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Breaking with the Past: The Renegotiation of Emilia Pardo Bazán's Legacy and Gonzalo Suárez's Los pazos de Ulloa

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Article abstract

This essay argues that Gonzalo Suárez's Los pazos de Ulloa (RTVE 1985) emerges against Francoist narratives that presented Emilia Pardo Bazán and her works in a rather positive (if distorted) light. Through close readings of the gothic and anticlerical passages present in the film, I show how Suárez's miniseries constructs a new legacy for Pardo Bazán, one that breaks with her favorable reputation during the dictatorship, establishes her relevance in Spain's secular, newly democratic state, and justifies her privileged place in Spain's post-Franco canon.

GABRIELLE MILLER

Breaking with the Past: The Renegotiation of Emilia Pardo Bazán's Legacy and Gonzalo Suárez's *Los pazos de Ulloa*

Este ensayo sostiene que la serie Los pazos de Ulloa *(RTVE 1985) de Gonzalo Suárez rompe con el legado positivo pero distorsionado que disfrutó la figura de Emilia Pardo Bazán durante la dictadura franquista. A través de un enfoque en las escenas góticas y anticlericales de la serie, demuestro cómo el filme construye un nuevo legado para Pardo Bazán, uno que rompe con su reputación favorable durante la dictadura, establece su relevancia en una España secular y democrática, y justifica su lugar privilegiado en el nuevo canon literario español que se establece después de la dictadura.*

Palabras clave: *Pardo Bazán, Gonzalo Suárez,* Los pazos de Ulloa*, formación canónica, adaptación fílmica*

This essay argues that Gonzalo Suárez's Los pazos de Ulloa *(RTVE 1985) emerges against Francoist narratives that presented Emilia Pardo Bazán and her works in a rather positive (if distorted) light. Through close readings of the gothic and anticlerical passages present in the film, I show how Suárez's miniseries constructs a new legacy for Pardo Bazán, one that breaks with her favorable reputation during the dictatorship, establishes her relevance in Spain's secular, newly democratic state, and justifies her privileged place in Spain's post-Franco canon.*

Keywords: *Pardo Bazán, Gonzalo Suárez,* Los pazos de Ulloa*, canon formation, film adaptation*

Gonzalo Suárez's miniseries *Los pazos de Ulloa* (1985), a four-part television adaptation of Emilia Pardo Bazán's seminal 1886 novel and its sequel *La madre naturaleza* (1887), has received relatively little scholarly attention, perhaps because the series seems so representative of contemporaneous literary adaptations in Spain as to be considered unremarkable. Like many films subsidized by the UCD and PSOE governments, *Los pazos* enjoyed a

generous budget of 250 million pesetas (about 1.5 million euros), benefitted from foreign collaboration (in this case, with *Radiotelevisione italiana*), and boasted a star cast of actors, including Fernando Rey, Charo López, and Victoria Abril, as well as a respected movie director making his television debut. Indeed, critic Sally Faulkner includes the series in a list of so-called "middlebrow" Spanish films, her term for the numerous cinematic and televisual literary adaptations that "all variously display the key characteristics of serious subject matter, accessible treatment, high-cultural references and high production values" in the post-Transition period (*History* 277). Such films participated in the political and cultural agenda of the newly elected socialist government, which through the so-called *Ley Miró* (*Real Decreto* 3.304, 1983) aimed to subsidize "quality cinema" that would establish Spain's nascent identity as a liberal, democratic nation for both Spanish and European viewers (Labanyi et al. 251).[1]

In 1979, Spain's Ministry of Culture called for an alliance between *Radio y Televisión Española* (RTVE) and Spanish film companies to create miniseries inspired by "grandes obras literarias españolas" (qtd. in Willem 156). As Manuel Palacio has demonstrated, these television adaptations of literary "classics" functioned to "sanciona[r] el cumplimiento del canon pedagógico de lectura aceptado por la comunidad" through the creation of heritage films that would inculcate viewers with a particular vision of literary history (157). Following Núria Triana-Toribio, I use the term "heritage film" here to delineate a film interested in recuperating and transmitting a specific version or narration of Spanish heritage or *patrimonio cultural* (117).[2] After all cinema, as Andrew Higson reminds us, is intimately tied up in negotiations of national identity, a way of "narrating the nation," to borrow Homi Bhabha's wording (Bhaba 1). It is therefore not surprising that at the series' official debut in A Coruña on December 7, 1985, then-director of RTVE José María Calviño praised Suárez's miniseries as exemplifying the network's desire to "hacer obras no efímeras, obras que quieran y que nos permitan reconstruir el gran legado cultural de nuestro país" ("Presentación"). Evidently, Calviño envisioned the series as tied up in post-Transition negotiations of a Spanish literary canon representative of Spain's newly democratic nation.

In his groundbreaking theorization of literary canon formation, John Guillory establishes the indissoluble link between pedagogical institutions and received canons: "literary works must be seen … as the vector of ideological notions which do not inhere in the works themselves but in the context of their institutional presentation, or more simply, in the way in which they are taught" (ix). RTVE, conceived from the outset as an indispensable pedagogical tool (Sande 125), was uniquely positioned during

the Transition and post-Transition years to broadcast programming to primarily middle-class audiences that would facilitate "political cohesion" and "play an active role in the democratic socialization of the Spanish population" (George and Tang 7). Triana-Toribio is not the only critic to argue that the PSOE's cinematic policy in the 1980s paralleled Franco's in the 1940s in that both promoted film adaptations of Spanish "classics" that "rediscovered" a necessarily partial Spanish literary heritage, according to their respective visions of the nation (117-18; Faulkner, *Literary Adaptations* 23). As such, Transition and post-Transition film adaptations on both the big and small screens tended to privilege literary works that boasted "unimpeachable anti-authoritarian credentials" (Smith, *Vision Machines* 25), often rescuing "black-listed nineteenth-century novels" by recovering and incorporating them into a modern, post-Franco Spanish literary canon (Faulkner, *Literary Adaptations* 11). Thus, while Guillory in his theorization refers to anglophone universities and university syllabi, in the Spanish context we might expand his insight to view RTVE as a (government-sponsored) educational institution which, through its production of literary adaptations, participated in the construction of a "new," post-Franco Spanish literary canon.

However, unlike authors such as Federico García Lorca, Ramón del Valle-Inclán, and even Benito Pérez Galdós, whose works were adapted for the big screen and television in the 1980s, Emilia Pardo Bazán was not seen as a subversive figure during the dictatorship. While her literary talents were certainly underappreciated (Burdiel 239), her legacy was, as I will show, rather favorable, especially during the 1940s and 1950s. Thus, while other 1980s film adaptations indeed rediscovered or vindicated authors whose works represented *a priori* an ideological break with Spain's dictatorial past, Suárez's *Los pazos de Ulloa* necessarily complicates this narrative. Walter Benjamin has written that translation "issues" not from the original text but from the source's "afterlife" (*Nachleben*) (254), the "transformation" or "change" naturally experienced by all texts through time (256). While Benjamin is theorizing translation, his insight allows us to view Suárez's film as emerging from the afterlife of Pardo Bazán's naturalist novels, as "issuing" from their accumulated legacy – and that of the author. If, as Harry D. Harootunian argues, Benjamin "comes close to suggesting that translation resemble[s] a performance because it [is] destined always to be an 'enactment'" (71), we may read RTVE's adaptation of *Los pazos de Ulloa* and *La madre Naturaleza* as "performing" a renegotiation or reappraisal of Pardo Bazán's identity for contemporary audiences. This essay is comprised of two parts. The first section offers a much-needed reevaluation of Pardo Bazán's reputation during the Franco era and

identifies key legitimation strategies utilized by Spanish scholars and commentators that allied her with Francoist interests. This will help us to understand the so-called "afterlife" of Pardo Bazán and her naturalist novels during the Franco era that affect, at least in part, the direction of Suárez's adaptation. In the second section of this essay, my analysis of the film *Los pazos de Ulloa* demonstrates how the series emerges against Francoist narratives of the Galician author. I argue that the film establishes Pardo Bazán's relevance in Spain's newly democratic, secular state and in doing so, legitimizes her inclusion in the "new" Spanish canon.

Twenty-first century critical narratives tend to assume that Pardo Bazán, much like her realist contemporaries, was discredited under Franco's dictatorship and its conservative Catholic ideologies. José Manuel González Herrán's observation that Pardo Bazán's literary production was undervalued throughout the dictatorship certainly rings true when compared with its indisputable place of privilege in the Spanish canon today (19). In her recent biography of the author, Isabel Burdiel concludes that, by 1971, "el paso de los años y del franquismo la habían convertido en una figura acartonada, conservadora, relegada al papel de novelista regional (gallega) domesticada" (16). While we may certainly join these scholars in lamenting this highly subjective, static rendering of one of the greatest minds of the nineteenth century, the fact remains that Spanish newspapers and academic scholarship during the dictatorship reveal numerous affirmations of Pardo Bazán's literary prowess and exceptionality, especially during the 1940s and 1950s. And this, during a time when the dictatorship had yet to open itself to the modernizing forces of *desarrollismo* and governmental control of both universities and research was most stringent (Ruíz-Carnicer 114). Commentators and academics constructed a legacy for Pardo Bazán that emphasized the compatibility of her literary talent and aristocratic femininity, praising her Catholicism while ignoring or excusing her feminist leanings.

In fact, Francoist censors officially approved the teaching of Pardo Bazán's fiction at the high school level. While not introduced until the final year of the *bachillerato,* "La Pardo Bazán – La polémica naturalista – Novelas, obras y cuentos de la Pardo Bazán" constituted recommended topics in the *Cuestionario de Lengua y Literatura*, part of the Ministry of Education's *Orden de 14 de abril de 1939* that sanctioned secondary-education curricula (16). Despite its blatant ideological restrictions – for example, teachers are reminded that "deberán tener cuidado siempre que tengan que dar a conocer el nombre o las obras de algún autor de gran mérito literario, pero de carácter moral reprobable o de tendencias ideológicas o religiosas erróneas" (17) – it is worth noting that the Ministry

of Education does not blacklist or disallow particular works by Pardo Bazán but rather tacitly condones, if unenthusiastically, her literary *oeuvre*. Her work is thus treated differently from that of Clarín, who is never mentioned, and even Galdós, whose *Episodios Nacionales* are his only novels officially endorsed in the "Cuestionario."[3]

Moreover, several of Pardo Bazán's works were published in both Madrid and Barcelona in the difficult postwar years. Perhaps unsurprisingly given their religious subjects, *San Francisco de Asís, siglo XIII* (Madrid, 1941) and *Vida de la Virgen María* (Barcelona, 1941) were the first of her works to be printed in Spain after the Spanish Civil War. Additionally, several of her novels were published in Spain throughout the 1940s, including *Los pazos de Ulloa* (Madrid, 1943).[4] According to literary critic Federico Carlos Sáinz de Robles, who published a collection of Pardo Bazán's works entitled *Obras escogidas* in 1943 before editing her *Obras completas* four years later (1947, 1956, 1957, 1961, 1964), *Los pazos de Ulloa* remained Pardo Bazán's most famous novel, despite its so-called naturalist content (Sáinz de Robles 51). In a 1942 article in *Medina,* a woman's magazine associated with the *Sección Femenina,* poet Eugenia Serrano likewise praises *Los pazos de Ulloa* and *La madre Naturaleza* as "dos de las más sólidas y perdurables novelas del XIX" (4). Julio Romano writes in a 1944 magazine article: "[l]a vida corre, como manantial clarísimo, por las páginas de los libros de la Pardo Bazán. Por eso la obra de la insigne autora de *Los pazos de Ulloa* tiene acentos perdurables" (12).

It is worth dwelling on Romano's piece because it exemplifies the processes of legitimation that forge Pardo Bazán's legacy during the Franco era. Above all, these include frequent references to her Catholicism and maternity, emphasis on her wealth and aristocratic background, and a repeated insistence on her femininity. After outlining Pardo Bazán's literary talents, Romano exclaims "¡Y qué temblorcillo maternal hay en su regazo!" and lauds her "corazón abierto al amor de Dios y de sus criaturas" (Romano 12). While the article's purpose is ostensibly to alert the public to a forthcoming collection of Pardo Bazán's formerly unpublished stories, Romano dedicates the bulk of his writing to detailed descriptions of Pardo Bazán's "magnífica colección de abanicos" (12). We might explain the article's focus on feminine accessories by the illustrated nature of its venue, *Fotos,* which was a Francoist graphic magazine privileging photography (Sánchez Vigil 364). The six photographs of the exquisite fans that occupy two thirds of the article's two-page layout, which would have resonated with the eclectic taste of nineteenth-century Spain's upper class, are ostensibly more eye-catching and enviable than a forthcoming book. Yet their presence, evidence of the illustrious author's ownership, underlines

for readers Pardo Bazán's social class, with its implicit political alignment. They also betray a sense of elegance and style, establishing Pardo Bazán as a talented *condesa,* rather than a laughable *marimacho.*

Romano is not the only author or journalist to reposition Pardo Bazán's legacy in this manner. Serrano emphasizes that Pardo Bazán's formidable knowledge stems from "su posición social, de dama de grandes salones" and that in *San Francisco de Asís,* "se ve la dama rica, que no admite comodidades ni citas de segunda mano" (4). Serrano also genders Pardo Bazán's legacy as a polyglot: "Ella es polígrafa. España la [*sic*] debe muchas ventanas, que ha abierto, buena ama de casa, para ventilar nuestro ambiente" (4). In introducing Spanish audiences to the Russian novel – an achievement explicitly referenced by Serrano in the following sentences – Pardo Bazán in his estimation acts as an exceptional if benign housewife, airing out the metaphorical Spanish nation. Similarly, in a 1941 issue of *Legiones y falanges*, author Concha Espina reminds readers of Pardo Bazán's aristocratic title and emphasizes that, "ella supo de la Vida, de la Naturaleza y del Amor tanto como de los archivos y los documentos" (14). Espina expounds on Pardo Bazán's passion for her children and reflects at length on the assassination of her son Jaime Quiroga by bloodthirsty members of "el infierno rojo" during the Spanish Civil War: "Aquí, la madre y la escritora, recogen un airón póstumo y sublime, la cosecha de su acendrado patriotismo y de su fe católica; que de ambas excelsas cualidades dio pruebas de apologista de los franciscanos y la enamorada de su tierra española" (Espina 14). In Espina's estimation, Jaime's death for the nationalist cause further enshrines his mother's already-resplendent patriotic legacy.

We can see similar strategies at work in the academic world as well. Sáinz de Robles's lengthy introduction to his two volume *Obras completas* provides valuable insight into the academic establishment's narrativization of Pardo Bazán's legacy during the Franco period. Drawing from her "Apuntes autobiográficos," in the prologue to *Los pazos de Ulloa,* Sáinz de Robles writes poetically about a young girl who voraciously reads the Bible, the *Quijote*, and *Historia de las Cruzadas*. He also directly quotes at length an anecdote from the "Apuntes" that recounts Pardo Bazán's childhood impression of the return of victorious soldiers from "la guerra de África," in which she reflects: "Sacaba en limpio que el desenlace de la Guerra y aquella entrada de las tropas en A Coruña representaban algo muy grande y digno de ser celebrado, algo que no era el Gobierno … sino de otra cosa mayor, tan alta, tan majestuosa, que nadie dejaba de reverenciarla: la Nación" (Pardo Bazán, "Apuntes autobiográficos" 12-13). Evidently, both the young Pardo Bazán's reading list and her reverential regard for the Spanish nation would

appeal strongly to Francoist ideology, saturated in the myth of a homogenous Catholic nation basking in the glories of empire.

Both Sáinz de Robles and Elvira Martín, author of the award-winning *Tres mujeres gallegas del siglo XIX*: *Concepción Arenal, Rosalía de Castro, Emilia Pardo Bazán* (1962), further emphasize her maternal passion and devotion, anxious to underline that the author's prodigious literary production never distracted from that most sacred duty. Sáinz de Robles assures readers that at the height of her fame and accomplishments, Pardo Bazán preferred the tranquility of home and the comfort of family: "Ella, en su hogar, con el pudor de sus feminidades en carne viva … [m]undo imponente de emociones inolvidables … su hogar gallego, de inefables intimidades y hermosuras" (33). Even while affirming her exceptionalism both critics are keen to articulate how Pardo Bazán embraced the traditional model of femininity championed by the Francoist regime. Sáinz de Robles does not mention her separation from her husband. Evidently, at stake is demonstrating that both the Galician author and her writings fit neatly into – and in no way disrupt – dichotomous categories of gendered difference, as outlined by Martín: "La mujer puede tener un valor intelectual igual o superior al de la mayoría de los hombres en categoría, pero siempre será diferente en calidad. Sus valores son complementarios, no opuestos" (208). As a female academic herself, Martín explicitly nods to Francoist gender discourses in a strategic, recursive move that legitimates not only the subject at hand but also the study itself.

Both critics virulently denounce frequent assertions by Pardo Bazán's contemporaries that her literature resembles *escritura masculina*. For Sáinz de Robles, such grievous misrepresentations of Pardo Bazán's literature are products of the past: "ningún crítico actual perderá el tiempo en demostrar la feminidad exquisita de doña Emilia Pardo Bazán" (40). Similarly, Martín concludes her biography: "No tiene un cerebro 'macho' ni es un escritor. Es una gran escritora, honra del sexo femenino y de las letras hispanas" (209). In reinforcing the inherent femininity of Pardo Bazán and her works, Martín also distances her subject from "aquel feminismo de los tiempos de lucha cuando las pioneras de esta doctrina creían necesario vestirse de modo hombruno y cortarse el pelo para reclamar derechos civiles y políticos … Estas etapas están felizmente sobrepasadas" (207). In this way, Martín carefully positions Pardo Bazán's thought as neither *varonil* nor *feminista*. Meanwhile, in an article entitled "La Pardo Bazán y la mujer," published in 1952 in *Falange*, journalist and poet Lope Mateo praises the author's literary prowess before excusing her "ideas de emancipación para la mujer" as anachronistic musings: "[e]n aquellos años no cabía esperar otra cosa" (3). He maintains that "[l]a Condesa … nunca abdicó … de la idea cristiana"

before concluding, "[y] del apasionante programa de la emancipación de la mujer, ¿quién se acuerda ya? Satisfecha puede quedar doña Emilia en su centenario" (3). In describing Pardo Bazán's feminism as an outdated product of her time, Mateo and Martín, writing in different decades, preserve the author's favorable legacy while reminding readers that the moment for feminist activism has passed.

In analyzing the legitimation techniques through which scholars and commentators negotiated Pardo Bazán's legacy in the Franco era, I do not mean to defend the resultant construction of the Galician author, which is necessarily piecemeal and domesticated. If its most grievous error is the total omission of her iconoclastic feminism – indeed, of her gendered and cultural iconoclasm more generally – the Francoist image of Pardo Bazán further ignores her nuanced and often ambivalent positionings. For example, we now know through Burdiel's analysis of her correspondence that Pardo Bazán experienced motherhood ambivalently, articulating both a delirious joy and love for, especially, her firstborn, while simultaneously experiencing frustration at the limitations imposed by familial obligations (97-102). Moreover, due to the whims of Francoist censorship that often "seriously mangled" nineteenth-century texts (Gold 183), reliable copies of her literary works were not available in Spain or abroad until the 1970s (González Herrán 21). Despite the one-dimensional nature of Pardo Bazán's reputation during the dictatorship, however, the fact remains that her legacy was rather positive, at least amongst educated circles of the population. Three of her literary works were adapted into movies during the dictatorship, and, in 1964, the Ministerio de Información y Turismo created the Premio Nacional de Literatura Emilia Pardo Bazán, which was awarded until 1973 for excellence in literary criticism ("Premio Nacional). Unlike those authors who through film adaptations of their work were rescued from the void of Francoist censorship and reinstated as vital components of Spain's literary patrimony, at stake for Pardo Bazán is not so much a recovery but rather a reterritorialization of her legacy. To incorporate her into the literary canon of democratic Spain, it would be necessary to disentangle both Pardo Bazán and her literature from the Francoist ideologies with which, for decades, they had seemed compatible.

Suárez's *Los pazos de Ulloa* participates in this process of canon renegotiation by representing Pardo Bazán's source novels as eminently contemporary texts in dialogue with two prominent social issues in the 1980s: feminism and the question of Church influence in Spanish society. In doing so, the miniseries underlines the relevance of Pardo Bazán's novels to contemporary audiences even as, in the case of the latter issue, the series substantially changes the source text to bring Pardo Bazán in line, so to

speak, with the PSOE's vision of a secular Spanish state.[5] On canon formation, Lou Charnon-Deutsch observes: "If a book is part of a canon we recognize today, it has something to *say* to us, which means it has something to say *about* us; we need it to perform certain ritualistic self-identificatory practices" (471). While in the words of one reporter, Suárez claims to believe that "[en cuanto a] la literatura decimonónica … los temas ya no nos interesan" ("Gonzalo Suárez" 25), in practice the film's uncompromising representation of gender violence coupled with its anticlerical portrayal of Julián in the series finale gesture toward the immediate relevance of Pardo Bazán's novels, justifying their place in the Spanish canon.

The series' construction of Pardo Bazán as both feminist and anticlerical challenges and even contradicts the "afterlife" of the author and her works under Franco. Numerous scenes throughout the series' first three episodes vividly depict the physical, sexual, and psychological violence inflicted upon Nucha and Sabel by Pedro and their respective fathers, representatives (along with Julián) of patriarchal structures in the novel. While it is unlikely that Suárez explicitly envisioned the film as promoting a feminist agenda, the miniseries' depiction of both domestic abuse and the horrors Nucha experiences through the institution of marriage creates an adaptation of *Los pazos de Ulloa* that possesses an undeniably feminist theme, especially given the considerable rise of feminist activity in the Transition and post-Transition years (Ferreira et al. 305-06).[6] Moreover, during this period academics and journalists alike began to rediscover Pardo Bazán's self-proclaimed identity as a "feminista radical" (qtd. in Burdiel 415), an integral component of her journalistic legacy papered over during the Franco years.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, journalists situated Pardo Bazán as one of the pioneering figures of Spanish feminism in newspapers such as *La Nueva España*, *Blanco y Negro,* and *Diario de Mallorca* (De Pablos 21; Nos 25; Vallina 2; López Martínez 32; Escardo 29). A 1981 exposition sponsored by the *Centro Cultural de la Villa de Madrid* celebrated the 50th anniversary of women's right to vote in Spain by extolling Pardo Bazán and Concepción Arenal as women who "contribuyeron a afianzar la realidad de la mujer en el país" ("Una fiesta feminista"). Six months before the television premiere of *Los pazos de Ulloa,* Francisco Umbral wrote in *El País*: "El feminismo andante de hoy le debe un homenaje a la Pardo Bazán. Por ella puede decirse que la española principia a ser mujer/individuo, que lo individual principia a poder ser femenino" (15). As details of her ground-breaking feminism unfolded for public audiences – complemented by the explosive reveal of her romantic attachment to Benito Pérez Galdós in Carmen Bravo-

Villasante's 1973 biography – Pardo Bazán began to emerge as a fully modern figure.[7]

The implicit critique of gender violence in RTVE's *Los pazos de Ulloa* further recovers this aspect of her legacy, pushing back against her more domesticated image under Franco. In the first episode of the series, viewers witness firsthand the physical abuse and sexual exploitation suffered by Sabel, as don Pedro Moscoso, the so-called Marqués de Ulloa, unrelentingly beats his *criada* with a belt, grabbing her by the hair and throwing her to the ground in apoplectic jealousy of her affair with the *Gaitero* (Suárez, *Los pazos* Ep. 1 00:42:34). The intensity of the sequence is communicated through alternating closeups of Pedro, Sabel, and Julián, who is helpless to intervene. In an effective depiction of his frenetic rage, Pedro's face moves in and out of the frame during each closeup; Sabel's head and hair are similarly flung from sight when the camera rests on her. When Sabel, writhing in pain on the ground and sobbing uncontrollably, attempts to assert some agency by refusing to cook his dinner, Pedro steps on her neck with his boot, pinning her head against the ground. Sabel only acquiesces when her father Primitivo enters the scene, face impassive, and orders her to obey. Primitivo views his daughter's concubinage as a key strategy for wresting the *pazos* from the Marqués' control.

In foregrounding the violence inherent to Sabel's sexual exploitation, this scene represents an uncensored adaptation of Pardo Bazán's naturalist vision. Gold has noted that, during the Franco era, "Pardo Bazán's novels were damned as crudely naturalistic" (183). While we have seen that this was not universally the case, it is worth noting that Pardo Bazán's naturalistic short story "Las medias rojas" was censored from Sáinz de Robles's collection of her complete works throughout the dictatorship. This particular short story ends with an explosion of gender violence by a father against his daughter. In refusing to whitewash one of the most disturbing scenes of *Los pazos de Ulloa*, Suárez's film not only foregrounds Pardo Bazán's sensitivity to violence against women but also recuperates a vital component of her naturalistic legacy.

Suárez's series also repeatedly appeals to the gothic influences present in Pardo Bazán's *Los pazos de Ulloa* to foreground Marcelina's victimization in her unsolicited marriage to Pedro.[8] In doing so, the series participates with contemporaneous scholars and journalists in recovering Pardo Bazán's feminist legacy. The gothic mode has traditionally functioned to elucidate a feminist thematic, as Claire Knowles asserts: "Gothic fiction has, almost from its inception, been concerned with exploring the sufferings visited upon women by the patriarchal cultures in which they live" (qtd. in Lee Six 17). Three scenes in particular recall Xavier Aldana Reyes'

description of the gothic aesthetic: "a predominance of dark settings or of stock characters and situations, reliance on chiaroscuro techniques, the generation of suspenseful atmospheres, a desire to scare, the presence of apparitions" (14). While the first passage, not found in the novel, represents a prophetic nightmare that Nucha suffers before her marriage, the film's two principal gothic scenes take place in and around the manor house, transforming Marcelina into a stereotypical gothic heroine/victim trapped at the evil whim of an older man (or monster).[9] The first of these sequences represents a chapter from Pardo Bazán's text where Nucha discovers an enormous spider in her room; the second scene, in which Nucha believes her baby has been stolen, is, like her nightmare, an invention of the film. In considerably expanding the source text's gothic elements, the series elaborates a critique of marriage as a patriarchal institution that strips women of agency and facilitates their mistreatment and abuse.

Marcelina's nightmare sequence, in particular, communicates the young woman's fear of marriage and consequent terror at losing her family (Suárez, *Los pazos* Ep. 2 00:01:42). Before Nucha enters the shot, somberly dressed in a black wedding gown and veil and carrying white flowers, the scene opens with a head-on image of a flickering candelabra illuminating a dark hallway. The tenebrism of the initial *mise-en-scène* thus immediately establishes Nucha's twin senses of doom and estrangement from her family as she walks hesitatingly past the darkened, abandoned bedrooms of her family's house, which are only partially illuminated by candlelight. As a minor scale descends incrementally with each fear-laden step, eerie extradiegetic music akin to a dirge increases the scene's tension as low-pitched sounds of wind gust around the protagonist. As the camera remains focused on her pallid face, Nucha is propelled forward by an unknown source of anguished moans that emanate from a bedroom at the end of the passageway. In the final room, an unidentifiable woman dressed in funereal black lies face-down in a bed, her body immobile except for a hand, which twists slowly behind her back. As the terrifying music crescendos, the woman's body floats upwards as if possessed before her head is lifted to reveal the tortured expression of Nucha's sister Rita.

While at the time of her nightmare the Marqués has not yet decided on his future wife, Marcelina's dream proves prophetic. Down to her wide-eyed visage, Nucha's appearance on her wedding day mirrors that of her nightmare, and Rita, who desired Pedro as a husband, cries desolately on her bed (Ep. 2 00:14:03). As foreshadowed by the abandoned bedrooms of her family home, Nucha's marriage irrevocably severs ties with her sisters and father, who are conspicuously absent as she attempts to navigate a problematic matrimony for which she is thoroughly unprepared. We may

thus read the fear and anguish inspired by Marcelina's gothic nightmare as a criticism of nineteenth-century marriage customs, especially those that denied women agency in the election of their partners or did not adequately prepare and support them for the often-harsh realities of married life. Here Rita, suspended eerily above her bed in Nucha's dream, figures as victim too. Unlike Nucha, who is unprepared for the physical realities of married life, Rita makes clear, through her voluptuous nature and flirtatious attitude toward don Pedro, that she eagerly welcomes the sexual side of marriage. Yet it is precisely Rita's precociousness that leads the priest Julián, utterly blind to the inappropriateness of the match, to persuade the Marqués to choose Marcelina over Rita as a wife. As the final episode of the series will underscore, the film portrays the Church as participating in both the patriarchal structures and sexual double standard in place in nineteenth-century Spain's polite society.

Following the birth of Nucha's daughter, the gothic aesthetic functions within the film to gesture toward the mistreatment and abuse Marcelina suffers as Pedro's wife. The spider sequence initiates with a clap of thunder accompanied by a closeup of a bronze statue of the crucified Christ against a pitch-black background (Ep. 2 00:43:51). The opening shot frames the apparent Savior in a sinister light, suggesting, as the camera pans to reveal Julián praying, the futility of the priest's practice. Alarmed by Nucha's terrible screams, which resonate through the house over the constant clapping of thunder, Julián sprints through the dark hallways of the manor house, illuminated sporadically by bursts of lightning in the night. The camera momentarily registers Julián's terrified face as he enters the room before rapidly panning across the wall, where two shadows dance in agony, to rest on the still-screaming Nucha who is blocking her face with her hands, and Pedro, shotgun raised. Julián, like the spectator, believes that the Marqués is about to strike his wife before realizing that Pedro's target is instead a massive spider. In the context of the novel, María de los Ángeles Ayala observes that Julián, in his panic, experiences the spider as a monstrous hallucination, which imbues the passage with "una atmósfera de irrealidad o de fantasía" (51). In the film, however, the scene's gothic aesthetic – tenebrism, screams, thunder, shadows – not only provokes dread in the spectator, but also manipulates our expectations so that we both fear and expect Nucha to suffer violence at Pedro's hands. Thus, while the monstrous spider certainly evokes a sense of primal fear, in an ironic narrative move that underlines the tenuousness of Marcelina's position in the manor house, its appearance also constitutes a moment of relative relief for both spectators and Julián.

The conclusion of this sequence, meanwhile, consolidates Nucha's identity as a prototypical gothic heroine, who Colahan and Rodríguez, writing a year after the film's premiere, describe as a "figura femenina, llorona en demasía, de imaginación histérica y nervios invariablemente a punto de dispararse" (399). Marcelina's identification as gothic heroine, while not a particularly empowered feminine figure, projects for audiences an impression of the source text's feminist sympathies by dramatizing Nucha's suffering and isolation. At the end of the scene, the camera cuts to a five-second still shot of the manor house's two-story facade, a rock-solid enclosure impermeable to the torrential rain. As windows stammer open and shut and bursts of thunder echo against the stone, the camera's three-quarter, low-angle shot renders the row of windows and columns endless, exaggerating the building's height (Suárez, *Los pazos* Ep. 2 00:46:11). This imposing shot of the manor house establishes Nucha's home as the impenetrable castle or mansion that imprisons the traditional gothic heroine (Ep. 2 00:46:20). Immediately after this shot, we witness Julián's discovery of Sabel and Pedro locked in a passionate embrace, their affair rekindled, as thunder and lightning echo around them. The film thus utilizes the gothic mode not only to foreshadow Pedro's physical abuse of his wife (as in the book), but also to further reveal Pedro's marital infidelity, marking yet another injustice his wife must endure. In the ensuing final image of the second episode, Nucha's transformation into gothic heroine is complete. She stares out of her window into the storm, dressed in white with tangled hair and a horrified, helpless expression. In a cinematic move that emphasizes her complete isolation, the frame's low-angle shot establishes an irremediable distance between the spectator's outside positioning and the victim's entrapment within (Ep. 2 00:46:37).

Where the gothic adaptations of *Los pazos de Ulloa* in the first two episodes frame Pardo Bazán as an author critical of patriarchal marriage customs, the film's final gothic passage, culminating in the sexual assault of both Nucha and Sabel, reprises the author's perceived critique of domestic violence (Ep. 3 00:11:40). The sequence opens on a feverish Nucha who tosses violently in her bed as howling winds rustle her hair and sheets. In a nod to Nucha's nightmare flashback from the previous episode, the scene reprises the menacing extradiegetic sounds and music as Marcelina awakes, already teary-eyed, to discover her baby absent. As the panicked mother struggles to traverse the darkened, unprotected corridor, it becomes difficult to discern dream from reality. Are we watching another of Nucha's nightmare dream sequences, or is hers a waking nightmare? The suspenseful, doom-laden music intensifies as Nucha stumbles through the dark passageway, leaves swirling around her as the howling wind whips her

white nightgown. Filmed from behind, the high-angle shot of her final hurried steps capture only the bottom-half of her stumbling figure, accentuating Nucha's desperation, disorientation, and sense of abandonment. As in the previous nightmare sequence, her cries for help are unheeded.

Nucha finds her drunken husband playing with a crying Manolita in the kitchen, clarifying for the spectator that the scene does not constitute a dream. As Nucha hurriedly reclaims her baby and heads for the perceived safety of her bedroom, Pedro tailing close behind; the lack of extradiegetic sound coupled with a brief shot of Sabel and the *Gaitero* running out of sight, kissing, seem to break the scene's tension. Once more, Suárez manipulates the viewer's expectations: in the bedroom, Pedro attacks his wife from behind and begins to force himself upon her. The baby's cries pierce Nucha's protestations as she attempts to fend him off, gasping repeatedly, "La niña… ahora no" (Ep. 3 00:13:39). Nucha only escapes Pedro's rape because her husband accidentally shouts, "¡Quieta, Sabel!" (Ep. 3 00:14:10) as he thrusts her against the bedframe. Although the Marqués immediately leaves, cursing his drunken slip of the tongue, he expends his anger and sexual aggression on Sabel. Grabbing her furiously, he twists his servant's arm behind her back and violently carries her off into a side room as Nucha watches secretly from a second-floor window, her face framed in a low-angle shot that identifies her once more as entrapped gothic victim. In a move that parallels the previous gothic sequence, the scene concludes with another exterior shot of the formidable façade of the manor house as a thunderstorm breaks out, underlining the solidity of both the metaphorical and physical walls that hold Nucha hostage.

Evidently, in this passage the gothic mode signals Nucha's physical and sexual abuse by her adulterous husband, anticipating the violence that foils her attempt to flee the *pazos* at the end of the third episode. Perhaps more importantly, however, in identifying Marcelina and Sabel as twin victims of domestic abuse, the film projects an image of Pardo Bazán as an author who condemns sexual assault as a reality that cuts across differences of class and station. Scholarly criticism of Pardo Bazán's *Los pazos de Ulloa* during the Transition period, however, tended to differentiate Nucha and Sabel along moral and class lines. For example, Bravo-Villasante contrasts Nucha and Julián with the savage residents of the *pazos*: "Ellos [Nucha y Julián] son los buenos, los puros, los civilizados, los excelsos ... Pero estos nobles seres ... van a ser vencidos ... por esos otros seres groseros, rudos, vulgares, toscos, pero más fuertes" (123). Mariano López calls Sabel a "prototipo de inmoralidad" (360), while R. C. Boland, writing in 1981, claims that the gigantic spider Nucha discovers "represents Primitivo and Sabel, the two

monstrous characters conspiring against Julián" (210). In the film, however, that Pedro reacts to Nucha's resistance by shouting "¡Quieta, Sabel!" suggests the frequency with which he assaults his *criada*, insinuating Sabel's repeated rape. For Sabel, too, there is no escape from Pedro's sexual aggression, at least until her father's murder. In portraying Pardo Bazán as sympathetic to the *criada*'s plight, the film questions the author's legacy as an aristocratic elitist who is insensitive to the suffering of lower-class women.

While academics would not tie Pardo Bazán's naturalist novels to her feminist journalism until the twenty-first century, in amplifying the gothic currents present in Pardo Bazán's *Los pazos de Ulloa,* Suárez's miniseries represents the novel as a text intimately engaged with feminist issues.[10] Where the film thus renegotiates Pardo Bazán's conservative legacy under Franco by emphasizing her progressive feminism instead, it also contends with the author's professed Catholicism, an aspect of her identity repeatedly lauded during the Franco era, as we have seen. In a stark change from the denouement of Pardo Bazán's *La madre Naturaleza*, the final episode of the series casts Julián as a vengeful representative of the Church, which is depicted at the film's conclusion as yet another abusive patriarchal institution. Faulkner argues that many 1980s Spanish film adaptations that "are apparently faithful … to the original literary texts" actually reflect their contemporary political reality, concluding that "the system of [film] subsidy was a mechanism which enabled the UCD, then the PSOE, to project their visions of the new Spain" (*Literary Adaptations* 23). Thus, while Ana Alonso Fernández's analysis of Suárez's film concludes that "es una adaptación fiel del texto literario de Emilia Pardo Bazán" (99), we might read Julián's villainization at the conclusion of the film as indicative of the PSOE's vision of a secular, Spanish society.

Nevertheless, the film's anticlerical turn is particularly surprising given that dominant academic interpretations of the novels from the 1970s and 1980s privilege what they view as the texts' religious elements. Most studies from this time period not only mitigate the novels' naturalist components through recourse to the author's Catholicism but read in their narrative trajectories a direct reflection of Pardo Bazán's religious cosmovision.[11] Yet in the final episode of Suárez's series, corresponding to *La madre Naturaleza*, Catholicism is portrayed in a decidedly negative light via José Luis Gómez's representation of the weak, ineffectual priest Julián. Rather than a "verdadero héroe" (M. López 355) who, though doomed to failure, "intentará luchar contra la ignorancia y la barbarie" (Mayoral, "La Galicia" 21), Gómez comments in an interview that his character "tiene una tortura interior que al final estalla y se rebela" (Cenalmor 58). It is this so-called

rebellion at the series' conclusion that transforms Julián into the surprise antagonist of the film and, in doing so, disentangles Pardo Bazán from her Catholic identity that was so revered in the Franco era.

In a short but powerful scene at the film's conclusion, Julián compels Manuela, an inexperienced young woman lacking in religious vocation, to sacrifice herself to the solitude of the convent (Suárez, *Loz pazos* Ep. 4 00:50:25). This scene has no corollary in the book: while Gabriel Pardo de la Lage begs Julián to relay his promise of marriage and deliverance to Manuela, in the novel the reader does not witness the exchange between the priest and Nucha's daughter. When the film cuts to their interview, Julián is already seated at Manolita's bed. The scene is shot from behind the priest, so that his back is to the spectator and initially blocks Manolita from view, suggesting the young woman's lack of agency from the start. His face unseen, Julián speaks with a low, urgent voice that is uncharacteristically sinister in tone. As the camera slowly zooms in on the back of his chair, the priest murmurs: "Hija mía, tu santa madre se equivocó porque habiendo oído la llamada del esposo verdadero y valioso, la desoyó. Y entregándose a un hombre mortal se hundió en la locura, la desesperación y el dolor" (Ep. 4 00:50:25). In the context of the miniseries, this is a boldfaced lie: while Nucha, unlike her sisters, does not initially pursue her future husband's affection, she never expresses a sense of religious calling, either before or after marriage. Nor does Julián – unlike in the book – suspect that Nucha is better suited to a religious rather than conjugal vocation.

While Pardo Bazán scholars maintain that, despite her at times humorous *costumbrista* descriptions of priests in her naturalist novels, Pardo Bazán never identified with the anticlerical sentiments of her contemporaries (Dupont 1), Suárez's film represents *La madre Naturaleza* as a decidedly anticlerical text. As the aforementioned conversation between Julián and Manuela progresses, her positioning as clerical victim becomes increasingly apparent. While Julián continues in a funereal tone, "Manolita, no te equivoques. Dios es el único esposo que te puede proporcionar todo el fuego, todo el amor y la ternura infinita. Solo Dios" (Suárez, *Los pazos* Ep. 4 00:50:43) the camera slowly pans past his shoulder to reveal a partial close-up of Manolita's face bathed in sweat, her eyes staring fixedly ahead. Meanwhile, the scene's eerie extradiegetic sounds intensify – haunting noises that in previous episodes accompany the film's nightmare scenes of gothic horror. As the priest concludes his discourse, Manuela's wet eyes find Julián's face, her brows furrowed in fear. At the end of the shot, the camera lingers on a close-up of her terrified expression as uncanny extradiegetic sounds continue to allude to the previous episodes' gothic aesthetic. Now Nucha's daughter is the young woman trapped with

no escape, her incarcerated fate sealed not by her husband but rather by a priest.

Evidently, the horror expressed in Manuela's eyes coupled with the scene's doom-laden extradiegetic sounds suggest that the prospect of solitude, reflection, and repentance within convent walls do not hold the same attraction for her as in Pardo Bazán's text. At the end of the book, Manolita chooses of her own accord to seek the quiet refuge of the convent, as Julián informs Gabriel: "Yo le he hablado de bodas, de esposo y de alegría; me ha respondido celda y llanto" (Pardo Bazán, *La madre Naturaleza* 400). In one of the film's final scenes, Julián repeats these exact words to Gabriel, his back toward his interlocutor, eyes gazing fixedly at the floor. In the context of the episode, however, the priest's words are a lie – or at least a half-truth, as Julián studiously avoids mentioning his evident role in the young woman's resolution. Of course, in Pardo Bazán's novel, Julián supports Manolita's decision, explaining to Gabriel, "en mí no estaba desviarla de ese propósito [el convento]" (400) and exclaiming shortly thereafter, "Dios llama a la hija. ¡Que vaya! ¡Que vaya!" (401). However, Pardo Bazán's priest does not encourage Manuela to take the habit, at least not initially: "[y]o siempre le daría el consejo [a Manuela] de que desconfiase de una vocación repentina, dictada por sinsabores o desengaños del mundo" (400). Moreover, Julián underlines that it is Manuela herself who determines to refuse her uncle's offer, remarking to Gabriel, "yo desearía que usted no se quedase con el recelo de que he influido directamente en el ánimo de la señorita" (401). That Manuela chooses the convent of her own volition is paramount for late-twentieth-century scholars of *La madre Naturaleza* who view the novel's denouement as representative of Pardo Bazán's unique brand of Catholic naturalism.[12] In the film, however, Julián's coercion of a speechless Manuela clearly constitutes an abuse of clerical authority.

Suárez's series represents the Church as another harmful patriarchal institution which, like marriage, is subject to criticism by Pardo Bazán in her naturalist texts. Manuela's victimization is further reinforced in the scene that immediately follows her conversation with Julián, in which the Marqués' ferret struggles to liberate itself from the confines of a tiny cage for a full forty seconds, squeaking incessantly as it frantically paws at the enclosure's wired walls (Suárez, *Los pazos* Ep. 4 00:51:11). At one point the ferret manages to push its head through the wires in a doomed bid for freedom that is excruciating to witness: stuck and nearly strangled, the ferret must painfully squeeze its head back inside the cage. At the conclusion of the scene, the camera cuts to a close-up of Pedro's face. He has observed the entire episode and nods unsmilingly as the ferret ceases its struggle (Ep.

4 00:51:56). Despite the heavy-handedness of the metaphor – the parallels between the ferret's plight and that of both Nucha and her daughter are patently clear – the scene's placement immediately following Julián's interview with Manuela reinforces the clergyman's role in her repression even as it clearly implicates Pedro in her suffering as well. Here, the priesthood represents yet another source of sinister patriarchal authority. Just as Julián seals Nucha's imprisonment within a brutal marriage, in the film he further dooms Manuela to an incarcerated fate within the convent walls.

In the film's penultimate scene, Julián stands besides Nucha's grave, his figure and the cross atop the tombstone silhouetted against the background of the forest. In their twin villainization, both priest and cross are thrust into inscrutable darkness as the film's voiceover narrator reflects: "No había esperanza. Muchos años después de la muerte de Nucha, Julián había conseguido ver cumplidos sus deseos, ver cumplida su venganza. Manolita dejaría los Pazos para confinarse en un convento. Ese sería su inexorable destino, tal y como don Julián lo había concebido" (Ep. 4 00:54:39). Rather than a promise of redemption through grace and forgiveness as in the novel, the convent, in Suárez's film, represents a loss of hope for Manuela, a place of confinement from which, like the ferret, there is no respite. If spectators are willing to exculpate Julián for Nucha's demise on the basis of his naivete and meekness, the film's final episode precludes any such indulgence. The miniseries thus discards any notion of the novel's Catholic thesis by representing Manuela as the unwitting victim of Julián's sinister machinations.

Suárez's film not only projects evident anxieties about the role of Catholicism in Spain but also disassociates the novels from what has been traditionally interpreted as their religious cosmovision. In doing so, the film allies Pardo Bazán's novels with the PSOE's preference for a secular Spanish society and further disentangles her perceived legacy from her Catholic identity. If during the dictatorship the "afterlife" of Pardo Bazán's texts posited a version of the author who embodied traditional, aristocratic femininity and was praised for her fervent Catholicism, Suárez's adaptation projects a very different image of Pardo Bazán, one that highlights her feminist convictions and distorts her Catholic religiosity. After all, while the nature of Pardo Bazán's Catholicism has always invited considerable debate, both Denise Dupont and Burdiel insist that the Galician author's Catholic convictions were, however unorthodox, deeply and sincerely felt (x; 163-65). In highlighting the triple victimization of Marcelina, Sabel, and Manuela, meanwhile, the film emphasizes Pardo Bazán's feminist identity, highlighting her thoroughly modern sensibilities regarding women's issues

and underlining the author's continued political and cultural relevance. Unlike most contemporaneous film adaptations based on the works of authors conceived as diametrically opposed to Francoist values, this miniseries performs the additional task of re-narrativizing the author herself. Suárez's *Los pazos de Ulloa* constructs a new legacy for Pardo Bazán, one that breaks with her reputation during the dictatorship and justifies her (continued) place in Spain's post-Franco canon.

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NOTES

1 While Spanish cinematic tendencies in the 1980s were far from monolithic, critics have generally concurred that the *Ley Miró* was a disastrous policy, pointing to the general lack of popularity and box office success of most of its subsidized films, and to the decline in feature film production in Spain in the ensuing decades, which dropped from 107 in 1975 to 47 in 1990 (Labanyi et al. 266; Smith, *Spanish Screen* 12).

2 It is worth noting that Paul Julian Smith, following Andrew Higson who coined the term in British cinema, makes a separate but convincing case that the so-called *cine histórico* of the 1990s and 2000s constitutes Spanish heritage film (*Visual Culture* 102).

3 Hazel Gold wisely reminds us that such censorship, typical of the Franco era, was rarely informed: she points out that Galdós's *Episodios* are in fact more subversive than many of his other novels (186).

4 Other novels include *Un viaje de novios* (Madrid, 1940-1944), *Dulce dueño* (Madrid, 1944), *Insolación* (Barcelona, 1945), and *La sirena negra* and *La piedra angular* (Madrid, 1945). *La sirena negra* also appeared in the third volume of a 1958 anthology entitled *Las mejores novelas contemporáneas*, published in Barcelona. All information about publications was gleaned from the database WorldCat and then corroborated by the *Biblioteca Nacional de España*'s catalogue.

5 Audrey Brassloff writes that while during the Transition the PSOE "showed a new sensibility toward the need to harness the cooperation of Christians and an awareness of the religiosity still underlying Spanish society…[it] continued to advocate for a secular, non-confessional state." (90). In the 1980s the PSOE possessed "a secular vision of society, which was increasingly that of Spaniards in general" (120).

6 Spurred on by the end of the dictatorship and, in part, by the United Nations naming 1975 the year of the woman and 1975-1985 her decade, Spain witnessed

a flurry of feminist activity during this time period (Ferreira et al. 305). To name only a few examples: in December of 1975 Madrid hosted the *Primeras Jornadas Nacionales por la Liberación de la Mujer*; November of 1976 saw the first feminist march in Spain since 1936; in 1983 Felipe González's government founded the *Instituto de la Mujer*, dedicated to the pursuit of gender equality. Ferreira et al. note that the 1978 Constitution, opposed by many feminist groups for women's exclusion from the writing process, actually facilitated "the implementation of … feminist policies" by granting Autonomous Communities "almost absolute control over important areas such as health and education" (306).

7 As scholars of the author's life and work will know, during this time period Pardo Bazán's legacy undergoes considerable revision in academic circles as well. Carmen Bravo-Villasante's *Vida y obra de Emilia Pardo Bazán* (1973) dedicates various pages to an analysis of Pardo Bazán's "feminismo rabioso" (183). During the Transition period, publishing houses produced the first reliable critical editions of Pardo Bazán's novels and, in a new trend, various collections of her short stories. In 1976 Leda Shiavo published the collection *La mujer española y otros artículos feministas* (second edition 1981), marking the first time that the Galician author's feminist writings were widely available for public consumption. Moreover, critics no longer lauded Pardo Bazán's femininity as during the Franco era but rather praised her incursion into the so-called masculine world of literature and culture.

8 Pardo Bazán's use of the gothic mode has been recognized by critics since the 1980s (Colahan and Rodríguez; Hart). More recently, Aldana Reyes identifies the gothic aesthetic in the novel as enabling "Pardo Bazán to critique the plight of women" (25).

9 See the traditional gothic tropes of gothic heroine and captor elaborated by Eve Sedgewick in *The Coherence of Gothic Conventions* (9-10, qtd. in Hart 217).

10 In her chapter on *Los pazos de Ulloa* and *La madre Naturaleza,* Jo Labanyi argues that the novels critique "the Church's prescription of a male-defined image of femininity" (363) and reads both the doctor Juncal and Julián as "rival social regulators" exercising control over female autonomy (365). I have also read *La madre Naturaleza* against Pardo Bazán's feminist journalism to show how the novel challenges dichotomous categories of gendered difference.

11 For example, in his 1984 introduction to a critical anthology of Pardo Bazán's short stories, Juan Paredes Núñez summarizes mainstream approximations to what he calls Pardo Bazán's "naturalismo formal": "En su afán de armonizar su fe religiosa con las ideas de la nueva escuela, procura tomar de ésta solo aquellos elementos que no contradecían las enseñanzas de la Iglesia" (18). Marina Mayoral asserts that "[el] pesimismo sobre la vida y sus escasas posibilidades de felicidad dimana en doña Emilia de sus creencias católicas"

(*Pazos* 16); in 1978, M. López writes, "en ambas novelas, Pardo Bazán siente la necesidad de un planteamiento específicamente cristiano" (353).

12 For example, Carmen Bravo-Villasante, writing in 1973, asserts that *La madre Naturaleza* demonstrates "que el espíritu, el ideal cristiano es invencible, y permanece como una pura llama hacia lo alto, siendo la renuncia y el dominio sobre el instinto el triunfo de la espiritualidad" (124). Over twenty years later, Javier Ignacio López argues similarly that "este experimento [naturalista de la obra], tan cuidadosamente preparado, es rebatido por la autora, quien, por medio de don Julián, ha de apelar a una ley 'más alta', la ley de Dios" (52).

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