

MARGINAL SUBJECTS

This page intentionally left blank

AKIKO TSUCHIYA

Marginal Subjects

Gender and Deviance in
Fin-de-Siècle Spain

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS
Toronto Buffalo London

© University of Toronto Press Incorporated 2011
Toronto Buffalo London
www.utppublishing.com
Printed in Canada

ISBN 978-1-4426-4294-2



Printed on acid-free, 100% post-consumer recycled paper with vegetable-based inks.

Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication

Tsuchiya, Akiko, 1959–
Marginal subjects : gender and deviance in fin-de-siècle Spain /
Akiko Tsuchiya.

(University of Toronto romance series)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-1-4426-4294-2

1. Spanish fiction – 19th century – History and criticism. 2. Women in literature. 3. Gay men in literature. 4. Deviant behavior in literature. 5. Marginality, Social, in literature. 6. Outsiders in literature. I. Title. II. Series: University of Toronto romance series

PQ6073.W65T78 2011 863'.509353 C2010-907627-3

This book has been published with the help of a subvention from the Program for Cultural Cooperation between Spain's Ministry of Culture and United States Universities.

University of Toronto Press acknowledges the financial assistance to its publishing program of the Canada Council for the Arts and the Ontario Arts Council.



Canada Council
for the Arts

Conseil des Arts
du Canada



ONTARIO ARTS COUNCIL
CONSEIL DES ARTS DE L'ONTARIO

University of Toronto Press acknowledges the financial support of the Government of Canada through the Canada Book Fund for its publishing activities.

In memory of John W. Kronik

This page intentionally left blank

Contents

Acknowledgments ix

Credits xi

Note on the Translations xii

List of Illustrations xiii

Introduction: Discourses on Deviance in Nineteenth-Century Spain 3

- 1 The Deviant Female Body under Surveillance: Galdós's *La desheredada* 28
- 2 'Las Micaelas por fuera y por dentro': Discipline and Resistance in *Fortunata y Jacinta* 57
- 3 Consuming Subjects: Female Reading and Deviant Sexuality in Late Nineteenth-Century Spain 76
- 4 Gender Trouble and the Crisis of Masculinity in the *fin de siglo*: Clarín's *Su único hijo* and Pardo Bazán's *Memorias de un solterón* 112
- 5 Gender, Orientalism, and the Performance of National Identity in Pardo Bazán's *Insolación* 136
- 6 Taming the Prostitute's Body: Desire, Knowledge, and the Naturalist Gaze in López Bago's *La prostituta* Series 162
- 7 Female Subjectivity and Agency in Matilde Cherner's *María Magdalena* 191

viii Contents

Conclusion 213

Notes 217

Works Cited 251

Index 267

Acknowledgments

There are numerous individuals without whom this project would not have been possible. I would like to acknowledge the professional support and mentorship of my department chair, Elzbieta Sklodowska, throughout the process of writing this book. I also thank all of my colleagues from the Department of Romance Languages and Literatures at Washington University for providing me with a collegial and supportive environment in which to work. A Faculty Fellowship from Washington University's Center for the Humanities, which granted me a semester's release time in spring 2007, allowed me to make significant progress on the project. I thank the Director, Gerald Early, and the other Faculty Fellows, Gerald Izenberg and Patrick Burke, for creating a forum for intellectual dialogue throughout this semester. Jo Labanyi's lecture and workshop session during her visit to the Center for the Humanities stimulated my work, for which I am very grateful to her.

Many colleagues offered assistance with bibliographical information and provided access to research materials that were difficult to obtain in the United States. Pura Fernández was an invaluable source of knowledge, generously sharing bibliography and texts that were fundamental to the completion of this project. Maryellen Bieder, Lou Charnon-Deutsch, Anne Cruz, Teresa Fuentes, Roberta Johnson, Elisa Martí-López, Tili Boon Cuillé, and Seth Graebner also lent me their advice along the way. Cristina Patiño-Eirín and Carmen Servén kindly sent me copies of their publications, which were crucial to my research on the third chapter. Elena Delgado's astute commentaries on my introduction, and Anne Cruz's sharp editorial eye, helped to improve the final product. Brandan Grayson did a diligent job in proofreading my manuscript, as did Miaowei Weng with my bibliography. Elena Del-

gado and fellow *galdosiano*, Pepe Schraibman, shared countless conversations, both personal and professional, and read many portions of this work. I am especially grateful to them for their constant encouragement and friendship. Pepe also offered suggestions on difficult English translations.

The bibliographers at the Library of the Real Academia Nacional de Medicina in Madrid, especially Nacho Díaz-Delgado Peñas, aided me in locating nineteenth-century medical texts that were critical to my research. I also appreciate the assistance of the staff of the libraries and archives I visited to conduct research on my project – the Biblioteca Nacional de España, the Hemeroteca Municipal and the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, in Madrid. Lou Charnon-Deutsch advised me on the preparation of images for publication and kindly provided me with a digital version of an image included in chapter 3. Back home at Washington University, I relied much on the technological expertise of Bob Chapman, Steven Vance, and Sarah Bombich.

I am grateful to my editor, Richard Ratzlaff, of the University of Toronto Press, for his interest in the project and the professionalism with which he and his staff expedited the editorial process. The two anonymous reviewers and the reader of the Manuscript Review Committee for the Press gave me valuable feedback on my work, and I am appreciative of the attention with which they read my manuscript.

On a more personal note, I thank Jonathan Mayhew for his companionship and support, and for a meticulous job as my private editor, and Julia Tsuchiya-Mayhew, who cheered me on with her optimism and her music. Jonathan and Julia have helped me realize that the seemingly elusive balance between work and family is possible to achieve.

Finally, I am deeply indebted to my dear friend and mentor, the late John W. Kronik. It was in his classroom at Cornell University that I first learned to love the works and authors to which I have decided to dedicate my academic life. No other scholar has given me such unflagging support and encouragement for my professional endeavours. Although, sadly, he is unable to be present to see this project come to fruition, my work owes much to his intellectual legacy. To his memory I dedicate this book.

Credits

I acknowledge the following editors and publishers who have granted me permission to reproduce previously published work: 'Género y orientalismo en *Insolación* de Emilia Pardo Bazán.' *La Literatura de Emilia Pardo Bazán*. Ed. José Manuel González Herrán, Cristina Patiño Eirín, and Ermitas Penas Varela. La Coruña: Real Academia Galega, 2009. 771–9; 'Deseo y desviación sexual en la nueva sociedad de consumo: la lectura femenina en *La Tribuna* de Emilia Pardo Bazán.' *La mujer de letras o la letraherida: textos y representaciones del discurso médico-social y cultural sobre la mujer escritora en el siglo XIX*. Ed. Pura Fernández and Marie-Linda Ortega. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2008. 137–50; 'Taming the Deviant Body: Representations of the Prostitute in Nineteenth-Century Spain.' *Anales Galdosianos* 36 (2001): 255–67; 'The Female Body under Surveillance: Galdós's *La desheredada*.' *Intertextual Pursuits: Literary Mediations in Modern Spanish Narrative*. Ed. Jeanne P. Brownlow and John W. Kronik. Lewisburg: Bucknell UP, 1998. 201–21; and "'Las Micaelas por fuera y por dentro": Discipline and Resistance in *Fortunata y Jacinta*.' *A Sesquicentennial Tribute to Galdós 1843/1993*. Ed. Linda M. Willem. Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta, 1993. 56–71. Finally, I would like to thank Isabel Coll for permission to use on my book cover the photograph of Ramon Casas's 'Busto femenino' published in her catalogue *Ramon Casas 1866–1932: Catálogo razonado*. Murcia, Spain: De la Cierva Editores, 2002.

Note on the Translations

My translations of *La desheredada*, *Fortunata y Jacinta*, *La Tribuna*, and *Su único hijo* are based on existing English translations. I have modified these translations when a more literal translation of the original was necessary for the understanding of the textual analysis being undertaken. Where I have borrowed or modified an existing translation, I reference the source in a note when the translation first appears in each chapter. All other translations are mine, unless otherwise indicated. In the case of primary texts, the English translation follows the Spanish original. With secondary texts, only the English translation is used. Paginations are from the Spanish original. The original orthography and accentuation of nineteenth-century texts have been maintained in the quotations.

List of Illustrations

- 1 'Una lectora impresionable' ['An Impressionable Reader'] by Conrado Kiesel. Source: *La Ilustración Española y Americana* Año 28, Núm. 4 (30 enero 1884): 64. 80
- 2 'La vida moderna' ['Modern Life'] by Lorenzo Casanova. Source: *Ilustración Artística*, Año 3, Núm. 109 (28 enero 1884): 37. 82
- 3 'La primera novela' ['The First Novel'] by J. Raffel. Source: *Ilustración Artística*, Año 1, Núm. 11 (12 marzo 1882): 85. 86
- 4 'Una historia de amor' ['A Love Story'] by A. Johnson. Source: *Ilustración Artística*, Año 12, Núm. 606 (7 agosto 1893): 512. 88
- 5 'El recreo' ['Entertainment'] by Jass. Source: *La Ilustración de la Mujer*, Año 2, Núm. 15 (1º enero 1884): n/p. 92
- 6 'Lectura alegre' ['Happy Reading'] by F. Andreotti. Source: *Ilustración Artística*, Año 13, Núm. 636 (5 marzo 1894): 152. 94

This page intentionally left blank

MARGINAL SUBJECTS

This page intentionally left blank

Introduction: Discourses on Deviance in Nineteenth-Century Spain

Gender deviance, which has been a source of fascination since the origins of Western culture, takes centre stage in literature and the visual arts in nineteenth-century Spain. This fascination, which finds expression in recurrent literary and artistic archetypes – such as the adulteress, the prostitute, the seduced woman, as well as the male dandy – is not limited to Spain alone, and reflects more widespread anxieties about the breakdown of established social categories during a critical moment of transition in European history. The social and economic transformations brought about by the implantation of industrial capitalism in the late eighteenth century in most Western European nations, and the subsequent emergence of a consumer society in the nineteenth century, led to women's greater access to education, literacy, and the marketplace, and, in turn, to a shifting of established gender roles and categories for both women and men. It is in this context that we see the rise of fiction that obsessively features the problem of gender deviance.

The sheer abundance of deviant figures in nineteenth-century literary and visual representations who struggle to assert their subjectivities from the margins of society is striking. From Balzac's decadent and materialistic courtesans (Jenny Cadine in *La Cousine Bette* or Esther in *Splendeurs et misères des courtisanes*) to the 'fallen woman' in Dickens's novels (such as *Oliver Twist* and *David Copperfield*), the adulterous woman in Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* and Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina* to the 'man-devouring' prostitute Nana in Zola's novel of the same title (not to mention Édouard Manet's famous painting of this figure), and the decadent dandy in Oscar Wilde's works – these representations became the point of convergence for cultural anxieties about the crisis of gen-

der in general, and, in particular, about women's place in nineteenth-century Europe.¹

Reflecting this broader European trend, the obsession of nineteenth-century Spanish writers, artists, and intellectuals with gender deviance found expression in a wide variety of cultural representations – from literary fiction to the visual arts, medical tracts to anthropological texts. Deviant subjects – mostly women, but also feminized men – figured widely in novels by canonical realist authors of the 1880s and 1890s, including Benito Pérez Galdós, Leopoldo Alas (Clarín), and Emilia Pardo Bazán, as well as in those of lesser-known but commercially successful writers of the 1880s, such as Eduardo López Bago, Alejandro Sawa, Remigio Vega Armentero, and Enrique Sánchez Seña. This latter group of writers, called the 'radical naturalists,' were fervent champions of Zola's naturalism: they took the French novelist's theory to an extreme, claiming to find scientific 'truth' by reducing the human being to his or her physiology and by documenting the most sordid aspects of human existence. In particular, many of these novels depicted sexual deviance – including rape, incest, homosexuality, and sadomasochism – in an explicit and oftentimes sensationalistic manner.

What were the issues at stake in this fascination with gender deviants, particularly with *female* deviants, at the end of the nineteenth century in Spain? This book attempts to answer this question, scrutinizing the meanings behind the obsessive interest in gender deviance during a turbulent period in the nation's history, when intellectuals were plagued by fears of domestic unrest and the loss of empire abroad. In recent years, critics have examined the constructions of gender, nation, empire, and race – and their interrelationships – in textual and visual representations of late nineteenth-century Spain, showing how anxieties about the Spanish nation and its imperial status translated into an overarching preoccupation with questions of gender and sexuality.² No book-length study, however, has investigated the problem of gender deviance as a privileged trope in the literary texts of the period.³ *Marginal Subjects* seeks to fill this gap by scrutinizing the reasons for the insistent use of this trope in Spanish fiction of the 1880s and 1890s.

Literary fiction, which will be the subject of my study, allows for a multiplicity of voices, authorial masks, and focalization strategies that often betray the ambiguities and contradictions at the root of cultural anxieties about deviance. Literature thus provides a unique space for the representation of the cultural imaginary, where unresolved conflicts about gender and other social categories often find expression.⁴ Fur-

thermore, the literary text, with its greater level of self-consciousness about its own discursive nature, often lays bare the fissures in conventional configurations of the 'normative' and the 'deviant,' while blurring any clear line of demarcation between them. Although literary and non-literary discourses alike may incur contradictions in representing the deviant other, the heteroglossic nature of literary language sharply brings these contradictions to the surface.

By the same token, representations of gender deviance in literary texts expose the fundamental ambivalence of the realist/naturalist project itself in its relation to subjects who lie outside of the norm. While one of the aims of realist fiction is to attempt – often unsuccessfully – to contain disorder and deviance (Labanyi, *Gender* 77), this fiction betrays an equally powerful impulse to resist normativity, opening up new spaces of subjectivity (if not always of agency) and redefining the limits of what the dominant culture takes for granted as 'reality.' Michel De Certeau's theory on the relationship between narrative and spatial practices will permit me to probe into narrative's fundamental role in (re)figuring the spaces that the subject is allowed to occupy in the real world; his or her displacement through narrative space marks his or her conscious act of deviation from accepted social norms as defined by realist fiction. Judith Butler's exploration of fantasy as a way of transcending what social norms have cast as the 'real,' of founding new spaces of subjectivity, will be central to my exploration of the challenge that the nineteenth-century Spanish novel poses to gender norms, at least in the terrain of the imaginary.

In my approach to both canonical and lesser-known works of nineteenth-century Spanish literature, I dialogue actively with scholars who have investigated the problem of gender deviance in other European contexts. While I do not believe the situation of other Western European nations should serve as the normative referent for scholarly research on Spain, it is crucial that we acknowledge the many points of contact that occurred through cultural exchange across national borders. This is not to deny the specificity of Spain's historical context and its difference from other Western European nations, such as England and France. Capitalism and industrialization arrived in Spain in the mid-nineteenth century much later than in France or in England, impeding the formation of a solid bourgeoisie necessary for the emergence of a liberal political program, including feminism, before the turn of the century. The institutional power of the politically and socially conservative Catholic Church, well into the twentieth century, made it difficult for a political

women's movement to take root in Spain. In addition, whereas other European nations were expanding and consolidating their imperialist project in Africa, Asia, and Oceania, Spain was suffering imperial losses in both the New World and Africa.⁵ The Spanish nation's anxieties over imperial loss and its sense of belated progress toward 'modernity' vis-à-vis the rest of Western Europe were exacerbated by the destabilization of established notions of social identity, including gender identity, at the end of the century.

Bearing in mind these historical circumstances that distinguished Spain from its neighbouring nations in the nineteenth century, *Marginal Subjects* will give attention to the many cultural exchanges taking place between Spain and the rest of Western Europe in the disciplines of science, medicine, anthropology, and criminology, as well as in literature and the arts. Spanish discourses on women's reading and writing, education, hygiene, sexuality, and criminality (particularly those on prostitution and hysteria, which belong to the latter four categories) often echoed those that prevailed in other European nations. Spanish intellectuals translated and imported these ideas from abroad, often adapting and appropriating them to suit the specific national circumstances. Bentham's panopticon, Lombrosian criminology, Bénédict Augustin Morel's treatise on degeneration, Charcot's studies of hysteria, Alexandre Parent-Duchâtelet and Josephine Butler's work on prostitution, and Zola's naturalism, all had a notable impact on the Spanish political and cultural scene shortly after their original appearance in their home countries.⁶ Given this exchange between Spain and its neighbours, I draw on the theoretical insights of critics who have scrutinized the problem of gender deviance in other European contexts to frame my own literary analyses, but without neglecting the specificity of the Spanish situation. The privileging of literary texts as my subjects of study, therefore, does not imply a categorical distinction between literary and non-literary texts in the analysis of cultural discourses. Instead, I will show how literature itself represents a site of convergence of larger debates on gender and deviance in the nineteenth century.

On the Question of Norms

A discussion of deviant subjectivity calls for an understanding of how norms function within society. This function, and the instability of the borders that demarcate what is considered the norm, have been examined by cultural critics as diverse as Michel Foucault, Pierre Macherey,

and Michel de Certeau, as well as by recent gender theorists such as Judith Butler and Diana Fuss. To theorize the subject's location in relation to the norm, many critics have resorted to spatial metaphors – such as inside versus outside, centre versus periphery – only to deconstruct, in the end, the binary oppositions suggested by them. Foucault defines the 'norm' through the idea of the 'limit,' which depends paradoxically on the very possibility of its transgression: 'a limit could not exist if it were absolutely uncrossable and, reciprocally, transgression would be pointless if it merely crossed a limit composed of illusions and shadows' ('A Preface' 34). To Foucault, therefore, norms exist to be challenged; that is, if not subject to challenge, they have no reason to exist. Similarly, de Certeau, approaching narrative as a spatial practice, asserts that while 'the story tirelessly marks out frontiers,' these frontiers are ambiguous, and the distinction between '(legitimate) space and its (alien) exteriority' is difficult to determine (126). While setting boundaries and presumably establishing norms, narrative activity 'bring[s] movement in through the very act of fixing, in the name of delimitation' (129). Interestingly, de Certeau defines the story as a 'delinquency in reserve' that, through its mobility, defies the stability of fixed places and, by extension, of the established order; that is, narrative displacement becomes a metaphor for social delinquency (130).

Requisite to any definition of the 'social' is the existence of a norm that, according to François Ewald, represents a 'common standard, a common language that binds individuals together, making exchange and communication possible' (159). For Macherey, similarly, the norm defines 'a field of possible experiences' for subjects belonging to a given society; that is, the 'normative apparatus' produced within a network of power is crucial to the formation of the subject (180). However, while norms enable subject formation, their inherent instability allows for vested political interests to fix the boundaries between what is 'normal' and the 'abnormal' (Ewald 158). Cesare Lombroso's study of the 'criminal woman' is a case in point; since the Italian criminologist could not establish a typology of the 'normal' woman distinguishable from the 'criminal' woman, he concluded that 'it was impossible to determine where the normal state ends and the pathological begins' (36). Frustrated with the lack of clear scientific markers to define the 'normal' woman, Lombroso sought to resolve the problem by constructing woman as 'both normal in her pathology and pathological in her normality' (Horn 121). That is, by positing that all women were potentially dangerous, he justified every woman's transformation into a target of continuous

surveillance. As Jennifer Terry and Jacqueline Urla have argued, the unanticipated consequence of these presumably scientific methods for maintaining the distinctions between the 'normal' and the 'deviant' was precisely the erosion of the possibility of fixing such distinctions, thus fuelling even greater anxieties over the encroachment of deviance into 'normal' social life (7).

The political and cultural interests vested in fixing the inevitably fluid borders of the 'normal' and the 'abnormal' have also been topics of discussion among contemporary gender theorists. Bodies and the subjectivities have become contested sites of struggle for the meaning of what is or is not normal (Terry and Urla 6). Following Foucault in linking power, knowledge, and bodies, Judith Butler has claimed that gender/sexual identity is defined socially in relation to a normative ideal; however, this ideal is ultimately no more than a regulatory fiction (*Gender* 32). This is not to deny the power of these identity categories in our lives, since in the 'real' social world, these still define and circumscribe us as legitimate subjects and bodies. Regulatory fictions such as gender or any other identity category are necessary for the very articulation of the social subject. When violence is done to bodies and subjects who fail to conform to the norm, Butler argues, gender deviants are obligated to present themselves as 'bounded beings, distinct, recognizable, delineated, subjects before the law' (*Undoing* 20). Paradoxically, marginal subjects must appeal to the norm in order to establish their own legitimacy legally, ethically, and on human terms. Ultimately, therefore, norms need to be acknowledged before they can be challenged and potentially reconceptualized.

Resisting Discipline: Spatial Practices and the Marginal Subject

One of the issues I address in this book is the manner in which deviant subjects are able to mobilize resistance to the normalizing discourses of a disciplinary society. Foucault's view of the normalizing function of social discourse in constituting what in society then becomes marginal subjects and bodies has been key to a number of readings of literature of the Restoration period in Spain (T. Fuentes, *Visions*; Labanyi, *Gender*).⁷ As Jo Labanyi has shown, drawing on Foucault, the realist novel was linked to the project of nineteenth-century social reform through which means were sought to reintegrate deviant elements of the population into a homogeneous bourgeois social body (*Gender* 53–4). Such a social program found manifestation in 'the new obsession with documenting and classifying every troubling aspect of society ... to control it by turn-

ing it into an ordered narrative' (65). Along with many other forms of discourse – medical, scientific, legal, political, the list goes on – Spanish realist literature, according to Labanyi, served such a normalizing function. However, equally important to consider, as Michel de Certeau has pointed out in a more general critique of Foucault, is the 'network of an antidiscipline' formed by 'a multitude of "tactics" articulated in the details of everyday life' (xiv–xv). De Certeau's notion of the 'tactic,' as an action determined by the absence of power and of a 'proper' spatial and institutional locus to exercise it, allows us to conceptualize how (and to what extent) the 'everyday practices' of deviant or otherwise marginalized subjects result in forms of resistance to power (xix).

For de Certeau, narrative has a fundamental role in (re)figuring subjectivities. Arguing that 'spatial and signifying practices' are closely linked (105), he establishes a comparison between the act of walking and the act of enunciating a narrative. Like the walker, who in his or her trajectory through space actualizes an ensemble of possibilities and interdictions, narratives also unfold in time and space, 'organiz[ing] places through the displacements they "describe"' (98, 116). De Certeau's premise is that narrative is a foundational activity: while one of its functions is continually to mark out boundaries, to establish a distinction that 'separates a subject from its exteriority' (123), these boundaries may be rendered ambiguous through symbolic acts of crossing, 'inversions and displacements,' through acts of 'deviation' (128). (In fact, the dual connotation of the word 'desviación' in Spanish – which means both 'deviation' and 'deviance' – is significant in this context: the subject's movement away from the centre, from the stability of the 'place,' in de Certeau's sense of the word, connotes his or her departure from established social norms and practices.) The subject, then, defines him or herself through spatial practices, through the narrative trajectory she or he traces against restrictive norms, often traversing limits and boundaries. In actualizing his or her spatial trajectory, the deviant subject marks out new frontiers, opening up the potential for the disruption and resignification of these norms. In the nineteenth-century literature I study, we see how the deviant subject's tactics of anti-discipline undermine not only social norms, but also the narrative conventions that uphold such norms in the realm of the imaginary.

On the Birth of the Deviant in Restoration Spain

According to Michel Foucault, the 'delinquent' or 'dangerous individual' became a discursive category in nineteenth-century Europe, through

a gradual process of pathologization of crime ('About the Concept' 2–3). The French philosopher goes on to show that the emergence of criminology in the second half of the century within the framework of the medical sciences, particularly psychiatry, sought to provide 'a sort of public hygiene' to combat the dangers considered inherent to the social body (6). Ann-Louise Shapiro, in her commentary of Foucault's work, explains how the effects of industrialization and the resulting transformations in social structures during this period produced a 'malaise of modernity' that led to fears of political disorder – such as unruly crowds, anarchism, revolution, and violence (25). These fears, in turn, were connected to more generalized anxieties about crime, prostitution, vagrancy, alcoholism, and insanity. Thus, any manifestation of deviance, even of the most insignificant form, came to be perceived as a symptom of degeneration and, in turn, a potential danger of pathological dimensions to society.⁸ The goal of certain nineteenth-century sciences, such as anthropology and criminology, was to create a mechanism for the defence of society by producing a comprehensive knowledge system to characterize the deviant. The new anthropological school brought about a shift 'from the crime to the criminal; from the act as it was actually committed to the danger potentially inherent in the individual' (Foucault, 'About the Concept' 13; Campos Marín et al. 108). The development of criminology as a discipline in Western Europe came hand in hand with the establishment of new discursive practices to 'apprehend the criminal' (Leps 8).

In Spain, the influence of criminal anthropology was felt in the late 1880s, following the publication of the French translation of Lombroso's *L'uomo delinquente* (1876) in 1887, and Rafael Salillas's lecture in the Ateneo of Madrid on 'La antropología en el derecho penal' (Anthropology in Criminal Law), which was regarded as the first significant exposition of Lombrosian theory in Spain (Maristany). Other Spanish disciples of Lombroso, such as Pedro Dorado and Bernaldo de Quirós, contributed to the diffusion of the Italian criminologist's ideas by publishing important criminological studies of their own in the late 1880s and 1890s. Spanish preoccupation with the identification of deviants in Spain coincided with the Restoration period, during which the nation faced social, economic, and political upheavals and the decadence of its empire, which culminated in the loss of the nation's last colonies (Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines) in 1898. It was a period of escalating fears about social instability and imperial decline, with the increase of political acts such as strikes, terrorism, and assassinations, and of social

problems such as unemployment, mendicancy, violent crime, prostitution, and venereal disease.

The disorder and the erosion of familiar boundaries resulting from these social transformations led logically to the attempt to control and to contain disorder through the heightening of disciplinary measures, which had been proliferating since the end of the eighteenth century. As Pedro Trinidad Fernández, Julia Varela, and others have shown, it was during the Restoration when disciplinary measures and institutions became widespread in Spain, with a closer surveillance of the social space for signs of deviant individuals who might pose a threat to the health of society as a whole: that is, from murderers to vagrants, prostitutes to anarchists. During the second half of the nineteenth century, government authorities prompted the construction of institutions, including insane asylums and prisons such as the *cárcel-modelo*; the enactment of legislation against vagrancy and other forms of social disorder (throughout the 1880s the mayor of Madrid imposed ordinances to control mendicancy in the city); and the reorganization of the urban police force and the Civil Guard to assure increased efficiency. Other measures included the introduction of criminology into the university curriculum; the establishment of central police registers to track the criminal history of prisoners (1886); and the systematic use of anthropometric techniques to identify delinquents (1896).⁹ The crystallization of these mechanisms of social control transformed the deviant into the target of punitive intervention, thus further inciting the public's fear of those subjects who were marginalized from the social centre.

Restoration society's efforts to combat the threat of disorder, blamed on the socially marginal, was not limited to the establishment of concrete disciplinary measures, such as the passage of new legislation, or the creation of prisons, asylums, and other institutions of social control. As in France and England, these measures, which in Spain crystallized during the late nineteenth century, formed a part of a matrix of 'power-knowledge' that elaborated new disciplinary practices (especially through the use of mass culture) to combat social disorder and deviance (Leps 8). As was also the case in other Western European nations during the earlier period of transition to industrial capitalism, the fear of disorder found expression, in Restoration Spain, in a variety of publications concerned obsessively with staking out the boundaries between the 'normal' and the 'abnormal' or deviant (Labanyi, *Gender* 79–81). Jo Labanyi and Esteban Rodríguez Ocaña have shown that social control was achieved during this period in Spain through the new disciplines

of public and private hygiene – called ‘social medicine’ by Rodríguez Ocaña – which produced an abundance of publications such as medical journals and conduct manuals, beginning in the 1840s, but reaching its height during the Restoration (Labanyi, *Gender* 70–1; Rodríguez Ocaña 17–51). Likewise, in all of nineteenth-century Europe, medical discourse, increasingly obsessive in its attempts to classify bodies considered to be disorderly, played an active role in generating a social order based on the utility of the subject (Cardwell, ‘Médicos’ 98). In Spain, this translated, for example, into the debate among psychiatric authorities who sought to establish ‘scientifically’ the distinction between madness and delinquency, in order to justify their methods for containing the deviant subject through their institutionalization in either the prison or the insane asylum (Alvarez-Uría, ‘Políticas psiquiátricas’).¹⁰

In addition to these medical and scientific discourses, a proliferation of literary and journalistic publications – the realist/naturalist novel, the *folletín*, and the periodical press – dedicated many pages to the conduct of “‘different, abnormal and sick people’” and transformed deviance into an object of central interest and concern (Rivière Gómez, *Caídas* 30). The rise of realism (or naturalism, as the two terms were often used interchangeably in the Spanish context) during the social and political turmoil of the Restoration period makes the realist novel a particularly productive site for the exploration of deviant subjectivity, since discursive strategies intended to re-establish social differentiations emerge typically in the face of social disorder. Gabriela Nouzeilles, who scrutinizes the disciplinary function of nineteenth-century literary naturalism in another context, goes on to suggest that literature targeted for vigilance, in particular, marginal groups, such as the poor, immigrants, and women, as was also the case in Spain and other countries.¹¹

Many marginal subjects – be they madmen and madwomen, prostitutes, adulteresses, beggars, vagrants, or hysterics – populate the pages of realist fiction by Galdós, Clarín, Pardo Bazán, and Palacio Valdés. Women such as Galdós’s Fortunata, Isidora Rufete, Tristana, and Mauricia la Dura; Clarín’s Ana Ozores and Emma Valcárcel (*Su único hijo*); Pardo Bazán’s Amparo (*La Tribuna*), Asís Taboada (*Insolación*), and Feita Neira (*Doña Milagros* and *Memorias de un solterón*); are all in some way deviant with respect to social norms. Very few are the female protagonists of the nineteenth-century novel who actually embody the norm of bourgeois femininity. Even women who might, at first, seem to embrace such an ideal – María Egipcíaca in Galdós’s *La familia de León Roch*, Lina in Pardo Bazán’s *Dulce dueño*, and Marta in Palacio Valdés’s

Marta y María, to cite only a few cases – find ways of resisting this ideal through mysticism, hysteria, neurasthenia, and other bodily disorders. Moreover, manifestations of gender deviance in the fiction of the period are hardly limited to female characters. Emasculated or feminized men who challenge normative masculinity are also abundant and include examples such as Galdós's Nazarín, Maxi Rubín (*Fortunata y Jacinta*), Máximo Manso (*El amigo Manso*), Francisco de Bringas (*La de Bringas*), and José María Bueno de Guzmán (*Lo prohibido*); Clarín's Bonifacio Reyes (*Su único hijo*) and the acolyte Celedonio (*La Regenta*); Pardo Bazán's Julián Álvarez (*Los Pazos de Ulloa*), Mauro Pareja (*Memorias de un solterón*), and Silvio Lago (*La químera*); Father Gil in Placio Valdés (*La fe*) – the list goes on.¹²

Writing at the same time as the canonical realist authors were the once immensely popular 'radical naturalists' of the 1880s – Eduardo López Bago, Alejandro Sawa, Enrique Sánchez Seña, and Remigio Vega Armentero – whose works were much more explicit in depicting violent crimes and deviant sexuality. These novels, which the authors themselves often labelled as *novela social* (social novel) or *novela médico-social* (medical-social novel), straddled the ambiguous territory between the literary, the socio-political, and the medical-scientific. The goal of the radical naturalists was ostensibly to take Zola's model of naturalism to an extreme, inscribing the deviant figure within medical treatises and subordinating the novel's aesthetic elements to scientific/positivistic analysis. Yet they also consciously appropriated the formulas of serialized popular fiction, resorting to sensationalistic plots and lurid representations of deviant sexuality to awaken the reader's fascination and fear.¹³

Journalism was another fertile terrain for sensationalistic narratives of acts of deviance. Whereas journalistic accounts of deviance are commonly presumed to be factual, and literary accounts, fictional, both kinds of writing enacted a similar function in constructing the figure of the deviant. For example, the representation of the deviant subject in Galdós's *La incógnita* – a literary fiction inspired by the famous crime of the *calle de Fuencarral* – closely echoes his own journalistic accounts of the same crime, as well as those that appeared in contemporary periodicals such as *La Correspondencia de España*, *La Época*, and *El Imparcial*. As Wadda Ríos-Font has shown, Galdós's writings on this crime, in both the literary and the journalistic modes, afforded him the opportunity to reflect on the topics of deviance and normalcy under the influence of the new Lombrosian theories (90–117). The intersections among

literary, journalistic, sociological, and medico-scientific writings on the deviant subject reveal nineteenth-century Spanish society's collective fascination and horror with the various manifestations of this figure, and the stake it had in identifying and in isolating the deviant from the rest of the social body.

Gender and the Construction of Deviance

How does the fear of deviance in general, then, translate into anxieties about gender in particular? And how is it that these cultural anxieties then transform gender into a privileged metaphor for other social categorizations, such as class and nationality (Kirkpatrick, *Mujer* 86), which in turn differentiate marginal subjects from those in the social centre? Female deviance and sexuality were typically conflated in the nineteenth century through a linkage between deviance and the female body. Jennifer Terry and Jacqueline Urla have examined the commonly held notion of 'embodied deviance,' by which they refer to 'the scientific and popular postulate that the bodies of subjects classified as deviant are essentially marked in some recognizable fashion' (2). Although connections have been drawn between deviancy and the body in relation to both men and women, given the traditional identification of women with corporeality, female deviance was automatically translated into sexual deviance, assumed to manifest itself in the materiality of the body. In the introduction to their English translation of Lombroso's *Criminal Woman*, Nicole Rafter and Mary Gibson show that the Italian criminologist was not original in equating female deviance with sexuality; however, his grounding in 'science' to confirm this association has had far-reaching implications in pathologizing the female body and sexuality in general, since female sexuality was always automatically suspect in its potential to slip easily into pathology at any moment (28–9). It is hardly surprising, then, that the prostitute and the adulteress, the two most popular prototypes of female sexual deviance, figured prominently in the realist novel, reflecting a similar tendency in scientific studies to group together all sexually deviant women, including nymphomaniacs, lesbians, and prostitutes, under a single category (Groneman 234). This phenomenon may be seen in the representations of 'exceptional' female criminality that abounded in the *romances* in circulation during the period and were linked to sexual deviance: female murderers, in these accounts, were often motivated by carnal desire, particularly incestuous or adulterous desire, which

drove them to commit the most brutal crimes, such as parricide or infanticide.¹⁴

In nineteenth-century Spain, while marginal male and female subjects alike were targeted for containment through both literary and non-literary discourses, the construction of deviance was hardly gender-neutral. Not only was the category of gender crucial to constructing deviant subjectivities – and we see this most clearly in writings on prostitution – but sexual deviance itself became gendered as feminine. This is not surprising given that disorder – and revolution – have always been feminized both in political discourses and in literary fiction, such as Galdós's *La de Bringas* and *La desheredada*, and Pardo Bazán's *La Tribuna*.¹⁵ As Jo Labanyi has observed, women became a key trope in talking about the [Spanish] 'nation's "ills," whether as cause or solution' (*Gender* 74).¹⁶ The contradiction, however, is that the studies produced by bourgeois male criminologists in Spain, France, and Italy alike, themselves representatives of the dominant culture, found more deviants among the male population. Lombroso himself struggled with this contradiction when he suggested that all women were to some degree deviant, while acknowledging that female delinquents were actually fewer in number than males (183).¹⁷ All the same, anxieties about social instability and disorder, as reflected in the cultural imagination of the period, often centred specifically on the figure of the *female* deviant.

There were various social and historical factors that linked women and the possibility of revolution in late nineteenth-century Spain. Isabel II, who was queen of Spain from 1843 until her overthrow by the Glorious Revolution of 1868, was, by the end of her reign, portrayed in political discourse as a disorderly, ignorant, and irrational monarch who brought dishonour and disgrace to the nation (White). What was most noteworthy about the construction of the queen as a female political symbol of the nation, as historian Sarah White notes, was the conflation between the national body and the female body, that is, between 'the public life of the nation' and 'the private life of the queen' (235). The private life to which White refers, of course, was the queen's deviant sexual life, which included her adulterous affairs with two of the three generals (Serrano and Topete) who eventually plotted her overthrow (239). While the (obvious) fact is that male generals carried out the Glorious Revolution against a female ruler, it is female disorder – of a sexual nature, no less – that was blamed for the political, social, and economic woes that plagued the nation during the Isabelline period and beyond,

well into the Restoration. Disorder, therefore, became troped as feminine, with both liberals and monarchists holding the queen responsible for the political and social instability of the nation.

The connection between women and social disorder became heightened during the final decades of the century. During this period, the 'woman question' – the question of her role in society and of her rights – became the centre of heated debate in various public forums, most notably in the *Congresos Pedagógicos* (Pedagogical Conferences) of 1882 and 1892, even though there was no organized political feminist movement in Spain at the time. Progressive female (and even male) intellectuals began to promote women's education in the public forum, and laws were passed to establish centres for women's education and professional training (mostly as teachers of young children).¹⁸ Thus, for many male writers and intellectuals, liberals and conservatives alike, the threat of woman's emancipation was at the forefront of their social concerns. On the one hand, increasing numbers of bourgeois women were gaining education, literacy, and visibility in the public sphere (these included women writers, in particular) during the second half of the nineteenth century; on the other, some members of the male intellectual and literary establishment made concerted efforts to combat the shifting tide which seemed to favour the advancement of women. A case in point, as we will see in chapter 3, are the many lectures, treatises, and conduct manuals directed to women in which female reading was condemned as presenting a sure path to sexual deviance and criminality.

With the images of female disorder, deviance, and degeneration dominating the political, social, and cultural discourses of the second half of the nineteenth century, the popular perception that society as a whole was moving toward gender indifferentiation posed a threat to the bourgeois masculine establishment. In Spain, as well as in Western Europe as a whole, the ideal of 'civilization' was identified with masculinity, whereas social, cultural, and aesthetic decadence (and degeneration) were identified with femininity (Dijkstra; Kirkpatrick, 'Gender'; Siegel).¹⁹ According to Bram Dijkstra, Max Nordau, under the influence of Darwin's theory of evolution, established the identification between cultural degeneration and sexual ambiguity. Nordau's treatise *Degeneration* (1892) achieved great success precisely because it gave expression to anxieties about gender that were widespread in Western European culture (Dijkstra 212–13). Similarly, other thinkers, such as the Austrian Otto Weininger, measured social progress based