SCRIPTA MEDITERRANEA

Volume XXI 2000

CANADIAN INSTITUTE
FOR MEDITERRANEAN STUDIES

INSTITUT CANADIEN
D'ÉTUDES MÉDITERRANÉENNES

SCRIPTA MEDITERRANEA

Scripta Mediterranea is the journal of the Canadian Institute for Mediterranean Studies, an international learned society based in Canada and devoted to the study of all aspects of Mediterranean culture and civilization, past and present, with a special interest in interdisciplinary and cross-cultural investigation.

General Correspondence

The Editors,
Scripta Mediterranea,
Canadian Institute for Mediterranean Studies,
c/o Department of Spanish and Portuguese,
University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M5S 1K1.

Cover by: Vinicio Scarci

Produced by: Legas, 3 Wood Aster Bay,
Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, K2R 1B3.

ISSN 0226 8418

Scripta Mediterranea

Volume XXI, 2000

Contents

For Helen Webster

Corinne Rusch-Drutz

UNCOVERING A "HERSTORY" OF POWER: MEDITERRANEAN GODDESS MYTH, IMAGE AND SYMBOL IN CONTEMPORARY CANADIAN WOMEN'S PLAYWRIGHTING

i found god in myself
& i loved her / i loved her fiercely
ntozake shange

Introduction

With the evolution of modern feminism over the past three decades, women playwrights have begun to explicate notions of female self-identity within their work. Many of their plays articulate the common need to reconnect with ancient, spiritual and powerful images of the archetypal female, whose vitality has largely been buried and left to the "underworld" of the female psyche. Owing, in part, to patriarchy (as defined within the constraints of Judeo-Christian dogma) and cultural misogyny (as conventionally portrayed through media, especially advertising), many female and male playwrights have not been accorded a legitimate outlet for demonstrating the breadth of their individual ingenuity and creativity. As Kay Turner, author of "Contemporary Feminist Rituals" points out, history has demonstrated that only certain men (commonly white and heterosexual) define, possess and confer power or authority, and power is the necessary ingredient for the creation of culture. Women (and those men who do not fall into this select category) have, therefore, traditionally been consigned to live on the fringes of culture, locked in domestic zones which are rarely defined as part of the cultural territory (220).

Though we currently live in a time when both men and women are reexamining prosaic notions of what is "masculine" and "feminine", and are incessantly postulating on the validity and neutrality of gender roles, society has yet to offer plausible solutions for the formation of true egalitarianism. In our rapidly changing social climate where new media are replaced virtually as they appear, an ancient art form like theatre offers society viable alternatives for the future, which upon closer investigation are deeply rooted in our ancient past. In other words, in exploring the myriad of contemporary Canadian plays by men

and women which both overtly and covertly exhibit explicit spiritual, female archetypal imagery, one is forced to question the very foundations of a five-thousand-year-old system wherein religious taxonomies, focused exclusively around male images of divinity, have established the commonly held notion that female power can never be fully legitimate or wholly beneficent (Christ 73).

This analysis will explore the augmentation and development of the relationship between female spirituality and Canadian women's playwrighting by examining frequently employed images of the archetypal feminine, by drawing examples from the selected works of Audrey Butler, Linda Griffiths and Maria Campbell, Banuta Rubess collectively with Nightwood Theatre, Sally Clark, Connie Gault, and Judith Thompson. It will demonstrate how these images appear in various forms (either overtly or covertly), due to women's inherent spiritual need to reclaim aspects of the feminine self that have been lost and forgotten in their struggle to free themselves from constricting, and often times, male-prescribed and defined roles (Lowinsky xi). It will further investigate the need for women to find their spiritual roots in the personal, cultural and archetypal past, present and future, by exploring the use of the triptych of virgin/mother/crone in Canadian women's playwrighting. In doing so, it will inquire into the quintessential feminine journey, a conspicuous aspect of many of the plays discussed below. It will address the uses and importance of Moon imagery and will conclude with a discussion on the theory of a "feminine catharsis". While this kind of imagery is hardly restricted to works by women (plays by George F. Walker, Bryden MacDonald and Tomson Highway illustrate this point well), the relationship between male playwrights and female spirituality is beyond the scope of this limited investigation and will therefore be reserved for further examination.

Interpreting the Spiritual Anatomy: Exegeses and Definitions

One of the ways in which women have been able to reconnect to female-centred power and solidarity is by accessing archetypal images of the feminine. These universal effigies, often manifested in the works discussed below by virgin, mother or crone "type" characters, express important and sentient aspects of women's collective psyches. Perhaps Jung best describes these theories:

> In addition to our immediate consciousness, which is of a thoroughly personal nature and which we believe to be the only empirical psyche (even if we tack on the personal unconscious as an appendix), there exists a second psychic system of a collective, universal, and impersonal

> nature which is identical in all individuals. This collective unconscious does not develop individually but is inherited. It consists of pre-existent forms, the archetypes, which can only become conscious secondarily and which give definite form to certain psychic contents...The concept of the collective unconscious indicates the existence of definite forms in the psyche which seem to be in the present always and everywhere. Mythological research calls them "motifs"; in the psychology of primitives they correspond to Levy-Bruhl's concept of "representations collectives," and in the field of comparative religion they have been defined by Hubert and Mauss as "categories of the imagination". Adolf Bastian long ago called them "elementary" or "primordial thoughts". From these references it should be clear enough that my idea of the archetype —literally a pre-existent form— does not stand alone but is something that is recognized and named in other fields of knowledge (Campbell, *Jung*, 60).

The term archetypal feminine, then, refers to the specifically female motifs that exist within the collective unconscious and are often illustrated in mythological tales. Psychotherapist Nor Hall describes these often mythological characters and tales (the word myth literally meaning to repeat) not as fictitious stories about imagined goddesses, but as complex and essential psychic facts, arising out of the sleep cycle of a culture, the way a dream comes up in the sleep of an individual (Hall 69). Greek goddesses like Artemis, the huntress, and Aphrodite, the goddess of love, are primary examples of the archetypal feminine, (which, however, by no means originated with ancient Greece). They are simply manifestations of the feminine within the collective unconsciousness of every woman, and the feminine countenance within every man.

Many archaeological and religious theologians (Walker, Stone, Eisler, Spretnak, Hall, Harding) maintain that the archetypal images (feminine and otherwise) that exist within the collective unconscious are based in the social organization and belief systems of early centres of civilization, predating Judeo-Christian mythology and liturgy. These seemingly New Age notions (or more accurately "Old Age", Rudakoff 115), have been verified by the archaeological records of countless early female figurines that have been unearthed and studied all over Asia Minor and Europe (Christ 6). Originating with the inception of the Venus figurines from the Palaeolithic era, dating back over twenty thousand years, these goddess images formed the foundations of the earliest matriarchal theologies, negating the commonly held notion that the ancients primarily worshipped male deities (Eisler 6).

Overwhelming evidence exists that these early civilizations (geographically based in Palestine, Jericho and Anatolia) were remarkably peaceful and were marked by extraordinarily equitable soci-

eties wherein women and the feminine occupied important social positions, and both female and male deities were worshipped (Eisler 4). During this early evolution of Western civilization, the highest power in the cosmos was feminine. The great Goddess was known by many names (Astarte, Isis, Ishtar to name a few), and was seen as the Great Mother who reigned as the supreme divinity. Walker has suggested that this was primarily due to the fact that motherhood was the only recognized bond (or relationship) and the connection between sexuality and childbearing was unknown to primitive men (Walker 1983, 680). Beyond being worshipped for fertility, the Great Mother was revered as the wise creator and the sole source of universal order, and in this matriarchal structure women's roles differed markedly from those in patriarchal cultures (Stone 266).

For many of the women playwrights whose works are examined herein, one of the ways to explore these feminine archetypes is through their craft. By employing theatrical techniques which infuse what we now recognize as Mediterranean goddess imagery into their work, many women playwrights are now engaged in the creation of matriarchal-focused theatre which employs aspects of feminine myth, image and symbol within the text and structure of their plays. This form of woman-centred theatre promotes and sanctions a serious turning away from the old to the new (or more accurately, the patriarchy to the ancient), and provides an "emotional, descriptive, intensified and sanctifying version of both emergent ideological systems and female archetypes. It offers an imagistic revitalization for women by allowing them to participate in the concrete, bodily expressive form of creation focused on ancient images of the feminine" (Turner 220).

This analysis will explore the most common manifestation of the archetypal feminine conspicuously used both overtly and covertly in many of the works discussed below, the triptych of Virgin/Mother/Crone, which alludes to what the Christian lexicon might refer to as a trinity - a wholeness with three distinct and separate components. Best illustrated by the image of the Moon (a lunar goddess) whose cycle encompasses three distinct phases, the triptych is composed of: the innocent young girl; the mature mother; and the older, wiser crone. Hall describes the interconnectedness of these three archetypes:

> The moon expresses this eternally conceiving and bearing inheritance in the succession of phases: dark to new crescent to full to old crescent and down into dark again. The White Goddess or the Muse who inspires mortals to ecstatic speech, song, and dance is the moon in her fullness. Her full stage is symbolic of coming to creative fruition - when the fruit of the moon tree is ripe. In the waning stage the fruit is eaten away or withers. The dying crescent is absorbed into the blackness of the no-moon,

> under (or inner) worldly womb phase. This is the time of conception and increase. Looking at the moon in its visible phases —rising in the east, full overhead, diminishing in the west— consider again Jung's moon reflective statement about feminine immortality: "Every mother contains her daughter in herself and every daughter her mother. Every woman extends backwards into her mother and forward into her daughter." (Hall 94-95).

Jungian analyst Naomi Ruth Lowinsky describes this triptych as a "Motherline", a life source that lives in every woman's body. She contextualizes it as a story of the generations from a woman's point of view which encompasses a woman's female lineage reaching backward from her mother and her mother's mother, and forward into her daughters and granddaughters (2). What makes the Motherline so multifaceted is that women have both a personal and archetypal Motherline, the latter inherently connecting them through the collective unconscious. The journey towards the understanding of one's personal and archetypal Motherline is most interesting in that one can gain a greater understanding of this lineage by travelling simultaneously forwards and backwards. In other words, the journey is not limited to the future, nor is it dependent on the past. Rather the two exist within a framework of mutual importance and connectedness. This concept will become clearer as we encounter examples within the context of the plays.

(Re)engendering Spirituality: the Conscious and Subconscious Use of the Archetypal Feminine

Though the past thirty years have seen a resurgence of Goddess culture and Pagan ideology, we have yet to see analytic work on these belief systems when manifested on the stage. There is an abundance of Canadian playwriting by both women and men exhibiting aspects of female spirituality. The problem is simply that it is rarely perceived, much less analyzed, within the context of archetypal feminine imagery and is therefore subsequently left in the recesses of the psyche.

In her study "Under the Goddess's Cloak: reCalling the Wild, enGendering the Power," dramaturge, educator and dramatic critic Judith Rudakoff notes that matriarchal imagery and symbolism have not gone astray in the twentieth century. Rather, she claims, they have been hidden, ignored or unconsciously assimilated (115). She comments that:

> What most people fail to take into account is that as women artists, critics and dramaturges, we have been schooled from an early age in a tradition that is almost wholly and actively patriarchal in its mythology (Rudakoff 115).

The role of the female artist in male-defined culture necessarily stipulates that the feminine view will, more often than not, be "other," and that female power can never be fully legitimized as there is a "pervasive philosophical bias against women as creators" (Citron 265). As Christ notes in relation to women under patriarchy, "This message need never be explicitly stated (as, for example, it is in the story of Eve) for its effect to be felt" (73). Hall in a not dissimilar vein points out that women are brought to the task of self-reflection by archetypal disorientation resulting from centuries of adapting to a predominantly patriarchal world (34).

For these reasons it is imperative for women to seek out examples of their own spiritual likeness in order to fulfil deep-rooted psychic needs. The theatre acts as a primary cite for initiating this search, as it, like religion, often provides symbols and rituals that, through a process of catharsis, enable people to cope with difficult situations and facilitate in the problems associated with life's important transitions (Christ 72).

To find examples of the archetypal feminine within Canadian women's playwriting we must follow separate but interconnected paths: the overt and the covert. The overt route, comprised of works like Linda Griffiths and Maria Campbell's *Jessica: A Theatrical Transformation*; Sally Clark's *Jehanne of the Witches*; Nightwood Theatre and Banuta Rubess' *Smoke Damage*; and Audrey Butler's *Medusa Rising*, is lined with scores of symbols reflecting the female aspect of divinity, feminine archetypes and matriarchal lineage. The more "accidental" (Rudakoff 116) or "subconscious"[1] body of plays such as Connie Gault's *Sky*, and Judith Thompson's *White Biting Dog*, is more subliminally infused with iconography reminiscent of powerful female archetypes (specifically Artemis and the virgin/mother/crone triptych). Both categories are defined through their use of the archetypal journey and work to explore and recontextualize many female archetypes by recovering original meanings behind commonly used symbology (which has been) trapped in a modern and limited social context.

One of the strongest elements common to each play is the "archetypal journey." These journeys, reminiscent of Psyche's search for meaning and completion in the Greek myth of Psyche and Eros[2], all con-

---

[1]In using the term "subconscious" I am not suggesting that these playwrights use this imagery in an unconscious manner. Rather, that they have employed a series of symbols and archetypes that speak to us *through* the unconscious. Moreover, they choose to manifest these symbols in a covert way.

[2]Here I speak of the myth of Psyche, whose journey leads her from a virginal state of innocence to the full maturity of womanhood. In this myth, Psyche, a mortal, the wife of Eros (son of Venus), is urged by her jealous sisters to look upon the body of her husband,

sist of a central character beginning in a virginal mode (innocent and unknowing) and travelling, often through her own past, to obtain a powerful knowledge of her personal and archetypal Motherline.

In *Jessica: A Theatrical Transformation*, Jessica is helped through her spiritual journey by Vitaline, a crone. It is she who helps Jessica find her way by exerting her role as a Native elder, as well as acting as a therapist of sorts, affirming the importance of female power. Psychotherapist holds its original meaning in the phrase "in Psyche's cult"; those who practice the profession are seen as attendants to Psyche, those who help in the search for lost parts of the self or those who help to stretch a restricted imagination (Hall 23). In Vitaline's words:

> You've got to stop, alright. Stop all that crazy talk before the spirits give you a good whack. I'm your teacher, I'm very smart, I've taught all kinds of people, one white guy even. I helped you find your power and you're saying I'm just some old woman raving away in the bush? Running around with eagle feathers sticking out of my head? That's what I am?...What's the matter with you? Yes, you had to go to your dark side. You want to feel and understand your power? (Griffiths, Campbell 120).

Like Psyche, Jessica comes face to face with her Native half, and must lose herself in order to find herself again. In this sense, she begins her journey through her own soul and the collective soul of her Motherline. She is what psychologist Marion Woodman calls the "pregnant virgin," referring to her as "that part of us who is outcast, the part who comes to consciousness through going into darkness" (10). Meeting other feminine guides and spirits along the way, Jessica travels down through her dark side (reminiscent of Psyche's trip to the Underworld) where she is given the gift of personal power and self-understanding. Vitaline remarks:

> Like stars they come.....
> their wings silver,

---

though she has been forbidden to look upon him in the light. Her sisters, by suggesting to Psyche that her lover is not in fact a youthful god but a brutal, monstrous snake, fill her with doubt. That night, in an effort to seek out her husband's secret identity, she holds a lantern over his sleeping form. But when a fateful drop of oil falls on the backside of the sleeping god, he banishes Psyche, in a fit of rage, to a lifetime of endless torment. After much wandering she falls into the hands of Venus, her bitterest enemy, who orders her to perform a set of seemingly impossible and endless tasks, the last of which is to go down into the Underworld and retrieve the beauty of Persephone, Queen of the Dead. Overcoming many obstacles, Psyche accomplishes the tasks and makes the journey from earth to the heavens where she is reunited with Eros and made immortal. They then give birth to a child whom they name Bliss.

For an excellent analysis of Psyche's archetypal journey see Hall's chapter "Psyche's Search" in *The Moon And The Virgin* (20-35). For the mythological background on Psyche, see *Crowell's Handbook of Classical Mythology* (Tripp 503-506).

> their bodies shine.
> Listen, you can hear them...
> gossiping like women, sharing power, sisters and brothers of the earth.
> Pat the earth, stroke her,
> this woman is our Mother,
> we are her daughters and sons...
> There is an old man coming, old man
> to be your helper and show you the way.....
> My grandmother passed him on to me,
> I pass him on to you...
>
> (Griffiths and Campbell 126).

In *Smoke Damage*, past and present are interwoven to create a tapestry that explores the medieval witch burnings as five characters search for an understanding of personal and archetypal feminine power. The character Tart has an insatiable urge to discover why her Aunt had been burned during the witch hunts of the seventeenth century:

> WHY? Why was she burned? That's all I want to know. Aunt Nora knows her name, that's it. But if I knew why, I could do something. I've got to do something (Rubess 15).

Her journey also begins in a virginal mode, sparked by the need to learn more about her family's history:

> I was really numbed out, I mean *numb*. Until this summer, when Aunt Nora told me about the family tree (Rubess 13).

When confronted with her personal family history, Tart chooses to travel to Europe on a three-week tour, attending various sites of the witch hunts. Tart's journey is of dual importance. First, it is representative of the need to seek out one's own Motherline. This often unrecognized yearning to uncover our buried stories of the life cycles that link generations of women can be brought on by the smallest inner "nudge" or intuition that reminds us that our fibres are extended far in front of us and reach far behind us. Secondly, on a more universal scale, it illustrates how the search for a specifically female history (and lineage) is suffocated by a society that places little value on the pursuit of feminine self-understanding.

Co-playwright Banuta Rubess responds to some of these issues in the context of revisioning history and creating new (or rather excavating old) spaces for women's lives and stories:

> I have always been interested in "revisioning" history, in showing history from a new perspective in order to uncover truth, and form is the

> means. I should add that I also feel the product should be entertaining. I was strongly impressed by Brecht's insistence that we must have fun (*spass*) in the theatre. After all, if I can't present the politics in a theatrically exciting manner I might as well run for office or participate in a political campaign... So "revisioning" history to me means disclosing information —don't forget my Latvian roots, which to me has meant an absence of information— and it means telling the story from a new perspective, often the perspective of women, or a woman. Kids in schools today are still taught that "women never did anything" and that's just not true (Rubess as quoted in Rudakoff and Much 67).

This linkage to women's historical and collective past helps create an important, specifically female context within the structure of the text that provides audiences with powerful images of the archetypal Motherline that are not always presented in contemporary culture. This is not to imply, however, that structure is implicitly male, rather that under patriarchy, women's activities are rarely studied and analyzed within their own historical context. Moreover, their work has been traditionally ecumenically examined in relation to the "more important" contributions of their male counterparts, relegating the significance of their responsibilities as secondary or "other."

Like *Smoke Damage, Medusa Rising* also creates an important female context within the structure of the piece that helps illustrate the need for women to reconnect with the power of the archetypal feminine as a form of personal healing and inner discovery. The character Tanya is perhaps most representative of this intrinsic need. Like Jessica and Tart, Tanya begins her journey unconscious of the fact that she is in need of this reconnection with her spiritual past. She says:

> This is the craziest thing I've done in a while —
> driving all the way here because of a wet dream—
> I don't even know these women- (Butler 10).

Tanya's travels from Vancouver to Hanlon's Point to attend a birthday party for a woman she does not know can be seen as an allegory for her need to re-connect with other women and celebrate female spirituality. Her isolation from these women and personal, spiritual cognizance of the Motherline can be interpreted in the context of Psyche's search for wholeness and bliss. Beginning as a maiden, Psyche's period of isolation "is the first stage of her initiation into the greater feminine mysteries of erotic (*eros*) and spiritual love. A cover of darkness, separation, and confusion (the "welter" of seeds) are necessary prerequisites for the eventual rebirth of a lost and wandering soul" (Hall 22). Just as Psyche must wander in fear before she can be reunited

with Eros and eventually give birth to Bliss, Tanya must travel with uncertainty and experience this separation and darkness before she can realize the joy and celebration of the ritual circle at the end of the play.

The theme of the wandering soul making an arduous journey of realization and spiritual rebirth is perhaps most clearly revealed in Sally Clark's retelling of the story of Joan of Arc, *Jehanne of the Witches*, in which the central figure Jehanne must die as a virgin before she can be reborn as a woman. The motif of death before rebirth is reminiscent of the Greek myth of Demeter and Kore/Persephone wherein the child, Kore, is abducted from her mother, Demeter, and dies, but is reborn as Persephone, Queen of the Underworld, and a woman in her own right.[3] Isabelle, Jehanne's mother, explains the cyclical nature of women's power:

> ISABELLE: You're a vessel for the powers...You're turning into a woman. It's happening to you and you can't change it.
>
> JEHANNE: Why should I lose my power just because I'm becoming a woman?
>
> ISABELLE: You don't lose power. It changes. It needs to recover itself. It is in the nature of power to have cycles. You can't use power without replenishing yourself. Otherwise, it will turn against you. This particular cycle is ending (Clark 120).

---

[3]In the Demeter/Kore/Persephone myth Kore, the daughter of Demeter, the mother of the earth, was playing in a field among the narcissus flowers when Hades, the god of the Underworld, snatched up the maiden and carried her down into the bowels of the earth where he is said to have raped her, making the maiden his wife. Enraged by her daughter's seduction, Demeter wandered over the earth in the form of an old woman beyond childbearing, refusing to allow the earth to take seed, forcing the plants and crops to die useless upon the ground. For an entire year she brought famine upon the earth, but acted as a nurse to people in many cities. When Zeus realized that humanity would starve to death, thus effectively ending their sacrifices to the gods, he sent Hermes down to the Underworld to retrieve the daughter. Upon her return, a joyful reunion followed, but the mother's first question to the daughter was, "Did you taste any food in the Underworld?" Demeter was shocked to hear the girl admit that she had eaten seven pomegranate seeds, for anyone who tasted the food of Hades was required to spend at least a third part of every year in the Underworld. Now Queen of the Underworld, Persephone (she had acquired her own name upon eating the seven seeds) would only be with her mother for two thirds of the year, and rule in the Underworld for the remainder. Demeter, in her grief over losing her daughter for those months, refused to allow the grain to grow during that part of the year.

For an excellent analysis of the meaning of the seduction of Kore see Hall, chapter 4 ("Mothers and Daughters").

For mythological information see Tripp 194-198.

Jungian psychologist M. E. Harding claims that these cycles exist not only within a woman's full life span (and the anima, or the unconscious feminine aspect of a man's life) resulting in her three incarnations as Virgin, Mother and Crone, but also within her monthly cycle, reminding women of their spiritual interconnectedness, and the instinctive forces within them (74):

> For to women, life itself *is* cyclic. The life force ebbs and flows in her actual experience, not only in nightly and daily rhythm as it does for a man but also in moon cycles, quarter phase, half phase, full moon, decline, and so round to dark moon. These two changes together produce a rhythm which is like the moon's changes and also like the tides whose larger monthly cycle works itself out concurrently with the diurnal changes, sometimes increasing the swing of the tides and at others working against the tidal movement, the whole producing a complex rhythm hard to understand. In the course of one complete cycle, which most strangely corresponds to the moon's revolution, the woman's energy waxes, shines full and wanes again. These energy changes affect her, not only in her physical and sexual life but in her psychic life as well. Life in her ebbs and flows, so that she is dependent on her inner rhythm (Harding 68).

Harding contends that modern women have lost touch with this aspect of their psychic selves, which often manifests itself in menstrual disabilities, and that they must concentrate on the power of their cycles by taking the time for inner reflection and introversion (75). Woodman refers to this as the "gestation" or "Chrysalis" period (27).

This gestation period is clearly delineated for Jehanne when she leaves her mother's home, a place of security, and follows a dark and threatening path. Jehanne's fateful mission is given to her in secrecy by three voices[4], the Archangel Michael, Saint Catherine and Saint Mar-

[4]Though the triad of voices, reminiscent of the Virgin/Mother/Crone triptych, holds meaning in the number itself, the saints themselves carry particular significance within the myths of the goddess Aphrodite. Saint Catherine holds her roots in a Greek convent of priestesses who called themselves "kathari", the "pure ones" and honoured Kali (otherwise known as Aphrodite) the triple goddess of Virgin/Mother/Crone. St. Catherine was known for her beauty, wisdom and virginity (another triad), and was beheaded for refusing the hand of the emperor in marriage. It is said that when she died, milk flowed from her veins instead of blood (Walker 1983, 149-150). Saint Margaret was another "virgin martyr" as well as a canonized form of Aphrodite. She too was subject to astonishing tortures to overcome her dedication to virginity. In one legend she fled from her suitor by disguising herself as a monk and becoming a holy hermit. Apparently very difficult to kill, different versions of her saga claim that she was burned, drowned and beheaded (Walker 1983, 582-583). Saint Michael was a Judeo-Christian archangel who inherited the myths and attributes of Hermes (Walker 1983, 653), the Greek god of magic, letters, medicine, and occult wisdom. Hermes was a hermaphrodite, and resided united in one body with Aphrodite (Walker 1983, 395).

garet (all played by women), who charge her with the responsibility of saving France by travelling to Vaucouleurs to restore the throne to the Dauphin Charles so that the country may be united under his rule. In addition to this daunting task, she is instructed to retain her virginity, for which sacrifice she will be given the power to accomplish her task. She is directed to do this by Michael, who informs her:

> Virginity gives you clarity. If you lose it, you won't be able to see or hear me. It takes many years to reach that state of clarity (Clark 37).

A closer analysis reveals Michael to be an example of Jung's concept of animus, the masculine part of a woman's nature (Harding 68). Harding refers to this as the "Ghostly" or "Spiritual Lover," the effects produced by forces in a woman's unconscious which have been stirred into awareness through her contact with a real or perceived male image. This male facet of the self instructs her to commence the psychic journey into the unknown.

Of the three saints, Jehanne is first able to see and hear Michael, her masculine counterpart, who urges her to sacrifice her sexuality for the good of the country. This demand is akin to the goddess Aphrodite who required her disciples to sacrifice their sexuality upon initiation to her cult (Aphrodite shared her body with her male counterpart Hermes, the first hermaphrodite, Walker 1983, 395). Once the even greater sacrifice of "psychic desirousness" was made, she granted them wholeness ("resulting from serving their own inner truth, instead of seeking to be made whole through another" (Harding 196-197).

Aphrodite was much more than the Greek goddess of love. A Virgin/Mother/Crone trinity, she ruled the world by the natural law of the maternal clan, governing birth, life, love, death, time and fate and was responsible for offering humans an understanding of sensual and sexual mysticism (Walker 1983, 44-45). At the onset of the Christian era, Aphrodite's temple (on Cyprus) was converted into a sanctuary for the worshipping of the Virgin Mary (Walker 1983, 44).

Jehanne literally becomes an incarnation of the goddess, as she is "seduced" (when seduced, one is led aside (Hall 76) by the male aspect of her own self, and led into the secluded and introverted state of contemplation, where she struggles within herself to reemerge as a woman.

This gestation theme parallels both Psyche and Kore/Persephone, who experience this process of change much like the metamorphosis of caterpillar to chrysalis to butterfly (another triptych). Woodman contends that when this process of transfiguration begins often women will reject it, much like Kore's initial rejection of Hades, and Psyche's re-

fusal to answer her sister's queries. It often begins by manifesting itself in our dreams or through visions, like Tanya and Jessica, or voices like Jehanne. The induction into this "Chrysalis phase" (Woodman 27) signifies our fear of death and the unknown and we relinquish ourselves to the calling only through an unconscious belief in spiritual rebirth. As Woodman explains:

> The ego now has to be strong enough to remain concentrated in stillness, so that it can mediate what is happening both positively and negatively. It must hold a detached position, relying now on its differentiated femininity in order to submit, now on its discriminating masculinity in order to question and cut away. Something immense begins to happen in the very foundation of the personality, while consciousness experiences the conflict as crucifixion. Ego desires are no longer relevant. The old questions no longer have any meaning, and there are no answers...The ego on some level knows what is happening, and knows it has to happen. It knows that its personal desires have to be sacrificed to the transpersonal. It knows it is confronting death (28).

When the ego, or more specifically the characters in these plays, are in this chrysalis phase that we see a clear path towards reclaiming the archetypal feminine in women's playwriting. Ironically, it is often with those works in which the use of female primordial images is seemingly covert or subconscious that characters experience this process most acutely.

In Connie Gault's *Sky*, Blanche, an unwed pregnant teenager comes to live with Jasper, a slow but sincere young man, outside a small prairie village in the summer of 1920. Angry and deeply ashamed, she is unable to tell her new husband that her pregnancy is the result of a violation committed by her own father. Instead she proclaims the unborn child to be the son of God. At first it would seem as though Blanche's story bears a closer resemblance to Christian liturgy than to the images of archetypal feminine discussed earlier. However, further examination reveals a deep-rooted connection to the Kore/Persephone and Demeter mythology and the triptych of the Virgin/Mother/Crone.

Unwed and pregnant, Blanche (Kore) is torn from virginal innocence by her father's rape (Hades), and during her gestation resists entering the realm of Persephone and womanhood. Like Kore she refuses to journey into the underworld to reemerge a woman, and becomes a literal and figurative embodiment of the pregnant virgin, incubating and dwelling in anxiety. As Rudakoff notes:

> Blanche will not allow herself to be possessed, either by the child feeding off her body, or the husband who chastely vows to preserve and protect her questionable innocence. Blanche refuses entry into the Underworld,

> no matter how it tears at her skirt. Though she carries —in her unborn child— tangible, visible, living evidence of her taste of pomegranate, her denial of the origin of its conception holds her back from leaving her state of protected innocence. Her refusal to leave Kore the Virgin and embrace Persephone the Crone is finally shattered when she realizes that her baby is dead in the womb. Only then does she reach out to her husband, cradling his head at her bosom, welcoming him home. And throughout the action of this play, a silent unseen Crone, —Blanche as an old woman, alone— watches the cycle play itself out again and again (121).

Blanche's body is a metaphor for women's relationships with the archetypal Great Mother, with whom life begins. For most women, the relationship with the mother is the first defining relationship in our lives. Though Blanche attempts to deny the conception aligning herself with the Virgin (Mary), the archetypal Great Mother (Persephone) reveals herself in a dream in which Blanche is an angel whose wings are so white and heavy that she is unable to pass through an arch and go beyond.

> BLANCHE: Let me alone. (*Pause.*) I had a bad dream. I dreamed I had wings. Angel's wings. White and heavy.
>
> JASPER: Do you think wings *would* be heavy?
>
> BLANCHE: I came out here in my dream with these *heavy* white wings hanging on my shoulders, dragging my shoulders down and back so it was hard to walk. They were real big wings.
>
> JASPER: I seen angels in Mother's prayer book. They've got big wings. I just didn't know they'd be so heavy.
>
> BLANCHE: And I came over to this arch and looked out.
>
> JASPER: What did you see?
>
> BLANCHE: Nothing. But I had this feeling I had to leave.
>
> JASPER: What?
>
> BLANCHE: I just had this feeling that I was supposed to walk through here and...and I don't know what after that. Just keep walking, I guess.
>
> JASPER: Where?
>
> BLANCHE: I don't know. Don't matter anyhow, because I couldn't get through. The wings were in the way. I got stuck. I got stuck right here in the middle of the arch and I couldn't get out and I couldn't get back either (Gault 60-61).

Not unlike the beginning of other archetypal journeys discussed above, Blanche dreams that she must move beyond the gestational period, and exit the chrysalis in order to fully perceive the transformation into womanhood. Her heavy, white angel's wings bring to mind Christian imagery connoting heavenly or divine "children" (God's children), whose wings are a symbol of their affiliation with godliness. However, ancient associations of female sexuality with angels originated with the fact that angels or "cherubim" (from the Hebrew "kerubh") were priestesses who wore large, artificial wings as an expression of their own connection to the Great Mother Goddess (Walker 1988,232). Yet Blanche's wings are cumbersome and prevent her from passing through the arch. The arch (in the shape of the sacred Greek alphabet letter the omega) is a symbol of the Goddess, Mother of birth and death. Walker notes that the omega "continued to be hung "for luck" over doorways throughout the early Christian era, protecting the *threshold* as it did in pagan times" (emphasis hers, 1988, 9). Unable to understand the symbolic meaning of the wings on a conscious level, Blanche lacks the power to remove the anguish of her lost virginity and pass through the threshold into the world of womanhood. It is only through the death of her unborn child that the burden is lifted and the metamorphosis complete.

In Judith Thompson's *White Biting Dog*, Pony Daid must also embrace death in order to experience rebirth as a Persephone figure. Pony, after making love with Cape, is unable to live in the innocent world of Kore, and kills herself (retreats to the Underworld where Persephone is queen) in order to resurface as her own woman. Like Blanche and Tanya, she is forewarned of this (archetypal) need to move beyond the threshold in the dream she relates to Cape.

> PONY: (eyes closed) Well, I go home, right? And there's these guys, these tough guys drinking Lemon-Lime on the porch, and one of 'em's holding a carp, a great big brown carp, and I look down the mouth, and there are my folks! My parents, movin'...their lips for help, all squished in a carp fish. And the guys are laughin' (Thompson 76).

In her dream, Pony returns home to find two large, burly men outside her home who have captured her parents inside a large carp. While Christian symbology maintains that the fish symbol was based on *ichthys*, (Greek for fish), an acronym for Jesus Christ, the son of God, the fish and its keeper are actually pagan symbology. Ichthys was the son of an ancient Sea-goddess, known by many names one of which is Aphrodite (triple goddess of the Virgin/Mother/Crone). In several versions of the myth, Ichthys guards the Great Goddess, whose symbol

was a fish, iconographic of the female genitals (the reason why fish have traditionally been viewed as aphrodisiacs (Walker 1988, 374).

Pony dreams that of the two men drinking lemon-lime (binary symbols for birth and death) on her porch, one of them (Ichthys) is holding the carp containing her parents. The porch is symbolic of Pony's inability to re-enter her parent's home. No longer an innocent child, as she has tasted the pomegranate of seduction, she is unable to return to her childhood home, a place of virginal innocence. As she looks into the mouth (symbolic of genitals) of the fish she sees her parents trapped and in need of help, suggesting that she must rescue them from the mouth of the fish. Like Kore, Pony must separate herself from her parents before she is able to pass through the underworld and reemerge a woman. Rudakoff notes:

> In the fullness of her imposed Persephone aspect, Pony becomes the woman who has experienced union with a man she loves, and is changed forever. Pony's inability —or unwillingness— to reconcile and assimilate these abrupt and unalterable changes in her life makes it impossible for her to continue to live in the phenomenal world. She has been given first-hand knowledge, but lacks the wisdom to know how to use it (119).

Once Pony consciously embodies Persephone and embraces death, she is able to associate her parents as a woman, just as Persephone was able to rejoin Demeter after her six month gestation. Pony explains the importance of the chrysalis period (in her final monologue) to her father at the end of the play:

> —like this is gonna totally weird you out, but — I had to appear to you like this 'cause — in a couple of hours you're gonna hear that — don't freak out — that I passed myself on and — like — I didn't want you to get too down about it so I thought I'd come and tell you myself that — it's not at all a bad thing. It's quite nice if you just give in to it. You know the feeling when you're falling asleep and ya jump awake 'cause you dreamt you slipped on a stair? Well it's like if you stayed in the slip — if you dove right down into it and held your breath till you came out the other end. I'm in the holding your breath part right now, so I'm not sure what's on the other end, but I feel like I'm so big I'd barely fit into Kirk Community Centre (Thompson 106).

Although reluctantly at first, Pony, like Jehanne, embodies the Great Mother archetype in embracing her death (the death of Kore) and celebrating her rebirth (the emergence of Persephone). In one form or another, all characters discussed here are analogous to Persephone, who has lost the power of innocence, but acquired one greater, the empowerment of self. Edith Hamilton comments on the goddess' revolutionized power:

> But all the while Persephone knew how brief that beauty was; fruits, flowers, leaves, all the fair growth of the earth, must end with the coming of the cold and pass like herself into the power of death. After the lord of the dark world below carried her away she was never again the gay young creature who had played in the flowery meadow without a thought of care or trouble. She did indeed rise from the dead every spring, but she brought with her the memory of where she had come from; with all her bright beauty there was something strange and awesome about her (54).

The search for cognisance of the archetypal feminine is often a long and difficult process. As with Blanche and Pony, women often reject their inner desires because of their fear to surrender to the feminine unconscious. Woodman notes that femininity, biologically and psychically, is by nature receptive, and further suggests that until women learn to overcome their fears and understand the nature of active receptivity and its indispensability to creativity work and relationships, they belittle their own womanhood (130). Perhaps Pony expresses this fear best:

> No. No I'm not okay and I don't think I'm okay in the least I think I blew a fuse, you know? I blew a fuse on account of I'm scared! I'm scared 'cause the old me is getting killed off by the new me, that hatched after we— (Thompson 78).

Reluctance aside, once the initial fire has been kindled it is almost impossible to extinguish the archetypal change. Whether women choose to embrace it or fear it is inconsequential as the inception begins independent of our own volition.

> The search for feminine soul requires us to seek a source that runs deeper than our personal Motherline stories, deeper even than our ancestral, cultural roots — that takes us down to our primordial origins in the Great Mother. This is at once the easiest and the hardest part of the journey. For the Great Mother is all about us, always with us; her nature is expressed in our female bodies, the food-yielding earth, and our myth-making cultures. We live in her embrace and she lives through us. She bears us, feeds us, and buries us. Our Motherline stories are manifestations of her life force. Yet we have lost our orientation to her. She cycles through our bodies, bleeding and passionate, fecund and rageful. We are born of her, we become her, we give birth to her so that she may carry on the life cycle. Yet, consciously, we do not know her in ourselves. She confronts us with the beginning and the ending of our lives; yet we deny her (Lowinsky 179).

While the Great Mother may exist in a profusion of incarnations in our daily lives, Lowinsky's analysis begs the question: Why do we fear

and deny her? One explanation certainly has its roots in the fact that we live in a society which has been largely indoctrinated by an uncontested canon of male ideology and patriarchal dogma which places little value on the pursuit of feminine self-understanding:

> We have lost our containers; chaos threatens. Without rituals to make a firm demarcation between the profane and the sacred, between what is us and what is not us, we tend to identify with archetypal patterns of being—hero, Father, Mother, etc. We forget that we are individual human beings; we allow ourselves to be inflated by the power of the unconscious and usurp it for our own. And we do this not knowing what we do and that we do it. Liberated from the "superstitious" belief in gods and demons, we claim for ourselves the power once attributed to them. We do not realize we have usurped or stolen it. How then do we explain our anxiety and dissatisfaction? Power makes us fearful; lack of it make us anxious. few are satisfied with what they have. Despite our so-called liberation from gods and demons, few can live without them. Their absence makes nothing better. It may even make things worse (Woodman 19-20).

This being the case, it stands to reason that once women are introduced to the archetypal feminine either consciously or subconsciously, they are better able to confront cultural misogyny through self-empowerment. Moreover, the incorporation of feminine archetypal imagery into theatrical works may be interpreted as a powerful, positive force for the transference of feminine energy, reflective of the age-old maxim: Knowledge is power.

This type of empowerment is best illustrated in *Medusa Rising*, both in the title itself and in the healing circle formed at the end of the play. The importance of Medusa's name[5] in the play's title is best explained by Rachel:

> Medusa, destroyer aspect of the triple goddess of Libya
> Medusa: moonblood of us all/symbol of divine wisdom
> creator and destroyer of life:
> our first mother betrayed, furious and angry (Butler 4).

---

[5]Though Greek mythology made Medusa the terrible Gorgon whose look turned men to stone, she was actually the serpent-goddess of the Libyan Amazons, who represented female wisdom. A triple goddess, like Aphrodite, she was better known as the Destroyer and Creator. Her triptych was made up of the past/present/future, and she was seen as the mother of all gods. Medusa had magic blood that could create and destroy life, thus she represented women's periodicity. Connected with the moon, is was said that she was, "All that has been, that is, and that will be." This description of her was so famous that the Christians later copied it on behalf of Jehovah (Walker 1983, 629).

A further example of empowerment is found in the healing circle. Seven friends arrange to celebrate a birthday with a healing ritual in which each woman shares her own story of resistance. By accessing painful moments in their past, they reconnect with lost images of their Motherlines and create new, positive icons of woman-centred power and knowledge. In their ritual they use a sacred melon as a "talking stick" or "conch" to guide the discussion. The significance of the melon, beyond the fact that it is representative of the moon, lies both with its shape and its essence. Along with its obvious physical connection to women's bodies (illustrative of a woman's breasts, belly, buttocks and roundness), the melon is representative of the Cosmic Egg, the archetypal image of the Great Mother. Walker notes that, "It used to be a common idea that the primeval universe —of the Great Mother who created it— took the form of an egg" (1988, 5).

By its very nature the iconography of the melon evokes the archetype of the Great Mother. It further symbolizes the souls of all women, who share the same archetypal beginning. Round fruit symbology (melons, apples, oranges and peaches) is common to myth and female archetypes and is generally representative of women's genitalia and fecundity (Walker 1988, 477-490). Its shape, colour, and seeded-centre are womb-like representations of women's physical ability to bear children. In this context the fruit also denotes the power and transference of energy among the characters. Just as Kore eats of the pomegranate before becoming Persephone and taking on her new identity, the women of *Medusa Rising* exercise their empowerment by sharing and passing the melon and by calling out to the moon.

To the ancient Greeks the term *"menos"* meant both "moon" and "power." Even if the moon's presence is not as omnipotent as it is in *Medusa Rising*, the moon archetype in its triple aspect (crescent to full to crescent) plays an important role in each of the three plays. Known as the archetypal symbol of the Great Mother, women have sensed their connectedness with the moon since the earliest of the Goddess religions, probably due to the fact that women's menstrual cycle roughly corresponds to the lunar cycle (Hall 4). But beyond the physical connection, the Moon has historically been known as "the eternal Great Mother." More than aligning with women's periodicity, the Moon has always revealed aspects of the feminine experience. Hall examines this phenomenon:

> Imagine the new silvery moon crescent as the virgin or the nymph, the full moon as mother pregnant with life, and the old moon as the old crone or withered woman descending into the darkness of death only to rise again. These phases variously became associated with three weird sisters, three fates, or three goddesses who, when seen together, represented

> the life span of women from beginning to end. Because of the spiritual promise embodied in the moon's cycle, native women in Africa pray to her, asking, "May our lives be renewed as yours is" (Hall 3).

In *Jessica* the vitality of the moon is felt in the spirit of the Great Mother, healer of all wounds. In *Smoke Damage* she is represented in the voices of the women who died, the souls of the dead. Just as all souls are born of the Moon, they return to her upon their death. In *Jehanne* she is incarnated in her triple aspect as the three saints. In *White Biting Dog* she is realized in Pony's death and rebirth. And in *Sky* she metaphorically appears in Blanche's womb as the mother of birth and death, representing both the potential for life and the site for passing through the threshold only to begin the cycle again.

The revaluation of these ancient images in the body of work by women playwrights discussed here can act as an initiation for both men and women, as it actuates the archetypal feminine within the collective unconscious. By synthesizing this kind of imagery within theatre, a unique art form is created, one that offers the possibility of a "feminine catharsis." Moreover, the feminine catharsis (which is accessible to both sexes) may be invoked whether conscious or accidental. Batya Podos, author of "Feeding the Feminist Psyche Through Ritual Theatre" describes this catharsis:

> It works within a framework of symbolic vocabulary that will speak to the subconscious understanding that lies within each one of us. It is through the reintegration of female imagery and symbology into consciousness that catharsis is accomplished... Certain symbols, words, and actions will trigger certain emotional responses, appeal to our mythic senses and unify us in our perceptions and understandings. The goal is to...exhume the ancient memories from the subconscious where they have lain dormant and unrealized. The goal is to remind the audience of what they used to know about their relationship to the world but have forgotten — to remind them of who they used to be. This is the self-knowledge that opens the door of transformation...It is feminine in context in that the transformation through self-revelation and personal experience is based on these ancient images of the female. However, its recognition is by no way limited to women only. It is a shared experience, one that extends itself to the larger shared community of the audience (306-308).

Conclusion

Once both women and men understand the nature of our ancient past, we may want to return to that state of empowerment. Cognizance of the ancient ways can aid in a cultural transformation that will return us to a state of partnership. As Podos points out, theatre which invokes these

powerful images can help us re-attain this archetypal knowledge. For, as the Greeks well understood, plays are created and designed in order to create "moral lessons and provide "catharsis" - a purge or purification of the emotions that would bring on spiritual renewal" (Podos 306). It is through the alliance of the archetypal feminine and theatre that this "feminine catharsis" may be achieved. By reexamining and revitalizing these ancient, matrifocal and Goddess-worshipping cultures, and by creating a female context that provides images and symbols of women's power, our perception of history (as it has been taught under patriarchy) may be challenged and altered to include "her" story (Podos 307):

> Once the central myth-making forum of society, theatre arose to identify and map out a culture. And while the theatre at present is debased in our film and video oriented world, it is still the most sentient, living and communal art form. It behooves us to re-create a theatre which by dramatizing the key mythic questions of our own crucial epoch will once again function in an active and meaningful way. Despite the overwhelming obstacles set forth by our patriarchal society, despite the risks inherent in the communal art that is theatre, women playwrights have demonstrated their capacity to pose and examine the imperative questions which are at present essential to our survival. By daring to challenge the "universal" by shaping the world into new unities, women playwrights are redefining culture, and in doing so they are broadening our sense of the range of human possibility (Koenig 19).

By evoking the myths, images and sybols of the ancients, women can utilize not just the theatre, but other art forms that adopt this kind of imagery to help return us to a society that is collectively responsible — not just to one half of its population, but to its diverse cultures, to its children, its parents, its sick and disabled and to the planet, our Mother Earth.

Women must allow themselves time for reflection, gestation and silence. For it is in these times that the voices are the strongest. We must learn to listen to the voices, as much as we need to pass on their wisdom, for they have much to share with us.

University of Toronto

Bibliography

Butler, Audrey. *Medusa Rising.* Toronto: PUCK Publishing, 1982.

Campbell, Joseph ed.*The Portable Jung.* New York: Penguin Books, 1971.

Christ, Carol P. "Why Women Need the Goddess: Phenomenological, Psychological, and Political Reflections". In *The Politics of Women's Spirituality.* Ed. Charlene Spretnak. New York: Doubleday Dell Publishing Group, 1982.

Citron, Marcia J. "Gender, Professionalism and the Musical Canon." *Journal of Musicology* 8 (1990): 265.

Clark, Sally. *Jehanne of the Witches.* In *Big-Time Women from Way Back When.* Toronto: Playwrights Canada Press, 1987.

Downing, Christine.*The Goddess: Mythological Images of the Feminine.* New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 1990.

Eisler, Raine. *The Chalice and the Blade.* New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1988.

Gault, Connie. *Sky.* Winnipeg: Blizzard Publishing Inc, 1992.

Goodman, Lizbeth. *Contemporary Feminist Theatres: To Each Her Own.* London: Routledge, 1993.

Griffiths, Linda and Maria Campbell. *The Book of Jessica: A Theatrical Transformation.* Toronto: The Coach House Press, 1989.

Hall, Nor. *The Moon And The Virgin.* New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1980.

Hamilton, Edith. *Mythology.* New York: Mentor Books, 1969.

Harding, M. Esther. *The Way of All Women.* New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1970.

Koenig, Rachel. "Introduction." *Interviews with Contemporary Women Playwrights.* Eds. Kathleen Betsko and Rachel Koenig. New York: Beech Tree Books, 1987.

Lowinsky, Naomi Ruth. *Stories From The Motherline: Reclaiming the Mother-Daughter Bond, Finding Our Feminine Souls.* Los Angeles: Jeremy P. Tarcher, Inc., 1992.

Podos, "Feeding the Feminist Psyche Through Feminist Theatre." *The Politics of Women's Spirituality.* Ed. Charlene Spretnak. New York: Doubleday Dell Publishing Group, 1982.

Rubess, Banuta and Nightwood Theatre. *Smoke Damage.* Toronto: Playwrights Canada Press, 1985.

Rudakoff, Judith. "Under the Goddess's Cloak: reCalling the Wild, enGendering the Power." *Women on the Canadian Stage: The Legacy of Hrotsvit.* Ed. Rita Much. Winnipeg: Blizzard Publishing Inc., 1992.

Rudakoff, Judith and Rita Much, eds. *Fair Play 12 Women Speak: Conversations with Canadian Playwrights.* Toronto: Simon and Pierre Publishing Company Ltd., 1990.

Shange, Ntozake. *for colored girls who have considered suicide / when the rainbow is enuf.* New York: Macmillian Publishing Co., Inc., 1977.

Spretnak, Charlene ed. *The Politics of Women's Spirituality.* New York: Doubleday Dell Publishing Group, 1982.

Stone, Merlin. *When God Was A Woman.* San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers, 1976.

Thompson, Judith. *White Biting Dog.* Toronto: Playwrights Canada Press, 1984.

Tripp, Edward ed. *Crowell's Handbook of Classical Mythology.* New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1970.

Turner, Kay. "Contemporary Feminist Rituals." *The Politics of Women's Spirituality.* Ed. Charlene Spretnak. New York: Doubleday Dell Publishing Group, 1982.

Walker, Barbara. *The Woman's Dictionary of Symbols and Sacred Objects.* San Francisco: Harper Collins Publishers, 1988.

____. *The Woman's Encyclopedia of Myths and Secrets.* San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1983.

Woodman, Marion. *The PregnantVirgin: A Process of Psychological Transformation.* Toronto: Inner City Books, 1985.

Raymond Skyrme

"MI CORAZÓN Y EL MAR": MACHADO IN DALLAPICCOLA

In *Quattro liriche di Antonio Machado* (1948) the Italian composer, Luigi Dallapiccola (1904-1975) brings together four pieces scattered across Machado's work:

I.
La primavera ha venido.
¡Aleluyas blancas
de los zarzales floridos!
Spring is here.
White cries of hallelujah
From the flowering brambles!

II.
Ayer soñé que veía
a Dios y que a Dios hablaba;
y soñé que Dios me oía...
Después soñé que soñaba. [¡O!]
Last night I dreamed I saw
God and was talking to God;
and I dreamed that God was listening...
And then I dreamed I was dreaming.

III.
Señor, ya me arrancaste lo que yo más quería.
Oye otra vez, Dios mío, mi corazón clamar.
Tu voluntad se hizo, Señor, contra la mía.
Señor, ya estamos solos mi corazón y el mar. [¡Ay!]
Lord, you tore from me what I most loved.
Once again, my God, hear my heart cry out.
Your will was done, Lord, contrary to mine.
Lord, we are alone now my heart and the sea.

IV.
La primavera ha venido.
Nadie sabe como ha sido.
Spring is here.
But how did it appear?[1]

SCRIPTA MEDITERRANEA, Vol. XXI, 2000, 27

[1]Page references for the Spanish text and music examples 1 and 2 are from the score for piano and soprano voice published by Suvini Zerboni, Milano, 1948. The Spanish text is followed by an Italian translation by Dallapiccola (3).

Stanzas I and IV appear in reverse order as two of fifteen songs in *Nuevas canciones* (CLIX, iii, iv, 662). Stanza II is one of the "Proverbios y cantares" from *Campos de Castilla* (CXXXVI, xxi, 556). Stanza III is the second poem in the cycle inspired by Leonor's death (*Campos de Castilla* CXIX, 494).[2]

In reassembling and setting these pieces to music Dallapiccola creates a new text of 13 lines, not merely adding an "¡O!" to "soñaba" at the end of line 7, and an "¡Ay!" after "mar" in line 11, but blending Machado's separate expressions of the mystery of creation, the presence of the divine, and the pain of death into a single, coherent whole. The meaning of this new text is consistent with Machado's vision, but the tone is often remarkably different. More importantly, this apparently modest adaptation of Machado's words proved seminal to Dallapiccola's later work in opera.

The opening line, expressing joy at the return of Spring, coupled with lines 12 and 13, recalls Dylan Thomas' "force that through the green fuse drives the flower" (10). But here the creative spark has touched off an explosion: Spring's rekindled energy, heralded in repeated fanfares, bursts forth in a tangled profusion of sound and colour. In the intertwining sprays of the music Dallapiccola's creative power is clearly focused on Machado's central synaesthetic image of the "aleluyas blancas" (literally, "white hallelujahs"), through which Nature praises her creator.

The divinity of this creative force is what links this opening *solear* (an Andalusian folk-poem) to the stanza that follows. Now it is the speaker who dreams of being in communion with God, seeing, talking, and, importantly in light of stanza III, being heard. But the sentiment expressed here (nostalgia for faith, perhaps) is, in Machado's work, unusual. Dallapiccola's chords and arching figures suggest the totality in which the speaker feels embraced, translating the feeling of oneness conveyed in the *enjambement* of lines 4 and 5. This feeling is communicated even more effectively by the chiasmus in these lines ("veía a Dios — a Dios hablaba"). In more complex form, the same mirroring effect is present in the music. In Machado, the ellipsis separating lines 6 and 7 may mark a typically ironic reflection on a self-contained if not complacent state. But Dallapiccola minimizes the pause and adds a lingering "¡O!", wishing perhaps to prolong the experience and emphasize its envelopment within an infinitely expanding series of enclosing

---

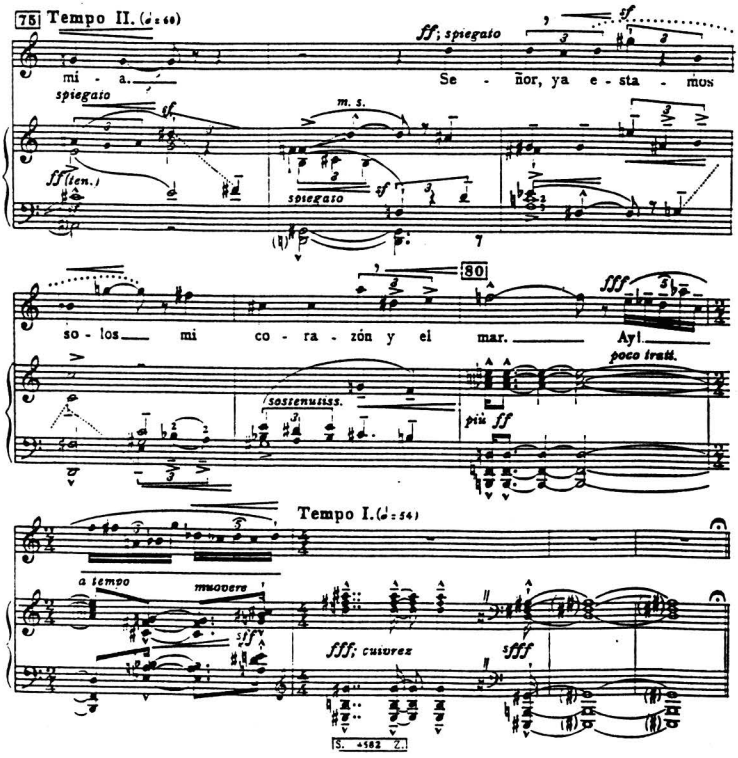
All but lines 8-11 of the English translation given here are by Trueblood (171, 143, 169). My analysis of *Quattro liriche* itself was part of an introduction to a performance of the work by Terri Dunn, accompanied by Professor John Hawkins, Faculty of Music, University of Toronto, Music and Poetry Series, March 13, 1997.

[2]Page references are to the Macrì edition, Milano, 1961.

spheres. As well as being in harmony with the sense and tone of stanza II, the added "¡O!" also prolongs the verbal music of the repeated stressed and unstressed /o/ of "soñé," "soñaba," and "Dios."

God is addressed once more in stanza III but with a dramatic change in tone. Machado's text, four balanced Alexandrine verses with four apostrophes, has struck critics with its apparent serenity and humility, despite the tearing and crying out of "arrancaste" and "clamar."[3] But while Dallapiccola retains the poem's symmetry in the permutations of his score, it is violence and pain which inform his music. As if "arrancaste" and "clamar" were insufficient, he adds a heartrending "¡Ay!" to the final line and ends this stanza with a long bass chord which reverberates as much from the solitude of the ocean's depth as from the speaker's heart:

Quattro liriche, III, bars 78-84

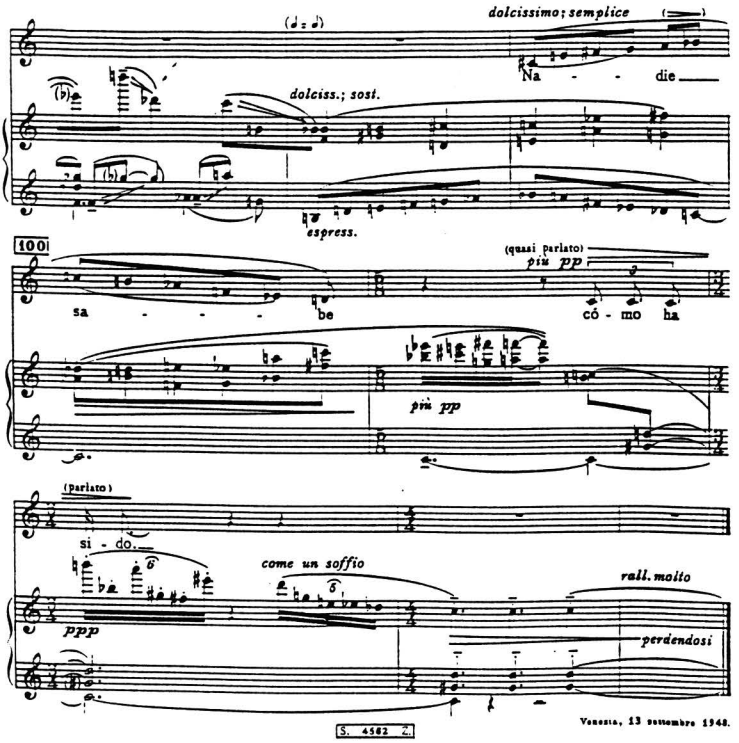


[3]For example, Sánchez Barbudo: "Y es de notar su humildad ... al dirigirse al Señor.... Nunca más, que sepamos, vuelve él su mirada hacia Dios de este modo..." (253) (Worthy of note is his humility ... in addressing the Lord.... Never again, as far as we know, does he turn to God in this way...).

Although the added "¡Ay!" may be at odds with the perceived resignation of Machado's words, it can easily be justified: the first in the cycle of poems inspired by Leonor's death ends with precisely this heartfelt cry: "¡Ay! ¡ya no puedo caminar con ella!" (CXVIII, 494) (Ay! I can no longer walk beside her!). Furthermore, like the "¡O!" of stanza II the "¡Ay!" not only captures in one syllable the meaning of the lines but encapsulates in the diphthong /ái/ their vocalic music: the pain and solitude conveyed in the /í/ of "quería," "mío," "hizo," and "mía," and the /á/ of "ya," "arrancaste," "más," "clamar," "voluntad," "estamos," and, most tellingly, "mar."

Line 12 is a reprise of the opening line, and the musical material returns, slowed down, to close the cycle. The florid ecstasy of stanza I, the etherial calm of II, the grief and solitude of III, give way to a subdued and contemplative mood. The singer's voice drops dramatically in the last three words down to plain speech (*quasi parlato* > *parlato*), and the final notes seem almost to stagger or stammer into silence:

Quattro liriche, IV. bars 99-104



The intensity of feeling in lines 8-11 has left the composer with creative forces spent. But this collapse begins exactly on Machado's "cómo" (how), when the poet is focusing on the *mystery* of the force that drives both Spring's renewal and his own life. Machado's "nadie sabe" (literally, "no one knows") implies a "¡Quién supiera!" (If only I knew!), a desire to find answers to the secrets of existence. Dallapiccola's musical voice suggests the same questioning posture of one not merely drained by the effort, but, in Dylan Thomas' word, rendered "dumb" by life's enigma.[4]

It seems clear that Dallapiccola knew his Machado well. But how might he have become familiar with the thirteen lines he set to music? A review of the composer's works reveals that he set the work of several poets: not only verses from Joyce and Michelangelo, but also Manuel Machado and Juan Ramón Jiménez.[5] The key to Dallapiccola's familiarity with Antonio Machado, however, lies in a number of references he makes to Spanish poets in *Dallapiccola on Opera* (1987), and in a chapter of this work entitled "Birth of a Libretto" (232-62), in which he documents the genesis of his last opera, *Ulisse*.[6] Among the references to Spanish poets is a lengthy footnote (20) explaining where Dallapiccola had encountered the poems of Juan Ramón set to music in *Sicut umbra* (1970): in *Lirici spagnoli*, an anthology of Spanish lyrics edited in 1941 by Carlo Bo.

Not surprisingly, Bo's anthology (62, 68) also contains verses by Antonio Machado, including lines 4-11 of the thirteen lines comprising *Quattro liriche*: the opening three and closing two are absent.[7] Al-

---

[4]"And I am dumb to tell a weather's wind / How time has ticked a heaven round the stars" ("The Force that through the Green Fuse Drives the Flower" 10).

[5]In *Tre poemi* (1949) Dallapiccola set to music James Joyce's "A Flower Given to My Daughter" (*Poems* 53), in an Italian translation by Eugenio Montale; Michelangelo's "Chiunche nasce a morte arriva" (*Rime* 149); and Manuel Machado's "Morir, dormir..." (*Obras* 179), in Dallapiccola's own Italian version.

Sicut umbra (1970) contains Dallapiccola's setting of three Jiménez poems: "El olvido," "El recuerdo," and "Epitafio ideal de un marinero" (*Tercera antolojía* 618, 574, 601). The work was triggered by the composer's fascination with the word "firmamiento" [*sic*] (firmament): "Sentii che un testo, come tante altre volte, era venuto alla mia ricerca" (I felt that a text, as on so many other occasions, had come in search of me). He did not discover it was a misprint until the night of the first performance in Italy, when the Spanish mezzo enlightened him (*Parole e musica* 535).

Antonio Machado's "Noche de verano" (Macrì 416) serves as preface to the score for orchestra of *Piccola musica notturna* (1954).

[6]"Birth of a Libretto" was originally an address delivered by the composer to help mark the Sesquicentennial of the University of Michigan in 1967.

[7]Bo's translation of Machado's lines (69, 63) differs from Dallapiccola's (see italics), which retains more exactly the quiasmus in lines 4-5:

B: Ieri sognai che vedevo

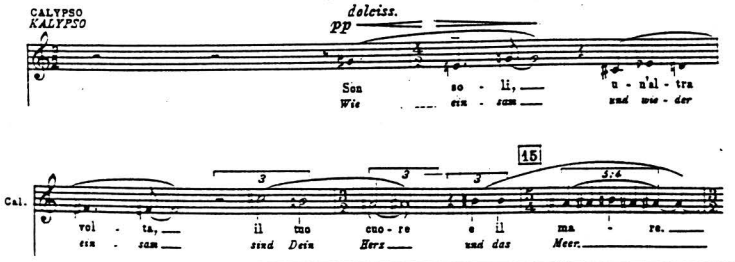
though many other such anthologies with which Dallapiccola might have been familiar also lack these five lines, it seems likely that Bo's anthology is the source of the composer's knowledge of the core verses of *Quattro liriche*. Dallapiccola's own comments on this work in "Birth of a Libretto" confirm this:

> "Señor, ya estámos [*sic*] solos mi corazón y el mar." This verse was both the germ cell and the culminating point of *Quattro Liriche di Antonio Machado* for soprano and piano, finished in September 1948 (259).

But this single verse resonates beyond the confines of *Quattro liriche*. In the passage from which this quotation comes Dallapiccola recalls the problem of finding an opening line for *Ulisse* and how easily he solved it:

> For twenty years I have known the opening verse of *Ulisse*--or known at least from where I could paraphrase it. In the Autumn of 1947, to be precise, while crossing a bridge in Venice, I suddenly conceived and jotted down the musical idea for a verse by Machado: "Señor, ya estámos [*sic*] solos mi corazón y el mar".... I have known since then that Calypso, looking out to sea, thinking of Ulysses by now far away, would say: "Alone once again, your heart and the ocean" (259).[8]

Ulisse, Prologue, bars 11-15



Dio e gli parlavo:
e sognai che Dio m'udiva...
Dopo sognai che sognavo.

D: Ieri sognai che vedevo
Iddio e che a Dio parlavo;
e sognai che Dio m'udiva...
Dipoi sognai che sognavo.

B: *Signore* già mi strappasti *ciò che più amavo.*
Ascolta un'altra volta, *Dio mio*, il mio cuore *invocare.*
La tua voluntà s'è fatta, Signore, contro *la mia.*
Signore, ora *siamo* soli il mio cuore e il mare.

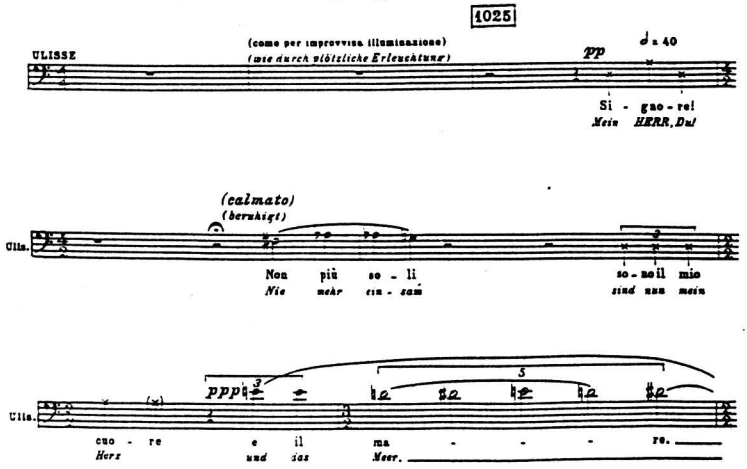
D: Signor, già mi strappasti quanto mi era più caro.
Ascolta un'altra volta, mio Dio, il mio cuore gridare.
Il tuo volere si fece, Signore, contro il mio.
Signore, ora siam soli il mio cuore e il mare.

[8]Music examples 3, 4, and 5 from *Ulisse* are from the score for voices and piano, libretto in Italian with German translation, Milano: Suvini Zerboni, 1968.

The closing words of *Ulisse*, as Dallapiccola goes on to reveal, seem to have been mysteriously predetermined:

> The evening before I finished the libretto of *Ulisse*, I was still uncertain as to what the last verse would be, although I knew very well that it could only be derived from the verse of Machado's paraphrased at the beginning of the opera:
> *Señor, ya estámos* [*sic*] *solos mi corazón y el mar.*
> My pen wrote by itself. Instead of translating--
> *Signore, ora son soli il mio cuore e il mare*
> Almighty, now alone are my heart and the ocean
> --it wrote:
> *Signore! Non più soli sono il mio cuore e il mare.*
> Almighty! No longer alone, my heart and the ocean.
> And these, it seemed to me, were the right words. (261-62)

Ulisse, Epilogue, bars 1023-29



It would be tribute enough to the potency of Machado's words that they not only engendered the germ cell of *Quattro liriche* but went on to breed, in two paraphrases coupled with new musical motifs, the verses which frame Dallapiccola's last operatic work. These two variants on a single line, so symmetrically stationed, punctuate, by the subtlest shift in wording, the profound change in Ulisse's condition from Calypso's forlorn apostrophe to the departed wanderer in the Prologue to Ulisse's enlightened calm in the Epilogue's final words.[9]

---

[9]Dallapiccola's love of symmetry (compare the balanced structure of *Quattro liriche* with that of the thirteen episodes of *Ulisse*, diagrammed and discussed in "Birth of a Libretto" 255) is well documented, as is his practice of mirroring (which in *Quattro liriche* parallels Machado's quiasmus in lines 4-5). The words which define Ulisse--*guardare, meravigliarsi,*

But *Quattro liriche di Antonio Machado* also anticipates, in the "veía a Dios" (I saw God) of stanza II, the revelation which illuminates Ulisse's closing words and, more importantly, in stanza IV, his essentially questioning nature, defined in what Dallapiccola calls the governing motif of Ulisse's life: *guardare, meravigliarsi, e tornar a guardare* (*look, wonder, and look again*) ("Intorno a 'Ulisse'" 14). Addressing the starry firmament before his epiphany, Ulisse is tormented by the same failure to understand the mystery of things which Machado's "nadie sabe cómo ha sido" (but how did it appear?) so deftly implies. Like the "dumb" voice of *Quattro liriche*, "l'uomo Ulisse, il torturato, sente che gli manca la Parola ... atta a spiegargli il perchè dell'esistenza" (Odysseus the man, the Tortured One, is aware that he lacks the Word ... that would explain to him the meaning of existence). ("Intorno a 'Ulisse'" 16):

> Trovar potessi il nome, pronunciar la parola
> che chiarisca a me stesso così ansioso cercare (398-99)
> If I could only find the name, utter the word
> that would explain all my anxious searching:[10]

---

e tornar a guardare (*look, wonder, and look again*), itself a quiasmus, constitute the fourth line from both the beginning and the end of the *Ulisse* libretto. They occupy lines 4, 10, and 15 of the 16 lines of Calypso's *Prologo*. "Son soli, un altra volta, il tuo cuore e il mare" occupy lines 1 and 16. One obvious example of symmetry in the music, suggestive of the ever-present ocean, is the rippling effect in both Calypso's and Ulisse's rendering of "mare."

Dallapiccola's translation of Machado's "germ cell" line for *Quattro liriche*, like Bo's, renders "estamos" as first-person plural "siam" ("siamo" in Bo), whereas the *Ulisse* text gives third plural "son" and "sono," certainly necessary from Calypso's perspective; for Ulisse, perhaps, suggesting his new-found peace of mind.

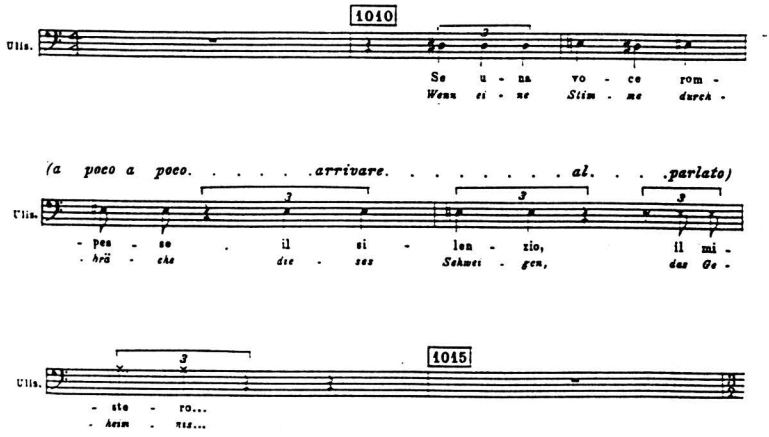
In view of the profound creative effect which the misprinted "firmamiento" had on him (see note 5), Dallapiccola must have been as sensitive to the sound of the germ cell line as to its sense: not only the repeated /á/ but the /á-ó-á/ pattern of "ya estamos solos mi corazón y el mar." And he would undoubtedly have heard all three key vowels in lines 4-11 of *Quattro liriche* echoing the same symmetrical pattern in "oía": phonologically, open /o/, closed /i/, open /a/.

[10] "Intorno a 'Ulisse'" is Dallapiccola's spoken Italian version of "About 'Ulisse'," in the Stradivarius CD of *Ulisse*.

Given his characterization of Ulisse as one trying to fathom the mystery of life, perhaps Dallapiccola saw a contrast in stanza II of *Quattro liriche* between a transcendent experience, "veía / a Dios y ... a Dios hablaba," and (after the ellipsis) a state of disillusionment: "Después soñé que soñaba."

The *Sprechstimme* or *parlato* of Ulisse's "il mistero" (also of "sono il mio cuore"), echoing that of Machado's "cómo ha sido," supports the reading of the final line of *Quattro liriche*, and may be a further sign of how Dallapiccola's 1948 work looks forward to the 1968 opera.

Ulisse, Act II, bars 1009-1015



(If only a voice would break through the silence, the mystery...)

Dallapiccola stresses from the very first pages of "Birth of a Libretto" that the Ulysses theme seems to have been one he was predestined to develop. He recalls how "periodical appearances of Ulysses" aroused his curiosity and "a certain sense of wonder. I began to feel that it wasn't simply a question of coincidence." He adds that "during my years as a teacher, I have often pointed out that it is not always we who choose our texts; but at times it is the texts themselves which, coming to meet us, choose us."[11]

Giving voice, as they do, to the vision that twenty years later would inform Dallapiccola's last opera, perhaps Machado's thirteen lines, like the beckoning figure of Odysseus, were also such a text.

University of Toronto

Works Cited

Antonio Machado. Selected Poems. Translated and with an Introduction by Alan S. Trueblood. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982.

Buonarroti, Michelangelo. *Rime.* Milano: Rizzoli Editore, 1954.

---

[11] In "Birth of a Libretto" Dallapiccola recounts how in May of 1938 it was suggested to him that he compose a ballet based on *The Odyssey* (which did not materialize). In the Spring of 1941 he was commissioned to edit Monteverdi's *Il ritorno di Ulisse in patria*. Ulysses' first and "fundamental" appearance dates from the composer's childhood. In August of 1912, his father astonished him and his brother by taking them to see a film: "The title ... appeared in bold white letters against the scarcely darker background of the screen... : HOMER'S *ODYSSEY*" (233-34).

Dallapiccola, Luigi. *Dallapiccola on Opera, I.* Translated and Edited by Rudy Shackleford. Toccata Press, 1987.

Parole e musica. Milano: Il Saggiatore, 1980.

Piccola musica notturna. Mainz: Ars Viva Verlag, 1954.

Quattro liriche di Antonio Machado per canto e pianoforte. Milano: Suvini Zerboni, 1948.

Quattro liriche di Antonio Machado. P. Bryn-Julson, soprano, M. Markham, piano. 1994. MUSI, CD912.

Sicut umbra, per una voce di mezzo soprano e quattro gruppi di strumenti. Milano: Suvini Zerboni, 1970.

Tre poemi, per una voce e orchestra da camera. Mainz: Ars Viva Verlag, 1949.

Ulisse, opera in un prologo e due atti. Riduzione per canto e pianoforte di Franco Donatoni. Deutsche Übersetzung von Carl-Heinrich Kreith. Milano: Edizioni Suvini Zerboni, 1968.

Ulisse. Chor und Orchester der Deutschen Oper Berlin. Lorin Maazel, direttore. Registrazione: Berlin Festwochen, Deutschen Oper, 29 settembre, 1968. Stradivarius, STR 10063, 2 CD.

Jiménez, Juan Ramón. *Tercera antolojía poética (1898-1953).* Madrid: Editorial Biblioteca Nueva, 1957.

Joyce, James. *Poems and Shorter Writings.* London: Faber and Faber, 1991.

Lirici spagnoli tradotti da Carlo Bo. Milano: Corrente Edizioni, 1941, 35-105.

Machado, Manuel y Antonio. *Obras completas.* Madrid: Editorial Plenitud, 1962.

Poesie di Antonio Machado. Studi introduttivi, testo criticamente riveduto, traduzione, note al testo, commento, bibliografia a cura di Oreste Macrì. Milano: Lerici editori, 1961.

Sánchez Barbudo, Antonio. *Los poemas de Antonio Machado.* Barcelona: Editorial Lumen, 1967.

Thomas, Dylan. *Collected Poems.* New York: New Directions Paperback, 1971.

Cynthia Bitter

GERALD BRENAN AND THE GENRES

Gerald Brenan is well known, particularly in Spain, for his books on Spain as well as for his two autobiographies *A Life of One's Own* and *Personal Record 1920-1972*. However his dream at first was to be a poet, which was followed by the conviction that his vocation was to be a novelist. As for being a poet, he soon realized that this was not possible. Brenan, in his *Personal Record*, says that when he asked Arthur Waley if his poetry showed any promise the blunt response was: "No, none that I can see" (98). Brenan explains that he realized that he could only write poetry when inspired, which was very rarely, so he decided he would give up poetry and concentrate on his novels.

His novel writing was to cause him perhaps even greater frustration. He would spend a great deal of time working on and re-working his novels but to no avail. The four that were finally published were hardly a success. In his *Personal Record* he admits that his novels have certain defects but over all he defends them. Nevertheless, after years of struggling with the novel he turned to writing books on Spain and then to his autobiographies. After all, as he confesses in his first autobiography, *A Life of One's Own*: "I lacked a subject for a novel and found my own life ready to hand. The plot was given, the characters and the incidents were there — all I had to do was to remember and arrange" (vii).

In this paper I would like to delineate Brenan's relationship with the genres: his youthful first love, which was poetry, his "responsible" though unrealistic choice of the novel as his principal concern in his middle years and his final coming to terms with his true vocation as writer of autobiographies — books of a personal nature, including travel books (*The Face of Spain* and *South From Granada*) and his impressionistic panorama of Spanish Literature (*The Literature of the Spanish People*).

Poetry: Brenan's First passionate Love

In *A Life of Gerald Brenan: The Interior Castle*, Jonathan Gathorne-Hardy notes that although in Brenan's autobiographies Brenan hardly

mentions his poetry written before his thirties, there is, in fact, proof that "he wrote a great deal of poetry long before 1920" (46). Gathorne-Hardy affirms that "there was enough pre-1914 poetry...to fill two volumes" and that the fact that he was actually writing poetry at an early age better explains why Brenan considered himself a poet: "The tenacity of his idea of himself as a poet is the easier explained the earlier it began" (16).

Although Brenan himself admits that what he really wanted to be is a poet: "But what I had really wanted was to be not a prose writer but a poet" (1974: 71); he was to be separated constantly from poetry, which would be for him the "love that could never be." In 1913, when Gerald was 19 years old and his father expected him to prepare himself for a serious profession the reason for Gerald's protest was clear. Gathorne-Hardy tells us that Gerald's father "knew the real cause of the trouble —and of course he was quite right— poetry. Gerald must promise to give up reading poetry until after his exams. Gerald promised" (85).

In fact, in his autobiographies, Brenan on different occasions gives different reasons for trying to give up writing poetry, which at times required even giving up reading poetry as a way of controlling his urge to write his own verse. According to *A Life of One's Own* still in 1913, when reading Rimbaud, Brenan was overcome by the feeling that he would never become a great poet. Comparing himself to Rimbaud, with whom he identified for the similar life and interest that they shared, he felt that his own poetry was bad. If Rimbaud had written such great poetry by the time he was nineteen the only thing that Brenan could do was to give up poetry considering the poor quality of his own poetry and the fact that he was *"almost 20 years old'"*:

> The poems came, but even to my uncritical eye they were bad. I reflected that I was now nearly twenty, whereas Rimbaud had written all that he was ever to write by the time that he was nineteen. I had better give up the idea of being a poet (180).

It should be noted he did not give up poetry yet and, as Gathorne-Hardy notes, Gerald Brenan would often console himself with the thought that Shelley's first poems were bad too (81).

Brenan gives us another reason for abandoning poetry, namely his idea that a writer should be able to write consistently, which contrasted with his own sudden fits of poetry-writing that had little duration and that were widely spaced:

> For a poet the proper management of his talent is evertything. But when at length I decided that I wished to become a writer I felt that to submit

> myself to the mercies of such irregular and uncontrollable impulses would be unendurable (*A Life*,177).

He goes on to make a curious comparison of poetry writing which is to passionate love as prose writing is to marriage:

> I wanted to cure myself of the poetry disease —waiting upon the moment— by disciplined prose writing just as I have heard some people say that they wished to cure themselves of the vagaries of violent infatuations by marrying. I like the monotony of regular life and hate the spasmodic (*A Life*, 177).

There was yet another reason for trying to give up being a poet. In April of 1924, just as Gerald had turned 30, he got a letter from his father that coldly stated that he was no longer willing to help him financially unless he took on some kind of work. Gerald agreed and decided that what he would do is to be a writer:

> Although the tone of my father's letter was not exactly cordial, I agreed in the main with what he said. My period of self-education and of trying things out was over and it was time that I settled down to write a book. But what sort of a book? (*Personal Record*, 70)

Seeing that as a poet he could only hope to write sporadically and that he felt that he had to work at least four or five hours a day to consider himself actually working he would have to turn to prose. In *Personal Record* he states that at this time he had the firm conviction not to write any more poetry and to stop reading poetry in English. Not until 1944, then again shortly after this and once again in the summer of 1957 did he write any more poetry: "I was tired of being an amateur and of writing only what came into hy head at moments of excitement" (72).

His resolution may have been the easier to keep because of the already quoted Arthur Waley's "short but sweet" dissuasion (1974:98). An example of Brenan's poetry helps us understand such an apparently curt remark. This is his first recorded poem (1912), quoted by Gathorne-Hardy:

> I stand before the open door
> Of my new life, and yet I long
> To be that happy child once more
> And leave these hours of grief and wrong (75).

Unfortunately, Brenan's later poetry is little better and at times simply "appalling" as Gathorne-Hardy qualifies the following written in the late fifties:

> She's the most amazing girl in all this town.
> As she goes walking by the men fall flat down.
> But she isn't my girl. No, she isn't my girl (452).

Or little better:

> Out in the street the lovers talk
> Exchanging bouquets of themselves.
> Among their shapes my sad thoughts walk,
> phoenixes looking for their doves.
> Phoenixes torn and scratched and grey
> yet raging with an angry life.
> The fire that burns their veins all day
> leaves both new blood and ash at night (442).

It can be seen that despite Brenan's immense love for poetry his own poetry leaves much to be desired. His love for and appreciation of poetry written by others was so great that it lead him not only to recognize the value of poets such as Corbière, Laforgue, Rimbaud and new poets such as T. S. Eliot but also lead him to find beauty in minor poetry that any other would find 'boring'. Gathorne-Hardy writes in his *The Interior Castle*:

> Not only is his enthusiasm infectious, illuminating many authors now unread; it is an end itself. We can be fairly sure [and, questioned, Professor Juan Antonio Díaz López of Granada University *was* sure] that if we read these ancient writers they would bore us and reveal that their obscurity, if sad, was perfectly justified. Gerald's ability to appreciate their poetry (rare enough in itself)...is enough (620).

As for Brenan's own sonnets, he explains his objective to unite the musicality of the Elizabethans with the barroque style of Góngora without losing a modern touch and says he achieved this to a certain extent: "in Seville I wrote some sonnets that seemed to show an advance in that direction. No doubt they could not by any standard be described as good for they flowed awkwardly, yet I felt that they contained the promise of something better" (1974:71). Gathorne-Hardy, however, does not share Brenan's appreciation of the sonnets: "[They are] often sentimental and abound...in archaisms, in thous and thines, in 'th' ephemeral beauties' or, on lust...' and show that Brenan was 'obsessed with rhyme, which he couldn't manage' and for which he required a rhyming dictionary!" (162).

In any case Gerald did not completely give up poetry and in 1950 wrote a three-act poetic drama entitled *The Lord of the Castle*. Gathorne-Hardy analyses a short exchange between two Morality type characters —Reason and Emanation in the play: "In Gerald's interior

castle, where his youthful poetry has now been permanently imprisoned, Reason, the father in him, had been made to reign — the scholar had won over the poet" (386). In fact, reason was only to be overcome at times when he fell passionately in love with one girl or another throughout his long life and it would be then that he would be unfaifhful to his marriage of convenience to prose.

The Novel: Married to Prose but still in Love with Poetry

Brenan, at the age of 30, was obliged to settle down and do serious work. He turned to prose but his first attempt was not the novel but a biography of Santa Teresa that he would work on, get stuck on and get bored with for decades before finally abandoning it completely. However, it was not just the biography that was causing him problems. He started on a novel in 1925, *Mr. Fisher*, that would take 35 years to finish and that would finally be published in 1961 as *a Holiday by the Sea*. In fact, he was earning quite a reputation for being a writer who actually never published any books:

> Gerald had so far finished nothing, "except a great many letters" as Carrington noted caustically. "Do you think Gerald will ever finish anything?" Arthur Waley said to her at a party in May 1928. "I ask because one would like to read his books, as he is by far the most interesting writer I know" (Gathorne-Hardy, 226).

Brenan, too, was a bit worried. "I had a feeling in my bones that I was a real writer, yet when I looked at what I had written I could see no evidence for it" (1974: 122). In fact, not even his mother had faith in his ability as a writer:

> The real writers, she thought, were either people of mature years who had acquired experience of life by following some other profession or they were geniuses like Dickens who threw off while still young a book which was an immediate popular success. She did not understand the long apprenticeship that might be needed for writers whose talents were of a modest kind and who had to be given time in which to develop (*A Personal Record*, 131).

The belief that imagination and creativity are qualities that require nothing more than practice to develop rather than being the product of certain kinds of intelligence and thus essentially innate is seen in a discussion he had with Bertrand Russell in 1935 when Brenan was already forty-one years old. Brenan asked Russell why he did not apply his talent to writing a novel similar to *Candide*. Bertrand's re-

sponse was that he had neither imagination nor the ability to create, to which Gerald protested that these came with practice:

> But he replied that he could not write a story of any sort as he had no imagination or powers of invention. I said that these came by trying since one always had resources that one was not aware of, but he refused to be persuaded. I still think that had he set himself to do as I suggested he might have written a masterpiece even greater than *Animal Farm*. (*A Personal Record*, 264)

Brenan had plenty of time to practise writing novels but time does not reveal the secrets of narrative technique to those who will have no eyes but for poetry. Gerald was in fact, hopelessly in love with poetry. In a letter to his friend Ralph he writes:

> The qualities I most appreciate in writers: the lyrical gift, the warmth in human matters, the sense of the beauty of the world, of the delight in being alive (Gathorne-Hardy, 428).

Gathorne-Hardy cites a part of a letter (1947) in which Gerald praises Pío Baroja for his "lyrical feeling" and because it "is not character or action that interest him, or the difference between characters — but that half-felt thing that lies underneath things and is present in everyone" (364). Ten years earlier he was already underestimating the importance of character and action. Gathorne-Hardy points out that in a letter to Ralph in 1936 Brenan speaks of plot and character as the easiest parts of writing novels and that they, for him, were the least important and least interesting (280). Needless to say one of the major reasons Brenan's novels were to fail was because of the lack of plot with the result that his readers would lose interest in his protagonists.

Poetry was so important to Brenan that, in fact, the first novel he started writing is thought to have possibly originated as a group of 'sea similes and metaphors' (Gathorne-Hardy, 280). One example of these is the sea "thumping monotonously on the beach a French laundry woman on her wooden pank" (Gathorne-Hardy, 463). As Brenan was having problems in making any headway with this novel, taking his friends advice, he decided to try something easier. In 1926 in the space of two days and two nights he wrote all but seven pages of the novel *Dr. Partridge's Almanack* which was published in 1934 (Gathorne-Hardy, 220). Then, a couple of months later, he began a novel, *Jack Robinson*, that had a different kind of style (Brenan, 1974: 165). It would be a picaresque novel.

This would appear to be the perfect solution for Brenan: to write a novel where the protagonist meets one bizarre person after another so that plot and development and interaction of characters is unnecessary.

However not only does he let himself get completely influenced by Proust in the last part of the novel resulting in a "spiritual autobiography": "I had not yet learned how to separate the needs of a novel from spiritual autobiography" (*Personal Record*, 200) but once again poetry becomes of prime importance so that the book is converted into a means to, as Gathorne-Hardy notes, pour out 'years of pent-up poetic lyricism'. The abundant similes and metaphors are back along with other excesses that Gathorne-Hardy points out:

> In fact, in the end the reader is swamped by similes and metaphors. The lyricism is undisciplined. And Gerald's fascination, intoxication even, with language leads him into absurdities, and words like vaticination, immundicity and asseveration start to clog the sentences (280).

Both *Jack Robinson* and *Dr. Partridge's Almanack* were published in the early thirties. It was not until the sixties that his last two novels would be published: *A Holiday by the Sea* and *The Lighthouse Always Says Yes*. Brenan, in his autobiography *Personal Record* admits that *A Holiday* has many defects among others that it is "It is too rich, too choked with ideas and images" (117), but he does maintain that certain aspects of his novel are good. Once again poetry is high on the list: "But I would claim that it is intelligent and well written and shot through with a queer kind of self-awareness and poetry" (117). As for *The Lighthouse* Gathorne-Hardy says "the writing is never less than excellent and sometimes reaches heights" (482). He does however also list the numerous faults: "it is technically clumsy: he can't get people in or out of rooms"; the dialogue is stilted; the "failure of narrative" results in a "lack of that current, that tension between events" (483). He names one other fault that Brenan would consider an asset — the almost exclusive use of real people: "Real people are used not just as jumping-off points; they are painstakingly transferred" (483).

Gerald Brenan explains that he came to the conclusion that the reason that his novels failed was that they lacked the unifying element of a common society to bring the characters together:

> I said to myself that I had never become a novelist because I had not had a fixed society to draw on. The people I had known in England had come from all over the place. But the Costa del Sol, where I now lived, was a mixing bowl (*A Personal Record*, 366).

Brenan's idea was to show a broad spectrum of characters and situations and the theme of his unified mass would be (paradoxically) disintegration. Once again Brenan says he agrees with the critics that the novel was bad but again insists that it had parts which were well written. However as an added positive point he argues that the majority of

the characters were taken from real life: "but I would claim that some of the scenes in it, especially that of the flamenco show at Seville, were vivid and well written. Incidentally most of the characters in it were drawn from real people" (1974: 367). Brenan insists on poetry and reality. His prose would have to be non-fiction.

Autobiography: Settling in his Marriage to Prose

In *Interior Castle*, Gathorne-Hardy discusses the reasons for the failure of Brenan's novels. He believes that attributing it to "a lack of creative imagination" is too simple a view. He insists that there are other factors at play. He begins with the novels' "lack of anything sufficiently compelling to carry one on' but notes that when Brenan talks about this that 'it is exactly the narrative drive and skill one notices" (484). Secondly, he cites the weakness in the portrayal of characters but again counter-argues that "the portraits in all his other writing, including his letters, are one of the chief delights: vivid, penetrating, moving, humorous, alive (and in *South From Granada* sometimes invented)." Gathorne-Hardy then proposes that Brenan's failure as a novelist is another "echo from the interior castle" (484). It should be noted that the central thesis of the biography is that Brenan, as a result of experiences in his childhood years, 'withdrew deeply into himself' into an "interior castle". Gathorne-Hardy argues that this withdrawl has affected him as a writer:

> But this created difficulties. He longed to write, yet shrank from revealing himself. That is why he could never get started, and when he did, either hid under mountains of similes and metaphors or wrote pastiche (436).

According to Gathorne-Hardy, Gerald could not use "himself or his deep feelings" in his novels. He could write about his feelings only as long as they were real but not use them as a basis for fiction, as his decision to be writer was the result of his desire to escape from "the conventionality, the hypocrisy, the wealth, the snobbery and boredom into a life that was more real — one of poverty, intensity, pain and poetry" (484). The result is that to use his own deep experiences for fiction would be to make them less "real" and thus go against 'an absolutely fundamental structure in his character" (485). Gathorne-Hardy goes on to argue that this "unconscious desire to stay as close as possible to reality" made poetry more appealing to Brenan, but that the fact that poetry "has on the whole ceased to be a vehicle for narrative fiction" excluded the novel.

This account of the reasons for Gerald's inability to make his novels come alive certainly rings true if we take into account both what Brenan had written about himself in his autobiographies and the material that Gathorne-Hardy incorporates in his splendid biography. However, Brenan's inability to create may just as well be due to his love of synthesizing — reducing all to a neat formula not only intentionally as in his last work, a collection of aphorisms entitled *Thoughts in a Dry Season*, but also in all that he has written. Brenan's works abound in brief portraits of people, concise analyses summarizing the underlying causes that drive history and even human behaviour and comparisons that illustrate the essence of a culture. It is this that made his works on Spain and his "other" autobiographies so popular, but it also blocked his ability to create, as the ability to relate clearly and concisely requires reduction while creation requires the opposite. It requires depiction involving elaboration.

Despite Brenan's almost obsession with becoming a creative writer, he recognises defeat in the introduction to *A Life of One's Own*. He openly declares that the reason he was writing this autobiography was that he could not think of a theme for a novel. An autobiography, for Brenan, is little more than a novel where the characters and action have already been given, and so the material need only be arranged (vii).

The view that the autobiography is a kind of novel is further demonstrated in the description he gives of his autobiography. It is no different from the description of the *Bildungsroman*:

> Gradually therefore the book grew into an account of the development of the sensibility and character of the child, the boy, the adolescent who, under the pressures and stimulations of his environment, has evolved into my present self (vii).

It should also be noted that Brenan, in *A Life of One's Own*, cites Goethe's definition of the autobiography as being a literary genre that is situated between the biography and the novel as "It is controlled by actuality, but is seen from within through memory" (viii).

Brenan's official autobiographies are *A Life of One's Own* and *Personal Record*. However we may argue that all his books on Spain are to one degree or another autobiographical, including *The Spanish Labyrinth*, his book on Spanish Literature, *The Literature of the Spanish People*, and his biography of St. John of the Cross. Gathorne-Hardy tells us that Gerald, in a letter, says he "is making *South From Granada* more autobiographical" (416). In fact, Gathorne-Hardy describes *South From Granada* as "the autobiographical account of Gerald's period in Yegen between 1919 and 1924" (429). As for *The Litera-*

ture of the Spanish People Hardy explains that the technique that Brenan used was the same as in *The Spanish Labyrinth* which involved giving short vivid "biographical sketches," but he explains that often "the analyses are shot through with autobiographical echoes" (392). In *Personal Record,* Gerald explains that his use of portraits —these same "biographical sketches"— are an essential part of an autobiography: "Every autobiography must take the form of a sequence of events and situations with interruptions to draw the portraits of friends" (12).

Perhaps it should be mentioned that in the autobiographies, particularly *Personal Record,* there are elements that actually do belong to the novel. In particular we may mention his use of dialogue, which is not from a taped conversation but rather based on notes. In *A Life of One's Own* there is, for example, the chapter on the journey in France which contains about ten pages of dialogue and in *Personal Record* there are many dialogues all of which are at best stilted: the exchange between Gerald and the prostitute, Lily; his talk with Bertrand Russell; the discussion about Spain with the Catalan engineer, and the exchanges between a number of people on the first days of the Civil War. An interesting aspect of these "war dialogues" is the manner in which Brenan moves from one conversation to another in a way that is clearly reminiscent of a picaresque novel:

> It was not the moment to start an argument on Bible texts so I said goodbye to them. But before I had gone more than a hundred yards I heard a shout and a bullet whistled close to my ear. Two men with rifles came up with their barrels covering me and I explained that I was English (290).

A little over a page of dialogue follows:

> I left him ruminating over the differences between foreigners and Old Harrovians and went up the street to call on Jay Allen (290).

Another manifestation of Brenan's relationship with autobiography is his love of writing letters. When Gathorne-Hardy was doing the research for his biography on Gerald Brenan he found himself with between three and four million words of correspondence, (xi) that is, between 10,000 and 14,000 pages like those of this paper. In letters only to Ralph and Carrington alone there were what he estimated to be four novels worth. In fact, Gathorne-Hardy, in the epilogue of his biography, says that 'there is sometimes almost a feeling that Gerald lived in order to write a letter to someone about it' (609) and concludes that it is possible that the "enormous correspondence will eventually prove Gerald's most lasting memorial" (610).

Conclusion

Although one of the greatest problems in dealing with the genres is deciding where one genre ends and another begins, we may say that Gerald Brenan shows a clear preference for the autobiography regardless of the genre he is actually trying to employ. Though Brenan had hoped that poetry would be the ideal medium to express his feelings this did not prove to be the case. The novel did not serve his purpose better. Struggling to express his vision of the world in an over-worked lyrical style he overlooked the fact that the novel required certain narrative technique. Brenan's need was to express 'the beauty of the world' and 'the delight in being alive.' He was in love with reality as he perceived it and thus found it difficult to modify it. It is not surprising then that when he attempted to write novels 'autobiography' came to weigh so heavily on him that it prevented him from entering in the creative mode. Though Brenan considered his non-fiction works a waste of his literary talent it would be autobiography that he would be most comfortable with and it would be this very tendency to autobiography that would give his works that special personal touch whether he would be giving us his first-hand account of the Spanish Civil War or explaining the social and political background of it, or whether he be giving us a guided tour of the Alpujarra or guiding us through the literary production of the Spanish people. Brenan did not fail in his chief objective to express that joy of living and the beauty of life. His only mistake was not realizing that autobiography was the genre best suited to his needs.

University of Granada (Spain)

Works Cited

Abrams, D. Sam. "Aproximación a la vida de Gerald Brenan." In *Litoral* 160-162 (1985): 25-38.

Brenan, Gerald. *The Face of Spain*. London: Penguin, 1987.

____. *The Literature of the Spanish People*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Peregrine, 1963.

____. *Personal Record 1920/1972*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1974.

____. *South From Granada*. London: Penguin, 1963.

____. *The Spanish Labyrinth*. Cambridge: Canto CUP, 1990.

____. *A Life of One's Own. Childhood and Youth*. London: Hamilton, 1962.

Castro, Eduardo. "Entrevista con Gerald Brenan." In *Litoral* 160-162 (1985): 39-49.

Díaz López, Juan Antonio. *Gerald Brenan: Hispanista angloandaluz*. Granada: BLN, 1987.

Díaz López, J. A. "Gerald Brenan y la literatura." In *Litoral* 160-162 (1985): 113-128.

García Delgado, José Luis. "Gerald Brenan y Thomas Mann: el oficio de vivir y de escribir." In *Argumentos* 10 (1977): 15-17.

Gathorne-Hardy, Jonathan. *A Life of Gerald Brenan: The Interior Castle*. London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1994.

Gibson, Ian. "A Gerald Brenan, maestro." In *Litoral* 160-162 (1985): 129-131.

Guereña, Jacinto Luis. "España en recuerdos de Gerald Brenan." In *Litoral* 160-162 (1985): 147-158.

Jackson, Gabriel. "Homenaje a Gerald Brenan." In *Litoral* 160-162 (1985): 133-137.

López López, Antonio and Antonio Muñoz Palomares. "Gerald Brenan y la lírica popular: Dos canciones romances inéditas." In *Gaceta de Antropología* 9 (1992): 133-138.

Monje, Carlos and José Luis Moreno. "Un tiempo, un país." In *Historia Libertaria* 1.11-12 (1978): 49-53.

Prada, Amancio. "Gerald Brenan." In *Litoral* 160-162 (1985): 143-146.

Usandizaga, Aranzazu. "Gerald Brenan, mitad hispanista, mitad anglista." In *Insula* 42. 483 (1987): 1 and 4.

Brian John Dendle

AN ANATOMY OF LOVE: NAGUIB MAHFOUZ'S CAIRO TRILOGY

Sheikh Abd-Rabbih al-Ta'ih said:
As you love, so you will be.
(Naguib Mahfouz, *Echoes of Autobiography* 109)

The primary theme of Naguib Mahfouz's Nobel-Prize-winning "Cairo Trilogy" (*al-Thulathiyya*) (*Bayn al-qasrayn, Qasr al-shawq, al-Sukkariyya*) (1956-1957) is love. This "love" takes varied forms: deep family affection, animal lusts, and the soul-searing self-destructive passion of the "Romantic" idealist Kamal. The ravages —and consolations— of love are explored in the fortunes of three generations of the family of a middle-class grocer, al-Sayyid Ahmad Abd al-Jawad. Further themes are the harshly restrictive mores of certain sectors of the Egyptian middle class, the struggle for independence from the British (the Trilogy spans the period 1917 to 1944), and the marked evolution of Egyptian society over a period of thirty years. Although a multiplicity of characters appear in the Trilogy, the narrator gives the thoughts and motivations only of members of al-Sayyid's family.

In my discussion of the Cairo Trilogy, my references will be to the English translations published by Doubleday: *Bayn al-qasrayn*, translated as *Palace Walk* (*PW*); *Qasr al-shawq*, translated as *Palace of Desire* (*PD*); *al-Sukkariyya*, translated as *Sugar Street* (*SS*).

Bayn al-qasrayn (Palace Walk)

Bayn al-qasrayn presents the family of al-Sayyid Ahmad Abd al-Jawad, a grocer living on Palace Walk in the traditional al-Gamaliyya quarter of Cairo. The members of the family and their limited social setting are lovingly introduced, in lingering Balzacian manner, in the opening chapters. Domestic life and affections play a major role in the Trilogy; we are thus first presented with the female members of al-Sayyid's family: his submissive wife Amina and the two marriageable daughters, Aisha and Khadija. The major events of the novel are al-Sayyid's temporary banishment of his wife for the "sin" of leaving the house without permission and the death of al-Sayyid's son Fahmy in the political agitation against the British.

The Historical Moment

Although domestic affairs take primacy over national concerns, the historical background is important in *Bayn al-qasrayn*. The British had unilaterally proclaimed Egypt a British Protectorate in December 1914. The novel begins in October 1917, when Prince Ahmad Fuad accepts the Egyptian throne. Unruly Australian troops control the pleasure districts of Cairo. To great Egyptian enthusiasm, the nationalist leader Sa'd Zaghlul demands on November 13 1918 the sending of a delegation ("Wafd") to London to demand Egyptian independence. The subsequent arrest and deportation to Malta of Zaghlul and his supporters lead to student demonstrations, brutally suppressed by the British.

Historical events are interwoven with the private affairs of novelistic characters. In the type of coincidence of which traditional historical novelists are fond, Khadija is wed on the day that armistice is declared (November 1918). English soldiers pitch tents in Palace Walk. Al-Sayyid Ahmad, a patriot but non-activist supporter of the Wafd, is humiliated by the British who force him to fill in a trench constructed by the nationalists. His son Fahmy, despite his father's prohibition, distributes handbills for the student demonstrators. The freeing of Zaghlul on April 7 1919 is celebrated by an authorized, peaceful demonstration, during which Fahmy is shot and killed.

Although Egyptians ardently desire the departure of the British, the occupying soldiers are not portrayed as monsters. Yasin is impressed by the politeness of an English soldier. The schoolboy Kamal entertains and hero-worships the English encamped in Palace Walk.[1]

Amina

The first character to whom we are introduced in *Bayn al-qasrayn* is Amina, wed at the age of thirteen to al-Sayyid Ahmad. The qualities of Amina are love for her family, tolerance (she even prays for the English), acceptance of her lot in life, and a fundamental joy. Despite the tyranny of her husband, who allows her to leave the house solely to visit her mother and this only in his company, her marriage of twenty-five years has for her been happy: "No matter what happened, she remained a loving, obedient and docile wife. She had no regrets at all about reconciling herself to a type of security based on surrender. Whenever she thought back over her life, only goodness and happiness came to mind" (*PW* 4).

---

[1]Egyptian children find British soldiers handsome in the semi-autobiographical *Hakayat Haretna* (1975) (*Fountain and Tomb* 28).

Al-Sayyid Ahmad Abd al-Jawad

Amina's husband, the middle-class grocer al-Sayyid Ahmad Abd al-Jawad, is a man of contradictions. At home he is a tyrant, imposing the strictest standards on his terrified family; his temporary expulsion of his wife Amina, for the sin of visiting the shrine of al-Husayn during his absence, is shocking even in the traditional Egyptian society to whose values he adheres. Without the knowledge of his terrified family, al-Sayyid leads a second existence at night as a *bon vivant*. Al-Sayyid Ahmad, with his powerful body amd exceptional virility, overflows with vitality; he has a deep faith in a clement and merciful God, is patriotic, and loves music, wine, jovial conversation, the company of friends, and women:

> When he worked, he put his whole heart into it. If he befriended someone, he was exceptionally affectionate. When he fell in love, he was swept off his feet. He did not drink without getting drunk. He was earnest and sincere in everything. Thus for him the mandatory prayer became a spiritual pilgrimage in which he traversed the expansive realms of the Master (*PW* 17).

Al-Sayyid's desire for women, such as the singer Zubayda, is lust, but a lust combined with a taste for refinement:

> Despite his great number of amorous adventures, out of all the different varieties of love, al-Sayyid Ahmad had experienced only lust. All the same, he had progressed in his pursuit of it to its purest and most delicate form. He was not simply an animal. In addition to his sensuality, he was endowed with a delicacy of feeling, a sensitivity of emotion, and an ingrained love for song and music. He had elevated lust to its most exalted type. It was for the sake of this lust alone that he had married the first time and then for the second. Over the course of time, his conjugal love was affected by calm new elements of affection and familiarity, but in essence it continued to be based on bodily desire.... No woman was anything more than a body to him. All the same, he would not bow his head before that body unless he found it truly worthy of being seen, touched, smelled, tasted, and heard. It was lust, yes, but not bestial or blind. It had been refined by a craft that was at least partially an art, setting his lust in a framework of delight, humor, and good cheer (*PW* 99).

Al-Sayyid feels joy that Yasin has inherited his amorous temperament (although without al-Sayyid's delicacy of taste) (*PW* 389-91). Nonetheless, to preserve his friendship with Muhammed Iffat, al-Sayyid obliges his bestial son Yasin to divorce Iffat's daughter, Zaynab.

Al-Sayyid's treatment of his family does have elements of tenderness. His expulsion of Amina was the unfortunate consequence of his

failure to vent his anger immediately. The news of her injury in a car accident awoke his tenderness:

> He had grown used to her and admired her good qualities. He was even fond enough of her to forget her error and ask God to keep her safe. Confronted by this imminent threat to her, his tyranny had shrunk back. The abundant tenderness lying dormant within his soul had been awakened (*PW* 194).

He advises his married daughter Khadija to imitate her mother in all things (*PW* 319), is tender to his pregnant married daughters, and thinks of Amina's distress when he learns of Fahmy's death.

Yasin

The twenty-one-year-old Yasin is al-Sayyid's son from a first marriage. He sincerely loves his step-mother Amina. Despite her love for him as a child, he despises his own mother for having taken lovers and remarried. Yasin is, however, compassionate to his mother on her deathbed. Yasin is also religious enough to pray for forgiveness (but not for penitence, which would have implied the renunciation of pleasure).

The ox-like Yasin is a creature of unrestrained lusts:

> Women like Zanuba definitely were not the only ones he craved. Just one beautiful feature was enough for him, like the kohl-enhanced eyes of the doum fruit vendor in al-Watawit, which had compensated for the stench of her armpits and the mud caked on her legs (*PW* 330).

His sudden and unprovoked sexual assaults on Amina's servant and friend Umm Hanafi and on his wife Zaynab's black servant Nur are bestial (and, in context, also comic). Marriage, for Yasin, is boredom; he soon reverts to the life of the coffeeshop, returning home drunk and at midnight. He justifies his neglect and infidelity with a cynical contempt for woman:

> What more does any woman want than a home of her own and sexual gratification? Nothing! Women are just another kind of domestic animal, and must be treated like one. Yes, other pets are not allowed to intrude into our private lives. They stay home until we're free to play with them. For me, being a husband who is faithful to his marriage would be death (*PW* 338).

When Yasin, through his *liaison* with the lute player Zanuba, learns of his fathers merrymaking and amorous proclivities, he feels

unbounded admiration. Yasin realizes that he has inherited his lustful nature from both his father and his mother:

> Both of them were sensual and pleasure-seeking. They recklessly ignored conventions.... I know now who I am. I'm nothing but the son of these two sensual people. It wouldn't have been possible for me to turn out any other way (*PW* 298).

Fahmy

Al-Sayyid's elder son by his marriage with Amina is the law student Fahmy. Sensitive, sincerely religious, a dreamer, Fahmy is deeply in love with his pert twenty-year-old neighbor Maryam. (Unfortunately, Al-Sayyid will countenance no talk of marriage until Fahmy has finished his studies.) Fahmy's sensitivity is such that the sight of Maryam at Aisha's wedding is a violent and painful shock to him: "The sight of her ripped into his heart, disclosing to him that only he was suffering.... Good sense and wisdom are seldom happy with the impetuousness of emotion, which characteristically knows no limits" (*PW* 259-60). As Jalila sings to the wedding guests, Fahmy seeks by an effort of the will to penetrate Maryam's essence in an imagined shared experience: "Notwithstanding the distance and the thick walls separating them, he wished to live for a few moments inside her essence" (*PW* 261).

Dreaming of performing heroic deeds before the admiring eyes of Maryam, Fahmy plunges ardently into the movement for national liberation in which he will achieve patriotic martyrdom:

> In that magical universe he could visualize a new world, a new nation, a new home, a new people. Everyone would be astir with vitality and enthusiasm.... Fahmy did not know exactly what Sa'd would do or what he could do himself, but he felt with all the power of his being that there was work to be done. Possibly there was no example in the real world, but he sensed it existed in his heart and blood. It had to manifest itself in the light of life and reality. Otherwise, life and reality would be in vain. Life would be a meaningless game and a bad joke (*PW* 326).

The news that Maryam has been seen flirting with an English soldier induces in Fahmy a reaction that will be typical of his younger brother Kamal, that of flight into an inner world in which to examine the evidence provided by the "reality" of others' opinions and behavior:

> Fahmy could not bear to stay with them any longer. He responded to the inner voice that was anxiously calling for help and encouraging him to

> flee far from other eyes and ears, so that he could be all alone, repeat the conversation to himself from start to finish, word by word, phrase by phrase, sentence and by sentence, in order to understand and fathom it. Then he could see where he stood (*PW* 41).

Khadija

Al-Sayyid's elder daughter Khadija is religious, energetic, sharp-tongued, physically unattractive, and full of affection for her family. Aisha's engagement provokes a torment of jealousy, which she is forced to suppress (*PW* 238). Nevertheless, a tranquil side to her character, inherited from her mother, reconciles her to her destiny. When finally engaged (to the forty-year-old widower Ibrahim Shawkat), Khadija is distressed at the impending separation from her family:

> It was exactly what one would expect of a girl whose heart pounded with love for nothing so much as for her family and house — from her parents, whom she adored, to the chickens, hyacinth beans, and jasmine (family *PW* 316).

Aisha

At the beginning of *Bayn al-qasrayn*, al-Sayyid's younger daughter Aisha is sixteen-years old, good-looking (with blonde hair and a white complexion), slack in her household duties and religious observances, and secretly in love with a police officer at whom she casts glances through the *mashrabiyya*. (Al-Sayyid rejects any possibility of such a marriage.) Finally, al-Sayyid, under the cajoling of the forceful Widow Shawkat, agrees to allow Aisha to marry Khalil Shawkat, an uneducated twenty-five-year-old with a private income. Aisha is happy in marriage, finding the rules of the Shawkat household less onerous than those of her father. Almost at the end of *Bayn al-qasrayn*, Aisha painfully gives birth to a daughter Na'ima, who is born with a weak heart (possibly symbolizing the weakness of impending Egyptian "independence"); Aisha is not informed of Na'ima's frailty.

Kamal

Al-Sayyid's younger son Kamal, who will be the leading character of the two later volumes of the Cairo Trilogy, is a ten-year-old elementary school student. Kamal is sincerely religious, likes to sing (as does his father), and adores his mother. (His demand that his father restore Amina to her home leads to a beating.) Kamal, with his large

head and big nose, is physically ugly. His character traits are already present: a certain voyeurism (he spies through a keyhole bride and groom kissing at Aisha's wedding), his enthusiasm for inventing and listening to stories, and a sensitivity to others. Thus, he enjoys entertaining and making friends with the English soldiers encamped in Palace Walk; his special friend is the sensitive Julian, who attempts a flirtation with Maryam.

Qasr al-shawq (Palace of Desire)

Qasr al-shawq begins in 1924, five years after Fahmy's death. Amina and al-Sayyid have aged considerably. Al-Sayyid, the conqueror of women, becomes enslaved by passion for the lute-singer Zanuba; he frees himself from his infatuation only with a painful exertion of will. Aisha and Khadija are taken up with family life. Yasin, still a creature of uncontrolled lusts, makes two further marriages, the last one with Zanuba. The main theme of *Qasr al-shawq*, however, is Kamal's total, devastating love for the aristocratic Aïda Shaddad.[2] Because Kamal's obsessive love has its origin from within himself and because this passion represents the essence of his being, we are granted, through the comments of Isma'il Latif, a further, "impartial" view of Aïda Shaddad. However, it is for the reader, rather than the narrator, to determine whether Latif's "objective" vision has any more value than Kamal's "intuitive" grasp of Aïda Shaddad's qualities.

Contemporary events appear in *Qasr al-shawq* only as backdrop to the domestic concerns of al-Sayyid's family: demonstrations against the English; the assassination of Sir Lee Stack (November 1924); Egyptian coalition governments; King Fuad's hostility to Sa'd Zaghlul and the Wafd; the death of Sa'd Zaghlul (August 1927), which occurs on the day that Yasin's wife Zanuba gives birth and when two of Aisha's children are dying of typhoid (possibly symbolizing the uncertain future of Egyptian "independence").

Amina

Amina, approaching fifty, is now older and thinner, an excessive drinker of coffee and restricted to the company of her servant Umm Hanafi. She has considerably more freedom, visiting her married daughters, Fahmy's grave, and the mosque of al-Husayn as frequently

[2]Kamal's passion is modeled in large part on a similar unrequited love which shattered Mahfouz in his adolescence; see Marie Francis-Saad 47.

as she wishes. Amina is now on occasions given to anger; she resents Maryam and her family, suspecting them of gloating over Fahmy's death. The honesty of her feelings leads to sound judgment; thus, she supports Kamal's decision to follow a life of learning: "Amazingly, his mother's advice was better than his father's. It was not based on opinion but on sound feelings, which, unlike his father's, had never been corrupted by contact with the realities of worldly life" (*PD* 58).

Al-Sayyid Ahmad

In *Qasr al-shawq* al-Sayyid is less brutal in his relations with his family. He fails to coerce Kamal into becoming a civil servant. Despite his pretence of anger, he inwardly recognizes that Khadija, in her defiance of her mother-in-law, is made in the same pattern as himself. Yasin, meeting Kamal in a brothel, reveals al-Sayyid's magnificence as "a master of jests, music, and love" (*PD* 363). Kamal, who loves his father, ponders his contradictions:

> I admire your charm, grace, impudence, rowdiness, and adventuresome spirit. That's your gentle side, the one all your acquaintances love. If it shows anything, it reveals your vanity and your enthusiasm for life and people. But I'd like to ask why you choose to show us this frightening and gruff mask? ... We've never known you as a friend the way outsiders do. We've known you as a tyrannical dictator, a petulant despot (*PD* 372-73).

Since Fahmy's death, the grieving al-Sayyid has renounced the company of women (Zubayda, Umm Maryam). When he finally visits the houseboat of his friend Muhammad Iffat, he discovers that he feels aversion for his former loves, the aging entertainers Jalila and Zubayda: "There was a change in his heart too. He felt aversion and repulsion. It had not been that way when he arrived, for he had come in breathless pursuit of a phantom, which no longer existed" (*PD* 79). Instead, concerned for his waning virility, al-Sayyid falls prey to an obsessive passion for the lute-player Zanuba, who manipulates him into establishing her in a costly house. Degraded and humiliated, it is only with an immense effort that the anguished al-Sayyid regains control of himself to resist the demand by Zanuba (already the secret mistress of Yasin) that he marry her: "He attacked himself, scolding and railing against his humiliation. Eventually he began to acknowledge his disgrace, wretchedness, and loss of youth" (*PD* 302).

A year after breaking with Zanuba, al-Sayyid returns to Muhammad Iffat's houseboat to realize that his youth is over. The singers of al-Sayyid's past have been replaced; he finds no pleasure in the new

singer Umm Kalthoun. Jalila, no longer beautiful, now makes money as a brothel owner; Zubayda is addicted to alcohol and cocaine. Al-Sayyid suffers a stroke. Bedridden for a while, he is surrounded by the affection of family, friends, and fellow merchants. "It was merely the prestige enjoyed by a good-hearted, affable, and chivalrous man," Kamal decides (*PD* 411). At the end of the novel, al-Sayyid visits the mosque with his sons, the hour of repentance now arrived.

Yasin

The twenty-eight-year-old Yasin (who lives in Palace of Desire Alley), to satisfy his lust, now wishes to marry Maryam, who has entrapped him, as he knows full well, by the ancient female strategy of "seduction and evasion" (*PD* 113). But before marriage to Maryam, Yasin gratifies his senses with her lusty mother. (Two weeks after Yasin's marriage to Maryam, Maryam's mother marries a seller of fruit drinks, younger and of lower social class; three weeks later, Maryam's mother dies of diabetes.)

Soon bored with Maryam, a drunken Yasin takes an equally intoxicated Zanuba to his house. When Maryam protests, Yasin utters the formula of divorce. To enormous family scandal, Yasin marries the lute-player Zanuba. Although the easily-bored Yasin continues his dissolute life, Yasin finds Zanuba more devoted to him than his previous wives. Yasin refuses his father's order to divorce Zanuba; at the end of the novel, Zanuba is giving birth to Yasin's son.

In debate with the idealistic, "romantic" Kamal, Yasin offers with considerable lucidity a down-to-earth view of love:

> It seems to me that crazy people become lovers because they're crazy. Lovers don't go insane just because they're in love. You'll observe these lunatics talking about a woman as though she were an angel. A woman's nothing more than a woman. She's a tasty dish of which you quickly get your fill. Let those crazy lovers share a bed with her so they can see what she looks like when she wakes up or smell her sweat or other odors. And after that are they going to talk about angels? A woman's charm is a matter of cosmetics and other seductive devices. Once you fall into her trap, you see her for the human being she really is. The secret forces holding marriages together aren't beauty or charm but children, the dowry's balance demanded in exchange for a divorce and the support payments (*PD* 367).

Unlike Kamal, who cannot accept human impurity, Yasin loves women as they are:

> The fact is that I love them. I love them with all their faults. But I wanted to demonstrate that the angelic woman does not exist (*PD* 368).

Aisha and Na'ima

Aisha is too kindly and cowardly to rebel against her domineering mother-in-law: "She was a benevolent person with a heart disposed to friendship and affection" (*PD* 44). Similarly, Aisha will not support Khadija in her complaints about the Widow Shawkat's tyranny. Despite Amina's disapproval of the couple, the generous Aisha visits Yasin and Maryam. Khadija, in her bitterness at Aisha's lack of support, accuses Aisha of moral laxity (smoking, drinking alcohol). Aisha's daughter Na'ima, a golden-haired beauty, loves to sing. At the end of *Qasr al-shawq*, Aisha's husband and two sons are desperately ill with typhoid fever.

Khadija and Ibrahim Shawkat

Despite their frequent quarrels and Ibrahim's idleness, Khadija and Ibrahim form a successful couple: "They were a successful couple, and each of them sensed deep inside that he could not do without the other, regardless of flaws. Strangely enough, it was when Ibrahim fell sick once that Khadija was able to reveal the love and devotion she harbored for him" (*PD* 37). Khadija devotes herself to house and children; herself almost illiterate, she intends her sons to receive university degrees. Khadija also stands up to the domineering and senile Widow Shawkat to obtain an independent kitchen.

Kamal

Qasr al-shawq is above all a *Bildungsroman* relating the blighted dreams of the oversensitive and highly lucid Kamal. The novel begins with the seventeen-year-old Kamal's celebrating the obtaining of his baccalaureate. Against his father's wishes that he prepare a profession, Kamal determines to enroll in the Teachers Training College, believing "that the life of thought was man's loftiest goal, rising with its luminous character high above the material world" (*PD* 51). His wish is to study literature, history, languages, ethics, and poetry (*PD* 54). At first deeply pious, Kamal's studies of philosophy lead to a loss of religious faith and to a belief in materialistic science as "the key to the secrets of existence" (*PD* 339). Kamal, rendered in many respects power-

less by love, nevertheless has dignity to protest to Aïda that he has been slandered by the jealous Hasan Salim.

Kamal's very being has since the age of fourteen been centered on his intense passion for Aïda Shaddad, the sister of his wealthy school friend Husayn Shaddad. Page after page of *Qasr al-shawq* are devoted to Kamal's outpourings of idealized love and inner suffering. Kamal converts his love into "literature," whether in the form of an inner monologue or committed to his diary for subsequent reflection:

> Solitude and communion with his soul called him. Thought of the diary slumbering in the drawer of his desk stirred the passions of his breast. A person exhausted from putting up with reality seeks relaxation deep inside himself (*PD* 75).

Here are a few of Kamal's heartfelt renderings of his love; the "love," it must be noted, is no less intensely experienced for having been shaped into a "literary" form:

> Then you submerged yourself in the melody of her voice, savoring its tones, becoming intoxicated by its music, and soaking up every syllable that slipped out. Perhaps you did not understand, you poor dear, that you were being born again at that very moment and that like a newborn baby you had to greet your new world with alarm and tears (*PD* 17).
>
> Call up her blissful image and contemplate it a little. Can you imagine her unable to sleep or left prostrate by love and passion? That's too remote even for a fantasy. She's above love, for love is a defect remedied only by the loved one. Be patient and don't torment your heart. It's enough that you see her. Her image shines into your spirit and her dulcet tones send intoxicating delight through you. From the beloved emanates a light in which all things appear to be created afresh. After a long silence, the jasmine and the hyacinth beans begin to confide in each other. The minarets and domes fly up over the evening glow into the sky. The landmarks of the ancient district hand down the wisdom of past generations. The existential orchestra echoes the chirps of the crickets. The dens of wild beasts overflow with tenderness. Grace adorns the alleys and side streets. Sparrows of rapture chatter over the tombs. Inanimate objects are caught up in silent meditation. The rainbow appears in the woven mat over which your feet step. Such is the world of my beloved (*PD* 165).
>
> You're walking with Aïda in the desert near the pyramids. Ponder this ravishing fact and shout it aloud until the pyramid builders hear you. The beloved and her suitor are strolling together over the sand. The lover's rapture is so intense that the breeze might almost carry him off, while the beloved amuses herself by counting pebbles. If love's malady were contagious, I would not mind the pain (*PD* 181).

Since Aïda is by Kamal's definition perfection itself, the suffering resulting from her cruel mocking of his big nose and head must be accepted as if by "divine decree":

> Her visage had been disdainful, sarcastic, and harsh. How cruel she had seemed! She had toyed with him mercilessly.... He deserved to suffer. It was his duty to accept this with ascetic resignation, like a devotee who believes implicitly in the fairness of a divine decree, no matter how harsh it appears, because the decree has been issued by the perfect beloved whose attributes and acts are beyond suspicion (*PD* 204).
>
> His agony was like a severe illness that lingers on as a chronic malady after its worse symptoms subside. He was not consoled. How could he find any consolation for love? It was the most exalted thing life had ever revealed to him. Since he believed deeply in love's immortality, he realized he would have to bear it patiently, as if destined to live out the rest of his days with an incurable illness (*PD* 246).

The pain provoked by her marriage to Hasan Salim is devastating:

> History itself had concluded. Life was at an end. Dreams worth more than life itself were terminated. He was faced with nothing less than a boulder studded with spikes.... He was overcome by a sense of having been the victim of an atrocious assault. Conspiring against him had been fate, the law of heredity, the class system, Aïda, Hasan Salim, and a mysterious force he was reluctant to name. To his eyes he seemed a miserable wretch standing alone against these combined powers. His wound was bleeding and there was no one to bind it (*PD* 313).

The thought of Aïda's loss of virginity on her wedding night causes even greater pain:

> "Savor this new form of distilled pain," Kamal told himself. "It's the essence of pain, the pain of pains. Your consolation is that your pain's unique. No man before you has ever experienced it. Hell will seem easy for you by comparison if you're destined to be carried there by demons who dance you over its tongues of fire. Pain! It's not from losing your love, because you never aspired to possess her. It's because she has descended from heaven and is wallowing in the mud, after living grandly over the clouds. It's because she's allowed her cheek to be kissed, her blood to be shed, and her body to be abused. How intense my regret and pain are..." (*PD* 317).

Kamal is unable to envisage that the object of his worship has physical needs. He refuses to conceive that Aïda possesses bodily functions (*PD* 17, 192), that Aïda can be compared to other women (*PD* 42), and that marriage can be reconciled with spiritual love: "People who

are really in love with ideals superior to life itself don't get married." (*PD* 75) Nonetheless, Kamal in his idealism is refusing to recognize the physical side of his own nature. The passage from page 317 quoted above, as Kamal imagines Aïda's loss of virginity, indicates Kamal's unconscious —but nonetheless real— sexual desire for her. The denial of Aïda's sexuality is the denial of Kamal's own lust. Intoxicated with the purity of his love for Aïda, Kamal looks back with disgust at his own fondling of the prepubescent, lower-class Qamar (*PD* 74). When Kamal, fortified with alcohol, frequents the prostitute Ayusha-Rose, Kamal converts the experience into an intellectual questioning of the meaning of existence, truth, and beauty:

> At that moment his soul yearned for purification, isolation, and meditation. He longed to remember the tormented life he had lived in the shadow of his beloved. He seemed to believe that truth would always be cruel. Should he adopt the avoidance of truth as his creed? He walked along the road to the bar, so lost in thought that he scarcely paid any attention to Isma'il's chatter. If truth was cruel, lies were ugly.
>
> "The problem's not that the truth is harsh but that liberation from ignorance is as painful as being born. Run after truth until you're breathless. Accept the pain involved in re-creating yourself afresh. These ideas will take a life to comprehend, a hard one interspersed with drunken moments" (*PD* 357-58).

Even after loss of religious faith, Kamal is tormented by the problem of love, which for him is the key to essence:

> [In debate with Yasin] "It would only be fitting if he'd change his opinion on seeing Aïda," Kamal told himself. "But you better rethink this question of love. You once considered it an angelic inspiration, but now you deny the existence of angels. So search for it within man's essence. Insert it into the list of theoretical and practical realities you wish to confront boldly. In this way you'll learn the secret of your tragedy and strip the veil away from Aida's hidden essence. You won't discover her to be an angel, but the door of enchantment will swing open for you. How wretched it makes me to think of things like pregnancy and its craving, Aida as an overly familiar sight, and body odors" (*PD* 367).

Intellectual speculation, as well as alcohol and sex, become Kamal's refuge from pain:

> I depend on the study and analysis of love, as previously mentioned, and on minimizing my individual pains through speculations that embrace all of existence so that by comparison man's world seems a trivial speck. I also refresh my soul with alcohol and sex (*PD* 389).

The Shaddads

For the bedazzled Kamal, the millionaire Shaddad family are "noble souls cleansed of all wickedness and baseness" (*PD* 151). (Less attractive qualities of the Shaddads are their tightness with money and their fawning over powerful politicians.) Kamal's meetings with his friends Husayn Shaddad, Hasan Salim (the son of a superior court judge), and Isma'il Latif in the gazebo in the garden of the Shaddad mansion in the wealthy al-Abassiya district take on an enchanted quality for the impulsive, sensitive Kamal. Some three years older than Kamal, the half-Persian Aïda Shaddad is a self-confident beauty who had grown up in Paris and was educated in a Catholic school. (The Shaddad family know little about the Muslim religion.) Interestingly, as an example of non-sexual affection, the three-year-old Budur, Aïda's sister, has an instinctive love for Kamal.

The "reality" of Aïda clashes with Kamal's adoration. At their first meeting alone, Aïda is coldly mocking: "She looked like anything but a woman engrossed in a romantic conversation. He felt a cold, gnawing sensation in his heart. He wondered whether he had been destined to be alone with her like this so his dreams could be demolished in one blow" (*PD* 202). Kamal is devastated by her cruelty and disdain (see above, *PD* 204). Hasan Salim (a jealous suitor who wishes to discourage Kamal) tells Kamal that Aïda enjoys the role of young men's "dream girl." For Isma'il Latif, Aïda is flirtatious, had deliberately used Kamal to provoke Hasan Salim into proposing marriage, and is not particularly beautiful (too slender); girls like Aïda are plentiful: "I wonder if you don't have a higher opinion of her than she deserves" (*PD* 262).

At the end of *Qasr al-shawq*, Husayn Shaddad, Kamal's sincere friend, leaves for Paris to study the arts in dilettante manner. Aïda, pregnant by her diplomat husband Hasan Salim, is living in Brussels.

al-Sukkariyya (Sugar Street)

al-Sukkariyya ("Sugar Street," where the Shawkats live) portrays aging, death, change, and —with some irony— hope for the future. Amina, Al-Sayyid, and his companions suffer health problems, become old, and die. The fun-loving Aisha is destroyed by the deaths of husband and children. The Shaddad family are ruined in the economic depression. Aïda Shaddad, after an unhappy marriage, becomes second wife to a man not much higher in the social scale than Kamal and dies of pneumonia. The former entertainers have diverse fortunes: Jalila, having become rich as a brothel owner, decides to repent; Zubayda, with her addictions, is reduced to destitution.

Egyptian society has changed. Children, with education, escape the control of their parents; girls now attend universities, although generally limiting their studies to the Arts or nursing. Fuad, the son of al-Sayyid's clerk, is, with a law degree, moving up the social scale and refuses to marry al-Sayyid's grand-daughter Na'ima. Radio and electric light provide comfort in al-Sayyid's house. Maryam's mother's house is replaced by a glittering store. The Shaddad mansion is torn down to construct apartment buildings.

Kamal, always indecisive, tortured by his lost love for Aïda, incapable of committing himself to marriage or a consistent philosophical position, remains the despairing central figure of *al-Sukkariyya*. At the end of the Trilogy, Kamal is still engaged in the desperate struggle for faith which has marked his whole existence (*SS* 306). The uncertain future of Egypt is represented by Yasin's son Ridwan (a homosexual making his career as a politician's hanger-on), the Marxist Ahmad Ibrahim Shawkat, and the Muslim Brother Abd al-Muni'm Shawkat. The family heredity is obvious: Ahmad has Kamal's sensitivity to love; Abd al-Muni'm the brutal lusts of his uncle Yasin. Nevertheless, Ahmad can overcome unrequited love to make a happy marriage (Marxist style) and commit himself to political action. Abd al-Muni'm will control (Islamic style) his lusts and also enter the political struggle.

The historical background covers the restoration in 1935 of the 1923 Constitution (following the efforts of Mustafa al-Nahas and the Wafd), the replacement of King Fuad by his equally inadequate son Faruq, splits in the Wafd, the outbreak of war with Germany and Italy, and the expulsion of the Copt Makram Ubayd from the Wafd (which previously had been a truly nationalist party without regard for ethnic and religious interests). National life affects the novelistic characters, even apart from the political involvement of al-Sayyid's grandchildren. Karima and Abd al-Muni'm marry during the Battle of Alamein; al-Sayyid is forced to flee his house during a bombing raid; Ahmad, the Marxist, and Abd al-Muni'm, the Muslim Brother, are placed in preventive detention on the same day.

Amina

Amina at age sixty looks ten years older; her body is withered and she suffers from high blood pressure. Only Umm Hanafi is there to befriend her. She visits the saints in their shrines whenever she wants. Her mourning for al-Sayyid is intense: "Every hour of my day is linked to some memory of my master. He was the pivot of the only life I've ever known. How can I bear to live now that he has departed, leaving noth-

ing behind him" (*SS* 209)? When Amina dies of pneumonia, Kamal somewhat self-centeredly compares her life of love and achievement with his own wasted existence (*SS* 304).

Al-Sayyid

Al-Sayyid, aged and suffering from heart disease, now retired from the store, is confined to the first floor of his house. His cosmos is turned upside down when he consents to his grandsons' marrying before completing their education. His bosom companions have died. At death, he is mourned by the weeping Yasin and by the compassionate Kamal, now his friend: [Kamal] "How I feared him when I was young ... but in his later years he revealed to me a totally different person, indeed a beloved friend. How witty, tender, and gracious he was ... unlike any other man" (*SS* 212). Grotesquely, his funeral is converted into a political affair, with the presence of Muslim Brothers and Ridwan's political cronies.

Aisha and Na'ima

Aisha, prematurely aged (toothless, listless, with sunken eyes and cheeks), after the deaths of her husband and sons, depends on cigarettes and coffee. Her only hope lies in her daughter Na'ima, a beautiful young woman of sixteen. When Na'ima dies in childbirth, Aisha sinks into a deep depression, communing with the dead. Kamal sees a connection between his and Aisha's failed lives:

> The striking similarity between their misfortunes did not escape him. She had lost her offspring and he had lost his hopes. If she had ended up with nothing, so had he. All the same, her children had been flesh and blood, and his hopes had been deceptive fictions of his imagination (*SS* 180).

Kamal

Kamal, successful as an English-language teacher and writer of a monthly philosophical column in the magazine *al-Fikr*, is consumed by a nightmare of loneliness, anxiety, and doubt. Yasin, who believes that "truth" lies in involvement, not in libraries, accuses Kamal of fleeing commitment (*SS* 24). Kamal, the detachéd, ironic skeptic, finds temporary community with others in a Wafdist political demonstration. Kamal diagnoses his malady, his living in his sentimental past, as "Romantic":

> Perhaps the past is the opiate of the Romantic. It's a most distressing affliction to have a sentimental heart and a skeptical mind. I don't beleve in anything, it doesn't matter what I say (*SS* 43).
>
> A memory of love, not love itself, was at work. We're in love with love, regardless of our circumstances, and love it most when we are deprived of it (*SS* 46).

Kamal is not totally cut off from others. His friendship with the writer Riyad Qaldas, a Copt, restores spiritual energy. Although the part-time prostitute Atiya loves Kamal, Kamal is unable to feel "love and lust" (Kamal's definition of stability) for a single human being (*SS* 102). Isma'il Latif, now happily married, blames Kamal's books for his inability to live "a normal life" (*SS* 174).

Kamal is offered an opportunity to redeem his life in the person of the student Budur, Aïda's younger sister. The charming Budur is willing to marry Kamal. Indecision, however, leads Kamal to spurn the offered love. The torment Kamal feels when seeing Budur with her new fiancé offers the same mixture of pain and "mysterious delight" which Kamal experienced on Aïda's wedding night (*SS* 265).

Kamal's "wound" is intimately bound up with his desire to know his own truth by discovering the "truth" of Aïda:

> [On learning of Aïda's visit to Cairo] I wish I had learned she was here in time. I wish I had seen her again after our long separation. Now that I am liberated from her tyranny, I need to see her so I can learn the truth about her and thus the truth about myself. But this priceless opportunity has been lost (*SS* 234).
>
> And what was Aïda to him now? The truth was that he no longer wanted Aïda. But he still wished to learn her secret, which might at least convince him that the best years of his life had not been wasted (*SS* 239).

Yasin and Zanuba

Yasin, now forty, continues to be a wastrel, drinking in taverns and watching women in the street. He is affectionate toward his children, although unwilling to pay for his daughter Karima to attend secondary school. Zanuba has worked hard to ingratiate herself into the family; her beauty fading, she dresses simply and succeeds in gaining the respect that once would have been considered impossible.

Khadija

Khadija, now plump, is happy with her generally successful marriage, manages to persuade her idle husband to perform his religious duties, and takes delight in her sons Abd al-Muni'm and Ahmad. She is affectionate toward the suffering Aisha. At the age of forty-six, however, she is lonely now that her career as a mother has ended.

Ahmad Ibrahim Shawkat and Sawsan Hammad

Khadija's son Ahmad has much in common with his uncle Kamal. Ahmad is interested in philosophy and at the age of sixteen submits an article on educational theory to the socialist *The New Man* magazine. Like Uncle Kamal, Ahmad falls in love with a girl of superior social class, the student Alawiya Sabri, a slender beauty of aristocratic demeanor. Alawiya rejects Ahmad's marriage proposal, awaiting an arranged marriage with a wealthy husband. Unlike Kamal, Ahmad recovers from the torment of unrequited love and finds harmony and happiness with the working-class Sawsan Hammad, a serious and intelligent Marxist journalist colleague with a forceful personality. Although Sawsan refuses all talk of "love" (for her a purely bourgeois concept), Sawsan and Ahmad do "love" each other and marry despite Khadija's opposition. (Yasin and Kamal support the match.) The two work to raise the level of proletarian consciousness until they are arrested under wartime emergency regulations.

Abd al-Muni'm Shawkat

Ahmad's brother Abd al-Muni'm is a member of the Muslim Brotherhood, dedicated "to understand Islam as God intended it to be: a religion, a way of life, a code of law, and a political system" (*SS* 119). He is also, like his uncle Yasin, devoured by lust. After seducing a thirteen-year-old girl, he recalls the teaching of his mentor Shaykh Ali al-Manifi: "You cannot conquer the devil by ignoring the laws of nature" (*SS* 106) (counsel that Uncle Kamal would well have been advised to heed). The eighteen-year-old Abd al-Muni'm therefore persuades his father to let him marry Na"ima, his double first cousin. After Na'ima's death, he marries Yasin's daughter Karima. At the end of *al-Sukkariyya*, Abd al-Muni'm is arrested for his political activities.

Ridwan

Yasin's son Ridwan is a Wafdist who ponders Egypt's future problems after the British are expelled. Ridwan, a homosexual, is protected by the senior statesman Abd al-Rahim Pasha. Ridwan, once he has received his university degree, is appointed secretary to a cabinet minister; he can thus favor the careers of Abd al-Muni'm, Yasin, and Kamal. Ridwan's contempt for women, his protector suggests, will condemn Ridwan to a life of solitude (*SS* 284).

The Shaddads

Kamal learns belatedly that Shaddad Bey, bankrupted during the depression, had killed himself. His widow now lives in a flat with Budur, existing on a small pension. Through Isma'il Latif, the only one of his adolescent friends with whom Kamal remains in contact, Kamal learns that Aïda had a son of fourteen and a daughter of ten and had accompanied her husband to Iran. Hasan Salim had fallen in love with another woman; one month after arriving in Iran Aïda separated from Hasan Salim and returned alone to Cairo. She became the second wife of a fifty-year-old chief inspector of English-language instruction (one of Kamal's superiors) and had almost immediately died of pneumonia. (Kamal had unknowingly been present at the funeral.) Kamal receives the news of his former idol with stoicism (*SS* 290).

In 1944, Kamal meets Husayn Shaddad, now an overworked businessman. When Kamal declares that he writes essays, "Husayn smiled despondently and remarked, 'You're lucky. You've seen your youthful dreams come true. I haven't'" (*SS* 287).

Conclusions

The Cairo Trilogy owes much to the nineteenth-century realist tradition. (Mahfouz has spoken of his admiration for Stendhal, Flaubert, Tolstoy, Galsworthy, and Proust.) In its *roman fleuve* chronicle of the fortunes of a single family over several generations and with its unifaceted characters, the Cairo Trilogy is closer to the *Forsythe Saga* of John Galsworthy (also a Nobel-Prize winner) than to Galsworthy's more illustrious French precursors. Like Zola, al-Sayyid's family believe their traits to be determined by heredity: their joy in singing (al-Sayyid, Kamal, Na'ima), their exceeding sensitivity to love, whether in the form of lust (al-Sayyid, Yasin) or self-destructive pursuit of phantoms (Fahmy, Kamal, al-Sayyid with Zanuba). As in a nineteenth-century *Bildungsroman*, national history —the struggle for in-

dependence, the later divisions and corruption of Egyptian politics—impacts on the lives of novelistic characters; Mahfouz also depicts the notable evolution of Egyptian society during the thirty-year span of the Trilogy. Furthermore, the elegiac nature of the *Bildungsroman* —one thinks, for example, of Armando Palacio Valdés's *Riverita* and *Maximina*— appears not only in the aging and deaths of al Sayyid and Amina and in the decline of the Shaddad family fortunes but also most notably in the wasted lives of characters apparently favored in their youth: Kamal (defect of the will) and Aisha (the malevolence of fate). Mahfouz combines elements of nineteenth- and twentieth-century techniques: a partially omniscient author (who enters the minds only of members of al-Sayyid's family), the interplay of external behavior and inner life, the dialogues (whether with self or others) over the nature of existence and love, the constant Proustian self-interrogation and analysis (Kamal). Traces of contemporary French existentialism are evident in Kamal's despair and sense of the meaninglessness of life and in the decisive political commitment of Ahmad and Abd al-Muni'm Shawkat.

A great variety of women are portrayed in the Trilogy: family-oriented (al-Sayyid's wife and daughters); submissive (Amina, Aisha); strong (Khadija, Maryam, and her mother); lustful and brazen (Maryam's mother, Maryam, Yasin's mother); victims (the part-time prostitutes frequented by Kamal, decent women forced by material misfortune to sell their bodies); manipulators (Aïda Shaddad, Maryam, Zanuba); a snob (Alawiya Sabri). Woman's fate is not always fixed by circumstance; Zanuba achieves a social respectability seemingly impossible for one of her origins. The goal of Mahfouz's women, whether middle-class and almost illiterate (al-Sayyid's daughters) or upper class and well-educated (Aïda, Alawiya Sabri), is marriage. Sawsan Hammad, on the other hand, hard-working, intelligent, and independent, represents a new type of Egyptian woman, the equal of men.

Mahfouz's male characters are portrayed with greater psychological penetration, although only Kamal is explored in depth. The reader is at first alienated by al-Sayyid (the tyrannical husband) and by Yasin (the lusty animal). Later, however, although our initial repugnance is not totally overcome, the two appear in a slightly more favorable light: al-Sayyid becomes more tender with age; Yasin finally achieves a stable marriage and presents an intelligent argument for accepting women as they are, rather than as the idealized angels conceived by the bookish Kamal.

The Cairo Trilogy is structured on love. A striking feature of the Trilogy is the obvious love with which Mahfouz depicts his characters, whether the ox-like Yasin or the sensitive Kamal (who is in many

aspects a thinly-disguised portrait of Mahfouz himself). Amina, Aisha, and Khadija unselfishly love and serve their families. The sons Yasin, Fahmy, and Kamal have a deep love for al-Sayyid. The *bon vivant* al-Sayyid loves his friends and, despite his brutal manners, his family. Another type of love is sensual desire; Yasin is animal-like in his uncontrolled lusts; al-Sayyid, with greater refinement, also relishes women's bodies; his grandson Abd al-Muni'm channels his "sinful" lusts in Islamic marriage; Maryam's and Yasin's mothers are dominated by sexual passion.

Sexual desire, whether conscious or unconscious, can also blind men. The aging Al-Sayyid becomes obsessed with the manipulative Zanuba. Kamal's case is more complicated. The deeply sensitive Kamal has a gift for loving friendships; his happiest moments are spent in the company of Husayn Shaddad and Riyad Qaldas. Kamal refuses to associate sexual desire, which he sates with prostitutes, with the possibility of marriage with a loved one.[3] In one of the most powerful portrayals of inner torment in literature, Mahfouz portrays Kamal's totally devastating passion for Aïda Shaddad. (Mahfouz's "corrects" Kamal's almost insane projections by offering others' more realistic perceptions of Aïda.) Kamal's refusal to abandon his infatuation, his perpetual self-doubts and questioning of the meaning of existence, his flight from all involvement, are a "Romantic" sickness of the soul. Kamal's wasted life reminds us, indeed, of that of Frédéric Moreau, the protagonist of Flaubert's *L'Education sentimentale*. Mahfouz does offer Kamal a second chance, in the person of Budur; Kamal's sickly flight from Budur only irritates the reader. An alternative possibility is presented by Ahmad Shawkat, who does recover from a Romantic obsession and finds happiness with another woman.

The "more practical" characters of the novel —the women, al-Sayyid, Yasin, Ahmad and al-Muni'm Shawkat, Isma'il Latif, the artistic Riqad Qaldas— accept marriage, despite its imperfections, as an essential, and even joyful, part of life. The homosexual Ridwan, like the over-intellectual Kamal, has condemned himself to loneliness. Kamal, with his lucidity, sensitivity, and massive capacity for self-inflicted pain, is nonetheless the outstanding character of the Cairo Trilogy. Nearly at the close of *al-Sukkariyya*, Mahfouz, in an act of

---

[3]Hasan M. El-Shamy, in his "cognitive behavioristic analysis" of the Trilogy, claims that "the basic motivating force to which Kamal (i.e. Mahfouz himself) is responding is a powerful affectionate tie to his sister "Aishah'" (El-Shamy 52). Although well-argued, especially with regard to Kamal's traumatic response to Aisha's wedding, El-Shamy's reductionist analysis trivializes Kamal's anguish and too easily denies the influence of Romantic attitudes (see El-Shamy 65).

tenderness toward a character who has greatly suffered, has Riyad Qaldas justify Kamal's life:

> [Kamal] asked, "Do you think I've done my duty to life by sincerely pursuing my vocation as a teacher and by writing my philosophical essays?"
>
> Riyad answered affectionately, "There's no doubt that you have" (*SS* 305).

University of Kentucky

Works Cited

El-Shamy, Hasan. "The Traditional Structure of Sentiments in Mahfouz's *Trilogy*: A Behavioristic Text Analysis." In *Critical Perspectives on Naguib Mahfouz*. Ed. Trevor Le Gassick. Washington DC: Three Continents Press, 1991, 51-70.

Francis-Saad, Marie. "Naguib Mahfouz: Du fils du pays à l'homme universel." In Naguib Mahfouz, *Le voyageur à la mallette*. Paris: Editions de l'Aube, 1996.

Mahfouz, Naguib. *Echoes of an Autobiography*. [Foreword by Nadine Gordimer] New York: Doubleday, 1997.

____. *Fountain and Tomb*. (Translation of *Hakayat Haretna*] Washington DC: Three Continents Press, 1988.

____. *Palace of Desire*. [Translation of *Qasr al-shawk*] New York: Doubleday, 1991.

____. *Palace Walk*. [Translation of *Bayn al-qasrayn*] New York: Doubleday, 1990.

____. *Sugar Street*. [Translation of *al-Sukkariya*] New York: Doubleday, 1992.

Barrie Wharton

CHAMELEONS OF COMPROMISE. THE MONARCHY IN CONTEMPORARY SPAIN

As we approach the new millennium, Spain is considered by many observers to be at the vanguard of the new democratic spirit which is laying the foundations for the Europe of the 21st century.[1] A committed and highly vocal member of the European Union, the political arrangement of Spain's autonomous communities within the central Spanish state structure is regularly cited as a model example of the federalist future of Europe. Coupled with this embrace of innovative political structures, Spain's championing of diverse human rights issues has brought it international attention and an impressive and growing portfolio in the field of international relations.[2] The aforementioned factors combined with the enthusiastic and continual support of the Spanish state for the ideals of European integration since the beginning of the 1980's have worked together in the creation and fostering of a new image and identity for Spain, far removed from its chequered and often murky history of autocracy and extremism which had led throughout history to long and repeated periods of ostracism and isolation from European and international affairs.

SCRIPTA MEDITERRANEA, Vol. XXI, 2000, 71

[1] In the course of this monograph, reference will be made to a large number of personal interviews, etc carried out by the author during the course of the preparation of this monograph. Given the sensitive nature of much of the material involved, the author has strictly observed the requested right to anonymity of many individuals and institutions who helped in the preparation of this monograph. However, the author would like to express sincere gratitude to the all those who have aided him particularly the many individuals who agreed to be interviewed for academic purposes, some for the first time, and those individuals who gave the author access to personal correspondence, family records, etc. On an official level, the author offers his sincere thanks to the British Library, the University Libraries of Valladolid and Limerick and the *Biblioteca Nacional* of Spain. The author is also indebted to the Spanish National Archives and the Press Archives of Spain along with the Italian National Archives. Special thanks is offered to Professor Edward Moxon-Browne, Director of the Centre for European Studies at the University of Limerick for his passion and enthusiasm for this project from the beginning and to Ms. Kathleen Warfield for all her help and assistance.

[2] The recent Spanish stance on the Pinochet case and the role of Spanish judge, Baltasar Garzón is a good example of this. Spain's leading role in attempting to achieve peace in the Middle East is another example.

In the context of this radical break with tradition in contemporary Spain, the position of the monarchy is, in the first instance, an uneasy and delicate one. Given the highly influential and often decisive role that the monarchy has played throughout Spanish history and moreover, its association with many of the social groups and political forces which the new democratic Spain has sought to undermine or eradicate, it would seem logical to suggest that the role of the monarchy in contemporary Spain already is or will evolve into a ceremonial and relatively benign one, an idiosyncratic historical annex locked into the modern Spain of the autonomies and by extension, the new European family.

On a superficial level, this idea appears to be correct and the actions of the current Spanish Royal Family seem to fully echo these sentiments. However, Spain is a country of great enigmas and perhaps, the first and most important lesson for any commentator on Spanish politics or society is that things are often not quite what they seem. In fact, they are often, on the contrary, quite radically different and the trajectory of the monarchy in contemporary Spain and its real role in contemporary Spanish life is a prime example of the above paradox at work.

Although the Spanish Royal Family often appears in the media and on the international stage as a flag-waving model family which symbolizes and embodies the ethos of the new democratic Spain, such generalities only mask the latent importance of the socio-political beliefs and influence of a complex group of individuals encapsulated in the King, Juan Carlos I whose past, present and future are intrinsically intertwined with that of the Spanish state and vice versa.

On the fundamental question of the control of the monarchy's power, analysis of the new Spanish constitution of 1978 reveals fundamental flaws or key provisos, depending on one's point of view and the politico-legal status of the monarchy in contemporary Spain is a domain whose parameters remain blurred and quite elastic. In fact, the contemporary Spanish monarchy is in reality far from a creation of Spain's democrats as it is often perceived. On the contrary, the successful trajectory of the monarchy in contemporary Spain and its undeniable national and international support as an institution is much more a reflection of the political adeptness and charisma of the complex and often chameleon-like Spanish Royal Family than any other factor. Perhaps of more importance, it has been the inability in the contemporary era of successive commentators and politicians alike to pin down this chameleon and neatly compartamentalize the role of the Spanish monarchy within a secure politico-judicial framework which has led to an erroneous and one could suggest, dangerous under-estimation of the true meaning and importance of its real role in the new Spain.

Any discussion on the role of the monarchy in contemporary Spain must first acknowledge the heterogeneous character of Spanish monarchism throughout the modern era. Although the contemporary portrayal of the Spanish Royal Family is more than often as a unifying monolithic force, the reality is in fact quite the contrary. In order to illustrate this, this monograph concentrates on much of the background events which led to the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy in 1975 and after the death of Franco, on the lesser-known but highly important role of the monarchy in Spanish life in the informal socio-political arena. While events such as the role of the King in the aborted coup of February 23rd, 1981 are obviously of importance in any study of the monarchy in contemporary Spain, much has already been written on these subjects and there is danger that excessive commentaries on and analyses of such events may only serve to divert attention away from other key factors which are responsible for the real significance of the Spanish Royal Family and its still vital role in the evolution of the new democratic Spain.[3]

The current Spanish Royal Family are members of the Bourbon[4] dynasty and it is pertinent here to highlight that the Bourbons came to rule Spain not through rights of succession or the desires of the Spanish people but rather through their victory in the bloody War of the Spanish Succession which ended Habsburg rule in Spain. Since then, the Bourbons have won for themselves a reputation as ineffective and weak rulers having presided over some of the darkest periods in modern Spanish history from the Napoleonic invasion of 1808 to the traumatic 1898 conflict with the United States which resulted in the end of the once glorious Spanish empire.

However, the Bourbons' problems were far from merely external. The War of the Spanish Succession may have brought them to the throne but it also left Spain deeply divided particularly along regional lines and these divisions continue to strike a strong resonance in contemporary Spain. Valencia, Cataluña and Aragón had all opposed the Bourbon claim to the throne and support in these areas for a Bourbon monarch has remained a problematic question up until the present day.

---

[3]For an excellent treatment of *El Tejerazo* i.e. the events of the 23-F coup, see Powell, C.T., *El piloto del cambio, el rey, la monarquía y la transición a la democracia*. Madrid: Ed. Planeta,1991.

[4]In Spanish, the Bourbon dynasty is referred to as *Los Borbones* but as the monograph is aimed principally at an English-speaking readership, English translations will be employed throughout the monograph except where the original Spanish is essential or does not deter from comprehension. It is pertinent to point out that most of the interviews, research etc for this monograph were conducted in Spanish and the select bibliography is almost wholly Spanish as there is a dearth of material published in English on this subject.

Despite the dubious trajectory of the Bourbons throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, it would be their association with Spain's backward slide into autocracy and dictatorship in the 20th century which would leave an indelible imprint in the minds of many Spaniards. After the failure of the Spanish First Republic, the Bourbons were restored to power in the shape of Alfonso XII, a well-meaning but largely incapable ruler. It was his son, Alfonso XIII, the grandfather of the current monarch, Juan Carlos I, who would re-introduce the idea of the Bourbon's distaste for parliamentary democracy or constitutional procedure and in doing so, he would sow the seeds of discord and chaos which would culminate in the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in July, 1936.

Alfonso XIII was the embodiment of all the worst that Spain had come to expect of the Bourbons. Spain had been extremely fortunate to survive the carnage and horrors of the First World War but Alfonso XIII proved unable to steer any kind of course for Spain through the turbulent decade of the 1920's. Too weak to rule effectively on his own, he also lacked the foresight to maintain some semblance of power or credibility in a rapidly disintegrating Spain by embracing some sort of democratic or republican structure. Instead, he pinned all his hopes on his support for the charismatic dictator, General Miguel Primo de Rivera.[5] By supporting Primo de Rivera's accession to power in 1923, Alfonso XIII showed blatant and flagrant disregard for the Spanish constitution from which his monarchy derived its very legitimacy and in taking this foolish gamble, he was to sign the death warrant of the Bourbons by inextricably linking the faith of his dynasty to that of the eccentric dictator. Of more importance in the contemporary era, Alfonso XIII's support of Primo de Rivera candidly revealed once again the undeniable Bourbon *afición* for right-wing autocrats, an idea which would come back to haunt and cast a shadow over the political trajectory of the current King.

General Primo de Rivera ruled Spain for seven years but when he fell from power in 1930, it was not a question of if but rather one of when Alfonso XIII would follow him. The King lasted another year against the backdrop of a Spanish societal landscape which was daily becoming increasingly polarized with an alarming growth in terrorism and political violence. It was not until April 14th, 1931 that the King finally stepped down but even then, his exit was inglorious to say the least as he left Madrid by night[6] for exile in Italy still refusing to abdicate and smooth the path for a future successor.

---

[5]Primo de Rivera consolidated himself as a dictator through his military leadership in the Moroccan War in which a young Francisco Franco was one of the combatants.

[6]Alfonso XIII left Madrid secretly by night on the express demand of the leader of the Provisional Government of the new Republic, Niceto Alcalá Zamora. It is ironic that

The exile of Alfonso XIII in Rome until his death in 1941 was not in itself of such vital importance in the course of Spanish history. He was not the first Bourbon to have had to flee Spain and he would not be the last. However, what was of fundamental importance was the timing of his exile. The significance of this timing meant that the Spanish monarchy was crucially absent from the events of a decade which would shape modern Spain and it is this absence which has allowed the monarchy to successfully cultivate a role as a floating fulcrum in contemporary Spanish life free from the Civil War baggage of its contemporaries. However, one must also note that this absence also denied the monarchy a concrete and definite support base for most of the political and social allegiances in contemporary Spain find their origins in the highly-charged political minefield of the mid-1930's and the tragic Civil War which followed it.

While the Bourbons were in exile in Italy, the question of succession became once again a divisive one. Alfonso XIII's eldest son, Alfonso renounced his claim to the throne in 1933 in order to marry a Cuban socialite, Edelmira Sampedro and embarked on a life of frivolity financed by his father's allowances.[7] A chronic haemophiliac, his sybaritic and wasteful life came to a tragic end when his car hit a lamp-post in Miami in September, 1938 as he left a cabaret. Four years earlier in Austria, his youngest brother, Gonzalo, another chronic haemophiliac, had also been killed in a car accident. The heir apparent, Jaime was also forced to renounce his claims to the throne as he was deaf and dumb although he was to retract this renunciation several times in the following years, especially after the birth of his two sons, Alfonso and Gonzalo.[8]

Given this woeful situation of the Spanish Royal Family, it is little surprise that the restoration of the monarchy was barely mentioned throughout the Civil War even though the Bourbons had ruled Spain for more than the past two centuries. The only remaining son of Alfonso XIII was Juan who would now become the legitimate successor in name to his father but as the Civil War tore apart the delicate fabric of Span-

---

Zamora had previously been one of Alfonso XIII's trusted ministers. Virtually all of Alfonso XIII's wealth was confiscated by the new Republic including his prized polo horses which were sold through Jimmy Alba, the King's friend. The Royal Family was thus impoverished except for the savings of Alfonso XIII's wife, Doña Victoria Eugenia in an English bank.

[7]Don Alfonso divorced his Cuban wife four years later in order to marry a model, Marta Rocafort who had a reputation as a "lady of the night" and is said to have run off with all his money before leaving him.

[8]Don Jaime's marriage and the subsequent birth of his two sons would have important consequences for the succession of the current King as will be discussed later in the monograph.

ish society, only the most ardent Spanish monarchists saw Juan III acceding to the Spanish throne in the near future.

Juan, who would later become the Count of Barcelona, was English-educated having studied at the Royal Naval College at Dartmouth. An anglophile, he was seen by the family as somewhat of a liberal who might wish to end the murky association of Bourbon rule with right-wing autocracy. He married in 1935 another Bourbon, María de las Mercedes de Borbón y Orléans, La Princesa de las Dos Sicilias and they established their residence in Rome.

When the Civil War broke out in July, 1936, Don Juan's "liberal" reputation would be severely compromised by his little-known voyage to the French border where he crossed secretly in order to join Franco's rebel forces only two weeks after the conflict had begun. Such an action strikes a strange paradox with a man who would later bemoan the Francoist dictatorship and its anti-democratic nature. Whatever Don Juan's motives in 1936, Franco was not very interested and he was quickly placed back over the border by the rebel forces.[9]

The life of the young royal couple in Rome was a modest one of relative penury. They had originally planned to live in Cannes but the opposition of the French Popular Front Government of Léon Blum[10] put paid to that idea although the high cost of living in France was also a significant factor. Don Juan and Doña María then moved to Milan but the rain and cold of the Milanese winter caused Doña María, who had grown up in the sun-baked Andalucía of the south of Spain, to become depressed and they finally decided to settle in Rome where Alfonso XIII was already living along with Don Juan's sisters, Beatriz and Cristina and where they also might hope to find friends amongst the supporters of Mussolini who enjoyed a highly paradoxical penchant for the trappings of monarchy.

The Roman experience of the heir to the Spanish throne began in the undistinguished surroundings of the Eden Guest-House, a cheap hotel popular amongst travelling salesmen before finally settling on the top floor of a house in the Viale Parioli,[11] in the heart of a typical working Roman neighbourhood. Below their house, there was a barber's shop, a launderette and a food-store. In a humble clinic of English nuns next to the house, at a quarter past one on the afternoon of January 5th,

---

[9]Don Juan was taken by Nationalist forces to the other side of the Pyrenees.

[10]Blum's posture was also influenced by pressure exerted upon him by Manuel Azaña, the leader of the Spanish Republican Government.

[11]The Royal Family lived at No. 112. Today, Viale Parioli is quite an upmarket neighbourhood but from Roman records of 1938 and eye-witness accounts, it could best be described at the time as being a lower middle-class neighbourhood.

1938, their first child, Juan Carlos de Borbón y Borbón was born.[12] In such circumstances, it would have been difficult to believe that he would restore the Bourbon monarchy in Spain and play such a fundamental role in contemporary Spanish life.

The background to Juan Carlos' birth and his childhood are of vital interest because they provide a valuable insight into a very secretive figure and explain in many ways his populist and proletarian leanings and his extraordinary capacity as a monarch to appear as simply another ordinary citizen. Such a capacity has played a vital role in the growth in the popularity of the monarchy in Spain since Franco's death and the role played by the King's own personal character in this success is such that rather than speaking of a surge in support for *monarquismo* in post-Franco Spain, it is perhaps more correct to speak of the origins and rise of *juancarlismo* for the trajectory and success or failure enjoyed by the current monarchy are inextricably intertwined with the personality of the current King and the activities of his immediate family.

When one analyzes the considerable stature of Juan Carlos I in contemporary Spain and the international reputation he enjoys as a defender of democracy, it seems nearly unthinkable to imagine a period when Juan Carlos I was not the choice of the Spanish people or more sinister, when his fortunes were not tied to the liberal or democratic tradition.

Juan Carlos I's relatively humble childhood for a future monarch would instil in him a deep sense of humanity and coupled with his family's exile, it helped him avoid the sybaritic detachment from the needs of society which had been the downfall of many of his Bourbon predecessors. However, Juan Carlos I did not grow up in a liberal or democratic tradition. His baptism was overshadowed by the diplomatic attempts on behalf of his family to secure the release of the leader of the Spanish *Falange* or fascist movement, José Antonio Primo de Rivera[13] and his family's support for Franco's rebel forces was logical as a right-wing, reactionary victory was seen as the best means of getting a Bourbon back on the Spanish throne.

---

[12]The only knowledge of the future King's birth in Spain was in a small announcement on page thirteen of the January 6th Seville edition of the Spanish daily newspaper, ABC.

[13]Those who attended the baptism on January 26th, 1938 in the chapel of the Knights of Malta on the Via Condotti testify to this. Don Juan offered his help as a go-between with the Brtish Royal Navy in which he had served as Primo de Rivera was being held in the coastal port of Alicante. The Germans also suggested an exchange of Primo de Rivera for a son of Largo Caballero, the republican leader who was being held by the Nationalists and they suggested the use of Von Knobloch, the German Consul in Alicante as an intermediary. However, Franco, mindful of the threat posed to his emerging leadership by the charismatic Primo de Rivera, refused both offers of help.

Yet, after Franco's victory, the new dictator had little use for the Bourbons and their enforced exile continued. In 1942, the new Spanish Royal Family moved to Switzerland where Juan Carlos I began school. It is pertinent to point out here that the young King although he was rapidly gaining a reputation as a polyglot through his contact with Italian, German and French[14] still did not speak Spanish fluently and in 1946, when the Royal Family moved on to Salazarist Portugal in order to be closer to Spain, arrangements were made for Juan Carlos I to stay on as a boarder with the Marian Fathers in Freiburg.

1948 was to be a watershed year for Juan Carlos I and the future of the Spanish monarchy. At the time, Franco was drawing up the Law of Succession as Head of State which would be passed in 1949 by his parliament. This law effectively restored the monarchy but Franco was to be Head of State for Life and it would be he who would decide his future successor as King or Regent. Franco, who had always harboured regal ambitions, was in effect establishing a dynasty and he was to choose as his successor Juan Carlos I, the eldest son of Don Juan, the rightful heir in the hope that he could mould the young boy into the type of ruler who would defend and uphold the principles and beliefs upon which Franco was building his new Spain.

The principal problem that Franco faced in 1948 was that Juan Carlos I had never set foot in Spain and this was not a suitable preparation for the destiny which Franco envisaged for him. Therefore, Franco proposed to Don Juan that his son be sent to Spain in order to be educated. This presented Don Juan with a virtual *fait accompli* if he wished to restore Bourbon rule in Spain. It was true that the young Juan Carlos who now spoke Spanish with a pronounced French accent would have to be educated in Spain if he was ever to be a credible candidate for the Spanish throne. However, by sending his son to Spain, Don Juan would also be letting his son come under the influence of the Franco dictatorship thus tying Bourbon fortunes to another autocratic exercise. More importantly for Don Juan, by sending young Juan Carlos to Spain, he was already beginning to relinquish his own claims to the throne for it was already clear by 1948 that although Franco had no desire to see Don Juan re-enter the political arena or indeed the country, he was clearly interested in moulding a potential successor in the shape of the Bourbon heir's son.

Don Juan deliberated several weeks over Franco's proposal but bowing under the yoke of history, he finally acceded to Franco's request and on the evening of November 8th, 1948, Juan Carlos at the tender age of

---

[14]Juan Carlos had a Swiss-German nanny, Ucsa, who spoke to him and his older sisters, Pilar and Margarita in all three languages.

ten accompanied by Alfonso, his seven-year-old brother, boarded the Lusitania Express in the Lisbon station of Rossío and with both the young brothers and their parents holding back the tears, the train moved slowly out of the station on a journey which would eventually take Juan Carlos to the *Palacio de la Zarzuela* and relegate his father to the role of a historical anomaly as the King who never sat on his throne.[15]

Juan Carlos's first journey into Spain, accompanied by his brother and the Duque of Sotomayor was far from the triumphant Bourbon re-entry that his father might have envisaged. The young princes disembarked in the tiny station of Villaverde outside Madrid where only a half-dozen people were waiting to welcome them back to Spain. Juan Carlos I has cited this moment as a fundamental one in the shaping of his future political outlook for it was now that he learnt the "loneliness which was beginning, knowing that it would be necessary to always keep silent, to be watchful for every word I would say would be repeated in the highest circles... and by people who wouldn't always wish me well."

This end of innocence for Juan Carlos was to have a vital bearing on his future career. His Francoist education had begun and for over twenty-five years, his fortunes would become directly linked to those of Franco who now became in effect a father-figure for the young prince. The two young princes studied both in Madrid and San Sebastián during their first years in Spain and it was not until 1954 that another conflict arose between Don Juan and Franco over the education of his sons.

Juan Carlos had passed his *bachillerato* examination in 1954 and the question of his higher education now became a bone of contention between Franco and his father. Don Juan, who was displaying increasingly dangerous anti-regime tendencies in exile, wished his sons to receive a liberal education in a progressive university such as Bologna or Louvain. However, Franco wished to continue his moulding of Juan Carlos's character by sending him to a military academy and then to the University of Salamanca, one of the oldest and most traditional universities in Spain and an intellectual nerve-centre of the Francoist regime. As a result, Franco and Don Juan met in November, 1954 near the Portuguese border in the hunting-lodge of Las Cabezas, owned by the Duque of Ruiseñada. Playing the card of Bourbon restoration, Franco was victorious again and Juan Carlos entered the Military Academy in Zaragoza in 1954 and after a year in the Air Force and Navy under the

[15]For an excellent discussion of this, see Fuente, I., *Don Juan de Borbón, hijo de rey, padre de rey, nunca rey*, Madrid: Prensa Ibérica, 1992.

overall supervision of General Carlos Martínez Campos, el Duque de la Torre, he graduated in 1959 as a lieutenant in all three services.

However, during his time in the armed forces, another tragic but little-known event had occurred which would exert a strong influence on the future career of Juan Carlos. In 1956, while at home on leave in Estoril in Portugal, his beloved younger brother, Alfonso was killed while playing with a gun in the family home. Juan Carlos was with him at the time of the accident and his younger brother died in his arms. This event is cited by those who knew the boyhood Juan Carlos as one which would fundamentally change his character as the young prince was now more alone than ever and he became even more guarded in his speech and actions as he became aware of the great responsibilities which now rested upon his young shoulders.

After he graduated from the military, it was thought that Juan Carlos would study at the University of Salamanca but Franco changed his mind when he learnt that one of Juan Carlos's professors would be Enrique Tierno Galván[16] and to the surprise of many, a special course was designed for the prince which he would take in Madrid. In protest, the Duque de la Torre resigned his position as the prince's academic guardian and Juan Carlos was even more isolated than before. In Madrid, Franco sent Juan Carlos to live in a restored house near El Escorial, almost fifty kilometres from Madrid so the prince could study in relative peace and tranquility. From his window, the future king was no more than a brisk walk from the gigantesque Valley of the Fallen[17] monument which dwarfed its surroundings and served as a permanent reminder of Franco's mission and the indelible imprint he was leaving on Spain.

It is in this period of the early sixties that the question of Franco's successor really became an important one on the Spanish political agenda. The dictator was ageing and Spain was changing too. Juan Car-

---

[16]It is said that Franco feared that the young Juan Carlos would come under the intellectual spell of Tierno Galván, the famous *"viejo profesor"*.

[17]The Valley of the Fallen or *El Valle de los Caídos* is a gigantic monument which can be seen from Madrid although it is over forty kilometres away. Perched on a hill-top, it takes the form of a gigantic cross with a vast underground catacomb with murals of the apocalypse. It was built with the forced labour of Republican prisoners and many of them died during its construction. At the end of the vast underground cavern, Franco is buried before the high altar next to José Antonio Primo de Rivera, the *Falange* leader. The site is still a place of pilgrimage for Francoist sympathizers and rallies are held there on the anniversary of Franco's death (November 20th) each year and on the 18th of July (anniversary of the uprising which began the Spanish Civil War) along with other dates of significance for supporters of the Francoist regime. During the rest of the year, the site remains a national monument in the care of an order of monks and visitors are permitted.

los was rapidly becoming the official choice of the regime and his marriage to the Greek princess, Doña Sofía in the Catholic cathedral of Athens on May 14th, 1962 was seen as a further preparatory step for the role which Franco had in mind for the young prince.

Doña Sofía was also the regime's choice and her personal relationship with the ageing dictator is an often-ignored but undoubtedly important factor in Juan Carlos's accession to power. However, she was shocked at the extent of the influence which Franco wielded over the prince and decided that the man she was marrying would have to take a much, more independent line if he was to survive politically. Nevertheless, her allegiance to the Francoist regime was unquestionable[18] and analysis of her personal correspondence finds a letter to Franco and his wife, Carmen Polo after the Royal Wedding in which she thanks them for their gift and goes on to state how *"la preciosa joya que el General y Doña Carmen me han regalado....hacen que me sienta ya unida a mi nueva patria y ardo en deseos de conocerla y de servirla* (the beautiful jewel which the General and Doña Carmen have given to me as a present... makes me feel already united with my new homeland and so anxious to know it better and to serve it)."

From the time of the wedding, the "Juan Carlos Solution" became an official one for the Francoist regime and the difficult job of selling this solution to the Spanish people began. It seems quite unbelievable now, but at the time, public support for Juan Carlos and his new wife was minimal. On their different public outings, they were often met with a chorus of booing or rotten tomatoes or if they were fortunate, they were simply treated with indifference by the public.[19] Threfore, it was the Opus Dei technocrats who had engineered the Spanish economic miracle who became the kingmakers of Franco's Spain under the guise of *Operación Lucero* and no expense was saved to enhance the image of the prince and his new family.

However, Juan Carlos's problems with the Spanish public were minuscule in comparison with the personal dilemma he now faced as the 1960's drew to a close and Franco became more intent on cementing the

---

[18]Franco's wife, Carmen Polo commented to her friend la Marquesa de Huétor in 1962 after the wedding *"que Doña Sofía le había robado a Franco el corazón* (that Doña Sofía had stolen Franco's heart)".

[19]It is pertinent here to point out that this indifference continued up until the mid-1980's. Indeed, a popular skipping song of the early 1980's for Spanish children was *Franco, Franco, el que tiene el culo blanco porque su mujer se lo lava con Ariel, La Doña Sofía se lo lava con lejía y el teniente-coronel con Pernel* (Franco, Franco, you are the white-arsed one because your wife washes it with Ariel. Doña Sofía washes it with bleach and the Colonel (Tejero, the protagonist of the 23-F coup) with Pernel (another Spanish brand of washing powder). Different versions of this skipping-rhyme appeared throughout the 1970's and early 1980's.

path of succession for his protégé. Don Juan was still alive and this meant that Juan Carlos would have to usurp his own father's claim to the throne if he was to succeed Franco. Don Juan had known for years of Franco's ambitions for his son but he was shocked that his son would actually agree to the usurpation of his own father's claims.

On July 12th, 1969, Franco met Juan Carlos and informed him that he was about to name him as successor. The prince agreed and ten days later, the Spanish parliament ratified his decision. On July 23rd, in front of the television cameras and the world's press, Juan Carlos swore his oath of loyalty to Franco and to the *Movimiento Nacional.* To hammer home that Juan Carlos was Franco's choice and creation as successor rather than a Bourbon one, he was accorded the title of Prince of Spain in place of the title of Prince of Asturias which had traditionally been accorded to the eldest son of the Bourbon monarch.

Don Juan could still not believe his son's disloyalty to the family and on the day of his son's investiture, he went sailing alone in his yacht, putting in at a small coastal hamlet in Portugal in order to watch the proceedings on television. When Juan Carlos had finished his oath and his discourse, the only words his father said were, "*Bien leído, Juanito, Bien leído* (Well read, little Johnny, well read)."

Juan Carlos had now disposed of his father who now became increasingly involved in the democratic opposition and politically marginalized until he made a vitriolic speech in June, 1975 at a dinner in Barcelona in which he attacked Franco and his regime and just as his son was about to come to power, he was banned from ever re-entering Spain. In the following years, there was a reconciliation between son and father and in early 1977, during the heady days of the transition, Don Juan gave his son the public approval which he had withheld until then. A convert to democracy, on May 14th, he finally renounced all his rights to the throne in a speech at the Palacio de la Zarzuela thus greatly smoothing the path for his son. It would not be impertinent to suggest that Don Juan's noble actions were greatly influenced by the tragic death of the King's brother, Alfonso as a teenager. Don Juan did not wish to lose another son and so he acceded to his son's demands. He closed his speech on that fateful day of May 14th by bowing his head and uttering the words to his son, "*Su Majestad, por España, todo por España ¡ Viva el Rey ! ¡ Viva España !* (Your Majesty, for Spain, everything for Spain. Long live the King ! Long live Spain !)".[20]

These words of Don Juan were strikingly different than his son's 1969 oath to Franco and his movement but one could suggest that the King did take his father's words to heart for since then, these words

---

[20]See ABC, "*Don Juan: una vida al servicio de España*" April 2nd, 1993, pp. 28-29.

can be said to encapsulate the King's activities in the social and political arenas.

The question of Don Juan was not the only challenge to Juan Carlos's succession in the last years of the Francoist regime. The dubious machinations of the Spanish monarchy over the past two centuries had left two pretenders to the throne and in the 1960's, the degree of support that they commanded amongst the populace could not have been said to have been any worse than that of Juan Carlos who was relying almost exclusively on his Opus Dei backers and the personal approval of the septuagenarian Franco.

The traditional threat to Bourbon rule came from the Carlists in their Northern stronghold of Navarra. Yet, the death in 1936 of Alfonso Carlos, the last direct male descendant of the Carlist line seemed to have ended this division amongst Spanish monarchists as his closest male relative was the Bourbon, Don Juan, Juan Carlos's father. However, before he died, Alfonso Carlos in order to keep the Carlist political cause alive had bestowed the rights of succession upon a distant cousin, Prince Javier de Borbón Parma.

This decision was to have very little real political significance until 1958 when the aforementioned prince renounced his claims to the Spanish throne in favour of his eldest son, Carlos Hugo. Carlos Hugo seized his opportunity by marrying Princess Irene of the Netherlands in 1964 after a highly-publicized romance in an attempt to attract the attention of a Spanish public which was still giving the cold shoulder to monarchism. However, Carlos Hugo's attempts at undermining Juan Carlos had little success as influenced by the political climate of the 1960's, he became increasingly embroiled in left-wing opposition movements until he was finally expelled from Spain in December, 1968 with his wife for having attacked Juan Carlos in a speech.

In 1977, Carlos Hugo returned to Spain as a politician rather than as an aspiring monarch and healing an age-old wound, he met with Juan Carlos and the Bourbon family was united once more with Carlos Hugo quickly fading from the political scene along with traditional Carlism. The last cries of Carlism were centred around the activities of Carlos Hugo's radical younger brother, Sixto Enrique, around whom a certain cult of extremist Carlism had been born in the early 1970's after his brother's enforced exile. The political ambitions of Sixto Enrique came to a bloody end in 1976 when the followers of his brother, Carlos Hugo were attacked by armed right-wing reactionaries led by Sixto Enrique during the traditional Carlist pilgrimage to the hill of Montejurra in Navarra with one man killed and several wounded.

A much more dangerous threat to Juan Carlos's right of succession came from the candidacy of Don Alfonso de Borbón-Dampierre, the el-

dest son of his Uncle Jaime who had renounced his claims to the throne in 1933 as being a deaf mute, he was considered unfit to rule. However, he went on to marry and have children and Alfonso's claim on the throne was greatly enhanced by his marriage in 1972 to Franco's eldest granddaughter, María del Carmen Martínez Bordíu. Franco had always had regal pretensions[21] and this explains in many ways his obsession with Juan Carlos. Now, he had the opportunity to create a dynasty of his own but despite the protestations of his wife who favoured Alfonso's claims, Franco was unwilling to let go to waste the quarter of a century's work he had put into Juan Carlos and up until his death, he remained adamant that Juan Carlos was to be his successor as Head of State.

Yet, despite Franco's wishes and the hard work of *Operación Lucero*, there was still very little real evidence to suggest after Franco's death on November 20th, 1975 that Juan Carlos would become the immensely popular figure that he is in today's Spain. However, Juan Carlos was to prove himself a much deeper and more astute politician than anybody had given him credit for up until then. Juan Carlos managed successfully to predict the mood of the Spanish people in the immediate post-Franco era and almost immediately adapted a strong democratic persona. Much was made of his secret contacts with left-wing politicians during the Franco era and showing the same ruthless streak with which his father had been dispatched in 1969, many of his old Francoist allies were similarly disposed of. Most importantly, Carlos Arias Navarro, the Prime Minister of Franco's government who had made his distrust of Juan Carlos public was dispatched from the political arena albeit through his own resignation.

A die-hard supporter of Franco, it was Arias Navarro who had appeared sobbing on Spanish national television to announce Franco's death[22]. Arias Navarro was not interested in tradition but rather in

---

[21]Such regal pretensions of Franco stemmed from his youth and were popularly exemplified by his obsession with creating new titles of nobility which would normally be the exclusive domain of a monarch. This new nobility still exists in Spain. A prime example was Pedro Barrié de la Maza, the chief of the Galician electrical company, Fuerzas Eléctricas del Noroeste Sociedad Anónima or FENOSA. As a new noble, Barrié de la Maza was allowed to take the title Count of Fenosa.

[22]It is pertinent to point out here that Franco's death did not see any great outporing of joy or street demonstrations in favour of either the King or democracy. On the contrary, it was a sombre affair with many Spaniards crying on the street and his funeral enjoyed a huge attendance. This may seem strange given the type of regime that Spain would embrace within the next few years but it can be understood by the explanation that for many Spaniards in 1975, Franco was the only leader they had ever known and by extension, Francoism, the only system of government. In this light, the miracle of the relatively smooth democratic transition seems even the greater.

continuation and he was well aware that the new King had conned the ageing dictator about his aims and desires. Arias Navarro was to be proved to be correct for despite Juan Carlos's promise to Franco to maintain the unity of Spain above everything else, within two years he was presiding over a state which was introducing some of the most radical statutes of regional autonomy which had ever been seen in Europe.

The rise in Juan Carlos's popularity after Franco's death is well-documented but it undoubtedly hinged upon his successful ditching at least in public of many of his former allies and his consummate ability to appear as all things to all men (and women). His relationship with Adolfo Suárez, the prime minister of the transitionary government was fundamental to his success as the King played a leading role in the formulation of a new constitution which would paradoxically radically curtail his own powers and that of his successors.

Franco had envisaged an executive monarchy for Spain after his death and it would not be impertinent to suggest that there was a time when Juan Carlos envisaged the same thing but keenly aware of the political reality in the transition years, he not only settled for a position as a constitutional monarch but moreover, he never missed an opportunity to defend or promulgate the ideals of this new democratic constitution.

Only Santiago Carrillo, the leader of the Spanish Communist Party had been publicly vocal in his criticism of a King who had sold his father for a crown but even he was co-opted in the new spirit of reconciliation launched by the King in post-Franco Spain. However, the support of many left-wing leaders for the King must not be seen as a sign of their faith in monarchy or in Franco's chosen successor. On the contrary, they needed Juan Carlos as much as he needed them. He provided the vital link between Franco and the new Spain and became a compromise candidate whose flexible and malleable character made him acceptable to all sides. The left-wing opposition saw the new King as a man they could negotiate with and the figureheads of the Francoist regime saw the King as a buffer which would protect them against any threat of revenge or retribution from opposition groups or indeed, the Spanish people. Juan Carlos needed everybody for without the support of the various political leaders, he would return to what he had been in the 1960's, a King without a realm and this realization was of paramount importance in his insistence on a monarchy and by extension, a Spain of inclusion rather than exclusion.

The King's amazing success in managing to appeal to highly polarized sections of Spanish society in the transition period has been analyzed by many experts and undoubtedly, his own personal character was of immense importance. However, the role of his wife, Doña Sofía

is often ignored and this is a glaring oversight as the importance of her role in the restoration of the Spanish monarchy cannot be over-estimated.

A quiet but powerful influence over her husband, it was Doña Sofía who had played a fundamental role in changing Juan Carlos from Franco's puppet into a much more independent and hence, politically dangerous individual. Moreover, if her husband was to succeed by showing strong traits of populism and compromise, Doña Sofía would embody these very traits. She had already converted from Greek Orthodoxy to Catholicism in order to marry the King and when she discovered that the Spanish populace wanted a "monarchy of the people", she embarked on a campaign for which she has been given very little real credit but which was nevertheless of great importance in winning vital support for the monarchy in the transition period.

Doña Sofía has always shied away from the normal functions or outlook of a monarch's wife. She has declared how one of her greatest pleasures in life is setting her own hair and how if she was not a member of the Royal Family, she would have loved to have been a hairdresser. When the future King, Prince Felipe first went to primary school, she insisted he went to an ordinary yet progressive one. Infamously, when a group of parents complained that the price of lunches at the school was too high, Doña Sofía was instrumental in instituting a boycott of the school lunches and afterwards, Prince Felipe was one of those who turned up for school every morning with sandwiches in his schoolbag.

This image of the King's wife has endeared her to a population who had no wish to re-embrace Bourbon excesses. Although official royal receptions take place in the *Palacio Real* or *Palacio del Oriente,* the Royal Family live in the modest *Palacio de la Zarzuela* on a budget that would put to shame other European monarchies. Doña Sofía loves to go shopping with her friends, a national pastime in Spain, and she buys much of her clothes off the peg at little boutiques. It is not uncommon to find small boutiques in Madrid or Palma de Mallorca, where the Royal Family holidays, proudly displaying letters of thanks from the Palace enclosing payment. More importantly, a strong image has been cultivated in the Spanish public imaginary of Doña Sofía as a caring and humanitarian royal. After many major tragedies in Spain from landslides to traffic accidents, Doña Sofía is to be found in the background consoling the victims and this image has greatly boosted her popularity amongst the ordinary Spanish people who had been so indifferent to her and her husband when they first married.

This image of the Royal Family as an ordinary one is not confined to the activities of Doña Sofía. The King has followed his wife's lead

and given his relatively humble childhood, he has fitted the part of proletarian very well indeed. At every major sporting event, the King is seen supporting the national team but not in an aloof, monarchical manner.[23] He is just another *aficionado*, albeit at times, a more vocal and expressive one and this has cemented his popularity amongst the ranks of society who provoked his grandfather's downfall. Stories abound of the King giving lifts to hitch-hikers and inviting the locals to drinks while on holidays in Palma de Mallorca.[24] The King who doesn't act like a King has found a welcome reception in a Spain which was tired of Francoist regal pretensions and it is more pertinent to speak of the success of *juancarlismo* rather than monarchism in post-Franco Spain.

Yet, acutely aware of the problems his successor will face, Juan Carlos I and Doña Sofía have been intent on creating a cult of *Felipismo* which will ensure the smooth transition of rule in the future. The King's eldest son is tall like his father and his handsome good looks have won him immense popularity amongst at least one half of the Spanish population. However, the Prince of Asturias is not an arrogant young man. A sportsman, he has represented Spain at the Olympic Games and while a university student in Madrid, he was accorded the ultimate compliment for a Spaniard by his fellow classmates in that it was said that he always stood the coffees in the faculty cafeteria.[25] Prince Felipe has been protected both from and by the media and the support of his two older sisters, Elena and Cristina has also been vital. In particular, La Infanta Cristina's marriage to Iñaki Urdungarín, the popular Basque handball player who plays with Barcelona has done much to increase the Royal Family's popularity in the problematic regions of the Basque Country and Cataluña. Perhaps most importantly, time is passing and Don Juan has passed away along with many of the leading figures of Francoism who have haunted much of his father's ca-

---

[23]Indeed, the Royal Box at the 1992 Olympic Games in Barcelona was often the most animated area of the stadium and the King's unbridled joy at Spanish victories was captured for posterity on international television. In particular, the victory of the underdog from the rural Castilian province of Soria, Fermín Cacho in the blue riband 1500 Metres seemed to be a particular source of joy to the King.

[24]The King is said to like the Mallorcan seafood but he prefers a plate of the cheaper mussels than the more expensive octopus or squid. However, he is quite prepared to invite fellow diners to the more expensive delicacies if that is their choice. His bodyguards are reported to get regularly frustrated with his choices of ordinary, working-class bars as they are difficult to patrol and the King likes to pass off *incognito*. He lets his beard grow in summer and delights in not being recognized.

[25]Prince Felipe has followed his father's example of never choosing the most expensive whiskey for his *copa* and during his study sojourn in the United States, he regularly passed off as just another Spanish exchange student.

reer. The future path of succession will be a lot easier for Prince Felipe than it was for his father but he has a very difficult act to follow and the search still continues for a Doña Sofía who will be by his side.[26]

The latter observations may seem to have painted the post-Franco period as a wholly rosy one for the Spanish Royal Family. However, public relations alone did not make the King's reputation and it was his role in the aborted February 23rd or 23-F coup d'état of 1981 which really cemented his position as a political heavyweight in contemporary Spain.

The events of that fateful day in contemporary Spanish history have been well-documented. On the afternoon of what was to be one of the longest days and nights in Spanish history, Col. Antonio Tejero, a member of the reactionary and pro-Franco *Guardia Civil* branch of the police force, broke into the Spanish parliament and as gunfire rained around the building, the deputies took to the floor. A coup d'état was declared and in Valencia, the Motorized Division under Lt. General Miláns del Bosch took to the streets in their tanks and armoured cars. Spain and Europe shuddered as the extent of the plot began to unravel.

The King hesitated while Doña Sofía remained an oasis of calm in the *Zarzuela*. Finally, he came on national television with the coup already doomed to failure and in a famous speech, not only as King but also as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, he defended democracy and attacked the organizers of the coup. His speech was followed by spontaneous demonstrations of support for democracy as Spaniards spilled on to the streets and the King was heralded as having saved the day. Tejero was arrested along with Miláns del Bosch, General Armada and the other coup organizers. Unlike the king, they had erred in their judgement and their timing. The majority of Spaniards were not ready for a return to military rule and the democratic experiment which Juan Carlos had staked his career on was here to stay.

However, one must point out here that the spontaneous show of support for the King on that night of February 23rd/24th, 1981 was, in many ways, a sigh of relief as many feared the worst and although the army-educated Bourbon who had been Franco's protégé was an unlikely saviour, he was infinitely better than no saviour at all. The reality is that one of the leaders of the plot, General Armada was a close personal friend of the King's and it is extremely doubtful that the King had no idea whatsoever of this current of dissent within the Armed Forces. However, the King was prepared once again to go with the pop-

---

[26]This question of the future bride of Prince Felipe is a recurring theme in the Spanish press and particularly in the *prensa del corazón* or love press which has no real English equivalent but basically reports on the love interests of the Royal Family, etc. It has a massive circulation.

ular current which favoured democracy in 1981 although it is notable that none of the conspirators were given harsh sentences in the trials that followed and several commentators spoke of their silence being bought. Neither had the King or indeed the new democratic regime any desire to antagonize further the Armed Forces but the lenient treatment of the conspirators did arouse some suspicion of if not the collusion in at least the knowledge of the *Zarzuela* with regard to the original plot. Miláns del Bosch became in particular an embarrassment for the King after his release from jail and his retirement to an opulent residential area of Madrid from where he consistently refused to repent for his actions in the 23-F coup until his death last year and his son's embarkment on a military career sends a unsettling message to those Spanish democrats who like to view the right-wing and reactionary reputation of the Spanish military as a thing of the past.

The fallout from the 23-F coup only served to strengthen the position of the monarchy in Spain. Whether the King had known about the coup or not, Felipe González's Socialist Government now needed the support of Juan Carlos more than ever and if he had been an important beacon of unity during the transition period, he now became the fundamental lynch-pin on which the future of Spanish democracy hinged. González was a very intelligent politician who realized that there may have been more support for a military coup in Spain than the 23-F coup had revealed and he needed the King to control this support and stop it from growing while the fledgling democracy was consolidated. Felipe González built up a close personal relationship with the King and from then on, any potential leader in Spain was acutely aware of the necessity of the support of the monarchy if the new democratic Spain was to prosper.

Fortunately for González and for Spanish democracy, the King was in agreement with him. The King realized that the future of his dynasty now lay with democracy and he became a fervent supporter of European integration in the belief that locking Spain into the European family of nations would not only enhance Spain's constitutional credibility and silence reactionary elements but also provide important democratic guarantees.[27] For his efforts, Juan Carlos I was awarded the prestigious Charlemagne Prize in 1982 and Spain finally acceded to full membership of the European Union in 1986. In the field of international relations, the King was also instrumental in fomenting increased Spanish co-operation with Latin America and in doing so, he managed to appease the old imperialists while also democratizing Spain on the world stage. The King was walking a tightrope in trying to be all

[27]See Arnal, M. *España ante el reto europeo*. Zaragoza: Diputación de Zaragoza, 1993.

things to all men but he was getting better at it all the time and as much of his murkier anti-democratic past began to die off or fade into obscurity, the monarchy in Spain could be said to be able to relax somewhat with its position relatively secure. However, the problems of Basque separatism and the ETA terrorist movement[28] remain a pressing concern and the coming to power of the *Partido Popular* in 1996 under José María Aznar presented a new challenge to the King as the cosy relationship with González which had lasted over fifteen years was now over. The new Government called itself centrist but to many Spaniards, it was the return of the right-wing and the return to power of Francoist figureheads such as Manuel Fraga[29] would call for a new approach from the monarchy.

From a strictly constitutional point of view, the actual power of the monarchy is very weak. The 1978 Constitution outlines the monarch's three main functions. Firstly, his place as *jefe del estado* (head of state) which manifests itself as a symbol of unity and continuity embodied in the principle of hereditary succession. Secondly, the monarch has the role of ultimate arbiter in ensuring that the institutions of the democratic state run smoothly. Last but by no means least, the monarch is commander-in-chief of the Spanish Armed Forces.

All these functions are controlled by the constitution and it is true to say that most of the monarch's powers are merely symbolic and on paper, he is simply an instrument of parliament. However, as the events of 23-F showed, his role as Commander-in-Chief of a reactionary army with a strong and well-deserved anti-democratic reputation is a very important one. Although any decisions the King makes in this post have to be ratified by the parliament, it is the King's informal power which is most interesting as he remains in regular contact with the highest authorities in the Armed Forces and he uses the *Pascua Militar* or annual military celebration of January 6th to speak to an army which continues to look to him for leadership and guidance.

Similarly, a constitutional weakness which could allow the King considerable informal powers is his duty to propose the candidate to head the next government. Under normal circumstances, this power is merely symbolic as the leader of the majority party is automatically requested to head the next government and is then appointed and sworn in by the King. However, in the not wholly unlikely future scenario of an indecisive election result, there is no constitutional provision evi-

---

[28]The threat of an assassination attempt on the King or on a member of the Royal Family remains a constant reality and several aborted attempts have been discovered throughout the last two decades.

[29]Fraga had been a leading minister in the Francoist regime. He is currently head of the *Xunta de Galicia* or Regional Government of Galicia, Franco's native region.

dent and the King's informal arbitrary role would come into play through which he would be able to command considerable influence.

A further interesting if little-known observation on the 1978 Constitution from a monarchist point of view is its gender bias which runs contrary to the King's public persona as a progressive supporter of gender equality. Article 57.1 states that a male heir is always preferred to a female heir even if the female is older. This institutionalization of male privilege continues down the line of succession.

Perhaps the most fascinating aspect of the King's potential powers stems from one of the very devices which was installed to control them. The *refrendo* or royal endorsement on every bill or official document signed by the King comes with the provision that there must be a counter-signature of the prime minister or one of his cabinet. This provision was put in place to drastically reduce the King's powers but the Constitution goes on to declare that "those who endorse the acts of the King are responsible for them" so in fact, the King cannot therefore become politically involved or blamed for unpopular or polemic legislation.

This provision is a vitally important one for it places the King and his successors above political reproach in the eyes of the Spanish people and with their support solid and the popularity of the monarchy guaranteed, he can then go about his informal work through which he can exert a far greater influence on Spanish life. It is ironic that the King used his wide-ranging executive powers in the years of 1975-77 to help steer Spain towards democracy with his reward being a stripping of those very powers. However, the reality is that the always astute monarch exchanged his executive powers for a moral authority under the new Constitution, which in the long-term, may prove much more durable and valuable for the Bourbon dynasty.

This monograph has concentrated on much of the little-known events and activities of the King's early career which would shape his outlook in his increasingly public life after Franco's death. When Franco died, there was little popular support for a return to monarchy in Spain but the King's ability to ride the crest of the democratic wave without alienating his traditional right-wing supporters made *juancarlismo* a socio-political ideology which would be attractive to almost all Spaniards. It is an immense tribute to the King that he managed to live up to the ideals he had promulgated and deliver on his promises. In this task, he was helped in no small way by his wife, Doña Sofía and the rest of his family. The dignified and noble withdrawal from the political arena of his father, Don Juan in 1977 was another key factor alongside his alliance with Carlos Hugo and the resultant end of the Carlist challenge to his crown.

The monarchy in Spain has enjoyed a murky and chequered history and, in particular, the Bourbons have had very few days of glory. Juan Carlos I has changed that and especially since 1981 and the aborted coup, his popularity and that of his family have grown throughout Spain providing one of the very few symbols of unity in a country which is becoming increasingly fragmented and divided. Not only has the monarchy in Spain been restored but much more importantly, the Spanish people's faith and belief in monarchy as an institution has been restored also. Prince Felipe has been moulded and groomed in his father's likeness and a smooth succession seems assured.

The political power of the monarchy remains greatly under-estimated with the King's informal powers of guidance and influence still playing a significant role in contemporary Spain. Although few commentators readily admit it, Spain is still in transition and the democratization process in Spain has taken place at different speeds throughout different elements of society. The Spanish Armed Forces have undoubtedly been one of the slowest institutions to embrace democracy and it is still vitally important that they have a democrat, albeit a converted one as their Commander-in-Chief. More importantly, they respect this figure and his leadership and his example is the one they will follow.

Therefore, it would not be impertinent to suggest that some of the greatest challenges for the Spanish monarchy are still to come as Spanish democracy is finally consolidated but Spain has to deal with the march of European integration and growing regional problems within the national territory. In fact, if anything, the influence of the monarchy may grow rather than diminish as Spain's need for an independent arbiter who can command universal respect will become increasingly important in an escalating social and political climate of polarization.

It is highly ironic that Juan Carlos I was put on the throne by Franco in order to avoid the will of the people taking sway for it is now the will of the people from which he derives his power and which he uses in order to ensure that a situation akin to his own will never happen again. Juan Carlos has worn many different guises throughout his long career but the path and position to be followed by his son will be a lot clearer and it will be much easier for Prince Felipe to seek unity rather than division in the new Spain as the ghosts of Francoism and the Civil War fade into the past. If the Prince was looking for a dictum on which to follow his father, he could find no better than the conclusion of Juan Carlos I's speech to the Spanish parliament immediately after Franco's death when he declared, "*Si todos permanecemos juntos, habremos*

ganado el futuro. ¡ Viva España ! (If we all remain together, the future is ours. Long live Spain !)".[30]

University of Limerick

[30]See the speech by Juan Carlos I to the Spanish Parliament on November 22nd, 1975 after he was proclaimed King upon Franco's death. The full text of the speech was carried the next day in all the national and regional newspapers.

Reviews

Remedy for Treason. Caroline Roe. Berkley Prime Crime. New York: Penguin, 1998. 259 pp.

Remedy for Treason[1] by Caroline Roe (pseudonym of Medora Sale) is the first book in a series of novels that take place in fourteenth-century Catalonia. Author of several mystery novels, Caroline Roe, in her *Remedy for Treason*, carries the reader off into a medieval world in which courtly intrigue and the daily tasks of a Jewish doctor called Isaac from the Catalan city of Girona are intertwined. Although Isaac is blind, his blindness does not prevent his resolving the tangled conspiracy to murder the Catalan King Pere III, discovering the culprits and tying together the loose ends of a plot of which inexplicable murders and kidnappings form part. And it will be Isaac, as well, who, with the logic and cunning of the best known detectives of fiction, will solve each one of the mysteries presented in the novels of the series.[2]

Remedy for Treason is not a mystery story that simply happens to be set in medieval times; it reaches beyond such simplification. In an article which appeared in 1999 in the Spanish newspaper *La Vanguardia*, a comparison is made between *Remedy for Treason* and Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose*, a comparison which indicates that we are dealing with a literary text of more import than we might have believed at first. Though the comparison in the article mostly takes into account the cinematic elements of both novels (and it should be mentioned that *Remedy for Treason*, however, cheerfully escapes the crudeness of *The Name of the Rose*), both texts are impeccably elaborated thrillers set in medieval times, and, it should be emphasized, both benefit from the excellent research carried out by their respective authors into the medieval world.

Caroline Roe is not only a mystery writer but also a scholar: she has a doctorate in medieval studies from the University of Toronto. In *Remedy for Treason*, Caroline Roe's knowledge of the times in which the novel takes place, in addition to her meticulously carried out research and the support given her by a number of esteemed medievalists, has brought about the creation of a novel of faultless historical verisimilitude. This prompts us to attempt to categorize *Remedy for Treason* according to genre: is it a historical novel or is it a mystery? It would seem to be both, with its perfect coupling of well-planned intrigue and historical accuracy. Similarly, its characters are an interesting mixture of fact (King Pere III —given the Spanish version of his name (Pedro) in the original English edition of the novel—Tomas de Bellmunt, the bishop Berenguer...) and fiction (Isaac, Raquel, Yusuf...). And it is precisely with its characters that *Remedy for Treason* trans-

[1] Translated into Spanish as *Remedio para la traición* and into Catalan as *Remeis i traïcions*, both in 1999.

[2] *Cure for a Charlatan* (1999), *An Antidote for Avarice* (1999), and one ready for publication.

cends the normal boundaries of the mystery story to reach the heights of the novel.

In the way of Sir Walter Scott, Caroline Roe presents a story set in medieval times whose characters possess a strong credibility for today's reader. The characters in *Remedy for Treason* are, without exception, believable and human; their motivation is accessible. That the events take place in fourteenth century Girona, that several of the protagonists actually existed and that the medieval atmosphere is reproduced in all its detail, does not stop the reader from experiencing an attraction to the characters, from identifying with them and, thus, being carried along by the narration, a narration which, made up of diverse scenes gradually falling into place, captures the interest of the reader by forcing her in a sense to participate in the unfolding of the text.

In conclusion, it is only necessary to add that the choice of medieval Girona as the setting for *Remedy for Treason* was no mere chance. Fourteenth century Girona, as Caroline Roe herself explains, "was a very progressive city, as indicated by its laws and its judicial system."[3] With its events unfolding in a progressive medieval city, its easily accessible characters, its narrative construction of great swiftness, *Remedy for Treason* creates a complicity that takes hold of the reader from its very first page.

Shaudin Melgar-Foraster
University of Toronto

Les Mémoires de la Méditerranée. Préhistoire et antiquité. Fernand Braudel. Edited by Rosalyne de Ayala and Paule Braudel. Preface and Notes by Jean Guilaine and Pierre Rouillard. Paris: Editions de Fallois, 1998. Pp. 399.

Fernand Braudel (1902-85) had a brilliant career. *Agrégé* at the age of 21, he taught in Algeria and Brazil; his early research in the archives of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) introduced him to maritime and commercial records; he was closely associated with the *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, founded in 1929 by Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch. After the war, he presided over the "jury de l'agrégation," held a chair in the Collège de France, and pioneered area studies in France. His passionate love-affair with the Mediterranean (inspired, perhaps, not only by his Algerian experience but also by an early meeting with Henri Pirenne) was a constant of his career. His doctoral thesis *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (1947) became a best-seller when published in 1949 (revised second edition, 1966). In this fundamental work, Braudel introduced, with reference to the Mediterranean area between 1550 and 1600, his theory of "les temps différents du passé," the different rhythms, long and short term, that form the structure of *l'histoire globale*. Braudel affirmed the primacy of agricultural life in the Mediterranean region, the overwhelming importance of "le temps long qui finit par l'emporter," and his "structuralist" approach: "Je suis 'structuraliste' par tempérament, peu sollicité par l'événement, et à demi seulement

[3]Mónica Fernández, "Caroline Roe: escritora de libros de misterio." *La Vanguardia* 19 June 1999: my translation.

par la conjoncture, ce groupement d'événements de même signe" (1966 edition, II, 520).

His concepts of *espace* (the constraints and challenges imposed by geography) and *longue durée* (as opposed to the short-term emphasis on events and persons of the *histoire historisante*, which he strongly rejected), his search for a global history that would include economics, demography, and social structures as well as geography and climate, his detailed exploration of pre-capitalistic world trading networks and market economies (the three-volume *Civilisation matérielle, économie et néocapitalisme (XVe-XVIIIe siécle)*, 1979), made Braudel the most internationally-famed French historian of the 20th century. But Braudel failed to find acceptance with the French historical establishment. Rejected by the Sorbonne, he was marginalized in the non-degree-granting Ecole practique des Hautes Etudes and the Collège de France; he was dismissed from the "jury de l'agrégation" by a socialist government; he failed to create a Faculté de sciences sociales at the Sorbonne; his *Grammaire des civilisations* (1963) proved too difficult for the *lycée* terminal classes for which it had been written. Politics also isolated Braudel. Blamed by the French right for the *événements* of 1968 (!), he was castigated by Marxists for stressing market economies and for privileging distribution over production. Furthermore, intellectual fashions changed after 1968. *Annales* was no longer interested in *longue durée*; Foucault emphasized *ruptures* and *discontinuités* rather than Braudel's deep structures. (For a recent appraisal of Braudel, see Pierre Daix, *Braudel*, Flammarion, 1995.)

Numerous works by Braudel have appeared posthumously. *Les Mémoires de la Méditerranée. Préhistoire et antiquité* (1998) was written in 1969 for a series of illustrated works on the Mediterranean to be published by Albert Skira. The project was abandoned with Skira's death in 1973, by which time Braudel was deeply involved in the composition of the second volume of *Civilisation matérielle, économie et néocapitalisme*. Rather than update Braudel's manuscript, the historian Jean Guilaine has chosen to publish Braudel's original text; Guilaine (for prehistory) and Pierre Rouillard (the millenium preceding the birth of Christ) have added notes to indicate changed historical findings; Françoise Gaultier (the Etruscans) and Jean-Louis Huot (the East) have also checked the present text.

Braudel separates the Mediterranean into numerous sub-regions, with major divides between east and west and north and south. The poverty of fishing resources, the scarcity of arable land, and uncertain rainfall led to the cultivation of hill sides (wheat, figs, olives, vines). Braudel examines the massive geological and climactic changes that occurred during the interminable paleolithic period. Man appeared in the region some 40,000 years BC. Braudel describes the art, weapons, and tools of our early hunting ancestors. The neolithic revolution (from some 8,000 years BC; first in Anatolia and the Fertile Crescent, millenia later in Egypt, the Indus Valley, and China) brought agriculture, irrigation, ceramics, weaving, the domestication of animals, a passage from matriarchy to patriarchy, disciplined societies (Egypt, Mesopo-tamia), and prosperity. Writing and numbers were in use in Egypt and Sumeria circa 3,000 BC, in Phoenicia and Greece circa 1,000 BC. The search for metals and wood (the cedars of Lebanon imported into Egypt) led to the development of long-distance commerce. Braudel (with information much modified by Jean Guilaine) describes megalithic cultures (Atlantic coast, Malta, Sardinia,

Balearic Islands, etc.), bronze age civilizations, the unitary culture of Egypt, the prosperity of Minoan Crete, Indo-European invasions of Asia Minor, the Achaean invasion of Greece, the domestication of the horse and its use in warfare (first chariots, mounted warriors a millenium later), the collapse of the Hittite Empire. The 12th century BC initiated the dark ages of the eastern Mediterranean (decades-long droughts, famine, Anatolian earthquakes, the deterioration of Mesopotomanian, Mycenean, and Egyptian societies). At the same time, Indo-European, corpse-burning populations moved into the west; iron age cultures developed in Hallstatt (9th century BC) and La Tène (6th century BC).

Part II of *Les Mémoires de la Méditerranée. Préhistoire et antiquité* describes the Mediterranean after the dark ages of 1100 to 700 BC: the Phoenician colonization of North Africa, the Carthaginians, the flourishing Etruscan civilization, "le miracle grec," Alexander the Great (who, underestimating the west, led the Greeks into an ultimately futile adventure in the east), and the Roman Empire up to Constantine's construction of Constantinople. Rome (which rapidly became hellenized) established a unified Mediterranan culture (*mare nostrum*, Roman engineering and cities, Roman law, the Latin language and religion) in a vast but insufficiently populated economic space.

Les Mémoires de la Méditerranée. Préhistoire et antiquité is fascinating for its coverage of vast time scales of prehistory and antiquity, a million years (Braudel's count), two million years (Guilaine's revised view of the paleolithic). *Longue durée* with a vengeance! With remarkably fine color illustrations of ships and figures of worship, crammed with information of every sort (ship construction, navigation routes, agricultural innovations, artefacts, inventions, methods of warfare, art), Braudel's work —admittedly a joyously hasty romp at times— teases the reader into a craving to know ever more about the civilizations so fleetingly evoked. Particularly riveting for this reviewer were the demonstration of the devastating effects of climate change, the extraordinarily slow diffusion of knowledge in antiquity (a matter of millenia, as opposed to the seconds to which the information age has accustomed us), the major movements of peoples, and the marked changes in plant and tree cultivation. Most informative also are Jean Guilaine's annotations: he extends the *durée* of the paleolithic and middle paleolithic by some million years; he places human settlement in Sardinia some ten thousand years before Braudel does; he massively revises Braudel's treatment of megalithic cultures. Thus, Guilaine does not link megaliths with metallurgy and the cult of the mother goddess; he claims that the Atlantic megaliths (Brittany) have no connection with Mediterranean constructions; he dates the abandonment of the Hal Tarxien temple complex of Malta at circa 2500 BC (Braudel 1500 BC); he denies an Aegean influence on the megalithic structures of Los Millares (Almería); he doubts Braudel's explanation of the crisis of the 12th century. Guilaine's placing of many of Braudel's dates some millenia earlier is based on carbon 14 dating. We look forward to a future edition of this tantalizing work with the results of the DNA tests at present being applied to prehistoric remains and which will surely resolve many mysteries of early population movements in the Mediterranean.

Brian J. Dendle
University of Kentucky

Tagrera. Antoni Clapés. Col. Balbec, 2. Barcelona: Cafè Central. 1997. 59 pp.

The latest book by Catalan poet Antoni Clapés, *Tagrera*, mantains the elegant and suggestive style of *Matèria d'ombres*, the previous collection of poems by Clapés. The title "Tagrera" alludes to a place inside the Sahara desert where Clapés stayed in 1992, and its obvious connection with his poems lies in its solitary nature.

The first part of the text contains a series of brief poems that are a variation upon the basic theme of writing as a materiality of silence, a theme already explored by Clapés in his previous book. *Tagrera*'s second part focuses on two works by painter Caspar David Friedrich. It is a long poem depicting two landscapes of absolute solitude.

Clapés' poems escape from worldly crowds to a realm imbued with nature; settings devoid of any human being but a poetic voice searching for meanings. This voice, in first person, carries the reader through the worlds of solitude expressed in the second part of the text, whereas in the first part, a more ambiguous voice obsessively questions silence and the significance of written discourse. Although the second part of *Tagrera* breaks away from the word "silence" (constantly interwined in the first part), it embraces the contemplation of the solitary scenery where silence is nevertheless felt throughout the whole poem. In the poems contained in *Tagrera* solitude becomes a supreme enigma, which the poetic voice contemplates and attempts to conceptualize. Either while gazing on a still night or standing at the top of a high mountain, the voice moves incessantly between contemplation and conceptualization.

Antoni Clapés' use of the Catalan language reaches a level of command and beauty only possible through the mastery of the language itself. His lavish lexicon and his ability to shape the language into the visions and concepts he is reflecting upon, enables him to create poems that are powerful in their evocative images and interesting in thought. Clapés's obsessive repetition of the word "silence" and the similar obsession with solitary environments become a singular contrast with the purity of his style which is, otherwise, free of neglectful repetitions.

The only possible weakness in *Tagrera* would be its lack of flexibility regarding the subject matter of its poems. In spite of Clapés' talent for abstracting intriguing perceptions from the solitary atmospheres he envisions, his poems never venture into other topics. *Tagrera* experiments by awakening sensations through intimate reflections of the moment, yet the intensity of its topic —intimate, absorbing, obsessive— does not allow any deviation towards a broader array of perceptions. Nonetheless, *Tagrera*'s evocative force is a towering achievement difficult to surpass.

Shaudin Melgar-Foraster
University of Toronto

INFORMATION

Scripta Mediterranea is the journal of the Canadian Institute for Mediterranean Studies, an international learned society based in Canada and devoted to the study of all aspects of Mediterranean culture and civilization, past and present, with a special interest in interdisciplinary and cross-cultural investigation. Manuscripts may be submitted in English or French, and two copies must reach the editorial office by September 15th. Articles and brief communications should follow the guidelines set out in the *MLA Handbook*. Articles should normally not exceed thirty pages and brief communications five pages, double spaced. Each full-length article should be accompanied by two abstracts of about one hundred words, one in English and one in French. Manuscripts and editorial correspondence should be sent to:

The Editors
Scripta Mediterranea,
Canadian Institute for Mediterranean Studies,
c/o Department of Spanish and Portuguese
University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M5S 1A1.

Subscription to *SM* is included in the annual membership fee:

Student:	$ 15	Senior:	$ 25	Regular/Institution: $ 35
Couple:	$ 60	Donor:	$ 50-199	Benefactor: $ 200-499
Patron:	$500 or more.			

Outside Canada the above amounts should be paid in U.S. funds or the equivalent. Subscriptions and all other inquiries concerning *SM* or the Institute should be addressed to the Canadian Institute for Mediterranean Studies, 21 Sussex Ave., University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M5S 1A1.


AGMV Marquis

MEMBRE DU GROUPE SCABRINI

Québec, Canada
2001

CANADIAN INSTITUTE FOR MEDITERRANEAN STUDIES

Directors and Officers

David Anido	Chairman
Domenico Pietropaolo	President
Alex Gropper	Vice President President, Toronto Chapter
Clifford Goldfarb	Secretary
Philip Charles	Treasurer
Mario Crespi	Executive Director
Helen Webster	Chapters Relations President, Ottawa Chapter
Anthony Percival	Editor, *Scripta Mediterranea*
Kenneth Bartlett	
Sheila Campbell	
Louise Terrillon-Mackay	
Eric McGeer	
Manuela Scarci	


9 770022 684182