhile denying that it was a requisite for the existence of "algunas ideas metafísicas y morales en un estado imperfecto" (Teoría, pp. 86-87). The arguments set forth by España Lledó seem to echo the logic and rhetoric of Balme with respect to this question. In the popular press, the subject of the origin of language was treated, also, by Pascasio Lorrio ("La palabra. Idioma primitivo," in Boletín de la Sociedad de Lengua Universal, I, No. 8 [1862], pp. 243-249). Here, Lorrio scoffed at Rousseau, an enemy of rationalism, for denying that language was born and established through purely human means (see the "Discours sur l'inégalité parmi les hommes") and asserted instead that, "animado el hombre, no tuvo que hacer de su parte sino poner



ciful interpretation; rather, it impressed itself upon the mind.

The principal aim of the philosophical linguists was a vision of the Real, but highly inflected mediation was contrary to their aims, since they would impose an a priori system of cognition. The observation leaves us right at the crux of our problem. On the one hand, if information is not supplied us, is not dictated to us as apparent, then we see through the medium to the Real; on the other hand, the expressive sign that is most inflective, least rational, has the potential of constituting its own reality. The former posits a reality prior to expression which must be captured in the expressive means and be visible through it; the latter appears to the perceiver as reality. The two esthetic principles, expression as unapparent and expression as iconic, so fuse

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en ejercicio y uso el deseo que Dios le inspiró para traducir en signos externos lo que en su alma sentía" (my underscoring). Manuel Mourelle-Lema (p. 80) notes: "Recordemos que en cuanto al origen de los 'conocimientos puros,' independientes de toda experiencia y que se supone que podríamos poseer aun cuando careciésemos de sentidos externos y de conciencia, Platón opinaba que la inteligencia humana los posee innatos y adquiridos por los sentidos y la conciencia. A la escuela platónica están afiliados, con leves modificaciones, Descartes, Leibniz, Malebranche, Royer Collard, Reid, Cousin y demás filósofos que explican el origen de los conocimientos racionales por medio de la inducción directa que ellos llaman generalización inmediata. A la escuela aristotélica, cuya doctrina está formulada en el célebre aforismo escolástico de 'nihil est in intellectu quod prius non fuerit in sensu' (al cual añadió Leibniz 'nisi intellectus ipse'), están afiliados Locke, Condillac, Laromiguière y demás filósofos llamados empíricos, que todo lo hacen nacer de la experiencia, que todo lo suponen adquirido y miran la razón como innecesaria para explicar la adquisición de ciertos principios o verdades absolutas."

in the Romantic period that it seems most rewarding to observe their interplay on the level of artistic practice, rather than to opt for one or the other as characteristic of an age of expression.

Thus, in the Romantic period, hieroglyphics could stand for truthful expression, that is, as syntheses of reality, since the hieroglyphs signified objects in the real world so approximately that they were, almost the objects incarnate. A contributor to El Instructor taught that this was ideally so, and he even gave a substantial explication of the work of Jean François Champollion.<sup>27</sup> The popular appeal of hieroglyphics was probably due in part to their "natural" and "transitory" characteristics,

<sup>27</sup>"Literatura y libros," in III, No. 36 (December 1836), p. 370. Champollion's "Lettre à M. Dacier relative à l'alphabet des hiéroglyphes phonétiques," dated Paris, 22 September 1822, was translated from the French into English by V. M. Conrad and published in Hands on the Past: Pioneer Archaeologists Tell Their Own Story, ed. Kurt W. Marek (pseud. "C. W. Ceram") (London; New York, 1966), pp. 162-170. Those of Champollion's predecessors who came closest to solving the mysterious hieroglyphs were unable to establish correspondences between ideograms and phonetic systems already known to them, because they did not recognize that in addition to the varieties of ideogramic script (hieroglyphic, hieratic, demotic), there were certain demotic characters of syllabic-alphabetical value, pre-Greek signs used to commemorate foreign names, corresponding identically in value to ideographic characters of non-phonetic value; there could, thereby, be established a median of correspondence between the non-verbal significance of the hieroglyphs and the verbal significance of certain demotic characters. A chronology of the attempts at deciphering the Egyptian hieroglyphs cited Horapollon, Kircher, Boussard, Silvestre de Sacy (presumably, Antoine Isaac), Akerblad (presumably, J. D.), Young (presumably, Thomas), Quignes, and Quatrenière (sic; presumably, Étienne Marc Quatremère) (see "Geroglíficos egipcios," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, No. 52 [December 30, 1849], pp. 414-416.

so called by Destutt de Tracy, for one, who contrasted this ideographic scriptory form with the "artificial" and "permanent" phonetic script. But the association between hieroglyphic forms of writing and literature was not new, certainly, to nineteenth-century Spain. C. A. Soons has demonstrated that hieroglyphic forms were consciously related to literature, and that derived forms were cultivated and commented upon in Spain by the most important literary figures at least as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup>"The Aplicaciones y transformaciones of Diego Rosel y Fuenllana," in Bulletin of Hispanic Studies, XXXIV, No. 3 (July 1957), pp. 147-159. Although Spain's nineteenth-century periodical press considered the history and explanation of the hieroglyphic forms a part of its intellectual mission, the Egyptian hieroglyphs alone did not prompt the wealth of popular information concerning such media of expression that came about at the time of Champollion's "Lettre à Dacier." Many similar ideas had already been presented in Spain by way of the fascinating travel records written in much earlier periods during journeys to other countries, usually China, which used ideographic rather than alphabetic writing. The Hakluyt Society of England has made several of these records by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century travelers available in English. The collection includes works by Spaniards like Juan González de Mendoza and Domingo Fernández de Navarrete, and by such Portuguese travelers as Martín de Rada, who had been translated into Spanish according to custom. Fernández de Navarrete was of particular interest to Juan Valera (see Valera's letter to Leopoldo Augusto de Cueto, dated March 20, 1857, in Valera's Obras completas, III, ed. Luis Araujo Costa, 2nd ed. [Madrid, 1947], p. 153). The emblematic quality of Chinese ideograms was underscored by González de Mendoza when he pointed out that Chinese "is a kinde of language that is better understood in writing then [sic] in speaking (as the Hebrue toonge), by reason of the certaine distinction of points that is in every character differing one from the other, which in speaking cannot be distinguished so easilie" (see The History of the Great and Mighty Kingdom of China and the Situation Thereof, I, a 16th-century translation by Robert Parke, ed. Sir George T. Staunton [London, 1853], p. 121). This sort of information was by no means particular to Spain and Portugal, of course, as the collection of letters by Louis Le Comte, for example,

The hieroglyph, a source of fascination among men of letters since Horapollo's Hieroglyphica (1419) and recognized as a basis for the wide cultivation of emblem books during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, became, for the Romantic thinkers, a metaphor for the work of God; it was "natural" expression, whereas alphabetical writing was not the thing itself, but a mere reflection, at several removes, of the higher truth such as it was revealed in nature.<sup>29</sup>

The Romantic preoccupation with the Egyptian hieroglyphic, and with ideogramic forms in general, was more indicative of perceptual shift than we might at first suspect. It could hardly be argued that hieroglyphs produced perceptual changes, of course, but it does seem valid to say that the revival of these forms on the popular level was symptomatic of a new perceptual mode. For example, Destutt de Tracy, the avowed successor in linguistic theory to Locke and Condillac, observed that in China both the Chinese ("symbolic") and Tatar ("syllabic") scripts were used simultaneously;

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shows; see Le Comte's Memoirs and Observations . . . Made in a Late Journey Through the Empire of China. . . . trans. unknown, 2nd ed. (London, 1698), especially pp. 174-210 (Letter VII: "Of the Language, Characters, Books and Morality of the Chinese"). Nor was it mere coincidence that two decades after Champollion, Sinibaldo de Mas y Sans, possibly the greatest linguist of Spain's nineteenth century and the inventor of a system of universal scripture, performed diplomatic missions in China during the 1840's and 1850's and was versed in Mandarin and about a dozen other tongues. (Mas y Sans is the subject of a monograph that I project, and for this reason, I do not treat this significant figure in depth here.)

<sup>29</sup>See Liselotte Dieckmann, "The Metaphor of Hieroglyphics in German Romanticism," in Comparative Literature, VII, No. 4 (Fall 1955), pp. 306-312.

and concerning these he concluded that the latter could not represent an evolutionary stage of the former, because the two forms required of man an entirely different mode of perception and a drastic shift in social institutions. The Chinese, he said, could never give up their "symbolic" scriptory form, because of "la extrema dificultad de mudar de una vez de semejante hábito":

El día que pensasen hacerlo, todos tendrían que aprender a leer, los maestros tendrían que mudar su enseñanza, los tribunales sus procedimientos; habría que renovar totalmente y sin dilación todos sus libros, sus registros, sus escrituras públicas y privadas, sus documentos, sus manuscritos, y hasta sus menores asientos. Tal día sería para la nación el principio de una era absolutamente nueva, y época de una revolución prodigiosa, origen de sucesos tan notables que su memoria nunca podría borrarse: y pues que en la historia no se encuentra noticia de semejante mudanza; es evidente que en ningún pueblo se ha verificado. Nunca obra así el espíritu humano, y una mudanza repentina y completa jamás se ha visto entre los hombres en sociedad; todos sus hábitos la resisten: la novedad se introduce poco a poco en no siendo del todo opuesta a los usos anteriores, y el hacerla común es obra del tiempo que solo la egecuta.<sup>30</sup>

Media experts tell us today that there do exist such perceptual

<sup>30</sup>Elementos de verdadera lógica: Compendio, o sea Extracto de los elementos de ideología del Senador . . . (Madrid, 1821), pp. 190-191. Destutt de Tracy's disclaimer with regard to the evolution of the "symbolic" forms was in contradiction with the view propagated by a writer for El Instructor; this writer understood that when the various hieroglyphic scriptory forms, from the hieroglyphic to the demotic, were considered in chronological development, these forms were prototypical of the standardization of print media in general (see "Origen, progreso y estado actual de la imprenta," in I, No. 9 [September 1834], p. 278).

"revolutions" within broad social institutions and that, in fact, such an "absolutely new era" as that described by Destutt de Tracy was in the making when he wrote the above words, in 1804.

Explanations of hieroglyphic writing were so presented in Spain's popular periodical press that there could have been no mistaking the import of hieroglyphic forms with regard to their representation of concepts, as distinguished from individual symbols of word sounds. What so fascinated the Romantics, then, was the iconic quality of the Egyptian scriptory forms. One writer pointed out that there is no strict lineal direction implicit in the ordering of hieroglyphic signs; instead, a single sign may be read non-directionally and, furthermore, often has hypostatic value as emblem, as when in one line of script each end of the line is meant to read toward a central sign which has no directional significance at all.<sup>31</sup> The impossibility that the hieroglyphic sign be interpreted with any specificity, or in a sequentially analytical way, characterizes the hieroglyph as a comparatively non-rational scriptory form, and an especially appealing one to the Romantic. Thus, the author of

<sup>31</sup>This was pointed out with regard to Chaldean hieroglyphs in "Geroglíficos," in Album Pintoresco Universal, I (November 1841), p. 247. This recalls Benjamin Lee Whorf's statement, regarding the Mayan hieroglyphs: "The meaning of any linear or temporal succession of symbols is not the sum of any symbolisms or denotations that the symbols have in isolation, but is the meaning of the total linguistic form which that succession suggests" (see "Decipherment of the Linguistic Portion of the Maya Hieroglyphs," in Language, Thought, and Reality, ed. John B. Carroll [Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1956], pp. 177-178).

the anonymous work entitled El idioma universal, sus ventajas y posibilidad de obtenerlo, con un bosquejo de gramática del mismo idioma, remarked that the reason for the retardation in the sciences, even in such a civilized nation as China, was the result of that country's complicated scriptory system.<sup>32</sup> Also, Jaime Balmes, who viewed language as a register of ideas that might be tapped for the purposes of memory (recordar), classification (ordenar), and clarification (aclarar), associated ideographic forms with the non-rational realms of nature and spirit.<sup>33</sup> More arbitrary than painting, yet not so arbitrary as phonetic language, the ideogram had the advantage of appearing to be the world as it is, without limiting itself to the representation of sensible objects only; at the same time, it had the disadvantage of so tasking mem-

<sup>32</sup>See "Proyecto de lengua universal," in Boletín de la Sociedad de Lengua Universal, II, No. 13 (1864), p. 28. The introduction to the work in question, which was published in Sanlúcar de Barrameda in 1852, but purportedly conceived in 1824 (see p. 31), was the substance of a series of articles, apparently incomplete, which appeared in Nos. 13-15 of the Boletín, II (1864), pp. 27-32, 62-64, 91-96. The author of El idioma universal prided himself on the inalterabilidad of his invention, for he had worked to defeat the alteración sucesiva of languages and to lend to his own language "la apreciable circunstancia, que no posee ninguna de las conocidas, de ser a un mismo tiempo y sin la menor excepción, fácil, sencilla, concisa, exacta y dulce sin demasiada afección" (p. 96). Manuel Mourelle-Lema (La teoría lingüística en la España del siglo XIX [Madrid, 1968], p. 147) has registered El idioma universal as an a posteriori system, which explains why the Madrid Society did not think it such a fortunate one, and he noted, also, that its author had been identified by Pedro Mata: Pedro Martínez López, the understandably vigorous opponent of Vicente Salvá y Pérez.

<sup>33</sup>See, especially, chapters XVI-XVIII of "Gramática general, o filosofía del lenguaje," Part 3, Book 3 of Filosofía elemental, in Obras completas, III, ed. P. Casanovas, S. I. (Madrid, 1948), pp. 340-348.

ory that it did not serve as an adequate register for the rational process.

The same lack of semiological rationality that so disturbed the orthographic revisionists, the tachygraphers, and the inventors of philosophical language constituted the very reason why the rebus charade, a composite of signs representative of word sounds and, therefore, a hybrid from having the characteristics of both ideographic and phonetic writing, held so much attraction for the Romantic.<sup>34</sup> I have counted well over a hundred rebuses (liberally called geroglíficos) in last issues of the Semanario Pintoresco Español (1848-1857), and many others were composed for various periodicals, but the enjoyment which the rebus provided is best appreciated through the account given by Eugenio de Ochoa of a soirée that he attended, at which were present Dumas (for Ochoa, at least, the master improviser of rebuses), Hugo, George Sand, Liszt, and others.<sup>35</sup> The rebuses and the narrative amphibologies in which this social group indulged were devised as if to spoof the strict rationality of their not so distant

<sup>34</sup>According to one article which appeared in the Semanario Pintoresco Español ("De los geroglíficos," in No. 39 [September 30, 1849], pp. 311-312), the nineteenth-century enthusiasts of the rebus took over the form from a tradition which harked back to the naming of the genre by the French in the sixteenth century.

<sup>35</sup>See the serial publication París, Londres y Madrid, in Museo de las Familias, 2nd Ser., XVII (1859), pp. 87-88. The periodical rebus was common fare in the issues of El Siglo Pintoresco. See also, the rebus series by Federico de Madrazo (presumably Federico de Madrazo y Kuntz), with its poetic explicación by Antonio María Segovia e Izquierdo, in Las cuatro navidades (Madrid, 1857), between pp. 80 and 81, 100-101.



ancestors. Naturally, those who reveled in the cult of these rebuses could not have disagreed more with the proponents of a priori linguistic systems. Lope Gisbert spoke before the Ateneo of the ambiguous difficulties of synonymy and homonymy in the French language, which he characterized as "la lengua de los equívocos por excelencia, la lengua de los rebus y de los Calembourgs [sic]."36

Ochoa listed, also, those of his own countrymen who were outstanding in the undertaking of similar tonterías: "hombres de tan indisputable superioridad como Gallego, Bretón, Vega, Escosura, Pacheco, Larra en su tiempo." Unquestionably, an appreciation of these writers in terms of their attempt to restore to language the inflective characteristics with which we see their French counterparts toying during Ochoa's *soirée*, and which had been subdued by book technology, would prove to be of great value.

Marshall McLuhan has said:

Highly inflectional linguistic structures, spoken or written, have an auditory character; less inflected structures have a visual bias. Complexities of inflection, which for the ear constitute a means of articulation and order, take on a different character when translated phonetically for the eye.

Inflectional complexity, in written form, is not only burdensome for the ear; it's also in conflict with the spatial order that the scanning eye finds natural. To the eye, inflections are not part of the simultaneous order of linguistic variations, which they are for the ear. The

36"Lecciones de lengua universal dadas en el Ateneo de Madrid" in Boletín de la Sociedad de Lengua Universal, II, No. 13 (1864), p. 12.

reader's eye not only prefers one sound, one tone, in isolation; it prefers one meaning at a time. Simultaneities like puns and ambiguities--the life of spoken discourse--become, in writing, affronts to taste, floutings of efficiency.<sup>37</sup>

The less institutionalized the semiological form, the more inflectional complexity it exhibits, thus reserving the interpretation of itself for perceptual means not dependent upon the "scanning eye." The increased auditory perceptibility, toward which a printed medium like the periodical press tends, results on the one hand, from the cultivation of the less institutionally prescribed sign, and on the other, in an eventual perceptual shift. Theoretically speaking, tachgraphy more than stringent orthography, the hieroglyphic sign more than tachygraphy, and lipreading more than all of these, perhaps, might have diminished perceptual reliance upon lineal visual arrangement.

Telegraphy, which foretold changes in both written and spoken language, is an age-old science if we consider it as the mere transmission of rigidly privatized meaning, but it was the application of electricity that finally freed telegraphic codes from specialist operation and interpretation.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>37</sup>"The Effect of the Printed Book on Language in the 16th Century," in Explorations in Communication, eds. Edmund Carpenter and Marshall McLuhan (195?; rpt. Boston, 1968), p. 125.

<sup>38</sup>In his chapter on the telegraph, Marshall McLuhan observes that "electricity may be said to have outered the central nervous system itself, including the brain" (see Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man [McGraw-Hill; rpt. New York, 1964], p. 218). Histories of telegraphic

In Spain, for example, one reporter commented incidentally though appropriately, upon the democratizing effect of Wheatstone's application of electricity to telegraphic communication: "En Francia el gobierno es egoísta, pues cree que él solo tiene el derecho de tener asuntos urgentes y de ser servido al momento: en Inglaterra al contrario, todo el mundo puede escribir sus cartas por medio del telégrafo eléctrico."<sup>39</sup> But along with our reporter's dream of decen-

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systems in Spain are not easy to come by in Spain's mid-nineteenth-century periodical press, but this is not necessarily because of any lack of advancement in the technological application of telegraphy within the country. Just after Wheatstone's application of electricity to telegraphy (1840), which supplanted the late eighteenth-century invention of Claude Chappe, and shortly before Morse won international popularity with his system (1844), Francisco Navarro Villoslada published a summary of a decade of the technology in Spain ("Telégrafos españoles," in *Semanario Pintoresco Español*, 2nd Ser., III, No. 20 [May 16, 1841], pp. 155-157). According to this report, Spain first installed a telegraphic line (Madrid-Aranjuez) in April, 1831, which was extended by one station in the following month, but this system, inferior even to Chappe's invention, and functioning under the directorship of Juan José Lerena, was found to be technically inadequate. The inadequacy prompted improvements conceived by a Spaniard, Manuel Santacruz, who was the director of his own system on the Vitoria-Pamplona line and of the system projected for Madrid-Irún (via Guadalajara and Soria). The fourth Spanish telegraphic installation (there had been a third which ran from Vitoria to Miranda) solved the problem of night telegraphy for Spain, but more significant still, it eliminated the alphabetical signs of Spain's former system which retarded rapid codified communication. Instead, it limited itself to the use of the four alternative sign types described by Navarro Villoslada as númericos (referring to a certain part of a telegraphic dictionary), vervales (expressing a single word), frásicos (comprised of one or more complete phrases), and geroglíficos (signifying one or more occurrences). The idea of Manuel Santacruz was, apparently, to make his system as iconically representative as possible, a fact which is obvious both in the hierarchy of sign types described here and in Santacruz's having discarded the less economical alphabetical sign.

<sup>39</sup>"Descubrimientos y adelantos. Telégrafo de día y de

tralization through the medium of electrical telegraphy, we find other musings which seem to defeat these hopes: "El telégrafo eléctrico no exige grandes gastos; basta con algunas pilas, un cuadrante, y alambres del grueso de un bramante. Con unos cuantos millones se podía cubrir toda la Europa de un vasto sistema nervioso, que comunicaría la voluntad de todos los poderes como los nervios comunican a todos los miembros del cuerpo la voluntad del alma." Granted Wheatstone's successful electric telegraph, it was unfortunate that the unwittingly self-contradicting reporter should counsel that Spain's governmental branch of bridges and roads adopt Gonon's telegraphic system. That is, with electricity, the telegram was able to arrive before its human sender, or before any individual human voice, thereby divorcing itself from the centralized networks of human transport and forcing these away from the unifying point of view. This was true to a degree even of the most ordered and literate periodicals; nevertheless, it was doubtless true to some extent that in Spain, electricity permitted the telegraph to be used to non-democratic advantage by centralizing forces in order to control further the single point of view of literary media. The early association between telegraphy and clockwork centralization of power was a psychological fact, at least.<sup>40</sup> Furthermore,

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noche, inventado por Mr. Ennemom [sic; i. e., Ennemond] Gonon," in *El Pensamiento de la Nación*, I, No. 26 (July 31, 1844), p. 411. Gonon's telegraph was meant to be an improvement over that of Chappe.

<sup>40</sup>See Abraham Wolf's descriptions of several early tele-

this association was reinforced by the telegraphic systems' arrangement according to the patterning of the railway, another centralizing technology, for in its early years, the telegraph was designed in line with the railway and for the purpose of assuming the partial function of the latter, namely the delivery of information. It is indeed curious that Spain's first electric telegraph was set up almost simultaneously with the inauguration of her second steam railway, between the same two sites (Madrid-Aranjuez, 1851).

Experience tells us today, however, that the significance of the electric telegraph as just another version of the clock or the steam railroad is a false one. Technologically speaking, instead of centralizing power, as did the clock, the electric telegraph tended to decentralize it, even within the Spanish nation, just as it contributed to the decentralization of man's vision and made less possible the expression of the single point of view through the elimination of

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graphic systems which assumed the physical aspect of the clock (in *A History of Science, Technology, and Philosophy in the Eighteenth Century*, 2nd ed. [1938; London, 1952], p. 662), and the description of Colonel Pasley's "Universal telegraph" (in "Invención y uso del telégrafo," in *El Instructor*, IV, No. 42 [June 1837], p. 181). The interrelationships among the telegraph and centralizing technologies are outstanding in a review of *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* 7th ed. (in *The Quarterly Review*, LXX, No. 139 [1842], p. 57): "The great horologe of St. Paul's might be a suitable network of wires, or even by the existing metallic pipes of the metropolis, be made to command and regulate all the other steeple-clocks in the city, and even every clock within the precincts of its metallic bounds. When railways and telegraphs extend from London to the remotest cities and villages, the sensation of time may be transmitted along with the elements of language; and the great cerebellum of the metropolis may thus constrain by its sympathies, and regulate by its power, the whole nervous system of the empire."

syntactical and temporal ordering of information. The aforementioned writer for El Pensamiento de la Nación quoted a French reporter's description of the pre-electric telegraph, "ese mudo interlocutor que se desespera y gesticula al aire libre para transmitir un despacho a su vecino, [y que] tiene en sus movimientos toda la tristeza y la poca gracia de un molino de viento."<sup>41</sup> It would be no semantical deception to infer from this intentionally comic epithetical description the relationship between the contemporaneous emphasis on singular gesture (as distinguished from a former emphasis on gestus) in the field of physiognomics. "Esas máquinas hablantes" that transmitted "palabras invisibles y mudas, oídas tan pronto como pronunciadas" were the very stuff of the "electric telegraph copier" of F. C. Bakewell, whose mechanism was not only faster than the "needle telegraph," but also reproduced the handwritten message for the receptor, in an invisible ink if so desired.<sup>42</sup> In ways such as this, even the earliest forms of electrical telegraphy retained the

<sup>41</sup>Fénelon explained in a letter (November 26, 1675) to the inquisitive Polish king the alphabetical telegraphic method of Guillaume Amontons, who devised a system which combined the use of the telescope and the windmill, an invention applauded for its ingeniousness by Fontenelle; the principle of Amonton's invention is remarkably similar to those telegraphic systems employed by Spain before the devices of Manuel Santacruz ("Los primeros telégrafos," in Revista del Movimiento Intelectual de Europa, I, No. 21 [October 29, 1865], pp. 165-166).

<sup>42</sup>See the two reports on the primitive teletype of Bakewell in the Spanish press: "Telégrafo eléctrico copador," in Revista de los Progresos de las Ciencias Exactas, Físicas y Naturales, I (1850), pp. 473-475; "Asociación británica para el progreso de la ciencia," in Eco Literario de Europa, I (1851), p. 284.

provisional secrecy that characterized pre-electric telegraphic systems, as a translated report on the Lothbury Street (London) electrical system indicated: The electrical telegraph afforded the practical advantages of catching criminals, permitting chess matches at a distance, searching out fiancées who had eloped, performing marriages, and it could, if desired, maintain absolute secrecy, thereby establishing itself as a perfect means of nightly contact for distant lovers.<sup>43</sup>

In its technologically extended forms, however, electric telegraphy took special pride in itself as a non-specialist function and democratized its content infinitely: "Se comprenderá fácilmente que con tales aparatos, la telegrafía eléctrica que ha sido hasta hace poco una ciencia, que exigía empleados hábiles, haya pasado a ser un trabajo puramente material, un oficio, en fin, que pueda desempeñar un cajista o aprendiz de impresor."<sup>44</sup> The telegraph in its electrical stage was appropriately understood as a public technology, and even before the application of electricity to telegraphy, the concept of universality was properly associated with the telegraph, as occurred, for example, in the naming of Pasley's system and in the Spanish evaluation of Gonon's system which

<sup>43</sup>"El telégrafo eléctrico," in Eco Literario de Europa, I (1851), pp. 270-278.

<sup>44</sup>"Telégrafo tipográfico del señor Bonelli [presumably, Gaetano Bonelli, director of telegraphs and inventor of telegraphic devices]," in Revista de Cataluña, 2nd Ser., I, No. 8 (Supplement 1) (May 8, 1863), p. 455.

was supposed to have constituted a universal language, however rigorously exact. Eleven years after Wheatstone announced his discovery, Spain installed her first electric telegraph, and another eleven years later, Lope Gisbert could happily announce that Spain was in touch with France, Italy, Russia, Germany, and England by electric telegraph.<sup>45</sup> Gisbert called for a universal telegraphic language (although he knew that there was already in use an international scriptory system for telegraphy), since without the universal language, messages crossing national boundaries by telegraph were subject to errors of translation. There was yet another reason for Gisbert's determination to apply his Society's philosophical language to telegraphy: The less ordered the message, the more apt it was to be erroneously interpreted; moreover, he claimed that the Society's language permitted a maximum of information to be delivered by a minimal linguistic signal.<sup>46</sup> With the latter observation Gisbert seemed to intuit the essentially iconic value of the telegraphic sign; yet he was convinced that an a priori system of signs would restore precision to meaning that was delivered through a technology

<sup>45</sup>"Conveniencia de una lengua universal," in Boletín de la Sociedad de Lengua Universal, I, No. 4 (1862), p. 98. Even prior to Wheatstone's discovery, Betancourt had exhibited in Madrid an electromagnetic telegraph similar to that of Wheatstone (see "Descubrimientos y adelantos. Telégrafo de día y de noche, inventado por Mr. Ennemom [sic; i. e. Ennemond] Gonon," in El Pensamiento de la Nación, I, No. 26 [July 31, 1844], p. 411).

<sup>46</sup>"¿Qué entendemos por lengua universal?" in Boletín de la Sociedad de Lengua Universal, I, No. 2 (1862 [?]), p. 43.



which, in its extended form, would require of the perceiver a participatory recomposition of the elements of the total signal. Naturally, universality was the ideal that led to international and intercontinental telegraphy, and the successful laying of the Channel cable between England and France (September 24, 1851) prompted the Eco Literario de Europa to call for the adoption of "un lenguaje universal que todos puedan comprender sin necesidad de traducirlo, y estender a toda la Europa la unión telegráfica, ya formada en una parte de la Alemania."<sup>47</sup> The reporter noted, significantly, that this technological standardization of language eliminated need for personalized international embassy.

The same ideals which were represented in the major scientific undertakings of telegraphy could have applied to the private use of language as well, and although it is not feasible to set forth in the present study changes in individual style, changes did occur in embryonic formulation in Spain's popular press, that is, both in the periodical style of the press itself and in the descriptive reports on various inventors' telegraphic systems. Navarro Villoslada, in his account of the Santacruz telegraph, listed as indispensables circunstancias the following: "claridad en los signos, . . . rapidez, que exige facilidad en poder mudar las señales,

<sup>47</sup>"Telégrafo eléctrico sub-marino," in III (1852), p. 46. See two other reports in Spain's popular press concerning underwater telegraph cables: "Telegrafía eléctrica submarina," in Revista de Cataluña, 2nd Ser., I, No. 1 (October 1, 1862), pp. 26-27; "Telégrafo entre Europa y América" and a subsequent report, in Revista del Movimiento Intelectual de Europa, I, Nos. 8, 15 (July 30, September 17, 1865), pp. 63, 113-114.

sencillez en la máquina que a esto se destine, y abundancia de combinaciones, para que haya más cosas espresadas gero-glífica, frásica y verbalmente sin recurrir jamás a los signos alfabéticos, que son los que entorpecen las comunicaciones." Ten years later, the Eco Literario de Europa translated these stylistic necessities in terms of a pervasive change in mode of thought and expression. Es digno de notarse como observación fisiológica, que bajo la influencia galvánica de la compañía, cualquier curial se encuentra dotado repentinamente de tal claridad de entendimiento, que le permite escribir sencilla y lacónicamente sobre todos los asuntos, cosa que le sería imposible en su gabinete."<sup>48</sup> One possible indication of the development of a telegraphic style was the formulation of rules for telegraphic transmission published in the Almanaque Literario de El Museo Universal, para el año bisiesto de 1864. This limited messages to one hundred words and words to seven syllables, permitted indications (puntos suspensivos) of continuous thought, and all marks which might indicate individualistic expressive variation had to be eliminated and replaced by the word which would

<sup>48</sup>"El telégrafo eléctrico," in I (1851), pp. 271. Although man may have had the impression that he controlled the telegraph, according to the predictable attack that El Cócora issued against it, he would have been more accurate in considering the telegraph's potential influence upon him; it was algún ente endowed with "voluntad propia, ánimo de-liberado, libre albedrío, individualidad" (see "El telégrafo," in El Cócora, I [1860], p. 228). "El Cócora" identified by Manuel Ossorio y Bernard as Antonio María Segovia e Izquierdo, director of this periodical (see Ensayo de un catálogo de periodistas españoles del siglo XIX [Madrid, 1903]).

suffice for the same in its stead.<sup>49</sup> Thus, the telegraph foretold changes in both written and spoken language, and when the publisher Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco announced in the final pages of El Dómine Lucas (a periodical already comparatively advanced in its format) the demise of this publication, he gave notice that from it would be born El telégrafo, "periódico literario de publicidad universal, de mayores dimensiones que cuantos se publican en España y Francia, con una novela entera en cada número por folle-tín" (No. 24 [March 1, 1846], p. 192).

The significance of the formulation of rules in the Almanaque is all the greater once we comprehend their relevance to the mode of expression of the periodical press, for example, with which the telegraph was associated functionally in due course. Such prescriptions lent to the printed word a hypostatic quality uncommon to the ideally syntactical book; furthermore, to the intellectual content of hypostatic expression these prescriptions lent a spontaneous quality in apparent contradiction to the logicity

<sup>49</sup>"Telégrafos. Servicio para el interior del reino. De los despachos" (Madrid), p. 66. "With the telegraph, the entire method, both of gathering and presenting news, was revolutionized," Marshall McLuhan has remarked; "naturally, the effects on language and on literary style and subject matter were spectacular" (Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man [McGraw-Hill; rpt. New York, 1964], p. 222). The topicality of McLuhan's work has prompted speculations everywhere; see the suggestive piece by Melvin Maddocks, "Writers who Move Their Lips" (in The Christian Science Monitor, LX, No. 181 [June 27, 1968] p. 9), in which the writer suggests that, due in part to the use of the tape recorder in prose composition, "it is just possible to imagine that writing, which began as an oral tradition, might return to it."

of the book. These were the considerations which Antonio Neira de Mosquera must have had in mind when he wrote:

La literatura, que es la viva expresión de la sociedad, . . . tan instantánea como las ideas de su tiempo, renuncia a los prolijos considerandos, enseñando con la risa en los labios, y reprendiendo con la burla en el semblante. La literatura de nuestros días se aprovecha de todo. . . . La literatura contemporánea razona en pequeño espacio. Para las consideraciones de fácil comprensión, tiene los folletos y los periódicos; para las investigaciones profundas y los teoremas de difícil solución, tiene las novelas y los folletines. ¿Qué mucho será que los convoyes de los caminos de hierro, y amaestrados en las figuras simbólicas de los telégrafos, sigan con avidez al folletín, a esa especie de impertinente pintor que llega a todas horas a despertarnos con sus retratos delineados en la víspera, justador literario que atruena los oídos antes de que nos sirvan el almuerzo?<sup>50</sup>

<sup>50</sup>"De la novela moderna," in Revista de España, de Indias y del Extranjero, XII (1848), pp. 181-182.

IV: THE PERIODICAL PRESS, HISTORIOGRAPHY, AND PROSE FICTION

A contention between standardization and privatization was in evidence in Spain's popular periodical press at the time of its rise. We customarily associate standardization and the semblance of authorial remove with the prosaic satirical, which appears to us to be an objective and relatively impersonal mode. On the other hand, it has long been the unfortunately exclusive byword among interpreters of Romanticism that privatization and authorial presence, which we customarily associate with the lyrical, is solely characteristic of the period in question. Such ready assignment of a single characteristic to a historical period seems not to be sufficiently descriptive, so let us, instead, observe how both standardization and privatization of expression functioned complementarily to characterize a period of history. The insistence upon the continuous alternation between these expressive extremes for the author's interpretation of the real world seems an advantageous way in which to lay the groundwork for an apprehension of the novel; furthermore, expression and the perception of this expression correlate in the ultimate achievement of literature, so let us again attend to David Lodge's remark that we need to "establish an unobtrusive dichotomy between signs that express experience, and the fact of experience, when the signs are themselves a part of that experience."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>"Towards a Poetics of Fiction: An Approach Through Lan-

An observation by Manuel Ossorio y Bernard gives us some idea as to what standardization later meant with regard to the periodical voice:

"Nosotros--escribe [el redactor] --creemos que D. Fulano es un bribón"; y en aquel nosotros desaparece la persona del redactor y se levanta nada menos que una agrupación o un partido, para llamar bribón a D. Fulano.

Si la prensa fuera lo que debía ser, y el periodista empezara por firmar sus escritos todos, es casi seguro que D. Fulano no aparecería como un bribón en un artículo de fondo o que, en el caso de aparecer, tendría medios de hacer que se depurase perfectamente el origen y la justicia o injusticia del dictado.

Pero como esto no es así, el periodista se lava las manos y sigue diciendo horrores de cosas y personas, que ni le son antipáticas ni siquiera conocidas.<sup>2</sup>

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guage," in Novel, I, No. 2 (Winter 1968), p. 161. The alternation between expressive extremes for the author's interpretation of the real world is reflected in Ralph Freedman's idea that "a fruitful approach to the novel must eventually turn away from narrative requirements and expectations and concern itself with the novel's intrinsic function: to develop the tensions between an interior base (aesthetic, psychological, philosophical) and the external reference of the metaphoric structure it represents" ("The Possibility of a Theory of the Novel," in The Disciplines of Criticism: Essays in Literary Theory, Interpretation, and History, eds. Peter Demetz, Thomas Greene, and Lowry Nelson, Jr. [New Haven and London, 1968], p. 71).

<sup>2</sup>From the chapter entitled "El redactor universal," in La república de las letras: Cuadros de costumbres literarias copiados a la pluma (Madrid, 1877), p. 60. Wylie Sypher notes that the scientist, too, "is now less concerned with universal laws than with studying the way things are in all their contingency. The new science has been described as an account of what scientists do--what operations they go through in an activity requiring teamwork that de-emphasizes the individuality of the scientist until he has something like the status of the craftsman who worked namelessly on the fabric of a cathedral" (Literature and Technology: The Alien Vision [New York, 1968], pp. 240-241).

The apparent disappearance of single authorship in standardized press mediation lent to literature an anonymous quality, while it made literature in part the product of its receptor. The personalized point of view was on the wane, partly because of its inefficacy, leaving a more democratized reading public, rather than promoting the reflective reader, who once, more as a matter of course, might have challenged the veracity of the written word. It was the highly lettered man, especially, who came to feel a horror at the unquestioning acceptance of popularized literature as Word. In England, although there was a larger reading public than in Spain, "virtually all [lettered] observers agreed that as reading became a more and more passive habit, universal atrophy of the mind would result":

The eye would remain active, but the vital nerve that connected it with the brain would simply wither away from disuse. Once again Coleridge had spoken prophetically. "Reading made easy," he had warned in 1810, would give men "an aversion to words of more than two syllables, instead of drawing them through those words into the power of reading books in general. . . . Whatever flatters the mind in its ignorance, tends to aggravate that ignorance, and . . . does . . . more harm than good."<sup>3</sup>

And a century and a half after Coleridge, in Spain, "Azorín," who was fascinated with the implications of technological forms all of his literary life, and whose prose indicates both an artistic opposition to the influence of popularizing

<sup>3</sup>Richard D. Altick, The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900 (1957; rpt. Chicago and London, 1963), p. 370.

technology and the occasional influence of this technology, reflected that "con la imprenta se iba, irremisiblemente, a la desaparición de la cultura. La cultura supone, ante todo, intimidad, recogimiento, meditación. No podrían compaginarse con la cultura el estrépito y el desbordamiento de la imprenta. Todo esto era para las multitudes, y ahogarían la cultura."<sup>4</sup>

The Spanish press at mid-century reflected a conflict between the need to remain within the lettered tradition of the man oriented toward printed books and the tendency toward a prose whose vehicle was, often, the periodical and whose appeal was calculated to be popular. The former was manifested in highly rational and syntactical prose literature, more consonant with the systematized format of specialized technology; the latter showed a compositional spontaneity, which resulted in the training of perception as it fostered a partial iconization of subject matter, that is, a kind of prose that eschews logical elaboration and seeks, rather, a random presentation of its subject. The one had, as I say, the book for its principal vehicle of expression, the other, the periodical issue, and the conflict between the needs that drew men to either was recognizable in both literature and its technological vehicles, simultaneously. Some point of contact between the two printed forms, the book and the periodical, could be seen throughout the nineteenth century, but most controversially during the popularization of the press.

<sup>4</sup>El efímero cine (Madrid, 1955), pp. 11-12.



It was unlikely that the highly individualistic literary forms of Spanish print technology prior to the late eighteenth century should have remained unquestionably in force during the technologization of the periodical press in the nineteenth century, especially if, as William M. Ivins, Jr. has remarked, "the only standards that can be maintained are the very opposite of 'artistic,' because they are the standards of impersonalized routine production."<sup>5</sup> Some Spaniards welcomed the normalizing effect which the periodical had on men's interpretations of the world. José de Lerchundi, for example, appreciated that the power of the press and steampower made "del género humano una sola familia."<sup>6</sup> But more frequent was the case of the writer that fell into the pattern of all men who may accurately sense the far-reaching significance of a technological form, but who, seeking a compromise between the old and the new, or between the personal and the mechanical, confuse the technical significance of the new form with a comparatively a-technical disguise. The attitude of the Semanario Pintoresco Español--"nuestra idea es y ha sido siempre hacer un libro, no un periódico"--was analogous, on a literary scale, to the scribal-desk design, on a technological scale, of the early typesetting machine depicted in the graphic of the same periodical.<sup>7</sup> These ex-

<sup>5</sup>How Prints Look (1943; rpt. Boston, 1967), p. 149.

<sup>6</sup>"Barcos de vapor," in La Alhambra, II, No. 2 (1839), p. 22.

<sup>7</sup>"Prospecto," in 2nd Ser., II, between Nos. 10 and 11

amples illustrate that some periodical-press technologists of Spain's Romantic period did not recognize, always, whatever separation between art and technics might have been taking place even at their own instigation. And the characterization of the Spanish press as contrary to a centralization of forces ("incompatible con la gobernación del estado"), yet, at the same time, as a medium for the furthering of private interests ("unos cuantos chicos reunidos para obtener por este medio los destinos públicos") again demonstrated the ambivalent stance of authors during the rise of the periodical medium in Spain.<sup>8</sup> The fact was that total awareness of the mediatory terms implicit in the periodical generally did not come instantly with the upsurge of the periodical format. Most of those engaged in periodical-press cultivation did not recognize their equivocal position, a position which was an understandable response to the jolt given their lettered cul-

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(1840), between pp. 80 and 81; the design for the typographic instrument appeared in "Descubrimientos importantes: Teclados tipográficos," in 3rd Ser., I, No. 50 (December 10, 1843), p. 397. "The whole development of technics, so long as it is conforming to its proper canons, is in the direction of the typical," Lewis Mumford has said. "There is no extraneous way of humanizing the machine, or of turning it to the advantage of that part of the human personality which has heretofore expressed itself in what we may call the humane arts. You do not make a machine more human by painting it with flowers, as our ancestors used to paint typewriters and coffee grinders, or by spoiling its smooth surface with mechanical moldings and carvings, as our ancestors used to spoil the looks of steam radiators and cooking ranges" (Art and Technics [1952; New York, 1960], pp. 79-80).

<sup>8</sup>Modesto Fernández y González, Chapter XV ("La Prensa") of La hacienda de nuestros abuelos: Conferencias de aldea, 2nd ed. (Madrid, n. d.), pp. 317, 311; introduction to this edition dated 1872.

ture by the more popularized, and popularizing, techniques. A reading of most prospectuses for these periodicals clearly shows such an ambivalent ideal, but none illustrates this better than the introduction to El Siglo Pintoresco:

El siglo en que vivimos habrá de distinguirse más bien por el armonioso conjunto de pequeños y parciales esfuerzos, que por el violento y eficaz empuje que deba darle la mano robusta de una superior inteligencia. . . . [Este siglo] no se distinguirá por lo eminente, sino por lo mucho; más bien por la cantidad que por la calidad de los ingenios. . . . Si este periódico, o más bien, si este nuevo libro, que de libro tendrá más que de periódico, acierta a llenar sus páginas con artículos de elevadas tendencias, de sanas doctrinas y de rígida moral, en armonía con la moral, doctrinas y tendencias verdaderas del siglo, esta gota de agua . . . será no tan sólo pura, sino purificadora de las demás. . . . Pero entretanto queremos desenvolver, aunque rápidamente, el espíritu que ha de animar a esta obra, que no será un almacén desordenado de producciones que mutuamente se rechacen, sino una serie de artículos enciclopédicos, tan metódica como pueda serlo una revista mensual, y firmada por nuestros principales autores, con el sello de unidad de pensamiento tan necesario en toda clase de obras que se escriben y publican concienzudamente.<sup>9</sup>

Such ambivalence can be put into perspective by viewing the attitude of periodical press writers toward their medium, first, before the popular expansion of this form in the 1830's, and then, after the medium became better understood, because

<sup>9</sup>Francisco Navarro Villoslada, in I, No. 1 (April 1845), pp. 1-2.

it became more appreciable. Early in the century, "El Presidente" of El Regañón General declared that public utility was the sole aim of this periodical, but that it would be critical, a reprehensor inflexible, a corrector dulce y moderado (and elogiador imparcial).<sup>10</sup> An unsigned article in the periodical whose very name Instructor defines its purpose, stated that "la Educación es el fin principal del Instructor, la recreación será el objeto secundario," and a similar position was characteristic even of those periodicals which served as vehicles for the propagation of Romanticism in Spain.<sup>11</sup> Didacticism reached exaggerated proportions in the merciless Periodicomanía (begun March, 1820), whose issues demonstrated a curious phenomenon, namely, the relentless attack on its own mediatory process which was, apparently, the sole purpose of its existence. Marshall McLuhan points out one possible reason--private finances, politics, etc., notwithstanding--for the short lives of periodicals such as these just mentioned with his comment to the effect that "the monotonous demands of the literary community--that the newspaper use its mosaic form to present a fixed point of view on a single plane of perspective--represent a failure to see the form of the press at all."<sup>12</sup> The purpose of the

<sup>10</sup>"Discurso que en la apertura de este Tribunal hace su Presidente," in I, No. 1 (June 1, 1803), pp. 2-3.

<sup>11</sup>"¿En qué consiste la educación?," in I, No. 2 (February 2, 1834), p. 47.

<sup>12</sup>Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man (McGraw-Hill; rpt. New York, 1964), pp. 185-186.

periodical, technologically extended, was not, as Jaime Balmes once stated it was, the censure of a particular thing by any particular writer, although it was natural that the periodical should have been, at first, a sententious medium, for it was directly descended from the literature of morals, where logical discursiveness was a general rule of expression. So, Balmes was only partly correct in saying that "los artículos de costumbres fueron un gran paso para acrecentar la acción e influencia de los periódicos: con la crítica de las costumbres, quedaban de hecho erigidos en censores de la sociedad; un paso más, y se les venía a la mano la censura de la política."<sup>13</sup> The costumbristic article was, rather, part and parcel of the comparatively impersonal view that the periodical made possible; the costumbristic article lent, increasingly so, an illusion of authorial remove from the subject under discussion. Indeed, the example serves to illustrate that "a given idea or insight belongs primarily, though not exclusively, to one medium, and can be gained or communicated best through that medium"; or, from a slightly different perspective, "each medium selects its ideas."<sup>14</sup>

If Spain's typographic advancements at mid-century did in fact resemble those in England prior to 1814, as El Instructor suggested, this does not give us license to disre-

<sup>13</sup>"La ciencia y la sociedad," in La Sociedad, I (1843), p. 16.

<sup>14</sup>Edmund Carpenter, "The New Languages," in Explorations in Communication, eds. Edmund Carpenter and Marshall McLuhan (1957; Boston, 1968), pp. 166, 167.

gard Spain's enthusiasm for the technological improvement of her press; moreover, the continual attention and attitude of admiration which we see reflected in Spain's popular press toward the technologization of itself was indicative of a change which was taking place in that portion of Spain's countrymen who could appreciate typographic development.<sup>15</sup> As a matter of fact, the self-identification, on the part of Spain's artists, with technological and scientific forms are far too numerous to begin to mention. Nevertheless, the metaphorical conversions of artists into combinations of mechanical forms indicated that programmatized art was to some extent replacing craft art, as the Semanario Pintoresco Español showed, when it emphasized the standardization of both machinery and print, in other words, a certain dehumanization within the press industry.<sup>16</sup> The second of the articles in

<sup>15</sup>According to the report "Origen, progreso y estado actual de la imprenta" (in El Instructor, I, No. 9 [September 1834], p. 281), November 28, 1814, marked the date of the first application of Friedrich Koenig's steam-powered press by the daily Times (of London, presumably, where Koenig invented the press).

<sup>16</sup>See the series entitled "Descubrimientos importantes," in 3rd Ser., I, Nos. 50-53 (December 10, 17, 24, 31, 1843), pp. 397-398, 405-406, 409-411, 418-419; the articles are unsigned and appear to have been translated from the French. These metaphorical conversions of artists into mechanical forms seem less strange once we realize that "men become mechanized, they themselves are transformed into mechanical, uniform, replaceable parts, or they teach themselves how to perform, with accuracy, standardized and repeatable acts, before they take the final step of inventing machines that take on these duties. The social division of labor precedes the mechanical division of labor, and the mechanical division of labor, in general, precedes the invention of complicated automatic machines" (Lewis Mumford, Art and Technics [New York, 1960], pp. 64-65). Thus, Marshall McLuhan's claim that "the

the Semanario emphasized the typesetting invention of Captain Roseborg, which arranged whole syllables and words at the touch of a single key and, according to the report, decreased the need for human involvement in the typographic process to one-fourth. The third described Gaubert's gerotype, a machine for the distribution of type that selected and classified typographic units, and which required no human involvement at all in the mechanical process; it could function throughout the day and night, since it was pensamiento mecánico and acción ininteligente. The final article described the extent of sensorial disengagement which man had reached at the time, and it closed with a remark concerning a letter (January 2, 1843 [?]) written by Pierre Lerroux to Dominique François Arago of the Parisian Academy of Sciences: Lerroux's machine improved upon the Roseborg invention, for it could set a whole line of type at one time, rather than just letter after letter, syllable after syllable, or word after word; moreover, Lerroux suggested that instead of composing by hand, man might compose by machine. Thus, the literature of the industry's publication was subject to change. Although technologized composition was new neither in concept nor in actual practice--we need only cite the example of the typesetter-author, Restif de la Bretonne--it did indicate man's

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mass media are extensions of the mechanisms of human perception; they are imitators of the modes of human apprehension and judgment" ("Media Log," in Explorations in Communication, eds. Edmund Carpenter and Marshall McLuhan [Boston, 1968], p. 180).

willingness to experiment with the typification of his means for literary making. It was appropriate, then, that at this stage of Spain's popular periodical, Ángel Fernández de los Ríos should underscore the principle that any technologization of a craft art is necessarily modified in conformity with preceding, less artificial forms which it replaces; his example was the fifteenth-century printer, Johann Fust, who fled to France and was obliged to sell there, as bogus manuscripts, the Bibles that he had actually prepared by the new technological means.<sup>17</sup>

Thus, Antonio Neira de Mosquera's satirical vision of the twenty-first century, where he finds that "las plumas ya no servían para escribir y en vez de ellas se había descubierto un medio ingenioso para copiar en el papel los pensamientos ajenos, por medio de las tijeras," is not merely a satire on the theft of literature; it is, in considerable part, an esthetic of reproduction through technological means and the consequent denial of personalized invention that Neira de Mosquera means to ridicule by exaggeration:

Las personas dedicadas a redactar, ocupación que se daba cierto aire a inventar, no tenían habitación fija y preparaban sus géneros por medio de una combinación químico-científica de bien

<sup>17</sup>"De la propagación de la imprenta," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, No. 13 (March 26, 1848), p. 98. See, also, the related studies by Fernández de los Ríos, "De los medios de consignar y transmitir los frutos del entendimiento antes del descubrimiento de la imprenta" and "Circunstancias que concurrieron al descubrimiento de la tipografía," in El Siglo Pintoresco, III, Nos. 9, 11 (September, November 1847), pp. 199-204, 243-248.



público o moralidad literaria. Se les encontraba . . . ora desfigurando los últimos ejemplares de alguna crónica apolillada, ora iluminando algunos manuscritos con el tornasolado de actualidad. . . . El vulgo confundía por lo regular la invención con la reproducción.

Las ciencias y las artes habían llegado con el transcurso del tiempo a un estado de generalidad lamentable.<sup>18</sup>

Neira de Mosquera wrote the piece (a recollection, ten years after the fact, of Larra's "El día de difuntos de 1836") with moralizing intent, obviously: "¿El Madrid del siglo XXI era un retrato o una parodia de la coronada villa del siglo XIX," the author finally asks (p. 41). But he is wrong, possibly, to suppose as he does, that his readers can respond to this question better than he. The general public, perhaps unaware of its own sensational numbness--"para levantar del suelo una

<sup>18</sup>"Madrid en el siglo XXI," in El Siglo Pintoresco, III, No. 2 (February 1847), p. 39. Typical of literature in this vein is the fantastic adventure of the fictional character Juan Ansúrez, which appeared long after Neira de Mosquera's composition (see Vicente Vera, Chapter XII ["El periodismo dentro de cien años"] of Amenidades científicas: Narraciones curiosas [Barcelona, 1914], pp. 139-148). Ansúrez arrives in Madrid in the year 2014, after years in the Congo, to find that the business of reportage has grown completely depersonalized, with "los noticieros al servicio del periódico," and that literary as well as graphic reportage is a simultaneous process of news gathering, composition, and divulgence. In Vera's imaginings, the specialist contribution is permissible, but the specialist is obligated by his expressive medium to say "todo lo que sea necesario de un modo clarísimo y con las menos palabras posibles." The visit of Juan Ansúrez to the evolutionized periodical, which "ya venía marcándose la tendencia desde mediados del siglo pasado," serves to show, ultimately, that "cuanto más nacional o universal es el carácter de un periódico, menos espacio puede dedicar a los intereses particulares de una localidad." Vera imagines, accordingly, that "los periódicos informativos, con sus numerosas ediciones del día y de la noche," represent a function entirely apart from the special reportage of comparably narrow provincial interest.

piedra había los brazos necesarios en la construcción de un puente"--under the effects of the technologization of inventive activity, was probably not the better judge of the significance of these effects. The general public would have comprehended with difficulty this sketch of the twenty-first century as a portrait of their own condition, a response which, likewise, must have made difficult their recognition of self-parody.

There were, in fact, occasions when Spain's most intelligent minds of the period were reluctant, despite their admission of the newer medium's effect upon the perceiver, to grant that the product of the new medium might have changed in kind:

Es evidente . . . que el periodista debe ser literato: un literato de cierta y elevada clase. Pero ¿se infiere de aquí que hay un género de literatura, distinto de los otros, que pueda y deba llamarse género periodístico? Sobre esto es sobre lo que yo no estoy muy seguro, aunque, si me inclino a algo, es a negar que haya tal género. Lo que distingue al periodista de otro cualquier escritor, poco o nada tiene que ver con la literatura. La distinción que le da carácter propio es independiente de ella. Se llama periodista el literato que escribe con frecuencia o de diario, o casi de diario, en un pliego o gran hoja volante, que se estampa periódicamente y se difunde entre el público, a veces por centenares de miles de ejemplares. Cuando se logra que estos centenares de miles de ejemplares sean comprados y leídos, el periodista que dispone de ellos y escribe, dicta o inspira su contenido, no puede negarse que posee un instrumento poderosísimo para influir en la opinión, para modificarla o dirigirla, ya en buen sentido, ya en malo. Nunca el autor de un libro, por extraordinario

y dichoso éxito que el libro tenga, influirá inmediatamente en el ánimo de los hombres con la rapidez, extensión y eficacia que el que en un periódico escribe.<sup>19</sup>

If, as Carpenter says, "feeding the product of one medium through another medium creates a new product," then it is unlikely, if not impossible, that different media yield like thematics and similar intellectual preferences. Indeed, the apparency of moral voice, a by-product of book technology, was on the wane in the nineteenth century, in spite of the aspirations of many lettered men to retain it. Valera was just one example of the hesitancy to distinguish between the book and the periodical. However, it seems worthwhile to speculate that the technological applications of Lerroux and Restif de la Bretonne, let us say, besides indicating a progressive typification of the medium of literature, signaled a reversal which later might have shown up as a self-propagating need to inform in an increasingly iconical manner. Thus, Valera's view of the periodical as an instrument more powerful than the book for the persuasion of the public might be qualified by a commentary on the expressive nature of that persuasion and the reader's response to that expression, somewhat altered

<sup>19</sup>Juan Valera, "El periodismo en la literatura. Contestación al discurso de recepción de Don Isidoro Fernández Flórez en la Real Academia Española el 13 de noviembre de 1898," in *Obras completas*, III, ed. Luis Araujo Costa, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1947), pp. 1180-1181. "El Agente Fiscal Segundo" of *El Regañón General* had written, almost a century before: "Se ha dicho y repetido muchas veces que los periódicos no son libros, sino meras compilaciones; pero lo cierto es que un periódico bien escrito no se diferencia en nada de una buena obra, sino en que presenta al público separada y sucesivamente los capítulos" ("Respuesta a los editores de *La Gazeta de Bayona*," in I, No. 48 [1803], p. 378).

in kind since the time of specialist book technology.

The private point of view naturally met resistance in the medium which, in its historically extended form, tended to discourage the exclusive vision. In this regard, the aforementioned contributor to the Floresta Española saw at an early date that "como no se publican periódicos imparciales, sino que todos están escritos en un mismo sentido, y son de un solo color, . . . está su lectura limitada al menor número de personas de su parcialidad" (p. 55). Because the Floresta Española desired to follow a rumbo del todo nuevo, the loss of apparent authorial voice, it gave notice just prior to its first issue (January 1, 1835), that its readers should not expect "noticia alguna de política española ni extranjera"; and, as if to support its own position in this matter, it registered the lamentable state of certain other periodicals of political voice.<sup>20</sup> Likewise, in the "Prospecto" to the first volume of the Semanario Pintoresco Español (1836), Ramón de Mesonero Romanos expressed the desire to exclude political opinion from his publication, and his decision was likely a negative response to a tradition still in evidence at that time. The tradition was the personalization of content, and it could, certainly, be traced even farther back than the days when José María Díaz del Río ("El Tío Tremenda") subscribed to a definition of libertá de imprenta that he said he found in a publication of November 27, 1812: "Unos creen

<sup>20</sup>"Periódicos de Madrid," in No. 19 (May 7, 1835), pp. 73-74.

que es una licencia para hacer mil esvergüenzas contra todo el mundo, sin perdonar las cosas más respetables y sagradas, poniéndolas en ridículo; otros, y éstos lo aciertan, dicen que es una facultad de hacer presente con el respeto debido cuanto convenga para ilustrar al Gobierno, y proporcionar el acierto en sus disposiciones."<sup>21</sup> The periodical which was written by a single author or a small group of like-minded writers had been brought up in the one-point-of-view book technology. But the technically perfected periodical addresses its diverse views on public political issues "democratically," to a readership of equally diverse opinion. Politics voiced by the one or a few, and in a medium which strove technically for democratization, was, eventually, recognized as one-sided by a growing middle class.

A reviewer of Mellado's publication of Quevedo's works, and Pedro de Prado y Torres, also, commented during the years of the rise of the Spanish periodical press that everything was subordinate to and gave way to politics.<sup>22</sup> It does not seem surprising, then, that from 1808 to 1875, literary activity in Spain was largely conditioned by the political situation,

<sup>21</sup>El Tío Tremenda, No. 17 (1813), no pag.; the sole voice of this periodical identified for us by Pedro Gómez Aparicio, Historia del periodismo español desde la Gaceta de Madrid (1661) hasta el destronamiento de Isabel II (Madrid, 1967), p. 111.

<sup>22</sup>See: "Obras de Quevedo," in Gabinete de Lectura, No. 22 (March 6, 1842), p. 196; and Prado y Torres ("La historia y la novela," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, No. 46 [November 12, 1854], p. 365), who said that "en la presente época . . . todo lo monopoliza la política."

as F. Courtney Tarr noted; Tarr's observation was in accord both with José de Castro y Serrano's valuable account of the Spanish political press and with Patricio de la Escosura's emphasis upon "esa unión íntima entre el pensamiento político de nuestra revolución y el interés de la literatura," whereby Escosura foretold the rebirth of Spanish letters with the dawn of political freedom.<sup>23</sup> Indeed, a survey of the degree of private voice in the Spanish Romantic press would show, as E. Correa Calderón has correctly remarked, that the early press was critical, political, and literary, as opposed to strictly informative, a view supported by reference to nineteenth-century critical opinion regarding the topic.<sup>24</sup> Some

<sup>23</sup>See: Escosura, "Introducción" to Liceo Artístico y Literario (in I [1838], pp. 6-11; rpt. in Liceo Artístico y Literario: Madrid, 1838, ed. José Simón Díaz (Madrid, 1947), p. 11; Castro y Serrano, "Revista de la prensa política española," in La América, I, Nos. 15-16 (October 8, 24, 1857), pp. 11-12, 7-9; Tarr, "Romanticism in Spain and Spanish Romanticism: A Critical Survey," in Bulletin of Spanish Studies, XVI, No. 61 (January 1939), p. 9. One reviewer believed that literary mode was determined by political events since 1808 (see "Inspiraciones. Poesías selectas de D. Ventura Ruiz Aguilera," in Revista del Movimiento Intelectual de Europa, II, No. 6 [February 12, 1866], pp. 42-45). Enrique Piñeyro (El romanticismo en España [Paris, n. d.], p. ix), like Escosura, believed that the death of Fernando VII signaled a new literature in a new atmosphere of political liberalism, a position supported by Hans Juretschke in at least two studies (Origen doctrinal y génesis del romanticismo español [Madrid, 1954]; "Del romanticismo liberal en Cataluña," in Revista de Literatura, VI, Nos. 11-12 [July-December 1954], pp. 9-30); Juretschke believes that there were two Spanish Romantic generations, one historical with the Schlegels and the French novelists, the second (following 1830) progressive-political. Mariano Sánchez de Palacios (El Madrid romántico [Madrid, 1953], p. 24) also understands that the apogee of Spanish Romanticism came in the decade of the 1830's and that Romanticism was a politico-literary movement.

<sup>24</sup>Costumbristas españoles, I (Madrid, 1950), p. xix.

writers of Spain's Romantic period, in fact, thought that politics had become so totally absorbing that literature was sadly neglected as a result. However, since technologization could achieve a more total picture of political excesses in Spain, objective content in the literature of enhanced technology could begin to supplement the individualistic view in the press. This is why, in the 1830's, one writer for the Floresta Española could remark with a tone of some reprisal that "la prensa periodística va despertando la afición [por la lectura], pero por ahora los sucesos que agitan las pasiones y la guerra, absorben todas las atenciones," and yet be contradicted later on by Fermín Gonzalo Morón:

Entre las notables diferencias, que separan este tercer período constitucional de los anteriores, es una sin duda el mayor movimiento intelectual, que se nota en el presente, impulsado principalmente por la juventud española. Cansada y hastiada ésta de las convulsiones políticas de la península, lejos de tomar parte en la revolución y en sus escesos, se ha visto a la mayor parte de la misma, al menos a la que se distingue por su laboriosidad y sus talentos, dedicarse con intención al estudio, y abrir cátedras y liceos, que promoviesen la instrucción y la comunicación literaria, y llenasen hasta cierto punto el inmenso vacío, que deja la enseñanza universitaria, constituida hoy en el más deplorable abandono, por la relajación de la disciplina escolar, la ausencia de buenos estudios y la carencia de hábiles profesores.<sup>25</sup>

Gavino Tejado [y Rodríguez] said: "El donde de la crítica contemporánea es la prensa periódica, lo más sin conciencia y sintino, que ve la luz pública entre nosotros" ("De la crítica contemporánea," in El Laberinto, II, No. 17 [June 9, 1845], p. 240).

<sup>25</sup>"Movimiento intelectual de España. Valencia, Barcelona

But in Spain, historical events alone warranted a confusion between the democratized and the privatized view in the periodical, for it was probably the undecided freedom of the Spanish press throughout the reign of Fernando VII and intermittent periods of constitutional government since the Cortes de Cádiz (1812) that was the greatest cause of the enduring private political pose assumed by the periodical even after Isabel II gained the Spanish throne.<sup>26</sup>

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y Granada," in Revista de España y del Estrangero, II (1842), p. 46; "Estado actual del comercio de librería en España," in Floresta Española, No. 14 (April 4, 1835), p. 54.

<sup>26</sup>See the unsigned "Censura de libros" (in El Instructor, IV, No. 48 [December 1837], pp. 367-368) and the edition of the press laws by José Eugenio de Eguizábal, Apuntes para una historia de la legislación española sobre imprenta desde el año de 1480 al presente (Madrid, 1879). Modesto Lafuente y Zamalloa ("Fray Gerundio") began writing effective political satire, in the periodical whose name was the same as Lafuente's pseudonym, in the late 1830's. Juan Martínez Villergas ("El Tío Camorra") in the subtitled Periódico político y de trueno by the same name and in El látigo; "Antón Perulero" and "El Moro Muza" in the Havana periodicals with the same respective titles, who, together with A[ntonio] Ribot y Fontseré ("El Jesuita") issued Los políticos en camisa and additional volumes from 1845 to 1847, was, I suspect, the mysterious "Barón de Parla-Verdades, Primer Chismógrafo de la Corte," author of another critico-political book entitled Madrid al daguerreo-tipo (Madrid, 1849). Manuel Espada Burgos ("El misterio de El Padre Cobos," in Revista de Literatura, VII, Nos. 13-14 [January-June 1955], pp. 208-212) has brought to light a "mysterious" authorship of a political periodical by a group of moderados (José Selgas, Francisco Navarro Villoslada, Emilio Arrieta, Adelardo López de Ayala, Cándido Nocedal, Ceferino Suárez Bravo, Eduardo González Pedroso); see, also the review by Alberto Sánchez of the book by Eusebio Aranda Muñoz, Selgas y su obra, in Clavileño, VI, No. 32 (March-April 1955), pp. 77-78. Arthur J. Cullen ("El lenguaje romántico de los periódicos madrileños publicados durante la Monarquía Constitucional, 1820-23," in Hispania, XLI, No. 3 [Wisconsin, September 1958], pp. 303-307) has marked the preoccupation for linguistic terminology in the periodical press during a period when philosophical rationalism vied with political liberalism in the Spaniards' attempts to find a common ground between the freedom of the press and the



Whereas book technology had favored a standardized medium that allowed less variety in tone than did the periodical, with the popular periodicalization of the press the printed analogue of vocal inflection that appeals to the ear, more than to the eye, was encouraged. Increased technologization of the periodical medium prompted the abandonment of print uniformity; that is, inflectional variety was fostered, and with the successful reception of the more random press format, the periodical of the single voice and the unique subject matter was, at least, made possible. This is one probable reason for the rejections of the aforementioned private political views in the periodical. Likewise, any exclusivist system of learning, or didacticism, better corresponded to the previous age of the encyclopedia, which signified, for Spain's mid-nineteenth-century writers, the manifestación razonada of all the knowledge of an age.<sup>27</sup> The aspect of

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freedom of the word.

<sup>27</sup>See the "Introducción" to the Enciclopedia española del siglo diez y nueve, I (1842), p. 9. Theories of education around this time spanned a broad range of opinions, and they reflected the variety of attitudes that we find simultaneously present with respect to standardization and privatization in the press. Salvador Costanzo, for example, objected to exclusivist systems of learning, as opposed to the study of that which was most accessible to all, since he was convinced of the value of a democratic educational policy for the purpose of democratized government. Thus, he rejected the ideal of privatized tutorial education, which he associated with Locke, Montaigne, and Fleury. Nevertheless, he rejected Rousseau as too liberal in his educational theory, accepted as fixed those aptitudes based on social class, and proposed a logical approach to subjects of study and particular models from which to learn most profitably: "A nuestro entender, la educación pública necesita todavía reformas e innovaciones radicales más que la privada, porque debe ser su firme y principal objeto instruir a la clase media, abogada a figurar cada día

all-inclusiveness in the periodical was probably what led so many contributors to this medium to think of these publications as encyclopedic, even though, in reality, the periodicals differed from the encyclopedia in their more random presentation. However, this is not to say that they had completely parted from encyclopedic tradition, and the fact that they had not, indeed, prompted the following analogy from "M." (presumably Mesonero Romanos): "Las revistas, pues, son a nuestro siglo, lo que las enciclopedias al pasado, lo que los Opera omnia a los anteriores."<sup>28</sup> The periodical,

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más en nuestros gobiernos representativos; debe ser su firme y principal objeto instruir a esa clase concienzudamente en la verdadera ciencia y arte de gobernar, que no se improvisa ni adivina" ("De la educación privada y pública, considerada en sus relaciones con la familia y la sociedad," in Museo de las Familias, 2nd Ser., XXIV [1866], p. 129; see a previous essay by Costanzo, "De la necesidad e importancia de seguir un buen método regular y constante en los estudios indispensables para los jóvenes que aspiran a distinguirse por su esmerada educación," *ibid.*, XXIII [1865], pp. 113-119, 146-150).

<sup>28</sup>"Crónica literaria," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, 2nd Ser., I, No. 24 (June 16, 1839), p. 190. Other similar analogies appeared in the review entitled "Obras de Quevedo" (in El Gabinete de Lectura, No. 22 [March 6, 1842], p. 196): "los periódicos han sustituido a los diccionarios, los folletos a las crónicas, y las hojas volantes a las obras elementales." When José Cadalso told his reader, many years before, that the plan for his book was "reducir a un sistema de siete días toda la erudición moderna," he ridiculed the encyclopedic tradition (see Los eruditos a la violeta, o Curso completo de todas las ciencias, dividido en siete lecciones para los siete días de la semana, in Obras, I [1772; Madrid, 1818]). (Cadalso's posthumous Cartas marruecas were first published in periodical form, beginning February 14, 1789, in the Correo de Madrid [see ed. Juan Tamayo y Rubio, Cartas marruecas (1935, Madrid, 1963), pp. xxxi, xli].) The pleasure which we derive today from Cadalso's laughable comment is enhanced by our own distance from book technology and by our exposure to mediatory processes more nearly incorporative of Cadalso's stated goal than was the book.

technologically extended, would not be necessarily prescriptive, either in authorship or in shape, although in Spain it sometimes was. If fictional prose was going to exhibit the nature of the technological forms by which it was mediated, then not only would private voice tend to disappear; also, there would occur a lack of logical relationships among the elements which make up the prose, as the medium tended toward a loss of syntax. For in the periodical issue, unlike the book, technical perfection led to loss of logical arrangement, and the insistence upon method and reason, in the light of professed impartiality, may be taken as characteristically contradictory in Spain's Romantic period, at least so far as the technique of the periodical press during its rise at mid-century is concerned.

The periodical, as a means to information, was considered to be an absolute necessity during the years of its popularization in Spain, probably because it was the best possible means through which every man could achieve a vision of plenitudinous reality. Also, public response to the folletín, Antonio Alcalá Galiano said, indicated that these serial issues of literary content in part created, and in part fulfilled, an equally vital need: "Y es difícil que muera el folletín, porque formando parte de un todo con su hermano el periódico, ha llegado a ser una de las necesidades de la vida, siendo a modo de desayuno intelectual que, a la par con el físico, de ser hábito, lo cual no es poco, ha venido a cobrar la calidad o el

valor de indispensable alimento."<sup>29</sup> At the same time that the periodical satisfied as an expression of plenitudinous reality, it also contributed to the plenitudinous world of elements by giving that world news of itself, thus establishing a reality partly on its own terms. Indeed, it was the thorough illusion of a total reality that caused Alcalá Galiano to understand the periodical medium as the record of not only past and present, but also of events which had not even taken place: "[El periódico tiene] más que de la especulación pura de la acción, pues por ella los dichos pasan muy en breve a ser hechos, aun en casos en que la acción no se ve desde luego pero va preparándose para manifestarse en plazo nada largo."<sup>30</sup> The periodical tended to establish reality for every man, at the same time that it might have helped to achieve, by means of its relatively unselective presentation in comparison to that of book technology, a paradoxical impression on the part of the individual reader that he necessarily aided in the compilation of a history of events. This change in the presentation of information was to become, in fact, one characteristic of "realistic" prose, which, despite all of its claims to scientific method, seemed to grow less discursive in its mode of exposition, as a result of the

<sup>29</sup>"De la novela," in La América, No. 17 (November 12, 1862), p. 14. See, also, F. Ferrer y Valls, "Estudios literarios. Literatura," in Revista Literaria de El Español, II, No. 11 (June 15, 1846), p. 167.

<sup>30</sup>"De los periódicos ingleses," in La América, VII, No. 7 (April 12, 1863), p. 5.

heightened diversity of elements that it was required to treat. But the periodical was able to express the elements of the diversitarian vision by means of the relatively iconic image and quintessential exposition, and this is precisely the point of juncture for the costumbristic article and the press medium which helped to make it so popular:

Colecciones de novelas; colecciones de viajes, de comedias, de música . . . todo se pliega a la forma común; todo se achica y estruja lo suficiente para poder entrar por bajo de las puertas o caber en la cartera del repartidor; y los más abultados mamotretos, divididos en cuadernillos-escrúpulos que pueden ir en carta, filtran, insensiblemente su quinta esencia en los más indiferentes lectores, que sin saber cómo, se encuentran al cabo del año con que han leído diez grandes volúmenes y tragado inadvertidamente todo el veneno o narcótico que contienen.<sup>31</sup>

These potential factors of perception had been in evidence in the press when, at the close of the century, José Gutiérrez Abascal, the anagrammatical "Kasabal" who died as editor of the Heraldo de Madrid, took a retrospective survey of the popularization of the Spanish periodical press in an elegiacal essay on the altered attitude of the Spanish public toward the maturing periodical medium.<sup>32</sup> In another sense,

<sup>31</sup>[Ramón de] M[esonero Romanos], "Crónica literaria," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, 2nd Ser., I, No. 24 (June 16, 1839), p. 191.

<sup>32</sup>"Los lectores de periódicos, 1849-1897," a chapter in the book by Francisco Pérez Mateos ("León Roch"), 75 años de periodismo: Con motivo de las bodas de diamante de La Época (Madrid, 1923), pp. 61-68.

Kasabal was lamenting the loss of a mode of response to a medium which had changed its value because it seemed to him to be changing its characteristics. There had occurred, he said, a transformación del lector along with a transformation of the medium:

Si entre el diario vivo, agitador, nervioso, de este fin de siglo, y el grave y sesudo que se publicaba al mediar la centuria hay una gran diferencia, no es menor la que existe entre el lector de hogafío y el de antaño, y aun se puede decir que lo uno es consecuencia de lo otro, o lo que es igual, que la transformación del lector ha traído la de la hoja impresa que llega a sus manos todos los días. . . .

¡Qué diferencia entre este lector, siempre agitado y afanoso, y aquel otro de hace cincuenta años, para el que la lectura del diario de su predilección era una de las ocupaciones más serias e importantes del día! Dedicaba a ella una hora fija, siempre la misma, . . . (p. 62).

That is, the "grammar" of the medium was becoming invisible, and Kasabal's incapacity to perceive any longer the syntax of the medium was the reason for his elegiacal tone; he had lost the capacity to perceive the fisonomía of the periodical. The mid-century periodical, which the reader welcomed "como a un amigo predilecto y querido," had become less recognizable in character as a book, or as Coleridge's words that one saw through, than as a mirror of the world. Thus, Kasabal's article suggested that, in the periodical, increased technologization tends to disguise logical relationships and to cause the elemental make-up to become imperceptible.

Jaime Balme must have sensed a potentially iconic quality

in periodical mediation when he looked to the medium as the most efficacious means of restoring Spain's faith in the Word, for he spoke of the press as "una manera de hablar: es una especie de lengua que sólo se diferencia de la común, en que suena más alto, se hace oír con más rapidez y universalidad, y deja consignado e indeleble para mucho tiempo, todo lo que dice. Es una perfección del órgano que nos ha dado la naturaleza."<sup>33</sup> For better or for worse, Balmes thought, the press had vulgarized human knowledge, but because he viewed the periodical press as if it were an almost autonomous agent of power, he was firmly convinced that it was "uno de los medios de que Dios se servirá para hacer triunfar la religión verdadera, haciéndole reconquistar el terreno perdido" (p. 260). However, Balmes underestimated the ephemeral nature of the periodical issue, when to this he attributed the qualities more characteristic of book technology, and especially of the Book. In spite of how often in its early development the periodical medium could claim the characteristics of permanence which the book format did have in its stage of technical perfection, and which some authors of periodical literature did wish to attribute to their publications, the periodical was relatively lacking in permanence. Thus, the apparent contradiction in Balmes' claim that the periodical medium would constitute, ideally, "una nueva palabra, instantánea, general, duradera."<sup>34</sup> The point of historical coinci-

<sup>33</sup>"La prensa," in La Sociedad, I (1843), p. 253.

<sup>34</sup>"La ciencia y la sociedad," in La Sociedad, I (1843), p. 15.

dence of the book as durable object and the potentially less permanent periodical issue as durable object is recognized nowhere more clearly than in Kasbal's nostalgic lament:

Y el periódico no era sólo leído, sino comentado mentalmente por el atento lector, que creía en todo aquello que leía como en el Evangelio, y que no daba por cierta ninguna noticia hasta que la encontraba en aquellas columnas de su especial predilección.

Y después de la lectura, no arrojaba con desdén la hoja impresa que le había proporcionado tan gratas emociones, su amigo sincero, ni consentía que las mujeres la cogiesen para cortar patrones o envolver líos, ni que fuese a la cocina a que la doméstica le recortase en picos para adornar el vasar, ni que los chicos la convirtiesen en pajaritas o cometas. Volvía a doblar su periódico cuidadosamente por los mismos dobleces que tenía al llegar a sus manos, y le colocaba en el estante encima de los números que le habían precedido y esperando a los que le habían de suceder (pp. 64-65).

Kasabal's statement is a clear indication of the conception of the early periodical as the Book (Evangelio), at the same time that it implies the periodical's loss of value as object; thus, this statement underscores the relationship between the single, sententious voice and the periodical throughout the nineteenth century. Technically, the book was the better medium by which to concretize the Word, although the periodical might better imitate the original spoken Word, as Joaquín Francisco Pacheco intimated when he spoke of the ephemeral nature of the periodical issue as a defect:

Pero hay más todavía, señores; y no consiste sólo en ese defecto de la forma lo que ha de menguar constantemente la importancia de este género de literatura:



es también un defecto interior del que nunca ha de poder eximirse el periodismo, como consecuencia necesaria de su propia naturaleza. Si le hemos calificado de espontáneo, de ardiente, de agitador; si hemos señalado el interés que inspira, como superior a todo otro linaje de intereses; téngase entendido que su brillo, que su llamarada duran un momento y no más, y que después de haber deslumbrado como el relámpago, y aturdido como el trueno, vuelven a dejarnos en un silencio profundo y en una obscuridad completa. La belleza, la sublimidad de tales producciones, naciendo principalmente del asunto, consistiendo en la aplicación oportuna de ideas que suscitan fugaces circunstancias, huyen y mueren con éstas, sin que apenas quede sinó una levísima memoria del efecto que causaron. ¿Quién lee, señores, un artículo de periódico, pasado el día, pasados los momentos para los cuales se escribió? ¿A quién ocurrirá formar colecciones de estos artículos, sólo bajo el punto de vista literario, como se forman colecciones de poesías, y aun compilaciones de discursos académicos? Impídelo, no puede dudarse, la índole misma, el género de la composición, que, escrita principalmente para causar efecto en determinados instantes, ha menester de otra especie de belleza que la que demandaría para causarlo al cabo de años, al cabo de siglos.<sup>35</sup>

With Kasabal, Pacheco is another incisive spokesman for the development of the periodical medium during his time. He saw beyond its revolutionary linguistic implications and called it a "nueva forma de la inteligencia humana," whose literature was "viva, espontánea, agitadora, infiltrada en la sociedad hasta la médula de sus huesos, afectándola y conmoviéndola más que otra ninguna" (pp. 186, 191). Similarly, Francisco

<sup>35</sup>"Discurso de recepción del autor en la Academia Española" (1845), in Literatura, historia y política, II (Madrid, 1864), pp. 193-194.

Lozano Muñoz saw fit to comment that with the revolución brought on by the press, "todo ha variado."<sup>36</sup>

Kasabal's elegy was the result of a failure of the periodical press to satisfy entirely the perceptual norm of lettered man; from another point of view, it may have been the retention of literacy in the Spanish press that allowed other lettered men of Kasabal's day to remain partisans of traditional literary standards in the face of democratized print technology: "Prefiero a la epopeya del agente de policía y al millonario hecho Dios, aquellos otros delirios que se llaman, por ejemplo, Los mosqueteros . . . pero que son libros de sinceridad. . . . ¡Más me agrada soñar con caballeros de la Tabla Redonda, que roncar con golfos o ratas! Para mí, en literatura, sólo hay que hacer dos cosas: hacer bien lo que está mal hecho y hacer mejor lo que está hecho bien. Como veis mi espíritu no es el del periodismo corriente."<sup>37</sup> Fernández Flórez explained in his speech that the Spanish periodical press had retained its literate quality, while it had become a highly technologized form:

El periodista mete la reticencia injuriosa,  
la frase obscena, el comentario irreligioso  
en máquinas de 30,000 ejemplares por hora;

<sup>36</sup>"Ideas generales sobre el origen y desarrollo de la imprenta," in La América, IV, No. 23 (February 8, 1861), p. 11.

<sup>37</sup>Isidoro Fernández Flórez, title essay of Periódicos y periodistas (Madrid and Barcelona, n. d.), p. 16; speech given before the Real Academia Española (November 13, 1898), and also published in book form (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico de El Liberal).

y la injuria, y la frase, y el comentario procrean infinitamente; y son turbión, nube, plaga. El periodista es una figura en cien mil espejos; un cuerpo con cien mil sombras; una persona que se desdobra en cien mil. Sus tendencias en literatura, en arte, respecto de los hombres y de las cosas, vuelan muy altas sobre el mundo intelectual de la inmensa mayoría de sus lectores, aquí, donde el saber leer es ya una aristocracia. Y, estas tendencias, si de algo pecan, es de ser sobrado espirituales; entendiéndose por esto únicamente ser muy modernas. . . . El periodista es hombre nuevo, buscador de novedades, cree en la novedad; y, en cada cuartilla nos hace una revelación y en cada temporada descubre un genio (pp. 13-14).

Since the periodical, more so than the book, held potential appeal for what was a largely oral, non-lettered culture in fact, it might have served as a normalizing force between lettered and non-literate man. That is, although it retained bookish literacy, the periodical tended to decrease to some degree the literariness of the lettered man on the level of expression; meanwhile, the periodical raised the orientation of the oral group to one of increased, although scarcely total, literacy. It was a democratizing force among each of these groups when considered as distinct, as well as a normalizing force between them. The periodical medium was, therefore, throughout Spain's nineteenth century, a compromise between a democratization in manner of presentation and privatization of literal content. The compromise, which could not be a static one, of course, must have been the reality that prompted José de Castro y Serrano to comment that the Imprenta Nacional should be a specialist function, both mechanically

and literarily, instead of just literarily:

No nos cansaremos, por lo tanto, de repetir, que el arte de la imprenta tiene más de moral que de físico, más de civilizador que de mecánico. . . . Las leyes de imprenta, mal llamadas así, son leyes para el pensamiento escrito, pero nunca para la forma en que se escribe; de manera que la parte moral del mecanismo de la imprenta, queda irresponsable por esas leyes. . . . En efecto, el arte de imprimir ha perdido en España desde la extinción de los gremios; y a la vista están, para probarlo, las ediciones que a principios de este siglo publicaban los Sancha, los Ibarra y los Burgos, comparadas con las que se hacen en el día. . . . La Imprenta Nacional debía ser escuela de cajistas, correctores, prensistas y maquinistas, sin dispendio alguno y con gran provecho propio; debía ser conservatorio del arte, con no menor utilidad y gloria que otros conservatorios de otras artes; debía ser el centro de instrucción mecánico-literaria que proporcionase después a la industria particular sus mejores brazos.<sup>38</sup>

That is, behind his statement, as a motive for his wish that the book press revert to a former, more specialist position, we might see the comparative democratization of the print medium in 1859, notwithstanding its functioning literate nature at the same time, which Castro y Serrano favored. His opinion, incidentally, was manifest in the preface of his book Cuadros contemporáneos, where he expressed the wish that with this volume the book might regain its status as living being (ser) with which the reader could hold private conversation, for the periodical press, he said, had come to deprive books in

<sup>38</sup>"La Imprenta Nacional," in La América, II, No. 23 (February 8, 1859), p. 3.

general of this quality, which they had possessed at one time.<sup>39</sup>

The nature of the Spanish popular press was such that the press was understood at an early date to be an advantageous medium for the recording of history. The enthusiasm shown by S[alvador] Bermúdez de Castro for what the periodical might offer historiographic exposition reflected the sentiment that the periodical was to be the new historiographic ideal. Since on occasion historians could not present the reader with all the facts necessary for a thorough representation of historical truth, he thought, the medium which permitted piecemeal account (the crónica en pequeñas proporciones) should function with historiography, in order to make falsification impossible.<sup>40</sup> Bermúdez de Castro's enthusiasm is explainable on at least two accounts. One was the desire that mediated information be a representation of all that is and all that happens. This desire reflected a general psychological phenomenon which we can witness in the popular response to other technological and scientific forms like the photograph and

<sup>39</sup>Cuadros (Madrid, 1871). Marshall McLuhan has pointed out that the periodical medium, in contrast with book form, is an impersonalized form, a less likely medium for the private voice than is the book: "We . . . think of the new media (press, radio, TV) as mass media and think of the book as an individualistic form--individualistic because it isolated the reader in silence and helped create the Western 'I'" ("Classroom Without Walls," in Explorations in Communication, eds. Edmund Carpenter and Marshall McLuhan [195?; Boston, 1968], p. 1.

<sup>40</sup>"Influencia de los periódicos en la historia," in El Iris, II, Nos. 3-4 (July 18, 25, 1841), pp. 33-38, 49-54.

tachygraphic script. The other was his unquestioning acceptance of periodical content as congruent with reality itself: "En nuestra época no hay invención posible, porque no es posible la duda: todo lo que se dice se escribe, y todo lo que se escribe se imprime. . . . Aquí nada tiene que inventar el analista: no tiene que crear la verdad porque la verdad existe clara y completa." Excepting, perhaps, the photograph, which had just been announced as a completed achievement, there existed no medium of information at the time more suited to the historiographic ideal than the periodical press. The periodical press best answered to the requirement of actualized historical occurrence, such as José Musso y Valiente spoke of this: "Si yo quiero positivamente que el otro sepa lo que yo ví u oí, deberé decírselo con claridad, y de modo que en cuanto esté de mi parte llegue a formar del suceso la misma idea que de él tengo. Entonces lo referiré, y suponiendo que lo digo a persona atenta, y que conoce el significado de mis palabras, quedará ésta plenamente enterada del hecho tal como yo lo estoy, salvo la impresión física que cuando sucedió hubo de causar en mis sentidos."<sup>41</sup>

<sup>41</sup>"De la certidumbre histórica. Memoria leída en la Academia de Ciencias Naturales de esta Corte en junta de la sección de ciencias antropológicas, celebrada en la noche del lunes 28 de mayo del corriente año," in Revista de Madrid, I (1838), p. 133. The Revista de Madrid showed further concern for the writing of history in the article signed "Ch. Du Rozoir. G. G.," entitled "La historia considerada como ciencia de los hechos," in 2nd Ser., I (1839), pp. 36-66, 222-237. This article distinguished among schools of historiography: the Christian concept of man's struggle against worldly forces (Vico, Michelet, Herder); the world as subjective configuration (Hegel); the Picturesque, or Descriptive,

Musso y Valiente must have looked to the periodical press as the written analogue of the oral voice, since, according to him, it was the spoken word repeated many times down through generations that was proof of the event it reports, and it was the periodical that was the most promising of all media. As a corollary, Musso y Valiente recognized the facile deception in the written word of the sole historiographer and saw eternal truths in common customs; it was information frequently divulged, by many contributors, that approximated the undeceptive language of oral tradition.

About four years before Musso y Valiente prescribed remedial conditions for the writing of history and suggested, also, criteria for the interpretation of historical writing, Antonio Alcalá Galiano attempted to correct the sad lack which he found in Spain's historiography. In the serial article which he published in the London Athenaeum, he asserted that "the latter part of the eighteenth century had produced nothing which could be recommended to the attention of foreign nations, or the regard of posterity. There was not one historical work worth mentioning."<sup>42</sup> Later, Alcalá Galiano revived Quintilian's byword, scribitur ad narrandum, non ad probandum, recognized Barante as a practitioner of the former method, and adopted this as his own prescriptive norm. That is, he considered it proper that "el historiador [dejara] al

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school, which attempted to retain pristine simplicity of informational data (Barante).

<sup>42</sup>"Literature of the Nineteenth Century. Spain," in No. 338 (April 19, 1834), p. 292.

lector sacar las consecuencias de lo que le [pusiera] delante con fidelidad prolija, en vez de sacarlas él mismo, y dárselas como lección a los otros."<sup>43</sup> He wanted to permit the reader maximum possibility of involvement in the content of written history by making this an "objective" exposition of facts, and this was what he might have meant when he said that the most prudent readers of history preferred the "frase algo seca, pero viva, de Mérimée." Mérimée's historiographical delivery was seca, because of the absence of the authorial voice, but viva, as a consequence, for the reader would supply his own arrangement of the facts set before him, thereby being, himself, an interpreter of history:

Puede tolerarse la narración pura, aun sin reflexiones, si no es una como la de los anales, sino al revés, animada y pintoresca, y a la par fiel, de tal manera, que con propiedad se diría que asoma al lector a ver los tiempos y las personas de que el autor trata, y le asoma para presentarlos vivos y obrando. Debe aplaudirse la narración mezclada con juicios y reflexiones, cuando estas últimas son pocas, nacidas de los sucesos, y no presentadas enteramente en abstracto, y aquéllos no se resienten de una parcialidad o nada o mal encubierta" (my underscoring; p. 9).

Ideally, Mérimée's reader would not have heard the voice of the historian; rather, history would have appeared to him as if it were present. In spite of the fact that Alcalá Galiano's ad narrandum method implied a temporal ordering of facts, rather than mere random presentation, his historiographic ideal

<sup>43</sup>"De la historia y de modo de escribirla," in La América, VI, No. 10 (July 24, 1862), p. 9.



might sooner have found better expression in the periodical issue (1862) than did subjectivized historiography, more suited to the comparatively determinative (ad probandum) nature of book technology. In contrast, critics of historiography who expressed the utility of sententious didacticism stressed the exemplary character of historical incident. José María Pallarés remarked that history "ha de servir de norma para evitar los escollos que hicieron naufragar a nuestros padres incautos y desapercibidos, y si sus lecciones no han de ser perdidas para la posteridad, ha de encerrar verdades que todos reconozcan, y en las que no pueda tener lugar la controversia."<sup>44</sup> And Pedro de Prado y Torres, who was of similar mind and believed that there was "una fidelidad en la novela, que no hallamos en la historia," remarked that "la historia nos promete la verdad que no cumple" and opted in favor of sacred history over profane history, since the former yielded rules of moral or civil conduct, whereas the latter did not.<sup>45</sup> Indeed, for some critics of historiographic method, the sententiousness in history was a truism: "Cuando oímos decir historia crítica de tal o cual cosa, se nos figura que se comete un pleonasma en toda la extensión de la palabra; porque una historia que no es crítica, no es historia."<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup>"Sobre la imparcialidad y divergencia histórica," in Revista de Madrid, 3rd Ser., I (1841), p. 438.

<sup>45</sup>"La historia y la novela," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, No. 46 (November 12, 1854), p. 365.

<sup>46</sup>Gavino Tejado y Rodríguez, "De la crítica contemporánea,"

Objectivized and subjectivized historical prose existed in operative conjunction with each other, although for the lettered man, at least, they were expressively, philosophically, and functionally distinguishable. Also in contrast to the basic ideals voiced by the historians of objective fact were those who advocated personalized historiography. These writers generally remained within the stylistic condition of book technology and advocated the subjectivization of history. Customarily, they called for a more highly articulated verbal style than that of the historiographers whose prose was more adaptable to the descriptively advantageous periodical form. For example, Antonio Benavides (presumably Antonio Benavides y Navarrete) considered useless "esa historia enciclopédica del día, que algunos han dado en llamar descriptiva," and he hailed Chateaubriand as the best historian of the century, because Chateaubriand wrote "con el corazón, con la vehemencia de la pasión."<sup>47</sup> Although

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in El Laberinto, II, No. 17 (June 9, 1845), p. 238. Similarly, Francisco Antonio Calero thought that "la historia es una escuela de moral y de política, en donde famosos ejemplos nos enseñan el arte tan grande y difícil de reglarse en el uso de la vida y en la conducta de los negocios" ("Sobre el estudio de la historia," in Círculo Científico y Literario [July 15, 1854], p. 341).

<sup>47</sup>"Historia. Reflexiones sobre las diferentes escuelas históricas, desde la antigüedad hasta nuestros días," in Revista Barcelonesa, I, Nos. 21, 23 (December 20, 1846, January 3, 1847), pp. 322, 357. Pío Baroja also recognized the personalization implicit in historiography: "[El historiador] lleva a los hechos una idea preconcebida. Desde este punto de vista, la Historia es una rama de la literatura, no una rama de la ciencia" ("La Historia," in Obras completas de . . ., V [Madrid, 1948], p. 1127); and he expressed, in favor of novelized history, that one might derive a more

Francisco Martínez de la Rosa, like Benavides, could separate the objective and subjective modes on the level of historiographic practice, he argued contrariwise: "Lo que no hace, ni puede hacer el historiador, eso es la peculiar obligación del novelista, pintar al vivo los remordimientos, los sustos, las amarguras que roen y acibaran los inicuos pechos."<sup>48</sup>

Naturally, Martínez de la Rosa also took notice of the progressive factualization of fictional literature: "Todos los oradores han estado acordes sobre este punto, que el adelantamiento en los estudios históricos es quizás el rasgo más pronunciado de nuestra época, y que este adelantamiento ha

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realistic picture of England from readings in Burns, Byron, Scott, and Dickens, than from the works of the historians of England ("La literatura y la historia," *ibid.*, p. 1100).

<sup>48</sup>See José Marchena Ruiz de Cueto (author in part), "Estudios históricos sobre la literatura española," in Gabinete de Lectura, No. 21 (February 27, 1842), p. 183. The bibliographical data regarding the series of articles (parts 2-4) in the Gabinete de Lectura require careful attention (see Nos. 19, 21, 24 [February 13, 27, March 20, 1842], pp. 165-168, 181-183, 205-207). Parts 2 and 3 are signed "F. M." and "J. M.," respectively, although Max Aub includes what happens to be the content of pp. 165-168 and 181 (only) of the Gabinete in his anthology, ascribing this material to José Marchena Ruiz de Cueto (see La prosa española del siglo XIX, I (México, 1952), pp. 165-173; entire selection, pp. 158-173). Aub's selection is more expansive than pp. 165-168 and 181 of the Gabinete, insofar as the beginning of the speech ("Discurso preliminar: De lecciones de filosofía moral y elocuencia"), which Aub ascribes to Marchena, is prefixed to this portion of the material in the Gabinete. Part 4 (pp. 205-207) of the series is unsigned, which complicates matters further; part 1 does not appear in the erroneously numbered issues of my Gabinete. I suspect that either the editor of the Gabinete arbitrarily joined a part of Marchena's "Discurso" with parts of a speech by Martínez de la Rosa, or else he misprinted the initials at the close of part 2, for if we credit Aub, then "F. M." should become "J. M." However, this would still not resolve the question of the authorship of pp. 182-183 of the Gabinete.

ejercido una influencia poderosa sobre toda la literatura, empezando por el romance y concluyendo por el drama."<sup>49</sup>

Antonio Neira de Mosquera, who probably agreed with Martínez de la Rosa, complained that in the case of the novelist Dumas, who often wrote for the serial issue, "todo parece histórico en su pluma menos la historia."<sup>50</sup>

But the popularization of history through the periodical medium might have altered somewhat the static polarities that in the course of book technology had become, and were still, of course, tenable for men such as Benavides, Martínez de la Rosa, and Neira de Mosquera, whatever their ultimate opinions regarding historiographic proprieties. Even later in the century, that is, years after Salvador Bermúdez de Castro (see note 40), Antonio de los Ríos Rosas thought of synthetic history (verdadera historia) as complementary and posterior to the bit-by-bit history (historia a la menuda) of the periodical.<sup>51</sup> It is possible that a growing confusion of modes on the level of periodical practice causes Robert Scholes in our time to "think of history as representing a number of fictional forms which take the presentation of actual events and real

<sup>49</sup>"Del espíritu de la literatura actual y del genio de Lope de Vega," in La Civilización, III (1842), p. 216.

<sup>50</sup>"Estudios literarios: Mr. Alejandro Dumas," in El Siglo Pintoresco, III, No. 12 (December 1847), p. 266.

<sup>51</sup>Ríos Rosas cited by Modesto Fernández y González, La hacienda de nuestros abuelos: Conferencias de aldea, 2nd ed. (Madrid, n. d.), p. 312; introduction to this edition dated 1872.

people as their province (journalism, biography, autobiography, etc.)"; and periodical practice is, conceivably, one factor that leads Frank Kermode to think of the novel as "palpably betwixt and between [fact and fiction]": "As Ian Watt says, the demands of realism required the novel to break with other 'abiding literary values'; it lost some of the old right to a highly selective criterion of relevance, for example, since 'a patent selectiveness of vision destroys our belief in the reality of a report.'"<sup>52</sup>

The periodical medium affected the composition and the interpretation of fictional prose as it did the composition and the interpretation of history. It tended to make fiction indistinguishable from fact. At least one critic of today understands novelizing as the extension of man's own historical process. That is, according to Barbara Hardy, "narrative, like lyric or dance, is not to be regarded as an aesthetic invention used by artists to control, manipulate, and order experience, but as a primary act of mind transferred to art from life. The novel merely heightens, isolates, and analyzes the narrative motions of human consciousness. . . . I should prefer to see the novel as the continuation, in disguising and isolating art, of the remembering, dreaming, and planning that is in life imposed on the uncertain, attenuated, interrupted, and unpredictable or meaningless flow of hap-

<sup>52</sup>Kermode, "Novel, History and Type," in *Novel*, I, No. 3 (Spring 1968), p. 233; Scholes, "Towards a Poetics of Fiction: An Approach Through Genre," in *Novel*, II, No. 2 (Winter 1969), p. 105.

penings."<sup>53</sup> Thus, for the reader, fictional prose can be history, and, for the author, as inseparable from the total realm of his experience as would be any other fact of his experience. Indeed, Eugenio de Ochoa, at mid-century, saw taking place among Spaniards a literarization of life and, it seems, a complementary factualization of imaginative literature: "Hemos superado a nuestros modelos en el arte funesto, deletéreo, de trasladar la novela a la vida real, esto es, en hacer novelas, y nos hemos quedado en una lastimosa inferioridad con respecto a ellos en el de llevarlas al campo de la imaginación, su terreno natural, esto es, en componerlas y escribirlas."<sup>54</sup>

Periodical technology, which ordered information in a comparatively random way, less consecutively than did book technology, lent to the content of the periodical an aspect of continuous newness. Therefore, Ramón de Mesonero Romanos, often a brilliant interpreter of his own medium of expression, prudently announced in the "Prospecto" that preceded the publication of the first issue of his Semanario Pintoresco Español: "No seguiremos orden metódico en la elección de materias."<sup>55</sup> Also, by the progressive elimination of the more

<sup>53</sup>"Towards a Poetics of Fiction: An Approach Through Narrative," in Novel, II, No. 1 (Fall 1968), pp. 5, 7.

<sup>54</sup>See Eugenio de Ochoa's review of Francisco Navarro Villoslada's Doña Blanca de Navarra, crónica del siglo XV, in El Renacimiento, 2nd Ser., I, No. 8 (May 2, 1847), p. 60.

<sup>55</sup>In I, prior to the issue of April 3, 1836, p. 5; the "Prospecto" is unsigned.

logical syntax common to book technology, the periodical form made it possible to transmit a maximum of information in a minimum of time. These were some of the esthetic criteria that "M." (presumably Mesonero) was expressing when he wrote that "el siglo que vivimos corre sin mirar atrás; por eso la instrucción tiene que ser rápida, instantánea, como el efecto del fósforo; y aun las más sólidas doctrinas y los profundos discursos han de disfrazarse con el modesto título de artículos de periódico, y distribuirse como digimos antes por tomas, no por tomos, a un público inconstante, indeciso, acostumbrado a los mágicos efectos del vapor y a las prodigiosas aplicaciones del gas."<sup>56</sup> Periodical technology granted historical events and all other information the aspect of appearing to the reader, such that the ordering of history became a function of the individual reader. Historical events were apprehended less and less by a process of lineal perception; they were, rather than so traditionally consecutive, of simultaneous appearance and always new. Naturally, the writer who dreamed of the day when the placard (cartel) would be hung in public galleries or squares, where the poor might gather information free of charge, envisioned a forthcoming emphasis on the iconization of information; his vision was prompted by the sight of a moving cart carrying placards with prismas de muchas caras placed in front of them, so that news

<sup>56</sup>"Crónica literaria," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, 2nd Ser., I, No. 24 (June 16, 1839), p. 190.

could better be extended to the public.<sup>57</sup> But the iconic presentation of events was not restricted to information, merely; it became characteristic of a significant quantity of literary art, as well. Margarita Ucelay Da Cal sees, with respect to the folletín of literary content, that the very method of distribution of this periodicalized literature served to heighten the illusion of spontaneous presence, which was a characteristic of periodicalization in general: "Los escritores para llegar a la gran masa media adoptan la forma breve a que el periodismo había acostumbrado al público. Aligerando sus producciones en el contenido, y abaratándolas en el precio, salen a buscar al lector directamente a su casa por el fácil camino de la 'entrega,' que entra por debajo de la puerta."<sup>58</sup> Realism was sought less and less through the printed book, and it appealed less and less to man's lineally trained eye. Instead, reality appeared to the reader beneath his door, prismatically extended from moving placards, and sometimes it was announced in the most attractive fashion.

<sup>57</sup>"De los carteles," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, III, No. 122 (July 29, 1838), p. 649. When José González de Tejada took the reader on a literary excursion to discover the four genres of popular literature, he thought he was sure to come upon "un gallego llevando un estandarte de lienzo con el anuncio de cierta novela de 407 entregas a peseta, y una escena terrorífica pintada en medio con colores pompeyanos; y mucho más si el gallego conducía en vez del estandarte un farol de papel o lienzo, alumbrado interiormente por un par de velas de sebo o media docena de candilejas, puestas en grato columpio al compás del paso del portador" ("Literatura popular: Muestras de tiendas; Canciones de ciegos; Carteles; Prospectos," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, No. 3 [January 15, 1834], p. 22).

<sup>58</sup>Los españoles pintados por sí mismos, 1843-1844: Estudio de un género costumbrista (México, 1951), p. 67.



even prior to the event for which it stood. Examples like the aforementioned should erase any doubts concerning literature as news during the formative years of Spain's popular periodical. Also, they might serve to suggest a relationship between periodicalization and the oral tradition of minstrelsy in the days prior to movable type. Luis Monguió seems to be aware of this relationship, as were in fact many writers in Spain's popular press, when he judges that the folletín, the literary serial issue, was a "forma enlazada quizás con la vieja tradición de publicación y venta de romances y pliegos de cordel."<sup>59</sup>

Antonio Neira de Mosquera stressed the loss of lineal temporality and rationality in the folletín when he remarked that "la novela contemporánea no se vale, como la del siglo XVIII, de correspondencias y viajes: su extensión debe de ser variada con ingenio, y sus capítulos deben participar de esa lijereza sentenciosa que en todas partes se encuentra monopolizando las discusiones. El novelista moderno no se contenta con explicar; hace más y debe obrar así: aconseja."<sup>60</sup> Some modern novelists, then, left the logicity of explanation for lightly sententious counsel more suited to the conversational (i. e., oral) medium than to the book, and Eugène Sue's prose was a ceaseless topic of comment in this regard.

<sup>59</sup>"Crematística de los novelistas españoles del siglo XIX," in Revista Hispánica Moderna, XVII, Nos. 1-4 (January-December 1951), p. 114.

<sup>60</sup>"De la novela moderna," in Revista de España, de Indias y del Extranjero, XII (1848), pp. 183-184.

Thus, Antonio Alcalá Galiano called diminishing didactic logicity in print mediation a democratization of the medium: Eugène Sue's success in the propagation of socialist doctrine was for the most part a result of the folletín, which gave "muchacha parte al trabajo mecánico en lo que debía ser obra puramente intelectual" and sought "jueces en los que componen la democracia literaria," and no longer in the "arma de tan poderosa fuerza de razón" which had combated the folletín at the start.<sup>61</sup> But even Sue did not always give himself over to the dictates of technologized composition, as Ángel Fernández de los Ríos informs us; Fernández de los Ríos cited Sue's The Mysteries of Paris and The Wandering Jew as examples of the influence of the periodical medium on fictional compositions, but he excepted The Seven Deadly Sins, which Sue was then writing at a much slower pace and with great care.<sup>62</sup> It would be unjustifiable to generalize, affirming that technological de-

<sup>61</sup>"De la novela," in La América, No. 17 (November 12, 1862), p. 14. As far as L[uis] M[ariano] de Larra was concerned, modern times marked the disappearance of entire genres of literature that were exemplary of the private point of view: "Ahora el libro de memorias se ha refugiado en las petacas y en los bolsillos"; the traditional book of memoirs no longer existed, but had, instead, become the entirely random, open form of "tres hojas de papel con las señas de la habitación de una modista o un pedante, una frase de doble sentido, y cuando más un número de la lotería" ("El libro de memorias," in Museo de las Familias, IX [December 25, 1851], p. 270).

<sup>62</sup>"Apuntes biográficos: Eugenio Sué," in El Siglo Pintoresco, II, No. 9 (September 1846), p. 211. See, also, the article by "R." entitled "Bibliografía. Obras de Eugenio Sue" (in Revista Barcelonesa, II, No. 7 [March 21, 1847], pp. 109-110), in which the compositional method of Sir Walter Scott is compared with that of Sue, who was described as being "apremiado por la urgencia de llenar sucesivamente los grandiosos folletines del Constitutionnel [sic]."

mands were made on every novelist, in the case of every work. Perhaps Nicomedes Pastor Díaz was hasty in this respect when he wrote concerning the novels of his time:

La novela moderna, no es la obra literaria, es el periodismo aplicado a los sentimientos, a las pasiones, a las intrigas de la vida, con nombres supuestos, a veces no más que disfrazados. El novelista no es un literato, es un periodista. Por eso se ha hecho folletín. Es la crónica de la vida íntima, como la otra parte lo es de la vida parlamentaria, diplomática, administrativa, industrial. El periodismo es la conversación de la sociedad consigo misma. No es otra cosa la novela folletín. Ésta es la clave de muchas falsas críticas. El que quiere hacer de la novela un libro, es como el que quiere hacer de un artículo de fondo un discurso académico. No es el arte: es el realismo.<sup>63</sup>

But the novelist writing for the periodical issue, rather than

<sup>63</sup>Cited by Enrique Chao Espina, Pastor Díaz dentro del romanticismo (Madrid, 1949), p. 440. Nicomedes Pastor Díaz published the first part of his De Villahermosa a la China in Madrid (1845); in 1848, it began to appear in the periodical La Patria; ten years later it was issued in its present form. He sent a copy of the book to Antonio de Latour, Fernán Caballero's intimate friend and counselor, and added a note, the contents of which are of decided importance in the present study: "Esta lengua española no está hecha de análisis íntimos del corazón; nuestros autores antiguos, los prosistas digo, eran exteriores, objetivos; no descendían al examen íntimo de la conciencia. Ustedes los franceses tienen la frase hecha para todas esas medias tintas y su lengua es menos exigente y más servicial. La nuestra es indómita, como un órgano de muchos registros. Ella, es verdad, canta y llora, suspira, gime, aúlla, silva, grita, murmura, y se presta a todos los tonos como a todos los afectos; pero se revienta uno al manejar esas teclas de piedra que corresponden a tubos de bronce, siempre se oye un poco del teclado, y el fuelle. Además yo escribí ese libro enfermo y luego no lo pude corregir" (p. 466). Enrique Chao Espina has found at least a dozen periodicals to which Nicomedes Pastor Díaz contributed or with which he was associated.

for the book format, had to meet new terms that affected his compositions. There was, perhaps, no better statement on the folletín in this respect than that by J[uan] B. de Beratarrechea, who called the folletín the novela sui generis, which "sustituyó a la literatura y a la política," both:

Libre en su vuelo y en su forma, adoptando todos los tonos, escudriñando todos los arcanos, nada se resistía a su acción omnímoda, todo cabía en su anchísimo manto. . . . Como la tendencia social de la época era el abarcar mucho en poco tiempo, nada llenaba tanto sus exigencias como esta producción informe que se elaboraba al día, ajustándose perfectamente en esos motores tan rápidos y uniformes, los periódicos. Los libros, por el mayor esmero que exigían, espacio y tiempo que empleaban, fueron desechados como máquinas anticuadas y lentas, y sustituidos por el extremo de los diarios y final de las revistas. Apenas se instaló en tan humilde domicilio, cuando la boga y los sufragios de todos prefirieron su modesta estancia, a la de los antiguos señores que desde encima la dominaron pocos años antes. Aturdidos éstos por tan brusca mudanza, no tuvieron más remedio que ceder al torrente, y ensanchar el cauce que le contenía, resignándose a sufrir su furia so pena de perecer. En vano se hubieran opuesto a transacción tan humillante los conductores de la opinión pública; todo su saber, su influjo y su prestigio se habría desvanecido ante la nueva y formidable popularidad del folletín. Trataron pues, ya que no pudieron crear ni conducir esta inesperada revolución de amalgamarse con ella para no ser envueltos en el olvido que les amenazaba; otros más vulgares, o más concededores de su siglo, especularon con ella y lo entendieron. . . . Su baratura, su rapidez, su concentración, su forma manuable, y la absoluta independencia de que disfruta le hacen inaccesible a las leyes y a la crítica.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>64</sup>"Influencia del folletín y sus causas," in Revista de

There were indeed few who could express the demands of the periodical press on literary form in the most unbiased terms, and the Revista del Movimiento Intelectual de Europa, for example, failed utterly in its attempt to cope with the "narración fresca, espontánea, impremeditada, fragmentaria, diaria" that Antonio de los Ríos Rosas thought typical of periodical literary composition:

Comprendemos que se escriba aprisa, que no se corrija detenidamente, cuando hay que abastecer las columnas de un periódico diario; pero es imperdonable el descuido, mejor diremos, el desprecio de todas las reglas del arte que no se nota en esas novelas, hoy casi los únicos respiros de nuestra decaída literatura. . . . Con el convencimiento de que escribir es un arte, y arte una colección de reglas, lo primero será aprender esas reglas, estudiar ese arte en sus distintas manifestaciones, que es el mejor medio de conocer cada cual sus aptitudes y no equivocarse la senda.<sup>65</sup>

And El Cócora was condemnatory as a matter of course, when it called the press the "escuela de corrupción en todo, hasta en el lenguaje."<sup>66</sup> A vehement attack against the influence of

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España, de Indias y del Estranjero, IV (1845), pp. 237-239.

<sup>65</sup>"De la forma en literatura," in I, Nos. 4, 6 (July 2, 16, 1865), pp. 27, 44; Ríos Rosas, cited by Modesto Fernández y González, La hacienda de nuestros abuelos: Conferencias de aldea, 2nd ed. (Madrid, n. d.), p. 312; introduction to this edition dated 1872.

<sup>66</sup>"Primer artículo serio, que acaso no será el último," in I (1860), p. 53; "El Cócora" identified by Manuel Ossorio y Bernard as Antonio María Segovia e Izquierdo, director of this periodical (see Ensayo de un catálogo de periodistas españoles del siglo XIX [Madrid, 1903]). Alejandro Oliván ("De algunas locuciones viciosas," in Revista de España, de Indias y del Estranjero, VII, No. 24 [December 24, 1846], p. 275) had said that "los males que la prensa causa diariamente al idioma, ella sola pudiera como la lanza de Aquiles curarlos."

the periodical press medium on literary style appeared in France:

Mais qu'attendre aussi d'un livre quand il ne fait que ramasser des pages écrites pour fournir le plus de colonnes avec le moins d'idées? Les journaux s'élargissant, les feuilletons se distendant indéfiniment, l'élasticité des phrases a dû prêter, et l'on a redoublé de vains mots, de descriptions oiseuses, d'épithètes redondantes: le style s'est étiré dans tous ses fils comme les étoffes trop tendues. Il y a des auteurs qui n'écrivent plus leurs romans de feuilletons qu'en dialogue.<sup>67</sup>

Examples like these can be cited many times over. They often objected to the quality of continual newness, a quality inherent in the periodical form itself, and which showed up in prose style as a lack of consecutiveness: "¿Qué buena fábula ha de combinar el autor de tres o cuatro novelas a un mismo tiempo urdidas, impresas conforme se van escribiendo, que suelen comentarse sin propósito fijo, continuarse sin otra idea que la de ocupar el folletín de tantos o cuantos meses, y concluirse allí donde se completan los pliegos de impresión convenidos?"<sup>68</sup> In spite of attacks such as these, the fact

<sup>67</sup>Charles Augustin Sainte-Beuve, "De la littérature industrielle," in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 4th Ser., XIX (July 1, 1839), pp. 684-685. Sainte-Beuve apparently believed in the power of the medium to alter man's imagination: "l'industrie pénètre dans le rêve et le fait à son image" (p. 678). D. L. Fanger ("Romanticism and Comparative Literature," in *Comparative Literature*, XIV, No. 2 [Spring 1962], p. 165) understands that this essay by Sainte-Beuve signified a shift in emphasis from Mme. De Staël to Sainte-Beuve, whereby literature had become the new focal point of interest over politics. See, also, the "Diálogo 1º entre un periodista y un suscriptor," in Eugenio de Tapia's *Viage de un curioso por Madrid* (Madrid, 1807), pp. 60-70.

<sup>68</sup>Cándido Nocedal, "Discurso del Excmo. Señor Don . . .

that there arose in Spain at the time new prose artists fully conscious of the demands of the periodical press on literary style, as Pedro Antonio de Alarcón cleverly demonstrated, when he wrote an article for El Día in which he pretended that he was writing on May 25, 1641, the date he gave for Madrid's first periodical publication. Alarcón identified himself as José Camerino, thirty-eight years of age, "en el duro aprieto de tener que cambiar de retórica y lenguaje para escribir en el tono ramplón y callejero estilo propios del caso, esto que malas lenguas dicen llamarse folletín o revista, y que ha de ser, a lo que entiendo, parte baja de otro papel mucho mayor, denominado periódico."<sup>69</sup> José Camerino found that he had to write "en materia y lenguaje periodísticos, tan poco adecuados a las de concepto, lógica y dicción laberínticas travesuras que, Dédalo en el construir y Minotauro en el dificultar, venturosamente aprendí" (pp. 201-202). His subject matter is contemporary (lo que pasa), and his style and language are "el ruin estilo que dentro de casa todos hablamos y cualquiera entiende, pero en que nunca deben escribir los doctores, si no quieren que de puro claros e inteligibles se les confunda con los ignorantes." There were others, though, such as Rafael María Baralt, who did not quite understand the nature of the literary compositional phenomenon that

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(15 mayo 1860)," in Discursos leídos en las recepciones públicas que ha celebrado desde 1847 la Real Academia Española, II (Madrid, 1860), p. 393.

<sup>69</sup>"Revista de Madrid," in Juicios literarios y artísticos (Madrid, 1921), pp. 199-200; originally in El Día (May 25, 1881 [?]).

had occurred as a result of the broad cultivation of the periodical medium, and in an expression of bewilderment and simultaneous affirmation of the skill of Chateaubriand's historiography, Baralt said: "El lenguaje y estilo propios del folleto y de la tribuna parlamentaria, necesitan algo peculiar que no es precisamente ni la elegancia, ni la corrección, ni la fantasía, ni el buen gusto, ni el aticismo, ni el arte; ese algo que yo no puedo definir, ni nadie hasta ahora ha definido; ese algo . . . Monsieur de Chateaubriand no lo tenía. . . . Monsieur de Chateaubriand, en efecto, señores, no ha sido más que un poeta y literato."<sup>70</sup>

Practically speaking, the periodical press sometimes abused the advantage, which it did in fact have, of achieving the illusion of realistic account. José María Antequera underscored omission and repetition in journalistic reportage, and one writer (possibly Antonio María Segovia e Izquierdo) accused the press medium of falsification in matters of historical representation.<sup>71</sup> Jaime Balmes expressed a point of view opposite that of Bermúdez de Castro when he remarked that although the periodical press constituted a memory service for the historian, "los periódicos no lo dicen todo, ni con mucho, ni aun aquello que saben bien los redactores, hasta en los

<sup>70</sup>"Chateaubriand y sus obras: Conferencia pronunciada en el Ateneo de Madrid," in Antología, II, ed. Pedro Grases (Caracas, 1961), p. 18; originally published in El Siglo Pintoresco (June 1847).

<sup>71</sup>"Crítica literaria. Obras del Curioso Parlante," in Revista de Madrid, 3rd Ser., III (1842), p. 481.



países más libres."<sup>72</sup> The Semanario Pintoresco Español, on frequent occasion, issued articles that revealed a desire to point out the reality of the unapparent mediatory "grammar" of the periodical press, and in so doing, of course, a potential illusion of realism was relinquished for the sake of instruction.<sup>73</sup> It seems fitting that this, one of the most technologically advanced of the periodicals of its time, explained perhaps better than any other, just as it exemplifies perhaps better than any other, the inner workings and the history of the periodical. It might be said, nevertheless, that the Semanario Pintoresco Español remained technologically ahead of the public's capacity for perceiving its mediatory grammar.

<sup>72</sup>Chapter X ("Relaciones de viajes") of El Criterio, in Obras completas, III, ed. P. Casanovas, S. I. (Madrid, 1948), p. 602. Balmes' concern here is the disfiguration of facts in travel literature.

<sup>73</sup>One outstanding example was the article entitled "Un periódico político," in 2nd Ser., I, No. 11 (March 17, 1839), pp. 82-83: "Pero digan ustedes, señores suscriptores: cuando leen ustedes su número respectivo tan cómoda y pacíficamente, ¿les ha ocurrido preguntar alguna vez, cómo una producción incesantemente renovada, y que consta de tan diversos elementos se compone y elabora para llegar a manos de ustedes trescientas sesenta y cinco veces al año; y por qué medios la imprenta, que ha llegado a ser en nuestros días uno de los poderes del estado, pone diariamente en movimiento sus mil brazos?" See, also: "Nuevo descubrimiento litográfico," in II, No. 43 (January 22, 1837), p. 29; "Una imprenta," in III, No. 118 (July 1, 1838), pp. 617-619; the series entitled "Descubrimientos importantes," in 3rd Ser., I, Nos. 50-53 (December 10, 17, 24, 31, 1843), pp. 397-398, 405-406, 409-411, 418-419. Manuel Bretón de los Herreros wrote a comedy dramatizing the reality behind periodical press publication: La redacción de un periódico (in Obras de . . ., I [Madrid, 1883], pp. 355-386), first staged on July 5, 1836, just three months following the first date of issue of the Semanario Pintoresco Español. There is no conclusive evidence that Bretón had the Semanario, specifically, in mind, but the coincidence of events here is none the less curious.

Therefore, any loss of "realism" in the periodical may not have been attributable, entirely, to the self-effacement of the periodical press; it may have been partially the result of a natural perceptual development on the part of its readers. But only some, by the end of the century, had reached a capacity of perception which, despite technologization, allowed them to see the periodical form for what it in fact was. Many artists' criticisms of the periodical press, then, amounted to commentary on the public's blindness to the terms of a mediatory process which had already been outdated by other mediatory processes, more recent and even more subliminal.

V: VISUAL ARTS IN ROMANTIC SPAIN

Early in Spain's nineteenth century, there were two distinct critical approaches: one that posited a model not projected by the individual or a particular group, and another that projected the model from within the individual or group. Usually, the external model was preferred, but the individualistic model gained ground with time. Luis González Bravo must have sensed this hesitant situation when he inquired if criticism was "el arte de descubrir el mérito verdadero de las cosas que a ella se sujetan, o acaso la facultad de desenvolver aparentes razones para elogiar lo que nos convenga y deprimir lo que nos desagrade"; "la razón, con sus frías y exactas deducciones," he said, "me lleva al primer extremo; los hechos que a menudo presencio, y las palabras que sin cesar resuenan en algunos círculos de gente literata, de tal modo me inclinan al segundo."<sup>1</sup> González Bravo's inclination toward the second extreme, here, clearly implied a growing egocentricity, a location of the self at the center of experience, and a resultant loss of emphasis on cold, deductive razón. And the tendency was paralleled in the natural sciences, where man posited what he lacked in order to discover it inductively and discovered what he sought in order to affirm himself as discoverer. Things external to the self were made functions of the self. The Romantic began by finding model essence within his group, with

<sup>1</sup>"De la crítica," originally in El Alba, No. 9, pp. 6-8; rpt. in El Alba: Madrid, 1838-1839, ed. José Simón Díaz (Madrid, 1946), p. 25.

the result that he came to sense the homogeneity and uniqueness of his group among other groups; but when he did discover the model in the art and manner of his own nation, for example, these grew invalid as contemporaneity and singularity narrowed in scope to the limits of the individual himself. To be sure, this disparity between the individual and the group of like members had been in evidence since very early in the century and before, when uniformitarianism was still the abiding norm. For example, the Spanish periodical El Regañón General was typical insofar as it remained within uniformitarianism, while it reflected the diversitarian vision that was overtaking the uniformitarian norm: "Otro vicio que también distinguimos en la sociedad . . . es el prurito que tienen los hombres de hacerse singulares y notados, y éste me parece que nace de la uniformidad que se encuentra en el trato de las gentes, porque en todas partes se ven generalmente las mismas ideas, los mismos modales, y se oyen las mismas conversaciones."<sup>2</sup> But

<sup>2</sup>"Costumbres. Discurso . . . sobre la ridiculez," in I, No. 31 (September 14, 1803), pp. 243-244; signed by "El Presidente." El Regañón General believed firmly in reglas de buena crianza that ought to be observed by every individual ("Educación. Carta que se le ha entregado a nuestro Secretario," in I, No. 3 [June 8, 1803], p. 18). It called the banning of novels "el acierto el más grande . . . que ha hecho el Gobierno," and it called for censors of language in order to maintain proper tastes in literature (see the "Tribunal catoniano. Juicio que hace el Fiscal [s. v.] sobre el estado presente de la literatura española," in I, Nos. 2, 4 [June 4, 11, 1803], pp. 14, 30). A believer in the practicality of model forms for art and life, "El Presidente" echoed the view which favored moralization in the theater, and he accepted the exemplum and rejected satire as the efficacious means to an art of living ("El teatro con relación a las costumbres," in I, No. 54 [December 3, 1803], p. 428).

later, thinkers like Isaac Pastor Díaz perceived the world problematically, as anomalous material diversity: "Época de las revoluciones, de la lucha, de la confusión, en nuestro siglo no hay principio alguno, ni idea que no se admita, ni verdad que no se escluya, ni nada que no se contradiga, porque nuestro siglo es la contradicción de sí mismo, la mezcla de todo, la anomalía, al mismo tiempo que el más completo de todos, el más universal, el menos exclusivo."<sup>3</sup> As a matter of course, the all-inclusive vision signaled the need to lend order to diversity, and now, in order to achieve the representation of a variegated material world, the artist could no longer rely upon the facile classical norm that abnormal diversity belied. Man had to find new means of synthesis by which to encompass his plenitudinous world, since it was in fact the case that man's whole way of seeing the world had changed: "Eran las cosas tan grandes que anonadaban al espíritu humano, o . . . los hombres eran tan pequeños que todo se les antojaba inmenso y sublime por demás. Ahora lo hemos dispuesto de otro modo y todas las cosas nos vienen chicas."<sup>4</sup>

It had become more and more customary, in the later part of the eighteenth century, for the pictorial artist to deny the strictly mimetic content of his art and, rather, to insist upon the idealism in his work. The Romantic refusal to

<sup>3</sup>"Literatura moderna," in Museo de las Familias, 2nd Ser., XXI (1863), p. 147.

<sup>4</sup>"De los periodistas, del periodismo y de la confección de un periódico," in El Siglo Pintoresco, III, No. 6 (June 1847), p. 128.

situate the model outside of the limits of individual man's fancy recalled the esthetic stance of Esteban de Arteaga, who refused to force a dichotomy between lo natural (which "nos manifiesta sino las propiedades existentes") and lo ideal (which "nos descubre hasta las posibles").<sup>5</sup> Indeed, those who believed that lo ideal and lo natural were both manifestations of the same external ideal, saw no need to separate the two, as the example of the Condesa de Pardo Bazán showed, when, a century after Arteaga, she reasserted the inseparability of objective natural and subjective ideal in La cuestión palpitante (1882). Still for some, around the mid-nineteenth century, the application of the standard external both to the times and to the self remained the most admirable and efficacious means of representation, and, although this was not the usual case, Luis Fernández-Guerra y Orbe, in questions of pictorial art, at least, did exhibit this more traditional approach.<sup>6</sup> However, a great number of Spain's artists clearly

<sup>5</sup>Esteban de Arteaga's famous La belleza ideal como objeto de las artes de imitación was first published in 1789; republished in the edition cited here, by Juan García Al-Deguer (Madrid, n. d.). Fernando Lázaro Carreter (Las ideas lingüísticas en España durante el siglo XVIII [Madrid, 1949], p. 69) has remarked that although Arteaga was, categorically speaking, a Platonist, he was not always averse to Aristotelianism, and perhaps least of all so in his opinions concerning language.

<sup>6</sup>"Pintura," in La Alhambra, II, No. 4 (1839), pp. 45-47, and "Reseña histórica. De las nobles artes en España," in El Español. Revista Literaria, I, No. 33 (January 12, 1846), pp. 1-3. Enrique Lafuente Ferrari has marked Spain's mid-century as the moment of the liberation of Spanish pictorial art from academic prescriptions. The governmental decree which served to secularize Bellas Artes was issued in 1853, and published May 1, 1854, and the first national exhibition held under the new conditions took place in 1856 (see "Un siglo de arte español, 1856-1956," in Clavileño, VIII, No. 43

ceased to regard the external model as a basis for imitation. "¿Debe imitarse?" asked Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch, who arrived at the conclusion that the model external to the self was no longer a necessity and had come to be, instead, a convenience, the advantageous use of which depended upon its applicability to contemporaneous circumstance; in other words, the model form approached the self, and in this respect, the conclusion reached by Hartzenbusch conformed to the concept of Romanticism as set down by Luigi Monteggia, the Italian-born contributor to the ideologically Romantic periodical, El Europeo.<sup>7</sup>

Arteaga called for an imaginative idealism, but he refuted the exclusivist theory of Luzán, who maintained that defects of nature should not be expressed. Moreover, Arteaga could accept the sensationalist leanings of Locke and Condillac, qualifying his acceptance with his conviction that "todo naturalista es idealista en la ejecución" (see Arteaga, pp. 38, 90, especially). The sensationalist emphasis on the immediacy of experience fostered an esthetic of contemporaneity, whereby the "noble," historic subject was separated from the "lowly,"

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[January-February 1957], pp. 34-52); see detailed reports on the exhibition by S[ilvio] S[ilvis] de la Selva ("Revista de Madrid: Carta al Director de la Revista Peninsular") and José Amador de los Ríos ("Exposición general de Bellas Artes de Madrid en 1856: Algunas observaciones sobre la misma"), both in Revista Peninsular, I, Nos. 11-12 (July-August 1956), pp. 522-528, 546-559, respectively.

<sup>7</sup>Hartzenbusch, "Discurso pronunciado en el Ateneo de Madrid," in Revista de España, de Indias y del Estranjero, XI (1848), pp. 254-265; Monteggia, "Romanticismo," originally in El Europeo, I, No. 2 (October 25, 1823), pp. 48-56; rpt. in Bulletin of Spanish Studies, VIII, No. 31 (July 1931), pp. 144-149.

historical subject, and the latter was elevated above the former. The tension between these esthetic stances was implicit in Fernando Ferrant's speech upon his reception into the Real Academia de Nobles Artes de San Fernando at mid-century: While the "imaginación crea puntos de vista conforme a las ideas que se propone expresar," artists who paint "sin moverse de sus gabinetes," and who rely excessively upon convention, may bring their genre to ruin.<sup>8</sup> The case in point was, specifically, the historic subject in pictorial art, which had to give way before the popularized subject of "low life." "Low life" was contemporaneous for all men and not a mere symbolization of current realities, and it was depicted by those artists who had indeed moved from their garrets in order to attend to objective reality. Moreover, there was no artist who could have evaded the atmosphere of plenitudinous material reality, José Muñoz y Gaviria thought: "Hoy que el siglo rinde culto a la materia, a la materia van las artes a pedir sus inspiraciones, en medio de un banquete, entre las copas del espumante Champagne conciben los artistas sus grandes proyectos para trasladarlos después al lienzo. Los artistas son hombres y no pueden menos de dejarse arrastrar y obedecer a impulsión de su siglo."<sup>9</sup> But the sensationalist concern

<sup>8</sup>In Revista de España, de Indias y del Estranjero, XII (1848), pp. 189-198.

<sup>9</sup>"Antes y ahora," in Museo de las Familias, 2nd Ser., XVIII (1860), p. 218. Peter Demetz remarks on the esthetic juncture of history painters and genre painters of the "low life" and the increasing preference in the Romantic period for the depiction of particularized character (see "Defenses of Dutch Painting and the Theory of Realism," in Comparative



also required that the sign that stood for the subject in the real world had to be as temporally proximate as possible to the impressions upon the artist himself. Julio Spini, for example, stressed that representation should be identifiable temporally with the artist's impression, and, as we have seen, José Musso y Valiente likewise regarded historiography.<sup>10</sup> Spini, like Musso y Valiente, sought to achieve a representation of the external event whose effect upon the viewer (reader) would be, ideally, indistinguishable from its effect upon the artist (historian): "Ahora bien, si el artista figura los hombres tales como son, y sabe representarlos en el momento que están afectados por las pasiones que quiere expresar, si todas las facciones, si todos los actos concurren al fin de escitar aquella sensación y la escitan con un espontáneo movimiento, ¿por qué ha de decirse que no ha escogido bien su tipo?"

The theorizers on the mimetic process in the pictorial arts, then, had no problem accepting the notion that man did not, in the strictest sense, reproduce objective reality. But, granted this truism, there remained some question as to whether art was more a product of the imagination or the result of the following combination of factors: the attentive observation

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Literature, XV, No. 2 [Spring 1963], pp. 97-115). George Boas sees in Daumier's phrase "Il faut être de son temps" the implicit "opposition to something known as 'ideal beauty'" ("Il faut être de son temps," in The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, I, No. 1 [Spring 1941], p. 57).

<sup>10</sup>Spini, "Narraciones artísticas: Andrés Orgagna," in Revista Literaria de El Español, I, No. 19 (October 6, 1845), p. 9; ref. Musso y Valiente, Chapter IV, note 41, of this study.

of diverse objectivity and the instrument used to reproduce this relatively new aspect of man's vision. That is, in the light of art's increased dependency upon technology, technology could not be shrugged off as a property external to art, as Arteaga had known; rather, technology had to be considered a factor of art: Ideal Beauty was nothing more, Arteaga had said, than "el modelo de perfección aplicado por el artífice a las producciones de las artes: entiendo por perfección todo lo que, imitado por ellas, es capaz de excitar con la evidencia posible, la imagen, idea o afecto que cada una se propone, según su fin e instrumento" (Arteaga, pp. 88-89; my underscoring). And in the reverse, J. Manjarrés (presumably José de Manjarrés y Bofarull) scoffed at those who would separate art from industry, the beautiful from the utile, but he added, art did not know how to serve industry.<sup>11</sup> Thus, Antonio María Esquivel seemed to be parroting Arteaga when he wrote in 1838 that "la pintura no representa los objetos como son esencialmente, sino como aparecen, como se ven, y con las modificaciones que les hacen sufrir las distancias, el aire interpuesto, las luces y el punto de vista, pues todos estos accidentes alteran las formas y colores de los cuerpos; el pintor imita los efectos, no las causas."<sup>12</sup> Moreover,

<sup>11</sup>"Aplicación del arte a la industria," in Revista de Cataluña, I (1862), pp. 184, 186.

<sup>12</sup>"Peligros y perjuicios que resultan de las preocupaciones en materia de Pintura," originally in the Liceo Artístico y Literario, I, pp. 139-143; rpt. in Liceo Artístico y Literario: Madrid, 1838, ed. José Simón Díaz (Madrid, 1947), p. 15.

Esquivel's dependence upon Arteaga and the physiognomist Lavater, simultaneously, signaled an intensified technologization of pictorial representation.<sup>13</sup>

Such instances of confusion between craft and technique serve to indicate that art was becoming progressively conscious artifact. Naturally, the conflict between the coexistent sensation of the self as motive center of the universe of things and the increasingly conspicuous technological constituent in art sometimes resulted in the deprecation of technological influence and in the attempt to disguise that influence. "J. de la R." (presumably José de la Revilla) said: "Pensar que las artes de imaginación han de tener el carácter de las ciencias exactas, es una quimera"; in fact, "saber ocultar el arte es un triunfo del arte mismo, es saber en qué consiste y manejarle con inteligencia. En las bellas artes todo es mentira, pero una mentira que parece verdad, y sabe lisonjearnos con nuestro propio engaño."<sup>14</sup> José de la Revilla recognized a distinction between what he called naturalist art (the depiction of lowly subject matter by the apparent employment of scientific means) and idealist art (the depiction of a subject by a seemingly spontaneous use of the imagination); and in order to resolve that split, he prescribed a juste milieu between a superfluity of rules

<sup>13</sup>See selections from Esquivel's Tratado de Anatomía Pictórica (Madrid, 1848), ed., Enrique Pardo Canalís, selec. rpt. in Revista de Ideas Estéticas, XVII, No. 67 (1959), pp. 251-272.

<sup>14</sup>"Artes de imitación. De la necesidad de su estudio metódico," in Cartas Españolas, IV, Cuaderno 41 (March 1, 1832), p. 267.

(the exact sciences) and no rules at all (imaginative arts). He arrived at the conclusion that in questions of artistic undertaking, a reduction of rules to a minimum was the best course to follow. But the more diverse the elements perceived by the artist, the more programmatized had to be his representational means, and some artists were adamant in their expression of this requirement of exactitude: "Observar bien lo que se mira, y ejecutar exactamente lo que se ha visto, debe ser el principal objeto de los esfuerzos del discípulo."<sup>15</sup> Naturally, the requirement of exactitude meant not only the exact representation of the object in the real world; it also meant the representation of a totality of objective reality. The artist had for centuries availed himself of scientific method and technological instruments for mimetic ends, but man himself had accentuated, through increased technologization, that thingy diversity with which the Romantic artist contended on the level of expression, in order to achieve a feasible compromise between personalization and mechanization, between craft and technique.

The following examples indicate the extent of popular attention to scientific visual phenomena in general. The impact of these spectacles upon the popular mind during Spain's

<sup>15</sup>A (translated?) review of three books (El dibujo sin maestro and La acuarela sin maestro, both by Mme. Elisabeth Marie] Cavé; El arte de pintar el paisaje a la acuarela, by Th. and T. L. Rowbotnam) in Eco Literario de Europa, II (1851), p. 358.

Romantic period was considerable, although not always on the level of scientific inquiry, certainly. Ada M. Coe, in her account of the innovations in theatrical entertainment in eighteenth-century Spain, tells us that while in Spain "tremendous progress was being made in the distribution of scientific knowledge," the people's "main impression seems to have been wonder at the spectacular which bordered on magic, rather than intellectual curiosity concerning the cause of what they saw, or a desire to ascertain how it was accomplished."<sup>16</sup> Strictly scientific concern for devices such as the magic lantern and its extensions was obviously distant in time from José Cadalso's comical statement that "con saber explicar una cámara obscura, y una linterna mágica; con hablar del arco Iris quando llueve y hace sol; referir la experiencia del fuego eléctrico que se hizo en París con no sé cuántos inválidos; y explicar cómo un piojo parece elefante en el microscopio, no habrá vieja que no os tenga por tan mágico en nuestros días, como el pobre Marqués de Villena lo fué en los suyos."<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, nearly a century after Spain's

<sup>16</sup>Entertainments in the Little Theatres of Madrid, 1759-1819 (New York, 1947), p. 18.

<sup>17</sup>Los eruditos a la violeta, o Curso completo de todas las ciencias, dividido en siete lecciones para los siete días de la semana, in Obras de Dn. José Cadahalso, I (Madrid, 1818), p. 45; original publication in 1772. The scientific phenomena mentioned by Cadalso in order to explicate his contrived "Salón de la óptica" were Ovid's Metamorphoses, the mirror, the microscope, and hieroglyphics (see Óptica del cortejo: Espejo claro, en que, con demostraciones prácticas del entendimiento, se manifiesta lo insubstancial de semejante empleo: Ocios políticos, ibid., pp. 307-308). Nigel Glendinning maintains that the Óptica is not the work of Cadalso, rather of Ramírez de Góngora; he also points out

earliest knowledge of the magic lantern, this visual device, less grandiose than the subsequent Panorama, had noticeably influenced certain literary works. At least one early example of this influence in Spanish letters appeared in the Madrid daily, El Piloto, by Antonio María Segovia ("El Estudiante"):  
"Atención Señores, ¡espectáculo curioso!--Mal año para la Redoma encantada con todas sus hechicerías; . . . ¿Dónde hay diversión, después de cerrado el último congreso, como la de ésta mi linterna mágica, en cuya comparación es niño de teta el ponderado diorama, juguete baladí la galería topográfica y los ensayos del daguerotipo cosuela de nonada?"<sup>18</sup>  
Aside from the literal meaning of Segovia's composition, which is, essentially, an attack on the daily Eco del Comercio, organ of the Progresista party, "Linterna mágica" imitates structurally the verbal delivery which would customarily accompany the visual transformations seen in the magic lantern. Rhetorically, Segovia's piece mimics the repetitious, demonstrative summons to visual entertainment: "Esa venta-

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that Cadalso wrote a work entitled La linterna mágica (Vida y obra de Cadalso, trans. Ángela Figueroa [Madrid, 1962], p. 23). For insight into the use of the kinds of perspectivism used literarily by Cadalso in another of his works, the Cartas marruecas, see the opening chapter of Mariano Baquero Goyanes, Perspectivismo y contraste: De Cadalso a Pérez de Ayala (Madrid, 1963).

<sup>18</sup>Chapter LVII ("Linterna mágica") of Abenámbar y El Estudiante: Colección de artículos satíricos y festivos, I (Palma, 1840), p. 237. The reference is to La redoma encantada: Comedia de magia en cuatro actos, en prosa y verso, by Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch (Madrid, 1839); see, also, the reference to a revival of the work, the purpose of which was probably sensationalistic staging: "Crónica," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, New Ser., II, No. 3 (January 17, 1847), p. 24.

nilla a que estáis asomados, ciudadanos, representa el balcón principal de la redacción del Eco del Comercio." And no less significant in this respect was the chapter entitled "El mundo en la linterna mágica" from Las carcajadas of Paul de Kock, one of the most translated of French writers in Spain at mid-century.<sup>19</sup> The magic lantern saw various literary adaptations, such as these, in which were introduced new thematics that distanced the minor spectacle from the traditional presentation of the historical romance that was reminiscent of Maese Pedro's show: "Una Linterna Mágica que en nada se parece a las que suelen servir de diversión en las tertulias y en los teatros, no creáis que vamos a tratar del señor del Sol, ni de la señora doña Luna, ni de las señoritas Estrellas." So, it came to serve as a metaphorical mirror of present times, into which the viewer might sometimes project the self, thus, study the self "objectively." And in this way, a book written by Manuel Benito Aguirre was intended to rectify morality by turning itself into the scientific subject of its opening chapter, the magic lantern, once again, a literary device observable especially in the diction of the chapter concerning the mendigo.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup>In III, pp. 7-37 of Las carcajadas: Colección selecta y festiva de cuentos y artículos de costumbres elegidos entre las obras del célebre novelista francés (trad. y arreglados libremente por don Gregorio Urbano Dargallo . . . y los señores Orgaz, Neira de Mosquera, La Barrera y Menéndez [Madrid: Madoz y Sagasti, n. d.]; bibliographical data from José F. Montesinos, Introducción a una historia de la novela en España, 2nd ed. [Madrid, 1966], p. 212).

<sup>20</sup>Los niños pintados por ellos mismos (Madrid, 1841). Similarly, Manuel Ascension Berzosa said of the novel El Doctor Lafuella that it exhibited this intention: "transformar

But despite the broad interest in theatrical derivatives of the magic lantern, such as the Phantasmagoria, later, upon the occasion of the presentation of Los polvos de la Madre Celestina, one writer noted that the public interest in such instances of staged magic was on the wane for a combination of significant reasons: first, because the comedias de magia had diminished in literary quality; then, too, because the authors of these theatrical pieces had not learned to adapt their works to scientific advancement, which indicates that science probably had had at least some impact on the popular mind during the Spanish Romantic period.<sup>21</sup>

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la palabra hipócrita en fotografía del sentimiento": "Todos llevamos dentro de nosotros mismos copia autorizada de nuestra sentencia hecha pedazos: el raro privilegio del verdadero poeta consiste en hacérsela leer por la ordenada juntura de sus fragmentos aglomerados. Así asistimos a la construcción moral de nuestra propia figura a la luz del vate que proyecta la suya en el libro, al parecer frívolo, de El Doctor Lafuella. Así en las blancas hojas del nuestro, antes escritas con la incolora tinta simpática de la estudiada indiferencia o del olvido, reaparecen sus caracteres" ("Prólogo" to Antonio Ros de Olano, El Doctor Lafuella: Episodio sacado de las memorias inéditas de un tal Josef [Madrid, 1863], pp. 5-21; see text in La América, VII, No. 21 [November 12, 1863], pp. 13-14).

<sup>21</sup>By mounting a magic lantern on wheels, so that images became mobile in relation to other fixed images, a Mr. Robertson (possibly E. G. Robertson), who foretold cinematic achievement with his contrivance for visual stage effects, created a Phantasmagoria, or "Gothic" horror scenes, in one of which a blood-stained nun appeared in a cloister with a dagger in one hand and a lantern in the other ("La fantasmagoría," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, II, No. 41 [January 8, 1837], pp. 12-14). Auguste Comte was reputed to have experimented with the same device, and another inventor, surnamed Charles (possibly Professor Jacques Charles), devised a "megascopé" by which he could diminish or enlarge projected pictorial images. The criticism of the play by Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch, Los polvos de la Madre Celestina: Comedia de magia en tres actos: Imitación del francés (opened January 11,



In 1838, just months before the public announcement of Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre's invention, which would fix images obtained by the natural light of the sun, Professor J. Blanchard (undoubtedly Juan Blanchard) executed the Diorama-Neorama spectacle in a specially constructed building adjacent to the Martínez silverworks in Madrid; it was a spectacle grand enough to warrant the attendance of the Queen, who was feted on the occasion.<sup>22</sup> At the event both organ music and incense were used to enhance the optical illusion of presence for the audience, who visited El Escorial, the church of Nuestra Señora de Atocha, and the Swiss chapel of William Tell. The reviewer of the spectacle continually emphasized

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1841), in "La ciencia y las comedias de magia," in Revista del Movimiento Intelectual de Europa, II, No. 19 (May 14, 1866), pp. 148-149: "todos [estos dramas] de escasísimo mérito literario, como hechos a propósito para que en una o varias de sus escenas viniesen como de molde los fantasmas y las apariciones." Commentary like this might shed light upon certain elements of Romantic theatre in Spain around this time, for example, the spectacular endings of Riva's Don Álvaro, o La fuerza del sino (opened March 22, 1835) and José Zorrilla's Don Juan Tenorio (opened March 28, 1844), with its telling subtitle, Drama religioso-fantástico.

<sup>22</sup>"Sobre el nuevo espectáculo El Diorama," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, III, No. 119 (July 8, 1838), pp. 627-628; according to international custom, the article was treated in the section of "Bellas artes." The interest in stagings of this sort was apparently aroused as early as 1793, with Robert Barker's Panorama, presented in Edinburgh; the American, Robert Fulton, introduced the Panorama in Paris. It was, perhaps, from this that Daguerre devised the famous Diorama (1822, in joint effort with Charles Marie Bouton), which in turn incited him to fix the images that he projected onto a skrim, as if this were the retinal wall of a camera oscura. The Panorama, whose mobile versions included the Peristrophepanorama, Autorama, and Ciclorama, was reported to have been the invention of Doctor Breyssig of Danzig. See, also, "Descripción de un Panorama," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, II, No. 71 (August 6, 1837), pp. 242-243.

the illusion of truth and the lasting quality of the visual impression, effects for which photography was immediately thought to be so apt, and he listed fourteen variations on this spectacle--Alporama, Autorama, Cíclorama, Cosmomecánicos, Cosmorama, Diaphanorama, Diorama, Europorama, Georama, Neorama, Panstereorama, Peristrephorama, Pyrrorama, Uranorama--the principal example of which was the Panorama. The panoramic scapes paralleled, both historically and imaginatively, the renowned "View from a Window at Le Gras," the first successful heliograph (1826-1827), by Nicéphore Niépce, and the early daguerreotype, "Boulevard du Temple" (1838-1839). In addition, the specific aim of the Panorama, the representation of an entire city, was reminiscent thematically of the telescopic flights through the air in traditional literary works such as El diablo cojuelo, of which there had been many reprintings in the first half of the nineteenth century; nor was the Panorama divorced in intention from the costumbristic "mysteries."<sup>23</sup> These photographic experiments, then, had

<sup>23</sup>See "Historia del daguerreotipo y de la fotografía" (in Museo de las Familias, XI [December 25, 1853], p. 283), the account of how Martens (possibly F. von Martens, a French photographer) devised a mobile lens in order to secure panoramic scapes from the tops of towers with his photographic instrument. Antonio Palau y Dulcet (Manual del librero hispano-americano) lists nine publications of El diablo cojuelo in Spain, and five in France, between 1806 and 1862. Margarita Ucelay Da Cal (Los españoles pintados por sí mismos, 1843-1844: Estudio de un género costumbrista [Mexico, 1951], p. 16) has said that the isolated costumbristic article was born "como una consecuencia de la prensa periódica, que lo hace posible," and in this respect, she is in agreement with Georges Le Gentil (Les revues littéraires de l'Espagne pendant la première moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle [Paris, 1909]), Clifford Marvin Montgomery (Early Costumbrista Writers in Spain,

their analogues in both literary and graphic topoi in the nineteenth century, and another striking example of the latter is the frontispiece of Étienne Jouy's L'Hermite de la Chaussée-d'Antin, ou Observations sur les moeurs et les usages parisiens au commencement du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle (I, 2nd ed. [Paris, 1813]). The "Hermite" depicted in the graphic tells us that his "célule est comme une Chambre obscure où viennent se retracer les objets extérieurs," while with his right hand he appears to be copying the street scene that he sees projected on the wall facing him (consequently, an intentional image of Jouy's typical reader in his time). Jouy is one step removed, both chronologically and artistically, from Restif de la Bretonne, "l'Homme au Hibou," as he was depicted in the graphic frontispiece of his Nuits de Paris, that is, quite conspicuously in the street at mere coincidental remove from the "mysteries" going on around him (plate in Courbin, Rétif et son oeuvre [Paris, 1961]). The comparison to be drawn between the depiction of Restif and the depiction of the "Hermite,"

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1750-1830 [Philadelphia, 1931]), and F. Courtney Tarr ("Romanticism in Spain and Spanish Romanticism: A Critical Survey," in Bulletin of Spanish Studies, XVI, No. 61 [January 1939]). She also underscores (pp. 49-52) the use of the symbolical diablo cojuelo in the costumbristic literature of various languages, and she points out (p. 86) the frequency with which the diablo cojuelo appeared in frontispieces as the figure representative of critical observation. With the advent of photography, nevertheless, the devil became inseparable from the camera, forming a unit with it, his sights set upon the city, as occurs in the engraving at the head of the introduction to the book entitled Madrid al daguerreotipo: Colección de cuadros políticos, morales, literarios y filosóficos, sacados del natural y pintados después . . . por el Barón de Parla-Verdades, Primer Chismógrafo de la Corte (Madrid, 1849); Juan Martínez Villergas possible author (see Chapter IV, note 26, of this study).

or between the early prose works and the visual Panorama, leads, possibly, to a mediatory concern. That is, the Panorama afforded the spectator the illusion of transport to the scene, since the scene was iconically brought to him in such a fashion that it created a new reality for him, however temporary. The spectator required for this vision an "authorization" that was relatively unapparent. Thus, the author Jouy, for example, could remove himself physically from the street he wished to describe and yet, thanks to the technology of the chambre obscure, describe it with "scientific" precision. When contriving apparent physical disengagement from the object of his concern, the author could, now, seek literary devices of escape from his work, pretending to trade his insufficient natural eye in direct contact with reality for the infallible vision of technology, the camera that saw all to the point of near perfection. In this way, all-knowing companions, such as those who accompanied Eugenio de Tapia or Larra on costumbristic journeys, were replaced by non-human mechanisms of a maximally informative nature. Since the most effective technology is void of personalism, the bifaceted author seemed to disappear from view, leaving instead an informant that was potentially unapparent.

This is the reason why, probably, the periodical press of random presentation was so much more appropriate than the privatized book for the recording of unauthorized spectacle. There was no vehicle which so rapidly, and with seeming accuracy, could discover and make known what activities were being

carried out simultaneously beneath the rooftops of an entire city, except, perhaps, the camera, which was about to abet periodical investigation. So it was not uncommon for the contributors to periodicals to claim, as did Gregorio Amado Larrosa when he undertook his serial entitled "Revista de la quincena," in the Revista de Cataluña: "Nuestro objeto se limita a retratar la vida íntima de Barcelona, a reflejar sus impresiones, a pintar sus costumbres, a recordar sucintamente sus acontecimientos más importantes y a contar la crónica de sus salones, de su literatura y de sus teatros" (I [1862], p. 74). Naturally, Manuel Henao y Muñoz decided that to lithograph or to engrave "esta Babilonia que llaman Madrid" would be out of fashion and not to his advantage, so he decided that in order to achieve his "bird's-eye view" of the city he would "photograph" it instead--literarily, that is.<sup>24</sup> Indeed, to trace the amalgam and to represent it in its diversity, the woodcut would not do, here, since the artist was more present in the woodcut than in other forms of engraving or the photograph. The woodcut, in comparison with the latter two, restored to the pictorial image the syntactical relationships which for centuries the arts of engraving and etching had worked to dissolve into imperceptibility, thus allowing a certain authorial disguise.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup>"Madrid a vista de pájaro," in Almanaque Literario de El Museo Universal (Madrid, 1864), p. 36.

<sup>25</sup>For the artist as well as for the interpreter of the art, the woodcut increased clarity of interrelationships among the mediatory units of the image: "Where the etcher

The introduction of graphics on a large scale was one of the most significant innovations in the periodical medium. But to reason, as did the reviewer of the Escenas de la vida privada y pública de los animales, that "embellecido el testo con grabados el lector se penetra más del pensamiento del autor," was false, theoretically speaking, at least.<sup>26</sup> Con-

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or engraver thinks of a line as the trace of a single gesture, the woodcutter had to think of each single line as the result of several separate gestures" (see William M. Ivins, Jr., How Prints Look: Photographs with a Commentary [1943; Boston, 1967], p. 23). Furthermore: "The growth of print publishing as a trade and a manufacture resulted in a separation into different professions of the practice of picture-making and the practice of the graphic techniques. . . . As in all similar situations this brought about not only a rather high average level of technical skill among the professional print makers but also rather a dead level of impersonal, undifferentiated skill. Engraving and etching became mechanical crafts. In the event the engraver all too often became a mere hand on an assembly line. From this shop practice developed the artificial linear structures and textures that for several hundred years were the outstanding characteristics of the commercial printed pictures that were made in such quantity" (pp. 147-148). Artistry could not be so easily hidden in the woodcut as in the copper engraving, for example, as one writer intimated when he remarked: "Superfluo es decir que el dibujo para grabar le hace el dibujante sobre la madera misma con pluma o lápiz, y que debe evitar en lo posible el cruzado de líneas en todas direcciones, como se hace sobre el cobre, porque este jénero de trabajo presenta grandes dificultades que pocos artistas son capaces de superar" ("Del grabado en madera," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, III, No. 118 [July 1, 1838], p. 617).

<sup>26</sup>Review of Escenas, in El Gabinete de Lectura, No. 2 (November 10, 1841), p. 16. The Boletín bibliográfico español y extranjero, 2nd ed., II, No. 9 (May 1, 1841), item 342, indicated that the printer was Sanchiz (sic); the copy at my disposal lacks this information. Lewis Mumford notes: "The capital danger in the arts of the machine is misplaced creativity, in other words trying to make the machine take over the functions of the person. The path of advance in printing, for example, was in the opposite direction: pruning away the excrescences in type, left over from the old illuminators, with their fancy initial letters and head pieces and tail pieces, so that the true subject matter of printing, the

trariwise, Ramón de Mesonero Romanos achieved, through the interruption of the characteristic consecutiveness of book format, a maximal delivery of information, not a conversation between reader and non-democratizing author. When he remarked that graphics "hacen más perceptible el objeto de que se trata," he recognized the iconical significance of pictorial graphics in the periodical.<sup>27</sup> Alternating with the medi-

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words themselves, would be more visible to the reader, and so that, by their very form and spacing and proportion, they would in the most subtle way possible underline the meaning of the text. A beautiful book is no substitute for a readable book; and a readable book should bring one closer to the mind of the author, not make one a prey to the whimsies of the typographer" (Art and Technics [1952; New York, 1960], pp. 73-74).

<sup>27</sup>Mesonero Romanos, "Prospecto," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, I, prior to the initial issue of April 3, 1836, p. 4. The Semanario took pride in, and is today famous for, its cultivation of the printed engraving. It was the first of the Spanish periodicals to do so on a grand scale, although others, like the Cartas Españolas, sometimes had included multicolored prints to parallel as closely as possible the verbal descriptions of fashions in dress (see, for example, "Modas," in I, Cuadernos 4, 6 [April 27, May 24, 1831], pp. 91-93, 144, and in II, Cuaderno 14 [August 17, 1831], pp. 103-104). Mesonero Romanos hired French engravers to assist and instruct his staff in this new task, for it was his intention to sustain competition with the French Magasin Pittoresque, which, he said, had been the first French publication (1833) to use graphics. For this reason, we so often run across, in the Spanish periodical press of Mesonero's day, statements concerning the competition between the Spanish and the French in the field of engraving (see, for example, the comparison between the frontispiece engravings of Les Français Peints par eux-mêmes and Los españoles pintados por sí mismos, in a review of the latter, in Revista de Teatros, 2nd Ser., No. 34 [February 1, 1843], p. 1). According to Mesonero Romanos, his Semanario was imitating French techniques, just as the French had previously imitated English ones. However, the importation of xylography into Spain by Mesonero Romanos and other publishers of graphic periodicals was, in one sense, self-defeating, for they were treating what was essentially a craft art as if it could match the speed-up in the technologization of print. But J. F. Ráfols notes that in Spain

um of uniform type, the engraving tended to deprive the periodical of its book format, lending an esthetic aspect of craft, rather than accentuating a practical technique, thus restoring to the book an aspect of more random spontaneity. In this regard, Victor Oliva noticed not too long ago that poverty of composition in textual matter was in direct proportion to the flourishing of pictorial effects in the book, such as initial lettering, engravings and grandiloquent frontispieces with their magnificent illustrations; and in so saying, Oliva seems to have recalled the understanding of F. P. de Anaya (presumably Francisco Pérez de Anaya), who, in Mesonero's own time, criticized the restoration of pictorial craft to the press: "En buen hora que se adorne una impresión de lujo (y no entendemos por esto a lo que hoy se da gratuitamente tal nombre) con lindas estampas y con viñetas al principio de cada libro o capítulo; pero eso de que en cada página se halle su laminita, y que una historia o novela aparezcan a un mismo tiempo referidas por el escritor y por el grabador, es lo más necio y de peor gusto que en nuestro con-

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the woodcut was immediately technologized; he comments upon the "poca importancia que desde el punto de vista artístico tuviera ['el más antiguo procedimiento gráfico de expresión plástica, el grabado al boj'] en la época. Los tales xilógrafos trabajaban el boj en testa, y fueron a menudo simples grabadores de traducción, cargados de trabajo para los semanarios ilustrados, para las novelas por entregas y para las aleluyas y otras hojas de carácter marcadamente popular. Tanto en Madrid como en Barcelona los hubo numerosos, citándose entre los que trabajaron en la capital de España a Vicente Castelló, Calixto Ortega, Tomás Carlos Capuz, José Gaspar, Félix Batanero, Lázaro Burgos, Joaquín Sierra, Nicolás Vilaplana, Bernardo Rico y Alfredo Perea" (El arte romántico en España [Barcelona, 1954], p. 237).



cepto puede discurrirse. Esta alianza la repugnan al mismo tiempo el grabado y la tipografía."<sup>28</sup> Pérez de Anaya's study of manuscript craft caused him to observe how bothersome it was to read works written prior to the application of movable type, which he thought to have reached its final development with the late eighteenth-century printers and their achievements in lending uniformity to their medium. And he rejected the new nineteenth-century esthetic, current then in Spain, which, he confirmed, was inherited from the French, and which demonstrated "esfuerzos empleados para buscar la novedad a costa del mismo gusto" (p. 14). The art of the press, he said, consisted in composition according to innumerables reglas. For Pérez de Anaya, any technique which departed from the printing technique prevalent during the reign of Carlos III,

<sup>28</sup>Oliva, El libro español (Barcelona, 1930), p. 22; Pérez de Anaya, "Estado que presenta la industria tipográfica; causas que impiden sus progresos con perjuicio de los operarios, y ruina de considerables capitales, y medios que pueden emplearse para que se ponga al nivel de los países más adelantados: Memoria dirigida a la Sociedad Económica Matritense, para optar a los premios propuestos en su programa de 23 de marzo de 1847, y declarada digna de mención honorífica," in Revista de España, de Indias y del Extranjero, XIII (1848), pp. 5-15, 113-146. According to Edmund Carpenter, Pérez de Anaya was, in fact, correct in thinking the way he did, despite his traditionalistic leanings: "Whenever a medium goes claim jumping, trying to work areas where it is ill-suited, conflicts occur with other media, or, more accurately, between the vested interests controlling each" (see "The New Languages," in Explorations in Communication, eds. Edmund Carpenter and Marshall McLuhan [195?; Boston, 1968], p. 172). In this regard, Lewis Mumford remarks: "Unfortunately, it took a long time to discover that, to be an art in its own right, the machine need not, in fact must not, attempt to imitate the special graces of handicraft art. . . . Right down to the nineteenth [century, printers] gave the printed page many of the illuminator's embellishments. . . . The early printers hesitated to let the type speak for itself" (Art and Technics, p.70).

or which reverted to styles of print much anterior to those of the homogenizing eighteenth century, tended to defeat the ideal terms of the medium, as he understood these: "Así como el escribir no es dibujar, tampoco el imprimir es pintar sobre el papel. La belleza en la tipografía consiste en los caracteres de regularidad, de uniformidad, y de la simetría más sencilla, perfecta y ordenada" (p. 15). However accurate Pérez de Anaya might have been in his evaluation of the perceptual significance of various print technologies, he could not accept the direction implicit in the development of print mediation on a popular level. The fact was that the new esthetic of the press, which he so loathed, foretold increased iconization of informational delivery, and there was scarcely a technology of Pérez de Anaya's day that illustrated this trend better than photography.

William M. Ivins, Jr. offers an explanation for the development of photography in the nineteenth century, rather than before that time: "The reason for this was that photography, instead of being based upon simple manual techniques and immemorially familiar materials, was based on quite recent developments in the sciences of physics and, especially, of chemistry."<sup>29</sup> Aside from the natural scientific reason for photography's appearance in the Romantic era, though, while the factual world grew increasingly nonstatic, man required

<sup>29</sup>Prints and Visual Communication (1953; rpt. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, 1968 [?]), p. 116.

the photograph as a sign by which to express the flux that contradicted prior uniformitarian truths. So, the photographic sciences must be understood not only as fortunate scientific accident, but also as a manifest forcing of technology to respond to expressive and perceptual needs. But the photograph soon came to be more than the rationalistic sign that stood for immediate experience; it corresponded, as well, to the idealist sense, insofar as it permitted the individual to think of himself as both the manipulator-discoverer of a thingy world and a creator of art. The photograph, for these reasons, was a point of compromise between the affirmation of static externality and the conception of the energetic and self-propagating organism, in other words, between lo natural and lo ideal. The astonishing thing is that this bifaceted potential of photography rested in the earliest experiments and purposes of the first man to effect crude photography, Giovanni Battista della Porta. Porta's sixteenth-century camera oscura was an aid to those who did not know how to draw, and to this end Porta constructed portable apparatuses, in order that the images of the external world could be traced manually, but accurately.<sup>30</sup>

There can be no question that Porta's aforementioned

<sup>30</sup>"O physico napolitano destinava os seus pequenos aparelhos para as pessoas que não sabem desenhar. Segundo elle, não era preciso mais que seguir com a ponta d'um lapis os contornos da imagem no foco para obter vistas exactissimas dos mais complicados objectos" ("Daguerrotypia: ou processo photographico de M. Daguerre," in Revista Litteraria, IV, No. 20 [within the set of volumes] [1839 (?)], p. 201). Also, see "Historia del daguerreotipo y de la fotografia," in Museo de las Familias, XI (August 25, 1853), p. 179.

purpose persisted through the centuries, up to the time of the achievements of Henry Fox Talbot, who, on January 31, 1839, read to the Royal Society of London his report bearing the following significant title: "Some Account of the Art of Photogenic Drawing; or The Processes by which Natural Objects may be made to delineate themselves without the aid of the Artist's Pencil." It was in fact the case that for years, such reports as this and news of scientific advancement in the field of photography appeared, internationally, under the popular periodical heading of "Fine Arts." Photography, ever since its earliest days, furthered mechanization in the pictorial arts, with which photography was confused, and this confusion between artistic and utilitarian photography naturally persisted long after 1839, even to the present day. We must understand the artistic applications of photographic science by master perspectivists like Vermeer as paradoxical, then, as stages leading toward the phenomenon that Lewis Mumford has called the democratization of the taking of pictures by a mere registration of sensations: "With the invention of photography the process of depersonalization came to a climax."<sup>31</sup> In support of this idea, we may cite the cases of photography's predecessors, engraving and lithography, which had already been democratizing the fine arts by making them later available in vast quantities. El Artista reported that José de Madrazo, a painter in his own right, "emprendió hace nueve años una obra de que pocas naciones pueden presentar un ejemplo; a saber:

<sup>31</sup>Art and Technics (1952; New York, 1960), p. 92.

la colección de todos los cuadros de nuestro admirable museo, litografiados en gran folio. Hasta el día han salido 162 estampas de esta colección."<sup>32</sup> The Duque de Rivas, in the same year that Daguerre's invention was made public, praised Rafael Esteve's masterwork engraving of Murillo's "Cuadro de las Aguas," as if the Duque had anticipated the non-syntactical and iconic expressive innovations that photography would afford all men: "No se ve en su estampa aquel sistema uniforme de líneas combinadas de este o del otro modo constante, sin más accidentes que más o menos fuerza, más o menos aproximación, para causar triviales efectos de claro-oscuro, ni aquella rigidez de contornos que hay en casi todos los grabados, ni aquella conformidad de estilo en carnes, paños, celajes y terrazos que fatiga a los ojos y enfría el ánimo."<sup>33</sup>

<sup>32</sup>"Litografía," originally in El Artista, (1835 [?]), pp. 85-86; rpt. in El Artista: Madrid, 1835-1836, ed. José Simón Díaz (Madrid, 1946), p. 86. Years later, Benito Pérez Galdós commented in his "Revista de la semana" of the Revista del Movimiento Intelectual de Europa: "Se asegura que esa ingeniosa combinación química que da por resultado la fotografía, está en camino de matar la pintura: no lo creemos. . . . Pero se nos ocurre ahora: ¿matará la estampa al lienzo; o mejor, el arte pictórico se manifestará de aquí en adelante impreso sobre el papel, abandonando las formas en que hasta aquí se le ha espresado? Preguntamos esto, porque recordamos los grabados con que Gustavo Doré ha ilustrado la última edición de la Biblia" (in I, No. 30 [December 31, 1865], p. 233). (It is Leo J. Hoar, Jr., who attributes the authorship of this comment to Galdós [see Benito Pérez Galdós y la Revista del Movimiento Intelectual de Europa: Madrid, 1865-1867 (Madrid, 1968), pp. 112-113].)

<sup>33</sup>Rivas had written the above for the Gaceta of 1839; the quotation is from Ignacio (de) Ramón Carbonell, "Un grabador español," in Revista de España, de Indias y del Extranjero, III (1845), pp. 132-133. A later article (presumably by Carbonell), likewise entitled (XI [1848], p. 158), commented

These qualities that the Duque de Rivas had seen in Esteve's work were, truly, photographic, insofar as they forecasted a future departure from visual consecutiveness through the technological perfection of the photographic medium. The Duque's inability to perceive a uniform system of lines which, in technologized engraving, combined in determined, constant patterns, signaled the coming loss of linear vision in the extended technology of the photograph. That is, the photograph, which in its early stages was the expression par excellence of the linear perspective from the single vantage point, became cinematic and further democratized with the application of electricity. This was why the Conde de Benazuzza could simultaneously uphold two seemingly contradictory positions precisely at the chronological midpoint between the daguerreotype and the cinematic series of exposure: "Los productos fotográficos no pueden ser acusados de parcialidad, en favor del sistema personal del autor, más o menos dispuestos, según la fuerza de sus convicciones, a vislumbrar al través de una idea, las particularidades de un hecho discutible"; "La gran dificultad en el estudio de las artes y de las

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that Esteve's engraved reproduction of the "Cuadro," which took Esteve twelve years to complete, was the most exact copy of a painting ever produced in the form of a print. The illustrious Esteve, a Spanish engraver of the Court since his official appointment under Carlos IV (1800), had acquired first hand knowledge of Parisian engraving techniques. Because of his skill, he was sent to the center of engraving studies in Sevilla by Fernando VII in 1821, to initiate competition with Parisian engravers. In the later articles honoring Esteve, it was the intention of the Revista to commemorate the engraver's death by reprinting the bibliography prepared under Vicente Boix for the Real Academia de Nobles Artes de Valencia.

ciencias es la de saber ver. El instrumento de Daguerre enseñaba a leer en ese libro sublime de la naturaleza en que todo es armonía, porque todo está en ella en su lugar."<sup>34</sup> For Benazuza, the private authorship behind the visual image seemed to disappear with the photograph; but he also understood that the photograph was the best means by which to achieve a partitive perception of the world, that is, a step-by-step reading method, not a method by which to see all at a single glance, iconically.

While photography satisfied expressive functions, it also contributed to the alteration of man's perception, consequently changing his expression of the world and requiring newer technology for the expression of his altered vision. The translation of Talbot's report to the Royal Society, in the Portuguese Revista Litteraria, told that when Talbot showed off his reproductions of paintings on glass to the general public, "as pessoas a quem as tenho mostrado tem julgado que são verdadeiras pinturas confessando ao mesmo tempo que são d'um genero inteiramente novo, e que deve ser difficil de apprender."<sup>35</sup> The photograph could approach what

<sup>34</sup>"Noticias sobre la historia de la fotografia," in La América, III, No. 9 (July 8, 1859), pp. 11, 12. Jacqueline Tyrwhitt ("The Moving Eye," in Explorations in Communication, eds. Edmund Carpenter and Marshall McLuhan [195?; rpt. Boston, 1968], p. 95) has recently asserted that we, today, "have learned to 'read' the rapid sequence of viewpoints at the movies, which baffles people who have not had long training in the art of 'movie-seeing,' but most of us have not given ourselves much practice in learning to read contemporary paintings."

<sup>35</sup>"Dezenho obtido pela luz, ou processo segundo o qual os objectos por si mesmos se dezenhão sem socorro de lapis,"

the handmade pictorial image was at times striving through technology to reach, but could relatively seldom achieve, insofar as the photograph could appear, at least, to yield a duplicate of the object it represented. The example shows that the distinction between the photograph as art and the photograph as useful representation of the real world was untenable at the precise moment of Talbot's invention. However, in later years, a healthy nominalism developed to distinguish the artistic photograph from the utilitarian one; the dichotomy between photography and the handmade image revolved around these questions. In the daguerreotype, commented Francisco Martínez de la Rosa, one could see the figura, but there was no visible vida; and Ángel Fernández de los Ríos opposed the theatre of imaginative qualities to that of exact representation, drawing analogies between the theatre and the pictorial image yielded by paintings, in the first case, and between the theatre and daguerreotypes in the second.<sup>36</sup> At about the same period in the history of photography, another reporter for the Spanish periodical press had precisely the same idea; while the photograph was a boon to the observer of

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ed. N. dos R. R., in III, No. 15 (within the set of volumes) (March 1839), p. 47.

<sup>36</sup>Martínez de la Rosa, "Del espíritu de la literatura actual y del genio de Lope de Vega," in La Civilización, III (1842), p. 213; Fernández de los Ríos ("Merlín"), "Revista del mes de enero," in El Siglo Pintoresco, II (1846), p. 23. "Se necesita un alma para referir y pintar las obras de Dios," said the reporter for the Museo de las Familias ("Historia del daguerreotipo y de la fotografía," in XI [December 25, 1853], p. 288): "sólo cuando el objeto no se eleva más allá de las obras de los hombres es cuando [el arte] busca este mecanismo admirable."



inanimate objects, to the artist of human character, it was a failure, in comparison with the handmade pictorial image:

Con todo, la fotografía no es capaz aun de copiar fielmente la fisonomía humana; la expresión de una mirada no se fija al vuelo. Ese procedimiento mecánico no sabe traducir los súbitos arreboles de la piel, las eflorescencias de la epidermis, el húmedo destello de la mirada. Janet, Holbein, Porbus, Rembrandt, Van-Dyck, Velázquez, no serán destituidos de su glorioso título de artistas, porque sólo ellos transmiten a sus lienzos el efluvio de la vida, como Pigmalión hace respirar la estatua arrojando en el frío seno del mármol su aliente de fuego.<sup>37</sup>

But, on the contrary, The Edinburgh Review was of the opinion that "by the art of Photography . . . we obtain perfect representations of all objects, whether animate or inanimate, through the agency of the light which they emit or reflect"; it implied, moreover, that the painter Delaroche had learned to distinguish between utilitarian and artistic photography, for Delaroche thought photographic art indispensable to the painter of the fine arts, since it permitted him to store up images "which he could not otherwise procure without much time and labour, and in a style very far inferior, whatever might be his talents in other respects."<sup>38</sup>

Continual diametric opposition regarding the question of the accurate depiction of animate objects, points to a

<sup>37</sup>"Las maravillas de la ciencia," in Eco Literario de Europa, III (1852), p. 525.

<sup>38</sup>"Photogenic Drawing, or Drawing by the Agency of Light," in LXXVI, No. 154 (January, 1843), pp. 312, 329.

philosophical bias. Oppositions to the new photographic sciences, and expressions in favor of pictorial art that was more handcrafted than photography, were a manifest extolling of Romantic subjectivity above the more technical representation that photography permitted. On the other hand, there appeared expressions of interest in the standardization not only of pictorial representation, but also of the living being that carried out that artistic representation. The desire to recover a disappearing uniformity through photographic technology constituted one reason why the photograph might have been of particular interest in the field of fashions in dress. A fashion article signed by a "Baronesa de Barbadillo" and composed as a letter to a certain "Leonor de Cortés," contains the following remarks:

¡Pero cuánto se engañan las que, y sobre todo las que suscriptas a los Periódicos destinados a describirnos variados caprichos de los sastres y de las modistas, piensan que sus figurines relatan la verdad en todos los sentidos! Vmd. sabe, y lo ve con sus ojos, que tales figurines son las más veces facticia invención del dibujante; y mal pudiera ser de otra suerte, pues cada cinco días salen diferentes, y si bien la Moda es rápida en su tránsito, no tanto que pueda conformarse con volubilidad tan prodigiosa. Lo que había en mi tiempo cuando yo estaba en ésa, y lo que hay ahora, es que la inmensidad de la población tolera impunemente esta superchería, y lo que importa a los Periodistas es multiplicar las estampas. Consiste la dificultad en conocer cuáles son las ciertas; las que fijan su imperio; y desentenderse de las otras.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>39</sup>The letter was presented as if addressed to Paris,

The preoccupation of the Baronesa centered upon a pictorial representation that would be sufficiently exact and rapid enough to capture events too rapidly shifting and too diverse to be secured by means of the handmade image, no matter how technologized this might have already grown to be. Indeed, her concern might have been especially appropriate in Spain, where, only two years after the Baronesa's letter, but prior to the first issue of the Semanario Pintoresco Español, "El Bachiller Cantaclaro" remarked that he could not include prints in his burlesque Gramática parda, because "no hay tiempo para enviar la lámina a París donde es moda grabarla."<sup>40</sup> These complaints serve to indicate why the more handcrafted pictorial image was subsumed by the photographic medium, which tended to replace former handicraft, a phenomenon common to media in general as they grow outmoded.

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dated in Madrid, April 25, 1831 (see "Modas," in Cartas Españoles, I, Cuaderno 4 [April 27, 1831], p. 91).

<sup>40</sup>Curso completo de gramática parda, dividido en quince lecciones, en las que se dan reglas fijas para que cualquiera pueda vivir sin tener necesidad de trabajar (Madrid, 1833), p. 10. See "Litografía de M. Lemerçier," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, No. 45 (November 9, 1851), pp. 353-354, for a statistical account of one of the most highly technologized lithographic establishments in Paris at mid-century. It was Aloys Senefelder's discovery of the lithograph, at the turn of the century, that initiated a mechanization of the art of the engraving. It might also be worthwhile to investigate whether or not hints of the photographic successes of Niépce and Daguerre had anything to do with the termination of the Real Establecimiento Litográfico (1826-1838), the lithographic establishment of greatest influence on Spanish artists; the fourth in a chronology of lithographic establishments in Spain, the Real Establecimiento was directed by the painter José de Madrazo Agudo, whom we have seen mentioned with regard to the perpetration of numerous estampas (see J. F. Ráfols, El arte romántico en España [Barcelona, 1954], p. 244).

Thus, in reality, photography meant the eventual demise of the fashionable miniature portrait, but many of the miniaturistas coupled their moribund craft with the new science and occupied themselves by handfinishing the photographic portraits which entire populations were flocking to obtain. But the Conde de Benazuza could not accept this combination of the miniaturist's handicraft and the photographer's technology, although, according to his report, in Spain, the painters Reigon, Corro, and Dr. Hebert in practice did combine the fine arts with the science of photography; the former two (presumably Francisco Reigon and Cecilio Corro), who were miniaturists, became professional retouchers of photographic proofs.<sup>41</sup> The public obviously thought that the qualities of the photographic portrait were comparable to the "force and beauty of the sketches of Rembrandt"; it was, then, understandable that in the early days of photography, people could be convinced that the photographic portrait might outdo

<sup>41</sup>"Noticias sobre la historia de la fotografía," in La América, III, No. 15 (October 8, 1859), p. 14. "Por más que el colorido artificial realce el valor de una fotografía agradando más a la vista," explained Benazuza, "no brilla para el inteligente todo el trabajo de ambas cosas. Una fotografía por mala que sea resulta una buena miniatura, y en este caso el mérito sólo es debido al pintor. Una buena fotografía no debe en nuestro concepto miniarse, pues el pincel por hábil que sea, jamás dará el resultado que la luz por sí sola. Ni para el fotógrafo ni para el pintor, creemos conveniente esta clase de trabajos. El trabajo fotográfico queda cubierto y muchas veces desfigurado: por bien miniada que esté una fotografía, al fin sólo es cuestión de colorido, pues la mayor o menor corrección del dibujo es debida a la cámara oscura. La pintura y la fotografía deben brillar por sí solas aunque reconocemos la conveniencia de que en ciertos casos se presten su mutuo auxilio."

"the finest miniatures that have ever been painted," as was the case of Henry Collen, the Britisher who gave up his work as miniaturist and devoted his entire occupation to the calotype.<sup>42</sup> Seen from one point of view, the manual finishing of the democratized photographic portrait was a violation of the utilitarian potential of photography, but it was understandable in the light of the original failure of the new science to overcome the difficulties of lengthy exposure time and to produce, instead of a precise representation, grotesque proportions and only partially drawn physiognomies. Still, the photograph was considered the means to the truthful image. "El retratista de pincel lisonjero, es decir, el que nos pinta no como somos sino como quisiéramos ser, es el que entiende mejor su propio negocio," remarked José Godoy y Alcántara half jokingly, but his comment goes to show that what was sought everywhere by those who would not accept the new science as a purely utilitarian achievement was the retention of subjectivity in art.<sup>43</sup> The handfinishing of portraits must have retarded photography as a technology, but granted this, those who remained painters, rather than enhancing the subjectivity of their personalized art, sought to technologize it. Naturally, the production of the fine-art portrait increased, according to Godoy y Alcántara, at least.

<sup>42</sup>"Photogenic Drawing, or Drawing by the Agency of Light," in The Edinburgh Review, LXXVI, No. 154 (January 1843), p. 327.

<sup>43</sup>"El retratista," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, New Ser., II, No. 32 (August 8, 1847), p. 254.

It was not only in the realm of the miniatures that photography rivaled the fine arts. The "heliographic expeditions" that were undertaken in France, in the year 1851, by Hippolyte Bayard, Gustave Le Gray, Edouard Denis Baldus, H. Le Secq, and Mestral, and even before that date by Eugène Piot and Maxime Du Camp, were formalized versions of the more natural accident that took place just a few days after the publication of Daguerre's process: "Las cámaras oscuras se vendían a centenares, y un gran número de aficionados, copiaban los monumentos de la capital [Paris], como si debiera desaparecer al concluir el año."<sup>44</sup> This frenzy spread to Spain after the daguerreotype was introduced there on November 10, 1839. It is with such photography that Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer in Toledo and Pascual Pérez y Rodríguez in Valencia must have felt themselves competing as they wrote their ekphrastic descriptions of monuments.<sup>45</sup> Pérez y Rodríguez not

<sup>44</sup>"Historia del daguerreotipo y de la fotografía," in Museo de las Familias, XI (December 25, 1853), pp. 282, 285. The French master of monument photography was Blanquart-Evrard (presumably Louis Désiré Blanquart-Evrard), who "cornered the market," according to this report, with his many albums of scenes from all over Europe.

<sup>45</sup>Joseph R. Arboleda ("Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer's Historia de los templos de España," Diss. Princeton 1968) has situated Bécquer's work in monument description within the Spanish tradition. In contrast to Pérez y Rodríguez, Bécquer thought photography generally unsuccessful, or prosaic, in comparison to painting, which was poetic (see Edmund L. King, Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer: From Painter to Poet [Mexico, 1953], p. 34). See ed. Elena Paez Ríos, El Museo Universal: Madrid, 1857-1869 (Madrid, 1952), p. 265, for a catalogue listing of Pérez y Rodríguez's contributions, in the field of monument description, to this periodical. By 1865, the Spanish Court had recommended to the ecclesiastical authorities the services of the engineer Travado and the photographer Begué, who, to-

only wrote prose descriptions of Valencian monuments for El Museo Universal; this important personage was "acaso el primero que introdujo en España el descubrimiento de Daguerre, haciendo en Valencia los primeros retratos microscópicos," according to a biographical sketch by Vicente Boix.<sup>46</sup> These details have gone unseen in Ráfols' interesting account of the first days of photography in Spain; Ráfols mentions neither Pérez y Rodríguez nor the chemistry professor, José Monserrat, who assisted Pérez y Rodríguez and promoted photographic scientific discovery in Valencia. According to Ráfols, only the latter part of Boix's claim is possible, since, says Ráfols, photography came first to Barcelona and was explained there publically by Professors Mer, Monlau, and Conrado Roure; this initial experiment was carried out by Ramón Alabern, who immediately opened a course of instruction in Daguerre's method. With regard to the foregoing, it is significant that the first photographic subject in the course of that inaugural exposition was the monumental structure, La

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gether, attempted to reproduce photographically "aquellos monumentos más notables de España, particularmente los interiores de las iglesias"; and in order to perform their task, they applied electric current to magnesium, which permitted them to imitate moonlight in the case of exterior shots (see "Fotografías con luz de magnesio," in Revista del Movimiento Intelectual de Europa, No. 21 [October 29, 1865], p. 168).

<sup>46</sup>Obras en prosa y verso de D. Pascual Pérez y Rodríguez, y corona fúnebre a la memoria del mismo (Valencia, 1870), p. 12; in the same volume, José María Bonilla reiterates the concern of Pérez y Rodríguez with photography (the introductory "Examen de las obras de . . ."). When Francisco Almela y Vives mentions this biographical aspect of Pérez y Rodríguez, he obviously is following the biographical sketch by Boix (El editor Don Mariano de Cabrerizo [Valencia, 1949], p. 160).

Lonja, later described in prose by Antonio Flores, in his Crónica del viaje de Sus Majestades y Altezas Reales a las Islas Baleares, Cataluña y Aragón, en 1860 ([Madrid, 1861], pp. 230-233; not to be confused with Flores' description of La Lonja of the Balearic Islands, in the Crónica, pp. 93-96).

The history of Spanish photography remains more muddled than Spain's historiography of photography, which is probably attributable in great part to the fact that many of the histories of photography that appeared in Romantic Spain were translated importations from other countries. Among the twenty-six translations of the brochure by Daguerre (Histoire et description des procédés du Daguerreotype et du Diorama [Paris: Susse]), issued on the same day in which Daguerre's method was first demonstrated for the public, Beaumont Newhall has registered one translation for Barcelona and two for Madrid; the twenty-six translations were issued within five months of the public demonstration of Daguerre's invention, which was first explained by Dominique François Arago of the Académie des Sciences.<sup>47</sup> Photography did not

<sup>47</sup>Photography, 1839-1937 (New York, 1937), p. 23; Newhall's reference: Erich Stenger, Daguerre Schriften (Berlin: Author, 1936). Mr. Newhall has informed me that the George Eastman House of Rochester, New York, possesses the following: El daguerotipo: Explicación del descubrimiento que acaba de hacer, y a que ha dado nombre M. Daguerre, trans. Eugenio de Ochoa (Madrid: I. Sancha, 1839); Esposición histórica y descripción de los procedimientos del daguerreotipo y del diorama, trans. from the recent French edition, corrected and annotated, by Joaquín Hysern y Molleras (Madrid: Ignacio Boix [Doctor Juan María Pou y Camps, pub.], 1839); E. de L., El daguerreotipo: Manual para aprender por sí solo tan precioso arte y a manejar los aparatos necesarios (Madrid: Casimiro Rufino Ruiz, 1846). Mr. Newhall informs me that a



make such rapid progress in Spain as it did in France and England, certainly, although Spain did have some contributors to the science. The Conde de Benazuza, who claimed, in 1859, that "el charlatanismo y la ignorancia envolviendo en un ridículo misterio las operaciones más sencillas de la manipulación, fueron hasta hace poco tiempo, los únicos anuncios de tan magnífico descubrimiento," also remarked: "[La fotografía] va teniendo en nuestra España la importancia que merece, creciendo de día en día el número de sus adeptos. Entre los artistas distinguidos que más se señalan entre nosotros, hemos citado a Mr. Cliford [sic] y en este lugar, lo hacemos con el mayor gusto a los señores Martínez, Vasserot, Laurent, Rodríguez y Cosmes, siendo este último distinguido profesor, notable por sus ambrotipos, miniaturas y trabajos sobre el colorido."<sup>48</sup> The Martínez Sánchez, of the Puerta del Sol, 4, and J. Laurent, of the nearby Carrera de San Jerónimo, 39, invented a process they called leptofotografía, which was reputed by one reporter to be a photographic advancement great enough to warrant the attention of Parisian photographic establishments (i. e., those of the capital city of the vecino imperio); the portraits, obtained on porcelain,

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fourth item is recorded in bibliographical information provided by him for Helmut and Alison Gernsheim (L. J. M. Daguerre [Cleveland and New York, 1956]): Historia y descripción de los procederes del daguerreotipo y diorama, trans. Pedro Mata (Barcelona: Juan Francisco Piferrer, 1839).

<sup>48</sup>"Noticias sobre la historia de la fotografía," in La América, III, Nos. 9, 15 (July 8, October 8), pp. 11, 14.

enamel, or paper, supposedly outmoded all systems used up until that time because of the greater permanence and delicate half-tones of the new process.<sup>49</sup> Ráfols does not specify the date (1855-1856) of the introduction of photographic reproduction on paper, but his list of professional photographers stationed in specific Spanish locales is impressive: M. de Hébert (French?), "Retratista de la Real Casa," Madrid, Calle del Caballero de Gracia; another Frenchman, director of the Establecimiento Fotográfico Franco-Hispano-Americano, Barcelona, Calle de la Unión, 9; Fernando and Anaïs Napoleón (French?), "Fotógrafos de SS. MM. D.<sup>a</sup> Isabel II, D. Alfonso XII, Reyes de Portugal, SS. AA. RR. La Princesa de Asturias e Infantas y D. Amadeo de Saboya," (Barcelona?), Rambla de Santa Mónica, 15; Cantó (pseud. "Otnac"), Barcelona; Manuel Moliné Muns, a caricaturist, and his brother-in-law, Albareda; Larauza, who called himself by the suspicious title of "Ex-operador de Didéri, Kan y Nadar de París," (Barcelona?), Rambla del Centro.<sup>50</sup> Despite the rush to many studios such as

<sup>49</sup>"Descubrimiento fotográfico," in Revista del Movimiento Intelectual de Europa, II, No. 7 (February 19, 1866), p. 55. Reports of foreign achievements in photography on paper had appeared at an earlier date in the popular Spanish press. See, for example, "Fotografía sobre papel: Formación instantánea de la imagen," "Imágenes fotográficas obtenidas sobre papel por medio de una placa con albumina, y en corto espacio de tiempo por medio de una sustancia aceleratriz," and "Papel fotogénico: Medios de prepararlo," all in Revista de los Progresos de las Ciencias Exactas, Físicas y Naturales, I (1850), pp. 395-396, 396-398, 400-403; originally in Comp. Rend. (presumably Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences), XXX-XXXI, Nos. 24, 7, and in L'Institut, No. 868, respectively.

<sup>50</sup>See Ráfols, pp. 231-233; we may presume Larauza's one-time employers to have been André Adolphe Eugène Disdéri,

these all over Spain, José de Castro y Serrano was obliged to write, when he attended the 1862 international London Exposition, that as far as Spain's contributions to the Fair were concerned, "ni las fotografías de lugares y personas, de edificios y localidades notables se han encontrado tampoco en esos infinitos talleres de dibujo moderno que por todas partes nos embarazan con sus anuncios, para dar aviso siquiera de que los conocemos, a los concurrentes de las galerías de Kensington."<sup>51</sup> Careful perusal of the Spanish periodical press of the period indeed reveals surprising data pertinent to a history of Spanish photography. For example, the same Alonso Martínez, who convoked the *Círculo Magneto-lógico de Madrid*, which included such illustrious names as Amador de los Ríos, were also photographers located in the *Puerta del Sol*.<sup>52</sup>

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Maxime Du Camp, and Gaspard Félix Tournachon (pseud. "Nadar"). In addition, I have come across the following advertisement in *La Nación* (No. 553 [February 6, 1851], p. 4): "Daguerreo-tipo.--Los bellos retratos que producen el sistema moderno, se hacen por el artista don Manuel Herrero, en su gabinete, calle de la Montera, núm. 22, tanto sobre placa como sobre papel; desde 40 rs. vn. en adelante, con un colorido enteramente nuevo y del mejor efecto."

<sup>51</sup>España en Londres: Correspondencias sobre la Exposición Universal de 1862, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1863), p. 396; includes letter to the Ministro de la Gobernación, dated Madrid, December 25, 1862 (possible date of 1st ed.).

<sup>52</sup>See the notice by the publisher (Felipe Picatoste y Rodríguez), in *Revista del Movimiento Intelectual de Europa*, No. 15 (September 17, 1865), p. 117. There must, of course, be many more sources for the history of Spanish photography, and for the Spanish historiography of photography, that is, in addition to the sources that are mentioned in this chapter, and in addition to those which follow: "Empleo de la gelatina para la producción de las imágenes," originally in

Technological aids for the effectuation of the fine arts of mimetic intention, aside from those pre-photographic devices listed in the Spanish periodical press just two years before Daguerre's public announcement, had already been employed for centuries.<sup>53</sup> Prior to 1839, and often even later, physiognomics was another aid to the artist--even to the portrait artist--since the physiognomic type could be extracted from the chain of variants and used for the infinite repetition of the image most proximate to the object in the natural world. The Majorcan Dr. Fiol advocated physiognomic mnemonic aids, but these alone, he recognized, did not suffice for

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L'Institut, No. 856, trans. in Revista de los Progresos de las Ciencias Exactas, Físicas y Naturales, I (1850), pp. 398-400; Manuel Fernández de Castro, "Revista científica," in La América, II, No. 8 (June 24, 1858), p. 6, especially; "Fotografía," in Monitor del Comercio, III-IV, Nos. 99, 103, 112 (October 8, November 5, 1863, January 9, 1864), pp. 3, 3, 3; "Fotografía," in El Museo Universal, No. 21 (May 20, 1860), pp. 162-163; "Fotografía," "Mejoras fotográficas," and "Luz fotográfica," all in Revista del Movimiento Intelectual de Europa, I, Nos. 3, 11, 30 (June 25, August 20, December 31, 1865), pp. 24, 88, 240; "Boletín científico: Sobre la producción de imágenes fotográficas instantáneas" (review of M. H.-F. Talbot [sic]), in Eco Literario de Europa, II (1851), p. 595.

<sup>53</sup>The Semanario Pintoresco Español listed the following mechanisms for the copying of pictorial and plastic arts: the pantógrafo, for the simultaneous duplication of an original sketch; the diágrafo of Gavard (presumably Charles Gavard) and a similar instrument by Simian; the torno; the torno de retrato, whose principle was that of the pantógrafo, and which was used for the depiction of medals whose dimensions need not have matched those of the sketch itself; a variety of the torno de retrato that tooled as it copied, achieving surface relief; James Watt's mechanism for the copying of busts, perfected upon Watt's death by the Frenchman Collas (presumably Achille Collas); Collas's then still unperfected invention for adding relief to engravings (see "El pantógrafo," in II, No. 48 [February 26, 1837], p. 71-72).

the artistic function which they were assigned to carry out.<sup>54</sup> Thus, the photograph was a natural consequence of physiognomic studies and a technological response to the chief concern of the physiognomists, because the photograph, which was itself a type ever since Henry Fox Talbot produced the negative image, surely helped to replace the use of the physiognomic image as mnemonic aid. The importance of the negative image was similar to that of repeatability in the typographical sciences of book and periodical printing: With the negative, virtually the same image of reality was made available to all men at the same time. The need for the negative type was already obvious in the efforts of the engravers and lithographers to typify their production for popular consumption on a broad scale, and it was facile repeatability of the image that made for increased normalization of man's expression. However, just as the case was to occur with regard to the literary type, as soon as the expressive standard was achieved, it required particularization, and, of course, new technologies were devised for this purpose.

<sup>54</sup>See the extracts from Fiol's posthumous autographs, which were entitled Fisiología pictónica, fruto de mis reflexiones y lectura (in "Fisiología pictónica [sic]," in El Europeo, Nos. 7-9 [February 21, 28, March 6, 1824], pp. 210-222, 238-246, 274-284). Jaime Balmes, who apparently could not come to a decision concerning the value of the photograph, thought at one moment that it would be the perfection of drawing, just as the press had been the perfection of script (a manera más perfecta); yet, in the end, he could not bring himself to accept the impersonal mnemonic advantage of the photographic art: "Mucho nos gustan las cámaras oscuras, los daguerreotipos, y no recordamos que nuestra cabeza es el mejor daguerreotipo del mundo" (cf. Balmes' "La prensa" and "Pensamientos sobre literatura, filosofía, política y religión," in La Sociedad, I, II [1843], pp. 254, 555).

Technology is as much effect as it is cause; yet, once applied, technology becomes more of a dispensable facet of reality than an expressive requisite, and new means become requisites for the expression of new visions.<sup>55</sup> Something in the collective mind occurs that requires technology to assume certain interpretative and expressive directions, but the boundaries separating these directions are seldom so clearly definable as to appear without overlap. In Spain's mid-nineteenth century, the need to perceive in an analytical way the plenitudinous world of minutiae seemed to be replacing the desire to find mystery in the grandiose and single unifying principle that was more characteristic of previous centuries. This concept constituted the underlying truth that prompted the series of articles entitled "Los misterios de la naturaleza. El mundo microscópico": "Nuestra mente concibe lo grande, concibe la perfección, la plenitud, el organismo en

<sup>55</sup>Edmund Carpenter has likewise remarked: "This same statement goes for all media: each offers a unique presentation of reality, which when new has a freshness and clarity that is extraordinarily powerful. . . . We don't watch TV; it watches us; it guides us. Magazines and newspapers no longer convey 'information' but offer ways of seeing things. They have abandoned realism as too easy: they substitute themselves for realism" ("The New Languages," in Explorations in Communication, eds. Edmund Carpenter and Marshall McLuhan [195?; Boston, 1968], p. 175). One cannot help but recall, at this juncture, the more general "instructive irony" of Arthur O. Lovejoy, which we have already observed: "a principle introduced by one generation in the service of a tendency or philosophic mood congenial to it often proves to contain, unsuspected, the germ of a contrary tendency" (Chapter X ["Romanticism and the Principle of Plenitude"] of The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea [1936, rpt; New York, 1960], p. 288).

lo grande; el aumento no se resiste a la inteligencia; pero la perfección, la plenitud, el organismo en lo pequeño, en lo más diminuto, en lo que se escapa a la investigación de los sentidos, es mil veces más asombroso. . . . la admiración llega a su colmo cuando vemos en un óvalo del tamaño de una lenteja una fotografía que contenga miles de retratos con todos sus detalles, todas sus líneas, todas sus sombras."<sup>56</sup> This desire to know the immediate reality in all its detail displaced unparticularistic uniformitarianism, and in general, those who opposed the cultivation of immediate reality associated this with French sensationalism and a denial of the subjective spirit. Mariano Roca de Togores, Marqués de Molins, spoke out in favor of the idealistas and against the realistas de hoy, and he associated photographic technology with the latter group, which, for him, was characterized by the delight it took in sensualidad.<sup>57</sup>

The photograph particularized man's vision, while it

<sup>56</sup>In Revista del Movimiento Intelectual de Europa, I (June 11, 1865), p. 2. Just prior to this date, Jacinto Beltrán recorded for the Spanish periodical press a similar distinction that Hooker [sic; i. e., Robert Hooke, Micrographia (1665)] had made when he evaluated the applicability of the microscope: Works of art, Hooke thought, could not be regarded with eyes more discriminating than human eyes, for, thus seen, art diminished in beauty, while on the other hand, works of nature increase in beauty and perfection the more discriminating our view of them can be made to be ("El microscopio," in La América, VII, No. 6 [March 27, 1863], p. 11).

<sup>57</sup>"Discurso leído por el Excmo. Señor Marqués de Molins, en contestación al antecedente [de Enrique de Saavedra, el 14 de mayo de 1863]," in Discursos leídos en las recepciones públicas que ha celebrado desde 1847 la Real Academia Española, III (Madrid, 1865), p. 480.

also normalized expression of the external world. That is, it led one to believe that he discovered therein atypical things, when in effect the photograph was typing reality for all. Despite the photograph's manifest iconicity later on, when it became increasingly technologized, the photograph in its early years was seen as an analyzable composite of data seemingly unique unto themselves. This dual effect of the photograph was obvious in the words of one costumbristic writer, who signed himself "Un fotógrafo": "Sin ser La Bruyère, todo el mundo tiene a sus ojos seres bastantes originales, cuyos retratos al daguerreotipo pueden suministrar al lector materiales de novedad y de reflexión."<sup>58</sup> Since there was no medium equal to the photograph in ability to "see" from the single vantage point, the camera was, generally, aimed at the unique, although potentially it yielded a type. Arguments that denied the subjective quality in the highly selective photograph were incorrect, insofar as the act of selection which the photographer made upon taking the photograph implied the subjectivity that the artists of the time denied with respect to the photographer. It is for this reason, perhaps, that the photographic sciences were able to compete with craft arts, and it is only in the joint efforts of photographers such as those who joined the heliographic expeditions, and who compiled many points of view in the single album, that the disappearance of privatization in

<sup>58</sup>"Un vecino extravagante," in Musco de las Familias, XII (March 1854), p. 63.



photographic expression is outstanding.

Just days after Daguerre revealed his invention to the Académie des Sciences, the Semanario Pintoresco Español pointed out that the new photographic science would please men of science more than it would painters; here, then, the Semanario dichotomized the utilitarian and artistic applications of photography, somewhat hastily reassuring that art would remain intact, for photography did not possess the desirable quality of genio that the fine artist could lend to his work.<sup>59</sup> From the technological point of view, the remark in the Semanario held true, but in practice, such a split between areas of preference and application was untenable. From Charles Darwin to Claude Bernard the photograph was regarded as a valid device for record. It was, however, a device progressively less useful in this capacity, since from Darwin to Bernard, the empirical, as opposed to the positivistic, procedure (i. e., the random collecting of observed data, as opposed to the ordering of data according to the systemic hypothesis) had lost favor among the natural scientists. The photograph appealed to Darwin, precisely because it seemed to remove some of the subjective quality evident in drawings

<sup>59</sup>"El daguerotipo. Nuevo descubrimiento," in 2nd Ser., I, No. 4 (January 27, 1839), p. 29. To this effect, one writer for the Revista del Movimiento Intelectual de Europa stated much later: "No es dado a la fotografía ni aun luchar con el arte, que tiene la misión de dar forma exterior al sentimiento; ni puede la reproducción matemática de las ideas compararse con el sello que da a sus obras el genio del artista" ("La ciencia y las comedias de magia," in II, No. 19 [May 14, 1866], pp. 148-149).

that did not rely upon photography for their accuracy; yet the photograph was scorned by Bernard, who believed that "experimentation not sustained by a commanding idea can hardly promote the growth of science conceived as an organized whole of interrelated facts, but not as an incidental assemblage of scattered observations."<sup>60</sup> The distinctions between Darwin's preferences and those of Bernard, obviously, had no basis in the real technical insufficiency of the photograph; on the contrary, it was in the time of Darwin that the photograph had relatively less capacity for accurate representation. Rather, Bernard's rejection of the application of the photograph in the sciences, which was evident also in his negative attitude concerning thoroughly empirical, or non-positivistic procedure, implied a natural response to unwieldy diversity, that is, a yearning for a more unified vision than that which empiricism contradicted. This is not to suggest, however, a return to the imposition of the external norm, a practice more characteristic of the eighteenth century which the quotation from Bernard seems to prohibit, and which the positivistic idea clearly excludes. Surely, the empirical approach had served to make the external world manipulatory on an individual basis and continued to do so.

<sup>60</sup>Walter Riese, "The Impact of Romanticism on the Experimental Method," in Studies in Romanticism, II, No. 1 (Autumn 1962), p. 16. See, also, Beaumont Newhall, "Photography and the Development of Kinetic Visualization," in Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, VII, Nos. 1-2 (January-June 1944), p. 42.

Consequently, it was often true that in the field of the natural sciences, even for the most delicate representational work, photographic technique was sometimes by-passed and the manual approach was favored. Such was the case when the Revista de los Progresos de las Ciencias Exactas, Físicas y Naturales reported that two Parisian professors, Masson and Focillon, had developed a way to "photograph" microscopic animals: They waited until the animals passed between two metal points which the scientists had located above the glass slide of the microscope; as the animals passed between the points, the professors electrocuted them, and then they sketched their subjects with the aid of the device so popular at the turn of the century, but outmoded by 1850, the camera lucida!<sup>61</sup>

<sup>61</sup>"Aplicación de la electricidad al estudio de los animales microscópicos," in I (1850), pp. 207-208; originally in Rev. de Zool. (presumably Revue de Zoologie), No. 1. The Revista de Cataluña reported that John Phillips, a geology professor at Oxford, praised the efforts of Warren de la Rue in the field of selenography by photographic application; however, Phillips remained convinced that manual selenography would never be outdone by the imperfect photographic representations of the heavenly bodies (see "Selenografía," in 2nd Ser., I, No. 1 [3rd supplement] [October 23, 1862], p. 60). A few years later, Felipe Picatoste y Rodríguez reported on Warren de la Rue's successful efforts in this field about which the Spanish public had known since the days of Daguerre's announcement before the Académie des Sciences (see: "El daguerotipo. Nuevo descubrimiento," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, 2nd Ser., I, No. 4 [January 27, 1839], p. 28; Picatoste's extract from the Revista Hispano-Americana, entitled "Fotografía de los astros, por Warren de la Rue. Velocidad de la luz en los metales," in Revista del Movimiento Intelectual de Europa, II, No. 16 [April 23, 1866], p. 122). Indeed, Spain's moment of glory in selenography occurred when the photographic apparatus that Warren de la Rue had built in the Kew observatory (1858) was transported to Spain for the observation of the 1860 eclipse; de la Rue's photo-

It was incorrect for the scientist to accept, without reservation, the photograph as uncontradictable objectivity, since to do so was to show a lack of consideration not only of the element of human choice in the photographic procedure, but also of the idiosyncrasies of the medium itself. Oddly enough, the more perfected the photograph became, the more it was used to falsify the reality which the instrument, employed in a technological manner, could have achieved, and this is probably why Azorín, who must have recognized increasing artifice in photographic works, warned: "Yo os aconsejo que no vayáis a las nuevas fotografías. Todo el mundo es ahora fotógrafo; estos fotógrafos novísimos, modernistas, hacen mil cosas absurdas, incongruentes; ponen orlas de un gusto incomprensible; adoptan fondos que nos desconciertan; pegan sus retratos sobre cartones y tarjetas de un preciosismo, de una rareza que está por encima de nuestro modesto intelecto. En fin, os lo repito: no os retratéis en estas modernísimas fotografías."<sup>62</sup> Naturally, the techno-

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graphs of the event were then compared with the selenographic photography carried out by a professor of physics from the University of Valencia. For other reports on selenographic photography and related work in the early days of photography, see: Edmond Becquerel, "De la imagen fotocromática del espectro solar, y de las imágenes coloreadas obtenidas en la cámara oscura" and Niépce de Saint-Victor (presumably Abel Niépce), "Imágenes del sol y de la luna, obtenidas sobre vidrio por medio de la fotografía," both trans. in Revista de los Progresos de las Ciencias Exactas, Físicas y Naturales, I (1850), pp. 169-170, 395 (originally in Anales de Física (?)), XXV, p. 447 and Comp. Rend. [presumably Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences], XXX, No. 22, respectively); also, "Asociación británica para el progreso de la ciencia," in Eco Literario de Europa, I (1851), p. 283, especially.

<sup>62</sup>Cited by J. F. Ráfols, El arte romántico en España

logical perfection in photographic sciences allowed greater and greater opportunity for the subjectivized creation of reality on the part of the photographer, who could become artificer by availing himself of improved photographic technology. Initially, the daguerreotype was belied by reality, that is to say, reality as men saw it without the aid of photographic technology: "The Photographic art has assumed a new character. When the patient (for so the sitter must be described) sat for five or ten minutes in a constrained attitude, with his face exposed to a strong light, the portrait thus taken could neither be correct nor agreeable. A look of distress pervaded almost every feature; the eye, exposed to the strongest light, was half closed; the cheek was drawn up, and wrinkles, never seen in society, planted themselves upon the smooth and expanded forehead of youth and beauty. These evils are now entirely removed from the Daguerreotype."<sup>63</sup> Later on, however, technology was able to belie reality and create its own reality in place of that which everyone saw individually with his own naked eye. A historian of photography for the Museo de las Familias told the unusual tale of Cyro Macaire, who, finding himself in America when the daguerreotype was explained for the first time in Europe, read of the invention in a European periodi-

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(Barcelona, 1954), p. 234.

<sup>63</sup>"Photogenic Drawing, or Drawing by the Agency of Light," in The Edinburgh Review, LXXVI, No. 154 (January 1843), pp. 319-320.

cal and created a makeshift instrument out of a cigar box and the lenses of a pair of spectacles. But since he was able to obtain negatives only, he dissatisfied white slaveholders, who relinquished their photographic portraits to Macaire, and in turn, Macaire gave to the slaves the negative photographs of the masters, whereupon "los esclavos se reconocían sin vacilar en los retratos de sus amos."<sup>64</sup> Indeed it was so that the photograph, when it was new, could shock man's senses and alter his vision of the world. Like the telegraph, which, as we have seen, El Cócora called "some being endowed with its own will," the photograph could create realities to contradict man's customary, private response to the world. In the Portuguese translation of Talbot's own account of his experiments, for example, the following was reported: "Tendo um dia obtido a imagem de um pedaço de renda cujo risco era muito complicado, mostrei-o a algumas pessoas situadas a poucos pés de distancia, perguntando-lhes se achavão exacta a reproducção? Respondêrão-me que eu queria enganar'-as, porquanto ellas bem vião que aquillo não era um dezenho, mas a propria renda."<sup>65</sup> The shock which photographic technology caused to man's senses indeed even led him to conclusions about reality which did not have

<sup>64</sup>"Historia del daguerreotipo y de la fotografia," in XI (December 25, 1853), p. 283.

<sup>65</sup>"Dezenho obtido pela luz, ou processo segundo o qual os objetos por si mesmos se dezenhão sem socorro de lapis," ed. N. dos R. R., in Revista Litteraria, III, No. 15 (within the set of volumes) (March 1839), p. 44.

their bases in scientific logic; thus, the Spanish Monitor del Comercio reported that a photograph of the eyes of the man who has met a violent death would reveal, in the image of the photographic eye, the cause of death.<sup>66</sup>

The photograph of fixed proportions, an entity unto itself, revealed an inconstant subject within. For this reason, it was considered to be a copy of reality more perfect than the image seen by the naked eye; more perfect because it captured, not only saw, what was there. Moreover, the photograph sometimes told what was there, when the naked eye could not see that reality. And it is in this important fact that we can recognize the perceptual significance of the photograph technologically extended. That is, in contradiction with the Romantic cult of subjectivity that had developed, quite understandably, alongside the cult of reason, the photograph was the revelation of new realities existing outside of the potential of individual consciousness. Thus, the case of the Baron Gros, a minister from France in Greece, who took a photograph on the Acropolis only to discover upon his return to Paris an object that had previously escaped his vision.<sup>67</sup> For us, today, the phenomenon is a commonplace,

<sup>66</sup>"La fotografía al servicio de la administración de justicia," in III, No. 111 (December 31, 1863), p. 3. The London photographer, Varner, used photography in this way to the advantage of the courts of justice. See a variation on the idea, in Revista del Movimiento Intelectual de Europa: The person struck by lightning would bear a wound which was, in effect, a "photograph" of the object proximate to the injury when the person was struck ("Electricidad: Caprichos del rayo," in No. 13 [September 3, 1865], p. 99).

<sup>67</sup>"Historia del daguerreotipo y de la fotografía," in

but for the human eye not schooled in the tradition of photographic sciences, the fact that there should have been more to reality than met the non-technological eye was astonishing. The photograph had not only changed conceptions of the real world, it also lent to the real world an aspect of minuscule plenitude beyond the range of man's suspicions, and in this way, the single photograph became a veritable source of infinite variability:

The perfection of the picture exceeds as it were the accuracy of the eye as its judge; and by means of a magnifying glass we can make discoveries of minute features, in the same manner as we can do in the real landscape by the minuteness of its delineations that surprise us in the Daguerreotype. Every object is seen in true geometrical perspective; and even the aerial perspective is displayed in the diminution of sharpness which marks the outlines of all objects that recede from the eye. The combination of these two effects, the last of which is often beyond the reach of art, gives a depth--a third dimension--to the picture, which it is scarcely possible to conceive without actually seeing it. In the representation, for example, of a Grecian portico with two or three columns deep, the actual depth of the recess is more distinctly seen with a magnifying glass than by the naked eye.<sup>68</sup>

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Museo de las Familias, XI (December 25, 1853), pp. 282-283.

<sup>68</sup>"Photogenic Drawing, or Drawing by the Agency of Light," in The Edinburgh Review, LXXVI, No. 154 (January 1843), pp. 317-318; my underscoring. Wheatstone remedied the inability to achieve, without use of the microscope, adequate third-dimensional quality in the photograph; his invention was the stereoscope, later modified by Brewster (see the Conde de Benazuzá, "Noticias sobre la historia de la fotografía," in La América, III [October 8, 1859], p. 14). An earlier, trans-



The photographic sciences prompted man to change the direction of his vision, to seek out objects within the given externality, for within each apparent frame there lay an interior life that was not otherwise available for inspection. Regarding man and his relation to the self, this meant a veritable journey through the looking-glass to a vision of inexhaustible variety within the framework that was known, until then, as the self, but, as of then, undefinable and increasingly imperceptible as the self. Thus, the photograph brought to man a new understanding not only of external reality, but also of his own being. It could inform him that he was not the autonomous totality that he had thought he was, even by dictating to him what he might be instead!

For literature that would represent the analytical vision, the photograph provided the metaphorical basis for the discovery of the secret, heretofore inscrutable, way of life that lay beneath the mysterious surface of all of society, as several previous examples, like the following one, all show: "La novela contemporánea, como la plancha del daguerreotipo, descubre hasta las manchas más pequeñas que oscurecen las bellas formas de una clase o de una institución."<sup>69</sup> It

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lated, announcement of Wheatstone's and Brewster's achievements in stereoscopy appeared in Spain's popular press under the caption "Mejora del estereoscopio" (in *Revista de los Progresos de las Ciencias Exactas, Físicas y Naturales*, I [1850], pp. 28-29), and the subject of photographic stereoscopy was later treated by the *Monitor del Comercio*, in reference to the work of Pablo Roy (See "Fotografía," in III, No. 98 [October 1, 1863], p. 2).

<sup>69</sup>Antonio Neira de Mosquera, "De la novela moderna," in

was because of the relative lack of syntax in the photograph's units of mediation that the photograph could lend this enhanced sense of the Real. It could bring to man a reality initially subliminal and deeper than that which he normally saw. It had the capacity to create "news" and, by this, to thoroughly alter both man's physical act of perception and the range of elements that he might have sought in an exterior reality, as William M. Ivins, Jr., explains:

Thus photography from being merely another way of procuring or making images of things already seen by our eyes, has become a means to ocular awareness of things that our eyes can never see directly. It has become the necessary tool for all visual comparison of things that are not side by side, and for all visual knowledge of the literally unseeable--unseeable whether because too small, too fast, or hidden under surfaces, and because of the absence of light. Not only has it vastly extended the gamut of our visual knowledge, but through its reproduction in the printing press, it has effected a very complete revolution in the ways we use our eyes and, especially, in the kinds of things our minds permit our eyes to tell us.<sup>70</sup>

So, the iconic mode of perception, the result of which was unique presence of the object perceived, regained significance in the Romantic period, as we have observed in the case of hieroglyphics, for example. In this receptive atmosphere, books on iconography, like that of our commentator on estampas, Valentín Carderera y Solano, naturally merited the praise of

<sup>70</sup>Chapter VI ("Pictorial Statement Without Syntax: The Nineteenth Century") of Prints and Visual Communication (1953; rpt. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, 1968 [?], p. 134.

their reviewers, who stated the opinion that disregard of iconographical material was deplorable especially in Spain, for Spain's physiognomy had always been unique and for that reason, precisely, it deserved iconographical treatment.<sup>71</sup>

Science answered by means of photography to a characteristically Romantic state of mind that required the particularization of all which, not long before, had pertained to the uniformitarian universe. In turn, photography fostered other states of mind and, naturally, other expressive needs. But as the photograph tended toward iconization, it partially democratized its informational content, and thus became the lengua universal that the Conde de Benazuza claimed it was. And this juncture of the photograph of unique point of view and normalized interpretability is implicit in Marshall McLuhan's comment that "photography was the mechanization of the perspective painting and of the arrested eye; it broke the barriers of the nationalist, vernacular space created by printing."<sup>72</sup> I can think of no better example of the capacity of the photograph to stand for the singular vision, and yet to

<sup>71</sup>See the review, by Manuel Caffete, of Carderera y Solano's Iconografía española, o Colección de retratos, estatuas, mausoleos, y demás monumentos inéditos de reyes, reinas, grandes capitanes, escritores, y otros personajes célebres de la nación, desde el siglo XI hasta el XVII, copiados de los originales (Madrid, 1860), in La América, V, Nos. 9, 11 (July 8, August 8, 1861), pp. 12-13, 14-15. I have used the two-volume edition (Madrid, 1855, 1864), similarly entitled, with Castilian-French text by the author, and with a dedication by the author that was dated in Madrid, February 14, 1865.

<sup>72</sup>"Five Sovereign Fingers Taxed the Breath," in Explorations in Communication, eds. Edmund Carpenter and Marshall McLuhan (195?; Boston, 1968), p. 208.

hold relatively similar meaning for the many, than that incident which Beaumont Newhall recently presented before a public audience: When Alfred Stieglitz made his "Equivalents" (cloud photographs that Stieglitz considered representative of his own spiritual states), he would ask people to "read" them, so that he could find out whether or not he had captured some universal that was truly recognizable by all.<sup>73</sup>

The iconic photograph, embracing the promise of thinginess and tacticality, might be thought of as foretold in sensationalist thought, as well as in such developments as printing exhibited. The photograph, as did technologized print, taught Spain's lettered men how to read differently, while it also provided Spain's unlettered men with new opportunities for

<sup>73</sup>Princeton University lecture, October 23, 1969. Stieglitz's experiment, which represented a way of approximating a universality quotient for the individual perceptions and the private experiences not only of himself, but of many men at once, was an example of the psychological phenomenon which, today, we might designate as "projection": "The mind of the beholder also has its share in the imitation. . . . What we read into these accidental shapes [Rorschach blots] depends on our capacity to recognize in them things or images we find stored in our minds. To interpret such a blot as, say, a bat or a butterfly means some act of perceptual classification--in the filing system of my mind I pigeonhole it with butterflies I have seen or dreamed of" (E. H. Gombrich, Chapter VI ["The Image in the Clouds"] of Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation [1960; 1961; rpt. New York, 1965], pp. 182-183). Nor were Stieglitz's "Equivalents" without iconological precedent. Talbot's achievement in the preservation of the photographic image led him immediately to the photography of clouds, because clouds represented greatest possible transience: "A couza menos estavel deste mundo--uma nuvem, emblema proverbial do que ha de mais passageiro e mais mudavel, pode ser apanhada pelo encanto da minha operaco magica, e fixar-se para sempre na posico que parecia no dever ocupar mais que um instante!" ("Dezenho obtido pela luz, ou processo segundo o qual os objectos por si mesmos se dezenho sem socorro de lapis," in Revista Litteraria, III, No. 15 [within the set of volumes] [March 1839], p. 45).

understanding her lettered men; that is, "in the age of the photograph, language takes on a graphic or iconic character, whose 'meaning' belongs very little to the semantic universe, and not at all to the republic of letters."<sup>74</sup> An iconic image, which makes relatively few requirements on the imagination of the beholder, and tends instead to be the economical deliverer of information to the mind passively waiting to be dazzled with multiple elements of "news," does not open itself automatically to the viewer's participatory act of syntactical arrangement. The iconic image comes to the viewer, as the reader of Appollinaire's calligrammes, of Julián del Casal's Museo ideal sonnets, or of Théophile Gautier's Camées--happily named, since the camafeux of former times had been an effort to reduce the perception of art's make-up--should realize; in such cases, the reader ideally "sees" nearly as much as he "reads." Such literary instances as these indicated the juncture between the separation of meaningful units, one from another--the primary effect of book technology--and the reunification of these units into a perceptual whole. And by so doing, they signaled a perceptual reversal in the direction of manual script, or even oral expression.

The facile syntacticality that developed with book technology was running its course in the Romantic period. This is probably why one Spanish writer, convinced that natural

<sup>74</sup>Marshall McLuhan, Chapter XX ("The Photograph: The Brothel Without Walls") of Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man (McGraw-Hill; rpt. New York, 1964), p. 176.

memory might be aided artificially, welcomed the mnemonical "localities," a system devised by Gregor von Feinaigle (sic Grégoire Fainaigle); the writer suggested the contrived placement of the subject in question in "algún paraje desierto, porque la muchedumbre y agitación confundirían las imágenes y amortiguarían sus rasgos," thereupon demanding iconic lack of contextuality.<sup>75</sup> Feinaigle's concern for mnemonics in general of course encompassed a history of efforts directed toward the establishment of a philosophical language, the reasons why such a language was desirable, and the author's own plans for a mnemonic script that would facilitate rational linguistic apprehension.<sup>76</sup> It is in the Romantic preoccupation with systems like these, which recalled early effects of print standardization, that we can find a reason for the contemporaneous existence of universalist scriptural and linguistic systems, photography, and the literary type. All represented the essential as abstracted from diverse elements that were both imperceptible under the circumstances of normal vision and inexpressible through vain and frivolous language

<sup>75</sup>"Ensayo sobre la mnemotecnica," in Album Pintoresco Universal, I, No. 7 (1842), pp. 547-549. According to this commentator on Feinaigle, the first book ever printed (Ars Memorandi Notabilis per Figuras Evangelistarum) introduced the important innovation of the isolation of the pictorial image from the verbal text.

<sup>76</sup>See Feinaigle's The New Art of Memory, Founded Upon the Principles Taught by M. . . .: And Applied to Chronology, History, Geography, Languages, Systematic Tables, Poetry, Prose, and Arithmetic. To Which is Added, Some Account of the Principal Systems of Artificial Memory, From the Earliest Period to the Present Time; With Instances of the Extraordinary Powers of Natural Memory, 3rd ed. (London, 1813).

and linguistic signs. Thus, even before photography replaced the fine-line engraving, the fine-line engraving replaced the crude woodcut, whose articulation was uneconomical in comparison with the visual image of relatively minimal syntactical apparenacy. For the same reason of economy, the creator of the literarily explicated graphic collection entitled "Los vendedores de Madrid" said that he intended that his prose "no esceda . . . en límites a lo que debe ser"; and, instead, he admitted graphic representations of the types to "say" in pictorial form what words would have previously expressed.<sup>77</sup> Especially in periodical distribution, the literary type underwent an economy of verbal articulation, however slow in process, which was further intensified (maybe not entirely by chance) during the photographic vogue. Of course, even before the dependency of the book or the periodical press upon the graphical delivery of information, the book press had achieved the remarkable typification which Francisco Pérez de Anaya praised at mid-century (see note 28). But this visual and literary equitonality, to which Pérez de Anaya longed to return, and which was evident in the endless harangues that appeared at the time in order to put an end to nonsystematic language, was growing to be paradoxically self-

<sup>77</sup>Museo de las Familias, VI (December 25, 1848), p. 273. With the growth of print technology, Blanchard W. Bates suggests, pen depiction was minimized in the literary character sketch, as the engraving subsumed the information formerly delivered in writing (see Literary Portraiture in the Historical Narrative of the French Renaissance [New York, 1945], pp. 43-44).

exhaustive in the course of the further technologization of print.

The discovery of the particular beneath the idealized, uniform surface, as Neira de Mosquera phrased it with respect to the modern novel as photograph, was certainly more than a basis for casual metaphor. In questions of human personality, the discovery of the self, the comparison between the heretofore idealized self and the imperfect reality of the new-found self, was thoroughly problematic, as Antonio Alcalá Galiano pointed out:

Si bien los mythos son casi siempre ideales de perfección, alguna vez lo son de maldad, y porque, aun en el primer caso, suele lo maravilloso de la imagen formada en la fantasía, siendo admirable pintura con infundadas pretensiones de retrato, ceder en perjuicio del retratado, cuyo valor se rebaja tanto cuanto estaba reputado en más de lo justo, cuando con el instrumento de un prolijo examen viene a sacarse de él una fotografía. Los mythos causan grande entusiasmo en los que se dan a contemplarlos. Así, cuando se les contraponen figuras fotográficas, no tiene límites la ira de quienes, adorando la falsa semejanza, ven que no pueden tributar igual culto a la realidad, contraria en no pocas ocasiones, y en todas verdaderamente inferior a lo que pasaba por serlo.<sup>78</sup>

The analogous relation of the photograph to the book of types is clear. External nature is abstracted, and the reader moves deductively toward particulars. The case was obvious in Los valencianos pintados por sí mismos (Valencia, 1859), whose first sketch was intentionally the most inclusive; see

<sup>78</sup>"De los mythos," in La América, VI, No. 8 (June 24, 1862), p. 6-7.



"El valenciano," by José Zapater y Ujeda. Given the framework of the book of types, one could search within, through the looking-glass image of the self, for particulars never before observable. The approach promised a means by which writer and reader, in an illusion of joint function, could discover new selves; furthermore, the approach was characteristic of each individual sketch bearing the inclusive epigraph, the abstract name of the titular subject, or above all, the universally recognizable graphic of external features at the start of the article. The book of types and the articles contained therein were by no means just a looking-glass image of the self, and in this sense, all criticism dealing with this literature has gone astray, for it has ironically, taken things at iconic "face value." Any mirror image, any self-reflection leads to a penetration behind the superficiality of the image, so there was no better medium than the photograph to supply the metaphorical basis for the structure and purpose of the literary type of the costumbristic genre of the nineteenth century.

The artistic particularization of the abstractions which scientific technology fostered was inevitable. For example, Antonio Flores, whose awareness of technological onslaught was intense in comparison with other writers' awareness of the same phenomena, was lost in an attempt to rationalize prose depictions of substantive contemporaneity in order to make the prose accessible to his contemporary lettered men. The result was, of course, the achievement of the particular-

ized literary character through the tradition of the type. Flores saw the need to continually elaborate upon "The Spaniard," since to explain this type, sufficient particularization had not been carried out, as he himself said. Consequently, within the type could be seen a novel, as he informs us in his prologue to Doce españoles de brocha gorda.<sup>79</sup> So, the type was only briefly the concern of the author who assumed a distanced pose at the start, and this is precisely the message in Flores' subtitle to Doce españoles. The type was never truly "self-delineated," which was, of course, the expectation of the photographic technician like Henry Fox Talbot. But literary realism did, in fact, avail itself of Daguerre's invention, as Harry Levin assures us, although

<sup>79</sup>Doce españoles de brocha gorda, que no pudiéndose pintar a sí mismos, me han encargado a mí, . . . , sus retratos: Novela de costumbres contemporáneas, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1848); the first edition (Madrid: Julián Saavedra) appeared two years earlier, in 1846. See, also, the anonymous review of Doce españoles, in Semanario Pintoresco Español, No. 41 (October 8, 1848), p. 324. Likewise, rudimentary caricature was soon used merely instrumentally, as a basis for penetration to the more profound reality beneath the surface: "Ante todo, el estudio de dibujo debe basarse en el rasgo. Flaxman ha dicho: 'El arte reside principalmente en la silueta.' . . . Para familiarizarse con la fisonomía humana no hay como ejercitarse en la caricatura. Empiécese por las caras menos favorecidas, en que la naturaleza ha hecho más sensible la semejanza que cada uno de nosotros tiene con algún animal" ("La vulgarización del conocimiento del dibujo y de las bellas artes," in Revista del Movimiento Intelectual de Europa, I, No. 26 [December 3, 1865], p. 204). This overlap between synthesis and particularization might possibly be found in the cartoonery of Benito Pérez Galdós, some of whose sketches were "sufficiently individualized to suggest . . . important personages. . . . While [Galdós] shows an almost complete disregard for detail of body, his heads are unusually precise" (H. Chonon Berkowitz, Pérez Galdós: Spanish Liberal Crusader [Madison, Wisconsin, 1948], pp. 31-32).

Professor Levin also warns: "Even when we speak of 'photographic reproduction,' we cannot take for granted its objectivity. The very phrase trompe-l'oeil gives it away. The camera's eye is relatively less subjective than the eye of the beholder; yet it was photography which opened the way for impressionistic painting, which in turn has angled and composed and highlighted the art of the photographer."<sup>80</sup> However absent from his camera the photographer appeared to be, or however absent the author appeared to be from his work, he was always there in a significant way.

Art will, indeed, afford us an index of technological effect, inasmuch as it will provide indications of the changes in man's capacity to perceive new elements of reality through the application of the technological instrument in question. In this regard, José Montero Padilla has pointed out "en la producción azoriniana, como algo típicamente cinematográfico, la valoración de lo accesorio, el gusto por el detalle nimio . . . que muchas veces da el sentido y el espíritu de toda una complicada construcción. Es este algo que se ha permitido poder hacer el cine gracias a ese instrumento prodigioso que es el primer plano, para realzar, poner de relieve las cosas aparentemente más sin trascendencia."<sup>81</sup> The cinema, breaking away from the framed moment, appears to have solved the seem-

<sup>80</sup>"What is Realism?," in Comparative Literature, III, No. 3 (Summer 1951), pp. 194, 196.

<sup>81</sup>"Azorín' y el Cine," in Revista de Literatura, IV, No. 8 (October-December 1953), pp. 363-364.

ingly impossible problems suggested for the photograph by nineteenth-century Romantics, such as Antonio Flores, who, despite his keen eye for technological potential, remarked upon a certain occasion: "La fotografía nos reproduciría con perfecta semejanza la mezcla de alegría y de dolor que claramente aparecía en el semblante de la Reina, y la tris-tísima dulzura que se dibujaba en el rostro de los alican-tinos; pero para copiar las corrientes eléctricas, que es-tablecían un perfecto acuerdo y una secreta inteligencia en-tre el pueblo y el Monarca, para eso la industria no ha in-ventado máquinas aun, ni Dios querrá que las invente jamás."<sup>82</sup>

As the technologized photograph grew more potentially

<sup>82</sup>Crónica del viaje de Sus Majestades y Altezas Reales a las Islas Baleares, Cataluña y Aragón, en 1860 (Madrid, 1861), p. 13. The problems which movement presented for early photography seemed insurmountable at first (see: "El daguerotipo. Nuevo descubrimiento," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, 2nd Ser., I, No. 4 [January 27, 1839], p. 27; "Photogenic Drawing, or Drawing by the Agency of Light," in The Edinburgh Review, LXXVI, No. 154 [January 1843], p. 318). According to the Museo de las Familias ("Historia del daguerreo-tipo y de la fotografía," in XI [December 25, 1853], p. 283), the problem of the rapidly moving photographic subject was overcome by the Macaire brothers as early as 1851; they conquered the movement of ocean waves, moving sails, wafts of smoke, leaves in motion, the fleeting smile, the running child, and the trotting horse. One cannot help but recall the most significant of early cinematic achievements, that of Eadweard Muybridge, published for the first time in the Scientific American of New York ("The Science of the Horse's Motions: A Horse's Motion Scientifically Determined," in XXXIX, No. 16 [October 19, 1878], coverplate and p. 241). The technologized serial photography devised by Muybridge was reminiscent of the serial physiognomic sketches by Lavater, a century before Muybridge. The implications of Muybridge's achievement for the science of the photograph have been treated by E. H. Gombrich and Beaumont Newhall, respectively: "Moment and Movement in Art," in Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXVII (1964), pp. 293-306; "Photography and the Development of Kinetic Visualization," ibid., VII, Nos. 1-2 (January-June 1944), p. 40-45.

independent of artistic human dictates, its potential as a bearer of novelty increased. With the aid of the microscope, as we know, the photograph had already acquired spatial inexhaustibility, and the stereoscope also intensified the sensation of space, thus lending to the photograph greater newsy quality. Oliver Wendell Holmes, remarking upon the stereoscopic views of which he was so fond, wrote: "Theoretically, a perfect photograph is absolutely inexhaustible. In a picture [i. e., painting or drawing] you can find nothing which the artist has not seen before you; but in a perfect photograph there will be many beauties lurking, unobserved, as there are flowers that blush unseen in forests and meadows."<sup>83</sup> Later, when the syntax of photographic elements began to drop below the level of visual perception, with half-tone reproduction, the photograph itself appeared to the viewer as iconic reality; it became able to create its own space, without requiring the recompositional efforts of the participatory viewer, that is.<sup>84</sup> Since the earliest days of photography the perception of the technological image as transcendent reality itself was more than mere possibility. So we have the example of Talbot, who insisted, expressly, upon a

<sup>83</sup>Cited by Beaumont Newhall, *ibid.*, p. 41; Mr. Newhall's reference: Holmes, The Stereoscope and Stereoscopic Pictures (New York, 1899), rpts. from Atlantic Monthly.

<sup>84</sup>See the plate depicting the first half-tone reproduction of a photograph in a newspaper (Daily Graphic of New York, March 4, 1880) in Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, Historic Events, 1839-1939 (London, 1960), p. 70; the subject was a view of Shantytown, New York.

reproduction of reality before witnesses who were none the less convinced that they were seeing the Real, rather than a reality they had known. Also, when photography was still young, V. Carderera (presumably Valentín Carderera y Solano) could perceive even the engraved print as transcendental, as the regiones más remotas.<sup>85</sup> Today, we perfect cinematics in order to reduce the sense of space and time to only one, and to allow ourselves to believe that the image we behold is a part of our own experience, in other words, that we are contemporaneous with the image and that it is, to us, ever new, moment after moment. Of course, this extensive technologization for similar sensational effect was not required by the Romantic, jolted by the effects of the simple photograph. Indeed, for Carderera y Solano, even the engraving could alter the concepts of both space and time, permitting him to become a "contemporáneo de los hombres más célebres de los pasados siglos." The direction of the Romantic's interpretative and expressive needs becomes clearer to us now. The graduation from plodding logicality and consecutiveness to the relative simultaneity of the photograph and periodical press issue afforded a reduction of the sensations of space and time into a single one: "En vez de leer las cansadas descripciones de Mungo Park, de Marco Polo o de Levaillant (presumably François Le Vaillant) podemos seguir con una mirada, en un museo ocular rápidamente recorrido, los palacios, los templos, los sarcófa-

<sup>85</sup>"Colecciones de estampas," in El Renacimiento, 2nd Ser., I, No. 19 (July 18, 1847), p. 147.

gos, el aspecto de lejanas regiones, la fisonomía de las fiestas, el carácter de los países. De ese modo hemos visto ya retratado en hojas el Egipto de los Faraones, y reproducida en cartones la India con sus hipogeos."<sup>86</sup> The greater the formal difference between one technology and another preceding one whose function the later technology subsumes, the greater the distance between the perceptual need to which the later technology answers and the need to which the displaced technology once answered. The simple photograph probably achieved for the Romantic what the cinema does for us today; meanwhile, it gave rise to our own perceptual demands for the cinematographic.

So, too, it should seem less ironic to us than it usually does that the emphasis upon rational universality, for the purpose of greater interpretability, foretells the inception of a technology that may bring about an expressive mode characteristically less consecutive than its precedent. Technologies may be spoken of in an evolutionary sense, of course, but not if evolution is going to imply the movement toward a fixed end, without the possibility of reversal. This leads us right back to the difference between the interpretations of Romanticism as put forth by Professors King and Sebold (see the Introduction to this study, note. 13).

As was obvious both in the heightened use of photography in the creation of character types during Spain's Romantic

<sup>86</sup>"Las maravillas de la ciencia," in Eco Literario de Europa, III (1852), p. 525; my underscoring.

period, and in the simultaneous diminution of verbal description of these literary types, technology may cause language to compete with it on the level of expression. Despite some artists' fears, there occurred a technological need for increasingly economical expression--call it "periodical," "photographical," "telegraphical," etc.--and, up to a point, a corresponding standardization in representation, both pictorial and linguistic. In visual arts, especially those of the more popular sort, such as cartoonery, complementary language, such as that employed in "Los vendedores de Madrid," hastened to become less verbose and to tend instead to rely upon the iconical image for expression.<sup>87</sup> E. H. Gombrich offers an explanation for phenomena such as this:

To a public accustomed to see images as representations of a visual reality, the mere juxtaposition of disconnected symbols produces a disquieting paradox in need of resolution. Thus, while the mediaeval idiom and mediaeval motifs lived on in satirical broadsheets with astonishing tenacity, we also witness continuous efforts to rationalise and justify this antiquated language and to reconcile it with realistic conventions. This problem was tackled in various ways. The simplest was also the most frequent: to give up all pretensions at artistic coherence and to rely on an elaborate text in verse or prose explaining the meaning of the political emblems or "hieroglyphicks."<sup>88</sup>

<sup>87</sup>In Museo de las Familias, VI (December 25, 1848), pp. 273-277.

<sup>88</sup>Chapter XI ("Imagery and Art in the Romantic Period" [1947]) of Mediations on a Hobby Horse and Other Essays on the Theory of Art (1963; rpt. London, 1965), p. 122.



However, as Gombrich proceeds to show, in the course of time from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, the cartoon required less and less accompanying verbal explication in order for it to be understood; and this loss of apparent rationality led to the cartoon's becoming caricaturistic.<sup>89</sup> The brand of visual satire that lacked explanatory authorial voice was just one probable effect of the disappearance of visible logicality from art in general. Thus, the iconization of pictorial forms like the cartoon was, undoubtedly, abetted by the technologization of the engraving arts and the introduction of the photograph, which could "say" more and more without verbal explication, which

<sup>89</sup>Chapter XII ("The Cartoonist's Armoury" [1962]); *ibid.*, pp. 133-134. Gombrich believes that these "academic artists of high standing who developed the mock portrait to tease their friends" were inspired by "the so-called science of physiognomics that had long insisted on the comparison between human types and certain animals." In this regard, see the review of Escenas de la vida privada y pública de los animales, which praised the author for having dispensed with personal attack by employing animals as representative figures (in El Gabinete de Lectura, No. 2 [November 10, 1841], p. 16). The following observations regarding Goya's prints support Gombrich's general idea. Edith F. Helman notes that a chronological survey of Goya's prints shows increased exercise of the artist's fantasy, that is, a more profound sueño de la razón ("Caprichos and Monstruos of Cadalso and Goya," in Hispanic Review, XXVI, No. 3 [July 1958], p. 218). Moreover, as Arthur M. Hind tells us, "no commentary on [the Proverbios (1810-1815), or Disparates, as Goya called them] is preserved, and for the most part the point of the satire is more obscure than in the Caprichos [1793-1803]" (A History of Engraving and Etching from the 15th Century to the Year 1914 [Houghton Mifflin, 1923; 3rd ed; rpt. New York, 1963], p. 255). From the vantage point that grants historical perspective, the Caprichos have the foregoing significance, but for the reviewer of Goya's time, even the Caprichos were obscure, in that they were not meant to depict specific individuals, but rather to be the abstracted impressions from a single artist's experiences (see the unsigned review of the Caprichos, in Diario de Madrid, LI, No. 37 [February 6, 1799], p. 179).

could be, in other words, a "statement without a syntax." Also, if it were not for the success of the periodical press medium, which made for broad coverage and rapid distribution of information concerning current affairs to a common-reader public, then, it is unlikely that Spain's reasoned political polemics could have graduated to comparably inexplicit political caricature, especially in pictorial form, rather than having remained discursive essays of obviously single point of view. The democratized periodical fostered this caricaturesque brand of satire, for it permitted, more than did the book, the universal recognizability that satire demands in order to be effective. The periodical, first with graphics, then with the photograph, became increasingly inclusive, and thereby more capable of objectivity, and it seemed to admit less and less, the personalized mode of satire, which one writer associated with Aristophanes and Juvenal in order to disassociate it from the ideal impartiality of his own contemporary media.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>90</sup>"De la sátira y de los satíricos," in El Correo de Ultramar, XIII, No. 58 (1854), pp. 95-96; a later, and similar article ("Extracto de un ensayo inédito sobre la sátira latina," in XIII, No. 70 [1854], pp. 287-288) was signed Eduardo González Pedroso, the enthusiast and analyst of universal language systems. Salvador Costanzo, in the Museo de las Familias, usually approached his subject through the unorthodox reason of satire and in this way exhibited an attempt to correlate an illusion of no private viewpoint with the impersonalized subject (see "Dificultades que se ofrecen al que busque un buen tema y elogio de la anarquía," in 2nd Ser., XXI [1863], p. 162). An editorial note to this article explained that Costanzo often used satirical prose, in this and in other pieces of the Museo, to attack Socialism, Communism, and spiritism, unlike other critics of the same topics who approached the subject logically, and therefore unwisely.

The dark room, even in the time of Porta and Descartes, stood for a new way of seeing the world; with his claim that the dark room "maxima naturae secreta nobis illucere possunt," Giovanni Battista della Porta foretold the dissolution of the single unifying principle on the level of practical function.<sup>91</sup> Shortly after Porta, the circumscribed image that reserved for itself the possibility of continual change within its limits constituted the new vision of Emanuele Tesauro (Cannocchiale Aristotelico, 1655), who differentiated between seeing objects "l'uno dentro all'altro," rather than "successivamente . . . passando dinanzi agl'occhi".<sup>92</sup> Similarly, in order to explain the phenomenon of fashions in dress, one writer for Spain's nineteenth-century periodical press referred to Calderón de la Barca (Eco y Narciso), Tesauro's contemporary, in order to show that shifting fashions of dress produced "los resultados de un prisma encantador que presenta los objetos con mil vistosos cambiantes"; and cinematic photography has accentuated for us this impression of a constant frame with mil vistosos cambiantes.<sup>93</sup> Ever since the photograph was conceived in

<sup>91</sup>See the Conde de Benazuzza, "Noticias sobre la historia de la fotografía," in La América, III, No. 9 (July 8, 1859), p. 11. In the "Opuscules de 1619-1621," Descartes described how to make "vn iardin des ombres qui representent diverses figures, telles que des arbres & les autres" (see Oeuvres, X, eds. Charles Adam and Paul Tannery [Paris, 1966], pp. 215-216).

<sup>92</sup>Eugenio Donato, "Tesauro's Poetics: Through the Looking Glass," in Modern Language Notes, LXXVIII, No. 1 (January 1963), p. 18.

<sup>93</sup>"Reminiscencias literarias españolas," in Cartas Españolas, II, Cuaderno 13 (August 6, 1831), pp. 65-66.

Porta's dark room in answer to man's esthetic needs, it also responded to man's want of information (maxima naturae secreta), as the claims by Porta, which frame the greater part of this chapter, serve to show. If this mutual function were not operative in photography, the graphic processes, of which the photograph is an extension, might not have taken the direction they did over the centuries since the days of the crude woodcut and the first stages of mechanized print.

Margarita Ucelay Da Cal has rightly affirmed the interdependence of the depiction of contemporary customs in Spain's Romantic period and the engraving; but this interdependence existed by no mere accident, as William M. Ivins, Jr. indicates when he remarks that "the ease and quickness with which etching could be done made it a favorite medium not only for rapid sketches but for pictures with 'news value'": "In general the principal function of illustration has been the conveyance of information. The graphic processes and techniques have grown and developed to the end of conveying information. The illustration that has contained the greatest amount of information, i. e., of detail, has been the one that was most in demand. As a result of this the graphic processes have shown an ever increasing fineness of texture."<sup>94</sup> The utilitarian end of the photographic science is thus confirmed, even on the level of artistic practice, in newsy photographic applications

<sup>94</sup>Ivins, How Prints Look: Photographs with a Commentary (Boston, 1967), pp. 33, 144; Ucelay Da Cal, Los espafloles pintados por sí mismos, 1843-1844: Estudio de un género costumbrista (Mexico, 1951), p. 131.

whose artistic value was as great as their informational import. For example, in the case of the expeditionary heliographers who compiled artistic albums, the photograph replaced the hurried sketch and was the best indication of the contemporaneity of events: "The self-delineated landscape is seized at one epoch of time, and is embalmed amid all the co-existing events of the social and physical world," commented The Edinburgh Review.<sup>95</sup> Perhaps photography signaled the death of the medieval subject in the historical novel, as well as the monumental, archaeological subject of its own initial predilection. For utilitarian purposes, the photograph could far outdo the engraving which it displaced. Because the photograph lent an appearance of heightened impartiality, above that of the engraving, and because it could capture more "reality" in less time than the engraving had been able to do, one writer for the Spanish press remarked that "esparcida la fotografía, será con respecto al grabado, lo que el periódico es al libro."<sup>96</sup> But as the above example from The Edinburgh Review, among so many others, shows, the photograph not only captured an inexhaustible reality; it also achieved iconicity, in comparison with the media it subsumed, and thus became a continual revelation of the Real. One wonders, then, if it was not precisely this simultaneous ability to satisfy a Romantic esthetic of

<sup>95</sup>"Photogenic Drawing, or Drawing by the Agency of Light," in LXXVI, No. 154 (January 1843), p. 330.

<sup>96</sup>"Las maravillas de la ciencia," in Eco Literario de Europa, III (1852), p. 525.

contemporaneity by the achievement of news, and to achieve iconicity, that might have led Azorín to say that "el cine es lo presente; ejerce la tiranía de lo actual. En su consecuencia, es antihistórico. No acaban de satisfacer nunca--por diestramente que estén hechas--las películas históricas. La arqueología nos repele en el cine."<sup>97</sup>

<sup>97</sup>El efímero cine (Madrid, 1955), p. 13. Azorín has remarked, also, that the film is victim of the moment it has captured (El cine y el momento [Madrid, 1953], p. 12).

VI: THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE MEDIUM AND MODES OF  
TYPIFICATION

Studies of the genre of literary types show that there is in fact a correspondence between medium and literary kind. So it is of special interest that Américo Castro found that the first characterization of the Spaniard, by a Spaniard (Alonso de Cartagena, Bishop of Burgos), appeared in the year 1434, that is, shortly before the arrival of the printing press in Spain.<sup>1</sup> The Bishop's typification, taken as an example of a perceptual mode and as a manifestation of the need to express that view, foretold the technological standardization of written forms. His remarks represented, in one sense, a departure from the relative tonal variety of the spoken (or even the hand-written) word, and, in another sense, the growing need for an ordered vision of man under a religious and social order that was centralistic. Wylie Sypher has astutely pointed out that a novelistic art which is contrived from the fixed point of view may be, in one sense, "a way of supporting a social order," and his speculation is consistent with the argument offered here, that lineality of vision, which is manifest in the standardization of written forms, can be associated with the presentation of man's consistent nature.<sup>2</sup> But just as the standardization

<sup>1</sup>The Structure of Spanish History, originally España en su historia (1948), trans. Edmund L. King (Princeton, 1954), pp. 11-12.

<sup>2</sup>Literature and Technology: The Alien Vision (New York, 1968), p. 107. Also, in this regard, Blanchard W. Bates points out that around the year 1650, the turning out of util-

of print can be associated with the need to find consistent nature in man, so does the removal of syntactical order from print mark the early stages of a vision of man as variable and particularized in character; thus, the importance of Edward Chauncey Baldwin's argument that the progression in the English character sketch between 1608 and 1642, from the moral essay (Joseph Hall) to the character (Sir Thomas Overbury) to the biographical sketch (Thomas Fuller), the last a highly particularized form in comparison with the rest, paralleled the expansion of periodical publication.<sup>3</sup> Whereas the consecutiveness common to book technology encouraged the logically discursive presentation of character, the information yielded in the course of discursive habit necessitated

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itarian digests that permitted mere brief notices was one factor that influenced literary portraiture (Literary Portraiture in the Historical Narrative of the French Renaissance [New York, 1945], p. 43). Ernest A. Baker's comment to the effect that continuity of action was the only thing lacking in the eighteenth-century Spectator and Tatler to make them novels of manners was, in effect, a comment upon the state of literary mediation at the juncture of the technically perfected book and augmented periodical publication (The History of the English Novel: The Elizabethan Age and After [London, 1937], p. 254). Marshall McLuhan has commented upon this particular question at some length: "The famous Tatler and Spectator of Addison and Steele discovered a new prose technique to match the form of the printed word. It was the technique of equitone. It consisted in maintaining a single level of tone and attitude to the reader throughout the entire composition. By this discovery, Addison and Steele brought written discourse into line with the printed word and away from the variety of pitch and tone of the spoken, and of even the hand-written word. This way of bringing language into line with print must be clearly understood" (Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man [McGraw-Hill; rpt. New York, 1964], p. 184).

<sup>3</sup>"The Relation of the Seventeenth-Century Character to the Periodical Essay," in PMLA, XIX, No. 1 (1904), pp. 75-114. See, also, Benjamin Boyce, The Polemic Character, 1640-1661 (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1955), pp. 3-4.



that the literary physiognomy eventually should become a more emblematical prose form, consonant both with less discursive language and with the medium which best presented information in an epigraphic fashion. Thus, the Baconian essay, exhibiting the effort to order both expression and perception of reality, relied upon epitome as a principal linguistic device; and it was for this reason that Sir Thomas Overbury, and likewise the many members of the Royal Society of London who were enthusiasts of Bacon, could associate the semiotic Real Character with the emblematic Egyptian hieroglyphic. Thus, Overbury defined the Character with his phrase "in little comprehending much" (see Baldwin, pp. 75-76). Literary and linguistic developments such as this reflect the workings of man's philosophical mind at the same time that they reflect the nature of literature and language, as both Benjamin Boyce and David Novarr have indicated.<sup>4</sup>

Philosophy and science are no less a result than they are a cause, so, ideally, we should consider the use of scientific forms for representational purposes and the perceptual changes corresponding to these forms as simultaneous phenomena. But

<sup>4</sup>"One gathers that [in the seventeenth century] the habit of seeing men as types must have been firmly established in the English mind as pedagogical persistence could make it" (Boyce, The Theophrastan Character in England to 1642 [Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1947], p. 49). See, also, ed. David Novarr, Seventeenth-Century Prose (New York, 1967), pp. 30-31: "It is difficult to evaluate the interplay between the character and biography because the character, though it started as a relatively fixed genre, was not only fiercely exploited but also became a habitual mode of thought."

it is convenient to treat of these forms and changes separately, in order to better explain their relationship. In the development of print technology, physiognomics was given literary expression through changing scientific and linguistic forms that could satisfy to express greater and greater quantities of particularized detail, since these forms had to surmount the difficulties implicit in the expression of the analytic perception, which had grown conjointly with bookish specialization. And, in this way, these scientific and linguistic representational means lent new significance to the traditional meaning of man while they altered literary fashion. Two centuries after Bacon and Overbury, the letter, for example, which had been a favored literary form during the Enlightenment, could hardly compete with the comparably democratized voice and media of the Romantic period. The letter was newly perceived as one man's deceitful mask, at least according to L. M. de Larra (presumably Luis Mariano de Larra): "Una carta es un editor responsable de nuestras mentiras. Hay personas que todavía se ruborizan cuando mienten hablando, y encomiendan el encargo a un papel. Una carta no se ruboriza, miente a mansalva, es un escudo impenetrable a las flechas de los enemigos."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup>"Las cartas," in Museo de las Familias, X (May 25, 1852), p. 115. Not many years earlier, El Instructor had praised a new publication, El espejo de señoritas, for its "preceptos más esenciales para la correspondencia epistolar en todos sus estilos" (the review of the publication, in I, No. 2 [February 1834], pp. 47-48).

New scientific and linguistic forms not only helped to alter literary fashions; they also helped man to view himself as different, since he could see himself through new perceptual means. For the definition of literary character, the heightened analytical vision that standardizing forms of technology and language both permitted and encouraged made gesture more significant than geste. Thematically understood, this meant an understatement of literary heroics of a more traditional sort and an increasingly particularistic approach to the character and his ambience. Accordingly, John Graham has noticed, in the course of his studies on the relationship between the findings of Johann Kaspar Lavater and literary trends, that although "some form of physiognomics has always been a part of man's quest for understanding," before the 1770's, "even if writers limited themselves to reading character by the face alone, few made (or, if they made, followed) the very important distinctions between inherited and acquired characteristics or between the habitual expression [physiognomy] and the passing one [pathognomy]." But by the end of the eighteenth century, "a major change had occurred: neither act nor word was necessary for people to understand each other since the heroes and heroines needed only a fragment to grasp another's total reality. Character could be revealed by a single note."<sup>6</sup> These observations

<sup>6</sup>John Graham found that in the latter half of the eighteenth century the concentration in novels upon the exterior of actions gave way to the search for inner man, which necessitated the particular, concrete detail as an individuating factor by which to present the literary character: "The use

could be extended to point to a philosophical rivalry between those who continued to view man as the epitome of a metaphysical essence and the growing number of moderns who viewed man's nature as a composite of biologically determined and related functions, since the work of the physiognomists and their successors in the natural sciences, and the adaptation of these modes of understanding to literature, were, as Professor Graham says, "manifestations of broader principles."

The truth of the matter is that Lavater's brand of physiognomics was refuted before Lavater was popularly known in Spain. The case in question is Feijóo, who distinguished between a false science of physiognomics, represented by Lavater, and a true science of physiognomics, which insisted upon the observation of alternating passional states, rather than upon man's constant passional nature; then, in the century following, Patricio de la Escosura devised a thesis novel specifically to resolve this dichotomy in the opinions concerning customs in general.<sup>7</sup> The constant re-evaluation of nature to

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of physiognomy was encouraged as part of the search for meaning behind the physical, for value in the concrete object" ("Character Description and Meaning in the Romantic Novel," in Studies in Romanticism, V, No. 4 [Summer 1966], pp. 208-210). See other helpful studies by Professor Graham on the subject: "Lavater's Physiognomy: A Checklist," in The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, LV, No. 4 (October-December 1961), pp. 297-308; "Lavater's Physiognomy in England," in Journal of the History of Ideas, XXII, No. 4 (October-December 1961), pp. 561-572.

<sup>7</sup>See Gregorio Marañón, Las ideas biológicas del Padre Feijóo (Madrid, 1934), pp. 230-235. See, also, Escosura's Estudios históricos sobre las costumbres españolas (Madrid, 1851), published in serial form in the Semanario Pintoresco Español (1850), and in two other periodicals of Barcelona,

the degree that, although the type might indeed exist on the level of perception, the representation of the type was subject to infinite change, exemplified a particularistic view of the uniformitarian world, as one writer of the Romantic period showed in the course of his analysis of Napoleon's character: "La fisonomía de todos los hombres recibe de sus costumbres, de su vida, de su educación, de la dirección de su pensamiento, del ejercicio de sus facultades, de la naturaleza de sus pasiones, de su posición social y de las varias funciones en fin de que se hallan revestidos, ciertas modificaciones que la cambian casi enteramente, concluyendo por

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one of which was the Revista Barcelonesa (1847), and also in Spanish, in a periodical of Paris, all three of these prior to the publication in the Semanario. Long after Feijóo, but coincidentally with Escosura's novel, Antonio Rotondo translated into Spanish La fisonomía, o sea El arte de conocer a sus semejantes por las formas exteriores; Extractado de las mejores obras de Lavater (Madrid: Mellado); see the reference to this work in the "Extracto del catálogo general de los libros de fondo y de surtido y de las publicaciones del establecimiento de Mellado," in Monitor del Comercio, I, No. 6 (December 30, 1861), p. 4. This publication is relatively insignificant, in the light of the fifty-five versions and translations by the year 1810 (see Graham, "Checklist"). Immediately after this translation of Lavater, Antonio María Esquivel published his Tratado de anatomía pictórica (Madrid, 1848), which took into account the studies of Lavater (selection by ed. Enrique Pardo Canalís, in Revista de Ideas Estéticas, XVII, No. 67 [1959], pp. 251-272). I find no mention, on the other hand, of Lavater in the knowledgeable "Fisiología pictórica [sic]: Noticia de los fragmentos que han quedado de un curso de esta ciencia que estaba escribiendo el doctor Fiol, médico de Mallorca," in El Europeo, II, Nos. 7-9 (February 21, 28, March 6, 1824), pp. 210-222, 238-246, 274-284. See, also: Dr. Calvo y Martín (presumably Dr. José Calvo y Martín), "Sobre el arte de conocer a los hombres," in El Laberinto, I, No. 7 (February 1, 1844), pp. 85-87; M. Herrero García, "Los rasgos físicos y el carácter según los textos españoles del siglo XVII," in Revista de Filología Española, XII, No. 2 (April-June 1925), pp. 157-177.

imprimir en ella un nuevo tipo."<sup>8</sup> With the introduction of pathognomic distinctions in the definition of character, such as those distinctions which Feijóo used to oppose Lavater, a concept of homogeneity that did not admit the superiority of the unique feature or of the individual, in contrast to the type, would lose validity. And ultimately, theoretically speaking, every unpredictable sign of every individual character demanded instantaneous record.

The thematic emphasis upon gesture and inner man signaled not only a general perceptual shift among the reading public, but also a new representational need for the writer. Analytical physiognomics, a more empirical vision of human character than its forerunner and a phenomenon that coincided with the logicality fostered in the course of book technology, came to require, for the transmittal of this new quantity of analytical data, a more incorporative, instantaneous medium than that which fostered it. Of course, this new thematic emphasis and its representational requirement had their analogue in the area of linguistic theory. In Spain, Pedro Felipe Monlau must have had in mind the departure from an erstwhile synthetic language toward a rational language of analysis (which

<sup>8</sup>"El semblante de Napoleón," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, I, No. 9 (May 29, 1836), p. 78. The idea had its counterpart in a perceptual esthetic expressed by Diderot; see the paraphrase by Tomás García Luna ("Reflexiones sobre la teoría de la belleza," in Revista de Madrid, 3rd Ser., II [1841], pp. 45-46): "Unos mismos signos adquieren diversos valores según son las ideas que representan. . . . Una misma fisonomía espresa ideas diversas a los ojos de distintos individuos."

corresponded, respectively, with geste and gesture), when he spoke before the Real Academia (June 29, 1859), on the transformation of the romano language into romance; in this regard, he told of the progressive infringement upon rules of syntax during the passing from Latin, which was gramatical y correcto, to the lengua anárquica that was romance.<sup>9</sup> We must not think in terms of a corrupción of language, said Monlau, but rather in terms of a descomposición, for "ese romance que hoy se lee con la risa en los labios y se califica de jerigonza, se construyó por leyes providenciales, con un instinto gramatical admirable, y siguiendo analogías que suponen mucha sagacidad" (p. 324). It was Monlau's belief that:

El principal fenómeno que aparece en la transformación de las lenguas, en la edad histórica, es, en efecto, el movimiento progresivo que las lleva de la juventud a la edad viril, de la imaginación a la claridad, de la síntesis al análisis, de la cantidad a la acentuación. Contrapuesta a nuestros procedimientos lógicos, la naturaleza hace proceder el análisis por una síntesis confusa: en el período de espontaneidad, el juicio se manifiesta antes que la idea aislada, la proposición antes que sus términos, la frase antes que la palabra, la oración antes que sus partes. A toda lengua antigua y sintética sucede un idioma vulgar que, más bien que lengua distinta, es una edad o fase diferente de la que la ha precedido, y que, separando lo que la primera juntaba, atropellando sus mecanismos para dar a cada idea y a cada relación su signo aislado, corresponde

<sup>9</sup>"Discurso del Ilmo. Sr. D. . . .," in Discursos leídos en las recepciones públicas que ha celebrado desde 1847 la Real Academia Española, II (Madrid, 1860), p. 321.

a un progreso de análisis y a una necesidad cada vez más imperiosa de pronta comprensión (p. 325; my underscoring).

Significantly, Monlau's view of language as evolutionary, from a state of synthesis toward analytical process, ended in a vision of synthetical semiology, that is, again, a spontaneous language of synthesis. The analytical view, in order to be thoroughly represented within the limitations of any system of signs, required that that system should work toward synthetical representation that might adequately stand for the diverse information that resulted from the analytical vision.

The instantaneous delivery of representational detail, which a literary expression of analytical physiognomics required, appeared with greater frequency in the more iconic media, in other words, in those media which underplayed lineal temporality. In comparison with the book, the periodical of graphic content was apt for these ends. Tending to be a less lettered form than the book, the periodical diminished expressive logicality, more common to the book, by rendering to the printed medium less obvious relationships among elements of information. In periodical articulation, temporal relationships grew less essential to perception of meaning and, in fact, could even hinder it, for the simultaneous appearance of the literary type was an aspect of its realism and indistinguishable from its total significance. The less analytical expression that the periodical exemplified (especially later, with its applied telegraphy and technologized engraving, or



even photography) was one which effectively satisfied, by synthetical mediation, a need established with the growth of analytical information. Paradoxically, the expressive forms themselves, technological or literary, which answered to this need, created further needs in the same direction, thus prompting the technical perfection of themselves in order to maintain the pace of their own contribution to the world of particularistic diversity. This may be what Geoffrey H. Hartman means by his appropriate remark, in other words, that "past novelists did not have to 'keep up' with life. Change and novelty, before the industrial and technological revolutions, were rejected rather than accepted a priori. Despite this particular conservatism, art has always fostered larger perceptions; and the contemporary novel merely continues its general momentum toward a freer human sensibility."<sup>10</sup>

So analytical contextuality, which any highly articulated portrait is called upon to represent, naturally appeared in the nineteenth-century periodical; nevertheless, technical advancement in the periodicalization of the press would, on the level of expression, show up as synthesizing, rather than analytical, effects. And these effects, naturally, diminished after a time the apparency of syntacticality in prose style. Analysis and synthesis, as alternative modes of perception and consequent artistic expression, constituted an artistic dilemma

<sup>10</sup>"The Heroics of Realism," in Yale Review, LIII, No. 1 (October 1963), p. 27.

for the literary artist of types, just as they constituted a philosophical dilemma for the French rationalists. The dilemma was graphically epitomized and phrased outstandingly in one of the most important books of literary types to appear in the Romantic period: "The utter and confounding contradictions that are to be met with, not merely in the same class of persons, but in the same character, will also be recognized as creative of a perplexity in the execution of such an attempt as this, that asks indulgence; and the unwillingness to spoil what has the chance of becoming 'a picture,' by a too rigid and literal adherence to the lines of the original, will also be allowed for as a natural feeling in artists as well as writers."<sup>11</sup> A curious engraving at the end of this same preface to the second volume of Heads shows a ball of jumbled, caricatured heads. Certain of the facial features of some heads form the facial features of other heads in the ball, thereby rendering a drawing reminiscent of the way in which the traditional eighteenth-century English literary portrait was sketched; that is, the drawing resembled

<sup>11</sup>Heads of the People: or Portraits of the English Drawn by Kenny Meadows. With Original Essays by Distinguished Writers, II (London, 1841), p. iv. The indirect influence of this book on the Spanish artists of types is universally recognized. W. S. Hendrix ("Notes on Collections of Types, a Form of Costumbrismo," in Hispanic Review, I, No. 3 [July 1933], pp. 211-212) cited the fifteen-volume Livre des cent-et-un (Paris, 1831-1834) as the first "grouping of a large number of cuadros de costumbres, written by different authors, into one collection, and Heads of the People as the "first-known nineteenth-century collection of genuine type studies." The latter was printed in book form (London, 1840-1841), but first appeared in fascicles, and, unlike the Livre des cent-et-un, it was "the first modern collection of types to be illustrated."

Lavater's portraits, in which features customarily bore the same stamp. However, the jumbled heads differed significantly from Lavater's portraits, insofar as the latter were lineally distinguishable, rather than confused. So it is, perhaps, at this stage of literary and graphic typification that the evolutionary view of man shifts to one of anomaly, as the preface to the second volume of Heads indicates. The ball of heads, which serves as an epigraphic representation of the collection of types in the book that follows, signifies by implication that any delineation of personalities behind the caricatures must come from the verbal content of the written pages contained therein; for without the aid of the more rationally articulated verbal medium, the jumbled heads would have, certainly, no other meaning apart from their significance as lack of particularized representation.

Although physiognomics relies upon abstraction for its expression, the type, inevitably subject to rational discourse and self-definition, out of necessity comes to explain away its own emblemization. In so doing, synthetic literary physiognomics yields to portraiture, a principle that was depicted more and more frequently while the literature of types was assimilated by Spain's reading public. A graphic depiction of two women, which appeared in the Museo de las Familias, serves to illustrate precisely this trend.<sup>12</sup> Each of the

<sup>12</sup>"Las amistades de salón: La palabra y el pensamiento," in XII (October 1834), p. 240. The particularization of the borrowed literary type was a subject of Erich Auerbach's essay entitled "The Faux Dévot," (in Mimesis: The Representa-

women is subdivided into a series of three beings, and the six figures confront each other in the following diagrammatic way:  $A_2-A_1-A--B-B_1-B_2$ . Accompanying the graphic is a brief dialogue telling what the corresponding figures are saying to each other. The four sub-figures utter unfavorable, but truthful, opinions concerning their correspondents, while the two figures in the foreground (A and B) are false flatterers. (Of course, only reader and author, not A and B, know of the existence of the four sub-figures and what their true opinions are.) The graphic suggests the superficiality of physiognomic typification and the vanity of language, for all its typed rhetoric and diction, a topic to which rationalists like Destutt de Tracy attributed increasing importance at the turn of the eighteenth century, and which was postulated in the Monitor del Comercio at mid-century: "Mientras más se repite un movimiento cualquiera, con más facilidad es ejecutado y es menos percibido."<sup>13</sup> A and B acquire personality only once they have contradicted vain language and appearance, that is, by offering contextual alternatives to their apparent selves. The spatial extensions of the figures in the graphic allow us to understand that truth begins where the vanity of language ceases, in  $A_1$  and

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tion of Reality in Western Literature, trans. Willard Trask [Berne, 1946; Princeton, 1953; Garden City, New York, n. d.], pp. 316-347), in which Auerbach compared characterization by Molière to that by La Bruyère.

<sup>13</sup>"Influencias físicas sobre el espíritu," in I, No. 2 (October 30, 1861), p. 3.

B<sub>1</sub>, in inner man, that is, at the first sign of self-contradiction, where perception beyond facial and verbal superficiality was first made possible. Once superficial physiognomics is articulated, through multiple and contextual meanings, it can stand for personality. It was not, usually, a linguistic contextuality of the self that the physiognomist meant to affirm; nor was it always a question of the social contextuality of man, which we also have depicted in "Amistades." Often, the physiognomist (sometimes in semi-seriousness) attempted to establish relationships between the physiognomies of animals and men, a procedure which involved speculations concerning the biological contextuality of man; meanwhile, these speculations remained comfortably within the procedural bounds of the eighteenth-century naturalists.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Explanatory articles appeared in the popular press: the review of Manuel González Vara's translation from the 3rd French edition (Jocó: Episodio sacado de las cartas inéditas sobre el instinto de los animales), in Cartas Españolas, IV, Cuaderno 34 (January 12, 1832), pp. 59-60; "Fisiología humana: De la estatura," in El Dómine Lucas, No. 5 (August 1, 1844), p. 34. See, also: "El hombre desciende hacia el bruto. El animal se eleva hacia el hombre," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, 3rd Ser., I, No. 33 (August 13, 1843), pp. 260-261, where the evolutionary process indicated in the title is graphically depicted; "Lo que puede parecer un rostro," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, 3rd Ser., II, No. 42 (October 20, 1844), p. 336, wherein the classic profile is progressively altered (by [Jean Ignace Isidore Gérard] Grandville), at each stage retaining certain former features, to become in the end the profile of a frog; "Los perros y sus amos," in Museo de las Familias, 2nd Ser., XVIII (1860), pp. 239-240, in which dogs are sketched to have the physiognomic aspect of their masters. In France, Louis Huart wrote his Muséum Parisien: Histoire Physiologique, Pittoresque, Philosophique et Grotesque de toutes les bêtes curieuses de Paris et de La Banlieue pour faire suite à toutes les éditions des oeuvres de M. de Buffon (Paris, 1841), with vignettes by Grandville, "Gavarni" (pseud. for Guillaume

In "Las amistades de salón," the growth of standardized character is depicted visibly in proportion as speech is particularized, and thus "Amistades" is more than just another caricaturesque physiognomic drawing; instead, it employs physiognomic principle in order to imply the lack of substantiality in the blind acceptance of superficial behavior, that is, human nature which is not perceived as potentially variable. In other words, the Museo graphic employed rationalism, a philosophical mode corresponding rather to the print lineality of the book than to the spontaneous aspect of technologized graphic art, in order to ridicule the effect that rationalism ultimately yielded, the disguise of the self through vain language. But such mixtures of traditional procedures with technological means that point to changes in traditional procedures are not at all uncommon at historical junctures where one technology overtakes another. The graphic in question was, for expressive as well as practical reasons, being technologically applied in order to dissolve the mask of syntactical verbal structures; it afforded print the capacity to depict as great a quantity of information as possible in the smallest possible space of the printed format. And, if we agree with Edmund Carpenter ("printing rendered illegible the faces of men [since] so much could be read from paper that the method of conveying meaning by facial expres-

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Sulpice Chevalier), [Monoré Victorin] Daumier, [Charles Joseph] Traviès [de Villers], Henri Monnier, and Lécœur, for the purpose of characterizing men according to their animalistic appearances.

sion fell into desuetude"), then our Museo graphic might be considered as an unfavorable commentary by one medium upon that which it abetted and, in part, subsumed.<sup>15</sup> José Fernández Bremón's prologue to the compilation of Spanish pseudonyms prepared by Eugenio Hartzzenbusch e Hiriart (pseud. "Maxiriarth") provides further indication of the accuracy of Carpenter's and McLuhan's observations.<sup>16</sup> Fernández Bremón declared that the (written) name had come to have, in the nineteenth century, more importance as a means of identification than it had had in times past. For this reason, he said, the masking of identity by the pseudonym was indeed a source of public irritation, but the only lawful means by which the writer could truly hide his civil status. Fernández Bremón's unassuming, but important, prologue confirms the continued intensification of visual logicity in an age when the periodical was the source of written knowledge for the majority of readers. So, this apparent contradiction of increasingly generalized reading practice is a just indication

<sup>15</sup>"The New Languages," in Explorations in Communication, eds. Edmund Carpenter and Marshall McLuhan (1959; rpt. Boston, 1968), p. 170. Carpenter's observation is consonant with Marshall McLuhan's idea that the "visual and highly literate culture" is trained to know the individual by the name, not by the face, and all the more thoroughly if the name can actually be perceived in print or orally spelled out (Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man [McGraw-Hill; rpt. New York, 1964], p. 44).

<sup>16</sup>Unos cuantos pseudónimos de escritores españoles con sus correspondientes nombres verdaderos, rev. ed. (Madrid, 1904), pp. vi-vii. The number of pseudonyms employed by Spain's nineteenth-century writers is overwhelming. Hartzzenbusch's collection represents only a small portion of those used during this period.

of the persistence of book technology's influence, even during a reorientation of man's senses by technological forms of more spontaneous mediation than was the book.

The degree in which physiognomic expression will be significant depends in part upon the particular sensorial orientation of the perceiver, and for the highly lettered man, unarticulated physiognomics probably has less meaning than does analytical physiognomics. Carpenter's assertion--"printing rendered illegible the faces of men"--then, is supported by the historical fact of an increasingly scientific approach to the relatively simple physiognomics that had troubled Feijóo. And the newer approach to physiognomics was coincidental in Spain with the rise of periodical technology, which was technically perfected in order to satisfy as an ever more adequate representational means. In still another sense, there was a perceptual need for Maxiriarth's compilations. The widespread rush of periodical technology in Spain trained man's perception for the adequate understanding of both its own format and its subject, and this perceptual reorientation must not be taken for granted. It is the search for the descriptive means adequate for the representation of variable nature, not just the means alone, that is manifest in the literature of types. And it is in this genre, perhaps more than in any other, that abstraction is problematically elaborated in the direction of individualization.

Especially after the popularization of craneoscopy and



phrenology, both of which were applications of analytical method, the contextuality of man's inner nature with all things once apparently external to the essential self gained emphasis. Thus, although the character of the individual might be abstracted for encyclopedic or classificatory representation, the scientist and writer had, sooner or later, to articulate the variability of individual nature. The French, more than the British or the Spanish, it appears, were eager to aver this variability. The French literary physiologie was defined by the British in a lengthy review of Les Français Peints par eux-mêmes (1840-1842), and since this review was later translated into Spanish, it is highly useful for a comparative understanding of prose types in all three languages.<sup>17</sup> "The term Physiology," the reviewer said, "includes every light in which a subject can be placed, with all its relations" (p. 119) ("La palabra Fisiología . . . incluye todas las fases en que se puede contemplar un asunto con todas sus relaciones" [p. 98]). The British reviewer thought that the French types were "occasionally overdrawn," but he did remark, also, both on the surprising scientific comprehensiveness of the collection as a whole (nine volumes) and on the particularity of the depiction, which pertained to

<sup>17</sup>In The Edinburgh Review, LXXVIII (July 1843), pp. 114-156; the Spanish translation, signed "L. R." and entitled "París y los franceses pintados por ellos mismos," in Revista de España, de Indias y del Extranjero (1845), pp. 92-155. Notice that the Spanish translation of the review appeared after the publication of Spain's own Los españoles pintados por sí mismos (1843-1844).

France alone.<sup>18</sup>

The examples of the ball of heads, "Amistades," and sundry physiognomic series all imply that even where there may be a distinction there is not, necessarily, a basic difference, a fact which the English and the Spanish were more ready to abide by than the French, whom the former two accused of analyzing to the point of recognizing an essential difference upon perceiving the slightest variation from the norm. "There is such a thing, however," continued the reviewer, "as a distinction without a difference; and on looking more minutely into these portraits and Physiologies, we arrive at pretty nearly the same result to which we have occasionally been brought by the careful study of the carte at Very's, or the Café de Paris; namely, that the French have a wonderful knack at giving a false, or at all events exaggerated, notion of the extent of their resources, and are as prone to exercise it in book-making as in cookery" (p. 119). Even for some Spaniards attentive to, and sympathetic toward, French rationalism, the French position was too extremely nominalistic. Jaime Balme, for example, believed that even where interpretation could vary, there was in language, just as there was

<sup>18</sup>The opinion of The Edinburgh Review was not unique. In Spain, the anonymous reviewer of Antonio Flores' Doce espafloles de brocha gorda (Madrid, 1846) commented that many of the sketches which had appeared in Los espafloles pintados por sí mismos (to which volumes Flores himself contributed five sketches) had not been purely representative, and that some of the sketches were too specialized in their depiction (see Semanario Pintoresco Espafol, No. 41 [October 8, 1848], p. 324).

in physiognomics, a common ground on which particularized interpretation had to yield to significant universals:

El análisis a la manera de Condillac es insuficiente, y aun dañoso; porque empeñado en aislarlo todo, lo desconcierta y lo corta todo. Pero el método seguido por otros escritores, que consiste en no definir nada, en no fijar nada, en no tomarse la pena de aclarar el sentido de las palabras más importantes, mirarlo todo en grupo, ensanchando de tal manera las cuestiones que todo lo abarquen aun lo más remoto del objeto de que se trata, es otro exceso condenado por la razón y el buen sentido, y que puede conducir las ciencias y las letras a un verdadero caos. . . . El mejor medio de dar con la verdad . . . cuando se trata de saber el verdadero significado de alguna palabra, es atenerse al sentido que comunmente se le da no precisamente en la esfera científica sino entre la generalidad de los hombres. Porque conviene no perder de vista que quien determina el sentido de las palabras hasta en sus más delicadas diferencias, hasta en sus más imperceptibles modificaciones; no son los sabios, sino el común de los que hablan la lengua. Hay en esto un fenómeno singular que hasta raya en misterioso, pero cuya existencia es indudable para quien se haya dedicado alguna vez a ese linaje de observaciones. Las palabras tales como se las emplea comunmente, encierran un fondo de verdad y de exactitud que asombra.<sup>19</sup>

Some Spanish Romantic authors and critics thought of the physiologically determined characterization as consti-

<sup>19</sup>"Instituto Histórico de París," in *La Civilización*, II (1842), pp. 484, 487; article dated thus: "París 20 de junio de 1842." Balme's discussion here concerned a speech given by Francisco Martínez de la Rosa, a member in residence of the Parisian Institute.

tutive of a genre lesser than that which made of the literary personage a representation of the metaphysical ideal. José de la Revilla, for example, wanted Spain to close her doors to "las inspiraciones sensuales de Dumas, y [abrir] al espiritualismo"; Revilla spoke of "el hombre como simple máquina movida por la combinación artística de sus órganos" common to the characters of the contemporary French theatre and novel.<sup>20</sup> As we have already observed, in reference to the commentary by Nicomedes Pastor Díaz concerning Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda's Sab (see Chapter I, note 5), the tendency in France to analytically represent character complemented the social fact of that country's increasingly homogeneous bourgeoisie. Whatever initial reticence was shown in Spain for overdelineation, (by the same token, however increasingly less was the French tendency to depict the metaphysical rather than the physiological value in the literary character), the circumstantially determined character gained ground in England and in Spain, as it had done in France. Ramón (de) Satorres marked Spain's own vacillating affirmation of particularities that lay beneath superficial appearances:

Entre nosotros, hubo [misterios] hasta del Escorial, que por cierto son los misterios menos misteriosos que se han visto desde los antiguos de los egipcios y de otras religiones paganas. Antes de los misterios, Balzac entronizó

<sup>20</sup>See the "Introducción" to the Museo de las Familias, I (January 25, 1843), p. 4.

la afición a las fisiologías. Todos los caracteres fueron fisiologiadados, y esta parte de la medicina se hizo tan popular, y se puso tan al alcance de la gente lega, que ya no había patán que no se atreviese a bosquejar en cuatro trazos la fisiología de su mujer y de sus chiquillos, y la del cura de su pueblo, y hasta la del campanario de la iglesia de su pueblo, que a tanto llegaba el poder de la fisiología, y de tal modo se creían sabios los iniciados en esta ciencia suprema.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup>"Revista de Madrid," in El Correo de Ultramar, XIII, No. 62 (1854), p. 154. It would be futile to attempt, here, a bibliography for the Spanish fisiología. Margarita Ucelay Da Cal (Los españoles pintados por sí mismos, 1843-1844: Estudio de un género costumbrista [Mexico, 1951], pp. 78-80, 100) supplies a partial listing of the genre in France, England, and Spain. For a brief history of the popular misterios in Spain, see the following: those mentioned by Satorres, above; the long list compiled by Rafael Benítez Claros (Antonio Flores: Una visión costumbrista del siglo XIX [Santiago de Compostela, 1955], pp. 110-112), whose book includes a reprint of the romance by Ramón de Mesonero Romanos entitled "Los misterios de Madrid" (from Escenas matritenses); the major translation by Antonio Flores, Los misterios de París escritos en francés por M. Eugenio Sue, y traducidos al castellano por . . ., I-X (Madrid, 1844), and the same author's minor piece entitled "Los misterios de Chamberí: Novela escrita por sí sola, y traducida por ella misma," in El Laberinto, I, No. 19 (August 1, 1844), pp. 262-264; the publisher's (Francisco de Paula Mellado) various announcements in the periodical La Crónica concerning the published translation of Sue's Mystères (March-August 1845), and of the projected Spanish translation by Fereal (possibly V. de Fereal [see addendum to Semanario Pintoresco Español, No. 52 (1849)]) entitled Misterios de la Inquisición in the reviews of the first serial issue of the original French (in No. 7 [November 17, 1844], p. 49); sections of a translation by Campos entitled Los misterios de Rusia, in Revista de España, de Indias y del Extranjero, IV (1845), pp. 300-321; a brief chronology entitled "Misterios," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, 3rd Ser., II, No. 54 (August 25, 1844), p. 272. I would add to these lists two titles: Alfonso García Tejero, Madrid de noche: Cuadros sociales, dramas y misterios contemporáneos: Novela . . . (Madrid, 1863); Auguste Maquet and Etienne Énault, Los misterios de la conciencia, trans. Marcial Busquets (Barcelona and Madrid, 1863), which includes La rosa blanca and Didier, both by Maquet, and Máximo, by Énault.

While the highly articulated analytical approaches to questions of human nature contributed to the pluralization of the material world, and made of man a plurality difficult to express in an abstract way, the periodical press, the engraving, and the telegraph, as technological examples, permitted the artist increasingly incorporative representation of his new reality. In popularized literature, the type served as the synthesizing sign which, on the level of expression, could simplify the plurality to which analytical physiognomics itself contributed. Conveniently for us, there exists the synonymatic distinction by a costumbristic writer himself, Manuel Bretón de los Herreros, to establish the relationship between the literary genre of the type and the more general phenomenon of physiognomic perception:

Fisonomía es propiamente el diverso aspecto de cada cara, según la particularizan la menor o mayor armonía de su conjunto: es lo que constituye el parecido de algunas personas entre sí; y es de notar que a veces hay cierta semejanza entre una cara hermosa y otra desagradable, porque convienen en ciertos rasgos o en el modo de gesticular. Así, de fisonomía, y no de cara, o rostro, o faz, etc., se ha tomado la voz fisonomista, que significa poseer el don de retener en la memoria las facciones de los sujetos a quienes se ha tratado, de compararlas súbitamente con las de otros, y también el de penetrar, sin más que mirarlos, su índole y su carácter.

El semblante es accidental, y por lo mismo variable. Es bueno o malo, alegre o melancólico, adverso o favorable, según el estado de nuestra salud, y según los afectos o pasio-

nes de que estamos poseídos.<sup>22</sup>

One way of achieving a more spontaneous vision of total man, then, was to designate one particular physiognomic feature, or else a single gesture, that was believed to be the most expressive of a more general nature.<sup>23</sup> And to this end the café, for example, was often used as the analogue in the real world to signify maximum synthetical meaning: "Nada hay en el mundo más sintético, más enciclopédico, más omnibús que un café. . . . Los cafés . . . han sido la muerte de las tertulias de confianza."<sup>24</sup>

It was in the nature of knowing and language, however, that from the global view the artist should move toward particulars. The failure of the pseudo-scientific physiognomics found expression on a popular level, for example, in Juan Martínez Villergas' inability to characterize the Puerta del Sol, although he could, in jest, make it the essence of the best of all the world:

<sup>22</sup>From the collection Sinónimos castellanos, in La América, II, No. 6 (May 24, 1858), p. 9; see Chapter II, note 6.

<sup>23</sup>"Las espresiones del ojo" (in El Instructor, III, No. 31 [July 1836], pp. 204-206) and "Fisonomía: La nariz" (in Semanario Pintoresco Español, I, No. 20 [August 14, 1836], pp. 163-165) both articulate the concept of the single, most meaningful physiognomic feature.

<sup>24</sup>Rafael García y Santisteban, "Los cafés," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, No. 51 (December 18, 1853), p. 405. See, also, the article (signed "J. S. de T.") "Fisiología de los cafés," in Revista de España, de Indias y del Extranjero, X (1847), p. 285: "¿Y un café? Un café es una sociedad dentro de otra sociedad, una ciudad dentro de otra ciudad." In Romantic Spain, the diligencia was another commonplace world within world.

Suelen decir los madrileños: lo mejor del mundo Europa, lo mejor de Europa España, lo mejor de España Madrid y lo mejor de Madrid la Puerta del Sol; de donde deducen que la Puerta del Sol es lo mejor del mundo, lo cual no puede afirmarse con tanta seguridad. . . . Es imposible describir todo lo que pasa en la Puerta del Sol; porque en ella sucede lo que en un gran cuadro de mucho mérito, que siempre se presenta el grupo animado del mismo modo a la vista, pero examinado el pormenor, cada vez ofrece nuevas y variadas escenas en que no se reparó la vez primera.<sup>25</sup>

Similarly, upon recognizing that an expression of typification yields to particularization in an age whose perceptual norm is diversitarian, the narrative sequence of José de Castro y Serrano's bird's-eye vision of Madrid had to break down in the amorphous reality of the Rastro.<sup>26</sup> This rationalizing direction is characteristic of most of the articles of types. The commentary by José María Carnerero on one of the most famous works of Ramón de Mesonero Romanos revealed that the precisely defined, knowable constant of today becomes tomorrow's object in need of further explication: "Comparable a una prisma, una ciudad populosa recibe tantos cambios en multitud de objetos, que muchas descripciones exactas hoy dejan de serlo mañana."<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup>"La Puerta del Sol," in El Dómine Lucas, No. 4 (July 1, 1844), pp. 28-29.

<sup>26</sup>"Madrid comercial a vista de pájaro," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, New Ser., II, No. 39 (September 26, 1847), pp. 307-309.

<sup>27</sup>"Carta a un amigo residente en provincia, dándole cuenta de la obra publicada por don Ramón de Mesonero Romanos,



It was, paradoxically, the literature of types that was the best indication of the inherent failing of the synthetic brand of physiognomic expression, for the tradition of this literary genre has shown that no amount of successful abstraction can remain purely so. Furthermore, as E. H. Gombrich has pointed out, the more any representation functions to fulfill a generalizable requisite, the more articulated it grows to be; otherwise, the representation could not substitute for the object in the real world that it depicts, provided that that object is of increasing importance to men.<sup>28</sup> Representation, then, is articulated in proportion

titulada: Manual de Madrid: Descripción de la Corte y de la Villa, in Cartas Españolas, III, Cuaderno 26 (November 22, 1831), p. 169. Carnerero's observation permits us to appreciate the perceptual and linguistic problems underlying the frequent use of the yesterday-today-tomorrow theme that served so many Romantic costumbristic artists, like Ramón de Mesonero Romanos himself, as a structural guide for their compositions (see "Antes, ahora y después," [from Panorama matritense], in Semanario Pintoresco Español, II, No. 88 [December 3, 1837], pp. 376-380). Perhaps the best example of the use of this theme is Antonio Flores' Ayer, hoy y mañana, o La fe, el vapor y la electricidad: Cuadros sociales de 1800, 1850 y 1899 dibujados a la pluma, which was issued on at least five occasions in the later half of the nineteenth century, and of which separate were published in the following periodicals: La América (seven), Monitor del Comercio (four), Museo de las Familias (two), El Correo de Ultramar (one). Rafael Benítez Claros (Antonio Flores: Una visión costumbrista del siglo XIX [Santiago de Compostela, 1955], p. 65) has offered the suggestion that Flores might have derived his idea from Mesonero Romanos' use of the topical theme in the 1851 appendix to his Escenas matritenses, but a survey of costumbristic literature clearly shows that by mid-century the theme was commonplace.

<sup>28</sup>Chapter I ("Meditations on a Hobby Horse, or The Roots of Artistic Form" [1951]) of Meditations on a Hobby Horse and Other Essays on the Theory of Art (1965; rpt. London, 1965), pp. 7-8: "It needed two conditions, then, to turn a stick into our hobby horse: first, that its form made it just

as it supplants important reality, and in the literature of types, the abstracted "minimum image" may persist only as long as it can substitute for the content known to exist in the real world. It is, therefore, in the nature of the book of types to be done with itself, for once written, it has already departed from, and served to alter, the normal image of reality that existed at the start of its composition. This is not, however, meant to signify the failure of the genre; it is, instead, a comment upon the achievement of the genre on the level of language, and upon human nature, so Rosalie L. Colie has remarked: "Either in words or by mirror, re-creation is not a thing that most selves are prepared to endure for long. The re-created self, the separated and objectified self, may turn out, one fears, to do instead of one's self, may replace the original and originating self. The re-created self is a threat to the self."<sup>29</sup> A language of types must, and does, exist in any period. And the frequent and popular examples that appeared time and again in nineteenth-century Spain's popular press, in both graphic and literary

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possible to ride on it; secondly--and perhaps decisively--that riding mattered. . . . If we keep in mind that representation is originally the creation of substitutes out of given material we may reach safer ground. The greater the wish to ride, the fewer may be the features that will do for a horse. But at a certain stage it must have eyes--for how else could it see? At the most primitive level, then, the conceptual image might be identified with what we have called the minimum image--that minimum, that is, which will make it fit into a psychological lock."

<sup>29</sup>Chapter XII ("I am that I am": Problems of Self-reference") of Paradoxia Epidemica: The Renaissance Tradition of Paradox (Princeton, 1966), p. 356.

form, may serve as evidence of the need for these representational substitutes in an era of rapid change of character and the discovery of personality. In this respect, José María Quadrado's seemingly casual observation acquires importance; he said that the nineteenth century, "a fuer de vanidoso y enamorado de sí mismo, huelga de ver retratada su múltiple fisonomía."<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup>Cited by Guillermo Forteza, "Influencia de la novela en las costumbres," in *La América*, IV, No. 19 (December 8, 1860), p. 10. The popularized diversionary projection of the self into the scant information of the abstracted literary or pictorial type may serve as an indication of the veracity of Quadrado's observation. On one occasion, for example, the public was invited to identify the type depicted in the graphic by projecting a character trait for each of the six different sketches of the "Problema fisonómico" (in *Semanario Pintoresco Español*, No. 19 [May 7, 1854], p. 152; the "Solución," p. 168). This procedure was reminiscent of the vogue of reading character from silhouettes, a method popularized by Lavater himself (see E. H. Gombrich, Chapter IV ["On Physiognomic Projection" (1960)] of *Meditations on a Hobby Horse and Other Essays on the Theory of Art* [1963; rpt. London, 1965], p. 45). Another significant example of the projection of particular experience into an abstracted framework may be noted in the case of M. de Latour, Fernán Caballero's spiritual guide and faithful correspondent about esthetic matters; when he wrote to the novelist in 1856, with regard to her novel *La familia de Alvareda*, he had been painstakingly working back into her costumbristic art those elements which he claimed to have discovered in the course of private experience: "Puesto que ha tiempo que no habéis ido al pueblo de Dos Hermanas, me persuado que no os pesará el que os dé noticias de él. Acompañé anteayer en su ida allá a S. A. R. el señor duque de Montpensier, llevando en ancas a La familia de Alvareda. Nada, pues, debía escapármeme en el camino, en la capilla ni en el pueblo. Con la pequeña rectificación del nombre del río, que es el Guadaira y no el Tagarete, la descripción es admirablemente exacta. Vimos la hacienda de doña María, al través de la blancura de su recuperada inocencia; pero ¿cómo es que nada habéis dicho del gigantesco sapote, árbol el que, a pesar de la cal, lo mantiene a aquel antiguo albergue su color secular, su color, no su fisonomía? Dos Hermanas es indudablemente el lugar que habéis descrito" (see the appendix to *La familia de Alvareda: Novela de costumbres populares*, 6th ed. [1939, Madrid, 1960], pp. 119-120; originally published in 1856).

Developments in the field of phrenological study in the first half of the century were widely publicized in Spain's popular press. The Spanish popular reader received one of his earliest lessons in the more analytical approach to human character in the first volume of the Semanario Pintoresco Español.<sup>31</sup> Phrenologists provided a continual subject for dispute in the periodicals. In the beginning the dissenters questioned phrenology's consonance with traditionalist doctrine. Jaime Balms could accept the theories of Mariano Cubí y Soler, Spain's principal propagator of phrenological science, as long as Cubí remained cautious enough not to confuse organ with faculty nor brain with soul.<sup>32</sup> Cubí y Soler

<sup>31</sup>"El Doctor Gall," in No. 26 (September 25, 1836), pp. 211-212. The anonymous report attributed phrenology to Franz Joseph Gall (died 1828), when this branch of study was actually an elaboration on Gall's craniology by Gall's disciple and colleague, Johann Spurzheim (died 1835). See the proper distinction by Salvador Costanzo ("Elogio de la Pereza. Considerada en todas sus relaciones con el bienestar de la sociedad," in Museo de las Familias, 2nd Ser., XVII [1859], pp. 206-213). The Semanario Pintoresco Español reminded the Spanish public that Dr. Gall had not taken his experiments to the grave with him; on the contrary, in England there existed twenty-three societies exclusively dedicated to phrenological study, and phrenology was being taught as a branch of medicine at the University of London (see "De la frenología. Estado de la frenología en Inglaterra," in II, No. 42 [January 15, 1837], pp. 20-22). Tomás Carreras y Artau provides some insight into the corresponding state of affairs at the time in Spain (Médicos-filósofos españoles del siglo XIX [Barcelona, 1952], pp. 56-59, especially); and so does Pedro Laín Entralgo, Historia de la medicina (Barcelona, Valencia, and Lisbon, 1954), pp. 413-416, especially.

<sup>32</sup>"Frenología," in La Sociedad (1843), pp. 24-34; "Estudios frenológicos," ibid., pp. 337-367, 396-410, 449-464. The interesting difference of opinion between Balms and Cubí revolved around the question of eternal laws, which Balms theologically supported, of course; Cubí, on the other hand, at least as Balms understood him, saw men as the vital being in a struggle between animal and religious-moral impulses,

won unreserved praise from Eladio de Gironella ("El Doncel"), who thought of him as a successor to Mesmer, and who even posted Cubí's address and fee in El Dómine Lucas for all who might desire his services.<sup>33</sup> Cubí y Soler was not so successful in the provinces as he was in urban centers, however. The Revista Barcelonesa, which expressed surprise at Balmes' approval of Cubí, however reserved this approval, saw the first issue of the Eco de la Frenología y de sus Escuelas Filosóficas early in 1847, then said it was happy to be able to reprint an article from the Eco that reported the legal prosecution of Cubí in Galicia.<sup>34</sup> Despite the rejection of Cubí in traditionalist Spain, by mid-century, the Semanario Pintoresco Español could announce the resounding triumph of Dr. Gall and Cubí y Soler, and according to this source, there was scarcely anyone in Spain who did not know something about

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which appeared to discredit Balmes' theocentric universe. Both Cubí and Gall wished to maintain the soul-matter distinction in order to guard against such accusations of materialism (see the explication of Gall's studies, by Charles Blondel, La Psycho-Physiologie de Gall: Ses Idées Directrices [Paris, 1913], p. 123).

<sup>33</sup>"Frenología y magnetismo y el Sr. Cubí: Operaciones frenológicas verificadas por el célebre Sr. Cubí," in No. 21 (December 1, 1845), pp. 165-166. Similarly, Ángel Fernández de los Ríos ("Merlín") gave Cubí periodical publicity; he announced in El Siglo Pintoresco ("Revista del mes de diciembre," in I, No. 11 [1845], p. 285) that Cubí y Soler was present in Madrid, giving eighteen consecutive lessons, one of which was on Malthus, in the Liceo Artístico y Literario de Madrid.

<sup>34</sup>"Variedades," in I, No. 25 (January 17, 1847), p. 399; "Frenología: El Señor Cubí encausado," in II, No. 22 (July 4, 1847), pp. 344-346. See, especially, the article signed "R.," entitled "Frenología," in II, No. 1 (February 7, 1847), p. 5.

phrenology.<sup>35</sup>

It was the aim of those scientists who based their studies on craneoscopy to point out the infinite variability of human character, rather than its constant nature, and so it was not the typical characteristic which primarily interested Gall and Spurzheim, even though they did recognize constant nature in man; it was, rather, the particular expression that concerned them: "Il n'y a pas, non plus, un instinct, mais des instincts, un penchant, mais des penchants: 'Il faut admettre autant de dispositions, d'inclinations, de penchants, de désirs, de besoins, de passions, qu'il y a de qualités fondamentales ou primitives,' constatation qui détruit entièrement 'toutes les rêveries des philosophes et des physiologistes sur les instincts, les penchants et les passions.'"<sup>36</sup> With craneoscopy and phrenology the analytical approach to human nature, rather than the former, more intuitive one, was the procedural norm; and this approach changed the characteristics of traditional physiognomics from the way

<sup>35</sup>Emillio Bravo, "Un examen frenológico," in No. 31 (August 3, 1851), pp. 242-244.

<sup>36</sup>Charles Blondel (La Psycho-Physiologie de Gall: Ses Idées Directrices [Paris, 1913], p. 147), quoting from Gall. "Toutes les fois . . . qu'il existe une faculté fondamentale, une force intellectuelle particulière et déterminée, il existe nécessairement aussi une faculté aperceptive pour les objets relatifs à cette faculté" (p. 146). Juan Drument (presumably Dr. Juan Drument y Millet) ("Frenología," in Revista de Madrid, 2nd Ser., I [1839], pp. 512-513) pointed out that Gall, nevertheless, did admit to certain outstanding natural faculties of man which could not be inspired or snuffed out by education or habit.

In which these studies had been carried out prior to the new empiricism. Thus, Antonio María Segovia appropriately noted that whereas Lavater, a physiognomist, studied the mere outward appearance of the face, the phrenologists, like Gall and Spurzheim, would also know the cerebral composition corresponding to given facial aspects.<sup>37</sup> The titles of the two principal works of Gall were amply sufficient to describe this essential distinction between the newer, more analytical physiologie du cerveau and anterior methods of study, Charles Blondel has said (Anatomie et Physiologie du système nerveux en général, et du cerveau en particulier, avec des observations sur la possibilité de reconnaître plusieurs dispositions intellectuelles et morales de l'homme et des animaux, par la configuration de leurs têtes [1810]; Sur les fonctions du cerveau et sur celles de chacune de ses parties, avec des observations sur la possibilité de reconnaître les instincts, les penchants, les talents, ou les dispositions morales et

<sup>37</sup>"Frenología," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, III, No. 137 (November 11, 1838), pp. 770-774. The Semanario pointed out later that the significance of phrenological study was that it permitted a means for understanding causal relationships between external signs and moral sentiment (see "Frenología," in New Ser., I, No. 24 [June 14, 1846], pp. 188-190). Accordingly, the same periodical, shortly after, took opposition against ancient naturalists who said that man, absolutely and relatively speaking, has a larger brain than does any other animal; he concluded that "en la estructura del cerebro humano, en sus relaciones con los nervios y en la organización de estos últimos es donde debe buscarse la explicación material de la superioridad de inteligencia que caracteriza a nuestra especie" ("Cerebro del hombre comparado con el de los demás animales," in No. 3 [January 21, 1849], p. 24; my underscoring).

intellectuelles des hommes et des animaux, par la configuration de leur cerveau et de leur tête [1812]] (see Blondel, Psycho-Physiologie, pp. 41-42). And the distinction between the old physiognomics and the new may easily be seen in Johann Spurzheim's own preface to his book, where he summarized his findings in collaboration with Dr. Gall:

At first indeed, Dr. Gall's chief intention was only to point out the functions of the brain. But, an exact knowledge of the functions of any organic part requires an examination of its structure; for physiology without anatomy is unfounded, while anatomy without physiology is useless. We therefore never separate anatomy and physiology. Moreover, anatomical and physiological inquiries as to the brain have led us to those of the five external senses, and of the nervous system in general. The third kind of investigation is, in a natural order at least, the result of the preceding two. It is founded on the possibility of distinguishing, by external signs, the different degrees of perfection in the nervous parts which are necessary to the manifestations of the special faculties of the mind, and to the activity of these faculties: such investigations are termed physiognomical.<sup>38</sup>

The new physiognomics required an expressive form more satisfactory for the depiction of its increasingly pluralized elements than was the rationalized book format of former decades; this was so, even though the scientific treatment

<sup>38</sup>J. G. Spurzheim, The Physiognomical System of Drs. Gall and Spurzheim; Founded on an Anatomical and Physiological Examination of the Nervous System in General, and of the Brain in Particular; and Indicating the Dispositions and Manifestations of the Mind, 2nd ed. (London, 1815), pp. v-vi.



of man was symptomatic of the logical rationalism coexistent with a high degree of normalization in book technology at the end of the eighteenth century. Thus, the scientific developments in physiognomics posed a significant problem for the artist of types. Less and less could he register abstract moral qualities without finding scientific justification for each of these in the infinitely fractionalized mind and in the relation of its parts to the objective world, as was revealed in Gall's own words and in the words of men who spoke out against the earlier naturalists. As long as the number of organs of interior sensitivity was variable, as long as man's relations with objective reality were variable, there was scarcely any self static enough for definition. This principle was caricaturesquely represented in the Semanario Pintoresco Español, when, "usurpando el dibujante el dominio del poeta y del novelista, [pretendió] hacer con su lápiz el análisis de las ideas fugitivas e incoherentes que pueden atravesar por la imaginación en un momento rápido."<sup>39</sup> Gall's system appealed, perhaps, largely because it exalted individual man to the level of indefinability at any given moment. Since only "inclinations," but not essence, could be designated, man no longer lent himself to instantaneous categorization; on the contrary, the individual had become a subject

<sup>39</sup>"Autopsia del cerebro de un pescador de caña," in No. 12 (March 20, 1853), p. 96. The drawing shows the cerebral cavity partitioned into scenes of activity in which the subject of the caricature participates.

of objective study which was, truly, inexhaustible. The artist Grandville exemplified this when he drew seventy-five expressions of the cat, but had to desist ("su lápiz ha retrocedido espantado ante su infinita variedad").<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, individual man came to signify, in the process of his objectivization, a plurality of context which was ever more complex. It was the general rule that the artist of types ended by expressing the unspecifiable diversity in the kind whose essence he had set out to determine. But there was more than mere thematic topos involved here, as Emilio Bravo seemed to know when, at the height of the popular influence of Mariano Cubí y Soler in Spain, he noted that "había empezado a vislumbrar con [la verdad frenológica] un sistema filosófico entero que debía su origen a la misma naturaleza."<sup>41</sup> Indeed, in Spain, Felipe Picatoste y Rodríguez denied the validity of the conclusions reached by Flammarion (presumably Camille Flammarion) concerning the igualdad anímica de las razas, that is, "que las almas en los diversos grados de sus infinitas gerarquías son todas de una misma familia y tienen un destino común; que los principios absolutos de lo verdadero y de lo bueno constituyen en todos los puntos de la creación una sola verdad moral; que la constitución íntima del ser pensante es en todas partes la misma; y que la razón debe

<sup>40</sup>"Fisionomía del gato," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, 3rd Ser., II, Nos. 58, 59 (September 22, 30, 1844), pp. 300-301, 310-311.

<sup>41</sup>"Un examen frenológico," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, No. 31 (August 3, 1851), p. 242.

presentar el mismo análisis psicológico en todos los habi-  
tados."<sup>42</sup> Craneoscopy and phrenology emphasized physiognomics  
as a study with its theoretical basis in biological deter-  
minism. With slight reservation, craneoscopy and phrenology  
made of man a randomly determinable creature, quite indepen-  
dent of metaphysical forces.

Craneoscopy and phrenology made their appeal to the mode  
of perception of the man of books, but as these analytical  
approaches came to constitute periodical press literature,  
they were articulated in such a way that they grew less de-  
pendent upon logical representation. This was true in pro-  
portion as the perceptual norm was changing simultaneously  
with the popularization of the press. Also with respect to  
a decreasing dependency upon logical representation, in the  
actual practice of popularized psychological sciences, the  
lack of measured temporality which characterized magnetic  
perception was in contradiction with the lineality that char-  
acterized the more causally based phrenological study.

An early report, which concerned the popularized science  
of animal magnetism and described the stages of cognizance  
through which the magnetized subject passed, confirmed the  
lack of temporality characteristic of magnetic perception.  
The report told that in the sixth and final stage, the level  
of clairvoyance, the subject was purported to reach a capacity

<sup>42</sup>"Noticias científicas," in Revista del Movimiento In-  
telectual de Europa, I, No. 30 (December 31, 1865), p. 237;  
originally in Revista Hispano-Americana.

for the perception of the interior of things and to perceive past, present, and future incorporated in the single moment of time.<sup>43</sup> And the Portuguese Revista Litteraria later supported this observation by distinguishing between mesmerism and somnambulism (the somno magnetico), a newer and even more popularly accessible version of the former, for its having dispensed with physical laws: "Até aqui não parece muito diferente á primeira vista este systema do de Mesmer; mas realmente é inteiramente outro. A theoria de Mesmer era só physica, e esta é physiologica. O agente magnetico mesmeriano estava sujeito ás leis mecanicas e passivas do movimento; e o agente magnetico moderno é independente daquellas leis, e parece participar da spontaneidade da vida organica, e da vida espiritual."<sup>44</sup> The translation of Alphonse Teste

<sup>43</sup>"Magnetismo animal," in El Instructor, IV, No. 41 (May 1837), pp. 138-140. Regarding this type of perception so characteristic of the Romantic artist, see Georges Poulet, "Timelessness and Romanticism," in Journal of the History of Ideas, XV, No. 1 (1954), pp. 3-22.

<sup>44</sup>"Sciencias occultas: Magnetismo animal," in IX (1842), p. 86. This basic distinction between mesmerism and the theories of hypnosis, which arose in the 1840's as such, was recently delineated by Doris V. Falk ("Poe and the Power of Animal Magnetism," in PMLA, LXXXIV, No. 3 [May 1969], pp. 536-546), in order to clarify the meaning of certain literary works by Edgar Allen Poe. (See, also, the mention of Kluge's theory in "Magnetismo animal," in El Instructor, above.) In support of Doris V. Falk's investigations concerning the denomination of hypnotism, see Eugenio de Tapia (the "Prólogo del autor despierto" to "Las visiones de un patriota somnábulo"), Juguetes satíricos en prosa y verso (Madrid, 1839), p. 4: "Empero lo que no todos saben porque esto pertenece ya a las ciencias abstractas, es que hay personas simples, y desnudas de instrucción, en especial mugeres, que durmiendo siguen una conversación filosófica, como pudiera hacerlo el más estirado catedrático. Así nos lo aseguran graves autores, y vimos de ello un ensayo en Madrid, antes que vinieran a regenerarnos los granaderos de Napoleón."

(Manual práctico del magnetismo animal [1845 (?)]) by the phrenologist Cubí y Soler, signaled the popular shift from phrenology to magnetism, that is, from an inductive scientific approach to a more intuitive one; and with these extensions of magnetism that went beyond mesmerism, the theme of the overwhelming influence of the male will on that of the female flooded the sensationalistic literature that we usually associate with animal magnetism in general.<sup>45</sup> But

<sup>45</sup>See reference to Cubí's publication in "Operaciones frenológicas verificadas por el célebre Sr. Cubí," in El Dómine Lucas, No. 21 (December 1, 1845), p. 166. In Spain, Charles Nodier's Trilby, o El duende de Argail (Barcelona: Oliveres) appeared in translation in 1842 (ref. José F. Montesinos, Introducción a una historia de la novela en España, en el siglo XIX, 2nd ed. [Madrid, 1966], p. 227). Also, in 1845, two theatrical events occurred: D. Gurrumino, o Los magnetizadores and Frenología y magnetismo (the latter, evidently the subtitled comedia en un acto composed by Manuel Bretón de los Herreros [Madrid: Repullés, 1845]); see reference to the plays by Ángel Fernández de los Ríos ("Merlín"), "Revista del mes de diciembre," in El Siglo Pintoresco, I, No. 11 (1845), p. 285. And of the same year was Frédéric Soulié's novel El magnetizador (Madrid: Ayguals de Izco), translated by Eladio de Gironella ("El Doncel"). Harold March (Frédéric Soulié: Novelist and Dramatist of the Romantic Period [New Haven and London, 1931], pp. 138-140) has carefully noted that Soulié's Le Magnétiseur (1834) was not primarily intended to be about magnetism, although its central episode is a novelization on that doctrine which was popularized in Paris by Dr. Koreff. According to March, Le Magnétiseur was composed pari passu--wherefore in volume one, Soulié states that he has not the "slightest idea" regarding "what the plan of this book is going to be"--a procedure that might explain the reason for the tardy appearance of the magnetism theme in the novel. Around the time when the foregoing works appeared, the Teatro del Circo presented an opera, La sonámbula, which recalled, obviously, the popular magnetic sciences (see reviews of this presentation by Antonio Flores, "Revista de la quincena," in El Laberinto, II, Nos. 8, 10 [February 16, March 16, 1845], pp. 126-127, 159; also, see "Revista de la semana," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, New Ser., I, No. 19 [May 10, 1846], p. 152). In his Crónica del viaje de Sus Majestades y Altezas Reales a las Islas Baleares, Cataluña y Aragón, en 1860 ([Madrid, 1861], p. 49),

Salvador Costanzo railed against all this literature that had its roots in pantheism and in German philosophy; he scorned this literature that sensationalized galvanism, with which Franz Anton Mesmer had been associated in actual practice, and animal magnetism, and he linked these potentially useful sciences with the occult.<sup>46</sup>

It was difficult for the subscribers to the logical approach to man to accept without question the new magnetic sciences. But, ironically, it was rationalism itself that prompted this popularization of the analytic physiological sciences, partly because it necessitated, for popular consumption, an unjustly facile, synthetical presentation of the new sciences. Perhaps no one at the time more closely approximated an expression of this idea than Miguel Sánchez, in an article on "El espiritismo"; Sánchez discovered that the cause of superstition was an exceso del racionalismo, and he understood, therefore, that Great Britain, the United States, France, and the Germanic confederation were those groups most apt to foster superstition, as he called it.<sup>47</sup>

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Flores ridiculed the magnetizers' and somnambulists' powers of divination.

<sup>46</sup>"Ciencias ocultas," in Museo de las Familias, 2nd Ser., XVII (1859), pp. 74-81; principally, an attack against Alphonse Louis Constant (pseud. "Eliphas Levi") for his Dogme et Rituel de la haute magie (Paris, 1856). See, also, the later article by Costanzo, published in the Museo: "De las ciencias ocultas y de su resurrección en nuestro siglo," in 2nd Ser., XXIV (1866), pp. 70-72.

<sup>47</sup>In Museo de las Familias, 2nd Ser., XXIV (1866), pp. 211-213.

The Revista del Movimiento Intelectual de Europa, one of the most informative of all periodicals of generalized subject matter regarding the question of magnetism, noted that "el magnetismo animal viene luchando desde fines del siglo XVII por adquirir un lugar entre los hechos y un asiento en la cátedra de la ciencia, mas no ha podido conseguirlo. Muy al contrario; parece que la ciencia le va rechazando de su seno y relegándole a las tertulias, al teatro, a los salones de Capellanes y a los Campos Elíseos donde los prestidigitadores entretienen hábilmente al público con alguna joven de misteriosa sensibilidad."<sup>48</sup> Scandalous tales of subjects abused while under hypnosis and parodies of religious ecstasy were published in Spain's popular press (ibid.; also, "Magnetismo animal," in El Instructor, above: the case of the woman who, impregnated by the magnetizer, acquired a hundred thousand followers by proclaiming that she would give birth to the Messiah). Some reports, such as the foregoing, had as their purpose to refute charlatanism logically, and others, like the series of sketches by Francisco Lameyer Berenguer caricaturizing the practice, approached the problem in a clearly less serious, less scientific way.<sup>49</sup> The Revista del Movimiento Intelectual de Europa subscribed to the theories of Devergie (presumably Marie Guillaume Alphonse Devergie),

<sup>48</sup>"El magnetismo y los magnetizadores," in I, No. 12 (August 27, 1865), p. 92.

<sup>49</sup>"Caricaturas sobre el magnetismo," in El Siglo Pintoresco, I, No. 11 (December 1845), pp. 282-284.

Coste (presumably Jean Jacques Marie Cyprien Victor Coste), Tardien (sic; possibly Auguste Ambroise Tardieu), and Broquier, concerning the power of the will of magnetizer over that of subject.<sup>50</sup> But shortly after it did so, it proposed a philosophical compromise. It stated that the theory that posited a divine flúido universal (Zoroaster) and the psychological theory, which posited the convergence of two wills (Chardel), were out of fashion; the theory of physiological modification (Charpignon) had replaced the former two, for it satisfied both spiritualists and materialists: "Pero aun dentro de esta teoría hay dos opiniones: una que supone como principio del magnetismo una modificación anímica, un estado particular del alma, de que es efecto el estado fisiológico o magnético, y otra que supone el desarrollo del fluido natural, de cuya influencia, puramente física, es efecto el estado fisiológico: estas dos opiniones se refieren al espiritismo y al materialismo."<sup>51</sup>

It is obvious from this that magnetism was an approach to inner man that did not correspond, exactly, to the lineal orientation of the empiricists, who, for the most part, preferred the approach to inner man that they found in the more rational theories of phrenology and craneoscopy. So, magne-

<sup>50</sup>"Mas sobre el magnetismo," in I, No. 15 (September 17, 1865), p. 119.

<sup>51</sup>Review of Schroeder van der Kolk (El alma y el cuerpo [Seele und Leib]), in II, No. 2 (January 15, 1866), pp. 15-16; the review signed "P." (presumably Felipe Picatoste y Rodríguez).



tism became the popularized counterpart of phrenological studies. The same may be said for the new magnetism's relative, spiritism, which satisfied metaphysical tradition to the extent that it rejected the idea of man's subjugation to material reality, but it insisted all the while upon its nonreligious, nonphilosophical, yet decidedly scientific nature.<sup>52</sup> The phenomena like doble vista, which was the capacity to negate perceptually the visible surfaces of material objects, as if exteriors did not exist at all, were those which gained most acclaim on a popular level. The Revista del Movimiento Intelectual de Europa translated from Paris' Le Constitutionnel an article which marveled at the strange case of Luisa B., for example, who achieved the ability to describe cadavers already buried in cemeteries; and when the director of the Círculo Magnetológico de Madrid, Joaquín Guillermo de Lima, magnetized Adelaida Ojeda, according to custom she exhibited subsequent states of doble vista and lucidez.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>52</sup>A. Briquel, "El espiritismo según los espiritistas," in Revista del Movimiento Intelectual de Europa, II, No. 15 (April 16, 1866), pp. 115-117; formerly published in the Revue Spirite (February), which had reprinted the piece from the Brussels weekly, Discussion (December 31, 1865).

<sup>53</sup>For the case of Luisa B., see "Fenómeno psicológico," in I, No. 29 (December 24, 1865), p. 227; for the report on Adelaida Ojeda, see "Magnetismo animal," *ibid.*, No. 24 (November 19, 1865), pp. 188-189. See, also, "Los misterios de la naturaleza. El mundo microscópico" (*ibid.*, No. 4 [July 2, 1865], p. 29), the reference to the zarzuela translated from the English by Picón (evidently José Picón), entitled La doble vista.

In Spain, popularized physiology enjoyed its greatest success at the time when Spain's periodical press became highly pictorialized. This is not to insist upon a causal relationship between these phenomena, rather to propose that there might have been a common perceptual basis for their contemporaneity. The object and means of perception which interested the Círculo Magnetológico had their counterparts in the pictorialized periodical publications of Spain (the Semanario Pintoresco Español, El Laberinto, the Museo de las Familias, etc.). It is not at all surprising, then, that the hosts of the Círculo Magnetológico, the Alonso Martínez family, located in the Puerta del Sol, were photographers by profession.<sup>54</sup> The appeal of the photograph was the instantaneous accessibility of the reality that lay within, beneath the surface of the photograph, the medium which most nearly approached the elimination of perceptible syntax. Thus, magnetism, taken as a perceptual mode, corresponded to photography as well as to the pictorialized popular press; and, quite certainly, more closely to the former than to the latter, for the qualities descriptive of the technologized photographic sciences could be said to be elaborations upon those innovative aspects of periodical format after book technology.

<sup>54</sup>See the notice by the publisher (Felipe Picatoste y Rodríguez), in Revista del Movimiento Intelectual de Europa, I, No. 15 (September 17, 1865), p. 117. Among the group, which met every Tuesday and Friday, was another enthusiast of photography, the Conde de Benazuza; also included were Soler (presumably Cubí y Soler), Joaquín Guillermo de Lima, Amador de los Ríos, Ibarrolla, Villasante, Puebla, Álvarez, "Revento," "Arahuetes," Bedmar, Izaguirre, Nadal, and Sousa.

EPILOGUE

For the artist in continual contention with the demands imposed in the course of technological advancement, recognition of mediatory terms sometimes came early, as certain of Antonio Flores' few poems illustrate. "En un album," three sonnets which exemplify the principle that the content of literature is a verbal elaboration upon the form inherent in the literary piece, appears to be the first of his poems written expressly to satisfy the temporal and spatial dictates of the periodical medium.<sup>1</sup> The series of three poems begins:

Y aquí parado a la mitad me quedo  
Sin saber qué decir que os interese,  
Pero ya he de seguir mal que me pese  
Porque borrar lo que escribí no puedo.

The series ends:

Y ya que a tanto obliga el consonante  
No quiero escribir más, tengo bastante.

The subject of the remaining thirty-six lines is the mechanical stages of the poems' composition. It would be incorrect to say that it was the periodical medium, specifically, that obliged Flores to write in this particular way about the problematic medium, for we can scarcely distinguish the general meaning of Flores' sonnets from that of Lope de Vega's "Soneto de repente," for example.<sup>2</sup> Flores was obliged to com-

<sup>1</sup>Originally in *Revista de Teatros*, 2nd Ser., No. 34 (February 1, 1843), p. 2; rpt. in Flores' own *El Laberinto*, I, No. 2 (November 16, 1843), p. 27.

<sup>2</sup>In *Renaissance and Baroque Poetry of Spain*, ed. Elias L. Rivers (New York, 1966), p. 225.

pose a given quantity of poetry for the periodical medium, and the content he chose to give that poetry, albeit traditional, was the expression of this poetic purpose. (The first line of Lope's sonnet served to express a similar purpose: "Un soneto me manda hacer Violante.") Flores found, in poetic tradition, ready-made, the solution to a rather simply remediable technological imposition, and he reused these thematics in his poem "Música celestial," but this was not precisely so in the case of another poem by Flores, "Columna y cuarto de original."<sup>3</sup> Flores wrote the latter, a romance, to fill an issue of El Laberinto; that is, its theme is the subjugation of the writer to his medium, not to traditional form, now, as the opening lines of the poem clearly indicate:

Me irritan los dibujantes,  
los grabadores, me angustian  
los literatos, me abrasan  
y en la imprenta me espeluznan.  
Diariamente me persiguen  
y a todas horas me buscan,  
pidiéndome original . . .  
y láminas . . . y aleluyas . . .  
El cajista es un avaro  
que no se ve sacio nunca!  
Luego ese estilo moderno  
que llaman de abreviatura,  
de encerrar en pocas frases  
lo que no se entiende en muchas,  
. . . .

The author, well schooled by now in the publication of his own periodical, which was not the case when he composed "En

<sup>3</sup>"Música celestial," in El Laberinto, I, No. 4 (December 16, 1843), p. 56; "Columna y cuarto de original," ibid., II, No. 12 (April 16, 1845), p. 187.

un album," replaced the topical reference to the poetic medium itself with a more timely subject, namely, the technological medium for which he was writing. This points to a departure from traditional esthetic demands on the poet. It was no longer only rules of poetic composition to which the poet felt himself subjugated; it was, instead, his entire technological environment. He had not only compromised his esthetic, but also his entire activity, once the locus of terms had extended from the limitations of mere poetic form to the broader range of technological environment.

It is typical of much of Flores' production that it becomes representative of the technological form which is its subject content, as we have seen in the example of Flores' Crónica. The third article, "Miércoles," of the seven that comprise Antonio Flores' Una semana en Madrid is still another remarkable manifestation of this phenomenon, for it resorts to extraordinary devices in order to illustrate the artistic problem involved.<sup>4</sup> The expression of the artist's function, again, is the entire literal meaning of this portion of the Semana, and the end result is a narrative that can be understood only as improvisation in time and space, rather than as the end result of prior design. Flores pretends in "Miércoles" that he awakens to find a letter, written by his pens and independently of his own will, warning him of his lack of progress in the composition of his article. In

<sup>4</sup>In El Laberinto, I, No. 3 (December 1, 1843), pp. 31-33.

order to express this idea, he quotes the letter, whose mere presence in the article is, at once, the justification and fulfillment of its literal complaint, that is, lack of periodical content:

Decía, señores (y repito, que ni lo creo, ni imagino que Vds. lo crean) que en la targeta de mi semanario, que dice:

[RUBRIC]

había esta mañana un papelito, que en honor de la verdad, más parecía documento fe-apuntante de lavandera que otra cosa, concebido en los términos siguientes:

"Señor Don (aquí mi nombre y apellido, y un espacio para los títulos, que tal vez ignoraba el exponente.)

"Nuestro amo y señor:

"Sin que pretendamos averiguar las causas de vuestro enojo para con nosotras, ni tratemos de poner pleito por las cuchilladas y los tajos que continuamente nos estáis dando; ni de acusaros porque a todas horas nos llevéis a esas sociedades negras, embotando nuestros sentidos con el zumo de las agallas, y sin que creáis que nos entrometemos en si hacéis bien o mal en pintar las costumbres madrileñas por los días de la semana, debemos advertiros que estamos en miércoles, que os falta mucho que decir, y que al paso que vamos no llegaremos nunca. Una semana en Madrid ofrecísteis, y la palabra es palabra (ahí está Pero-Grullo que lo diga). Las cosas que ocurran todos los días, fuera de puertas, a la corte de España pertenecen; y a no ser el rato que fuimos a los toros, siempre hemos andado por las calles de Madrid, y esto no es regular. Cuidadito con la enmienda, porque de lo contrario le niegan sus favores--LAS PLUMAS DE ACERO Y LAS DE AVE.

"Y por no saber firmar ninguna de ellas, lo hace a ruego

UN PALO DE ESCOBA

The essential contention between literary making and the medium within whose limitations that creative process is operative becomes patently clear in this instance. The demands of democratized mediation yield a paradox, a kind of anti-literature that appears to defeat literary artistry, while it purposefully becomes something else. The inevitable result of the literary artist who functioned according to the dictates of the periodical press--such a rapid mediatory process to which to adapt the rhetoric of seventeenth-century costumbristic prose--was the rejection of any artistic proposal of prior design. And, in our own century, the literary art of many prose writers may be understood from time to time as the calculated cancellation of itself.

Among Spanish Romantic prose sketches, either of types or of real figures, there is scarcely one, it seems, that fails to make obvious the presence of the author and his point of view. Nevertheless, the trend toward a disappearance of obvious prescriptive authorship and facile character definition are foretold in a prodigious piece: Antonio Flores' "Yo mismo pintado por mí mismo."<sup>5</sup> The sketch in

<sup>5</sup>In *La Risa*, II, No. 30 (November 5, 1843), pp. 33-35. Both Ramón de Mesonero Romanos and his French predecessor in costumbristic literature, Étienne Jouy, declared their authorial remove; that is, "they gradually become less conscious of their purpose in proportion as their observations lose their earlier vagueness and become more analytic and concrete" (H. Chonon Berkowitz, "Mesonero's Indebtedness to Jouy," in *PMLA*, XLV, No. 2 [June 1930], p. 561). Today, writers like Alain Robbe-Grillet who would create an "unauthorized" reality by denominating substantive objectivity are those who declaim--though not without their rightful con-

question may be understood as a denial of the a priori conception of the human self's personality, and as an affirmation that, only through chance verbal revelation, the ultimate discovery of the self in the nominative act is possible. "Yo mismo pintado por mí mismo" is not an autobiographical sketch as one commonly thinks of these; it is, rather, a charada, as Flores calls it, whose art rests in the continuous disguise of the subject-author. It both explains its charade quality and fulfills its representational claim with respect to the title, however, insofar as toward the end of the piece, the writer abstracts the essence of the subject and tells us that he possesses "un fondo de modestia . . . tanta modestia que no me deja hacer mi retrato." Modestia, in fact, is the essential factor; it is implicit here, up until the final point, in the lack of a vain, rationalized explication of the self. Thus, the sketch both denies the revelation of the self while, paradoxically, it affirms the abstract self. There can be no facile identification of author and subject in this pseudo-autobiographical piece that talks almost exclusively about the species of all mankind; instead, the piece appears to lose sight of its titular subject, and the undersigned author is meant to be confounded with a more generalized objectivity. We are left with the

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tradictors--unconscious, nonprescriptive authorship and the obsolescence of the traditional fictional character (see For a New Novel: Essays on Fiction, trans. Richard Howard [New York, 1965], pp. 13, 27).



illusion of self-generating prose and with a subject that grows, through a verbal medium that begs the titular question, then appears as a revelation in the emblem-name combination at the very end. Flores' closing words ("consiento en llamarme . . . ANTONIO FLORES"), which are his authorial signature with an accompanying emblematic depiction, are consonant with his opening theme, God's creation and the naming of the substantive universe. Flores' final nominative act is representative not merely of his own self. It is, in addition, an implicit comment on his medium of expression, the periodical, since the use of both the authorial signature and the burlesque pictorial image represents a compromise between lineal and iconic modes of expression; whereas for the common reader of nonliterate tradition, or for the lettered reader of enhanced auditory perception, the emblem may acquire greater significance than the printed name, for the visually oriented man, it is the printed name that remains the equivalent of the object for which it is a sign. Ideally, in either case, the sign should tend to reduce to zero (as a limit) the mediation between itself and the object it signifies, thus fulfilling the autobiographical purport.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup>Indeed, for the artist of types, who required the economical sign for the representation of the increasingly quantitative particularistic view, it was common to insist upon the synthetical value of the generic name. So R. de Navarrete (presumably Ramón de Navarrete) must have meant to say, when he remarked that the word "Prendera" could say more by itself for purposes of characterization than all he could add to delineate the literary subject ("La prendera," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, New Ser., II, No. 1 [January 3, 1947],

In "Yo mismo pintado por mí mismo," Flores befittingly said that the most frightening (terrible) of species is the chameleon, with its multiple possibilities of definition. Thus, he knew that "lo más cruel para los lectores, es un escritor distraído que olvida el epígrafe de su obra, hasta no saber él mismo que ofrece pintarse a sí mismo lo que va diciendo de los demás." Similarly, it is the purpose of the literature of types in general, for all this literature's tendency toward empirical discourse, to allow for self-dis-

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p. 7). Navarrete's statement amounts to mere rhetorical device, since he must have known that Juan Pérez Calvo had published his "Prendera" in Los españoles pintados por sí mismos only about three years before (I use the 2nd ed. [Madrid, 1851], pp. 329-332). Navarrete's comment allows us to see how natural it was that this should have been the era in which Francisco Cutanda re-evaluated the epigrammatic statement as a literary genre of a highly mechanized and synthetic nature, artistically considered, despite the impromptu aspect of the epigram for the interpreter: "Tiene el epigrama algo de revelación. . . . La corrección, o sea la última mano, el pulimento, en una palabra, la perfección, son indispensables en el epigrama" ("Discurso leído por el Sr. D. . . ., en el acto de su recepción el día 17 de marzo de 1861," in Discursos leídos en las recepciones públicas que ha celebrado desde 1847 la Real Academia Española, III [Madrid, 1865], p. 19). Cutanda opted for the epigram most spontaneous in appearance and rejected, on the other hand, the contrived artifices of a seventeenth-century Gracián: "Yo he repasado, en busca de perlas, todas las treinta y más especies de agudezas que descubrió Gracián, y me he quedado sin ninguna" (p. 18). In this way, Cutanda rejected the sign that could not reveal without minimal apparent consecutiveness. The epigraph, as E. Correa Calderón seems to have recognized, carried a similar synthetic message, and it often accompanied the costumbristic article, whose "mayor gracia radica precisamente en su propia brevedad esencial," and which had a valor independiente y periodístico from the nineteenth century on (see "Análisis del cuadro de costumbres," in Revista de Ideas Estéticas, VII, No. 25 [1949], pp. 67, 72; or the inclusion of this critical essay in the introduction to Costumbristas españoles, ed. E. Correa Calderón [Madrid, 1950], pp. lvii-lxii).

covery through the narrative, and for self-revelation only resultantly, rather than to explain the preconceived self to the alien mind. In costumbristic prose, the essential is ultimately perceived through, rather than as, the medium of language; the vision of the particular rests behind the synthetical costumbristic sign. Thus, Flores is joined with Larra, his contemporary Spanish exemplar in this Romantic vein.<sup>7</sup> It is the impossible constancy of the self partitively envisioned that the literature of types, especially when taken as a whole genre, is meant to affirm.

Among Spanish Romantics, it was the dominant view, and often the only permissible view, it seemed, that an abstraction of character corresponded to the overly restrictive precepts of the eighteenth century. When José María Blanco White (pseud. "Don Leucadio Doblado") addressed to his correspondent ("A. D. C. Esq.") a refusal to abstract a Spanish national character, he foretold the drift of the costumbristic

<sup>7</sup>See F. Courtney Tarr, "Mariano José de Larra (1809-1837)," in *Modern Language Journal*, XXII, No. 1 (October 1937), pp. 48-49: "This is the distinctive mark of his genius --a satirist whose insight into human nature in general and that of his countrymen in particular comes not so much from observation (despite the costumbrista pose) as from unceasing and increasing, pitiless and implacable introspection. His criticism and his satire are at bottom auto-criticism, self-satire." See, also, Juan Valera ("Del romanticismo en España y de Espronceda," in *Obras completas*, II, ed. Luis Araujo Costa, 2nd ed. [Madrid, 1949], p. 10; essay dated 1854): "Pero esta manía autobiográfica la disculpo yo y hasta la alabo, pues no sólo proviene de lo reflexivo del siglo en que vivimos y de los sistemas de filosofía que ahora privan, todos o casi todos psicológicos, sino que es, además, muy cristiana y no desdice de la humanidad evangélica." Also, see the piece signed "J. de F. M.," "Philosophia. Nosce te ipsum," in the Portuguese *Revista Litteraria*, X (1843), pp. 158-163.

type, namely, that trend which ushered in the novel of empirical observation that, for a while, paralleled the more fanciful historical romance:

I have always considered such descriptions as absolutely unmeaning [Blanco wrote], a mere assemblage of antitheses, where good and bad qualities are contrasted for effect, and with little foundation in nature. No man's powers of observation can be, at once, so accurate and extensive, so minute and generalizing, as to be capable of embodying the peculiar features of millions into an abstract being, which shall contain traces of them all. . . . I shall not, therefore, attempt either abstraction or classification, but endeavour to collect as many facts as may enable others to perceive the general tendency.<sup>8</sup>

Blanco White's comment on the impossible typification of character, and on the impossible abstraction of thought in general, reflected the hesitant adoption of any approach to knowledge bordering on the holistic. Significantly, a similar response characterized José Segundo Flórez's resumé of the doctrine of Auguste Comte: "El estado actual de nuestros conocimientos aun no [permite] enlazar todas las verdades, y hacerlas depender de un hecho simple, general, constante, que sea el fundamento de todos los demás."<sup>9</sup> This need to represent the whole, and yet to draw up that representation bit by bit, within a broad, empirical contextuality, so that not

<sup>8</sup> Letters from Spain, 2nd ed. (London, 1825), pp. 23-24; letter No. 2, dated Sevilla, 1798.

<sup>9</sup> "Sistema enciclopédico de Mr. Comte [sic]," in El Dómine Lucas, No. 7 (October 1, 1844), p. 51.

one unique fact would be passed over, became a key problem of artistic expression for the costumbristic artist in the practical execution of his task. This aim and this procedure were representative of a passing from traditionally intuitive physiognomics to the more partitive, inductive studies of human nature, such as pathognomy and craneoscopy. Of course, the particularistic tendency was manifest in sources which we would expect to be most "Romantic":

Hay todavía otro defecto en los que han escrito sobre el carácter del hombre, tanto en los antiguos como en los modernos. No han formado un todo; y sí sólo fragmentos inconexos de cada virtud o vicio: han hecho un bosquejo particular, mientras en una misma persona están más o menos mezclados y combinados, y por lo mismo pertenece más bien a la moral que al estudio del carácter. El hombre es un ser tan complicado, que el conocimiento de sus particulares virtudes o vicios, considerados aisladamente, no nos presenta todavía su verdadero carácter: pues se hallan tan combinados entre sí, que muchas de las acciones que se cometen, considerados cada una por sí sola, parecen enteramente ajenas a la virtud o al vicio. Es menester contemplar el todo, y cada individuo debe ser delineado paso a paso, a fin de poder decir: aquí está el hombre. . . . Para hacer investigaciones sobre el carácter del hombre, es necesario estudiar por estenso la naturaleza humana, y las anomalías particulares que pertenecen a ella. Sin su conocimiento, es imposible estudiar un individuo. Para delinear un carácter, es menester seguir todas las huellas que se apartan de la armonía general de la naturaleza. Por lo mismo debemos saber en primer lugar, cuáles son las particularidades exclusivas en cada hombre, o en cada clase de hombres.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup>"Filosofía práctica. Estudio del corazón del hombre,

According to I. L. McClelland, "the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries needed various types for psychological reasons, and for psychological reasons types have now gone out of fashion."<sup>11</sup> I would prefer to say, in partial agreement with McClelland, that there was a psychological reason for the reappearance and subsequent disappearance of the literary type in Spain in the nineteenth century, and that that psychological reason existed, and waned, due to at least two notable factors: partly, specific events in science and invention; partly, the nature of the artistic type and typed language to explain away their own abstraction. I would suggest, furthermore, that one might constructively relate Pop-

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o de su carácter en general y en particular," in El Europeo, II, No. 4 (January 31, 1824), pp. 103-104; article signed "C." (presumably Carlos Ernesto Cook).

<sup>11</sup>"Biblioteca de Autores Españoles: 1846-1946," in Bulletin of Spanish Studies, XXIII, No. 92 (October 1946), p. 244. McClelland's observation gains in significance in the light of historical and philosophical events that might explain just what did make up that psychology. Karl R. Popper's refutations of Aristotelian "essentialist interpretation" and his favorable conjectures concerning "nominalist interpretation" are applicable to the understanding of the books of types: "We can give, I believe, a fair description of the Aristotelian ideal of perfect and complete knowledge if we say that he saw the ultimate aim of all inquiry in the compilation of an encyclopaedia containing the intuitive definitions of all essences, that is to say, their names together with their defining formulae; and that he considered the progress of knowledge as consisting in the gradual accumulation of such an encyclopaedia, in expanding it as well as in filling up the gaps in it and, of course, in the syllogistic derivation from it of 'the whole body of facts' which constitute demonstrative knowledge" (The Open Society and Its Enemies, II [The High Tide of Prophecy: Hegel, Marx, and the Aftermath] [1945; 4th ed. rev. Princeton, 1963], p. 12). My fellow graduate student, Robin McAllister, has helpfully indicated the proximity of my consideration of Romantic literary types to Popper's concerns.

per's "nominalist interpretation" to the implications of decentralizing technologies like electricity. Thus, what appears to be Marshall McLuhan's central concern, the meaning of the application of electricity to centralizing technologies like the train or the book press, may be redefined in terms of the great Romantic reaction in the realm of thought; that is, of the "new tendency . . . to discard proofs, and with them, any kind of rational argument" (Popper, p. 21). "By many analysts," McLuhan has said, "the electric revolution has been regarded as a continuation of the process of the mechanization of mankind. Closer inspection reveals quite a different character."<sup>12</sup>

The purely Aristotelian ideal for the treatment of the type diminished during the Romantic period, as the particularized representation gained ground, and as the costumbristic piece departed from the Theophrastan model and became more contemporaneously historical. The resemblance that the Theophrastan sketch bore to that of the seventeenth century, for example, the fact that Theophrastus "ignores chronology and a fixed setting, usually," is an indication of the distance of the nineteenth-century sketch from the earlier, more strictly

<sup>12</sup>Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man (McGraw-Hill; rpt. New York, 1964), p. 224. Curiously, José Ortega y Gasset recalled that "el adjetivo predilecto del tiempo romántico es eléctrico," and not long ago, Jaime Vicens Vives called electricity "la más romántica de todas las ciencias" (see: Ortega, cited by Julián Marías Aguilera, "Un escorzo del romanticismo," in Ensayos de Convivencia [Buenos Aires, 1955], p. 219; Vicens Vives, "El romanticismo en la historia," in Hispania, X, No. 41 [Wisconsin, 1950], p. 762).

Aristotelian sort.<sup>13</sup> Judging from a comment by José F. Montesinos, the shirking of Aristotelian tradition, and the departure from literary models, were not at all decisive, in the sense that there was an obvious need to depict a world of multiplicity, and in order to do so, depiction had to be carried out in an ever more scheduled fashion: "El costumbrismo creó entre nosotros el gusto por la menuda documentación, pero hizo que ésta fuera formularia e inimaginativa. Enseñó a ver muchas cosas, pero siempre las mismas o poco variadas."<sup>14</sup> There was, in fact, outspoken, significant opposition to the departure from the Aristotelian ideal of the perception of the universal type and to the failure to abide by the standards set down by tradition; and to this effect, the Venezuelan Rafael María Baralt commented some years prior to his reception in the Spanish Academy: "Dos grandes obstáculos se opondrán siempre a la carrera de los escritores públicos en el difícil y peligroso género de costumbres. Es el primero la propensión de ellos mismos a salpicar sus cua-

<sup>13</sup>Benjamin Boyce, The Theophrastan Character in England to 1642 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1947), p. 177. Boyce has remarked that Aristotle "requires of the poet (as distinguished from the historian) that his creations of character should be true to life by being true to type and consistent, each person speaking and behaving in a fashion probable for his kind of character--that, in a word, he should be universal" (p. 14). Boyce's outline of Theophrastan method shows that, among other things, Theophrastus refrained from explicit statement of what either the character or the author thought, and that in Theophrastus' sketches "almost nothing appears that could be labeled wit" (pp. 5-6).

<sup>14</sup>Costumbrismo y novela: Ensayo sobre el redescubrimiento de la realidad española, 2nd ed. (1960, Madrid, 1965), p. 135.



dros, que sólo generales debieran ser, de caracteres particulares; y el segundo, la propensión irresistible del pueblo a encontrar éstos en cada frase del escrito."<sup>15</sup>

For its unspontaneous appearance and obvious prescription, the more Aristotelian type was unsatisfactory artistically. Rather than affording the interpretative possibility of verisimilitudinous expansion toward the literary character, it posited the given a priori and resisted alternatives and novelty. In the theatrical arts, these predetermined types lost favor for their want of personality:

El tipo arbitrariamente realizado por el poeta (que no de otro modo pueden realizarse las abstracciones), adoptando por necesidad forma petrificada y única, con ella se reproduciría a cada hora sin discrepar en nada de su semejante, ni resaltar en el cuadro que lo contuviese, monótono como ejemplar por el daguerreotipo centuplicado, superficial como pintura de lienzo bizantino donde la masa de color, destituida de matices, no alcanza a mentir el bulto. Y en vano, ora rígidas e incoloras estatuas, figuras de linterna mágica a veces, cuando aéreas visiones perdiéndose en las nubes, alternativamente grandes sin profundidad, brillantes sin expresión, sentimentales sin ternura, en vano aspirarían a competir con la persona humana, gloriándose contra todo fuero y razón en puesto a ella sola debido. Mitos de imposible existencia, darán a entender que son movidos de ajeno impulso, a la manera que los mufecos

<sup>15</sup>"Los escritores y el vulgo," in Antología, I, ed. Pedro Grases (Caracas, 1961), p. 91; first published in Correo de Caracas (February 13, 1839), and signed "A. A. A." (Grases does not explain the signature of this article, which, nevertheless, he attributes confidently to Baralt.)

de retablo. Abstracciones por el capricho animadas, no serán expresión activa, sino pasiva definición de sí propias.<sup>16</sup>

Parallel observations were manifest in declarations against romance and the literature of epic vision. Isaac Pastor Díaz, as a result of his understanding that the peculiar character of his century was "la duda como resultado de la revolución de las ideas, como deducción de la anómala mezcla de creencias y doctrinas, de filosofías, de tradiciones, de pensamientos" and "el positivismo como consecuencia de la duda," concluded: "La poesía épica tal como por lo que fué se la comprende, no puede existir en nuestro siglo. Si la epopeya es la Biblia de un pueblo, como ha dicho Hegel, eco de los sentimientos, reflejo de las tradiciones, de las creencias, de las sociedades, mal puede existir cuando se pugna por destruir las tradiciones, cuando no están muy seguras las creencias."<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup>"Discurso del Señor Don Manuel Tamayo y Baus" (June 12, 1859), in Discursos leídos en las recepciones públicas que ha celebrado desde 1847 la Real Academia Española, II (Madrid, 1860), p. 261. See, also, the paraphrase of Antonio Alcalá Galiano, by "J. de la R." (presumably José de la R. villa), "Ateneo de Madrid. Sección de literatura. Sesión del viernes 22 de febrero," in Semanario Pintoresco Español, 2nd Ser., I, No. 10 (March 10, 1839), p. 80: "En éstas [las unidades de tiempo y lugar] hay un mal grave, el cual consiste en creerse generalmente que dentro de la estrechez a que obliga su observancia, se puede sin embargo pintar un verdadero carácter teatral. Esto . . . no es exacto; lo que se consigue pintar en tan reducido espacio, no es un carácter, sino una abstracción. Todo lo contrario sucede salvando la barrera de las reglas; entonces es cuando únicamente se puede pintar un carácter, esto es, desmenuzarse, presentarle bajo todos sus aspectos, con todos sus accidentes."

<sup>17</sup>"Literatura moderna," in Museo de las Familias, 2nd Ser., XXI (1863), p. 147.

It was in fact the case that around mid-century, generally speaking, Spaniards were losing much of their capacity to perceive the world as a synthesized whole. Nevertheless, some attempt to retain this perceptual loss of the synthetic whole occurred in the art of types, whose usual vehicles of expression were changing, through technological advancement, in order to cope adequately with the analytical vision announced by Isaac Pastor Díaz. Guillermo Forteza, who saw in the costumbristic genre a marriage of realism and idealism, realized as well as any of his contemporaries that the best costumbristic art responded to an expressive need that was the natural consequence of divergent, therefore problematic, synthetical and analytical visions:

El trato habitual con la sociedad influye en nosotros de una manera superficial e imperceptible. Ni la sagacidad observadora es don otorgado al común de las gentes, ni las costumbres sociales se presentan a menudo bajo un punto de vista plástico, o digamos, convergente, como los rayos solares que se reúnen y unifican en un foco de cristal, para que causen en nosotros una impresión enérgica y profunda. Raras veces la observación cotidiana y vulgar acierta a descubrir los resortes internos que mueven a la sociedad; rarísimas logra ver pintorescamente contrastados los caracteres que en ella resaltan y agrupados de una manera típica los rasgos, perdidos entre la multitud, de la infinita variedad de fisonomías morales que aquélla sin tasa ni agotamiento ofrece. Esta percepción analizadora al principio y sintética después, pertenece al dominio del artista y del escritor, y en ella se cifra su mayor y más preciada gloria. No se nos tilde, pues, de paradojales si afirmamos que una

Novela de costumbres briosamente escrita por un genio observador puede impresionarnos con más viveza que el espectáculo ordinario y frío de las costumbres mismas.<sup>18</sup>

Given the costumbristic artist's pose as increasingly distanced observer, however, it was more and more unusual that he should admit to any programmatization of his work; it was more often the case that he simulated the passive observer before the parade of events and individual subjects that awaited concretization through his means of record. Graphic representations of the artist observing the miniature world on parade are sufficient indication of this pose, and they are found prefacing and epiloguizing a great number of the collections of types. It is important for critical purposes not to be led astray by the claims to objective vision and record, often convincing because of the technologicistic character which the writer has chosen to project for himself. This holds true for the work of Mariano José de Larra ("Fígaro"), too, often distinguished from his contemporaries by twentieth-century critics for his superior critical stance.

<sup>18</sup>"Influencia de la novela en las costumbres," in La América, IV, No. 19 (December 8, 1860), p. 9. Forteza said that "dos escuelas diametralmente opuestas dominan en la Novela de costumbres contemporáneas: la idealista y la realista, cuyo exclusivismo conduce, o a la abstracción sobrado metafísica o poética, o al prosaísmo, enemigo de toda artística belleza. El porvenir fecundo de ambas escuelas estriba en su discreto consorcio y armonía; realizado ya por los modernos novelistas ingleses y alemanes, por algunos franceses, desgraciadamente pocos, y por la ilustre andaluza que vanamente quiere achicarse y escapar a sus legítimos triunfos con su modestia ejemplar y falta absoluta de pretensiones: Fernán Caballero."

Larra, like his contemporaries, relished the chaotic vision, uncontrollable for all its diversitarian quality. And while he claimed for himself a technologistic passivity, while he remained objective and removed, he also thought that the critical article might be in need of a certain programmatization for maximal corrective effect:

En estos días llevo cara de filósofo, es decir, de mal humor; una sonrisa amarga de indiferencia y despego a cuanto veo se dibuja en mis labios; llevo conmigo un lente, no porque me sirva, pues veo mejor sin él, sino para poder clavar fijamente el objeto que más me choca, que un corto de vista tiene licencia para ser desvergonzado; no saludo a ningún amigo ni conocido que encuentro, porque esto sería hacer yo también un papel en la comedia de que pretendo ser únicamente espectador, y que sólo para divertirme a mí creo por entonces que representa el mundo entero. Mala crianza será, pero me acerco a escuchar conversaciones de corrillos: es de advertir que cuando el tedio me abrumba con su peso, no puedo tener más que tedio. Recibo insensible las impresiones de cuanto pasa a mi alrededor; a todas me dejo amoldar con indiferencia y abandono; en semejantes días no hay hermosas para mí, no hay feas, no hay amor, no hay odio. . . . Ésta es la razón por qué me fuera imposible hacer hoy un artículo de costumbres medianamente coordinado: si ha menester plan, si necesita reflexión la cosa que hoy emprenda, inútil me es emprenderla; conozco que no he de poder llevarla a cabo. Acaso encontraría, investigando metafísicamente mi corazón la causa que ha podido ponerme hoy en esta estraña disposición de ánimo; pero este trabajo me cansaría, y he dicho que no quiero hacer hoy impresiones, sino recibirlas. En estos días es, sin embargo, cuando colocado detrás de mi lente, que es entonces para mí el vidrio de la linterna má-

gica, veo pasar el mundo todo delante de mis ojos; e imparcial, ageno de consideración que a él me ligue, véole tal cual se presenta en cada fisonomía, en cada acción que observo indolentemente.<sup>19</sup>

Knowing the limitations of the instrument and the machine became as important for the artist, in his search for man both in a context and with a context, as had been the understanding of ultimate reality itself. But many, like Felipe Picatoste y Rodríguez, who thought that the need for practical results and the immediate application of science had made discusiones metafísicas forgotten or risible, found in modern science that unifying force which would resolve the problems to which an anomalous world gave rise: "La ciencia moderna tiende a la unidad como lazo que encierra todos los fenómenos y fuerzas del universo; . . . tiende a hallar una ley general que explique todos los fenómenos; un principio único origen de todas las propiedades de los cuerpos; tiende a sustituir la mano del hombre por las máquinas. . . . Así los rayos solares han sustituido a la mano del pintor, la electricidad al correo, el vapor a la locomoción a la fuerza de la sangre, la galvanoplastia a la escultura, las cristalizaciones artificiales a las naturales."<sup>20</sup> In this regard, Pedro Antonio de Alarcón reminiscently described the arrangements for the composition and publication of the

<sup>19</sup>"Varios caracteres," in Album Pintoresco Universal, II, No. 54 (1842), p. 430.

<sup>20</sup>"Un paseo por el mundo científico," in El Museo Universal, III, No. 12 (June 15, 1859), p. 89.

first Almanaque Ilustrado [para el Año de 1856]; and he commented nostalgically that the steamboat had replaced the sailboat, that the parlor car had replaced the horse-drawn coach, that sulphur matches had replaced flintstones, that the daguerreotype had replaced miniatures in oils, that the human voice had progressed to the optical tower (visual signal telegraph), and finally to the electric telegraph, that from no public lighting, man had established the use of streetlamps and had perfected this further in the form of the public gaslight, that the waterboy had been replaced by the Canal de Lozoya (1858), and, of course, that having had only one almanac--and this unillustrated--twenty-five years before, the Spaniard had finally achieved the present Almanaque.<sup>21</sup> Had Alarcón carried his observations a bit further, he would surely have stated, as countless other writers did, that the sensorial system of man in mid-nineteenth-century Spain was being transformed by the technology that had been cultivated during the first half of the century. Thus, one writer for the Eco Literario de Europa noted that man had made steam to replace breath and steel rails to replace legs, and that now man wanted to add to the tally telegraphy for gesture and electricity for human speech; another writer, probably paraphrasing the observations of Sir John Herschel, remarked:

<sup>21</sup>"Historia de un almanaque" (1883 [?]), in Juicios literarios y artísticos (Madrid, 1900), pp. 181-197. In the preparation of the Almanaque, Alarcón worked with three graphic artists and eleven other writers, including Antonio Flores.

"El hombre ha estendido con [los] instrumentos el dominio de sus sensaciones, así como con las máquinas ha ensanchado los límites de su propia reacción sobre la naturaleza."<sup>22</sup>

Through science and technology, then, man extended his sensorial perceptions and enhanced his capacity for knowledge of the world of phenomena. Also, he found that by the application of technological means and synthesizing forms he could express a diverse world in a more particularized way. The Spanish artist, without losing sight of the expressive forms by which he might programmatize his new vision, also subjectivized the content of his new vision. This mixture of mechanization and idealization, which we find in Fernán Caballero's work, corresponded to eclecticism in philosophy, and it had even been a topical concern of the Romantic debate. Javier Herrero, who finally concludes that Cecilia Böhl von Faber was more a reflector of reality than its idealizer, because of her modus operandi as recopiladora, suggests precisely so; according to Herrero, Nicolás Böhl von Faber said that there are men of two sorts: "los que, movidos por el entusiasmo, usan la imaginación para buscar indicios y símbolos de la eternidad, y otros inclinados a observar los objetos terrestres usando la razón," the latter of which Böhl associated with imitation, rules, mechanical formulation, and classical (in contrast to "modern," "novelish") litera-

<sup>22</sup>"Las maravillas de la ciencia," in Eco Literario de Europa, III (1852), p. 525; "Aproximación," in Enciclopedia española del siglo diez y nueve, XII (1847), p. 124.



ture.<sup>23</sup>

So the progression from the historical novel of medieval theme to the historical novel of contemporary theme, or to the regional novel, has its possible explanation. The breaking down of synthetic perception, through the application of analytical reason, may be associated with the subsequent sensitivity to a distinction between national and individual man. This rupture was noticeable within the nineteenth-century literature of types. In France and Spain, for example, collections of national types exhibited this trend in their progressional departure from the national hub to the provinces as background subject.<sup>24</sup> In one sense, it was normal that the hub should fade from view; Paris and Madrid were, no longer, any more essential as aspects of the costumbristic artist's vision than was the godly center of the uniformitarian universe for the philosophical Romantic. The frequent observation among critics of the nineteenth-century Spanish novel, that the background became progressively regionalized, need not be explained away as a curious accident of regional birthplace, then, but rather in association with the broader

<sup>23</sup>Fernán Caballero: Un nuevo planteamiento (Madrid, 1963), p. 111.

<sup>24</sup>See the representative collection Los valencianos pintados por sí mismos (Valencia, 1859). Also, Margarita Ucelay Da Cal indicates that Ignacio Boix originally intended for his Spanish collection the same divisions of typical subjects, into provincial and urban, that Jules Janin had preordained for Les Français Peints par eux-mêmes (see Los españoles pintados por sí mismos, 1843-1844: Estudio de un género costumbrista [Mexico, 1951], p. 103).

phenomena of technological and philosophical development. The novelization of regional Spain, or of any country, was a measure taken against abstraction and the typification of character. Seen in this way, the regionalist assertion may also be understood as one product of the particularistic interpretation that was encouraged with the swell of perceptually democratizing media.

At a relatively early date, Beatriz Cienfuegos saw, through her enlightened periodic "Pensamientos," that the phenomenon of modas expressed a yearning for the perfect, a continual search for stability amidst inconstancy; at the same time, she recognized, all habits exhibit continual modification and that, for this reason, each person should dress according to his own caudal y distinción.<sup>25</sup> Thus, she affirmed the value of sameness, meaningful only within a particularistic context. Similarly, in our own time, George Boas remarks, in such a way that serves to remind us always of the philosophical, historical, and esthetic atmosphere of the type: "This philosophical assumption of the regularity of nature, of the possibility of always discovering some unity beneath or behind or above the apparent diversity, is the source of all science. But it will be observed that whatever unity is found is always found following one of the prepositions in question. It cannot be expressed in literal

<sup>25</sup>"Sobre el uso de las modas," Pensamiento XXVII, in La Pensadora Gaditana, III (1786), pp. 1-25.

terms and the words 'beneath,' 'behind,' and 'above' are all metaphorical. The unity is what we are looking for; the diversity is what we encounter."<sup>26</sup>

<sup>26</sup>The Limits of Reason (New York, 1961), pp. 19-20.

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BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF SOME PERIODICAL VOLUMES\*

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\*The following is a descriptive list of the nineteenth-century periodical volumes which I have cited with varying frequency in this study. Although the titles have appeared in the principal bibliographical listing, with respect to individual articles of particular interest to me, it seems to me essential that these periodicals be listed as works apart, both for the reader's convenience and because I have considered many of them as more than vehicles of information, rather as works significant in themselves. Although the periodical sets are sometimes incomplete, I have given bibliographical data corresponding to the materials that were immediately available to me. Whenever possible, I indicate here the printer, the publisher, or editor responsable, and the director. Dates correspond to those on individual issues and not necessarily to those which appear on the title pages of the periodical volumes. Most of the items registered here exist in the Princeton University Library collection; those not found in this collection appear with the appropriate notation. Those periodicals whose particular articles I researched in the Hemeroteca Municipal de Madrid are not listed below, since I had not sufficient opportunity to consider these publications as entities significant in themselves. Nor do I list here many other periodical publications in the Princeton collection to which ultimately I did not make reference in this study, but which I did research for possible applicability to the study.



29 [December 29, 1839]) and Juan María Puchol (after II). 1839-April 1840.

La América. Crónica hispano-americana. Director Eduardo Asquerino. 7 vols. Madrid: La América (Tomás Mariffo [I], Francisco de Serra y Madirolas [II-III], Mariano Moreno Fernández [IV], Juan Martín de Heredia [V]) and El Clamor Público (D. Navarro [VI-VII]). 1857-63.

Cartas Españolas, o sea Revista histórica, científica, teatral, artística, crítica y literaria (subtitle changes [IV-V]: "Revista semanal histórica . . ."). Publisher and director José María de Carnerero. 5 vols. Madrid: I. Sancha. July, September, December 1831; March, June 1832.

La Censura, Revista mensual. Publisher Biblioteca Religiosa. 3 vols. of 3 yrs. each of 36 issues each. Madrid: José Felix Palacios and Vda. de Palacios e Hijos (beginning 6th yr., No. 71 [May 1850]). July 1844-December 1853.

Círculo Científico y Literario (no title page). 22 issues (lacking portion of 15th). Madrid: Díaz, Biblioteca Nueva (beginning 4th issue), Juan Núñez Amor (beginning 17th issue), and Tomás Núñez Amor (beginning 21st issue). February 8-July 15, 1854.

La Civilización. Revista religiosa, filosófica, política y literaria de Barcelona. 3 vols. Barcelona: A. Brusi. 1841-42.

El Cócora. Revista de flaquezas humanas escrita por una sociedad de sabios tan modestos como bellacos y dedicada a la

gente mordaz, risueña y maleante. Director Antonio María Segovia e Izquierdo (pseud. "El Cócora"); editor responsable Benigno Ruiz (see p. 16). 1 vol. Madrid: Manuel Galiano. 1860.

El Correo de Ultramar. 1 vol. (III, Nos. 53-78). Paris: X. de Lasalle y Mélan (sic). 1854.

La Crónica. Semanario popular económico: Colección de artículos de viages, de literatura, novelas, cuentos, anécdotas, costumbres, etc. 1 vol. (52 issues). Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico (Francisco de Paula Mellado). October 6, 1844-September 28, 1845.

El Dómine Lucas. 1 vol. (24 issues). Madrid: Sociedad Literaria (Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco). April 1, 1844-March 1, 1846.

Eco Literario de Europa. Revista universal. 3 vols. Madrid: Ramón Rodríguez de Rivera. 1851-52.

El Español, Revista Literaria. Periódico semanal de literatura, bellas artes y variedades (title for first two issues of Revista Literaria de El Español).\*

El Europeo. Periódico de ciencias, artes y literatura. 1 vol. (II). Barcelona: Torner. January 10-March 27, 1824.

El Fandango. Periódico nacional. Papelito nuevo, alegre como unas castañuelas, puramente español, satírico, burlesco en grado superlativo contra todo vicho extranjero, escrito en prosa y verso por los fundadores y redactores

\*S. v. Revista . . . .

de La Risa, inundado de caricaturas, todas nuevas. 1 vol. (24 issues). Madrid: Sociedad Literaria (Wenceslao Ayguales de Izco). December 15, 1844-November 15, 1846.

Floresta Española. Apuntes varios sobre todas materias.

(At end of every issue, the undersigned Vizconde de Manlay.) 33 issues. Madrid: Miguel de Burgos, Jordán (No. 25), and F. Pascual (Nos. 26-33). January 1-August 13, 1835.

Fraí Gerundio. Periódico de León. By Modesto Lafuente y

Zamalloa (pseud. "Fraí Gerundio"). 3 vols. (I-II, IV).

León: Cándido Paramio y Pascual. April 1-June 29, 1837;

July 5-September 28, 1837; January 4-March 29, 1838.

El Gabinete de Lectura, Gaceta de las familias. 25 issues

(numeration equivocal; lacking pp. 145-152). Madrid:

Establecimiento Tipográfico (Francisco de Paula Mellado).

November 5, 1841-March 27, 1842.

El Instructor, o Repertorio de historia, bellas letras y

artes. 4 vols. London: Ackermann. 1834-37.

El Iris. Periódico artístico y literario (subtitle changes

[II]: "Semanario enciclopédico"). 2 vols. (21 issues

plus supplements; 22 issues). Madrid: Establecimiento

Tipográfico (Francisco de Paula Mellado). February-

June 27, 1841; July 4-November 28, 1841.

El Laberinto, Periódico universal. Biografía, historia, crí-

tica literaria, poesía, novela, costumbres, artes, viajes,

música, modas y sucesos contemporáneos, tanto nacionales

como extranjeros, por quincenas. Directors Antonio Flores (I-II) and Antonio Ferrer del Río (II). 2 vols. (24 issues; 36 issues). Madrid: Ignacio Boix. November 1, 1843-October 15, 1844; November 1, 1844-October 20, 1845.

Monitor del Comercio. Editor responsable Joaquín Bernat.

4 yrs. (112 issues [1-6; 7-54; 55-111; 112]). Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico de [Francisco de Paula] Mellado. October 15-December 30, 1861; January 2-November 27, 1862; December 4, 1862-December 31, 1863; 1864.

Museo de las Familias. Lecturas agradables e instructivas (subtitle dropped [X-XI], restored [XII], and altered to "Periódico mensual" [XIII-XXV]). Publisher and director Francisco de Paula Mellado. 25 vols. Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico de [Francisco de Paula] Mellado (I-XXI), Banco Industrial (Joaquín Bernat) (XXII-XXIII), and Dionisio Chaulie (XXIV-XXV). 1843-67.

No Me Olvides. Periódico de literatura y bellas artes (subtitle changes [beginning 1838]: "Periódico semanal"). Publisher Jacinto de Salas y Quiroga. 1 vol. (II, Nos. 27-41). Madrid: No Me Olvides. November 5, 1837-February 11, 1838.

El Nuevo Avisador: Revista de Teatros. Diario pintoresco de literatura (title for 2nd Ser., Nos. 191-198, of Revista de Teatros).\*

\*S. v. Revista . . . .

- El Pájaro Verde, Que habla lo suyo y lo ajeno. Quisi-cosa satírica, humorística y entrometida. 2 yrs. (13 issues; 21 issues). Barcelona: La Publicidad (A[ntonio] Flotats). 1860-61.
- El Pensamiento. Periódico de literatura y artes. Partial vol. (I, Nos. 1-2, 8, 10-11). Madrid: F. Suárez. 1841.
- El Pensamiento de la Nación. Periódico religioso, político y literario. Director Jaime Balmes; editor responsable Juan Gabriel Ayuso. 3 vols. (47 issues; 53 issues; 48 issues). Madrid: Pensamiento de la Nación (I, Nos. 1-11), Eusebio Aguado (I, No. 12-II, No. 64), M. Rivadeneira (II, Nos. 65-76), and Sociedad de Operarios del Mismo Arte (II, No. 77-III, No. 148). February 7-December 25, 1844; January 1-December 31, 1845; January 7-December 31, 1846.
- La Periódico-Manía. Director Francisco Camborda. 2 vols. (21 issues; 20 additional issues, i. e., accounting for the lack of Nos. 35-36). Madrid: Collado (Nos. 1-36 [?]), Vda. de Aznar (Nos. 37-40), and El Constitucional (Antonio Fernández) (Nos. 41-42). 1820-21.
- El Regañón General, o Tribunal catoniano de literatura, educación y costumbres. 1 vol. (62 issues). Madrid: Administración del Real Arbitrio de Beneficencia. June 1-December 31, 1803.
- El Renacimiento. Revista artística y literaria. 1 vol. (19 issues). (Called 2nd Ser., I, for first six issues, because it was considered a continuation of El Artista

[1835-36].) Madrid: Vda. de Burgos (Nos. 1-2) and Alhambra (Nos. 3-19). March 14-July 18, 1847.

Revista Andaluza (subtitle for II: ". . . y periódico del Liceo de Sevilla"). 4 vols. Sevilla: La Revista Andaluza. July (?) 1840-1842.\*

Revista Barcelonesa. Periódico propagador de toda clase de conocimientos útiles. Director Augusto de Burgos. 2 vols. (27 issues; 25 issues). Barcelona: Juan Oliveres. August 2, 1846-January 31, 1847; February 7-July 25, 1847.

Revista Científica y Literaria. Periódico quincenal (subtitle dropped [II]). 2 vols. Madrid: José María Ducazcal (I) and La Luneta (II). 1847-48.

Revista de Cataluña. Periódico quincenal de historia, ciencias, artes, literatura, intereses morales y materiales, industria y comercio, etc. (subtitle dropped [2nd Ser.]). 3 vols. Barcelona: Salvador Manero. 1862 (I-II); October 1, 1862-June 23, 1863 (2nd Ser., I-II, i. e., 3rd vol.).

Revista de España, de Indias y del Extranjero (spelling varies). Director Fermín Gonzalo Morón. 13 vols. (lacking: all of VII and IX, except No. 24 [December 24, 1846], pp. 201-318, and No. 30 [June 18, 1847], pp. 113-207, respectively). Madrid: Alegría y Charlain (I), M. Rivadeneyra (II-VII), and La Publicidad (M. Rivadeneyra) (VIII-XIII). 1845-48.

\*From the Ohio State University Library.

- Revista de España y del Estrangero (spelling varies). Director Fermín Gonzalo Morón. 8 vols. Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico (Francisco de Paula Mellado) (I-II), Plazuela de San Miguel (1. e., printers) (III, VI-VII, VIII [?]), and Archivo Militar (IV-V). 1842-44.
- Revista de Europa. Periódico quincenal de ciencias, literatura y artes. 2 vols. Madrid: José de Rebolledo (I) and Ángel de Penas (II). 1846.\*
- Revista de los Progresos de las Ciencias Exactas, Físicas y Naturales. 1 vol. Madrid: Vda. de Perinat (S. Compagni). 1850.\*
- Revista de Madrid. 9 vols. in 3 series (I-III; I-II; I-IV). Madrid: Tomás Jordán (1st and 2nd Ser.), Fernando Suárez (3rd Ser., I, III-IV), and Revista [de Madrid] (3rd Ser., II). 1838 (I-II); 1839 (III; 2nd Ser., I-II); 1841 (3rd Ser., I-II); 1842 (3rd Ser., III-IV).
- Revista de Teatros. Diario pintoresco de literatura (title prefixes El Nuevo Avisador [Nos. 191-198]). 1 vol. (296 issues). Madrid: Boix. December 30, 1842-October 31, 1843.
- Revista del Movimiento Intelectual de Europa. Editor responsable Felipe Picatoste [y Rodríguez]. 1 vol. of 2 yrs. (30 issues; 21 issues). Madrid: Las Novedades (A. Querol). June 11-December 31, 1865; January 8-May 28,

\*From my collection.

\*From my collection.

1866.

Revista Literaria de El Español. Periódico de literatura, bellas artes y variedades (subtitle for I, No. 4 [June 22, 1845]; no subtitle for remainder of 1st Ser.; subtitle varies with 2nd Ser., according to title page of volume, but not according to individual issues: "Semanario de . . .") (title for first two issues of 1st Ser.: El Español, Revista Literaria. Periódico semanal de literatura, bellas artes y variedades). Editor responsable Tomás Araus (I, Nos. 2, 7-9); director Francisco Navarro Villoslada (II). 3 vols. in 2 series (44 issues [I]; 17 issues [II]; 25 issues [I]). Madrid: Sociedad de Operarios (I, Nos. 1-6), El Español (I, Nos. 7-44; 2nd Ser., I), and Anselmo Santa Coloma (II). June 1, 1845-March 30, 1846; April-July 27, 1846; January-June 21, 1847.

Revista Litteraria. Periodico de litteratura, philosophia, viagens, sciencias e bellas-artes. 11 vols. Oporto: Typographia Commercial Portuense (I-VI) and Typographia da Revista [Litteraria] (VII-XI [?]). 1838 (I-II); 1839 (III-IV); 1840 (V-VI); 1841 (VII); 1842 (VIII-IX); 1843 (X-XI).

Revista Peninsular. 1 vol. (12 issues). Lisbon: Typographia do Progresso. September (?) 1855-August 1856.

La Risa. Enciclopedia de extravagancias. Obra clásico-romántica, de costumbres, de literatura, de sana moral, de gastronomía y de carcajadas, escrita en prosa y verso



por varios poetas de buen humor y un habilísimo cocinero.  
3 vols. (25 issues each). Madrid: Sociedad Literaria  
(Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco). 1843 (I); 1844 (II-III).

Semanario Pintoresco Español (subtitled "Lectura de las familias" [1839-44; 1846-47]; subtitle lengthens to ". . . Enciclopedia popular" [1848-55]). Directors: Ramón de Mesonero Romanos (April 1836-1842[?]); Gervasio Gironella (1843-44); Villadares y Saavedra (?) (1845); Francisco Navarro Villoslada, Ángel Fernández de los Ríos, and Vicente Castelló (1846); Ángel Fernández de los Ríos (July [?] 1846-1855); Eduardo Gasset (January-June 1856); José Muñoz Maldonado, Conde de Fabraquer (possibly July-August 1856); Manuel de Assas (August 1856-November 1857). 22 vols. in 4 series (1836-38; 1839-42; 1843-45; 1846-57). Madrid: Omaña (April 3, May 1-December 25, 1836; July 1-November 25, 1838); Tomás Jordán (April 10-24, 1836; January 1, 1837-June 24, 1838; December 2, 1838-November 15, 1840); Vda. e Hijos de Tomás Jordán (November 22, 1840-December 25, 1842); F. Suárez (January 1, 1843-December 28, 1844); Vicente de Lalama (January 5-December 28, 1845); Vicente Castelló (January 4-June 28, 1846); Vicente Castelló and Baltasar González (July 5-December 27, 1846); Baltasar González (January 3, 1847-December 24, 1848); G. Alhambra (January 7-September 2, 1849); Semanario Pintoresco Español and La Ilustración (G. Alhambra) (September 9, 1849-December 30, 1855); Vda. de Palacios (January 6-June 22; August 10-September 28,

1856); Manuel Galiano (June 29-August 3, 1856); Joaquín René (October 5-December 28, 1856); T. Fortanet (January 11-18, 1857); Manuel Gómez (January 25-November 8, 1857). April 1836-November 1857.

El Siglo Pintoresco. Periódico universal ameno e instructivo al alcance de todas las clases. Directors Vicente Castelló, Francisco Navarro Villoslada, and M. M. Bartolomé (I); Castelló, Navarro Villoslada, and Ángel Fernández de los Ríos, who replaced Navarro Villoslada in July 1846 (II); Fernández de los Ríos (III). 3 vols. Madrid: Vicente Castelló (I) and Baltasar González (II-III). April 1845-January 1848.

La Sociedad. Revista religiosa, filosófica, política y literaria. By Jaime Balmes. 2 vols. Barcelona: A. Brusi. 1843.

El Tío Camorra. Periódico político y de trueno. By Juan Martínez Villergas (pseud. "El Tío Camorra"). Editor responsable Francisco de Fuentes. 1 vol. (26 issues). Madrid: José María Ducazcal (Nos. 1-25) and Julián Llorente (No. 26). September 1, 1847-February 23, 1848.

El Tío Tremenda, o Los Críticos del Malecón. Papel periódico. By José María Díaz del Río. 98 issues. Sevilla: Herederos de Padrino. September 1812-August 1813.

ABSTRACT

THE MORTALITY OF TYPES: TECHNOLOGY, LANGUAGE, AND PROSE  
IN ROMANTIC SPAIN

By Lee Fontanella

Major Professor: Edmund L. King

The favored critical approach to Spanish costumbristic literature has been to consider this literature as if it were some rather unfortunate accident exhibiting either the disintegrative or the embryonic stages, or both, of other prose genres reputedly more fixed and definable, and for this reason, superior. But the costumbristic piece is more advantageously considered as an esthetic gesture in itself which, with difficulty, stood for a departure from the universal toward the particular, as perceptual standard, during a period of Romantic lyrical expression. The favored approach, ironically, is a reflection of the same prescriptive mode of thought which lent impetus to nineteenth-century costumbristic literature, to the literature of types especially, and which this literature ultimately denies. It seems most profitable to judge this literature as the expression of writers partly influenced by esthetic tradition and partly conditioned psychologically by contemporary circumstance; that is, we would best consider this literature with respect to philosophical and esthetic attitudes that reflected modes of perception and, at the same time, with respect to expressive factors usually thought to be external to the literary process. The

assumption is, then, that there is indeed a kind of "intentional" factor operative in literary making, whether or not this is recognized at the time when it is operative. This factor, although it does not exclude individual genius, is more accurately taken as representative of the perceptual standards and expressive needs of the group and never of the individual solely.

Through scientific means of expression, which synthesized the analytical vision, particularization became increasingly possible. Romantic costumbristic literature might be seen as the attempt to come to grips, through synthesizing language, with the new particularistic vision. The need for synthetical expression was partially satisfied through technology and, paradoxically, partially built up through technologization, which allowed for the perception of an increasingly diversified world. Thus, an unsatisfactory relationship between means and end is symptomatic of the whole of costumbristic literature. My concern is the popular manifestation of linguistic and technological sign systems in Romantic Spain, particularly the problematic loss of consecutiveness among the elements of these systems, a loss which occurred along with the persistence of rationalism.

The type went out of fashion as a literary genre, because as a mode of definition it was by nature self-contradictory and, therefore, insufficient. The entire genre of types, the book of types itself, and the large majority of individual type sketches exhibited a phenomenon common to the history

of any sign, artistic or linguistic. That is to say, the more functional significance the sign acquires, the more it requires elaboration in order to satisfy in a meaningful representational capacity. Similarly, the standardized literary type is looked at so habitually that it is overlooked, sooner or later, and requires further elaboration in order to be an adequate representation of the particularistic vision. Yet the more discursive the type becomes, the more it becomes the private property of its author, and we must conclude, strictly speaking, that universal interpretability and accessibility are not the end of the highly articulated work. In technology, also, the defeat of the standard is incorporated in the technological form itself, since through technology man's sensational capacities are heightened to a point where he requires further typification, through new technologization, in order to express the subject of his increasingly inclusive perception.

It appears that currently we seek other than normalizing, centralizing media for expressive purposes. The breakdown of all "traditional" aspects of the novel, signaled by critical statements on what the novel is not, rather than what the novel is or ought to be, is but one facet of the reaction against the effects of centralizing technologies that prevailed even during the flourishing of Romanticism. Romanticism must be seen as a more or less historically definable meeting point for an unwieldy, yet rewarding, mixture of both centralistic and democratic trends in perception and expres-

sion; this mixture can be witnessed not only in literature, but also in technological practice and in the scientific mind of the Romantic period.