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A Matter Of Habitus: Character Development In The Literary Productions Of Garcia Lorca

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**A MATTER OF HABITUS: CHARACTER DEVELOPMENT IN THE LITERARY
PRODUCTIONS OF GARCIA LORCA**

by

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DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Graduate School

of Wayne State University,

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**A MATTER OF HABITUS:
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GARCIA LORCA**

PROLOGUE

In this dissertation I will analyze the work of Spanish poet and dramatist Federico García Lorca using mainly the cultural theories of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and other thinkers who have influenced Bourdieu in significant ways. Of these thinkers I shall include not only ancient and medieval philosophers such as Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas, but also more recent thinkers such as Marcel Mauss, Michel de Certeau, Norbert Elias and Max Weber. The primary sources that I will investigate are Federico García Lorca's *Poema del cante jondo*, *Romancero gitano* and *Poeta en Nueva York*, all of which are compilations of poetry, and his rural dramatic trilogy, which consists of *Bodas de sangre*, *Yerma* and *La casa de Bernarda Alba*. The first two collections of poems explore the world and condition of the Spanish gypsies, while the third relates the author's experiences while temporarily living in the urbanized world of New York, a stark contrast to the rustic surroundings to which he was accustomed. All three compilations convey the quotidian issues of minority groups who exist on the margins of a greater society. Conversely, the plays relate the inner struggles of rural life for the women who are expected to abide by the precepts of their society.

In my literary analysis the main theory I will employ is that of habitus. More specifically, I will be applying this cultural theory to my analysis of the characters present in the above-listed six works. In this in-depth analysis of

habitus, I will focus on subcategories: the roles and portrayal of males and females and the differences in the treatment of the gypsy and non-gypsy characters. I will also devote a chapter to studying the aforementioned writings from the perspective of an outsider observing gypsy and American culture. I will also discuss the poetic style used in the literary productions.

The format consists of a prologue, in which I will provide brief synopses of the plays and poems to be analyzed, discuss the history of habitus and previous criticisms of García Lorca's literary productions, three chapters which focus primarily on applying Bourdieu's theories, a fourth chapter which highlights the varying literary structures of the compilations of poetry and an epilogue in which I recapitulate my findings and arguments. In this dissertation I will argue that the concept of habitus can be applied to these works as a way to better understand the male/female and gypsy/non-gypsy conditions. I will address such questions as why the characters speak, think and act in a particular way and how the outcomes of these behaviors impact how they are perceived by others. As Pierre Bourdieu applies his theory of habitus to study a tribe of people foreign to him, I argue that the same theory may be applied when studying the characters in García Lorca's poems and plays. Like Bourdieu, the poet would be considered an outsider to both the gypsy and New Yorker groups, therefore making him the observer. Although to a certain degree he manages to assimilate into these foreign cultures, his role, nonetheless, is primarily that of the observer, an outsider attempting to comprehend the daily customs and practices of the subjects that he is studying.

As previously mentioned, one of the major differences this dissertation highlights involves the portrayal of men and women. I argue that there are two

opposing dichotomies between García Lorca's treatment of the subjects in the poems and of those in the plays. The females in numerous selections in *Poema del cante jondo*, for example, tend to be more powerful than the male characters who are often depicted as entranced and in a state of vulnerability. These gypsy women exhibit more of a bewitching, mysterious sense, which at times overpowers the males, therefore rendering the men the weaker of the two genders. Even the will of characters historically considered fierce and powerful deteriorates when in the presence of these enigmatic temptresses. The females represent unbridled strength, power and, at times, danger to their male counterparts. Often seen alone or aloof to their admirers, the women appear at ease in their state of isolated independence, not requiring male companionship. When reading the gypsy poems in which female characters are present, either literally or figuratively, a sense of freedom is instilled in the reader, as the women are not subject to the rigid social constraints imposed on the majority of Spanish women in the early twentieth century. By living outside of the margins of society, the spiritedness of the female gypsy prevails as she is not obliged to conform to such limiting conventions.

Unlike the gypsy females, the characters in *Yerma*, *Bodas de sangre* and *La casa de Bernarda Alba*, exhibit the opposite tendencies. The women in the rural trilogy are condemned to live within the constraints of what is considered acceptable by the standards of their society. Although some verbally express their true desires, none of the principal female characters are able to fulfill them, and, in their attempts to do so, are met with a tragic fate, ultimately suffering anguish, isolation and even death. In their world it is the men who exhibit the power and control, the ones whose actions remain unquestioned. The female is

the weaker of the species. Any action they commit is subject to the harsh judgment of those around them, therefore condemning them to suffer in silence with their unrequited, innermost yearnings. They are voiceless in an unrelenting society which refuses to accept any behavior that does not correspond to its predetermined standards for what is acceptable. As a consequence, the ill-fated women of the plays are destined to a life of taciturnity, forbidden from expressing their true longings, thus living in discontent as they fulfill the societal obligations imposed upon them.

I will also liken the idea of Federico García Lorca as the observer of a foreign culture to the experience of Pierre Bourdieu. Part of this analysis focuses on the language he uses as the observer writing about an outside culture. Citing his literary compilations involving the Spanish gypsies, I argue that in García Lorca's poetry, his sparse use of Caló words demonstrates that he is an outsider to the group. Therefore, it can be assumed that language is an aspect that can be attributed to the habitus of a group of individuals. Despite his affinity for their history, music and culture, García Lorca is nevertheless an outsider to the group. In addition to applying Bourdieu's theories on observing an outside culture to the poet's relationship to the gypsies, I will relate the concepts to García Lorca's experiences with the African American community of Harlem during his temporary residency in New York City. Although their language, culture and the urban setting in which they live are completely foreign to the Spanish writer, García Lorca discovered that he could nonetheless relate to the New Yorkers, as they, too, lived on the margins of society and endured the discrimination of the major populace. Much like the racial prejudice experienced by the gypsies and African Americans, as an individual living in a radically conservative society,

García Lorca questioned and criticized the intolerance of the homophobic and fascist government of Spain.

The title of this dissertation is *A Matter of Habitus: Character Development in the Literary Productions of Federico García Lorca*. It is a sort of play on words, which substitutes the word *habitus* for *habit*. Although the two are highly similar, the former is more philosophy-specific. The term *habit* refers to a particular behavioral pattern regularly followed until it becomes almost involuntary, a recurrent and often subconscious action acquired through frequent repetition. *Habitus*, on the other hand, explores this term more deeply. The concept explores the origins of these phenomena, attributing the acquired patterns to one's experiences and cultural background. This exposure begins at birth and is reinforced throughout early childhood. Therefore, not everyone develops the same *habitus*, which is to what the second part of the title refers. In this dissertation I analyze the characters in the literature of Federico García Lorca, and highlight their differences and similarities, which may be traced back to patterns and behaviors that they have acquired since childhood. The characters in the various plays and poems act, think and react differently. Much of this, I will argue, is based on their *habitus*. I use the word *development* in the title because I want to establish the argument that each character's *habitus* is initially influenced by his or her upbringing. It is further developed by institutions such as school, religious institutes and other social organizations. It is something that occurs overtime, a gradual progress. Because each character's *habitus* may develop differently, his or her actions and attitudes may reflect such distinctions.

Primary Sources

The first of the three compilations, *Poema del cante jondo* (1921), is a collection of poems written for the cante jondo, a vocal style of Flamenco. An untainted form of Andalusian folk music, the name means *deep song* (in Spanish hondo means "deep," which, therefore, becomes corrupted into the word *jondo*). It is generally considered that the traditional classification of Flamenco music is divided into three groups, of which the deepest, most serious forms are known as cante jondo. In her 2004 study "An Investigation of the Traditional Cante Jondo as the Inspiration for the Song Cycle: Five Poems of García Lorca by Elisenda Fabregas"¹ Mary Etta Hobbs writes:

The traditional cante jondo is a song unique to Andalusia as it developed from the "mosaic" of cultures that have inhabited its borders, including Arabs, Jews and Gypsies. The genre expresses the history of the region, reveals the typography of the landscape and cries the tears of its people... It expresses the soul of Andalusia. (2)

Common themes presented in the jondo songs are death, loss and persecution. Such tragic themes are often characteristic of the brutal gypsy lifestyle. Though these poems were intentionally written to be performed as cante jondo, García Lorca paints a more picturesque image in the minds of his readers. The compilation *Poema del cante jondo* does not expose the conditions of the gypsy culture in such a harsh way. His poetry strives to romanticize the way of life.

In 1931, the poet presented a lecture devoted to keeping the rich tradition of the cante jondo alive. The following is translated from the conference notes by García Lorca:

The "cante jondo" approaches the rhythm of the birds and the natural music of the black poplar and the waves; it is simple in oldness and style. It is also a rare example of primitive song, the oldest of all Europe, where the ruins of history, the lyrical fragment eaten by the sand, appear live like the first morning of

its life. The illustrious Falla, ² who studied the question attentively, affirms that the gypsy "siguriya" is the song type of the group "cante jondo" and declares that it is the only song on our continent that has been conserved in its pure form, because of its composition and its style and the qualities it has in itself, the primitive songs of the oriental people. ³

Unlike *Poema del cante jondo*, *Romancero gitano* (1928), the latter of the compilations, is not folkloric in nature, but is based on the issues associated with the gypsy and Andalusian society. *Romancero gitano* is, as Lorca calls it, the poem of Andalucía.⁴ Symbolism permeates the poems which feature images of natural elements such as water, fire, wind and the moon, as well as metal, horses and colors, each symbol with its distinct representation. The collection begins, for example, with two myths invented by Lorca featuring the moon as a mortal female dancer and the wind as a satyr which represents masculinity. Other poems, such as "Romance del sonámbulo," involve colors, namely green, which often signifies death. For example, lines 73-78 depict the death of young girl who tires of waiting for her lover, and, out of frustration, commits suicide:

Sobre el rostro del aljibe
se mecía la gitana.
Verde carne, pelo verde,
con ojos de fría plata.
Un carámbano de luna
la sostiene sobre el agua.

In an exertion of control over her destiny, she takes her own life. Her lifeless body of green flesh, green hair and eyes of cold silver is discovered swaying from an icicle of moon over the water. García Lorca interweaves the color green throughout the poem, especially as he describes the girl who eventually kills herself. The two most prominent themes that recur in the

selections are death and the incompatibility of the gypsy world with the bourgeois society of Spain. Perhaps the greatest triumph of the compilation is its appraisal of gypsy life. In the past, authors like Prosper Mérimée and Washington Irving⁵ had been fascinated by the gypsy world, but it was Lorca who said, "The gypsy is the highest, the deepest, the most genuine and the greatest aristocrat of my country; also the guardian of the alphabet, the blood and the marrow of the Andalusian truth."⁶ He describes the conflict between the gypsy's eagerness to live without social restrictions, and the pressure society brings to bear on him. His freedom implies a return to a more primitive way of life, which creates a very earthy essence.

The third compilation to be analyzed is *Poeta en Nueva York*, a collection of poems written primarily between 1929 and 1930, while García Lorca was residing at Columbia University and completed during his brief stay in Cuba. The book was published posthumously, four years after the poet's assassination. Although the official purpose of his trips was to deliver a series of lectures in the two countries, Lorca agreed to the venture in an effort to escape a deep depression he was experiencing, and felt that a change of scenery would be therapeutic. Initially, Lorca was enamored with New York and the intellectuals whom he had met there, but soon after became horrified by the city's industrialization and capitalist greed. He despised the unfair treatment of the African American population of Harlem and denounced it as well as modernity's dehumanization and social alienation through his poetry. In addition to its commentary on the discrimination against the people of Harlem, the compilation is essentially a social critique of the dangers of modernization and the new technological era. In the article "*Poeta en Nueva York* de Federico García

Lorca: fragmentos y figuras de una estética emergente,” Omaira Hernández Fernández discusses how this compilation marks the first time we encounter the poet “en contra,” or against, something. She reminds us that his poetry typically presents his subjects in a positive light, in which he praises life, purity and innocence instilling in his reader a sense of magic and wisdom. *Poeta en Nueva York*, however, is a drastic departure from the prior adoration once prominent in his poems. Hernández Fernández writes, “Ahora, lo vemos ‘en contra’: del consumismo, del afán monetario, de la miseria, de la iglesia y su falso cristianismo... y de todo aquello que atenta contra la dignidad del ser humano...”⁷

The three plays that are analyzed make up Garcia Lorca’s rural trilogy. One common bond they share is a deep sense of tragic determinism that is highlighted by the expectations to conform to particular social conventions. In the three plays, the characters who endure the deepest suffering are female. Using Bourdieu’s social theories, one can examine the female habitus to better understand the tragedies. The first of the three plays to be examined is *Yerma* (1934). *Yerma*, the title character, desperately longs to conceive a child, but is unable to do so. It is not thought to be, however, due to any biological reason. *Yerma*’s fate to remain childless stems from her marriage to Juan, a stingy man who believes that children are nothing more than a financial drain. Because society dictates that the role of a woman is to marry and bear children, *Yerma* eventually becomes obsessed with the notion that she, too, must abide by this social mandate. She is unable to think of anything else, and is completely consumed by this idea. Ultimately, her desire to bear a child drives her to murder her spouse. After his death, however, she still does not conceive, as she feels

her offspring will be the spawn of her malevolent deed, a constant reminder of her infidelity to his memory.

Bodas de sangre (1933), the second of the trilogy, is based on a taboo love triangle which is formed by a couple who is about to be married and Leonardo, the bride's former lover. In this play, Lorca chooses to only give Leonardo a proper name. The rest of the characters are simply known by their role in life. As Juan Francisco Peña discusses in the appendix of the play:

Los personajes de *Bodas de sangre* no tienen nombre, -excepto Leonardo- porque Lorca no busca que se vean como seres individualizados sino como símbolos de las pasiones amorosas más instintivas y primarias, y al mismo tiempo, como ejemplos de las formas de vida en un mundo rural.⁸

Although still in love with Leonardo, the bride conforms to what is expected of her: to marry the man of whom her family approves and to settle into a conventional life. Begrudgingly, she agrees, and the family hastily begins the planning of the wedding celebration. On the day of the wedding, however, she decides to rebel against society's expectations of her and flees with Leonardo. Upon discovering what his new bride has done, the groom searches for the couple in the woods. He confronts Leonardo and the two engage in a fight which eventually leads to both of their deaths. The guilt-stricken bride, therefore, is forever condemned to a life of shame.

In the final play of the series, *La casa de Bernarda Alba* (1936), more tragedy ensues for the female characters. Following the funeral of her second husband, Bernarda, a tyrannical mother who lives by strict social conventions, demands her five daughters go into mourning for an eight year period. The daughters struggle against her unrelenting rigidity, and, meanwhile, all harbor a deep desire for Pepe el Romano, the most attractive man in the village. Although

engaged to the eldest of the five sisters, Pepe el Romano becomes the lover of the youngest daughter, Adela, an infidelity which carries with it tragic consequences. The tension in the story comes to a head as the women of the family confront one another. Bernarda chases Pepe with a gun. A gunshot is heard from outside, implying that Pepe el Romano has been killed. When it is stated that Pepe el Romano escaped with his life, Bernarda remarks that, as a woman, she cannot be blamed for not knowing how to aim. After dealing with Pepe el Romano, Bernarda turns her attention to calling for Adela, who has locked herself in her room. Upon Bernarda's gaining entrance to the room, it is discovered that the grief-stricken Adela, believing her lover has been murdered by her mother, has hanged herself.

Chapter One Synopsis

The first chapter of this dissertation focuses on how the poet/playwright portrays the males and females in the rural trilogy. I will argue that their decisions and actions are rooted in their upbringing. Due to the prevailing social conventions that existed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that dictated which behaviors were considered acceptable for the men and women, in the rural trilogy, the characters speak and behave according to these conventions. The women in the plays are forced to live up to society's expectations, allowing the men to make the important decisions. In *Yerma*, for example, the title character feels trapped by the fact that she is a woman in a male dominated society, forced to obey the commands of her husband. In *From*

*the Body Hispanic- Gender and Sexuality in Spanish and Spanish American Literature*⁹ by Paul Julian Smith, this concept is further discussed. He writes:

...the women in the rural tragedies are portrayed in ways which come uncomfortably close to reconfirming patriarchal priorities: The *novia* of *Bodas de sangre* is defined by her marital status, Yerma by her childlessness. In *Bernarda Alba* La Poncia states quite bluntly that 'a man is a man' and that the daughters' problem is that they are 'women without men'. (118)

This statement remains uncontested because it is a reflection of the group's *doxa*, another concept explored in this chapter. According to Bourdieu, *doxa* are the unquestioned truths of a particular society that have the ability to set societal limitations.

In chapter one I will delve more deeply into this concept while applying it to the lives of the characters in the rural trilogy. By also applying Bourdieu's theory of masculine domination to both the males and females in the plays, I will demonstrate how the roles of the oppressor and the oppressed influence the development of the characters. While the women of the plays are expected to uphold a particular, rigid standard of behavior, the males are permitted to do as they desire. To illustrate this point I cite literature such as Fray Luis de Leon's *La perfecta casada* as well as *St. Augustine on the Goods of Marriage*. Both selections focus on the role and responsibility of women as wives and mothers. To support my argument that the male characters are conditioned to follow their sexual instincts, I reference studies such as José Antonio Nieto's *The International Encyclopedia of Sex: Spain* (1992), which traces the sexual development of adolescents, and Pierre Bourdieu's *The Logic of Practice* (1992)

which claims that since it is socially acceptable for men to act according to their instincts, they are ultimately not responsible for their actions, a concept that I will apply to the male characters' development.

Chapter Two Synopsis

The second chapter begins with a historical account of the gypsies from their first appearance in Corfu to their arrival in Spain. I will explain background information of the gypsy culture such as the "Leyes gitanas," the code by which all those pertaining to the Romani culture must abide, and that there is a hierarchy that exists among members of the community that is based on gender and age. The chapter then explores the stereotypes surrounding the gypsies, namely the females of the group. After the background portion, I will apply Bourdieu's theories to the poems in *Romance Gitano* and *Cante del poema jondo*. As the concept of masculine domination habitus can easily be applied to the plays I will analyze, the same cannot be said for the compilations of poetry. In many of the poems, the females are the characters that exhibit strength and mystery. At times, they are nostalgic and lonely, but García Lorca does not portray them as weak or overpowered by men. For example, the selection "Baile," which is the last part of "Tres ciudades" in *Poema del cante jondo*, Carmen, the main character, conveys sorceress-like qualities as she recollects her former days of enchanting men:

En su casa cabeza se enrosca

una serpiente amarilla,
y va soñando en el baile
con galanes de otros días.
¡Niñas, corred las cortinas!¹⁰

The young girls are directed to quickly close the curtains so as not to be exposed to her.

Much of *Romancero gitano* is concerned with the omnipresence of sexual instincts, forever threatened by repression, but breaking out and often leading to death. I will argue that Lorca chooses the gypsy as a character because the gypsy represents the natural man, whose instincts and passions are not repressed by moral and cultural training. Lorca's gypsies are, therefore, usually in conflict with the greater society, which seems to be persecuting them. I will apply Bourdieu's theory of habitus to explain how this attitude of rebellion is ingrained in the gypsy people since early childhood. As the main characters in the poems live on the fringes of society, those in the rural trilogy are bound to live within the societal constraints. Here, too, I will argue that the dilemmas faced by the principal characters are provoked by their struggle to abide by society's standards. What they consider to be appropriate stems from their habitus as well.

Chapter Three Synopsis

The third chapter of this dissertation will focus on Federico García Lorca as the observer as was Bourdieu when studying the Kabyle people of northern Algeria.¹¹ In order to study the subjective-objective nature of a group's social practices, a researcher may need to assume a double role. He may take on the perspective of both the research subject and the observer. In this double participant observation, the researcher is able to combine his prior knowledge of the subject with the objective study of the world. This type of double-objectification is two-fold. First, there is the actual work done in the observation, which likely produces certain objectifications and distortions of social reality. But, also factored in is the observer's awareness of these distortions and of his role as a competent social actor. In *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977) Bourdieu explains:

Objectivism constitutes the social world as a spectacle presented to an observer who takes up a 'point of view' on the action, who stands back so as to observe it and, transferring into the object the principles of his relations to the object, conceives of it as a totality intended for cognition alone, in which all interactions are reduced to symbolic exchanges. (96)

Not only must the observer be detached in order to remain objective, he must also situate himself within real activity, taking on a practical relation to the world himself, and not try to represent the practice that he is observing.

In the introduction to *Poema del cante jondo*, García Lorca illustrates how he is not part of the gypsy culture as he describes the art form of Flamenco. "Estoy aprendiendo a tocar la guitarra; me parece que lo flamenco es una de las creaciones más gigantescas del pueblo" (31). Although he himself would be considered an observer of the gypsies, the poet did however, have a deep understanding of characteristic aspects of the group's culture. For example, in

Luis Lavour's book *Teoría romántica del cante flamenco: raíces flamencas en la coreografía romántica europea*,¹² we see how the poet was able to recognize the attitude and spirit of a true gypsy in a Flamenco competition:

Hace años-recordaba García Lorca en 1930, y en La Habana, desde una tribuna conferenciante-, en un concurso de baile en Jerez de la Frontera, se llevó el premio una vieja de ochenta años contra hermosas mujeres y muchachas con la cintura de agua, por el sólo hecho de levantar los brazos, erguir la cabeza y dar un golpe con el pie sobre el tabladillo. (100)

In an interview published at the end of the 2008 Alianza edition of *Romancero gitano*, García Lorca clarifies that he himself does not pertain to the gypsy culture. He proclaims, "Yo no soy gitano. (Soy) andaluz, que no es igual, aun cuando todos los andaluces seamos algo gitanos. Mi gitanismo es un tema literario y un libro. Nada más (160)."¹³ Although pertaining to a different habitus, he chooses to write about this minority group of southern Spain in an effort to revive the folk spirit of Andalusia and to showcase the beauty of this often persecuted sect of Spaniards. As Charnon-Deutsch points out in his book, *The Spanish Gypsy: The History of a European Obsession*:¹⁴

By exalting the Gypsy as a poetic subject, Lorca lent prestige to the community that has intentional reverberations, but his relation to the actual Caló is otherwise differed little from that of other señoritos whose patronage system was responsible for perpetuating mercenary relations with Caló entertainment. (207)

Charnon-Deutsch then goes on to cite a letter that Lorca had written, in which he strives to create some distance between himself and the subjects of his *Romancero gitano*. He writes, "...el gitanismo me da un tono de incultura, de falta de educación y de *poeta salvaje* que tú sabes bien no soy."

By referring to them as uncultured and uneducated, it becomes clear that Lorca wishes to create a distinction between himself and those he studies, thus, further establishing himself as the outside observer. As Jonathon Mayhew points out in *Apocryphal Lorca: Translation, Parody, Kitsch*:

There is a certain *preemptive* defensiveness, then, in Lorca's attitude toward his own work: he needs to mark his distance from more vulgarly orientalist visions of the gypsies, as well as from the sources of his own incipient popularity. In his own mind, he was not a gypsy poet or even a poet of the gypsies, not a poet of folklore. He despised the lorquian *kitsch* that was already taking shape before the publication of his most famous book.¹⁵

In a verse from his poem "Nana de Sevilla," Lorca chooses to use the Andalusian word *mare* in place of the standard *madre*, which is a rarity for the poet:

No tiene mare, sí;
no tiene mare, no;
no tiene mare,
lo echó a la calle.¹⁶ (5-8)

As an observer of the minority group, he himself does not incorporate many of the words from their lexicon in his poetry, again establishing himself as an observer, and a member of the majority. In a compilation of Ferdinand Saussure's lectures, *Course in General Linguistics*, we get an explanation of how the gypsy languages came to be. He writes, "Usually this superimposition of languages is the result of invasion by a stronger people. But there is also colonization, a form of peaceful penetration, as well as wandering peoples bringing their language with them. This happened in the case of the gypsies

(113).” Saussure later describes how a culture acquires and maintains its language, which coincides with Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of habitus. Saussure claims, “It is parochialism which accounts for why a linguistic community remains faithful to the traditions it has nurtured. These habits are the ones every individual first acquires as a child: hence their strength and persistence” (112).

According to Mayhew, “Lorca himself rarely if ever uses such dialect spellings in his poetry” (72). Although he closely studies and writes about the gypsy culture of southern Spain, Lorca himself is a *payo*, or non-gypsy. Therefore, as Bourdieu would define him, Lorca fulfills the role of the observer: In the opening chapter of *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Bourdieu writes:

...linguist research takes different directions according to whether it deals with the researcher’s mother tongue or with a foreign language, emphasizing in particular the tendency to *intellectualism* implied in observing language from the standpoint of the listening subject rather than that of the speaking subject. (1)

Chapter Four Synopsis

In addition to the application of Bourdieu’s theories, this dissertation will provide a brief analysis of Federico García Lorca’s poetic style. For example, in *Apocryphal Lorca: Translation, Parody, Kitsch*, Jonathon Mayhew describes the style of *Romancero gitano*:

Lorca superimposes complex metaphors, reminiscent of seventeenth-century baroque poetry but also of the early twentieth-century avant-garde, on the tradition of the anonymous *romances* [ballads] first transcribed and collected in the fifteenth-century.

Lorca uses this hybrid genre in the creation of a mythic Andalusia represented by the Gypsy protagonists. (11)

In his 1939 article entitled "The Poetry of García Lorca," New York Times essayist Peter Monro Jack praises the poet's linguistic sophistication, comparing him to other literary masters:

He uses every effect of symbolism, fantasy, super-realism, and he has the astringent difficulty and corresponding pleasure of solution that most modern verse has, and that Blake, rather than Burns, had. Particularly in the "*Casidas*" there is an imaginative reach for the reality beyond mere description: "The roses search in the forehead. . .for a hard landscape of bone"--"I want to live with that obscure child. . .who wanted to cut his heart on the high seas"--the rose, the landscape, the child, the sea, are becoming symbols of Lorca's own world out of the popular world that he knew, and this would have been developed, undoubtedly, as Rilke, Yeats and Eliot have developed theirs, had he not been so stupidly put to death.¹⁷

Previous Criticisms

As one of Spain's most esteemed and prolific writers, Federico García Lorca and his literature have been studied in depth by a number of literary scholars. Although the topics are numerous and varied, some of the more prevalent studies discuss his alleged homosexuality, the prevailing sense of tragic determinism in his productions and the symbolism and role of nature in his literature.

In his book *Federico García Lorca and the Culture of Male Homosexuality*, Ángel Suhuquillo examines the position of Spanish culture on homosexuality and its effect on the works of canonical writers and artists.¹⁸ In addition to García Lorca, Suhuquillo studies some of his homosexual contemporaries such as Emilio Prado, Luis Cernuda, Salvador Dalí¹⁹ and Juan Gil-Albert. He relies on

the textual and artistic evidence in the works of these men to define homosexual culture as one plagued by realities of rejection, fear of law, self-doubt and a lack of authorized language with which to convey emotions and an awareness of their own divergence from social norms. Suhuquillo claims that, due to the rampant homophobia of early twentieth century Spanish society, the contributions of García Lorca and other homosexual artists were ill received, with traces of this institutionalized bigotry even lasting today among modern day critics, as some still neglect to acknowledge the homoerotic presence. Suhuquillo first published his study in 1991 in order to challenge the discriminatory attitude that still prevailed in Spain in regards to homosexuality. He claims that the emotional toll of defying societal norms is an extremely important influence for the homosexual artist and needs to be recognized by the critics who study their work.

In *Lorca: the Gay Imagination*, Paul Binding also examines Lorca's alleged homosexuality, but in his book he discusses how gay writers are able to view women as autonomous beings. As the homosexual man must learn to tolerate the expectations of those around him, females must also learn to acquiesce to the culture and judgment of society. This idea is very evident in the way that the women are portrayed in the rural trilogy. Any attempt to rebel against the strict conventions of society leads to tragedy for the female characters. According to Binding, in order to fully comprehend and appreciate the most elusive of García Lorca's writings, one must be able to understand the poet's vantage point as a gay person, claiming that this bears the same importance as understanding the literature in the context of the cultural traditions of Andalusia. Binding highlights the poetry composed during Lorca's trip to New York in 1929, as many of the tensions that are present are also apparent in some of his earlier literature. He

argues that it was during this stay in the United States that Lorca's poetry begins to reveal a newfound, sharpened awareness of his sexual identity.

In 2009, Ian Gibson, a historian commonly regarded as the utmost authority on the life of García Lorca, published *Lorca y el mundo gay*, a biography divided into five chapters, with each detailing a specific period in the poet's life and the lovers with whom he related. Although Gibson mentions García Lorca's failed attempt at the age of eighteen to have a romantic relationship with the young actress María Luisa Natera, the main focus of his study questions why Lorca's homosexuality had rarely been written about. Because his writing was considered intensely homoerotic by some, much of García Lorca's literature had been banned in 1954 and still censored until 1975, the year marking the death of fascist leader Francisco Franco. That he could have possibly been homosexual was a subject considered taboo and rarely spoken of, even by the members of his family. It was not until the 1980s that his alleged homosexuality became acknowledged, which Gibson blames on a deeply rooted homophobia which permeated Spanish society. He faults this bigotry and denial for the lack of understanding and misconception of the assassinated poet. After rereading all of García Lorca's early poems, Gibson states, "I discovered an anguished, tortured, gay love ... Those who deny his homosexuality must now shut up, or at least question their prejudices. It's a relief after so many decades of obfuscation and silence, to reveal the truth."²⁰

In addition to the studies done which speculate the effect of his sexuality on his literature, there have also been studies devoted to the sense of tragic determinism that is present in García Lorca's literature. The main characters, often female, suffer immensely as they are forced to repress their true feelings

and longings, in order to comply with the oppressive mandates of early twentieth century Spain. This dissertation further explores this concept, arguing that the characters act and react according to what coincides with their habitus, whose development begins in early childhood. In the essay “‘Those Five Glenties Women’ Echoes of Lorca in *Dancing in Lughnasa*,”²¹ Inés Praga-Terente compares the tragic determinism in Lorca’s *La casa de Bernarda Alba* with Brian Friel’s *Dancing in Lughnasa*, a play which also depicts the frustration of five women living in a rural atmosphere (in this case, Ireland) who are forced to live within the constraints of their society, and, therefore, unable to fulfill their true desires. In her analysis Praga-Terente references the *Castii Connubii* (1930) and the *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931), two papal encyclicals which outline the role and expectations of the female as well the necessity for her to remain within the confines of her home. The essay illustrates how the strict law of space will provide an obstacle for the female characters’ sexuality, marriage and morality, and any deviation from the norm should be punished, as it would be a direct violation of the rigid dogma imposed by the Catholic Church, forcing the women to live as prisoners in the confines of their home.

Also a popular research topic is the role of nature and symbolism in Lorca’s works. In the Madrid: Alianza 1998 revised and expanded version of *Yerma*,²² García Lorca himself comments on this dichotomy of nature as nurturing and bountiful on one hand, yet cruel or at least indifferent on the other: “Porque hay dos naturalezas para los seres humanos: la naturaleza que los sostiene, hermana y madre, y la naturaleza sorda, enemiga del hombre, arrollando a miles de criaturas que no están conformes con sus leyes (198).” Not only are bountiful images of nature incorporated in the literature, but these

images also contain symbolic meaning. The poetry compilation *Romancero gitano*, for example, is replete with images of nature which represent themes such as death and sensuality. In *The Symbolic World of Federico García Lorca*, Rupert C. Allen conducts a profound analysis on a limited number of Lorca's plays and poems by performing a "symbolological"²³ assessment. He takes a Jungian approach and discusses the interaction between the ego-consciousness and unconscious and their relationship on the levels of the mythic, esthetic and psychological, providing a symbolic analysis of the literature.

History of Habitus

Habitus can be understood as a structure of the mind characterized by a set of acquired schemata, dispositions, sensibilities and taste, which is attributed to a specific group in a way which operates beneath the level of ideology. A habitus is therefore defined by the structural conditions from which it emerged. Its contents are the product of the objectification of social structure at the level of individual subjectivity. Habitus can be seen as the aspects of culture that are anchored in the body or daily rituals of individuals, societies and sometimes nations. The poem "La casada infiel," which appears in *Romancero gitano*, illustrates this concept when the speaker proclaims that his behavior is based upon his upbringing in the gypsy culture. His actions reflect his habitus:

Me porté como quien soy
 como un gitano legítimo.
 Le regalé un costurero
 grande, de un raso pajizo,

y no quise enamorarme
 porque teniendo marido
 me dijo que era mozuela
 cuando la llevaba al río.²⁴ (48-55)

The origin of this concept can be traced back to antiquity, and has been elaborated upon by contemporary thinkers such as Marcel Mauss, and later Pierre Bourdieu. The notion of habitus first emerged during ancient times, and was discussed by ancient philosophers like Aristotle. It is rooted in his idea of *hexis*, which appears as part of his doctrine of virtue. This idea states that the conduct of an individual is largely based upon an acquired yet profound state of moral character that orients our desires and feelings in a situation. Aristotle reminds us here that he has already said that moral dispositions (*hexeis*) are caused by the activities (*energeia*) we perform, meaning that a magnificent person's virtue can be seen from the way he chooses the correct magnificent acts at the right times. As discussed in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, the aim of magnificence, like any virtue, is beautiful action, not for the magnificent man himself but on public things, such that even his private gifts have some resemblance to votive offerings.²⁵

In the thirteenth century, the term was translated into Latin by Scholastic thinker Thomas Aquinas as *habitus*, the past participle of the verb *habere*, meaning to have or to hold in his *Summa Theologiae*. It was here that the concept acquired more depth. According to Thomas Aquinas' theory, habitus

also allows for an individual's growth through activity or disposition which can be positioned between potency and action with purpose. *Habitus*, according to him, consists of four intellectual virtues: art, science, understanding and philosophic wisdom. For both Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas, character is closely linked to virtue. However, for the latter, man is much more than a mere composite of body and soul. In "Meaning of Virtue Thomas Aquinas," Fr. John R. Hardon, S.R. writes:

Accordingly a person in the state of grace, or divine friendship, possesses certain enduring powers, the infused virtues and gifts, that raise him to an orbit of existence as far above nature as heaven is above earth, and that give him abilities of thought and operation that are literally born, not of the will of flesh nor of the will of man, but of God.²⁶

By repeating a good action man acquires a moral habit or a quality which enables him to do the good gladly and easily. This is true, however, only of the intellectual and moral virtues, which Thomas Aquinas treats according to the manner of Aristotle; the theological virtues are imparted by God to man as a "disposition," from which the acts here proceed, but while they strengthen, they do not form it. The "disposition" of evil is the opposite alternative. An act becomes evil through deviation from the reason and the divine moral law. Therefore, sin involves two factors: its substance or matter is lust; in form, however, it is deviation from the divine law.

Later, Marcel Mauss introduced the concept as *body techniques* (techniques du corps). Mauss describes 'techniques of the body' as highly developed bodily actions that embody aspects of a given culture. Techniques may also be divided by factors such as gender and class. These include activities such as eating, washing, sitting, swimming, running, climbing, child-

rearing and so on. The techniques are adapted to situations, such as aboriginal squatting where no seats are available. Techniques are thus a 'craft' (Latin: *habilis*) that is learned. The teaching of these methods is what embeds the methods, and the teaching is embedded within cultures and schools of teaching. In his study, *Techniques du corps* (1934), Mauss writes:

The child, the adult, imitates actions which have succeeded and which he has seen successfully performed by people in whom he confides and who have authority over him. The actor is imposed from without, from above, even if it is an exclusively biological action, involving his body. The individual borrows the series of movements which constitute it from the action executed in front of him or with him by others. (73)²⁷

The idea of habitus was further developed by sociologist Norbert Elias in the 1930s in *The Civilizing Process* (1939). Elias examines, in part two of his book, *The Civilizing Process*, the development of manners and the subsequent 'civilizing' of Western Europe since the Middle Ages. This journey in time is an attempt to understand what actually happened to humanity during several transitional periods. Elias perceives the development of western civilization in three historical stages, beginning with the middle ages, with a progression to the Renaissance (extended to 1750) and finally to modern day society.²⁸ Each society of the three stages had its own standards of behavior, which influenced the individual to act in a certain "accepted" way. Meaning, as people change and grow, so, too, does society. In reference to sexual impulses, for example, Elias writes:

...slowly but progressively suppressed from the public life of society.And this restraint, like all others, is enforced less and less by direct physical force. It is cultivated in the individual from an early age as habitual self-restraint by the structure of social life, by the pressure of social institutions in general, and by certain executive organs of society (above all, the family) in particular.

Thereby the social commands and prohibitions become increasingly a part of the self, a strictly regulated superego. (154)

The first stage was marked by the adult males' monopoly on violence, which was upheld by taboos and initiation rites. This monopoly encompassed all adult males, excluding females and children of either gender. What followed was a stage in which women and children were still excluded, but all men were not automatically accepted either. The use of weaponry was reserved for the elite warrior, as in the military-agrarian societies that originated in Medieval Europe. The third stage no longer encompassed a monopoly upheld by a select, autonomous group of men, but now was controlled by the central states.

Preceding *The Civilizing Process* was volume one of his study *The History of Manners* which traces the historical development of the European habitus, which Elias refers to as "second nature." He concludes that the human psyche is molded by social attitudes, largely influenced by shame and repugnance, with court etiquette at its nucleus.

Another prominent thinker who has discussed these concepts, although using the term *ethos* instead of habitus, is Max Weber. In his book, *The Protestant Ethic and "the Spirit of Capitalism"*, Weber writes that capitalism in northern Europe evolved when the Protestant (particularly Calvinist²⁹) ethic influenced large numbers of people to engage in work in the secular world, developing their own enterprises and engaging in trade and the accumulation of wealth for investment. In other words, the Protestant work ethic was a force

behind an unplanned and uncoordinated mass action that influenced the development of capitalism. He further explains that the spirit of capitalism constituted a sort of moral "habitus" which burdened the possessor of money with a steward's obligation toward his own possessions. The desire for profit with minimum effort in order to maintain a modest lifestyle was a common attitude. He writes, "In order that a manner of life well adapted to the peculiarities of the capitalism... could come to dominate others, it had to originate somewhere, and not in isolated individuals alone, but as a way of life common to the whole groups of men" (17).³⁰

Further contributing to the exploration of the concept of habitus is modern thinker Michel de Certeau.³¹ In *The Practice of Everyday Life*, he examines the ways in which mass culture is individualized by the people. This process includes the individualization of anything from utilitarian objects to street plans to rituals, laws and language, in order to make them their own. He points out that while social sciences have the ability to study the language, art, traditions and symbols of a culture, it has no formal means by which to examine how the people re-appropriate them in their everyday lives. De Certeau uses the analogy of New York in an effort to describe what he refers to as the "city," which he asserts is the creation of government, institutions and corporations which construct features such as maps that give the impression that the city functions as a unified front. He likens this to the vantage point from the former World Trade Center. From this immense height the city appears to be united as a whole. He proceeds to

contrast this vantage point with that of the average person at street level who may choose to take a short-cut, or an alternative route otherwise not marked on the map, a decision that ignores the organization of the grid. In his article “Rambling as Resistance: Frederick Law Olmsted, Michel de Certeau and the Micropolitics of Walking in the City” Jason Kosnoski discusses where de Certeau disagrees with Bourdieu’s idea of habitus. He writes:

De Certeau acknowledges that Pierre Bourdieu’s conception of habitus does demonstrate how day to day practices do autonomously adapt themselves to social discipline inhere within spaces, but he criticizes Bourdieu’s own claim that such adaptations constitute only slight variations from the genres of actions and response imposed by systems of power. (115)

De Certeau argues that everyday life is marked by the possibility of infringing on the territory of others. Although the existing rules and practices of a culture are influential, they are not fully determined by and of themselves. Acts such as walking, talking, cooking and reading, which de Certeau refers to as “acts of doing,” despite being repressed by modern society, also give way to a creative resistance carried out by ordinary people in their everyday lives.

It was Pierre Bourdieu, however, who brought the concept of habitus to a new level; presenting it in a more or less systematic way in an attempt to resolve the recurring dichotomy of human sciences: objectivism and subjectivism. In his essay, “Knowing what You’re Doing: A Review of Pierre Bourdieu’s Outline of a Theory of Practice,” Gregory L. Acciaioli states:

In the course of his critique, Bourdieu takes on structuralism, neo-Marxism, ethnomethodology, symbolic interactionism and symbolic approaches modeled on hermeneutics, for all of them share the

presuppositions he wishes to question. Ironically, Bourdieu's critical stance toward such theories is but one exemplification of his general rethinking of the nature of social action. (24)³²

Bourdieu's view holds that society cannot be analyzed simply in terms of economic classes and ideologies. Much of his work concerns the role of educational and cultural factors. Bourdieu incorporates the concept of *field*: a structured social space with its own rules, legitimate opinions, schemes of domination etc., instead of analyzing societies solely in terms of classes. Fields are relatively autonomous from the wider social structure (or space, in his terminology), in which people relate and struggle through a complex of connected social relations (both direct and indirect). In his concept of what constitutes a field, Bourdieu includes the arts, education, politics, law and the economy. Other societies, like the Kabyle, have not developed such autonomous fields, concentrating on how the social relations, rules, accumulation of capital and production of *habitus* relate to the larger social field. Much of Bourdieu's work relates his experiences with his observations of the Kabyle people of Algeria. It was through these cultural and sociological studies that he developed and expanded his theory of habitus.

Principal Sources on Theory

The two main sources on which my research will be based are Pierre Bourdieu's *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977) and *Masculine Domination* (1998). *Outline of a Theory of Practice* is recognized as a major theoretical text on the foundations of anthropology and sociology. Pierre Bourdieu develops a theory of practice which is simultaneously a critique of the methods and postures of social science and a general account of how human action should be

understood. With his central concept of the habitus, the principle which negotiates between objective structures and practices, Bourdieu goes beyond the dichotomies which have shaped theoretical thinking about the social world. He illustrates his ideas by drawing on his experiences in Kabylia, Algeria, to validate his theories. With a detailed study of matrimonial strategies and the role of rite and myth, he analyzes the dialectical process of the 'incorporation of structures' and the objectification of habitus, whereby social formations tend to reproduce themselves. An arduous and consistent materialist approach establishes the foundations for a theory of symbolic capital and, through analysis of the different modes of domination, a theory of symbolic power. As Bourdieu applies his theories to the culture of the Kabyle people, I will use the same systematic approach in applying his theories to García Lorca's portrayal of the gypsies and non-gypsies.

In *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Pierre Bourdieu delves deeply into the concept of habitus and greatly expands its meaning. He extends his definition to include both an individual's disposition and belief system:

Native theories are dangerous not so much because they lead research towards illusory explanations as because they bring quite superfluous reinforcement to the intellectualist theory tendency inherent in the objectivist approach to practices. This academicism of the social 'art' of living which...takes away understanding of the logic of practice in the very movement in which it tries to offer it.
(19)

For Bourdieu, habitus is a system of definitions that one initially acquires as a young child in the home. This is the result of both the conscious and subconscious practices of the family. The product of this is what Bourdieu refers to as 'primary habitus.' As the child progresses through various social

institutions, namely school, he develops his secondary, tertiary or further habitus. Bourdieu, however, is quick to point out that this developed habitus contains within it the characteristics of early socialization in the home and family. This first socialization is the spring from which all subsequent experiences arise. He writes:

In short, the habitus, the product of history, produces individual and collective practices, and hence history, in accordance with the schemes engendered by history. The system of dispositions- a past which survives in the present and tends to perpetuate itself into the future by making itself present in practices structured according to its principles, an internal law relaying the continuous exercise of law of external necessities (irreducible to immediate conjunctural constraints) -is the principle of the continuity and regularity which objectivism discerns in the social world without being able to give them a rational basis. (82)

Bourdieu's concept of habitus is a system of perception, appreciation and actions. It is this system that creates order in social behavior.

The notion of habitus is foundational to Bourdieu's theory of social research, which is based upon a structural framework that pays close attention to the subjectivity that arises in a social context. According to Brian Niro's article³³ entitled "The Social and the Cultural: Michel de Certeau (1925-1986), Pierre Bourdieu (1930-)³⁴ and Louis Marin (1931-1992)":

Bourdieu's supporters and detractors alike credit Bourdieu with the expansion and realignment of the traditional barriers of philosophy, sociology, anthropology and ethnography, through both his extension of the boundaries of sociological questioning and his questioning of the validity of the autonomous intellectual and social domains. (295)

Pierre Bourdieu's *Masculine Domination*, the second of the major sources I will be studying, articulates his theories of gender construction and his analysis of the persistent and sinister power of masculine domination, which is, in "the way it is imposed and suffered . . . the prime example of this paradoxical submission" through which "the most intolerable conditions of existence can so often be perceived as acceptable and even natural" (1). In most cases, therefore, due to its prevalence, the domination goes unnoticed. It is subtly effected through a form of what Bourdieu calls 'symbolic violence,' a gentle violence, imperceptible and invisible even to its victims, exerted for the most part through the purely symbolic channels of communication and cognition (more precisely, misrecognition), recognition, or even feeling (1-2). Despite Bourdieu's reference to 'gentle violence,' symbolic violence is the most powerful weapon in masculine domination's arsenal, since, despite its virtual invisibility, it creates the conditions of possibility for other, more immediate and explicit forms of violence, whether economic or physical.³⁵ Bourdieu is highly acclaimed for his contributions to the areas of social and cultural interaction. He insists upon the anti-philosophical, anti-intellectual and non-theoretical position of his findings. He urges any reader of his work to first consider the scientific nature of his argument and couple it with the practical nature of his analytical strategy.

By combining his idea of habitus with his observations in the field, Bourdieu manages to bridge objectivism and subjectivism in his social research. In *Habitus*, Loïc Wacquant from the Centre de sociologie européenne writes:

But it is in the work of Pierre Bourdieu, who was steeped in these philosophical debates, that one finds a thorough sociological revamping of the concept designed to transcend the opposition between objectivism and subjectivism: habitus is a mediating notion that helps us revoke the commonsense duality between the individual and the social by capturing ‘the internalization of the externality and the externalization of internality’ that is the way society becomes deposited in persons in the form of lasting dispositions, or trained capacities and structured propensities to think, feel, and act in determinate ways, which then guide them in their creative responses to the constraints and solicitations of their extant milieu. (316) ³⁶

To a lesser extent, this dissertation will also examine Pierre Bourdieu’s *The Field of Cultural Production* (1993). In this book, Pierre Bourdieu examines art within the social conditions of its production. Bourdieu explores how an art form is cultivated and received by the public. As the book’s editor, Lawrence D. Krizman, describes, “Bourdieu elaborates a theory of the cultural field which situates artistic works within the social conditions of their productions, circulation and consumption.” He analyzes the structure of the cultural field and its respective position to the broader powers of the social structures.

Bourdieu argues against the Kantian ideas of universality and aesthetic ideologies of cultural and artistic autonomy imposed by external forces. His response to Kant’s aesthetics is to emphasize how the agent’s ability to voice cultural claims is defined not by the conditions of subjectivity, but by those claims of other agents that constitute the cultural field. Kant never fully achieves the reconstitution of the subject. Therefore, his ideology follows a tangent of pure to practical reason, aesthetic to teleological judgment. According to scholar Kojin Karatani:

For Kant, empiricism and rationalism were not simply two scholastic doctrines. Between them he encountered the paradox between being in the world and being the subject who constitutes the world...Taken together, empiricism and rationalism struck Kant [as] a 'pronounced parallax'. (95)³⁷

In terms of aesthetics, Bourdieu emphasizes that the ability to voice cultural claims depends upon the claims of other agents within the cultural field. This notion opposes the Kantian idea that the agent's ability to voice cultural claims is not defined by the conditions of subjectivity. Bourdieu, through the concept of habitus, provides a model that focuses on the idea of the agent, which had been formally excluded from social analyses through structuralism; yet, the agent remains unaffected by the idealism of the artist as creator (subject), a concept characteristic of Romanticism with respect to the concept of field. He argues against the mechanistic determination of many forms of sociological and 'Marxian' analysis. The agent is grounded in the objective social action of the relation.

In his article, *Cultural Marxism and Cultural Studies*, Douglas Kellner explores the concepts of 'Marxian' analysis of culture:

In general, for a Marxian approach, cultural forms always emerge in specific historical situations, serving particular socio-economic interests and carrying out important social functions. For Marx and Engels, the cultural ideas of an epoch serve the interests of the ruling class, providing ideologies that legitimate class domination. "Ideology" is a critical term for Marxian analysis that describes how dominant ideas of a given class promote the interests of that class and help cover over oppression, injustices, and negative aspects of a given society.³⁸

Bourdieu's theories of practice bring to light many of the underlying doxa assumptions traditionally associated with literature and art. In *The Field of Cultural Production*, he refers to the structured set of manifestations of the social agents involved in the field as the space of literary or artistic position-taking. These agents include not only the artistic and literary works, but extend to and are not limited to manifesto, polemics and political acts. He regards these agents as "inseparable..."(30). A position-taking changes, even when the position remains unchanged. This can potentially occur at any time that there is a change in the universe of options being offered at the same time, to producers and consumers from which they may freely select. Therefore, a work's meaning is automatically affected by the changes that occur in its environment or field. Only if works of art are socially insisted and recognized as such, do they exist symbolically. They must be taken by the sociology of art and literature. They not only must take material production as its object, but the production of the value of the work as well. Bourdieu explains:

So it has to take into account not only, as the social history of art usually does, the social conditions of the production of artists, art critics, dealers, patrons, etc., as revealed by indices such as social origin, education or qualifications, but also the social conditions of the production of a set of objects socially constituted as works of *art*, i.e. the conditions of production of the field of social agents (e.g. museums, galleries, academies, etc.) which help to define and produce the value of works of art." (37)

In *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Michel de Certeau describes Bourdieu's approach to studying a group's practices as well. "It is practice that organizes

discontinuities, nodes of heterogeneous operations. Matters of family relationships, space and time are thus *not the same* in every case” (53-55). Although agents of a particular field may share an overall code, doxa and habitus, there may be variances among families and even the individual members of these families.

Notes

¹ This quote was taken from the Mary Etta Hobbs' dissertation, entitled "An Investigation of the Traditional Cante Jondo as the Inspiration for the Song Cycle Five Poems of Garcia Lorca by Elisenda Fabregas." It was prepared in 2004 for the University of North Texas.

² Manuel de Falla was a much celebrated and influential composer who lived in Granada from 1921 to 1939. During this time he and García Lorca became close companions, often practicing and creating music and poetry together.

³ This excerpt was taken from a speech given by García Lorca in 1931. The conference was devoted to preserving and appreciating the rich tradition of flamenco and the cante jondo.

⁴ Andalucía is the Spanish name for Andalusia, two terms which are used interchangeably in this dissertation.

⁵ Both authors spent time in Spain. Prosper Mérimée, French author of the novella *Carmen*, was intrigued by the gypsies, thus including them in the book which would later become Bizet's opera *Carmen*. Washington Irving wrote several histories of Spain which focus on subjects such as Christopher Columbus, the Moors and the Alhambra.

⁶ I have included only an excerpt from the speech that García Lorca had given at the conference. The continued quote reads, "El libro, en conjunto, aunque se llama gitano, es el poema de Andalucía, y lo llamo gitano porque el

gitano es lo más elevado, lo más profundo, más aristocrático de mi país, lo más representativo de su modo y el que guarda el ascua, la sangre y el alfabeto de la verdad andaluza y universal. Así pues, el libro es un retablo de la Andalucía, con gitanos, caballos, arcángeles, planetas, con su brisa judía, con su brisa romana, con ríos, con crímenes, con la nota vulgar del contrabandista, y la nota celeste de los niños desnudos de Córdoba que burlan a San Rafael. Un libro donde apenas si está expresada la Andalucía que se ve, pero donde está temblando la que no se ve. Y ahora lo voy a decir. Un libro antipintoresco, antifolklorico, antiflamenco. Donde no hay ni una chaquetilla corta ni un traje de torero, ni un sombrero plano ni una pandereta, donde las figuras sirven a fondos milenarios y donde no hay más que un solo personaje grande y oscuro como un cielo de estío, un solo personaje que es la Pena que se filtra en el tuétano de los huesos y en la savia de los árboles, y que no tiene nada que ver con la melancolía ni con la nostalgia ni con ninguna aflicción o dolencia de ánimo, que es un sentimiento más celeste que terrestre; pena andaluza que es una lucha de la inteligencia amorosa con el misterio que la rodea y no puede comprender.”

⁷ This article appears online and does not include the publishing information. It was found on:

<http://pterodactilo.com/tres/Fernandez.pdf>

⁸ This excerpt was taken from the appendix written by Juan Francisco Peña. It appears in Federico García Lorca’s *Bodas de Sangre*. See Works Cited for full bibliographical information.

⁹ This excerpt was taken from *From the Body Hispanic- Gender and Sexuality in Spanish and Spanish American Literature* by Paul Julian Smith (1989). The book draws upon several theories of sexuality and discusses the status of women in a male culture, the possibility of resistance to authority, and the role of the body as the protagonist in that resistance. Smith applies these theories to the women of the rural trilogy.

¹⁰ Unless noted otherwise, selections are taken from the edition Federico García Lorca, *Poema del cante jondo*. (Madrid: Editorial Espasa Calpe, 1972).

¹¹ The Kabyle people are a Berber ethnic group of Kabylia in northern Algeria. They are largely Mediterranean with a Nordic contribution. Although Muslim is the predominant religion of the Kabyle Berber, there is also a smaller sect of Christians, which is divided into Catholics and Protestants.

¹² This citation that appears in Luis Lavour's book analyzes the roots of flamenco by considering its socio-historic, ethnic and esthetic roles as well as its role in modern society.

¹³ Unless noted otherwise, all citations were taken from the 2008 Alianza edition of García Lorca's *Romancero gitano*. See Works Cited for full bibliographical information.

¹⁴ This citation appears on page 207. Lou Charnon-Deutsch is a historian of the Hispanic people and cultures. In this book, she provides an in depth look into the history of the gypsies in Spain, who have been long thought of as mysterious and subjected to persecution and discrimination.

¹⁵ Mayhew assesses the influence that Lorca had on the American literary scene in the second half of the twentieth century. The book discusses contemporary poetry, Lorca the poet and the deviations that often occur with translations.

¹⁶ This excerpt contains lines 5-8 of the poem “Nana de Sevilla.”

¹⁷ This article was originally published on September 3, 1939. It was retrieved from the *New York Times on the Web*:

<http://www.nytimes.com/books/99/09/12/specials/lorca-poems.html>

¹⁸ It is not my contention to speculate on the sexual orientation of García Lorca, as he never publically proclaimed himself to be homosexual. I have included this section in my dissertation as a means to highlight the previous theories of other critics.

¹⁹ The orientation of Dalí’s sexuality was never confirmed, as he never openly proclaimed himself to be gay or bisexual.

²⁰ This information was taken from the article “Lorca was censored to Hide his Sexuality, Biographer Reveals” written by Elizabeth Nash, which was published in *The Independent* on 2009. Nash discusses Ian Gibson’s theory that Lorca was a homosexual.

²¹ Inés Praga-Terente is from the University of Burgos. This essay was published in the journal *Estudios Irlandeses*, Number 1, 2006, p. 81-89.

²² Madrid: Alianza 1998 revised and expanded version: see Works Cited for full bibliographical information.

²³ This is a term from Rupert C. Allen's book, which was published in Albuquerque in 1972 by the University of New Mexico Press.

²⁴ This excerpt consists of lines 48-55 from "La casada infiel" in *Romancero gitano*. Unless otherwise indicated, selections will be taken from this edition. See Works Cited for full bibliographical information.

²⁵ *Nichomachean Ethics* is Aristotle's work whose central theme is the Socratic question, which had previously been explored, on how men should best live. It is still considered to be one of the most important historical philosophical works, becoming one of the essential foundations of philosophy of the Middle Ages, as well as being critical in the development of modern philosophy.

²⁶ This excerpt is taken from "Great Catholic Books Newsletter" Volume II, Number 1. The electronic form of this document is copyrighted. Copyright (c) Trinity Communications 1995.

²⁷ In *Techniques du corps* Mauss describes 'techniques of the body' as highly developed body actions (such as the manner of walking or eating) that embody aspects of a given culture and are adaptable to varying situations. Techniques may also be divided into categories such as gender and class. They are *habilitists*, or crafts, that are learned.

²⁸ In his two-volume set of books, *The Civilizing Process*, Elias describes *habitus* as the habits and structures created by social structures. He focuses in particular on the European etiquette around eating, sexual behavior, etc., as developed outwards from royal courts, and policed through systems such

as shaming. This information was retrieved from: Digireads.com. Publishing 2008. Because it is a digital source, there is no page number.

²⁹ Calvinism is a Protestant branch of Christianity that was originally based on the teachings of John Calvin and other Reformists. Calvinism broke with the traditions of the Roman Catholic Church.

³⁰ *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, written by Max Weber, claims that capitalism in northern Europe evolved when the Calvinist ethic influenced masses of people who began to engage in work in the secular world.

³¹ *The Practice of Everyday Life* by Michel de Certeau, discusses the ways in which people individualize mass culture and change things (from objects to rituals, laws and language) in order to make them their own.

³² "Knowing What You're Doing: A Review of Pierre Bourdieu's Outline of a Theory of Practice," by Gregory L. Acciaioli, appears in the *Canberra Anthropology* IV: 1 1981, pp. 23-51, and provides a concise summary of Bourdieu's work.

³³ Brian Niros' essay appears in *The Continuum Encyclopedia Modern Criticism and Theory*, which is a compilation of literary essays edited by Julian Wolfreys. See works cited page for bibliographical information.

³⁴ Pierre Bourdieu passed away in 2002.

³⁵ Information was taken from Martin Wallace's "A Disconcerting Brevity: Pierre Bourdieu's Masculine Domination," published in Volume 13, No. 3, May

2003 in the online journal *Postmodern Culture*, which discusses the brevity of Bourdieu's *Masculine Domination* in comparison to the philosopher's other publications.

³⁶ Wacquant was formerly mentored by and later collaborated with Pierre Bourdieu. He describes habitus as "a mediating notion that helps us revoke the common- sense duality between the individual and the social by capturing 'the internalization of externality and the externalization of internality.'"

³⁷ Excerpt from Kojin Karatani's *Transcritique on Kant and Marx*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2003.

³⁸ Excerpt retrieved from Douglas Kellner's "Cultural Marxism and Cultural Studies." (<http://www.gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/kellner/>)

CHAPTER ONE: HABITUS IN THE RURAL TRILOGY

Doxa

When applying the theory of habitus, it is pertinent to incorporate the concept of what Bourdieu refers to as doxa. His concept of doxa denotes the unquestioned truths of a particular society. As described in C. Jason Throop and Keith M. Murphy's article "Bourdieu and Phenomenology, a Critical Assessment," "Bourdieu explains that doxa is only foregrounded and made explicit through the interrelation of divergent, novel or competing discourses and practices. He feels that this is most often found in the context of culture contact or with political and economic crisis" (189)..¹ The authors proceed to paraphrase Bourdieu's theory even further by referring to doxa's capacity to set limits on social mobility within a social space. "This is, in other words, the process through which socially and culturally constituted ways of perceiving, evaluating and behaving become accepted as unquestioned, self-evident and taken for granted -i.e. 'natural'" (189). Doxa enables the solidification of social limits. As this chapter will demonstrate, this concept plays a major role in the development of the characters in the rural trilogy. Because doxa sets the parameters for what is deemed acceptable and unacceptable within a group, the men and women of the plays act in accordance to these limits.

One argument Bourdieu makes is that, historically, gender roles have been so well-established that they are never even questioned. Most people

simply accept them as a way of life and act accordingly. In *Masculine Domination* he writes:

The division between the sexes appears to be ‘in the order of natural things’, as people sometimes say to refer to what is normal, natural, to the point of being inevitable: it is present both- in the objectified state- in things (in the house, for example, every part of which is ‘sexed’), in the whole social world, and in the habitus of the agents, functioning as systems of schemes of perception, thought and action. (8)

This idea is illustrated in *Yerma*, when the title character is having a conversation with María, who says, “He comprado encajes, tres varas de hilo, cintas y lanas de color para hacer madroños. El dinero lo tenía mi marido y me lo ha dado él mismo” (1.1.41). The gender roles and responsibilities are made evident as she describes her duties of shopping for the materials necessary for making tassels. The money, however, is given to her by her husband. María, so accustomed to this arrangement, shows no inclination of questioning her husband’s handling of the finances, which supports Bourdieu’s contention that this has become the “normal” social order. In Peter Brooker’s *Glossary of Cultural Theory* it is said that an individual’s habitus emerges from a dialogue with a family, ethnic, class-based or gendered collective habitus in an evolving process of structuration and restructuration which shapes individual social mobility (73). When analyzing the title character’s thoughts and actions in *Yerma*, we see how much of an impact an individual’s habitus can have. Due to the social conventions that pertain to her culture, Yerma has suffered in silence for years, obliged to abide by the restrictions put upon her by society, or the unquestioned limits which are enforced by her social group’s doxa. In his critique of the play, Andrew Andersen describes the oppression by society under which Yerma must live.² He also

illustrates how as a woman, she is beheld as little more than property of her future husband. Yerma is considered a commodity whose true desires will never be realized. Andersen writes:

Yerma's father's reasoning in selecting Juan is likely to have been purely economic: marrying off a shepherd's daughter to a hard-working farmer with considerable holdings of arable land would have been perceived as a highly advantageous match. Yerma herself would have had little say in the matter, and while she stresses that she entered into the marriage willingly and indeed joyously, her primary, if not exclusive, motivation from the outset was the opportunity to bear children. (18)

As Andersen highlights, she is adamant to express her approval of the marriage, but quickly points out that she so enthusiastically agreed because she believed the matrimony would quickly yield a child, as this is for what she so deeply longs. This is made evident in her conversation with the old woman when Yerma exclaims:

Mi marido es otra cosa. Me lo dio mi padre y yo lo acepté con alegría. Esta es la pura verdad. Pues el primer día que me puse de novia con él ya pensé...en los hijos...Y me miraba en sus ojos. Sí, pero era para verme muy chica, muy manejable, como si yo misma fuera hija mía. (1.2.33)

Throughout the play we see instances of how Juan views his wife in a patronizing manner, as someone he can mold and control, more of a possession than a person. This type of behavior is first learned in the home and then reinforced by the world around him. As he is of greater financial and social value than his wife,

his dismissive treatment toward Yerma reflects an attitude that is most likely the result of the views that the generations before him held in regard to women. Juan is one of the dominant agents, or members, of the field that he and his wife share. The field results from the interaction between the specific doxa of the field and its participants' habitus and social, economic and/or cultural capital. According to the article "Bourdieu's Field Theory and Texas Hold 'Em," in which the poker game serves as an analogy to explain the concepts of doxa, capital and field, both the dominant and subservient members of a group silently accept their roles and the rules of their given field.³

Symbolic Violence

In addition to applying his concept of doxa, this chapter incorporates Bourdieu's concepts of symbolic violence and masculine domination both of which contribute to a group's overall habitus. In his book *Masculine Domination*, Bourdieu analyzes this pervasive form of domination as a sort of subtle, gentle, invisible violence which is often marked by the unwitting consent of the submissive group. This type of male domination is hardly perceived, as it is so deeply ingrained in the subconscious. In *Masculine Domination*, Pierre Bourdieu performs an ethnographic analysis of gender differences in Kabyle society. Bourdieu claims:

The social order functions as an immense symbolic machine tending to ratify the masculine domination on which it is founded: it is the sexual division of labor, a very strict distribution of the

activities assigned to each sex, of their place, time and instruments...”(9)

Victims of symbolic violence are already dominated and marginalized by the more powerful agents of the cultural field, and view this subjugation as natural, therefore strengthening the system. Gender violence is one of the most prevalent forms. Bourdieu makes several comparisons and references to Virginia Woolf, often citing her ideas and literature. For example, he includes a quote from her book *Three Guineas*, in which Woolf states:

Inevitably, we look upon societies as conspiracies that sink the private brother, whom many of us have reason to respect, and inflate in his stead, a monstrous male, loud in his voice, hard of fist, childishly intent upon scoring the floor of the earth with chalk marks, within whose mystic boundaries human beings are penned, rigidly, separately, artificially; where, daubed red and gold, decorated like a savage with feathers, he goes through mystic rites and enjoys the dubious pleasures of powers and dominion while we, ‘his’ women, are locked in the private house without share in the many societies of which his society is composed. (121)⁴

She describes the symbolic violence that women undergo as they are expected to remain locked away at home and out of the public domain while the men roam freely; all of which is silently accepted and perpetuated by both the submissive and dominant agents. In effect, individuals absorb the structures and hierarchies of the social settings in which they exist (*fields*) into their ‘mental structures’ (*habitus*) (Swingewood 214). In *Masculine Domination*, he notes how a woman is condemned to remain invisible. She must fulfill her wifely obligations by laboring all day in the house, making it satisfactory for her

husband, the dominator of the couple. Bourdieu points out that even in modern society a woman is often denied the hierarchical title corresponding to her real work (61). He expands his argument, making an analogy that compares the gender dichotomy to a machine:

The social order functions as an immense symbolic machine tending to ratify the masculine domination on which it is founded: it is the sexual division of labor, a very strict distribution of the activities assigned to each sex, of their place, time and instruments; it is the structure of the space, with the opposition between the place of assembly or the market, reserved for men, and the house, reserved for women... (9)

In *La casa de Bernarda Alba* it is as though Bernarda, despite that, at times, she seems to embody both masculine and feminine characteristics, accepts this assignment of roles as she explains, “No fue culpa mía. Una mujer no sabe apuntar” (3.338), when she attempts to shoot Pepe el Romero. She does not place the blame of inadequate aim upon herself, but instead attributes it to her being a woman. This is a result of the deeply-rooted acquiescence of symbolic violence against women in the rural setting.

Masculine Domination

When analyzing the rural trilogy, one text that illustrates the deep foundation of the habitus of gender in rural Spain is *La perfecta casada* by Fray Luis de León. Written during the Golden Age, this sixteenth century book has been acclaimed as one of the most notable works in Renaissance Spain. Fray Luis de León originally wrote *La perfecta casada* as an instruction manual for his niece doña María Varela Osorio before she wed. The book discusses proper etiquette for a

bride with regard to her behavior and duties to her husband and children. In essence, *La perfecta casada* is an instruction manual which outlines the expectations for women in Spanish society. Although originally written as a manual for his niece, upon its publication in Salamanca in 1583, the book quickly gained popularity among the citizens of Spain. Fray Luis de León's advice to his niece on fulfilling her obligations as a wife and mother molded both the female and male perspectives on what constitutes the ideal bride. Drawing upon the Sacred Scriptures and Solomon's Proverbs in particular, Fray Luis cites these texts to support his arguments. He contends that in order to attain perfection, a woman must prove to be good, honest, organized, hardworking and above all else, a housewife. Although *La perfecta casada* was published four centuries prior to the publication of the rural tragedy, much of its message was still ingrained in the minds of early modern Spaniards, therefore, contributing to their gender habitus. For example, when describing where a woman is meant to be seen, he proclaims, "...diciéndole a la mujer que rodee su casa, le quiere enseñar el espacio por donde ha de andar, y, como si dijésemos, el campo de su carrera, que es su casa propia, y no las calles, ni las plazas, ni las huertas, ni las casas ajenas" (104). As demonstrated by these guidelines, a woman is limited to the confinements of her home. A proper wife never ventures beyond these limits, because outside of her home exists a world of temptation and vagabonds, therefore, her duty is to remain in the home, safeguarding and preparing it for her husband. Fray Luis continues to illustrate his point with a more extreme

example. He justifies the ancient Chinese tradition of foot binding, where in the early stages of her youth a female's feet are bound and twisted prohibiting their growth.⁵ "...Les tuercen a las niñas los pies, por cuando sean mujeres no los tengan para salir afuera, y porque, para andar en casa, aquellos torcidos les bastan. Como son los hombres para lo público, así las mujeres el encerramiento" (105). This notion that women have no reason to cross the barriers of their front yard is illustrated in a conversation between Juan and Yerma. Juan reminds his wife, "Si necesitas algo me lo dices y yo te lo traeré. Ya sabes que no me gusta que salgas (1.1.31)." He regards Yerma as his property, forbidding her to leave their home. Should she happen to need something, she is to inform him, and he will get it for her. Essentially, he is her keeper. Bourdieu delves more deeply into this theory which ultimately contributes to the female habitus.

In *A Social History of Modern Spain*, Adrian Shubert discusses the gender bias of nineteenth century Spain.⁶ So serious was the offense of disobeying the man that it was punishable by law. Shubert writes:

The Civil Code told wives that they should obey their husbands and punished disobedience with jail terms of five to fifteen days. This legal subordination remained in effect until 1931. Wives had to live where their husbands did, and could not leave without permission.(32-33)

Because of the unquestioned acceptance of this code by generations of Spaniards, the gender discrimination was a deeply ingrained mindset, hence attributing to the group's overall habitus. So, in the case of *Yerma*, Juan's

forbiddance of his wife's leaving the home could have theoretically resulted in her arrest. Had she not obeyed his demand, her insubordination could have yielded a harsh punishment of imprisonment. Institutions such as the church attribute to a person's secondary habitus. Because Catholicism is the predominant religion in rural Spain, its teachings often went unquestioned. Followers of the Catholic Church guided their lives by the accepted religious doctrine. While the majority of nineteenth and early twentieth century Spaniards exhibited great piety and dedication to the church, there were some who did not blindly accept the church's teaching. This is illustrated in the conversation that the pious Yerma holds with the old woman she meets:

YERMA. Entonces, que Dios me ampare.

VIEJA. Dios, no. A mí no me ha gustado nunca Dios.

¿Cuándo os vais a dar cuenta que no existe?

Son los hombres los que te tienen que amparar. (1.2.40-42)

She cautions the naive Yerma to not rely on God for guidance and protection, stating that He does not exist. By using the second person informal plural, we realize she is not merely referring to Yerma, but expressing her frustration with the collective of agents in their mutual field. Her statement would have been considered outlandish and controversial by the majority living during that time period. In *La casa de Bernarda Alba* the opposite is illustrated. In the following examples, the sisters Adela and Angustias demonstrate their unquestioning faith in their references to God:

ADELA. Nos enseñan a querer a las hermanas. Dios me
 ha debido dejar sola en medio de la oscuridad
 porque te veo como si no te hubiera visto nunca. (3.316)

ANGUSTIAS. Pepe lleva más de una semana marchándose a la
 una.

Que Dios me mate si miento. (2.316)

Unlike the old woman in *Yerma*, the girls' statements reveal that their faith is unwavering.

In *On the Goods of Marriage*, St. Augustine states that marriage is the most holy state for those called to it, mirroring the high status of those who remain unmarried and virginal. Additionally, he supports the notion that the role of homemaker is reserved for the female who is expected to obediently serve her husband, while he, in turn, must love his wife as Christ loves his church. He addresses the topic of sexual intercourse by citing its reproductive necessity. He states, "Marriages have a further good: carnal or youthful incontinence, which is admittedly bad, is applied to the honorable task of begetting children, and so the marital bond makes something good from the evil of lust."⁷ Marriage, therefore, serves as a moderator of lust. Unnatural sex, however, or intercourse unsanctioned by the church, is a grave sin. In the rural trilogy we encounter instances of how important remaining a virgin is for the women of the plays.

In *La casa de Bernarda Alba*, there is a blatant example of this unsanctioned act when la hija de la Librada has an illegitimate child with an

anonymous father. Conceiving a child out of wedlock would have violated the strict moral code of the twentieth century rural Spanish citizens, as it completely defies the Catholic views which largely contribute to their habitus. As it was uncommon to have an abortion, La Hija de la Librada gives birth to the child, only to murder it. Outraged, La Poncia declares, “Y para ocultar su vergüenza lo mató y lo metió debajo de unas piedras, pero unos perros con más corazón que muchas criaturas lo sacaron, y como llevados por la mano de Dios lo han puesto en el tronco de su puerta” (2.352). La Poncia’s religious nature is revealed at this point as she exclaims that the dogs that discovered the infant’s body, as if by the hand of God, returned the baby to the threshold of the murderous mother’s door, so as to expose her for the crime she committed. Although this crime would be considered to be barbaric by several cultures, this situation would be considerably grave for those in her field, and most would expect a harsh punishment for the guilty party. This is made evident during a conversation that takes place between Bernarda and her daughters:

BERNARDA. Sí, que vengan todos con varas de olivo y mangos
de azadones. Que vengan todos para matarla.

ADELA. No, no. Para matarla, no. (2.353-354)

MARTIRIO. ¡Que pague lo que debe! (2.356)

The only character who objects to the punishing of La Hija de la Librada with such brutality or even death is Adela because she no longer fits within the parameters of her society’s conventions due to her actions. As previously stated,

the concept of a female remaining a virgin until marriage was highly important in early twentieth century rural Spain, as it serves not only as a reflection of the woman herself, but also of her upbringing, due to the fact that one's primary habitus develops during infancy. In "Credit, Debt, and Honor in Castile, 1600-1650," Scott Taylor writes:

Based largely on the findings of anthropologists of the Mediterranean in the twentieth century, the traditional understanding of honor in early modern Spain has been defined as a concern for chastity, for women, and a willingness to protect women's sexual purity and avenge affronts from men."⁸

An example of the importance of a woman remaining a virgin until marriage is presented in *Bodas de sangre* when the maid and a young lady are chanting about the beauty of the bride. The maid refers to how she shines like a star due to her whiteness, symbolizing her virginity, while the young lady references her clean body and clothing. The underlying message is that the bride's beauty is validated by her purity:

CRIADA. Al salir de tu casa,

Blanca doncella,

acuérdate que sales

Como una estrella...

MUCHACHA 1. Limpia de cuerpo y ropa

al salir de tu casa para la boda. (2.1.52-53)

An additional interesting example of this idea of preserving chastity until marriage is presented during a conversation between Yerma and another young girl. When Yerma asks her friend why she married, the girl responds that she did

so because it was expected of her. She describes how she does not enjoy being married, nor does she understand the reason for it. By referring to marriage as a silly tradition of the elders, she alludes to how she married because it was a social requirement. In other words, it was dictated by her familial and cultural habitus. She then contradicts this idea by alluding to the fact that she and her husband had been secretly engaging in premarital sex. This act would have rendered her a social outcast. She exclaims:

MUCHACHA 2. ...Yo tengo diecinueve años y no me gusta guisar, ni lavar. Bueno, pues todo el día he de estar haciendo lo que no me gusta. ¿Y para qué? ¿Qué necesidad tiene mi marido de ser mi marido? Porque lo mismo hacíamos de novios que ahora. Tonterías de los viejos. (2.1.66-70)

Although the young girl considers the traditions of chastity and marriage to be silly and unnecessary, she realizes they are necessary in order to be accepted by others in her community. Violating their doxa would result in her being ostracized from the group. It then becomes obvious why in *La casa de Bernarda Alba* Bernarda so adamantly insists that the memory of her daughter remain unstained:

BERNARDA. Y no quiero llantos. La muerte hay que mirarla cara a cara. ¡Silencio! ¡A callar he dicho! ¡Las lágrimas cuando estés sola! Nos hundiremos todas en un mar de luto. Ella, la menor de Bernarda Alba, ha muerto virgen.

¡Me habéis oído? ¡Silencio, silencio he dicho!

¡Silencio! (3.352)

Bernarda appears emotionally unaffected by the suicide of her youngest daughter, giving the impression that what is most at stake is *her own* reputation as the mother since the behavior of her children would be a reflection on her. She prohibits her other four daughters from expressing themselves through the natural reaction of crying, demanding that they speak not of the incident and cry only when alone. The four siblings are expected to follow the family tradition of going into an eight year state of deep mourning which Bernarda explains has been done throughout prior generations:

BERNARDA. En ochos años que dure el luto no ha de entrar en esta casa el viento de la calle.
 Hacemos cuenta que hemos tapiado con ladrillos puertas y ventanas. Así pasó en casa de mi padre y en casa de mi abuelo.
 Mientras, podéis empezar a bordar el ajuar.
 En el arca tengo veinte piezas de hilo con el que podréis cortar sábanas y embozos. Magdalena puede bordarlas. (1.111)

She assigns her daughters the banal responsibility of cutting sheets which will be embroidered by Magdalena. As Bernarda relies heavily on tradition, this custom,

most likely, has been performed throughout previous generations, having contributed to their habitus of gender roles. In *Masculine Domination* Bourdieu writes:

They are condemned to give at every moment the appearances of a natural foundation to the diminished identity that is socially bestowed on them: they are the ones who perform the long, thankless, tedious task of picking up from the ground the olives or twigs that the men have brought down with a pole or an axe; they are the ones who, delegated to the vulgar preoccupations of the everyday management of the domestic economy, seem to take pleasure in the petty calculations of debt and interest to which the man of honour does not stoop. (30)

As Bourdieu explains, a person's first level of habitus begins in the home. Profoundly rooted in the tradition of carrying out an eight year mourning period, Bernarda perpetuates this aspect of her family's habitus, insisting her daughters partake as she has done, in an act which should be accepted without consciousness or questioning. He continues:

The effect of symbolic domination (whether ethnic, gender, cultural or linguistic, etc) is exerted not in the pure logic of knowing consciousnesses but through the schemes of perception, appreciation and action that are constitutive of habitus and which, below the level of the decisions of consciousness and the controls of the will, set up a cognitive relationship that is profoundly obscure to itself. (37)

An interesting phenomenon occurs, however, when Bernarda obligates her daughters to mourn for their sister. As her established habitus requires her to do, Bernarda follows in the footsteps of her mother and grandmother by dressing in black and withdrawing from society in order to honor the memory of their

deceased husbands. The sisters, however, none of whom have ever married, are forced to follow suit for an eight year period, even though it is their sister who has died and not a spouse. In *The Logic of Practice*, Bourdieu provides an explanation for this transformation:

The habitus which, at every moment, structures new experiences in accordance with the structures produced by past experiences, which are modified by the new experiences within the limits defined by their power of selection, brings about a unique integration, dominated by the earliest experiences, of the experiences statistically common to members of the same class. (60)

It is as though Bernarda follows the skeletal outline of the mourning ritual, but modifies it in order to fit the current situation. She relies on her habitus to guide her initially, yet transforms it into a ritual that is more appropriate to the new experience. In this case, the daughters represent what Bourdieu refers to as the “members of the same class.”

Because of the strict Catholic atmosphere of early twentieth century rural Spain, the concept of the holiness of marriage for the sake of reproduction would prove to be a prominent factor contributing to its gender habitus. This idea may be applied to the conflict in *Yerma* where the title character so deeply longs to conceive a child. According to Paul Julian Smith in *From the Body Hispanic-Gender and Sexuality and Spanish American Literature*:

The fact remains however, that it is not only the minor characters but heroines themselves that perceive women in the traditional (even reified) manner as a hole which must be filled, a lack seeking

a supplement. What women want, in these plays at least, is a man or a child. (118)

The origin of Yerma's longing for a child may be due to a natural, biological desire to experience motherhood, but may also be subconsciously attributed to the habitus that was first established in her childhood home and strengthened by her religious institution. Surrounded by married women who either have children or plan to conceive, Yerma yearns to share in the experience. In *On the Good of Marriage* St. Augustine writes:

Therefore the good of marriage in every nation and for all mankind lies in the purpose of procreation and in chaste fidelity; but for the people of God, it lies also in the holiness of the sacrament, by reason of which it is forbidden for a woman, for so long as her husband lives, to marry another, even if she has been put away by her husband, and not even in order to have children.... These, therefore, are the goods that make marriage good—offspring, fidelity, sacrament.⁹

Although the treatise specifies that a woman may not remarry as long as her first husband is still alive, Yerma realizes that she may never marry another, despite the fact that Juan is dead. She shares this mentality with the mother of the groom in *Bodas de sangre*. The mother exclaims:

MADRE. Sí. Yo no miré a nadie. Miré a tu padre, y cuando lo mataron miré a la pared de enfrente. Una mujer con un hombre y ya está. (1.1.48)

Following the death of her husband, she refused to ever look at another man, for it would be a violation of the sanctity of marriage. Instead she fulfills her

obligation of remaining in her home, in an incessant state of mourning. There is a second example in the same play that reveals the common belief that requires a widowed woman to forever remain in her home to properly mourn the death of her husband:

SUEGRA. Tú, a tu casa.

Valiente y sola en tu casa.

A envejecer y a llorar.

Pero la puerta cerrada.

Nunca. Ni muerto ni vivo.

Clavaremos las ventanas.

Y vengan lluvias y noches

sobre las hierbas amargas. (3.2.20)

Leonardo's mother tells her daughter-in-law that she is now to seclude herself indoors in order to cry and grow old in solitude. The limitations and obligations regarding gender roles also prove to go unquestioned in the lives of the characters in the rural trilogy. Because it is part of a group's habitus, it is something that occurs naturally and automatically. Bourdieu explores this concept further in *Masculine Domination* when he writes:

...the world of work is full of little isolated occupational milieu (a hospital staff, the office of a ministry, etc.) functioning as quasi-families in which the staff manager, almost always a man, exercises a paternalistic authority, based on emotional envelopment or seduction, and, both overburdened with work and taking charge of everything that happens in the institution, offers a generalized protection to a generally female junior staff (nurses, assistants, secretaries) who are thereby encouraged to make an

intense, sometimes pathological investment in the institution and the person who embodies it.(58)

This ingrained mentality is well illustrated when Bernarda explains that those who have the potential for success accept their gender roles and their corresponding responsibilities. She proclaims:

BERNARDA. Aquí se hace lo que yo mando. Ya no puedes
ir con el cuento de tu padre. Hilo y aguja para
las hembras. Látigo y mulas para el varón. Eso
tiene la gente que nace con posibles. (1.117)

Not only do Bernarda's statements reflect her acceptance and promotion of such roles as the natural order, they also support Bourdieu's concept that the social division of labor corresponds to the anatomical differences between the genders, which perpetuates the masculine domination that occurs in society. In *Masculine Domination* he writes:

The *biological* difference between the *sexes*, i.e. between the male and female bodies, and, in particular, the *anatomical* difference between the sex organs, can thus appear as the natural justification of the socially constructed differences between the *genders*, and in particular of the social division of labour. (11)

The male's use of a whip to keep the mule in line serves as a metaphor for his biological ability to suppress and oppress his female counter part. Bourdieu continues:

The social world constructs the body as a sexually defined reality and as the depository of sexually defining principles of vision and division. This embodied social program of perception is applied to

all the things of the world and firstly to the *body* itself, in its biological reality. (11)

Bernarda's remarks also reveal an overtone of social supremacy which most likely stems from her privileged upbringing. Her reference to "gente que nace con posibles" demonstrates her feeling of superiority. The concept that one race or group of people reigns superior will be further explained in chapter two which explores the issue of discrimination against the gypsies in Spain. In a conversation between Bernarda and her maid, this class division is again revealed as Bernarda reminds La Poncia of her social limitations:

BERNARDA. ¡Y lo haría mil veces! ¡Mi sangre no se junta con la de los Humanas mientras yo viva! Su padre fue gañán.

LA PONCIA. ¡Y así te va a ti con esos humos!

BERNARDA. Los tengo porque puedo tenerlos. Y tú no los tienes porque sabes muy bien cuál es tu origen. (2.283-285)

This concept is demonstrated when Bourdieu writes, "These proscriptions limiting women to the home constituted a middle and upper class ideal. At lower levels of society women could expect to work for some, if not most of their lives"(38). In Pierre Bourdieu's book *The Logic of Practice*, the idea of societal status and its role in life in rural areas is further addressed. Bourdieu writes:

The mass of the peasants was sharply differentiated from an 'aristocracy' set apart not only by its material capital but also by its social capital, measured by the value of a family's whole set of kin, in both lineages and over generations, by its style of life, which

had to manifest its respect for the value of honour, and by the social consideration that surrounded it. (148)

In the previous example, one's social status is a contributing factor to habitus. In addition to one's profession and class, the biological division between males and females also reflects a group's habitus. In *Masculine Domination* Bourdieu writes:

Far from the necessities of biological reproduction determining the symbolic organization of the sexual division of labour and, ultimately, of the whole natural and social order, it is an arbitrary construction of the male and female body, of its uses and functions, especially in biological reproduction, which gives an apparently natural foundation to the andocentric view of the division of sexual labour and the sexual division of labour and so of the whole cosmos. (23)

Yerma's acceptance of this labor division reveals her innate approval of the assigned gender roles which promotes Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence and masculine domination. She expresses her frustrations when Juan, her spouse, does not conform to how her habitus dictates a man should behave. Delicately, so as not to overstep her boundary as the submissive, she calmly expresses herself to her domineering husband:

YERMA. No lo tomes a mal. Si yo estuviera enferma me gustaría que tú me cuidases. <<Mi mujer está enferma.>> Voy a matar ese cordero para hacerle un buen guiso de carne. <<Mi mujer está enferma.>> Voy a guardar esta enjundia de gallina para aliviar su pecho, voy a llevarle esta piel de oveja para guardar sus pies de la nieve. Así soy yo. Por eso te cuido. (1.1.14)

She first describes her disappointment in him as he does not perform as she expects he should by slaughtering an animal, which is considered a man's work, to be cooked for her to consume in order to remedy an ailment. She then attempts to appeal to him by reminding him of how she did not react as other rural Spanish young ladies would have the first time they engaged in sexual intercourse.

YERMA. Yo conozco muchachas que han temblado y que
 lloraban antes de entrar en la cama con sus maridos.
 ¿Lloré yo la primera vez que me acosté contigo?
 ¿No cantaba al levantar los embozos de Holanda?
 Y no te dije, ¡cómo huelen a manzanas estas
 ropas! (1.1.23)

In this case, Yerma reacted very differently than many women of her culture who would have been frightened when faced with their first sexual experience. Yerma, on the other hand, embraced the experience. The idea of women feeling frightened where their male partners enjoy intercourse further demonstrates Bourdieu's theory of masculine domination. He describes this phenomenon more in depth:

The divisions constitutive of the social order and, more precisely, the social relations of domination and exploitation that are between the sexes thus progressively embed themselves in two different classes of habitus, in the form of opposed and complementary bodily *hexis* and principles of vision and division which lead to the classifying of all the things of the world and all practices according to distinctions that are reducible to the male/female opposition. (30)

Elaborating upon his theory, he describes this exploitation as a type of hopeless futility, when he discusses the labor practices that exist between men and women:

The logic is that of the *curse*, in the strong sense of a pessimistic self-fulfilling prophecy calling for its own validation and bringing about what it foretells. It is at work, daily, in a number of exchanges between the sexes: the same dispositions that incline men to leave women to deal with menial tasks and thankless, petty procedures. (32-33)

This point is illustrated in *Bodas de sangre* when the father promotes his daughter's domestic skills to her future in-laws. He praises her for domestic capabilities and the fact that she never speaks:

PADRE. Qué te digo de la mía. Hace las migas a las tres, cuando el lucero. No habla nunca; suave como la lana, borda toda clase de bordados y puede cortar una maroma con los dientes. (1.3.36)

The father mentions nothing of her character, intelligence or personality. What constitutes a desirable wife, according to nineteenth and early twentieth century Spaniards dwelling in rural areas, is her ability to perform menial household tasks and to remain quiet. This notion stems from the overall habitus of the group, a perpetual cycle, originating in the home and continuing through generations. Bourdieu continues:

The precedence universally accorded to men is affirmed in the objectivity of the social structures and the productive and reproductive activities, based on a sexual division of the labour of

biological and social production and reproduction which gives the better part to men, and also in the schemes immanent in everyone's habitus. (33)

The women of the rural trilogy are essentially reduced to domestic servants, whose merit is based solely on their ability to maintain a household and serve their husband. Intelligence and innovation of women are not promoted in the culture. It seems this idea is accepted by both the male and female characters. Again, these unquestioned inequalities epitomize Bourdieu's notion of symbolic violence since they are perpetuated by both the controller and the subservient. In *Bodas de sangre* when speaking about her future daughter in law, the groom's mother describes the young girl's domestic capabilities:

MADRE. No lo sé yo misma. Así, de pronto, siempre me sorprende.

Yo sé que la muchacha es buena.. ¿Verdad que sí? Modosa. Trabajadora. Amasa su pan y cose sus faldas, y siento, sin embargo, cuando la nombro, como si me dieran una pedrada en la frente. (1.1.38)

She praises her baking and sewing abilities and acknowledges that she is a polite and hardworking girl, though she is troubled by the fact that she is a member of a rival family. This is more adamantly illustrated during a later conversation between the mother of the groom and the father of the bride upon discovering that the daughter has fled with her ex-lover Leonardo. Utterly disgusted, the mother exclaims, "¡Tu hija, sí! Planta de mala madre, y él, él también, él. Pero ¡ya es la mujer de mi hijo!" (2.2.179) The idea that these

attitudes are deeply ingrained in the subconscious is further explained when Bourdieu, in *The Logic of Practice*, writes:

This infinite yet strictly limited generative capacity is difficult to understand only so long as one remains locked in the usual antinomies- which the concept of *habitus* aims to transcend- of determinism, and freedom, conditioning and creativity, consciousness and the unconscious, or the individual and society. (55)

The concept is also illustrated in *Bodas de sangre* in the conversation in which the groom's mother and the bride's father discuss Leonardo, the bride's former lover:

PADRE. Ese busca desgracia. No tiene buena sangre.

MADRE. ¿Qué sangre va a tener? La de toda su familia.

Maña de su bisabuelo, que empezó matando, y sigue de falsa sonrisa. (2.2.5-6)

Although neither really knows Leonardo, their hatred for him is rooted in tradition. Because they have both been conditioned to behold Leonardo with contempt, there is an assumption that he does not have "good blood" and will commit murder just as those of the generations that existed before him had done.

The notion that mankind is a product of those who have come before us is further illustrated when the groom describes how his arm is not his own, but that of his brother and those of prior generations:

NOVIO. Calla. Estoy segura de encontrármelos aquí. ¿Ves este brazo? Pues no es mi brazo. Es el brazo de mi hermano y el de mi padre y el de toda mi familia que está muerta. Y tiene tanto

poderío, que puede arrancar este árbol de raíz si quiere. Y
 vamos pronto, que siento los dientes de todos los míos clavados
 aquí de una manera que se me hace imposible respirar
 tranquilo. (3.1.60)

The groom's strength is deeply rooted in his habitus. This serves as a profound metaphor as he describes himself as having the power to uproot a tree. Much like a tree maintains itself through its roots, his power, which is an extension of his habitus, is deeply rooted within him. Therefore, as if not by his own volition, his mental structures mandate that he continue the tradition of violence. In *The Logic of Practice* Bourdieu adds:

In fact, a given agent's practical relation to the future, which governs his present practice, is defined in the relationship between, on the one hand his *habitus* with its temporal structures and dispositions towards the future, constituted in the course of a particular relationship with a world structured to a particular universe of probabilities, and on the other hand a certain of the chances objectively offered to him by the social world. (64)

At this point, he is driven by the biological instinct to continue down the bloody path as those who have come before him have tragically done. This concept of men acceding to their natural impulses recurs throughout the rural trilogy. Due to their inability to suppress their urges, they are therefore excused from any moral obligations. Their sexual escapades and acts of adultery are not only accepted but often encouraged. In *La casa de Bernarda Alba* Martirio explains how a man essentially regards his wife as a servant, whose sole purpose is to serve him.

She complains, “¡Qué les importa a ellos la fealdad! A ellos les importa la tierra, las yuntas y una perra sumisa que les dé de comer” (1.200). She highlights the notion that a man is allowed to be disloyal, preoccupied only with his land, his oxen and a submissive “dog” to feed him. This submissive dog represents the female who, as dictated by the greater habitus of the society to which she pertains, must abide by these predetermined standards. Her loyalty to remain faithful and subservient is mandatory and if she chooses to not fulfill her duties appropriately, she runs the risk of being subjected to severe consequences.

In *From a Social History of Modern Spain*, Adrian Shubert explores the concept of marriage and the accompanying consequences in Spain during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Shubert writes, “Upon marriage she (the bride) automatically lost most of her legal rights and became an appendage of her husband. She required his permission to be in business and he had the authority to administer her property” (32). He further explains the gender inequality that was so prevalent and wholeheartedly accepted during this time period. The overall habitus of those living in rural Spain in this era not only supported this inequality, it perpetuated it. Shubert explains:

Any sexual infidelity committed by a wife was defined as adultery. A husband’s affairs had to cause ‘public scandal’ before they constituted a legal offense. Women were also punished more severely for crimes of passion, receiving life imprisonment compared to the six months to six years of exile for their husbands. (33)

Later in the play Angustias expresses her concerns to her mother regarding the fact that her husband seems to be extremely distracted. Although his preoccupations appear to involve more than those mentioned previously by Martirio:

ANGUSTIAS. Yo lo encuentro distraído. Me habla siempre como pensando en otra cosa. Si le pregunto qué le pasa, me contesta: “Los hombres tenemos nuestras preocupaciones.”

BERNARDA. No le debes preguntar. Y cuando te cases, menos. Habla si él te habla y míralo cuando te mire. Así no tendrás disgustos.

ANGUSTIAS. Yo creo, madre, que él me oculta muchas cosas.

BERNARDA. No procures descubrirlas, no le preguntes y, desde luego, que no te vea llorar jamás. (3.73-76)

Here, however, despite her outward appearance of strength and rigidity, Bernarda also conveys the idea that women must be mindful of their role in a marriage and admonishes her daughter for being suspicious of her husband, directing her to quell her feelings and at no point to cry when in his presence. Throughout the play, Bernarda so adamantly insists that no tears be shed in front of the husband, that this behavior must have been adopted early in her youth, suggesting that this may have been the social norm in her childhood home. According to Bourdieu, “Unlike scientific estimations, which are corrected after

each experiment according to rigorous rules and calculation, the anticipation of the *habitus*, practical hypotheses based on past experience, gives disproportionate weight to early experiences” (54). Perhaps it is because we have little life experience or are limited in our ability to make accurate comparisons, we are heavily impacted by the situations we encounter and the lessons we learn as children.

In *A Social History of Modern Spain*, Adrian Schubert further explains the specific roles of the woman in Spain. He writes:

Beyond the laws there was a set of expectations, a moral prescription, which women were supposed to respect and which coincided completely with the theory of the two spheres and the cult of domesticity so prominent in other countries...A woman's role was to get married and be a good wife and a good mother. Her realm was the home; beyond was the realm of men. These ideas were so deeply ingrained that even political progressives and early advocates for improving the position of women adhered to them into the last third of the nineteenth century. (33)

In the second scene of act two in *Bodas de sangre* the mother imparts upon her son some advice as to how he should handle his future bride, counseling him on how he should relate to her physically:

MADRE. Con tu mujer procura estar cariñoso, y si la notas infatuada o arisca, házle una caricia que le produzca un poco de daño, un abrazo fuerte, un mordisco y luego un beso suave. Que ella no pueda disgustarse, pero que sienta que tú eres el macho, el amo, el que manda. Así aprendí de tu padre.

Y como no lo tienes, tengo que ser yo la que te enseñe estas fortalezas. (2.2.154)

She encourages a dichotomy of violence and tenderness which establishes his dominance in the relationship. This lesson, she explains, was taught to her by her spouse, the groom's father, and because he is deceased, she regards it as her responsibility to enlighten her son to these matters, continuing the custom, thus reinforcing what has been initially established in the household. She has concrete opinions regarding what is appropriate for members of each sex. She exclaims, "¡Y alguna hija! ¡Los varones son del viento! Tienen por fuerza que manejar armas. Las niñas no salen jamás a la calle" (2.2.15). This comment reveals her biased views on the differences of males and females, which ultimately is a byproduct of her upbringing. Not only does she not question the traditional order of things, she encourages it. In *Outline of a Theory of Practice* Bourdieu discusses the idea of the classification of domination and the effect it has on social order, stating:

As we have seen in the case of the domestic conflicts to which marriages often give rise, social categories disadvantaged by the symbolic order, such as women and the young, cannot but recognize the legitimacy of the domination classification in the very fact that their only chance of neutralizing those of its effects most contrary to their own interests lies in submitting to them in order to make use of them. (165)

Bourdieu continues by saying that when the conditions of a group do not vary between members, the subjectivity of experiences becomes more collective. There is a sort of circular reinforcement that is even further affirmed by the social

institutions to which the group members adhere. He writes, "...what is essential *goes without saying because it comes without saying*: the tradition is silent; not least about itself as a tradition; customary law is content to enumerate specific applications of principles which remain implicit and unformulated, because unquestioned" (167). Hence, the cycle continues.

In *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality: Spain*, Jose Antonio Nieto researches the concept of the development of sexuality in Spanish adolescents.¹⁰ He explains how traditionally in Spain, as soon as boys were considered mature enough to actively participate in society as mature young men, they were encouraged to abandon their childhood status, typically occurring around age sixteen. It is during this phase that they were expected to gain sexual experience, usually by means of masturbation and visits to brothels. Sexual encounters with relatives, especially female cousins and younger aunts, were not out of the ordinary. In *La casa de Bernarda Alba* La Poncia illustrates this point as she describes her son's encounters with prostitutes during his youth. She even goes as far as to say that she provided him with the money to pay for the services rendered. The fact that she not only accepted but promoted this activity supports the idea that it was dictated by her habitus.

LA PONCIA. Anoche llegó una mujer vestida de lentejuelas
y que bailaba con un acordeón, y quince de ellos la
contrataron para llevársela al olívar. Yo los vi de lejos.
El que la contrataba era un muchacho de ojos verdes,

apretado como una gavilla de trigo.

AMELIA. ¿Es eso cierto? (2.148-149)

LA PONCIA. Hace años vino otra de éstas y yo misma
di dinero a mi hijo mayor para que fuera.

Los hombres necesitan estas cosas. (2.151)

Another motivating factor for a young man to have sexual encounters with prostitutes was that it had recently become legalized in Spain. This allowance by the governmental institution further establishes the mentality that this behavior is perfectly natural if not expected. In “Prostitution and the Origins of the Governmental Regulatory System in Nineteenth-Century Spain: the Plans of the Trienio Liberal, 1820-1823,” an article which was featured in the May 1, 2008 issue of *the Journal of History of Sexuality*, Jean-Louis Guereña discusses the gradual legalization of prostitution in Spain. Following two centuries of prohibition, Spain saw a return of regulated prostitution. The once strict ban on the industry was lifted under the reign of Isabel II during the years of the Bienio Progresista (1854-1856).¹¹ The purpose of the legalization was to address certain legal and medical concerns. The combination of the growing preoccupation with the fear of venereal disease and the desire to eliminate social disorder established the norms for government regulation of prostitution. Guereña writes:

In the very heart of a society defined by vigilance and social discipline, the regulated brothel provided a strategic compromise between state and family. Prostitution was tolerated as a true enterprise of social prophylaxis, at one and the same time

protecting female chastity and every family's 'honor,' discouraging male homosexuality, reducing adultery, and avoiding social disorder. The very real fear of male masturbation, considered and treated for many years as a disease by doctors, also contributed in some measure to the public acceptance of prostitution. (42)

In the *International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*, José Antonio Nieto discusses how in traditional Spanish society women were socially educated and encouraged to assume their traditional role in order to maintain social order. He writes:

Women had the responsibility of taking advantage of the continual erotic stimulation and hyper value of masculinity that drives young men in order to attract them into the courting game that ends in marriage. Young women were expected to develop strategies that produced maximum enticement and minimal satisfaction, creating for the young man a desire that was never completely in accordance with the social mores.¹²

He describes this as a sort of approach-avoidance game which lasted until or just before marriage. As she dangles her virginity before him, it becomes a type of bargaining tool. The young man's lack of sexual discipline and growing frustration leads him to be more socially productive. Nieto writes, "The young male is caught in an extensive web of engagements associated with courtship that resolves itself by fully assimilating him into the institution of the family." There was an abundance of opportunities for the exploits of young Spanish males, which was in fact, valued and encouraged by the culture. Many young men experienced casual sexual intercourse at public events such as dances and celebrations that occurred in the community, thus fostering these illicit sexual relationships. The exact opposite was true for their female counterparts. Young women who engaged in these exploits were considered indecent and immoral.

This attitude is illustrated in *La casa de Bernarda Alba* when La Poncia excuses Pepe el Romano's behavior for pursuing Adela despite the fact that he is the older, more mature one of the two. She puts the blame on the young girl by exclaiming:

LA PONCIA. No es toda la culpa de Pepe el Romano. Es verdad que el año pasado anduvo detrás de Adela y estaba loca por él, pero ella debió estar en su sitio y no provocarlo. Un hombre es un hombre. (3.146)

Although it appears that the mother of the groom in *Bodas de sangre* agrees with La Poncia's stance on male promiscuity being a sign of virility, she later reveals a contradiction when discussing the honor of her own son. First she exclaims, "Tu padre sí que me llevaba. Eso es buena casta. Sangre. Tu abuelo dejó a un hijo en cada esquina. Eso me gusta. Los hombres, hombres, el trigo, trigo..." (1.1.30), which alludes to her acceptance and even praise for infidelity and promiscuity. Later, however, she seems to hold a different opinion in the case of her son. She exclaims, "Mi hijo es hermoso. No ha conocido mujer. La honra más limpia que una sábana puesta al sol" (78). As the mother in *Bodas de sangre* reveals a contradiction in her beliefs regarding male sexuality, Yerma also alludes to the social double standard that promoted the premarital sexual exploits of males while chastising the young woman who may engage in the same behavior, when she discusses how ladies who are raised in the countryside are to stay indoors and not concern themselves with any matters

which pertain to sex. A decent young woman is to maintain her innocence and naivety:

YERMA. Las muchachas que se crían en el campo como yo,
 tienen cerradas todas las puertas. Todo se vuelven
 medias palabras, gestos, porque todas estas cosas dicen
 que no se pueden saber. (1.2.38)

As mentioned previously, although Bourdieu's concept of masculine domination habitus can be readily be applied to the rural trilogy, the same cannot be said for the compilations of poetry, which will be further examined in the following chapter. In many of the poems, the females are the characters that exhibit strength and mystery. At times they are nostalgic and lonely, but García Lorca does not portray them as weak or overpowered by men. In a previous example, the selection "Baile" which is the last part of "Tres ciudades" in *Poema del cante jondo*, Carmen, the main character, conveys sorceress-like qualities as she recollects her former days of enchanting men:

En su casa cabeza se enrosca
 una serpiente amarilla,
 y va soñando en el baile
 con galanes de otros días.
 ¡Niñas, corred las cortinas! (7-12)

In *Arquitectónica de voces: Federico García Lorca y el Poema del cante jondo*¹³
 Christina Karageorgou-Bastea provides an analysis:

La figura femenina como epítome de pasión amenazante es la piedra de toque sobre la que se revelan facetas del imaginario social alrededor del cante jondo. En la orden de '¡Niñas, corred las cortinas!', dos horizontes ideológicos se enfrentan y chocan, como lo han hecho también, de manera más sutil, en poemas anteriores. (84)

In contrast to the portrayal of Carmen in the poem, Yerma's situation differs drastically. She feels trapped by the fact that she is a woman in a male dominated society, forced to obey the commands of her husband. She comes to terms with the idea that her dream will never be realized, and she will forever remain childless in a cold and loveless marriage. She exclaims:

...Yo pienso que tengo sed y no tengo libertad.

Yo quiero tener a mi hijo en mis brazos para dormir

tranquila...porque es mucho mejor llorar

por un hombre vivo que nos apuñala, que

llorar por este fantasma sentado año tras

año encima de mi corazón. (3.1.15)

In *Masculine Domination*, Bourdieu explores the predetermined path which stems from a person's or group of people's existing doxa. Bourdieu writes, "The practical world that is constituted in the relationship with the *habitus*, acting as a system of cognitive and motivating structures, is a world of already realized ends-procedures to follow, paths to take- and of objects endowed with a permanent teleological character..." (53). This point is illustrated in *Yerma* when the second girl discusses her reason for having gotten married:

MUCHACHA 2. Porque me han casado. Se casan todas. Si seguimos así no va a haber solteras más que las niñas. Bueno, y además..., una se casa en realidad mucho antes de ir a la iglesia. Pero las viejas se empeñan en todas estas cosas. Yo tengo diecinueve años y no me gusta. (1.2.63)

She essentially exclaims that she married against her volition. Because of an existing expectation dictated by her cultural habitus, she agreed to marry at the age of nineteen. As the previous example confirms the idea that the women of the rural trilogy tend to behave according to the parameters of the doxa of their field, and the rules of Spanish rural society during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Paul Julian Smith further explores this concept in his book *From the Body Hispanic- Gender and Sexuality in Spanish American Literature*. When referring to Adela in *La casa de Bernarda Alba*, Smith writes:

She (Adela) takes control of her body, but only to surrender it immediately to a man. However it is possible to resolve this problem empirically by appealing to the historical limits on women's expectations in Spain in the period, or perhaps to the gay writer's inability to conceive the possibility of his own freedom at that time and in that country. (124)

The empowerment she experiences temporarily is quickly relinquished, which could be the result of the mandates of her habitus. He continues:

Her pleasure cannot be separated from the power inscribed in her body; extremity of subjection provokes extremity of eroticism in a spiral that cannot be exhausted by mere transgression. That the place of the rebel is already dictated to her by social convention makes no difference to her pleasure...and power is so pervasive that it cannot be localized in a single place or object: by breaking Bernarda's stick Adela confronts oppression but not subjection. (124-125)

That one's place is already dictated by social conventions is described by Bourdieu in *Masculine Domination*. His theory supports Smith's assertion that the power of one's habitus is highly pervasive and resides deeply within him.

Bourdieu writes:

The conditionings associated with a particular class of conditions of existence produce *habitus*, a system of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. (53)

When applying Bourdieu's theory of habitus to analyze the characters of the rural trilogy, it is pertinent to understand its contributing factors: doxa, symbolic violence and masculine domination. Comprehending the concept of doxa, or the set of unquestioned rules and restrictions that set the parameters for social mobility within a given field, allows us to put the female characters' thoughts and actions into context as we realize why they are met with such tragic determinism. Because the doxa of their group dictates their role in life, they are prohibited from expressing their true desires. Yerma, for example, must abide by her uncaring husband's rules and will remain forever childless, even after his death. The bride of *Bodas de sangre* becomes ostracized by her community after her lover and husband both die in a knife fight: a tragedy which could have been prevented had it been acceptable for her to be with Leonardo instead of marrying a man she did not truly love. In *La casa de Bernarda Alba*, Adela, the youngest of the

daughters, takes her own life after believing her lover has died at the hands of her unrelenting mother, because the love the young girl shared with Pepe el Romero would have never been accepted by the other agents of her social field.

In addition to the application of doxa, a second factor to be considered is symbolic violence. Symbolic violence is the gentle, pervasive form of dominance that is subtly inflicted upon the submissive members of a group who willingly perpetuate the violence against them. The assignment of gender roles within the realm of work, capabilities and behavior is the result of this ongoing, uncontested form of domination, a pervasive force in the rural trilogy. For example, Juan's strict orders for Yerma to remain enclosed within the house, is a subtle act of violence committed against her. Much like Bernarda's stern warning to Angustias to never question her husband, or the father of the bride in *Bodas de sangre*, who merely references his daughter's capabilities for performing domestic tasks, the women are victimized as their roles are predetermined and enforced.

The final contributor to habitus this chapter discusses is Bourdieu's notion of masculine domination, a theory that encompasses the above-listed concepts. Like doxa and symbolic violence, masculine domination is so deeply ingrained in our unconscious it is unperceivable. In order to fully comprehend this form of domination we must consider the agents' social experiences beginning in the home and later in institutions such as church and school. It is because of the interactions and experiences had by the members of a particular group that their

habitus is formed and the division between the sexes is established. The plays of the trilogy are prime examples of the gender bias and discrimination that existed in early twentieth century rural Spain. Because the longings of the female characters did not fit within the parameters of their doxa, their attempts to fulfill their true desires yielded catastrophic results. According to Bourdieu, as long as the members of a group fail to question their ruling doxa and the symbolic violence and masculine domination that occur in their society, gender and class discrimination will continue and the dominant agents will prevail.

Notes

¹ C. Jason Throop and Keith M. Murphy's article "Bourdieu and Phenomenology, a Critical Assessment" appears in the journal *Anthropological Theory* June 2002 2: 185-207. The article examines the concepts of *habitus*, *body hexis* and *doxa*, and then discusses Bourdieu's critique of phenomenology.

² Anderson, Andrew, *Critical Guides to Spanish Literature: García Lorca, Yerma*, Valencia: Artes Gráficas Soler, S.L.,2003. This book is a critical analysis of *Yerma*.

³ There is no author or page number cited because this information was obtained from the internet. The site is:
"Doxa." *Sociological Thoughts*. N.p., n.d. Web. 11 Apr. 2014.

⁴ *The Three Guineas*, a 1938 essay by Virginia Woolf, examines three themes regarding war, society and women. The themes explored are: How should war be prevented? Why does the government not support education for women? And, why are women not allowed to engage in professional work?

⁵ Foot binding is a painful process of applying a tight bind around a young girl's foot to prevent further growth. It usually begins with a young girl (4-7 years old) soaking her feet in warm water or animal blood with herbs. Her toe nails are then clipped short and every toe except the big toe would be broken. Then the

foot was wrapped with binding unwrapped and wrapped again every few days. The girls were put into smaller shoes until their foot was about 4 inches long.

⁶ In *A Social History of Modern Spain* Adrian Shubert analyzes the social development of Spain since 1800, exploring the root causes that lead up to the civil war, and the social and political changes that occurred.

⁷ This excerpt was cited from an online source, therefore, there is no page number listed. Information may be found at:

"Of the Good of Marriage." *CHURCH FATHERS: (St. Augustine)*. N.p., n.d. Web. 22 Apr. 2012.

⁸ This was taken from an online journal with no page number. It can be found at: "Journal of Early Modern History." *EM Spanish History Notes*. N.p., n.d. Web. 04 June 2013.

⁹ Because this quotation was featured electronically, there is no page number available.

¹⁰ This chapter was taken from a larger collection *The International Encyclopedia of Sexuality volumes 1-3. International Encyclopedia of Sexuality: Spain*. José Antonio Nieto's chapter was originally written in Spanish, and translated by Dr. Laura Berman and José Nanin.

¹¹ The Bienio progresista lasted from 1854-856 and was an attempt by the Progressive Party to reform the political system during the reign of Isabel II. The Progressives were advocates of a radical liberalism.

¹² No page number is available.

¹³ In this essay, Christina Karageorgou-Bastea proposes a hermeneutical outlook on studying Lorca's work. She pushes to go beyond the symbolism that is so prevalent and frequently studied and to examine how the vocal hybridity works towards dismantling the lyric tendency towards solipsism, a theory which states that the self is all that can be known to exist.

CHAPTER TWO:

HABITUS IN *ROMANCERO GITANO* AND *POEMA DEL CANTE JONDO*

García Lorca and the Gypsies

I believe that coming from Granada gives me a fellow fealty for all those who are being persecuted...For the Gypsy, the Black,¹ the Jew...for the Morisco, whom all Granadinos carry around inside of them.

(Federico García Lorca)²

Born on June 5, 1898, in Fuente Vaqueros, a small town in Granada, Federico García Lorca spent much of his childhood experiencing the culture of rural Spain. It was during the years of his youth, however, when Federico discovered his interest in the gypsy culture, being particularly intrigued by the Flamenco art form. He indulged his affinity by studying Flamenco guitar with some of the local gypsies in Fuente Vaqueros. In a letter composed to a friend, he would later write that he was able to accompany some of the *cantaores* and *bailaores* in the Sacromonte³ caves by playing *fandangos*, *romeras*, *peteneras* and *bulerías*, some of the traditional Flamenco rhythms.⁴ In 1920, García Lorca, along with composer Manuel de Falla and philologist Ramón Menéndez Pidal, visited the gypsies of the Sacromonte and the Albaicín⁵ to formally collect their ballads and songs. It was during this time that the poet developed a strong and lasting friendship with Flamenco dancer and singer *La Argentinita*. Together, the duo

performed several of his most well-known poems, such as *Anda jaleo* and *Café de las chinitas*. On his performing the songs, García Lorca's brother Francisco notes, "Federico was happiest when he was singing the songs, reciting his poems or chanting his plays to his friends in his raspy, hypnotic voice.... He never read his work, he performed it, often accompanying himself on the piano or guitar." ⁶ Although Federico García Lorca never claimed to be of gypsy origin, he showed the group great empathy as he, too, lived on the margins of society. The poet often felt judged and misunderstood and not able to live as freely and expressively as he would have liked. Lorca identified with the prejudice experienced by the gypsies in his poetry, portraying them in a positive light which starkly contrasts with the stereotypes created by those before him.

It has been debated whether or not García Lorca truly understood the Flamenco culture, namely the *cante jondo*, of the gypsies. In his study *El flamenco a la luz de García Lorca*, Agustín Gómez theorizes:

Es posible que Federico bebiera en la literatura popular y sensibilera del último tercio del siglo XIX, que transformaba luego en imágenes poéticas para construir su sorprendente, impresionante, vibrante y emotivo mundo de Andalucía del llanto.
(29)

Therefore, according to Gómez, there may have been a natural transference in the poetry, in which García Lorca captured the beauty and spirit of Andalusia, putting it into words and mimicking the lament of the gypsies, without fully comprehending its gravity, yet managing to assimilate due to his ability to identify

with their strife and disdain for the constraints of the rigid structure of Spanish society.

Arrival of the Gypsies in Spain

Son gitanas. Mira sus trajes pintorescos, de lunares y volantes. . ¿Ves? Van a cuerpo, no caída, a pesar de la edad, su esbeltez. Renegridas, sudorosas. sucias, perdidas en el polvo con sol de mediodía, aún una flaca hermosura recia las acompaña, como un recuerdo seco y duro... Míralas a las tres, Platero. ¡Con qué confianza llevan la vejez a la vida, penetradas por la primavera esta, que hace florecer de amarillo el cardo en la vibrante dulzura de su hervoroso sol!

*(Platero y yo)*⁷

The term *gypsy* refers to an ethnic group which calls itself the *Rom* and speaks a language known as *Romany*. It is unknown how many gypsies there are either in general or in Spain. The Spanish gypsy population might be as high as 500,000, and an estimate of the world gypsy population ranges between three and six million. The calculation is made difficult by the nomadic lifestyle of some gypsies even today, as well as their cultural isolation and sense of mystery surrounding their origins. It is generally known that gypsies migrated out of India and into Europe around the eleventh century. Records exist of their arrival in Spain as early as 1425 in Zaragoza, the capital of Aragón. The majority entered via Barcelona (in Catalonia) in 1447. In his book *Gypsy cante*, Félix Grande discusses the reception of the gypsies upon their arrival during the fourteenth century:

Gypsies arrived in Corfu in 1346, in Serbia in 1348...in Rome in 1422, in Paris in 1427...Everywhere they were regarded with disgust or hatred. They were accused of cannibalism, of having forged the nails for the crucifixion...If they were caught in some areas, their left ear was cut off; if they appeared again, then the right...Their heads were cut off and impaled on stakes as a warning to others. (5)

When the official persecution began against the Moors and Jews in 1492 as an attempt to cleanse the Iberian peninsula of non-Christian groups, the gypsies were included in the list of peoples to be assimilated or driven out. For some 300 years, gypsies were subject to laws and prejudice designed to eliminate them from Spain. Settlements were broken up, gypsies were required to marry non-gypsies, and they were denied their language and rituals as well as being excluded from public office and from craft membership. For example, in 1560 Spanish legislation forbade *gitanos* from travelling in groups of more than two. The ordinances even went so far as to ban gypsy dress and clothing. In her historical account of the gypsy people, *Gypsies*, Elizabeth Siramarco writes, "Very soon after the Gypsies arrived in a country, villagers and townspeople began to complain about them... Their dark skin and unusual clothing seemed strange. They spoke a language no one else could understand (19)."⁸

Thus they were driven into a permanently submerged underclass from which they are still emerging today. Nevertheless such hardship was reflected and positively nurtured in the Flamenco song of today. As described by a contributor of the site *Gypsy Heart Productions*:

Flamenco is a rare combination of grit and geometry, deep spirituality and eroticism, the angle and the curve. Where ballet is a

denial of gravity and a denial of the body, Flamenco is an affirmation of gravity and an affirmation of the body, in all its aspects. And then there is the concept of *duende*, a term coined by the great Spanish poet, Federico García Lorca, who among other things, was a Flamenco intellectual and aficionado. Duende means: soul, fire: to be possessed by such fire, passion and art that the dance becomes one with the artist, in complicity with the audience.⁹

Gitanos and *Hungaros* (Hungarians emanating from central Europe) make up the two major groups of Spanish gypsies who now live predominantly in southern Spain. Many of them have integrated into the social structure despite being generally poor and largely illiterate. Traditionally they worked as blacksmiths, horse traders, musicians, dancers and fortunetellers. In the article, "The Culture and Persecution of the Gitanos,"¹⁰ J.O and E.S. write, "It did not help the Gitanos any that they arrived in Spain during the height of religious oppression, seemingly arriving from nowhere, sporting peculiar clothing, and commonly practicing the art of fortune telling." Although some were able to support themselves through legal means, others still had to beg and steal. This was especially true for the hungaros who were poorer than the gitanos. The hungaros lived an exclusively nomadic lifestyle, on the outskirts of the larger cities. They tended to dwell in tents or shacks (*casitas*) and were regarded as much more problematic by Spanish authorities. Although many gitanos denied the hungaros the status of being in their same ethnic group, both outsiders and the authorities still tend to regard them collectively as gypsies. Today in Spain, those who consider themselves Spanish gitanos, continue to insist upon the

distinction between their ethnic group and that of the hungaros, as both groups are still prevalent in Spain, particularly in the south.

Las leyes gitanas

In his article “Los gitanos en España”, Agustín Vega Cortés quotes historian George Borrow, who some believe only perpetuated the gypsy stereotypes, in his description of the group. “Dice el historiador George Borrow que ‘quizás no haya un país en el que se hayan hecho más leyes con miras de suprimir y extinguir el nombre, la raza y el modo de vivir de los gitanos como en España.’”¹¹ In the article, Cortés criticizes historians such as Borrow, stating that they are instrumental in propagating the negative label which society has affixed to the gypsy people. He writes:

Esta "leyenda negra" no sólo ha sido creada por la ignorancia y los prejuicios de la gente corriente, sino que forman legión los seudointelectuales metidos a "gitanólogos" que han escrito y escriben cada día interminables sartas de mentiras, atribuyéndonos costumbres y comportamientos que no existen más que en sus mentes calenturientas y racistas. Hasta los que se dicen defensores nuestros, en la mayoría de los casos nos tratan con un paternalismo trasnochado que nos sitúa en el papel de inadaptados, ignorantes y medio salvajes.¹²

He believes that is not only the fault of the ignorant, but also of those claiming to be experts on the gypsies and their culture, that the minority is often regarded with such derision by the outside agents of their cultural field. Cortés feels that the so called “sympathizers” often cause more harm than good, as often their tendency is to patronize the gypsies believing them to be ignorant and savage-

like, hence further propagating the negative stereotype from which the ethnic group wants to escape.

When the gypsies first arrived to the Iberian Peninsula they enjoyed a life of comfort and freedom. The townspeople and rural inhabitants accepted and sympathized with them, and exchanged merchandise with and purchased goods from them, as well as admired their charisma and natural ability to entertain. Despite the fact that they were highly different in appearance from the typical Spaniard, upon their arrival to Spain, these nomadic people were greeted warmly and accepted by Spanish subjects and rulers alike. Many were granted king-like privileges, letters of immunity from certain laws, alms and guarantees of armed assistance if needed. This welcoming attitude was largely due to the gypsies' self-proclamation of royalty. They claimed to pertain to a royal place which they termed the Kingdom of Little Egypt.¹³

This peaceful coexistence, however, was disrupted by the unification of Fernando and Isabel, the Reyes Católicos at the end of Spain's re-conquest period, an era marked by persecution of the Jews, Moors and Gypsies who once lived harmoniously in a land of cultural and religious diversity. Intolerance and repression permeated the land, and Spain was a country of absolute political power, which mandated one acceptable religion, language and culture. Therefore, anyone living under the control of this rigid monarchy was forced to abandon his or her beliefs and culture or be subjected to extreme consequences. In her article, "Gypsy Legislation in Spain 1499-1783," Amy Motomura describes

the drastic change in attitude towards the gypsies that occurred in Spain. She writes:

The Spanish attitude toward Gypsies rapidly altered, however. By the 1470s, new, larger waves of Gypsies were appearing in Spain, encouraged by the success of the earlier immigrants. The Gypsies now did not receive the same type of treatment, partially because they no longer claimed to be Little Egypt's royalty...Subsequently, Gypsies developed a bad name for themselves. They were accused of being thieves, scam artists, propagators of witchcraft and sorcery, and a people who had no respect for Christian religious observances.¹⁴

As increasing intolerance spread throughout the country, the gypsies began to be regarded as dangerous and unruly. The monarchy feared that their free lifestyle and customs and traditions would badly influence the rural and townspeople. Therefore, the people who had once been revered for their lively spirit and charm were reduced to living as outcasts. This marked the beginning of the limitless, legalized repression and suffering that would occur for more than five centuries. The example of the mandatory sterilization of gypsies that occurred in Eastern and Central Europe during World War II, is reminiscent of the 1594 Court of Castile's attempt to separate and extinguish them from the Spanish race. The following excerpt, taken from *Isabel y Fernando, Medina del Campo, 1499, recogido en la Novísima Recopilación, Libro XII, título XVI*, describes the strictness and brutality to which the gypsies were subjected:

Mandamos a los egipcianos que andan vagando por nuestros reinos y señoríos con sus mujeres e hijos, que del día que esta ley fuera notificada y pregonada en nuestra corte, y en las villas, lugares y ciudades que son cabeza de partido hasta sesenta días siguientes, cada uno de ellos viva por oficios conocidos, que mejor supieran aprovecharse, estando atada en lugares donde

acordasen asentar o tomar vivienda de señores a quien sirvan, y los den lo hubiese menester y no anden más juntos vagando por nuestros reinos como lo facen, o dentro de otros sesenta días primeros siguientes, salgan de nuestros reinos y no vuelvan a ellos en manera alguna, so pena de que si en ellos fueren hallados o tomados sin oficios o sin señores juntos, pasados los dichos días, que den a cada uno cien azotes por la primera vez, y los destierren perpetuamente destos reinos; y por la segunda vez, que les corten las orejas, y estén sesenta días en las cadenas, y los tornen a desterrar, como dicho es, y por la tercera vez, que sean cautivos de los que los tomasen por toda la vida."¹⁵

Not only did the gypsies face discrimination by the ruling members of Spanish society, they were also subject to prejudice and ridicule in literature. In 1613 Miguel de Cervantes, wrote *La gitanilla*, a book which reflects the popular sentiment at the time toward gypsies as a threat to public safety. In "Gypsy Legislation in Spain 1499-1783," Amy Motomura examines Cervantes' novel extracting a quote that desecrates this cultural minority:

It seems that the Gypsies came into this world to be thieves; they are born to thieving parents, they grow up with thieves, they study to be thieves, and in the end, they turn out to be nothing but thieves; and their desire to steal and stealing are inseparable qualities that only disappear with death. ¹⁶

During the first half of the nineteenth century the gypsies earned their livelihood through agriculture and livestock. Their contributions were essential to this industry, which earned them great social recognition. During the period of 1850-1950 the new demands of agriculture production warranted the development of a more modern system to supply the needs of livestock production. The gitanos corrected the previous inefficient and disorganized system, creating an improved more cost-effective system with a new infrastructure capable of reaching other

regions. In his 2000 article "Historical Notes on Spanish Gypsies" Simon Zolan writes:

During the twentieth century in Spain, General Franco continued the persecution as did the Nazis throughout the areas of Europe controlled by Nazi Germany. Since 1975 (when Franco died), the Spanish government's policy has been much more sympathetic toward them, especially in social welfare and social services. Since 1983, it has operated a special program of compensatory education to promote educational rights for the disadvantaged, including gypsy communities.¹⁷

The code of conduct known as the *Leyes gitanas*, or Gypsy Laws, consists of the Romani legal and cultural laws by which all gypsies are expected to abide.¹⁸ The article "Cultura gitana" (N.A.) provides an in depth analysis of the gypsy culture and its defining characteristics. Two factors of utmost importance for this group are gender and age. Those who are the most powerful are also the most respected and prestigious. A leader's prestige depends on how well he fulfills his obligations, familiarity of gypsy tradition and a certain wealth that engenders generosity to others in the community. The preservation of a man's honor is crucial, as it can be lost to another, more prominent male. According to the article, gypsies must adhere to a certain hierarchy which occurs among the males in the community. Males are divided into four categories. A *vara* is any man capable of fighting. A family's strength depends greatly upon the number of able-bodied men that pertain to it. Of a higher ranking is the *bató*. Married through the traditional gypsy rites, a *bató* assumes the responsibility as a head of his household. As he progresses through his life, he may earn the title of *tío*, or elder of the community who has gained the respect of his fellow gypsies due to

his wisdom and behavior throughout the years. Although the tío holds a prominent position in gypsy culture, there is one male that ranks even higher- the *patriarca*. The patriarca represents the head or boss of the extended family and is responsible for interpreting the traditional gypsy laws. In a structure such as this, age plays a pertinent role in any culture where its codes and behaviors are transmitted orally. The author states:

Ningún gitano lo es, realmente si no puede decir cuál es su clan. Para saber si pertenece a un mismo clan o raí (como dicen las gitanas) deben tener un antepasado en común. Dos personas que coincidan en un antepasado se consideran del mismo clan.

Perception of the Gypsy Female

Sharply contrasting the portrayal of the feminine characters of the rural trilogy who suffered due to the social constraints put upon them to adhere to the strict conventions of their society, many of the female gypsies of *Poema del cante jondo* and *Romancero gitano* exhibit more strength and independence. It is they who appear to be in control of the situations, causing their male counterparts to display weakness. In this chapter I will argue that many of the gypsy females overpower the men in many of the poems through the use of their feminine wiles, mystical qualities and physical attributes. As Bourdieu states in *Masculine Domination*:

Everything in the genesis of the female habitus and in the social conditions of its actualization combine to make the female experience of the body the limiting case of the universal experience of the body-for-others, constantly exposed to the objectification performed by the gaze and the discourse of others. (63)

I will also contend that this dominating prowess is deeply rooted in the stereotypes regarding the gypsy culture that were perpetuated by authors such as Cervantes and George Borrow. In his 1841 book *The Zincoli, or an Account of the Gypsies of Spain*, Borrow describes the effect he perceived that gypsy women have on non-gypsy men. He writes:

The Gypsy women and girls . . . are capable of exciting passion of the most ardent description, most particularly in the bosoms of those who are not of their race, which passion of course becomes the more violent when the almost utter impossibility of gratifying it is known. (88)

Based on this statement, I will theorize that as a group living on the margins of society, the gypsy women began to establish their habitus in the home, following in the footsteps of their female ancestors who after centuries of being victimized through the stereotyping by the non-gypsies, developed an impenetrable exterior. In the eyes of the men who desire them, these women appear powerful, exotic and bewitching, unwilling to succumb to the masculine domination. Despite the fact that it is the females who exhibit the strength in the poems, they still, nonetheless, are operating under a system that values their physical characteristics above anything else. Bourdieu explains this phenomenon in *Masculine Domination*:

Bodily hexis, which includes both the strictly physical shape of the body ('physique') and the way it is 'carried', deportment, bearing, is assumed to express the 'deep being', the true 'nature' of the 'person' in accordance with the postulate of the correspondence between the 'physical' and the 'moral' which gives rise to the practical or rationalized knowledge whereby 'psychological' and 'moral' properties are associated with bodily or physiognomic indices. (65)

The women are appreciated more for their physical characteristics and due to their affiliation with magic and fortune telling, are regarded to a certain degree with suspicion and distrust. As previously mentioned, the gypsy community has historically undergone severe persecution. As Simarco describes in her book *Gypsies*:

Gypsies are often the victims of prejudice, and many people fear them simply because they are different. Non-gypsies accuse the Roma of being thieves and beggars, even though only a small amount actually participate in such activities. Gypsies sometimes live in poor conditions, so it is believed that they are dirty or spread disease. (17)

Although the females in the poems that I will discuss in this dissertation are not feared for being thieves, beggars or unsanitary, the underlying tone of the poems is inauspicious and unsettling. The women, although powerful, realize the control they possess over the male characters, and therefore use that power to their advantage. However, despite this control they exercise over their male counterparts, there is still a sense of sadness that accompanies their prowess.

As Judith Okely writes in *The Traveler-Gypsies*:

In England, a stereotype of the Spanish Gypsy is often thought to be typical, and is often depicted in popular paintings: a black-haired girl in décolletage, with flounced skirts and swaggering walk, hand on hip . . . sexually available and promiscuous in her affections. (201)¹⁹

Her self-image is not based on her personal self-esteem or body image. Due to the generations of women in her culture that have been seen in this stereotypical manner, there has been a gender habitus established for the females in the poetry. As Bourdieu states in *Masculine Domination*, the relation to one's own

body and self-worth, "... is largely built up from the objective representation of the body, descriptive or normative 'feedback' supplied by others"(63). As great physical beauty and the ability to provoke sexual desire from the opposite sex is directly proportional to status within a cultural field, according to Bourdieu's idea of social capital, the more beautiful and alluring a gypsy woman is considered by others, the higher her status would be amongst the other women in her group.

The Poems

Although this chapter discusses the development of the characters in both compilations of poetry, all but the final two poems to be discussed are featured in *Poema del cante jondo*.

"Dos muchachas"

One consistently important element in each of the poems I will analyze is the setting. García Lorca places each of his female characters in a setting that will prove to be essential to the theme of their respective poems. In *Arquitectónica de voces* Christina Karageorgou-Bastea comments on the effect of his use of setting:

Versiones de feminidad, entidades ejemplares de educación sentimental de clase social, de proyectos éticos, se hablan y se responden en el libro desde distintas coordenadas, desde puntos irrepetibles en el espacio: el campo, la casa, el café cantante, las calles de la ciudad. Su ubicación crea una antropogeografía: un mapa donde las voces forjan el espacio, dibujan los caminos de encuentro, los límites de la interacción, las encrucijadas de la sorpresa y el conflicto, las bifurcaciones del destino. (74)

Karageorgou-Bastea argues that the placement of the females creates a map in which the spaces are forged by their voices, the interactions between the characters are determined and surprise and conflict cross and create the space from where the destiny of the characters diverge. The placement of the women is both strategic and deliberate. The first two poems that I will examine are taken from *Poema del cante jondo*. In the section entitled “Dos muchachas,” the reader is introduced to two characters: Lola and Amparo. Karageorgou-Bastea continues by describing the contrasting settings of the two poems. Lola is a gypsy girl who immerses herself in nature and is surrounded by swooning, young toreadors. Amparo, on the other hand, pertains to a wealthier class, but spends her time enclosed in her home in solitude (74). Although, according to the idea that those with more social, cultural and/or economic capital are the more dominant agents in their field, García Lorca’s portrayal of these women contradicts this notion, as Lola appears to exude more power, strength and happiness than Amparo. Whereas Lola identifies with the liberties of the outdoors and nature, Amparo remains enclosed in her home, in an ambience of loneliness. In the first stanza of the poem, the reader encounters Lola under an orange tree, washing cotton cloths. Her appearance, however, does not fit the typical image of a gypsy girl, as she has green eyes. This characteristic in conjunction with her “violet voice” suggests there is something exotic and mysterious about her, and the fact that she is placed outdoors alludes to a certain unbridled character:

Bajo el naranjo lava
 pañales de algodón.
 Tiene verdes los ojos
 y violeta la voz. (1-4)

As the poem continues, it is revealed that the sun is shining on the channel as a lone sparrow sings in the olive grove. The images of shimmering water and a singing bird conjure up a sense of freedom, indicating that Lola is not a woman that can be contained. Like the single bird, Lola is alone, yet free from the constraints of society. The contempt for society's institutionalized structure is characteristic of the poet's literature, as he, too, often felt confined to fit within the rigid parameters of his field's doxa, which lead to his feelings of loneliness and isolation. In the poem the solitary bird that sings, however, also instills a sense of solitude in the reader. Karageorgou-Bastea writes, "...la soledad de la protagonista y del gorrión al enunciar los dísticos ha sentado un precedente de amor no compartido, sino evocado, que puede no cumplirse con la participación del grupo masculino" (76). The poem opens with the lone girl tending to her washing in the shining sun, who will prove to be uninterested in the young matadors who will appear. The fact that this poem takes place during the day time also contrasts with the ominous tone of the poems that are set in the evening hour which will be discussed with selections such as "Café cantante" and "La seguriya.":

¡Ay, amor,

bajo el naranjo en flor!
 El agua de la acequia
 iba llena de sol,
 en el olivarito
 cantaba un gorrión. (5-10)

The poem then reveals that Lola is the object of desire of the young bullfighters. As all bullfighters do not necessarily pertain to the gypsy class, this further exemplifies the notion that she is regarded as exotic and mysterious. She is seen washing handkerchiefs made of cotton, a natural, organic material which reflects her earthy connection to nature, unlike the man-made, synthetic fibers such as the intricate filigree of lace or the lustrous polyester satin, fabrics often associated with the upper class. The poem states that once she has used all of the soap from her washing, the *torerillos*, or little bullfighters, will arrive:

Luego, cuando la Lola
 gaste todo el jabón,
 vendrán los torerillos.
 ¡Ay, amor,
 bajo el naranjo en flor! (13-17)

By referring to them in the diminutive, García Lorca strips them of the strength and power that is generally associated with bullfighters. While many of the females in the poems exude confidence and sorceress-like qualities that coincide with their habitus, the actions of the bullfighters contradict the behaviors and

attitudes that would generally describe them. According to Clive Marsh's "Muletas, Bandanas, and the Bull: an analysis of Bull Fighting, Bull Riding and Masculinity," the power and dominance of man is established at a very young. He writes:

The power of the male is subsequently realized at a very young age by males and is transmitted into their relationships and how they act to outside influences. .. The competition with a powerful bull is the catalyst that enhances the performer's masculinity and provides a platform to showcase his own perceived gender superiority. .. The use of the bull is manipulated by the *torero* who risks serious injury, choreographing his movements in the arena to reflect his own masculinity through the sport of the bull fight.²⁰

Unlike the men in Marsh's description, the toreadors in "Lola" exhibit the opposite behavior when in the presence of the enchanting gypsy. They appear powerless, so powerless that they are referred to as *torerillos*, a term which negates their masculinity, almost as if García Lorca is portraying them as childlike. Although in the bullfighting ring the men are strong, in control and prepared to kill, in the presence of Lola, they are weak, as if under her spell. Bourdieu, however, refutes the argument that violence and killing constitutes "manliness" or "courage," claiming these acts are actually a form of cowardice that originates in an unconscious fear of the female. In *Masculine Domination* he argues:

One has only to think of all the situations in which, to make men kill, torture or rape, the will to dominate, exploit or oppress has relied on the 'manly' fear of being excluded from the world of 'men' without weakness... Manliness, it can be seen, is an eminently *relational* notion, constructed in front of and for other men and against femininity, in a kind of *fear* of the female, firstly in oneself. (52-53)

Therefore, according to Bourdieu's argument, men commit such acts of violence out of fear of not being accepted by their male peers. It is the men who construct the social norms that determine whether or not other males are "manly" enough to be accepted into their group. It is a type of initiation marked by violence, whether physical or symbolic, that actually stems from an innate fear of their female counterparts. Although matadors are revered for committing violent acts against animals, Bourdieu's argument is still applicable to them, since their ability to torture and kill the bull is considered brave and masculine by their peers. In the plays, however, it is the bullfighters who are dominated by the allure of the gypsy girl.

The second poem in "Dos muchachas," "Amparo", relates the story of a girl who remains enclosed in her home, in solitude. Unlike Lola, however, whose outdoor placement and connection to nature suggest she is a gypsy, Amparo, presumably a member of the Spanish bourgeoisie, lives unhappily in confinement, reflecting García Lorca's contempt for societal constraints:

Amparo,
 ¡qué sola estás en tu casa
 vestida de blanco!
 (Ecuador entre el jazmín
 y el nardo.) (1-5)

Again, there is a presence of a single bird, a yellow, weakly chirping canary. In the evenings Amparo watches the trembling cypress trees as she slowly

embroiders letters onto a canvas, an act which lends a melancholic, far-away tone to the poem. It is as though she is lost in her thoughts, but what those thoughts are is not revealed. The poem ends as someone declares how difficult it is to express his love for Amparo, who remains alone in her house and dressed in white:

Oyes los maravillosos
surtidores de tu patio,
y el débil trino amarillo
del canario. (6-9)

Unlike Lola who embraces the outdoors, Amparo is only a spectator of nature, observing it from inside of her home. Although there are three different references to plants in the poem, they are not a part of the world in which she interacts, as she remains indoors in seclusion. The poem mentions jasmine, a symbol of love, sensuality and attachment, and spikenard, a flowering plant used in the making of highly aromatic essential oil. Whereas Lola immerses herself in the aroma of the herbs of her surroundings, Amparo closes herself off to the world around her:

Por la tarde ves temblar
los cipreses con los pájaros,
mientras bordas lentamente
letras sobre el cañamazo. (10-13)

As she embroiders, she watches the cypresses, a plant often found growing in cemeteries, setting a tone of melancholy and futility. In contrast to the simple, organic cotton being washed in the first poem, the act of embroidering requires precision and staying within the predetermined boundaries of the design, a metaphor for the life of a woman living in a bourgeoisie society. The poem concludes with the unidentified narrator, revealing his love for Amparo and the difficulty he has in expressing it.²¹

Amparo,
 ¡qué sola estás en tu casa
 vestida de blanco!
 Amparo,
 ¡y qué difícil decirte:
 yo te amo! (14-19)

As C.B. Morris writes in *Son of Andalusia. The Lyrical Landscapes of Federico García Lorca*:

To enter the rarified world of Amparo after breathing the open spaces which are the habitat of Lola is to be asphyxiated within a series of prisons, one contained within the other as in a Chinese box; some are explicit, like the house, the patio and the canary's cage; others are implicit, like the cemetery suggested by the cypresses and the frame holding the canvas. Even the parenthesis containing the description of Amparo's whiteness is a barricade, separating her from reality and mooring the two lines, so that they stand as a solemn epitaph that paralyses her rather than a refrain that celebrates her. (218)

There is something about Amparo that causes her to appear unapproachable, unattainable. She encloses herself not only in a literal sense, by staying within the walls of her house; but, also figuratively, as she closes herself off emotionally. The main characters in the selections from “Dos muchachas” reveal similarities and differences in their placement and affect. Unlike Amparo, Lola lives freely in nature. Although she differs from Amparo in regard to the setting of her poem, Lola also appears unavailable emotionally. Despite her dismissal of the suitors who surround her, however, Lola relishes her freedom and refuses to be confined by society, unlike Amparo.

“La seguriya”

The third poem I will analyze is “La seguriya,” another selection from *Cante del poema jondo*. The seguriya is a flamenco form with a mixed compás, combining 3/4 and 6/8 time. Because of its rhythmic inconsistencies, the seguriya often confuses those who attempt to interpret it. It takes its name from the Castilian ‘seguidilla’, a musical style to which it is at least related in literature. It is known for its solemnity, the wailing ‘quejío’²² and its minimalistic lyrics. In Lorca’s poem “El paso de la seguriya,” the scene is ominous and mysterious. The opening stanza describes a young, dark-complected woman moving between black butterflies. Beside her creeps a white serpent of fog:

Entre mariposas negras,
va una muchacha morena
junto a una blanca serpiente

de niebla. (1-4)

Upon setting this foreboding tone, the physical description of the girl alludes to her being a gypsy, and as she moves mystery and intrigue both surround and follow her. The butterflies, which in this case are dark instead of colorful as the creatures often are, create a solemn feeling in the opening of the poem, which accurately depicts the somber music that would typically accompany the flamenco *seguiriya*. The mist, which rolls alongside of the gypsy girl in the form of a serpent, gives the impression that she possesses enchanted powers. By having the butterflies stay low to the ground as they surround the strolling girl, García Lorca creates a contradictory setting. Following the first stanza and as the final lines of the poem, García Lorca repeats, “Tierra de luz/ cielo de tierra.” These lines, which proclaim that the Earth is of light and the sky is of dirt, evoke a sense of disorder, as if the world has been turned upside-down. This is a sharp contrast to the conventional setting and way of life that is encountered in the rural trilogy, indicating that the gypsy lifestyle is freer, less predictable and at times chaotic. In the third and fourth stanzas of the poem this chaotic nature of the gypsy life is simultaneously illustrated as the rhythm of the *seguiriya* is described:

Va encadenada al temblor
 de un ritmo que nunca llega;
 tiene el corazón de plata
 y un puñal en la diestra. (7-10)

The final line of the stanza suggests that carrying a knife is part of the gypsy culture and habitus. Although in Spanish the term *diestra* translates to *right hand*, in the realm of knife fighting, it merely refers to one's dominant hand. Historically, many gypsy females have been known to conceal a dagger underneath the skirt known as a *salvavirgo*, which loosely translates to *virginity preserver*. In the gypsy culture *virgo* is a colloquialism for *virginidad*, or *virginity*; therefore, the knife a female would carry is intended to ward off attacks by unwanted suitors (Loriega 93). The girl in the poem, however, does not hide her weapon, freely brandishing it for all to see, as if seeking revenge, while provoking a sense of impending danger in the mind of the reader as the reason why she flourishes the knife is never revealed. As previously mentioned, the ability to handle a knife by males and females alike is revered by many in the gypsy world. This metallic object bears a profound significance for the members of the culture. In "Bourdieu and Phenomenology," Throop and Murphy further elaborate upon the importance Bourdieu assigns to material items for a group's habitus. They write, "The very mental structures which come to construct the world of objects are themselves nothing other than the constructs derived directly from an individual's practice in a world of objects born from those self-same structures" (188). Because she has been reared in a cultural field that places a particular value on knife fighting, she is a product of her environment; therefore, following the path of her lineage. The *seguriya* and the gypsy girl are one in the same. She is chained to the trembling rhythm that never steadies, with a heart of silver

and a blade in her right hand. The gypsy, as the *seguiriya*, is described as a headless rhythm and like it, she is unsteady yet powerful. She is then asked where she is going and what moon will collect her pain of lime and oleander:

¿Adónde vas, *seguiriya*
 con un ritmo sin cabeza?
 ¿Qué luna recogerá
 tu dolor de cal y adelfa? (11-14)

The lime mentioned alludes to the white-washed walls of the caves where gypsies typically resided, and the reference to oleander is another indicator of the spellbinding nature associated with gypsy females. Although the oleander is aesthetically appealing, if ingested in large quantities, it has the potential to be lethal.²³ Therefore, there is an allusion to an impending danger present in the poem, a sort of warning to those who encounter the *seguiriya*.

“Café cantante”

The poem “Café cantante” was written to honor the legendary flamenco singer la Parrala. It is one of the selections in the “Viñetas flamencas” in *Poema del cante jondo*. Dolores “la Parrala” Moreno was born in 1845 in Moguer, a small town in Huelva, Spain. She was highly respected by García Lorca as he considered her to be one of the best *soleareras*²⁴ of her time. According to legend but never confirmed, La Parrala was a *femme fatal* whose life was marked by tragedy, passion and mystery.²⁵ The setting of the poem is reminiscent of an elegant café, where crystal chandeliers are suspended and

green mirrors adorn the walls. On the dark stage la Parrala converses with death. She repeatedly summons it through her song, but it does not come. This description of the famed songstress beckoning to death evokes the sense that she possesses soothsaying, bewitching powers. As mentioned previously, gypsy women were regarded as having sorceress-like qualities which were instilled in them in their youth, hence forming their primary habitus. This poem exudes a melancholic tone as the central character laments to no avail. In *Arquitectónica de voces*, Christina Karageorgou-Bastea states, “La comunicación de la cantaora con la muerte no parece lograrse, así que los intentos se multiplican y el auditorio no presencia un canto, sino un lamento reiterado” (82). This idea is illustrated in the beginning of the poem:

Lámparas de cristal
 y espejos verdes.
 Sobre el tablado oscuro,
 la Parrala sostiene
 una conversación
 con la muerte.
 La llama,
 no viene,
 y la vuelve a llamar. (1-9)

The sobriety and solitude are exhibited by the others in the café as well. In this ominous yet nostalgic poem, the other characters are overcome with sadness as

they swallow their sobbing, while in the green mirrors the long trails of silk move as echoes of the past. As was previously mentioned in the prologue, the color green appears frequently in the poetry of García Lorca and often symbolizes death. It is not known who the others in the poem are, but it is apparent that they share in the sorrow of the gypsy songstress. Karageorgou-Bastea writes, “Con la repetición del llamado se mezclan impresiones sonoras y visuales mientras se multiplican los reflejos-ecos en la actividad de los espejos” (82). The mirrors in the poem generate a feeling of loss as they reflect long, moving trails of green silk, possibly serving as memories of things lost:

Las gentes
 aspiran los sollozos.
 Y en los espejos verdes,
 largas colas de seda
 se mueven. (10-14)

Although la Parrala appears to be melancholy, García Lorca in no way indicates that her sorrow was provoked by a male. In fact, the reason she calls to death, who itself becomes a character in the poem, is not revealed. Despite her sobriety, she conveys strength and comfort as she beckons. She is fearless and maintains her composure, unlike those around her who sob uncontrollably. As la Parrala was known for her talent as a flamenco singer, by positioning her on the stage in a café, a comfortable environment for her, the self-confident woman exhibits her feminine power, which she does not allow others to usurp.

“La Petenera” vignette

The Petenera has become a death-figure in the flamenco lore of Andalusia. She appears in the various legendary flamenco folk tunes but the verses are not consistent as to who she really was. She is lonely and isolated, and regarded with suspicion and fear. One theory sustained by folklorist Demófilo (Antonio Machado Alvarez)²⁶ claims that the song originated in the town of Paterna de Rivera in the province of Cádiz. The legend claims that the song was named for a singer from the area known as *La Petenera*, which is a phonetic corruption of the word *patenera*, meaning woman from Paterna. It was said that la Petenera was so seductive she was known to be “the damnation of men.” As Pierre Bourdieu writes in *Masculine Domination*:

Exaltation of masculine values has its dark negative side in the fears and anxiety aroused by femininity. Women, weak in themselves and sources of weakness, being the embodiments of the *vulnerability* of honour, are also strong, armed with the weapons of weakness, such as devilish cunning...and magic. (51)

García Lorca divides “La petenera” into three sections, all of which portray the female characters as sinister and ominous.

“En el huerto de la Petenera”

The first vignette, “En el huerto de la petenera,” presents a picturesque opening scene featuring six gypsy girls, dressed in white and dancing in the garden. They appear carefree and mystical and move freely in the night, their bright dresses creating a stunning contrast with the darkness of the evening sky:

En la noche del huerto
 seis gitanas
 vestidas de blanco
 bailan.

En la noche del huerto,
 coronadas
 con rosas de papel
 y biznagas. (1-8)

García Lorca creates an ethereal scene as the girls, who are crowned with paper roses and *biznagas*, a typical flower from the region of Málaga, flash their pearl teeth. The poet creates a vivid picture of the contrast of brightness in the black night as lines nine through twelve depict, “En la noche del huerto/sus dientes de nácar/escriben la sombra/quemada.” The beauty of the scene becomes more bewitching, however, as their purple shadows elongate, reaching for the sky. At this point, the six gypsy girls transform from beautiful dancing and carefree souls into something more menacing, as if perhaps the evening was an evocation of spirits. As mentioned previously, I argue that habitus of the gypsy female characters dictates that they use their feminine wiles and magic in order to dominate the men whom they encounter:

Y en la noche del huerto
 sus sombras se alargan,

y llegan hasta el cielo

moradas. (9-16)

“Muerte de la Petenera”

The second poem about the Petenera is “Muerte de la Petenera.” The poem opens declaring that there is a white house where the unbridled infatuation of men dies. It is a house of men’s ruin and downfall after having encountered La Petenera: “En la casa blanca muere/ la perdición de los hombres” (1-2). The poet creates a scene of turmoil as one hundred mares chaotically prance: their jockeys have all died. The poem continues to describe the woman who has caused so much death. Under the flickering light of the oil lamps, her silken skirt trembles between her thighs of copper:

Cien jacas caracolean.

Sus jinetes están muertos.

Bajo las estremecidas

estrellas de los velones,

su falda de moaré tiembla

entre sus muslos de cobre. (3-8)

She is hardened and relentless and feels no remorse after facilitating such carnage and chaos. It is her defense, a protective measure to prevent herself from being forced into submission by the males who surround her.

“Falseta”

The third Petenera in the vignette, “Falseta,” describes the burial of La Petenera. An anti-Christian tone permeates the poem, as no “good” girls attended the service, those who wear white shawls to the fairs and sacrifice their locks of hair to Christ. This sacrilegious statement coincides with the stereotype of gypsy women that prevailed at the time:

¡Ay, petenera gitana!
 ¡Yayay petenera!
 Tu entierro no tuvo niñas
 buenas.
 Niñas que le dan a Cristo muerto
 sus guedejas,
 y llevan blancas mantillas
 en las ferias.(1-8)

Only in attendance were sinister people who lived with their heart in their head and followed her, crying, through the alleys.

Tu entierro fue de gente
 siniestra.
 Gente con el corazón
 en la cabeza,
 que te siguió llorando
 por las callejas.

¡Ay, petenera gitana!

¡Yayay petenera! (9-16)

The description of the funeral mourners is one of irrationality and uncontained emotion. It is as though they followed her blindly, unquestioningly. This again illustrates the powerful, beguiling effect the Petenera had on those around her. In the three poems of the vignette demonstrate, the women use their magical powers as a defense against the potential male domination. They are able to tempt and beguile and render the males who pursue them defenseless.

“Baile”

The selection “Baile” presents the reader with an image of the gypsy female that was very stereotypical of the time. The poem opens with la Carmen, the woman being portrayed in the poem, dancing wildly through the streets. The act of dancing as opposed to walking conjures up an idea that she moves and acts uninhibitedly, exercising her free will, starkly contrasting with Amparo and the women of the rural trilogy:

La Carmen está bailando

por las calles de Sevilla.

Tiene blancos los cabellos

y brillantes las pupilas. (1-4)

Her flashing eyes reveal a sense of unbridled freedom. She dances as if propelled by something deep within her, as if unaffected by the societal standards of how women should behave while in the public realm. Living outside

of the *payo*, or non-gypsy, conventions attributes to her overall habitus. As her white hair indicates she is no longer in her youth, this sense of freedom is deeply ingrained in her. In *Arquitectónica de voces*, Christina Karageorgou-Bastea describes her as:

La Carmen de “Baile” sacude el estereotipo de la mujer en el mundo flamenco: con una serpiente alrededor de su cabeza de pelo blanco, baila sola con sus memorias por las calles, impregnando el entorno de sensualidad bacanal desgastada. (84)

Lines five and six indicate that the unnamed narrator of the poem objects to the young girls inside the house being influenced by la Carmen, demanding they close the curtains: “¡Niñas, / corred las cortinas!” The narrator’s insistence suggests that her habitus differs from that of the elderly gypsy woman, in not wanting the youth to be corrupted by the free-spiritedness of la Carmen. Although one’s primary habitus is established in the household during infancy, the secondary layer consists of external experiences, including incidents occurring and encounters with others outside of the home. Therefore, the narrator wishes to shield the girls from the gypsy, in order to maintain the habitus that was first established in the home. In *Outline of a Theory of Practice* the subjectivity of these influences is described more in more depth. Bourdieu writes:

Bodily hexis speaks directly to the motor function, in the form of a pattern of postures that is both individual and systematic, because linked to a whole system of techniques involving the body and tools, and charged with a host of social meanings and values: in all societies, children are particularly attentive to the gestures and posture which, in their eyes, express everything that goes to make an accomplished adult- a way of walking, a tilt of the head, facial

expressions, ways of sitting...and a certain subjective experience.
(87)

In the case of la Carmen, her unconcealed movements and unrestrained gestures would have certainly impacted the young girls, potentially influencing the development of their habitus. In the second stanza of the poem there is a longing sense of nostalgia accompanying her as la Carmen dreams of past suitors. The nostalgia of the poem, however, is interrupted as the narrator again interjects for the girls to close the curtains:

En su cabeza se enrosca
una serpiente amarilla,
y va soñando en el baile
con galanes de otros días.
¡Niñas,
corred las cortinas! (7-12)

It appears la Carmen is entranced by the memories of the gentlemen of her past as she unreservedly sways through the Andalusian streets, unaware of and unruffled by those who observe her. The writhing, yellow serpent in her hair grants her a certain enigmatic command, and could perhaps be interpreted as a phallic symbol. The image of the serpent is reminiscent of Medusa, the gorgon of Greek mythology. With the face of a human and hair of snakes, Medusa possesses the power to convert those who gazed upon her countenance into stone.²⁷ The last stanza in the poem describes the now desolate streets, which

are completely deserted, save the faintly visible Andalusian heart, signifying a longing for the past:

Las calles están desiertas
y en los fondos se adivinan,
corazones andaluces
buscando viejas espinas. (13-16)

Karageorgou-Bastea elaborates upon this description writing, “Carmen, portadora de pasiones ancestrales, las ‘niñas’ que proyectan sobre la bailaora sus deseos jóvenes, y los corazones andaluces que se anegan en la memoria que el momento propicia” (84). Moving freely through the streets, she has the power to influence those who observe her from the young girls in the window to the past loves whose hearts still pursue her.

“Balcón”

In the poem “Balcón” we again encounter Lola who previously appeared in the selection “Dos muchachas” in the open air tending her laundry. This time, however, she is positioned on her balcony surrounded by her adoring matadors as she sings a *saeta*. The *saeta* is a deeply pious song, rooted in certain Catholic traditions, which conveys a somber mood. Often performed during religious processions, the *saetero*, or performer of this style, serenades the people from a balcony, while relating the strife and suffering of biblical figures such as Christ or Mary. In the early twentieth century, the *saeta* evolved into a Flamenco song, adopting the intricate rhythm of the *Martinete* or the

aforementioned Seguiriya. According to the information presented in *Flamenco de la historia*, an anthology dedicated to the history and evolution of the Flamenco song, “La copla es de cuatro versos octosilábicos (romance) con cinco fragmentos carenciales (tercios) y con ritmo libre, repitiéndose el tercer verso; otras estrofas son de cinco versos.”²⁸ As they were in the previous poem, the swooning bullfighters who surround the gypsy girls are referred to as “toreritos” and are this time accompanied by a barber who is also mentioned in the diminutive:

La Lola
 canta saetas.
 Los toreritos
 la rodean,
 y el barberillo
 desde su puerta,
 sigue los ritmos
 con la cabeza. (1-8)

The barber, fixed in the doorway of his shop, follows the pattern of her song with his head, as though entranced by her voice. He abandons his duties because he is drawn to the exotic beauty of the gypsy girl who stands upon her balcony. Her beauty is enhanced, however, as she is situated between basil and mint, two highly aromatic herbs, that add to the sensuality of the poem, which is demonstrated in lines nine through twelve: “Entre la albahaca/ y la

hierbabuena,/la Lola canta/saetas.” The inclusion of natural, pagan elements such as sunlight and plants to the pious recitation of the saeta greatly enriches the effect of the poem. As C.B. Morris writes in *Son of Andalusia. The Lyrical Landscapes of Federico García Lorca*:

Positioning Lola on a balcony between mint and basil to sing *saetas* suggests a key to Lorca’s representation of Andalusia. Underlying this interlacing of details is the conviction that his native region is complex and multifaceted and that a sensitive tribute to the genre of song most closely associated with Andalusia has to include its flora, its landscapes and cities, and its inhabitants with their distinctive sounds, costumes, rituals and activities. (224)

The reader is able to embrace the beauty of Lorca’s Granada as the poet creates imagery that appeals to not only the visual, but also auditory and olfactory senses. Despite the adoration of her devotees below, Lola remains oblivious to their admiration. She is lost in thought, consumed by her reflection in the reservoir. The barber and the matadors appear naive and imprudent in comparison to the aloofness of the seemingly self-absorbed gypsy girl, which is shown in lines 13 through 15 which state, “Lola aquella, /que se miraba/tanto en la alberca.” So engrossed in her private thoughts is she, that she fails to acknowledge the adulation of her male counterparts, therefore deflating the stereotype of the proud and powerful bullfighter or the orthodox nature of the town barber.

“La casada infiel”

The poem “La casada infiel,” or “The Unfaithful Wife,” is a selection from *Romancero gitano* and relates the tale of a gypsy male who engages in a sexual

encounter with a married woman he had originally mistaken for a virtuous maiden. The poem begins, “Y que yo me la llevé al río/creyendo que era mozuela,/pero tenía marido” (1-3). Upon discovering this information, however, the man proceeds to have physical relations with the gypsy female, a blatant violation of the habitus of the cultural field to which both parties pertain which promotes a strict moral code on issues of marriage and infidelity. The encounter occurred during La noche de Santiago, a traditional celebration in which many residents of southern Spain pay homage to the patron saint James. Arsenio Escolar further describes the evening in his entry featured in *¡Que paren las maquinas!* :

En muchas zonas de España, el día de Santiago pasa por ser el más caluroso del año. Cuando llega la noche tórrida, la noche de Santiago, en los pueblos, y aun en algunos barrios en las ciudades, muchos vecinos toman la fresca o celebran pequeñas fiestas.²⁹

It is on this often sticky, sweltering evening that many bonfires and lanterns are lit, which enhance the ambience for the second stanza. Then the last of the lanterns are extinguished, giving way to the chirping of the crickets in the dark night:

Fue la noche de Santiago
y casi por compromiso.
Se apagaron los faroles
y se encendieron los grillos. (4-7)

Like the majority of the selections featuring characters of the gypsy culture, “La casada infiel” takes place outdoors, inevitably instilling images of nature and

freedom from restrictions in the mind of the reader. The oppressive heat of the summer evening in conjunction with the unbridled spirit of the gypsy, initiates the abandonment of the morality of their habitus, as they succumb to their carnal desires. This submission, however, does not transpire without apprehension as the narrator describes how while he caressed the breasts of the young gypsy it was as though he had to coax them to wake from their slumber, perhaps implying the girl was not comfortable with her decision to commit adultery. Upon her surrendering, the narrator describes her breasts as suddenly opening like spikes of hyacinths alluding to her involuntary physical arousal:

En las últimas esquinas
toqué sus pechos dormidos,
y se me abrieron de pronto
como ramos de jacintos. (8-11)

After opening her blouse, the gypsy man ventures beneath her petticoat. The two lovers fully defy the ethical conventions of the gypsy habitus as they delve more deeply into their amorous act. In *Body Politics: Power, Sex and Non-verbal Communication*, Nancy Henley discusses how the behavior of the gypsy female challenges what is considered socially acceptable for women:

The belt is one of the signs of the *closure* of the female body- arms crossed over the bosom, legs together, closely tied garments- which, as many analysts have shown, is still expected of women in European and American societies today.³⁰

Nothing in the female's comportment even remotely resembles what constitutes suitable conduct for a gypsy girl. Despite the stereotyped images of the sultry,

promiscuous gypsy female, according to her field's doxa, she is expected to be faithful only to her husband, and if not yet married, she is to refrain from engaging in sexual activity of any kind, not unlike what is expected of the women in the rural trilogy. The fact that she permits the man to undress and fondle her, flagrantly defies the decree of her habitus:

El almidón de su enagua me
 sonaba en el oído,
 como una pieza de seda
 rasgada por diez cuchillos
 Sin luz de plata en sus copas
 los árboles han crecido,
 y un horizonte de perros
 ladra muy lejos del río. (12-19)

The description "rasgada por diez cuchillos" implies that the activity has become increasingly uncontrolled as her petticoat is torn by ten small knives, presumably the fingers of the gypsy male. Adding to the intensity of the scene is the description of the dogs whose barking is still audible despite their distance from the river where the action is taking place, and the growing trees that represent the unrestrained happenings of the wilderness. The stanza that follows further describes the setting, referring to the blackberry brambles that if uncontained, have the ability to grow wildly to a height of five meters, again alluding to the unrestrained tone of the poem:

Pasadas las zarzamoras,
 los juncos y los espinos,
 bajo su mata de pelo
 hice un hoyo sobre el limo. (20-23)

It is under the reeds and thorns of the plants that he burrows a hole into the silt where he positions the girl as he prepares to experience her sexually. It is at this point that the two completely disrobe: “Yo me quité la corbata./Ella se quitó el vestido” (24-25). The narrator describes how as he removes his tie she detaches her four bodices. The donning of these particular articles of clothing imply that the subjects of the poem at least intended to exhibit self-control, as they both wear items that are designed to restrain. Lines 26 through 27 state, “Yo el cinturón con revólver/Ella sus cuatro corpiños.” In the case of the male, the tie represents the polite restraint of a gentleman; while the tightly fastened undergarments of the female physically confine her in a literal sense. He also describes the revolver he carries at his waist, a symbol both protective and phallic in nature. The act of removing her bodices is what in *Masculine*

Domination Bourdieu regards as crossing the dividing line:

The schemes which structure the perception of the sex organs and, even more, of sexual activity are also applied to the male or female body itself, which has its top and bottom- the boundary being marked by the *belt*, a sign of *closure* (a woman who keeps her belt *tight*, who does not *untie* it, is regarded as virtuous, chaste) and the symbolic dividing line, at least for the women, between the pure and the impure. (15-16)

The gypsy girl removes the article which is meant to keep her safe from the advances of men; hence, she has crossed over to the side of impurity both literally and figuratively. If her husband were to discover that she had been unfaithful, she would suffer dire consequences and be shunned by the other agents of her cultural field, as her body would now be considered tainted and unclean. The narrator, however, praises her beauty as he describes the softness of her skin and her radiant splendor:

Ni nardos ni caracolas
 tienen el cutis tan fino,
 ni los cristales con luna
 relumbran con ese brillo. (28-31)

The narrator then continues to describe the love affair as he compares his lover's thighs to startled fish, with one emitting heat and the other cold. The juxtaposition of the extremes in temperature is suggestive of the girl's indecision about committing adultery. Nevertheless, she acquiesces to her yearning and continues with the act of infidelity, which is illustrated by the narrator's boastful recounting of the fervent adventure:

Sus muslos se me escapaban
 como peces sorprendidos,
 la mitad llenos de lumbre,
 la mitad llenos de frío. (32-35)

He compares himself during the passionate encounter as having ridden a filly made of mother-of-pearl, a symbolic reference to her sexual anatomy. His figurative reference of not using reins or stirrups represents the feral nature of the experience:

Aquella noche corrí
 el mejor de los caminos,
 montado en potra de nácar
 sin bridas y sin estribos. (36-39)

Following this recollection he states that he will not divulge the details of their conversation, alluding to his wishing to protect her dignity, as he is restrained by a light of understanding. Perhaps he has become enlightened by the realization that their moment is fleeting. The lovers return from the river, as the gypsy girl, now smeared with kisses and sand, will return to her husband:

No quiero decir, por hombre,
 las cosas que ella me dijo.
 La luz del entendimiento
 me hace ser muy comedido.
 Sucia de besos y arena,
 yo me la llevé del río.
 Con el aire se batían las
 espadas de los lirios. (40-47)

The final lines of the poem imply that the narrator's act of gifting the girl a sewing box was rooted in his identity as a legitimate gypsy male who refuses to fall in love with the married woman he had previously mistaken for a maiden:

Me porté como quien soy.
 Como un gitano legítimo.
 Le regalé un costurero
 grande de raso pajizo,
 y no quise enamorarme
 porque teniendo marido
 me dijo que era mozuela
 cuando la llevaba al río. (48-55)

Although both parties in the poem are guilty of infidelity, it is the female that is considered the more culpable of the two as she completely contravenes what is considered acceptable behavior for women. In the article "Carmen" Adriana Helbig states:

The alleged lack of morals among the Gypsies was vehemently applied to the critique of their sexual practices and their disregard for decency and respect toward the body, especially by Gypsy women. In much of the art, music, and literature of the 19th century, the female Gypsy in particular was characterized and stereotyped as free-spirited, strong, deviant, demanding, sexually arousing, alluring, and dismissive. This romantic construct of the Gypsy woman may be viewed in direct opposition to the proper, controlled, chaste, submissive woman held as the Victorian European ideal.³¹

As previously mentioned, and as evidenced by the above citation, the stereotype of the gypsy, particularly the female, is highly negative, depicting them as unruly,

and promiscuous. This assumption, however, is partially false, as infidelity is a direct violation of the group's doxa. Although the females do indeed defy laws of rigidity and structure and are known for their free-spiritedness, being unfaithful to their spouse is forbidden. Therefore, the behavior of "la casada infiel" could bring forth a disastrous aftermath if others were to become aware of what transpired on the night of St. James.

"Romance de la guardia civil española"

Another selection from *Romancero gitano*, "Romance de la guardia civil española," is a ballad that depicts the destruction of a gypsy town during an attack staged by the Spanish Civil Guard. The poem, which takes place during a time of Christmas festivities, alludes to the traditional animosity between the gypsies and the Spanish authority as history reflects a series of prejudice and persecutions suffered by the nomadic people at the hands of the Civil Guard. The poem epitomizes the culmination of the negative references and contempt the gypsies held for the Civil Guard, an attitude nurtured from childhood as generations of gypsies had been victimized by the government officials for their refusal to conform to the conventions considered as socially acceptable by Spanish authority. Although trained to carry himself in a particular upright, authoritative manner, those observing a member of the Spanish Civil Guard may find his mannerisms intimidating, although this way of walking has become ingrained in the man, forming part of his habitus. Bourdieu remarks on this phenomenon in *Outline of a Theory of Practice* stating, "The habitus is the

universalizing mediation which causes an individual agent's practices, without either explicit reason or signifying intent, to be none the less 'sensible' and 'reasonable'" (79). Subjects, in this case the men of the Civil Guard, may not realize that what they are doing has more meaning than they know.

The poem begins with the foreboding description of the Spanish Civil Guard as perceived through the eyes of the mistrusting gypsy. The first stanza creates an ominous impression in the mind of the reader as even the horses upon which the officials ride are depicted as semblances of darkness. Lorca writes, "Los caballos negros son./ Las herraduras son negras" (1-2). He dehumanizes the post-apocalyptic seeming officials as skeletons, incapable of emotion, with leaden skulls and souls of patent leather. Nocturnal and hunchbacked, the intensity of their mere presence is enough to command silence as they move through the streets:

Sobre las capas relucen
manchas de tinta y de cera.
Tienen, por eso no lloran,
de plomo las calaveras.
Con el alma de charol
vienen por la carretera.
Jorobados y nocturnos,
por donde animan ordenan

silencios de goma oscura
y miedos de fina arena. (3-12)

As the men's authority allows them to pass freely through the town: "Pasan, si quieren pasar,/y ocultan en la cabeza" (13-14), they are described surrealistically as having "una vaga astronomía/de pistolas inconcretas" (13-16). What follows is a description of the gypsy town, which starkly contrasts with the former description, as it highlights the unadulterated, natural beauty and richness. The mention of the moon, pumpkin and berries reflects the community's belief in the preservation of and respect for nature. There is something sensual yet tragic in the description as the narrator poses the question of who could possibly forget the city's pain, scent of musk and cinnamon towers:

¡Oh ciudad de los gitanos!
En las esquinas banderas.
La luna y la calabaza
con las guindas en conserva.
¡Oh ciudad de los gitanos!
¿Quién te vio y no te recuerda?
Ciudad de dolor y almizcle,
con las torres de canela. (17-24)

Next, García Lorca references the learned trade with which the gypsies have been historically associated:

Cuando llegaba la noche,

noche que noche nochera,
 los gitanos en sus fraguas
 forjaban soles y flechas. (25-28)

A major contributor to many a gypsy male's habitus, working in the forge, is a skill that has been passed down from generation to generation. According to Terri Windling's article "The Road that has No End: Tales of the Travelling People," "By the early 16th century, Gypsies could be found in every country in Europe, plying their traditional trades of blacksmithing, woodworking, horse-trading, fortune-telling and crop-picking, as well as the performance arts."³² In the poem the men are found forging suns and arrows as if attempting to prepare themselves for the violent battle that will ensue against the darkness of the aforementioned brigade. Lines 29 through 36 depict the vulnerability of the city again in a surreal manner. Unlike the dehumanizing representation of the Civil Guard in the beginning of the ballad, the poet personifies the animals as a badly wounded horse knocks upon doors and crystal roosters sing near the border of Jerez de la Frontera, a city in Andalucía known for its immense gypsy population.³³ The wind, described as being naked, turns the corner of surprise of the silver-dark night. Describing the wind as naked and surprised reflects the unpreparedness and vulnerability of the city and residents:

Un caballo malherido,
 llamaba a todas las puertas.
 Gallos de vidrio cantaban

por Jerez de la Frontera.
 El viento vuelve desnudo
 la esquina de la sorpresa,
 en la noche platinoche
 noche, que noche nochera. (29-36)

The lines that follow allude to the pervasive flamenco culture of the Andalusian gypsies. It is here that the Virgin Mary and Saint Joseph have lost their castanets and go in search of the gypsies to inquire if they have seen them. The two are not as modestly dressed as they typically are in the Bible. In “Romance de la guardia civil española,” the clothing of the pair appeals to the senses. While the Virgin dons a mayoral dress made of chocolate paper and a necklace made of almonds, Saint Joseph waves his arms under a silken cape:

La Virgen y San José,
 perdieron sus castañuelas,
 y buscan a los gitanos
 para ver si las encuentran. (37-40)

The castanets they seek are considered of particular relevance to the gypsy culture, as the percussive instruments are often played to accompany the music and dance of Flamenco. It was at the turn of the twentieth century that the castanets became popularized in literature and more prevalent in the culture of Spain. For example, Antonia Mercé, better known as “La Argentina,” a prolific dancer of this time, was renowned for her rhythmic expertise while playing them,

a skill she developed in childhood. In *Antonia Mercé, "La Argentina": Flamenco and the Spanish Avant Garde*, Ninotchka Bennahum writes:

At the turn of the twentieth century, castanets were used by Gypsies and Non-Gypsies as accompaniment to flamenco dance. After the Spanish civil war, castanets were no longer used to accompany flamenco, but were retained for the *escuela bolero*.³⁴ (31)

La Virgen viene vestida
 con un traje de alcaldesa
 de papel de chocolate
 con los collares de almendras.
 San José mueve los brazos
 bajo una capa de seda. (41-46)

Behind Mary and Joseph is Pedro Domecq of Jerez de la frontera, a figure well-known for his breeding of bulls for fighting. He is not alone, however, as three Persians sultans accompany him, conjuring up images of Andalusia's rich Moorish history. Again García Lorca creates a surreal scene which reflects a certain fluidity of movement, as demonstrated by the silken cape and hipless dancing girls set against a backdrop of water and shadow:

Detrás va Pedro Domecq
 con tres sultanes de Persia.
 La media luna soñaba
 un éxtasis de cigüeña.
 Estandartes y faroles

invaden las azoteas.

Por los espejos sollozan

bailarinas sin caderas.

Agua y sombra, sombra y agua

por Jerez de la Frontera. (47-56)

Again the question is asked of who could see the city and not remember it, although this time a warning accompanies the description to extinguish the city's lights as the Civil Guard approaches. The recommendation to leave the city far from the sea with no combs for its hair reflects the stripping of the gypsy identity, as this is a typical hair adornment of the females in the community (Borrow 36). At this point, instead of referring to the brigade as *La guardia civil*, García Lorca wisely chooses the term *benemérita*, which has two meanings. The first is synonymous with the Spanish Civil Guard. The other meaning, however, denotes a comportment that promotes honor, dignity and protection, which drastically contradicts the portrayal of the Civil Guard in the ballad:

¡Oh ciudad de los gitanos!

En las esquinas banderas.

Apaga tus verdes luces

que viene la benemérita.

¡Oh ciudad de los gitanos!

¿Quién te vio y no te recuerda?

Dejadla lejos del mar, sin
peines para sus crenchas. (57-64)

The brigade passes through the town in pairs of two, the typical fashion in which the men of the Civil Guard ride. These lines also mention the *siemprevivas*, a succulent perennial flower known to grow abundantly in the poet's native land.

Avanzan de dos en fondo
a la ciudad de la fiesta.
Un rumor de siemprevivas
invade las cartucheras.
Avanzan de dos en fondo.
Doble nocturno de tela.
El cielo, se les antoja,
una vitrina de espuelas. (65-72)

The poem proceeds with a description of how the formerly carefree city must cease its festivities so as to not arouse suspicions as it is taken by storm by forty civil guards, as if its residence were committing a felonious act by celebrating:

La ciudad libre de miedo,
multiplicaba sus puertas.
Cuarenta guardias civiles
entran a saco por ellas.
Los relojes se pararon,
y el coñac de las botellas

se disfrazó de noviembre
para no infundir sospechas. (73-80)

The city's unsuspecting residents are ambushed by the horsemen, their long cries rising above the weather vanes as they are trampled by the hooves of the horses of the guards who frantically slice the breeze with their sabers:

: Un vuelo de gritos largos
se levantó en las veletas.
Los sables cortan las brisas
que los cascos atropellan. (81-84)

While the gypsy males are known for working as blacksmiths, their female counterparts are commonly recognized for telling fortunes to passersby on the street for money, often in the form of coins. This is referenced in lines 85 through 88 when the old gypsy women flee from the sinister men in capes and their whirlwind of shears. It is evident that they are taken by surprise as they grab their jars of coins and sleepy horses, signifying that nobody was prepared for the impending assault:

Por las calles de penumbra
huyen las gitanas viejas
con los caballos dormidos
y las orzas de monedas.
Por las calles empinadas
suben las capas siniestras,

dejando atrás fugaces
remolinos de tijeras. (85-92)

The final section of the poem begins with a congregation of gypsies at the gate of Bethlehem. The battle that occurred was so violent and extreme that even St. Joseph was badly wounded. Despite his injuries, however, he manages to enshroud and protect a young maiden, while the gunfire continues into the late hours:

En el portal de Belén
los gitanos se congregan.
San José, lleno de heridas,
amortaja a una doncella.
Tercos fusiles agudos
por toda la noche suenan. (93-98)

The scene reflects a Heaven versus Hell scenario as the Virgin is seen curing the wounded children with star spume, “La Virgen cura a los niños/ con salivilla de estrella” (99-100). All the while, the Civil Guard continues spreading fires throughout the city:

Pero la Guardia Civil
avanza sembrando hogueras,
donde joven y desnuda
la imaginación se quema. (101-105)

The above lines not only represent the attitude that the guards are evil in nature, a thought pattern contributed to the habitus to the common gypsy, but also allude to the intolerance of creativity of anyone who opposes the Spanish authority. The description of the devastation and bloody aftermath continues as Rosa la de los Camborios,³⁵ a known figure of the gypsy community, sits moaning in her doorway, her breasts amputated and placed on a platter, an act which symbolizes the misogynistic attitude of the Civil Guard towards the female gypsies:

Rosa la de los Camborios,
gime sentada en su puerta
con sus dos pechos cortados
puestos en una bandeja. (106-109)

Young gypsy girls, their hair in braids, are also seen running in an attempt to escape their destroyed homes, which are now nothing more than holes in the ground. James A. Watkin's article "The Gypsies" references this typical hairstyle of the gypsy female. He writes, "...Gypsies drew huge crowds...when they would wander into a town. People longed to see Gypsy women in person, with gold coins around their necks and bosoms, as well as in their hair-plaits."³⁶

Despite their efforts to flee however, the firing continues:

Y otras muchachas corrían
perseguidas por sus trenzas,
en un aire donde estallan

rosas de pólvora negra.
 Cuando todos los tejados
 eran surcos en la sierra,
 el alba meció sus hombros
 en largo perfil de piedra. (106-116)

Sadly, as illustrated by the final two of the above lines, the dawn merely shrugs in indifference suggesting that this tragedy is nothing more than a common occurrence in the life of a gypsy town. This common occurrence in a group's habitus is elaborated upon in Bourdieu's *Outline of a Theory of Practice*:

The homogeneity of habitus is what -within the limits of the group of agents possessing the schemes (of productions and interpretation) implied in their production- causes practices and works to be immediately intelligible and foreseeable, and hence taken for granted. (80)

The poem ends with the Civil Guard riding away in silence as the city is engulfed in flames:

¡Oh ciudad de los gitanos!
 La Guardia Civil se aleja
 por un túnel de silencio
 mientras las llamas te cercan. (117-120)

In the final stanza the narrator inquires for a last time who could forget the city. He then states that should this happen, that person can seek it on the narrator's brow, alluding to the fact that despite the strife and persecution of the gypsy, the strength of character, resilience and identity can never be destroyed:

¡Oh ciudad de los gitanos!
 ¿Quién te vio y no te recuerda?
 Que te busquen en mi frente.
 Juego de luna y arena. (121-124)

The portrayal of the Spanish Civil Guard is ironic as its members are portrayed as dangerous, murderous and destructive when according to “La cartilla de la Guardia civil,” their role is to protect not only the people but the landscape and resources of Spain. Article 34 of the conduct code specifically mentions the expectations of the Civil Guard in the case of a fire, which completely contradicts the groups’ actions in the poem, as they, in fact, are responsible for the destruction: “En caso de que ocurra incendio, acudirá inmediatamente al punto donde tenga lugar, cuidando especialidísimamente de proteger a todas las personas que se encuentren en el sitio de la desgracia, asegurando sus intereses.”³⁷ What the poem reveals, however, is a major contradiction, since the men who are trusted to ensure the safety of the townspeople are guilty of destroying what they are assigned to protect.

When the gypsies first arrived in Spain they enjoyed a peaceful coexistence with the country’s other inhabitants. As a result of their expulsion and persecution during the reign of the Reyes Católicos, this minority group has endured years of discrimination by the members of the majority. This discrimination has given rise to the various stereotypes that portray the gypsies in a harsh and negative light. Once admired for their charisma, artistic ability and

craftsmanship, the nomadic people began to be regarded as beggars, thieves and promiscuous. García Lorca, however, attempts to portray the gypsies in a more flattering, romanticizing light in his compilations of poetry *Cante del poema jondo* and *Romancero gitano*. As will be further discussed in chapter three, despite the affinity he felt for this marginalized group, the poet wished to create a distinction between him and them. Although he admired their art, culture and desire to live outside of the accepted conventions of Spanish society, Lorca considered himself to be more refined and educated. He does, however, seek to dispel the preexisting myths that represented them as nefarious and thieving, hence giving rise to the negative stereotypes that had befallen them.

Unlike the women of the rural trilogy, many of the gypsy females of the poems are self-assured and confident, particularly those featured in *Cante del poema jondo*. They are fearless and self-reliant. It is they who are in control and able to make their own decisions regardless of the potential consequences, as demonstrated, for example, in “La casada infiel.” Aloof to the swooning men they attract, these females are comfortable in their solitude, savoring their independence and freedom from the greater society’s rigid barriers, unlike the bourgeoisie Amparo, who isolates herself from the world around her. Although the women in *Romancero gitano* are not depicted as being as strong as the women in *Cante del poema jondo*, Lorca portrays them in a highly tasteful and respectful manner. As disdain for the Spanish authority and its social conventions

has been ingrained in the gypsy characters since childhood, it has become part of their collective habitus.

Notes

¹ This was a reference made to the African Americans living in New York when García Lorca temporarily moved there and wrote *Poeta en Nueva York*. As with the gypsies, he felt a certain connection to the African Americans, as they too, were living as cultural the minority of society and also experienced prejudice and discrimination by the majority.

² This was a quote from an interview with García Lorca. This excerpt was taken from page 29 of Lorca expert Ian Gibson's book *Federico García Lorca, a Life*.

³ The terms *cantaores* and *bailaores* refer to the singers and dancers respectively. They are corruptions of the words *bailadores* and *cantadores* and are commonly used in the flamenco culture. The Sacromonte is a neighborhood in Granada, which by the 19th century had become primarily populated by the Spanish gypsy community. They built their homes into excavated caves and the area became well-known for its Flamenco. It is considered the center of the city's gypsy culture.

⁴ Flamenco is a folk style of music that is associated with the gypsies of the southern region of Spain, Andalucía. It typically involves three parts: the *cante* (singing), *toque* (guitar playing) and *baile* (dancing). It consists of several *palos*, or rhythms, each one with its own mood and stylistic elements.

⁵The Albaicín is the oldest section of Granada. It is located in the northeast part of the city and is known for its narrow cobbled streets and

Moorish-style houses known as *cármenes*, To the south is the Darro river, to which García Lorca frequently refers in his poetry.

⁶ This excerpt was taken from Francisco García Lorca's 1986 book, *In the Green Morning: Memories of Federico*, published in New York by New Directions Book. The quote refers to the musical recitations delivered by García Lorca who was often accompanied by La Argentinita who would sing, dance or perform castanets to García Lorca's piano or guitar playing.

⁷ *Platero y yo*, written by Juan Ramón Jiménez and first published in 1914, is a poetic narration of the life and death of a young boy's donkey and friend. Although written as an adult text, the simplicity of Jiménez's writing style allowed for it to be read as a children's text as well, although it does contain hints of social critique. Unlike many of the writers of the time, Jiménez chose to focus on his native region of Andalucía instead of Castile, the more dominant region of that time. *Platero y yo* draws upon the area's many resources, such as the small towns, the animals, the ringing bells, the moonlight and the people. The referenced quote depicts the impression made upon the boy as he and his donkey encounter three gypsy women.

⁸ Elizabeth Simarco's book *Gypsies* provides a historical account of this nomadic people. See Works Consulted for complete bibliographical details.

⁹ *Gypsy heart productions* is an online resource that provides information on flamenco dance and music. This information was published in 2013.

Retrieved from:

http://gypsyheartproductions.com/video/?page_id=7

¹⁰ Excerpt from *The Culture and Persecution of the Gitanos* by J.O and E.S.. This is an online source, therefore there is no page number. Retrieved from:

<http://www.unionromani.org/histo.htm>

¹¹ Excerpt taken from *Los Gitanos en España* by Agustín Vega Cortés written by *la Asociacion "Jovenes contra la intolerancia*. Barcelona 1997. This is an online source, therefore there is no page number listed. Retrieved from:

<http://www.unionromani.org/histo.htm>

¹² This article was originally published in "Jovenes contra la intolerancia." This article was published online and no original date is given. It was was retrieved from:

file:///E:/LOS%20GITANOS%20EN%20ESPA%C3%91A.html

¹³ Excerpt from Bertha B. Quintana's and Lois Gray Floyd's *Qué Gitáno!:Gypsies of Southern Spain* New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1972.

¹⁴ Excerpt from Amy Matamuro's article *Gypsy Legislation in Spain 1499-1783* published in 2003 in *The Concord Review*, Inc. p. 142-161.

¹⁵ The signing of the Pragmática de Medina del Campo, by King Fernando and Queen Isabel, marginalized the gypsies by declaring that they are dangerous.

¹⁶ This quote was taken from page 144 of Amy Motomura's article and does not contain the page number for where the quote was extracted. This article was featured in the *Concord Review*.

¹⁷ This was an online source, therefore there is no page number listed.

The article was retrieved from:

<http://www.flamencoshop.com/gypsy/historicalnotes.htm>

¹⁸ The Leyes gitanas are part of an unwritten moral code to which all gypsies are expected to adhere. They are essentially a set of cultural norms that vary between the males and females of the culture. They discuss, for example, the female's act of fortune telling, and its accompanying responsibilities and regulations.

¹⁹ Excerpt taken from Judith Okley's 1983 article "The Traveler-Gypsies." Cambridge University Press.

²⁰ This excerpt was retrieved from the University of Calgary's Clive Marsh's 2008 honors thesis *Muletas, Bandanas, and the Bull: an analysis of Bull Fighting, Bull Riding, and Masculinity*. See the Works Consulted for bibliographical information.

²¹ The gender of the narrator is not revealed in the poem. The use of "he" is mine.

²² Sorrowful wailing in the flamenco song

²³ Oleanders contain a toxin called Cardenolide Glycosides. The toxin is mostly contained in the sap which is clear to slightly milky in color and sticky. When ingested in certain quantities, this toxin can cause harm and possibly death. The extremely bitter and nauseating taste of the sap (much like rotten lemon) causes a mechanical reflex in the stomach which rejects and expels the vile substance. This information was taken from the International Oleander Society informational site: <http://www.oleander.org/toxic.html>

²⁴ *Solearera* means one who sings the *Soleares*, a traditional flamenco rhythm.

²⁵ This information was retrieved from Angeles Cruzado's article "Dolores la Parrala" on the website *Flamencas por derecho: Mujeres que han dejado su impronta en la historia del flamenco*. It was retrieved from: <http://www.flamencasporderecho.com/dolores-la-parrala/>

²⁶Antonio Machado Alvarez was a Spanish writer, anthropologist and expert of folklore. He lived from 1848 to 1893 and is credited for preserving and consolidating much of Spain's folklore and poetry. Knowing English, he translated several works, including those on the anthropological field, and also is credited for having created a collection of riddles. Known by his pseudonym Demófilo, Machado was regarded as an expert on the flamenco art form, compiling the songs into anthologies.

²⁷ Information taken from Ted Hielbert's 2005 article *The Medusa Complex: A Theory of Stoned Posthumanism* which was published in the online journal *Drain*.

²⁸ This information was obtained from the following online source which does not list the author nor the date published: <http://com/palos-del-flamenco/la-saeta/>.

²⁹ This information was taken from the online source ¡Que paren las maquinas! which was featured on the site 20 minutos.com. The entry was published on July 25th, 2008.

³⁰ Although this excerpt was taken from *Body Politics: Power, Sex and Non-verbal Communication*, it was cited on page 16 of Bourdieu's *Masculine Domination*.

³¹ This information was taken from an article that discusses the portrayal of Carmen from Prosper Mérimée's novella of the same name which was later dramatized as an opera by Georges Bizet. Carmen is typically portrayed as a buxom, dangerous gypsy woman who is not to be trusted.

³² This article was written in 1997 by Terri Windling. It originally appeared in *Realms of Fantasy* magazine, but the quote featured here was found online. Therefore, there is not page number listed.

³³ Jerez de la Frontera, commonly referred to as simply Jerez, is a city and municipality of Cádiz, a province of the larger Andalusian area. La Frontera

refers to the border it shares with Granada, the city with which García Lorca is mostly associated. Jerez de la Frontera is considered to be the birthplace of the art of Flamenco.

³⁴ The “Escuela bolera” originated in the 18th century and was a style of dance known for the grace and elegance of its movements. It was a fusion between the popular dances in Spain and ballet. The castanets were an integral part of the bolero as they enhanced and showcased the intricacies of the steps and movements.

³⁵ Rosa de los Camborio is a reference to Antonio Torres Heredia, otherwise known as Antoñito el Camborio, a character who appears in other poems in *Romancero gitano*. The “El prendimiento de Antonio el Camborio en el camino de Sevilla,” for example, is an epic poem that relates the story of Antonio Torres Heredia’s journey to Sevilla. As he is in route to a Sevillian bullfight, he decides to steal some lemons and is detained by five civil guards. The play contrasts the cowardice of Antonio with the bravery of the authentic gypsies.

³⁶ This article was written in 2011 by James A. Watkins, but was found online. Therefore, there is no page number listed. Watkins, however, credits much of his research to Angus Fraser’s publication *The Gypsies*, which was first published in 1995. Fraser was a renowned supporter of the gypsies and strove to promote and preserve their culture through his research and historical accounts.

³⁷ The “Cartilla del Guardia Civil” was established in 1852 and was the original conduct code which outlines the expectations for those who serve in the Spanish Civil Guard.

CHAPTER THREE: BOURDIEU AND LORCA AS OBSERVERS

The Roma is the most basic, most profound,
the most aristocratic of my country, as
representative of their way and whoever keeps
the flame, blood, and the alphabet of the
universal Andalusian truth.

—Federico García Lorca

Bourdieu: Observer of the Kabyle in Algeria

In 1955 Pierre Bourdieu was drafted into the French army.¹ During the years 1958-1962, in the midst of the Algerian War,² he returned to stay in Kabylia, Algeria in an attempt to study the country's Berber population on an ethnographic basis. Having witnessed the catastrophic effects of the war, he began to notice certain circumstances that contradicted his position as an ethnologist, and therefore, this ultimately contributed to his move from ethnology to sociology. He strove to better understand the subjects he observed in a scientific manner through the means of inquiry into their social functioning, culture and social reproduction. His purpose was to study the historical structures of the masculine order which come in the form of unconscious schemes of perception and appreciation; and, to comprehend these structures, where the natural tendency is to understand them in the realm of the existing and accepted form of the particular form of domination that is being observed (Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* 5). In his investigation in Algeria, Bourdieu attempts to steer away from the preconceived notions that are

automatically conjured up as the result of preexisting masculine domination that permeated the Kabyle Berber culture. He seeks a practical strategy for objectifying the subject which aims to explore the categories of classification. This strategy should be inherently and unconsciously accepted and may be applied universally, causing the experiment to be viewed as a social-scientific experiment. Bourdieu provides an ethnological analysis of the objective structures and cognitive forms prevalent among the Berbers in Kabylia, whom, as the observer, he concurrently viewed as familiar and exotic. The interaction of his subjects serves as an instrument of his socio-analysis that investigates how the unconscious objectifies the categories that are unconsciously generated. In his introduction to Bourdieu's *Outline of a Theory of Practice* Richard Nice describes the study as "a reflection on scientific practice which will disconcert both those who reflect on the social sciences without practicing them and those who practice them without reflecting on them" (vii).

At the end of his study of the Kabyle people Bourdieu concluded that when any form of domination has been analyzed scientifically and then made available to the general public it will yield two opposing social effects. He argues that, for some, the gaining of access to these studies may further symbolically reinforce the type of domination that is being studied, if the domination coincides with the discourse of the majority, therefore, perpetuating the objectification of the objectified. This would appear under the guise of being nothing more than an ongoing recording of what has traditionally occurred in the field of those particular

agents. On the other hand, it yields the potential of bringing to light the discriminatory domination that has been perpetuated historically and lays the groundwork to neutralize the domination in order to uplift and give a voice to the formerly voiceless victims. This type of empowerment, he cautions, opens the gateway for many misunderstandings. In *Masculine Domination* Bourdieu writes, “For one cannot overestimate the risks that arise for any scientific project that allows its object to be imposed on it by eternal considerations, however noble and generous they may be” (113). The analyst, for example, must be able to resist the temptation to “simply to invoke his or her good faith if he or she did not know that, in such sensitive matters good faith is not enough” (113).

García Lorca: Observer in New York and the Gypsies

Like Bourdieu, Lorca left his native land and lived temporarily abroad. But, where the French thinker’s purpose was to perform a socio-analytical investigation of the agents of the Berber field in Algeria, the poet ventured to a foreign place for more personal reasons. In June of 1929 Lorca embarked on his journey to North America where he was scheduled as a guest lecturer to lead conferences in both New York and Cuba over a span of approximately one year before returning home to Spain in March of 1930. He had expressed a desire for change in his life. In Spain he was undergoing an emotional crisis as he had feared that he had peaked in his creativity and popularity and was in search of new experiences and inspiration. Lorca had fallen into a deep depression as a

result of a falling out he had had with his close friend sculptor Emilio Aladrén.³ Following the rupture of this friendship, he felt a profound betrayal by two of his closest friends, Salvador Dalí and Luis Buñuel upon their production of the short film *Un chien andalou* which Lorca felt had been created in order to mock him.⁴ Feeling betrayed by his companions and experiencing a state of deep loneliness, the poet solidified his decision to temporarily leave his native country.

In addition to the personal struggles facing him, Lorca felt very overwhelmed by the political situation in Spain. He had become growingly skeptical of the dictatorship of Miguel Primo de Rivera, and along with 24 other writers composed the manifesto which outlined their disgust and discontent with the country and their desire to see change.⁵ At first excited by the prospect of change, as the departure date grew closer he began to question whether or not he had made the correct decision. Prior to his voyage, Lorca confided in his cousin Carlos Morla Lynch that he secretly regretted his decision to travel (Gibson 364). García Lorca had always felt a deep connection to his native land writing, "I love the earth. I feel myself joined to it in all my emotions. My most distant memories of childhood have a taste of the earth."

Upon arriving to New York, however, Lorca was quickly excited by the chaos of the busy streets and awed by the enormity of the skyscrapers, an attitude that would drastically change after a few short weeks. During his initial days in the city, he encountered a group of fellow Spanish intellectuals living at Columbia University. As a proviso for being able to reside in the dormitory, Lorca

was required to enroll in a class that focused on English as a foreign language. Rarely attending class and neglecting to take the final exam, the poet did not excel in the course. Instead he devoted his time at the university's Spanish Institute where he was able to interact and express himself in his native tongue. He would often give lectures on the literature and music of Spain, delighting his audiences with his talent and great knowledge of the subjects. It was through these means of expression that he was able to remain connected to the land that he was greatly beginning to miss.

This fascination with the city began to dissipate after Lorca visited a nightclub in Harlem known as *Small's Paradise*, a bar frequented by the borough's African American population. It was here that he first encountered the poverty and marginalization of certain minority groups, of which he had been previously unaware. Similar to Bourdieu with the Berbers of Kabylia, Lorca viewed the individual's as primitive and exotic. He also, however, identified with what he understood as their desire to exist freely and their drive to live by their natural instincts, much like the gypsies of whom he frequently wrote and himself, as he often felt marginalized by the conservative constraints of twentieth century Spain. Contrasting the discrimination that faced the African American population of Harlem with the wide spread wealth he had encountered in other areas of the city, Lorca became disenchanted with New York. The skyscrapers that had once fascinated him began to symbolize the mechanization of society as they blocked out the sunlight and disrupted the flow of the nature he so cherished. He now

viewed the city as cold, harsh and dehumanizing with materialism at its heart. For Lorca, New York represented the struggle of man to balance the sickness that had invaded his body and soul, and he desperately longed to return to his native Andalusian soil. His distaste for the city became even stronger during the stock market crash of 1929. In a letter he had written to his parents he implores them to not fault him for the helplessness he was feeling and says that he cannot take responsibility for the moral crisis and conflict that he was experiencing, as these are merely the bi-products of the struggles he had encountered while being abroad. As revealed by Gibson in *Federico García Lorca: A Life*, “Yo no quiero de ninguna manera que estéis indignados conmigo. Esto me apena. Yo no tengo culpa de muchas cosas mías. La culpa es de la vida y las luchas, crisis y conflictos de orden moral que yo tengo” (348). Here he demonstrates his inability to separate himself from the field he is observing. He begins to identify with particular aspects of the city and allows himself to become engulfed in what is happening around him, therefore causing him to lose sight of his objectivity.

In a 1933 interview with journalist Luis Méndez Domínguez⁶ García Lorca describes his impressions of the bustling city in which he combines vivid imagery with recited excerpts from his poetry. In one instance he describes the cruelty and frigidity of the metropolis and how alone he feels as an Andalusian Spaniard lamenting, “Impresionante por frío y cruel...Espectáculo de suicidas, de gentes histéricas y grupos desmayados. Espectáculo terrible, pero sin grandeza. Nadie puede darse idea de la soledad que siente allí un español, y más todavía un

hombre del sur” (Sorel 101). This is a direct allusion to the tragedy that befell the city when the stock market had crashed. He portrays the situation as a show of suicide and mass hysteria, a stark contrast to the tranquility he so deeply missed of his small town in Granada. During his stay in New York, he also had the opportunity to travel outside of the city in order to experience both the Catskill Mountains and small town life in Vermont. It was during this time that he composed some of the other selections of his compilation *Poeta en Nueva York* that will be further discussed in the next chapter. Although he had escaped the chaos and cacophony of the city he grown to so vehemently resent, and was free to spend time in a more peaceful environment, the stillness and quiet only exacerbated his loneliness and longing to return to Spain. This solitude and desire is reflected in the somber tone of the poetry written during his stay.

When he returned to New York, Lorca continued to write until his departure for Cuba, a journey that restored the happiness and spirit of the downtrodden poet. Although, as he was in New York, the poet was still the observer of an outside field while in Cuba, despite the fact that he adapted quickly to his surroundings. Because he was now able to communicate freely in his native language and embraced the warm and welcoming culture of the island, García Lorca felt instantly at ease in his new temporary surroundings. While the next chapter specifically addresses the themes and poetic style that are present in *Poeta en Nueva York*, it is important to reiterate that the poems, which depict the peoples and cultures he encountered during his time abroad, are

nonetheless, written by an outside agent. Despite his immersion in the foreign fields, the poet is observing and assessing a culture that is not his own and falls prey to the aforementioned trap in which he may succumb, “simply to invoke his or her good faith if he or she did not know that, in such sensitive matters good faith is not enough,” which Bourdieu so adamantly cautions against. Questions, therefore, could arise regarding the validity of authenticity of García Lorca’s accounts, as his role is merely that of a subjective observer in a foreign field. Whereas in his poetry collections involving the gypsies the poet reminds us that he is merely an observer of the culture and by no means is a member of their field, due to the surreal manner in which Lorca intertwines his subjects and feelings, the distinction is not as clear in *Poeta en Nueva York*. He appears to inter-mingle the despair he felt while living in New York with the strife of the impoverished African Americans of whom he writes.

Although it could be theorized that if asked if he considered himself to be similar to the members of the African American culture he so admired in Harlem, García Lorca would insist on creating the distinction, as he did with his former marginalized subjects. His writing, however, does not necessarily reflect the ability to conduct what Bourdieu refers to as a double participant observation, in which the researcher is able to combine his prior knowledge of the subject with the objective study of the world. Arriving in New York without adequate prior knowledge of the people with whom he came into contact prevented him to be able to assess them in an objective manner. His poetry and descriptions are

raw, surreal and emotional, which does not allow for an investigation that is both subjective and objective at the same time. As was discussed more in depth in chapter two of this dissertation, Lorca made it a point to distinguish himself from the subjects of *Poeta del cante jondo* and *Romancero gitano*. He was always cognizant of his role as the observer and his writings made that clear, unlike the blurred lines of his identity while living in New York.

While observing the gypsy culture of southern Spain, Lorca was able to learn and appreciate many of their customs and rituals as an outside observer. One key indicator that was did not pertain to the group was his very sparse use of the gypsy language Caló.⁷ His poetry is lacking if not completely devoid of words from this lexicon. On very rare occasions he incorporates a word, but more often than not, it is merely a corruption of a Castilian Spanish word. For example, some Caló words that occur frequently in Flamenco songs are *camelar* (amar/to love), *currar* (trabajar/to see) and *sacáis* (ojos/eyes).⁸ These terms are very prevalent in traditional Flamenco songs that they have become adopted by many Castilian speakers today, but never occur in the poetry of García Lorca, hence creating another distinction between himself and his gypsy subjects. Because García Lorca was raised in Andalusia where the largest population of Spanish gypsies resides, he had enough prior knowledge to be able to observe them in a more objective manner. While studying the people of New York, on the other hand, it appears he treated the subjects in such a way that he was unable to distinguish between himself and them in his writings. As the letter written to

his parents demonstrates, the problems of the city have become his problems and he should not be held accountable for them. In other words, he has become a product of his new environment.

Notes

¹ France was the first modern state to require its citizens to enlist in the armed services. This requirement lasted for approximately 200 years, but was eventually phased out by the end of the twentieth century. Bourdieu, therefore, did not have the option of whether or not he enlisted in the French army as it was obligatory for all French citizens.

² The Algerian War occurred between the years of 1954-1962 and was fought between France and Algeria. This decolonization war began as an effort to gain independence from the French, but also incited a civil war within Algeria between the loyalists who supported the French Algerian government and certain Muslim groups of Algeria. The war eventually ended after the collapse of the Fourth Republic which later caused President Charles de Gaulle to grant the colony's independence. During his time in the French army, Bourdieu witnessed the many atrocities that accompanied this violent war which included guerilla warfare and torture on both sides. The conflict lasted for over seven years, with Algerians officially gaining their independence on March 19th, 1962.

³ Born in Madrid in 1906, Emilio Aladrén was a sculptor who had experienced a great deal of success as an artist during the years of the Franquist dictatorship by sculpting bronze busts of the dignitaries of the regime. Aladrén and García Lorca had developed a deep, sentimental relationship during the year prior to the poet's departure. The rupture of their friendship was a major

contributor to the depression Lorca underwent and why he had accepted the offer to give lectures in New York and Canada.

⁴ *Un chien Andalou* (The Andalusian Dog) was a short surrealist film created in 1929 by Buñuel and Dalí. The plot is highly unconventional and portrayed with a free-flowing and disjointed chronology of events. Although it was never confirmed, Lorca felt that the movie alluded directly to him and his naivety and fear from breaking from his traditional upbringing. Although there were existing problems in his friendship with the artist and director, the production of this film was the final blow to the relationship. This was another contributing factor to the depression he suffered by the poet.

⁵ Miguel de Primo de Rivera was an aristocratic Spanish military officer who later became dictator of Spain in 1923-1930 after the country's Restoration Period. He was harshly criticized by the citizens he ruled. In 1930 his dictatorship fell, giving way to the Second Spanish Republic which ruled from 1931-1939.

⁶ This quote was originally taken from an interview with Lorca which was conducted by Luis Méndez Domínguez in 1933. It first appeared in the Spanish newspaper *ABC* on March 5, 1933 and was later translated and republished in the online magazine *Bomb: Artists in Conversation* in June of 2013. I accessed this quotation from Andrés Sorel's 1997 book *Yo, Lorca*.

⁷ Caló is a language spoken by the Romani of Spain. It is considered to be a Para-Romani language, as it follows the structures of Romance grammar but

incorporates words from the Romani lexicon. At times it is used as an argot, or secret language, among its speakers.

⁸ These terms were taken from an online source which provides a dictionary of the most common Caló words. Therefore, there is no page number listed.

CHAPTER FOUR: POETIC STYLES OF GARCÍA LORCA

Romancero gitano

As discussed in chapter two, *Romancero gitano* is a collection of 28 lyrical poems that primarily features the gypsies of Andalusia. Fifteen of the poems contain modern poetic images presented through traditional literary format, while the remaining three were considered by the poet himself to be historical ballads. The entire collection, however, follows the traditional eight syllables per line meter of the medieval ballad, or *romancero*, containing assonant rhymes on every other line. The nonstanzaic construction of the *romancero* allows for more of a loose verses perfect rhyme, enabling the poet to express himself in a less restrictive manner, allowing him to begin his poems in *media res*¹ and provide abrupt endings. The content and wit of the selections, however, are consistent with the modern poetry of his time. *Romancero gitano* can be further broken down into five thematic subcategories.

The first theme is lyricism and women which depicts the confrontations between the gypsy world and the various mythical forces, such as death, desire and masculine instinct. The second category involves the dilemmas that the women of the poem encounter which bring with them death, tragedy and despair. The third theme involves three mythical Archangels which represent Andalusia. The descriptions are complex and feature San Miguel, who symbolizes Granada, San Rafael of Córdoba and San Gabriel who represents Sevilla. The fourth theme could be subdivided into two categories. The first part includes the epic

struggles of the gypsy men and depicts extreme situations such as murder, humiliation, heartbreak leading to death and inescapable omens. The second features the “Romance de la guardia civil española” in which, as previously shown, the mythical world of the Andalusian gypsies is threatened by the destructive forces personified by the Spanish Civil Guard. The last theme of the compilation features legends and traditions to which the poet incorporates slight changes to the stories in order to adapt them to the gypsy world, in an effort to reinforce their mythical and universal projections.

García Lorca’s gypsies are not folkloric, but instead represent the social marginalization of the group as well as the natural instinct of man. For him, the gypsies are symbolic of Andalusian culture. They represent the exotic and are the archetype of free men, who fight against repression and social violence.² The poet features them in the natural, traditional settings pertaining to their habitus, making it easy for the reader to imagine the environment to which they pertain. The men are depicted as sensible, serious and quiet, deeply influenced by the customs of their habitus. The females, on the other hand, are described in depth physically and are symbols of eroticism and sensuality. They are described as sad, weak and protected by their gypsy men, differing drastically from the females of *Cante del poema jondo*. Although symbolism is important in the majority of García Lorca’s literary productions, it plays a particularly significant role in “Romancero gitano.” The moon, for example, appears over 215 times in the collection of poems, often as a symbol of death. Other recurring

symbols, most of which are pertinent to the agents' cultural field, are metal, seen in forms of knives, rings and anvils, which signify the life and death of the gypsy, air or wind, symbolizing masculine eroticism, alcohol which symbolizes negativity and milk which represents the natural things pertaining to the gypsy world. Although the collection utilizes the poetic form of the *romance*, which was what the ancient writers used as the vehicle to relate their tales, García Lorca deconstructs this traditional format of realism, by including startling images and metaphors to convey his ideas. In her article *Deconstructive Narrative: Lorca's Romancero gitano and the Romance sonámbulo*, Frieda Blackwell defines the original intention of this poetic form: "Traditionally, the romance functioned, as did the epic from which it derived, to narrate historical and contemporary events, and to preserve national values or propagandize even as it entertained. In fact, by the late Middle Ages, the romance became recognized as an authoritative text that enunciated national values." Her investigation, however, continues to describe early twentieth century artists' and writers' rebellion against the traditional aesthetic features of realism. In the case of Federico García Lorca, although he maintained the romancero structure, he incorporated complicated metaphors grounded in surrealism that reflect the habitus shared by his subjects.

Poema del cante jondo

Poema del cante jondo is a collection of 51 independent poems which have been divided into two sections. The first section begins with a long introductory poem and is followed by four shorter poems. The latter four are

representations of the traditional cante jondo forms the *siguiriya*, *solea*, *saeta* and *petenera*. These poems are based on his reactions to these styles of cante (Hobbs 23). They are further broken down into subsets. For example, the poem of the *siguiriya* consists of seven shorter movements which follow the same sequence of the music. In the study “An Investigation of the Tradional Cante Jondo as the Inspiration for the Song Cycle *Five Poems of Garcia Lorca* by Elisenda Fabregas,” Mary Etta Hobbs diagrams this musical sequence and connects each poem to its corresponding section of the traditional *siguiriya* song.³ The “Poema de la *siguiriya*” can be broken down the following manner:

- 1- “Paisaje” (landscape): This poem serves as the introduction, creating the atmosphere and introducing the setting, much like the introduction of the song sets the tone for what will follow.
- 2- “La guitarra” (guitar): The second poem in the sequence is, as the name suggests, about a guitar which introduces the musical aspect to the *siguiriya*.
- 3- “El grito” (the cry): This third poem is reminiscent of the singer’s entrance which is usually marked by a wailing *quejío* further strengthening the somber tone of the song.
- 4- “El silencio” (the silence): This marks the juxtaposition between the frenzied cry and the serenity that comes with the silence that follows the accelerating pace of the third poem.

- 5- “El paso de la siguiriya” (the passage of the siguiriya): This poem represents the musical body of the song. The verses of the poem parallel the verses that the cantaor would sing, each one becoming more intense.
- 6- “Después de pasar” (afterwards): Building upon the intensity of the music and song of the fifth poem, “Después de pasar” continues the crescendo until once again ending abruptly.
- 7- “Y después” (and then): The final poem, like the fourth, provides a halt to the preceding build up and ends in silence. This final poem signifies the ending of the song of the siguiriya.

Fabregas continues in her investigation of the structure of the poems citing the speech given on the evening of the contest famed *Concurso de cante jondo* of 1922⁴ in which Lorca pleads with his audience, “I respectfully appeal to all of you not to allow the precious living jewels of the race the immense, thousand-year-old treasure that covers the spiritual surface of Andalusia – not to let that die (55).” In this quotation he is referencing the need to preserve and promote the Flamenco art form, a subject of great importance to Lorca. He was hoping to correct the inaccurate and negative image many members of the non-gypsy habitus had held at the time.

In his book *The Tragic Myth: Lorca and Cante Jondo*, Edward F. Stanton discusses how some critics have described the collection as a fusion of poetry and music for the guitar. He writes, “The verse incarnates the land from which

the Andalusian songs derive, the human feeling they express and the musical substance- of which the guitar is the fundamental element.”⁵ Although the other poems of this first section of *Poema del cante jondo* are also subdivided into smaller parts that portray the character of their respective Flamenco forms, they do not capture the spirit of the songs as adequately as the *Poema de la siguiriya*.

While the first section of the collection focuses on the traditional songs of the cante jondo style, the second depicts the life in Andalusia, describing its people, cities, landscapes, cafés, singers, dancers, etc. The aforementioned aspects serve as the characters of the poems and occur frequently. There is a great use of symbolism with the meanings of the symbols changing from poem to poem. In this section beauty is often coupled with negativity such as the “deathly odor of the spikenards, the white sterility of the camellias, the bloody color of the carnations, the acidity of lemons, the bitterness of olives and oleander” (Fabregas 22). These contradicting descriptions as well as the use of surreal imagery to describe ordinary scenes and occurrences enhance the beauty, richness and sensuality of the poetry. He accomplished this with his determination to elevate the appreciation of the gypsy songs by capturing their essences and combining them with his artistic vision. By extracting the natural elements of the gypsies’ cultural field and material of the traditional songs, Lorca enriches the scenes to create unpredictable endings. In her investigation Fabregas cites Lorca while he was commenting on the nature of his poetry which

he describes as possessing, “a great sense of anecdote.” He continues, “Nobody knows what happens, not even me” (5).

Poeta en Nueva York

Upon writing *Poeta en Nueva York* García Lorca made a drastic stylistic departure from the structured style for which he was most known, opting for an even more surreal approach. This departure coincides with his journey to North America where he leaves the familiarity of his field, venturing to a foreign land, where any habitus he will encounter will be rooted in a set of doxa quite dissimilar to his. He will spend a year interacting with agents of fields drastically different from the one to which he is accustomed. He all but abandons his tradition of classic lyricism and accused stylized writings which typically featured traditional verse and popular elements previously influenced by Golden Age writers such as Lope de Vega, Góngora and Quevedo. *Poeta en Nueva York*, whose structure is primarily based in surrealism, is reflective of the style of other popular poets of the time such as Bécquer, Rubén Darío and Antonio Machado who strove to express the “purity of poetry.” García Lorca accomplished this by the utilization of a more simplified versification and the extensive use of metaphoric language which is employed in part by the traditional forms of the *cancionero*⁶ and *romancero*, but also through the less structurally-restrictive free verse. Lorca used surrealism as the mode of transport of subconscious expression, radically differing from his previous style which adhered to the conventional styles of his poetic predecessors. By adopting this new stylistic

approach, the poet enjoyed a freedom to more deeply express what lingered in his subconscious mind as he was no longer bound to the structural guidelines that he had previously followed. He was free to spontaneously and subjectively inter-mingle images, concepts and feelings in irrational metaphors. He wanted the reader to perceive more than understand and rather than his poetry serve as functional and narrative, he desired for it to provoke emotional reactions in the reader.⁷

Because the compilation was published posthumously, it is difficult to say with certainty how the poet intended for it to be structured. There does, however, appear to be a natural division within the subject matter, which can be organized into ten different sections:

1. "Poemas de la soledad en Columbia University" is made up of a group of poems in which Lorca expresses the dismay he feels while in New York as he reminisces about his childhood in his rural Spain. Nostalgic for the comfort of interacting with members of this common habitus, he compares the innocence and beauty of his youthful atmosphere with the bitter harshness of the city.
2. "Los negros," a trilogy of poems dedicated to Ángel del Río⁸ reflects the poet's adoration for the African Americans living in Harlem. He writes not only of the prejudice and injustice experienced by the minority group, but also of their hope for liberation from their social situation. As discussed in

- the previous chapter, the poet was deeply affected by his interaction with the agents of this impoverished cultural field.
3. “Calles y sueños,” dedicated to Rafael Rodríguez Rapún⁹ is the collection that most vividly describes the city. Lorca reveals the distaste he felt for the dehumanization that accompanied New York’s economic capital greed.
 4. “Poemas del lago Eden Mills” consists of two poems that Lorca had written during a visit to Vermont. Dedicated to *La Barraca* co-director Eduardo Ugarte, the poems in this section relate the deep depression and isolation García Lorca felt during his North American stay. While in the mountains of Vermont the poet sunk even further into his despair and loneliness.
 5. “En la cabaña del Farmer (Campo de Newburg)” is a set of poems dedicated to his fellow writers Concha Méndez and the husband to whom Lorca had introduced her, Manuel Altolaguirre¹⁰. Written during his summer stay in the countryside, these poems feature actual people Lorca had met during his visit. He embellishes these relationships, however, by distorting the reality of the encounters. For example, he did meet the daughter of a farmer who lived in the Catskills, but in the poem in which the young girl appears (“Niña ahogada en el pozo”), she dies by drowning, an act which did not actually occur.

6. "Introducción a la muerte (Poemas de la soledad en Vermont)" contains a group of poems dedicated to the poet's friend Rafeal Sánchez Ventura, who was also a member of the *Residencia de Estudiantes* in Madrid.¹¹ These poems focus on the themes of death and solitude and the consequences they bring forth.
7. "Vuelta a la ciudad" is a section of poems that was written upon the poet's return to New York following his vacation in the countryside. In these selections he again denounces the evils of a capitalist system by employing metaphorical devices, such as Wall Street as a metaphor for death, or in "Cementerio judío" the Jewish person symbolizes economic power.
8. "Dos odas," dedicated to Lorca's editor Armando Guibert, consists of two compositions where the poet alludes to the theme of love. In the first poem, "Grito hacia Roma," Lorca denounces the hypocrisy of the Catholic Church, arguing that true love is rooted in the suffering of the common people. In the second selection, "Oda a Walt Whitman," the American poet embodies authentic love. Lorca portrays him as pure, kind and opposed to the pervasive homophobia, which directly contradicts the dogma of the Catholic doctrine, a pivotal teaching pertaining to the many members' habitus of twentieth century Spain.
9. "Huida de New York (Dos valsés hacia la civilización)" consists of two poems that mimic the rhythm and characteristics of the Waltz. Lorca

again writes on the themes of love, but in these selections the tone is much lighter and happier, perhaps due to the fact that he would no longer be living in the capitalist metropolis that had contributed so much to his depression.

10. "El poeta llega a La Habana" was dedicated to Cuban essayist and scholar Fernando Ortiz Fernández.¹² Although included in the *Poeta en Nueva York* compilation, this final poem is the only one written outside of the United States. While in the city of Santiago, García Lorca was inspired by the music and rhythms that he heard. His affinity for the Cuban people, culture and atmosphere allowed him to escape from the negative experience he had endured while living in New York.

As described by Miguel García-Posada in his book *Lorca: Interpretación de Poeta en Nueva York*, the poetic compilation is, "[...] uno de los grandes libros que consolidan el cultivo del verso libre en la poesía española." He categorizes the poems by three metric groups: those with traditional meter, those which combine traditional meter and free verse and those that are strictly comprised of free verse.¹³ García Lorca has been admired for his ability to describe ordinary actions and objects in an extraordinary manner. This talent is widely reflected in his compilations of poetry *Romancero gitano*, *Poema del cante jondo* and *Poeta en Nueva York*. While the first two collections highlight the Andalusian gypsy population of Spain, *Poeta en Nueva York* relates the poet's experiences during

his temporary stay in New York. All three collections display a logical organization based primarily on the themes that the particular poems address. *Romancero gitano*, for example, consists of 28 lyrical poems that can be subdivided into five categories based on the subject matter. Although the poems follow the traditional romancero structure, Lorca breaks from the typical style by incorporating more ambiguous imagery. Like *Romancero gitano*, the selections in *Poema del cante jondo* may also be categorized according to theme. The first section explores the traditional Flamenco forms while the second half describes the people, landscape and culture of the poet's native Andalusia, in other words, his cultural field. Lorca's ability to pair the beautiful with the negative and his use of surreal imagery create a richly sensual, dreamlike state for the reader. The third collection, *Poeta en Nueva York*, is also divided according to theme. While the poet had incorporated elements of the surreal into his previous selections, it is here where he delves more deeply into this style as many of his colleagues had also begun to do. Known for his incorporation of metaphors, symbolism and abstract imagery, García Lorca's literary style evolved from the more traditional poetic structure to the more avant-garde surrealism of his contemporaries.

Notes

¹ Beginning a literary work in *medias res* is a narrative technique that allows the writer to begin a tale in the middle of the dramatic event, instead of from the beginning. The critical situation is related to a prior chain of events. The structure is subsequently nonlinear and often begins as a flashback which serves as a vessel to orient the reader to the prior events of the story in order to provide background of the story. This style is often used in epic poems such as Homer's "The Illiad" and "The Odyssey."

² This information was extracted from the electronic source: "Romancero Gitano." *Romancero Gitano*. N.p., n.d. Web. 06 July 2014.

³ Although my format of the cycle is presented differently than Mary Etta Hobbs' circular diagram, the information is the same and based on her model.

⁴ The Concurso de cante jondo of 1922 took place on June 13th and 14th at the Alhambra in Granada. Although Manuel de Falla was the principal organizer of the event, other prominent figures, such as Lorca and Ignacio Zuloaga, were involved in the creation of the event. The purpose of the contest was to revive the appreciation for Flamenco that had become underappreciated and degraded. The committee members sought out the most talented young, amateur singers in Granada who would participate in a competition that would be judged by respected artists such as guitarist Andrés Segovia and singer Pastora Pavón Cruz, otherwise known as La Niña de los Peines.

⁵ Because this quotation was found electronically, there is no page number listed.

⁶ The *cancionero* is an ancient form of poetry which typically consisted of compilations of verses formed into books. The Spanish form, however, appears to be unrelated to the ancient Italian and French versions. The *cancioneros* of the Spanish genre were often strophic poems, or set to music.

⁷ This information was taken from the 1994 Millán edition of *Poeta en Nueva York*. Madrid: Cátedra.

⁸ Ángel del Río was a historian of Spanish literature who lived from 1900 until 1962. Born in Soria, Spain, del Río moved to New York where he served as the chair of the Spanish Language and Literature department at Columbia University. He authored the anthology *El concepto contemporáneo de España* (1946) and *Historia de la literatura española* (1948), as well as the introduction to Lorca's *Poeta en Nueva York* and *Vida y obras de Federico García Lorca* (1952).

⁹ Rafael Rodríguez Rapún was an engineering student and accountant of the theater group *La Barraca*. He and Lorca became intimate friends during their time spent together and maintained regular correspondence when Rodríguez Rapún left for Argentina.

¹⁰ The year after their meeting the two married and founded the printing press *Verónica* which published acclaimed authors such as Juan Ramón Jiménez. Concha Méndez was a renowned poet and dramatist and member of the alleged Generation of '27.

¹¹ *La Residencia de Estudiantes* was formed in Madrid and consisted of several prominent literary and artistic figures of Spain. It was through this group that García Lorca had formed his profound friendship with Salvador Dalí and film maker Luis Buñuel.

¹² Fernando Ortiz Fernández was an anthropologist and expert in Afro-Cuban culture. It was he who coined the term *transculturation* which involves the convergence of cultures. Like García Lorca, Ortiz had a fascination and profound interest in preserving and promoting the cultures of minority groups.

¹³ There is no page number available for this source.

EPILOGUE

When considering the literature of Federico García Lorca the theory of habitus may be applied in order to more aptly grasp the behaviors and development of the characters present in his dramatic productions and poetry. As habitus is formed by a set of acquired schemata, dispositions, sensibilities and taste, and operates under a subconscious level of ideology, it is therefore defined by the structural conditions from which it emerged. This concept which theorizes how we develop as people from infancy to adulthood originates in ancient times with thinkers such as Aristotle, was later elaborated upon by Scholastic thinker St. Thomas Aquinas, and further explored by modern philosophers such as Marcel Mauss, Michel de Certeau and Pierre Bourdieu. It was the latter, however, who substantially expanded the theory to include concepts such as doxa, symbolic violence and masculine domination as major factors contributing to one's overall habitus.

The doxa, or set of unquestioned truths, establishes the parameters for a group's social mobility within a social space. It consists of the unspoken, unchallenged limits collectively placed upon a group by the group itself. When analyzing the rural trilogy it becomes clear that the overall doxa of the groups in the plays dictates regulations by which the characters must abide, prohibiting the females to realize their true desires, ultimately leading to their demise. Because there is an unconscious acceptance that women are to remain in the home, essentially invisible and subservient, the women in the rural trilogy suffer in

silence. In *Yerma*, for example, the spouse of the title character forbids her to leave the house, a boundary solidified by the group's doxa. She will remain enclosed in her home, devastated by her controlling husband's refusal to concede to her only longing of bearing a child. Another example of the unrelenting terms established by the doxa occurs in *Bodas de sangre* when the bride, who desperately wishes to flee with her former suitor Leonardo, endures the bitter consequences of her decision to defy the social norms of her corresponding group's habitus. The impact of the restrictions established by doxa is also present in *La casa de Bernarda Alba* where the youngest daughter, Adela, in her grief-stricken state, takes her own life upon hearing that her forbidden love has been squelched by her overly authoritative mother. Because for all of the main characters in the rural trilogy women are expected to stifle their inner desires if they do not fit within the rigid parameters enforced by their doxa, they are forever doomed to misery, condemnation or even death.

Also prevalent in the rural trilogy are instances of what Bourdieu refers to as symbolic violence, which is the form of dominance so gentle and pervasive and inflicted so subtly upon its victims, they unwittingly submit and perpetuate the violence to which they are subjected. The expectation to adhere to established gender roles with regard to behavior, work and physical capabilities is ubiquitous in the three plays. For example, in *La casa de Bernarda Alba* the domineering mother does not accept the blame for her inability to aim the shot gun when she attempts to kill Pepe el Romero. Instead, she excuses herself as accurately

shooting a gun is not an attribute of women in her field. This unquestioned acceptance of gender capabilities demonstrates Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence. In *Bodas de sangre* this form of unconscious domination is revealed as the father of the bride discusses his daughter's household abilities. Having the potential to excel in domestic areas would have been a quality much appreciated by others in her social field. Because the would-be mother in law concurs that these capabilities are of great value, she perpetuates the symbolic violence that dictates the place and role of the female. The same idea is illustrated throughout *Yerma* as the young woman is consistently reminded that her place is in the home and that should she require anything, it shall be brought to her by her husband Juan. Another example is when Yerma's friend exclaims that she has no authority in how the household money is spent, as it is her husband who controls it, which, in turn, represents his control over her.

In addition to doxa and symbolic violence, masculine domination also contributes to Bourdieu's theory of habitus. Like the former two factors, masculine domination stems from the agent's social upbringing, beginning in the home and further affected by social institutions such as school or religious education, and is so ingrained in the agents of the cultural field that it remains unnoticed and uncontested. Examples of this subtle, institutionalized violence permeate the rural trilogy as the women are forced to submit to the chauvinistic parameters of their rigid society. As we have seen, any deviation from the acceptable male-oriented set boundaries of the field results in tragedy.

Therefore, she who attempts to defy the strict regulations of her rural society or deny her role as the submissive female will be punished and ostracized by the other agents, or members, of her field.

The acceptance of male dominance in the plays accurately reflects the attitude that prevailed in early twentieth century rural Spain. As a country deeply steeped in tradition and Catholic doctrine, Spaniards during this time period would not have been taken aback by the submission of the females in the plays, as traditionally women have been expected to acquiesce to their male counterparts. García Lorca, however, chooses to bring these issues of social injustice to the forefront, causing the audience members to stop and consider their own society, which would not have been so far removed from that which is presented in the plays. As the majority of rural Spaniards would have unquestioned their religious education, centuries of teachings of male superiority would have been deeply ingrained in their subconscious. As demonstrated in Fray Luis de León's Golden Age instruction manual *La perfecta casada*, in order to be deemed a perfect wife, a woman must submit to her husband's demands. It is he who has the decision making authority, which she has no right to question. She is to remain within the confines of her home, which she will prepare to his liking. Although this literary work may have appeared to be outdated, its fundamental message would have still resonated in the minds of twentieth century Spaniards; because whether conscious of the expectation or

not, women would have still been obliged to fulfill the role as the subservient homemaker.

While the women of *Yerma*, *Bodas de sangre* and *La casa de Bernarda Alba* live in a society where they are forced to succumb to the unrelenting rules dominated by masculinity, many of the females of the compilations *Poema del cante jondo* and *Romancero gitano* think and behave on the contrary. These women, many of whom are gypsies, tend to exhibit more strength and power than the females of the rural trilogy. They do not abide by the same laws and standards, and are not confined to fit within the strict parameters of rural society. As agents of a habitus different than that of the characters in the plays, the gypsies in the poem follow their own moral code and live by different social parameters. As in the plays, however, the habitus of the characters in the poems is first established in the home and then strengthened by the experiences that occur in the outside world. Starkly contrasting to the women in the plays, the gypsy females in many of the poems exercise their control over the swooning men who surround them. These women, however, do not allow the males with whom they have contact to dictate how they will live.

Although Federico García Lorca himself was not a gypsy, a point which he was adamant to make as he was often referred to as “the Gypsy Poet,” he admired this nomadic group and strived to revive their art form through his poetry and music during an era where Flamenco culture was considered low class and distasteful by the Spanish non-gypsies. By teaming up with famed dancer and

singer Encarnación López Júlvez ,more popularly known as La Argentinita, Flamenco was resurrected as an admired art form instead of a vulgar style of music and dance performed by the uneducated. Due to his efforts to break down cultural and class barriers, García Lorca is still revered by *gitanos* and *payos* alike. As previously mentioned, the poet wished to create a distinction between himself and the misrepresented subjects of his poetic compilations, considering himself to be more cultured and educated. He did, however, admire them for their refusal to conform to the expectations of Spanish authority as García Lorca, too, questioned the rigid limits imposed by those in power, and sympathized with the gypsies as they, too, suffered persecution by the conservative government for living outside of the margins of society. As the second chapter of this dissertation illustrates, the characters of *Poema del cante jondo* and *Romancero gitano* think and behave differently than those from the rural trilogy. As I postulated previously, this is due to a variance in habitus. Whereas the idea of the women in the plays defying the parameters of Spanish rural society would have been considered horrific and vehemently frowned upon, the opposite would have been true for the gypsy characters, who in early childhood are taught to distrust Spanish authority and rebel against its inflexible conventions. Unlike the constraints defined by the doxa of the rural women which obliges them to live in a world where they are assigned the role of subservient housewife, subjected to the symbolic violence and domination of the controlling males, the females in the poems do not succumb to the authority of the males with whom they interact.

These women live freely, an idea instilled deeply into them since birth, exploring and embracing their natural surroundings instead of remaining enclosed in their homes in silent exasperation. Although often featured alone or oblivious to those around them, the women still exhibit a certain power and strength, as if undaunted by their solitude. They are comfortable with their identity and do not submit to the men they encounter, unless if by their own accord, as shown in “La casada infiel.” Despite the potential catastrophic repercussions that could have occurred if the sexual encounter would have been discovered by the woman’s husband, she not only chooses to engage in the affair, but is also the initiator, deceiving the gitano initially by telling him she was a virgin.

Other women in the poems, such as Lola and Carmen, entrance those around them. Lola, for example, stands amidst the aromatic flowers of her native land singing from her balcony while the young bullfighters flock to her, wishing with futility to be acknowledged by the gypsy songstress. She is the counterpart to the bourgeoisie Amparo, who secludes herself indoors embroidering in a melancholic isolation, shutting out the world around her. The two women present a juxtaposition of the free-spirited nature of the gypsy with the reserved attitude and fear of crossing societal lines of the rural, middle-class woman. As agents of different cultural fields, both Lola and Amparo adhere to the parameters created by the respective doxas that contribute to each female’s habitus. Much like Lola, Carmen exhibits a bewitching power as she frenziedly moves through the streets recollecting lost loves and encounters with suitors. She captivates those around

her as she dances undaunted by her captive audience. So powerful is she, that the young girls are directed to draw the curtains so as not to be influenced by her carefree, hypnotic ways. Again we encounter an example of the development of the characters' habitus as the unknown narrator of the poem admonishes the girls for spying the gypsy woman, shielding them from her influence. This demonstrates that although the initial formation of habitus stems from the home, it is influenced by outside institutions and experiences. Therefore, it is demanded that the impressionable young girls draw the curtains so that their exposure to the enigmatic gypsy woman will not factor into their developing habitus.

In addition to highlighting the independent and enchanting nature of the gypsy females in the poems, García Lorca also reveals the imbedded distrust of Spanish authority as shown in "Romance de la guardia civil española." In this tragic poem an evening of gypsy holiday festivities is halted by the arrival of the merciless Spanish Civil Guard. What ensues is a night of violence and terror as the brigade ruthlessly sets fire to the town and massacres its residents who desperately attempt to flee the horrendous scene. In this poem the men in the civil guard behave according to their habitus which promotes the staunch rigidity of the military, providing a dramatic contrast to the unbridled spirit of those they are persecuting. The poet presents the members of the civil guard as cold and unfeeling, which perhaps stems from the way in which he himself regarded the conservative regime of Spain. Much like the gypsies he sought to honor and

immortalize through his writing, Federico García Lorca distrusted the Spanish government and supported those who chose to live outside of its oppressive societal margins, an attitude that would sadly result in his heartbreaking demise. In a similar fate met by the gypsies of “Romance de la guardia civil española,” the poet, too, would fall victim to the brutality of the Spanish authority.

When analyzing the literary works of Federico García Lorca it is important to consider his propensity to writing about the marginalized sectors of society. As demonstrated in chapters two and three of this dissertation, the poet carefully investigated the Andalusian gypsies and the African Americans of Harlem, New York. As the purpose of Bourdieu’s investigation was to study the historical structures of the Kabyle people in terms of the unconscious aspects that contributed to the masculine order of the field, Federico García Lorca also wrote about the oppression of the females in a male driven society in his rural trilogy, but extends his ideas of domination to include other groups living outside of the margins of society. On many occasions the poet reminds his public that he himself does not pertain to the gypsy culture and that life in New York is far different than the life to which he was accustomed in his native Granada. For example, his sparse incorporation of words from the gypsy lexicon Caló distinguishes him from the subjects about whom he writes. In very few of his poems do we encounter these words, and more often than not, they are merely orthographic corruptions of Castilian words, as in the previous example of his choice to use the word *mare* for mother instead of the standard spelling of *madre*

in his poem "Nana de Sevilla." His minimal incorporation of caló words, however, comes as no surprise, as he adamantly insisted that he was not a gypsy. By applying philosopher Pierre Bourdieu's theory of habitus to Lorca's plays and poetry, one is able to gain a deeper understanding of the thoughts and behaviors of the characters in the literary productions. As one of the world's most prolific and revered writers, Federico García Lorca causes his readers to go beyond the text, and make connections that help to better understand the human condition.

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ABSTRACT**A MATTER OF HABITUS: CHARACTER DEVELOPMENT IN THE LITERARY PRODUCTIONS OF GARCIA LORCA**

by

LISA MONTES**May 2015****Advisor:** Dr. Francisco Javier Higuero**Major:** Modern Languages (Spanish)**Degree:** Doctor of Philosophy

This dissertation explores the development of the characters in particular plays and poems of Spanish writer Federico García Lorca. The main theory that is applied in the analysis is that of Habitus, which was greatly elaborated upon by French philosopher Pierre Bourdieu. The first chapter discusses the character development of the women in the rural trilogy which includes the plays *Yerma*, *Bodas de sangre* and *La casa de Bernarda Alba*, all of which depict the tragic circumstances of the female characters that occurs when the unfulfilled women attempt to defy the conventions of early twentieth century rural Spain.

The second chapter focuses on the gypsies of Andalusia featured in the poetry compilations *Romancero gitano* and *Cante del poema jondo*. Unlike the females in the plays, the gypsies of the poems exhibit strength and independence. They are portrayed as much more mysterious and free-spirited as those featured in the trilogy. In both of the aforementioned chapters, the

theory of habitus is applied by tracing the upbringing of the characters from infancy to adulthood in order to better comprehend their thoughts and actions.

In chapter of three of the dissertation, García Lorca is examined as an observer who is analyzing a culture that is not his own. The poet is compared to Bourdieu and his experiences with the Kabyle people of Algeria. Like the French thinker, Lorca temporarily resided in a foreign land and wrote extensively on his impression of those from an outside culture. The analysis focuses on his interactions with and observations of the African American population of Harlem as he was writing his compilation of poetry *Poeta en Nueva York*. The final chapter discusses the evolution of the poetic styles that García Lorca incorporates in his writing, which begins as more traditional and progressively becomes more avant garde like the writing of many of his contemporaries.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL STATEMENT

Lisa Montes graduated in 1998 from the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor with a Bachelor's degree in Elementary Education as well as a Bachelor's in Psychology. She later attended Wayne State University in Detroit where she earned a Master's in Spanish and eventually went on to pursue her doctorate in Spanish and Literary Criticism through the department of Classical and Modern Languages, Literatures and Cultures.

In 1998, Lisa began her career as a school teacher in Pontiac, Michigan. The following year, she transferred to the Detroit Public Schools system where for thirteen years she taught in the bilingual elementary program which focused on preserving the children's native language of Spanish as they acquired English as a second language. Because she was raised in a family who believes in maintaining its Spanish culture, Lisa feels strongly about educating the Hispanic youth on the importance of remembering and sharing its cultural roots.

After several years of working in the bilingual program of Detroit, Lisa was offered a position in Berkley, to instruct middle school students in English Language Arts and Spanish. Thrilled at the opportunity to share her knowledge and love of both languages, she accepted the position and is currently in her third year at the school. While teaching her Spanish classes, Lisa imparts her travel experiences in places such as Spain, Nicaragua, Puerto Rico, Colombia, Mexico and the Dominican Republic in attempt to educate her students on the culture and traditions of the people in the countries.

As a young girl Lisa began studying the Flamenco, Regional and Folkloric dances of Spain under her grandmother Dama María del Carmen Montes who in 1990 was awarded El lazo de dama de la Orden de Isabel la Católica by former king of Spain Juan Carlos I, which bestowed upon her the title of Dame. As a principal dancer of her grandmother's performing company she obtained a deep understanding of the dances of Spain, particularly in the Flamenco style, which sparked her interest in the gypsy culture, a prominent aspect of her dissertation.

Traveling frequently to Spain, Lisa continues her dance education at the famed academy Escuela Carmen de las cuevas, where she is able to further her training and strengthen the ties to her Spanish heritage.