Revisiting Centres and Peripheries in Iberian Studies

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Culture, History and Socio-economic Change

Edited by

Mark Gant

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INTRODUCTION

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Like its predecessor *New Journeys in Iberian Studies: A (trans-)national and (trans-)regional exploration*[1] this volume gathers new and emerging research in a range of sub-fields of Iberian Studies from an international range of established academics and early career researchers who are drawn from universities in Austria, Costa Rica, Germany, Italy, Japan, Portugal, the Republic of Ireland, Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. The book has its origin in the 40th Annual Conference of the Association for Contemporary Iberian Studies held in Barcelona in September 2018 and the richly eclectic range of contributions and diverse origin of the authors is highly representative of the character of Association and its gatherings. The scope of the Association and of this volume is largely focussed in the Iberian states and regions but this is not always exclusive and at times extends to those areas of the world with strong linguistic and postcolonial cultural ties to them.

The volume has been divided into two sections of twelve and eleven chapters respectively. The first of these gathers contributions dealing with cultural representations in various genres, which are the fruit of recent research into concerns with identity, memory and society in Iberia and, to some extent, Latin America. Florian Grafl opens the collection with a chapter in transnational mode with a study revisiting the nineteenth century vogue for *costumbrista* sketches and their previously neglected role of in the construction of national identities in Spain and the then peripheral Latin America, providing some promising indications for future research in this field. Continuing on a similar theme of identities in literature, Juan Carlos Busto considers the tension between periphery and centre as he traces the ways in which the myth of Covadonga has been used in the construction of regional and national identity in Asturias and beyond. Deirdre Kelly

[1] Mark Gant, Annaliese Hutton and Paco Ruzzante (Eds), *New Journeys in Iberian Studies: A (Trans-)National and (Trans)Regional Exploration* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2018).

continues the theme of narrative with her study of fictionalisation of memory in the case of how the Catalan photographer Francesc Boix, who was incarcerated in a German concentration camp, has been represented in Lea Velez's generically hybrid grief memoir *El jardín de la memoria* which she categorises as a form of affiliative postmemory revisiting the underrepresented legacy of the Spanish Civil War. Cindy Pinhal continues the theme of memory and the Civil war period in her chapter which takes a transhistorical and transmediterranean approach, applying queer theory to the (dis)remembrance of the Moroccan survivors in Driss Deiback's 2006 documentary *Los perdedores*. Queer theory, along with feminist and postcolonial perspectives, is also drawn on by Angelica Camerino Parra in her exploration of the body, or its absence, as a site of conflict in contemporary Latin American artistic practices through critical microanalyses of three works by Felix Gonzalez Torres (Cuba), Alexánder Apóstol (Venezuela) and Mónica Meyer (Mexico), respectively which have remained on the margins of official discourses as non-hegemonic cultural expressions. The female body, in this context a victimised and exploited one, is also the protagonist of in Anna Tous-Rovirosa's contribution presenting her research into how women have been represented in the Spanish procedural genre in the decades on each side of the turn of the millennium; though women do appear as professionals they are often sanctioned and only occasionally reach prestige status with mixed audience reception. Terri Carney brings together a similar interest in visual narrative and the concerns with national and gender identities represented in earlier in the volume with her study of Cristina Fernández Cubas's book *La flor de España* and Pedro Almodóvar's film *Mujeres al borde de un ataque de nervios*, texts in which she finds that the *chica rara* evolved into a flâneuse in the post-Franco period, self-consciously making use of traditional female weapons in her postmodern struggles. The focus on visual media is continued by Carolina Sanabria who focuses on the *Gran Hermano* house with its acousmatic voice and confessional as a hyper-real space of discursive construction. Continuing the theme of visual representations of the house, though with a very different approach, Joan Miquel Gual, discusses how the economic crisis has led Spanish cinema to revisit the presentation of anxiety around access to housing which first appeared under the heavily controlled circumstances of the Ideological State Apparatus in the 1950s, during the second phase of the Franco dictatorship. He leads us through to the period of the *comedia desarrollista* to the re-emergence of the housing film in the socio-cultural context of the anti-austerity movement of the early twenty-first century with a multiplicity of characters and aesthetic approaches. The peripheries chosen by Lucia Filipova are also

social as she explores how the marginal world of the picaresque tradition fuses with Barcelona crime fiction in the Transition and its subsequent adaptation to the aspirational society of the new millennium. Karen Poe Lang, in contrast, uses intermediality to explore the connections between Freud's essay on Michelangelo's *Moses*, Millet's *The Angelus*, Vermeer's *The Lacemaker* and Buñuel's *Un Chien Andalou*. The section is concluded by Simona Langella who, in her study of the defence of poetry in the works of the mid-twentieth century poet María Zambrano as a response to the crisis of modernity, shifts our focus from the study of the resonances held by visual culture to the tense relationship between metaphysics and poetics.

The second section of the book takes as its theme social, political and economic processes operating in at the centres and peripheries of the states and regions of Iberia and in those parts of the world connected to them. The current Catalan question provides a strong topical theme running through a number of chapters and in parallel a transnational angle is provided by chapters considering more global perspectives and people movements. The section opens in the period of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship and the Spanish Second Republic, in which María Zambrano had been working in the final chapter of the previous section. Manuel López Forjas contributes the most recent instalment of his study of Spanish political thought, exploring the loyal contribution of Andrés Saborit to the Socialist party as he attempted to conciliate different wings of the party and those who sympathised with it. This was particularly salient in his role as the party's historiographer, revisiting its peripheral years as well as its period at the centre of power during the Republic. Republican beliefs in the importance of secular state education also inspired Francisco Ferrer i Guàrdia's educational philosophy, originating in the peripheral region of Catalonia but with as part of a project across the Spanish state and with very transnational dimension as elucidated by Parker Lawson in his chapter on the Escuela Moderna and its role in the struggle for pedagogical reform. Ferrer i Guàrdia is also one of the leading intellectuals who appear in Susana Rocha Relvas's chapter as she continues her project of exploring the transnational intellectual currents between Spain and Portugal in the early twentieth century, turning her attention to the fertile Portuguese-Catalan networks of *Renascença Portuguesa* and *Noucentisme.* These thrived as part of what she sees as the golden age of peripheral peninsular nationalisms as these cultural movements sought to forge new identity spaces in an Iberia which was, in turn, peripheral to Europe. Steven Byrne's contribution continues to pay attention to Catalonia but shifts focus to the very recent events of the independence movement in his study of languages attitudes among the member of independence groups in the city of Girona, evidencing the

impact of processes of globalisation and multilingualism on twenty first century *catalanisme* as it moves beyond linguistic nationalism. The independence *procés* is also the subject of Mohanad Amer Kadim's work but his approach is a transnational one which explores how the peripheral nationalisms of Catalonia and Kurdistan are compared and contrasted in the Middle Eastern Arab press which see the referendums as manifestations of a backlash against globalisation that risk a dangerous destabilisation of the states involved. The theme of nationalism is also taken up by Nick Sharman but his chapter, in contrast, revisits the Spanish state's increasing intervention in economic affairs in the early decades of the twentieth century, followed by full blown economic nationalism of Primo de Rivera dictatorship. He presents this as laying the foundation for the autarky of the Franco years as Spain became even more peripheral before its later swift incorporation into the European mainstream. Fabian Schmiedel takes up the examination of the period of the Spanish transition to democracy, more specifically exploring the process by which the policies of the European Community haltingly sought to draw Spain from the periphery towards the centre of continental politics. Makiko Narita picks up the theme of the impact the socio-political context on economic decisions, linking it to the Catalan crisis, in her study on the determinants of business location in centre and peripheries represented by the regions of Spain during the decade after the 2008 economic crisis. The peripheries studied by Beatriz Soto Aranda are, in contrast, more social than political and echo some of the focus on cultural representations in the first section of the book as she discusses the postcolonial Other as seen in Arab and Islamic immigration in children's and young adult literature, in the Spanish and Catalan literary polysystems in particular. Ester Amaral de Paula picks up the themes of migration and of the impact of economic crisis as she explores press coverage of Portuguese migrants to Brazil, exposing how journalistic discourse, from which a certain colonialist tone was not absent, supported the idea of cultural homogeneity between Brazil and Portugal. The final chapter of the section also draws on postcolonial relations in the Lusophone world; though rather than the transatlantic space of the previous chapter, Jessica Falconi reconsiders the hegemonic narrative of past Portuguese colonialism and Lusophone discourse in the transnational imaginative geography of the Indian Ocean. In doing so, she closes the wide range of national, regional and transnational processes in centres and peripheries explored in the volume with her exploration of the recent theoretical and disciplinary articulation between Lusophone literary and cultural studies and Indian Ocean Studies, proposing a new cultural cartography.

This volume provides rich evidence of the breadth and depth of new research being carried out in the dynamic interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary field of Iberian Studies at present. As Susana Rocha Relvas describes in her chapter, a strong thread running through the book is that concerned with investigating the multiple spatialities, spaces of tension between the centre and periphery, that comprises the Iberian cultural system. Topically, and as noted above, the current situation in Catalonia naturally comes to the fore in a number of chapters and from a range of perspectives. However, in the revisiting of a range of cultural products and historical processes undertaken by the contributors, it can be seen that transoceanic postcolonial relations are not neglected and concerns with history, memory and fiction weave their way through the work of the contributors.

Chapters Nine, Eleven and Twelve were translated by Mark Gant, Chapter Twenty-One by Iris Lucio-Villegas Spillard and Chapter Twenty-Three by Lourdes Salgado. Other contributors wrote in English and translations of quotations are by the chapter authors unless otherwise attributed.

The editor wishes to thank all the contributors for their collaboration and collegiality. The editor is also grateful to the staff of Cambridge Scholars for all their patience and assistance in preparing this text.

SECTION ONE:

RE-EXAMINING CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL REPRESENTATIONS: IDENTITY, MEMORY AND SOCIETY

CHAPTER ONE

CUADROS DE COSTUMBRES AND THE SHAPING OF STEREOTYPES AND NATIONAL IDENTITY IN CONTEMPORARY SPAIN AND LATIN AMERICA

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Introduction

In the year 1832 Mariano José de Larra, one of the most influential authors of Spanish *costumbrismo*, started his own satirical magazine under the title "El pobrecito hablador", which can be translated into English as "The poor chatterer".[1] He used this medium to publish short articles, so-called *cuadros de costumbres*, in which he described certain aspects of the Spanish people in general and the society of Madrid in particular.[2] One of his most influential articles was "Vuelva usted mañana" ("Come back tomorrow"), in which he narrates the story of a stranger coming to Madrid from Paris to solve a family matter.[3] The stranger had planned to stay in Madrid for only two weeks, but finally ends up spending a couple of months there because wherever he goes to move his issues forward, he is put off with the words "Vuelva usted mañana" unless he finally abandons Spain in frustration with his business left unsolved. Mariano José de Larra concludes this story with the words:

> "I shall confess to you that I do nothing today that can be put off until tomorrow; I shall tell you that I get up at eleven in the morning, and take a

[1] Neuschäfer, *Das 19. Jahrhundert*, 264-265.
[2] Schwab, *Der spanische costumbrismo*, 33-34.
[3] Larra, *Vuelva*.

> siesta in the afternoon; and that I spend seven and eight hours at a stretch loafing at a table in a café, talking—or snoring—like a good Spaniard."[4]

Back to the present day, only a few years ago, in 2014 the influential German newspaper "Süddeutsche Zeitung", published a series in which young Europeans were questioned about prejudices concerning their home country and their countrymen. Concerning Spain, a 26-year old PhD student at the European University Institute in Florence, Leticia Díez Sánchez, complained that Spaniards could be considered to be "lazy, irresponsible and unreliable".[5] In doing so, she gave a very similar picture of typical Spanish stereotypes as Mariano José de Larra had already done almost three centuries before.

Taking this example as a starting point, it seems interesting to focus more closely on the *cuadros de costumbres* asking in which way they shaped stereotypes and/or national identity both in Spain and in Latin America. Consequently, the aim of this chapter, deriving from research undertaken within a history of science framework, is to investigate how this form of early journalism contributed to scientific knowledge production. By focusing not only on the *cuadros de costumbres* which originated from Spain, but also on samples which were published later in (former) Spanish colonies, the chapter moreover highlights the transnational and global dimensions of this early form of self-examination.

This chapter is structured in the following way: Firstly, it will define the social sketch as a textual genre and highlight its developments in the two countries where it made its first significant appearance, France and Great Britain. Secondly, it will explore how in Spain the *cuadros de costumbres* derived from this textual genre and to which extend they were adapted in Spain's (former) colonies. Thirdly, one striking example will be closely examined in order to show in which ways these *cuadros de costumbres* shaped national identity both in Spain as well as in Latin America and what kind of transatlantic connections can be revealed.

The Rise of Social Sketches in Europe

Due to the social changes occasioned by the French Revolution and the Enlightenment, in the first decades of the 19th century people began to focus

[4] The translation I quote is available online at: https://app.oncoursesystems.com/school/.../downloadFile.aspx (4.12.2018)
[5] This article (in German) is available online at: https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/junge-europaeer-ueber-vorurteile-ich-bin-anders-als-ihr-denkt-1.1885398-6 (4.12.2018)

on themselves as human beings and on their immediate living environment.[6] Based on the French *esquisses des moeurs* and the English "sketches of manners", social sketches became widespread in many European countries.[7] These short sociological and anthropological treatises were published in newspapers and magazines whose circulation and influence largely increased during this period due to technological innovations in press and marketing, as well as the liberalization of censorship.[8] Being situated between arts, science, and entertainment, the social sketch genre generated knowledge that expressed conceptions of human beings and history.[9] In doing so, the social sketches relied on knowledge deriving from a large variety of disciplines, as statistics, travel literature, medicine, and physiognomy.[10]

Apart from articles in the daily press and in magazines, it is striking that in many countries, collaborative projects were initiated which aimed to describe the whole society and mentality of its people in one sample book.[11] The very first of those was the English series "Heads of the People; or, Portraits of the English" in which the editor describes the aim of the project as to "preserve the impression of the present age; […] record its virtues, its follies, its moral contradictions, and its crying wrongs".[12] Only a few months later, the work was translated into French under the title "Les Anglais peints par eux-mêmes" and almost at the same time, a similar publication started to appear in France: "Les Français peints par eux-mêmes" (English: The French people painted by themselves).[13]

The connection of the popularity of the social sketches and the systematizing developments in contemporary social thought are obvious. Both phenomena can be linked to the radical political and social transformations that the people witnessed all across Europe, with Spain being no exception.[14]

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[6] Osterhammel, *Verwandlung*, 25-83.

[7] A comprehensive overview on the transnational history of the social sketch as a genre of 19th century European literature is given by Lauster, *Sketches*.

[8] Boening, *Unending*.

[9] This is argued by Christiane Schwab in her recent articles: Schwab, *Sketches of Manners*, and Schwab, *Social Observation*.

[10] For an overview of the history of science in the 19th century, c. Heilbron, *The Rise of Social Theory*, as well as Heilbron, et al., *The Rise of the Social Sciences*.

[11] This was recently shown by Leonor Kuijk in her PhD thesis *Knitting the Nation. A comparative analysis of national type collections in Europe around 1840*.

[12] Quoted from Jerrold, *Preface*, iii-iv.

[13] Kuijk, *Knitting*, 43.

[14] The connections of the Spanish c*ostumbrismo* and European literatures were highlighted in Losada, *Costumbrismo*.

'Cuadros de Costumbres' in Spain and Latin-America

These social sketches became even more widespread in the Hispanic world than in France and Europe. In Spain, Costumbrismo, deriving from the Spanish word *costumbre*, which could be translated as "custom" or "manner", was a literary genre on its own, which had its heyday between 1830 and 1860 and was characterized by the precise description of daily living conditions and cultural forms of expression.[15] Although this feature was also present in novels and other more complex texts, the so-called *cuadros de costumbres*, very similar to the French *esquisses des moeurs* and the English "sketches of manners", became quite popular mainly thanks to the efforts of the Madrilenian writers and journalists Ramón de Mesonero Romanos and the above-mentioned Mariano José de Larra.[16] Consequently, in 1843 a sketch collection named "Los españoles pintados por sí mismos" (English: The Spanish painted by themselves) appeared, which was influenced, as the title already indicates, by the sketch collection that had been published in France and Great Britain before.[17]

Concerning Latin America, one should bear in mind that parts of the new continent had belonged to Spain for several centuries. Only in the first decades of the 19th century, when social sketches became widespread in Europe, did the Spanish colonies in Central and South America start to gain independence. At first, it seemed that, as had taken place in the United States of America in North America, the former Spanish viceroyalties would be replaced by confederations of states. However, these confederations soon collapsed and from them today's countries of Central and South America emerged. Already in 1830, Ecuador and Venezuela were separated from Great Colombia. Later the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata split into Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay and Bolivia and from the Federal Republic of Central America emerged the states Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Costa Rica. In the Caribbean, Cuba remained a Spanish colony until the Spanish-American War in 1898. The age of state building

[15] For a recent comprehensive study of the cuadros de costumbres c. Peñas Ruiz, *Artículo*.
[16] For a comparison of the journalistic work of de Larra and Mesonero Romanos: Rubio Cremades, *Analogías*.
[17] Boix (ed.), *Los españoles*. For a detailed study of this work: Ucelay da Cal, *Los españoles*.

in Central and South America finally ended only in 1904, when Panama separated from Colombia.[18]

Although the former Spanish colonies gradually had become independent, their cultural connections to Spain nevertheless remained very strong. Therefore, it is not surprising, that *costumbrismo* and the *cuadros de costumbres* became widespread in almost all countries of Central and South America and the Caribbean as well.[19] Concerning the history of literature, it was mainly Mexico which took a leading role in Central and South America. For example, the first newspaper in Latin America, the "Gazeta de Méxiko y Noticias de Nueva España" which first appeared in print in 1722 was published in Mexico City.[20] In 1854, a collection of sketches named "Los mexicanos pintados por sí mismos" ("The Mexicans painted by themselves") was published and included sketches very similar to the Spanish ones, as it will be demonstrated on one example in the final part of this chapter.[21] Two years earlier, another collection of sketches had already been published in Cuba, named "Los Cubanos pintados por sí mismos".[22] Not only the title, but also the layout strongly resembled the original Spanish edition, as the front pages of "Los españoles pintados por sí mismos" and "Los cubanos pintados por sí mismos" clearly illustrate:

[18] A comprehensive overview of the history of Latin America is provided by, for example: Halperín Donghi, *Historia*, and Bethell, *Cambridge history of Latin America*.

[19] This is convincingly shown in the recent anthology Salkjelsvik and Martínez-Pinzón, *Revisitar*.

[20] Rössner, *Lateinamerikanische Literaturgeschichte*, 73.

[21] Porrua (ed.), *Los mexicanos*.

[22] Millán (ed.), *Los cubanos*.

Fig. 1-1[23]

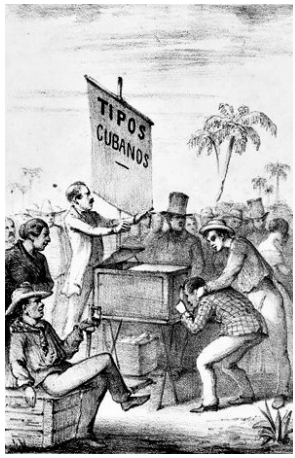

Fig. 1-2[24]

In 1866, in Columbia a collection of texts was published under the title "Museo de cuadro de costumbres" (Museum of Sketches of Manners), which although somewhat different in style and content, nevertheless strongly resembled the Mexican and Cuban collections of sketches.[25]

In other countries such as, for example, Argentina and Peru, no comparable sketch collections were published, but neverthess *costumbrismo*, as research both by literature scholars has shown, was very influential, and social sketches regularly appeared in newspapers and magazines there also.[26] The fact that the appearance of social sketches in Central and South America as well as in the Caribbean corresponds with the period of Independence makes them a significant source for research on the emergence of national identity in the former Spanish colonies, as will be demonstrated through the example in the following part of this chapter.

[23] Boix (ed.), *Los españoles.*
[24] Millán (ed.), *Los cubanos*.
[25] Vergas y Vergara (ed.), *Museo*.
[26] For the case of Peru, the works of Jorge Cornejo Polar stand out, for example: Cornejo Polar, *El costumbrismo en el Perú*, as well as Cornejo Polar, *El costumbrismo peruano y el español*. For a comprehensive study on *costumbrismo* in Argentina: Marún, *Orígines*.

Transnational cross-references within sketch production

In the last major part of this chapter, I want to show how the *cuadros de costumbres* shaped national identities both in Spain as well as in its former colonies and which transatlantic connections can be revealed. It is obvious that this cannot be done extensively. Therefore, I will only focus on one very striking example.[27] The term *aguador*, which could be translated as "water carrier", refers to a profession which was popular at that time both in Spain and in Latin America. People who worked as *aguadores* drew water from the fountains and carried it to mostly rich persons who paid them for their service.

On the left one can see the Spanish original taken from the sketch collection "Los españoles pintados por sí mismos", on the right appears the Mexican version.

Fig. 1-3[28]

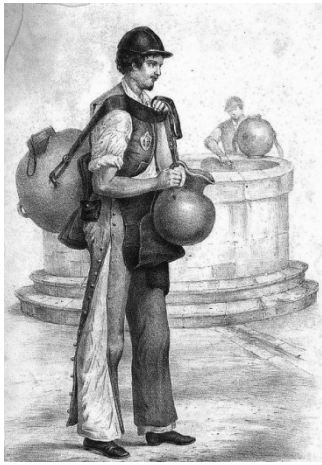

Fig. 1-4[29]

The Spanish *aguador* is tanned and of a small stature. He wears a triangular hat, a small jacket, trousers and working boots. Because of his primitive clothing and his rigid composure he gives the impression of being rather

[27] In doing so, I am referring closely to the excellent article by Mey Yen Moriuchi, *From "Les types populaire" to "Los tipos populares". Nineteenth-Century Mexican Costumbrismo*.
[28] Boix (ed.), *Los españoles.*
[29] Porrua (ed.), *Los mexicanos*.

coarse. Furthermore, it is confusing that he hides both his hands and that he is not portrayed doing his job, but at being on a break. Behind him, another water carrier is allusively drafted carrying a huge barrel on his back.

In contrast, the picture of the Mexican water carrier differs significantly. He is portrayed as a black-haired and dark-eyed mestizo, a person of racially mixed ancestry in Latin America. He wears a clean white shirt with the sleeves rolled up to the elbows and trousers put together by buttons on the sides. His profession is symbolized by the round cap and the two bins which he carries. He shows no hardship, but proudly waits in front of the fountain while a fellow worker fills his bins. In total, his upright position, his clean clothing and his appealing appearance makes him much more dignified that the Spanish one.

The differences of the two graphical presentations are also reflected in the two texts which describe the work and the person of the water carrier. The text about the Spanish water carrier is written in the third person and displays the tasks of the water carrier as an ineluctable consequence of the social hierarchy. The water carrier is portrayed as somebody originating from the poor regions in the Northern of Spain, who moved to Madrid to make his living there by supplying rich people with water.

The text on the Mexican water carrier already differs significantly stylistically. The author narrates in the first-person-perspective a personal encounter with a water carrier who is carrying water to his house. The following dialogue, which is given in the text word-for-word, manifests, as argued by Mey-Yen Moriuchi, the self-confidence of the Mexican author who claims the right to write about his fellow citizens because he no longer accepts that strangers shape their representation. Overall, the water carrier is portrayed in the Mexican text as an uneducated, but hard-working and honest man who is doing his job in a dignified way.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have tried to show how the *cuadros the costumbres* in Spain and Latin America shaped stereotypes and/or national identities until today. The sketches seem to be a most valuable source for investigating in which way their contemporaries in the 19th century witnessed the radical political and social changes which characterized that period and how they portrayed their home country and their fellow citizens. This is especially true for Latin America, where the emergence of this text genre coincided with the period of Independence and the foundation of nation states as we know them today. So far the *cuadros de costumbres* have been almost exclusively examined by literary scholars, but as I tried to highlight in this article, they would be

a very interesting subject of investigation for historians and those researching cultural studies as well.

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CHAPTER TWO

"COVADONGA" AS A LITERARY THEME OF ASTURIAN AND SPANISH REGIONALISM AND NATIONALISM

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Introduction

From a distant past, somewhere between history and legend, the events surrounding King Pelayo in Covadonga have acquired in each era the values that each society has wanted to confer on them. The character of a polyvalent symbol that Covadonga has had and still has[1], has motivated its adaptability and its ability to express the yearnings and "conceal the conflicts of powers existing between Church and State, region and nation" (Boyd 2006, 153). Without forgetting its relationship with Spanish literature[2], this study will focus on the texts written in the Asturian language[3], mostly poems, seeing to what extent they reflect the ideology of each period.

[1] The bibliography on this subject is very abundant and the one made of it by M.ª Jesús Villaverde Amieva (2001, 125-149), gives a good account.

[2] This aspect is developed widely by Rosario Álvarez Blanco (2013). The theme of Pelayo and Covadonga has been treated in other literatures; the works of Coletes Blanco (2013, 325-345; 2015, along with papers by Rodríguez Álvarez, Freire López, Gérard Dufour, Diego Saglia, Peralta García and Laspra Rodríguez) deal with it.

[3] A more incomplete view of the matter is offered by Roberto González-Quevedo (1985, 83-90).

First poems in Asturian about Covadonga

The first poem in the Asturian language[4] to offer a literary vision of Pelayo and Covadonga is entitled "La batalla de Covadonga" by Xosé Caveda y Nava published in 1839 (217-233). Caveda moves away from the tragic treatment of his predecessors, Nicolás de Moratín, Jovellanos and Quintana, and centres the action on Covadonga (Caso González 1987, 357). Caveda's poem has no common element with the one nearest to it in time, *Pelayo* by Quintana, other than a shared belief in a new republic of laws and freedom that Pelayo symbolically inaugurates (Valero 2011, 40). As regards his chosen metre of romance Caveda's poem has little to do with other romantic poems that use cultured metres such as the unfinished *El Pelayo* (1840) by José de Espronceda or the epic poem *La pérdida de España reparada por el Rei Pelayo* (1820) by Pedro de Montengón. Similarly, although having been described as a historical romance, it maintains few common elements with other late historical ballads such as the *Don Sancho en Zamora* by Nicolás Fernández de Moratín. However, it does employ some epic resources typical of traditional ballads as seen in the description of Pelayo and in some scenes of the battle. The author makes use of a narrator who addresses a virtual interlocutor and, in addition, uses an opening formula ("Non ves amigu isti templu") that recalls the one followed by Xosefa Xovellanos and by Antón Balvidares in their poems in Bable[5].

But the construction of the romance is altogether different, since the jocoserious tone is rejected in favour of a higher and more patriotic register. In addition, the nature of the two time planes employed is very different from what happens in those romances. Caveda composes, from the plane of the present, a romantic image of the scene of the battle ("Escondidu n'eses breñes / A los pies del peñascal") at the same time as descriptive of the decay and ruin of Covadonga ("Donde agora se ven ruines, / De lo que fó tiempu atrás"). The idea of ruin can also be found in other testimonies of the time and reflects the abandonment that followed the cessation of the works of a great basilica after the Ventura Rodríguez's project. In this regard, identifying that the poem was composed between 1833 and 1839 is consistent. It should also be noted that the defence of "Les costumes y los fueros" that is made in it could arise from the active position of its author against the suppression of the Asturian regional institutions that is reflected

[4] A brief allusion is made in a seventeenth-century text, the "Diálogu políticu" (vv. 367-370) by Antón de Marirreguera (1997, 308).

[5] This is about the opening forms: *Compadre, amigu, e razon [...]*; *¡Qui hay, compadre, bienvenido!* (in Balvidares), *Amigo Xuan, tu non sabes?*; *Muncho me fuelgo, compadre [...]* (in Xosefa Xovellanos). See Busto Cortina (2011-2012: 19).

in 1834 with the publication of his *Memoria histórica sobre la Junta General del Principado de Asturias*[6]. Caveda does without all the family drama component of the story (so important in the works by Jovellanos and Quintana) in order to concentrate on its religious and political aspects. However, it retains legendary elements, which were already incorporated by Ambrosio de Morales in 1574 in his *Coronica General de España* (Ríos Saloma 2011, 55-56) such as the motif of the hermit "Sabidu y santu al empar" who, having fled from Toledo to take refuge in the cave of the *Santina*, foretells the final victory with the appearance of a cross in the sky (verses 231-286). There is here perhaps a symbolic element of exaltation of the Asturian monarchy and the Asturians, which seems to be entrusted exclusively to the Covadonga enterprise:

> Al ¡ixuxú! que llanzára,
> Fay los montes retembliar,
> Y cien mozos i arrespuenden
> Prontos como illi á lluchar

However, the three basic concepts, repeated several times, which make up the ideology of the poem are freedom, religion and the Spanish monarchy: "Un tronu rial y un altar", "Un ara tengo y un tronu" or "Ara, tronu y llibertá", for which the rocky hollow of Covadonga serves as a metaphor. Such ideals agree with the adscription to the moderate liberal party in the governments of which Caveda was to obtain various positions.

With its 448 octosyllables the poem does not reach the length or intensity of other poems written in Castilian, such as the aforementioned *La pérdida de España* by Pedro de Montengón. In addition, despite its relative importance as the first poem written in Asturian on Pelayo and Covadonga, it is not the best poem by Caveda as its absence from the readings and reissues of other poems of his throughout the century proves. The poem presents some incongruous repetitions, unfortunate metaphors (Caso Gonzalez 1987, 358) and some inappropriate digressions (the *ubi sunt* at the end of the poem, e.g.) that distort its epic intensity.

The trace of Caveda can be seen in Marcelino Flórez de Prado (1831-1903) who, in the romance dedicated to the visit to Oviedo in 1852 by María Cristina de Borbón and her husband, the Duke of Riansares (Marcos Vallaure 1982, 50-51; Flórez de Prado 2013, 118), includes a description of the battle of Covadonga (vv. 297-320). As in Caveda, those who intervene

[6] It has been highlighted how this work, along with others written in earlier dates, emerged as resistance to the establishment of the new provincial council and in defense of traditional Asturian institutions. (Friera Álvarez 2003, 347-348).

in the feat are exclusively Asturian, but in contrast to him, emphasis is now placed on the miraculous character—by intervention of the Virgin—of the prodigy of the arrows that fall back on the enemies.

Covadonga in the poetry of the second half of the nineteenth century

The Asturian literature of the second half of the nineteenth century was to increase the religious and Marian component of the myth of Covadonga. No doubt this is a reflection of some historical events such as the visit of Isabella II in 1858 to Covadonga with her two children, the Infanta Isabel and the future Alfonso XII, who received the sacrament of confirmation in the cave before the Queen's confessor, Father Claret. But above all it was the arrival in 1868 of Sanz y Forés as bishop of the diocese, in the midst of the reaction on the part of the Church to the excesses of the "Glorious Revolution", which would be a great boost in the making of a sanctuary that had a low level popular cult[7] into one of the most important sacred places in Spain along with Zaragoza, Guadalupe and Santiago de Compostela (Boyd 2006, 157-158). With the rebirth of Covadonga the Church reaffirmed, in the face of liberal discourse, its own narrative of the history of Spain (159), but in addition the monarchy was sacralised by investing itself with a sacred origin and projecting itself in its desire for permanence.

The poet who best represents this progressive sacralisation is Teodoro Cuesta (1829-1895), also the most famous and prolific poet of this second half of the century. In his "Recuerdo histórico. Cuentu de xunt'al fuêu"[8] (c.1873) Cuesta composes a narrative about the history of Rodrigo and Cava, and the defeat of Guadalete, followed by the episode of Covadonga. But, despite being constructed in real octaves, it does not result in an epic song about Pelayo's victory. On the contrary, by slavishly following the model created two centuries before by Marirreguera in his mythological fables, Teodoro Cuesta mainly develops a picture of a rural setting to frame the historical narrative centred, above all, on aspects of Reguerian

[7] Its cult had only appeared recently in the churches and chapels of Asturias, and would have been limited to the nearest areas as stated by Ambrosio de Morales (Crabiffosse 2001, 96).

[8] It was partially included in the *Programa, en dialecto de Asturias de las funciones que se celebrarán en el Hospicio Provincial en los Días siete y ocho de setiembre en honor de la Santísima Virgen de Covadonga, Patrona de dicho asilo* (1873, Oviedo: Imprenta La Unidad). Reissued in Teodoro Cuesta (1995, 14-17). It is completely edited with the title of "Recuerdo histórico. Cuentu de xunt'al fuêu", in Teodoro Cuesta (1895, 194-200) and Teodoro Cuesta (1990, 221-225).