



RESEÑAS

Francisco Aguilar Piñal. *Madrid en tiempos del "Mejor Alcalde."* Barcelona/Sant Cugat: Editorial Arpegio, 2016. 4 vols.

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The contributions to eighteenth-century studies made by this eminent Hispanist scarcely need introduction.

It is no exaggeration to say that Aguilar Piñal's thorough research, from his path-breaking, foundational, multi-volume *Bibliografía de autores españoles del Siglo XVIII* onward, deliberately and masterfully built an updated infrastructure for *Dieciochismo*. This volume, focused on Madrid during Charles III's reign, argues for the monarch's—and the capital's—importance to any historical understanding of modernity.

Accordingly, Aguilar Piñal's aim in *Madrid en tiempos del 'mejor alcalde'* is not to represent the current state of eighteenth-century Spanish studies; rather, it is to perform a "radiografía social y cultural de ese pueblo variopinto y clasista, acostumbrado al absolutismo monárquico, al pensamiento único de las creencias religiosas, en buena parte analfabeto y supersticioso, pero digno de ser conocido como un enlace necesario para comprender nuestro 'secularizado' Siglo XXI" (I, 1). The author's aim is to show that our twenty-first century modernity owes much to what should be called the "siglo reformista" (rather than the "siglo ilustrado"), given that the reign of Charles III is a golden age of periodicals and journalism, historiography, theatre, scientific and literary translation, bookselling, tourism and the circulation of ideas, facilitating the rise of institutions and infrastructure on which we rely today: the postal service, transportation networks, street lighting, the national anthem, the Spanish flag, etc.

The focus here is Madrid, not only due to the author's desire to convey Charles III's fully-deserved reputation as "el mejor alcalde de Madrid," but also because Aguilar Piñal argues that Madrid was the epicenter, during Charles III's reign, of "las bases urbanísticas, culturales, científicas y sociales de nuestra modernidad" (I, 5). Of particular interest in these times of debated nationalisms is the author's affirmation that it is impossible to "entender la historia de España sin su capital, ni a Madrid sin la capitalidad que la convirtió en la sede de sus monarcas y del gobierno político, de sus más representativas instituciones sociales, culturales y administrativas, de ese sintagma conocido universalmente como la Villa y Corte" (I, 14-15).

To this, end, Aguilar Piñal brings together, through citation, endnoting, and scholarly dialogue, "el fruto de las numerosas investigaciones realizadas sobre este período de su historia, por cientos de historiadores,

sistematizadas según el índice temático que estructura y da coherencia a la obra, que pretende ser accesible a toda persona interesada en la historia de Madrid... [and to the reader who] quiera profundizar para saber más" (I, 5). In its inception, this is overtly a work of bibliographical winnowing and weaving. One of its most interesting aspects is Aguilar Piñal's personal reckoning with a half-century's unruly, vast and exciting bibliography on the subject. Aguilar eschews reliance on canonical works of cultural and urban history by Mesonero Romanos, Sainz de Robles, Montoliú Camps, Gea and Ringrose, deeming them overly general or superficial; and he directs the reader to consult "las propias publicaciones del siglo" (I, 8), not only for their detail and accuracy, but because—as he rightly notes—"la literatura del siglo XVIII madrileño has sido minusvalorada" (I, 8). And yet: these four volumes emblemize the community and conversations across generations that Randolph Pope (in the 1997 issue of *Profession*) pointed to as the core of scholarship. The "Notas" section for each chapter exemplifies Aguilar Piñal's commitment to taking into account the contributions of fellow *dieciochistas*, even when he might disagree with them (III, 145-46, for example). Aguilar suggests further reading for certain points; notes when his own bibliography did not catch a particular text that a later scholar studied; comments on the availability of further sources in archives and libraries; provides basic, essential background readings; etc. This lively scholarly conversation reinforces the author's vision of the Enlightenment's relevance across centuries.

The cover of each volume features a different royal portrait of Charles III: by Mengs (vol. I), Maella (vols. II & III), and Goya (vol. IV). The four distinct portraits subtly convey the idea that the beloved monarch's long reign was an era of diverse and even contradictory cultural output, an idea deeply developed across the four volumes. Volume I introduces the framing idea of a "biography" of the capital city, detailing social and political populations of the era (e.g., courtly, military, ecclesiastical, laboring) and culminating with an examination of the Motín de Esquilache. Volume II examines the varied systems of the eighteenth-century capital: not only the intersections among educational, agricultural, manufacturing, sanitary, charitable and other institutions, but also the economic motors of a Madrid which, as Aguilar notes, was "capital de un inmenso imperio, que fue el más poderoso polo de atracción laboral de la época," and "una ciudad viva, en creciente actividad comercial, industrial, cultural o turística" (III, 219). Volume III covers the diverse worlds of fashion and letters, from styles of dress and changing modes of entertainment, to the growth of newspapers; from the production and distribution of books, to the many types and spheres of poetic production; from the impact of the Sociedades Económicas, to the spread of erotic literature. Volume IV considers theatre, theatrical reforms and prose (from essays to novels); details academic, scientific, artistic and popular cultures in the eighteenth-century capital of the Spains; explores the role played by Madrid in the development

and promotion of ideas of national identity; depicts the monarch on the “last journey” of his final years; and culminates the multivolume set with a reflection on the significance of the Enlightenment. Each volume has an extensive onomastic index; and volumes III and IV add helpful indices of period pseudonyms (e.g., Batilo/Jovellanos; La Caramba/María Antonia Vallejo Fernández; etc.).

The student who would judge the eighteenth century through twenty-first century eyes is bound to miss the real importance of Madrid during Charles III’s reign (IV, 509). How do we find an *bilo conductor* to reach across 250 years and capture some degree of understanding of a society so different, and yet so fundamental to any comprehension of our own? We remember that now, as then, everything is relative, and that then, as now, the reality of the poorest laborer and the most powerful ruler alike involved aspirations, pain, and contradictions. In helping us to remember these things, this work does more than showcase the fascination of one of the global eighteenth century’s most important cities: it further becomes a labor of loving humanism. It should become an instant classic, and is an indispensable resource for scholarship on Madrid and the reign of Charles III.

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Helmut H. Jacobs. *Goya en la Poesía. Recepción e interpretación literaria de su obra*. Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2016.

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Helmut Jacobs, romanista catedrático de la Universidad de Duisburg-Essen y autor de numerosos trabajos dedicados a textos literarios del siglo XVIII escritos en varias de las lenguas románicas, ha dedicado un espacio de su investigación filológica a la teorización y el estudio de las relaciones que se establecen entre la escritura literaria, la creación musical y las imágenes plásticas. Estos trabajos han experimentado una singular concentración en el interés del estudioso por el aragonés Francisco de Goya, al que dedicó el año 1997 un artículo centrado en la proyección del pintor sobre la poesía española e hispanoamericana del siglo XX (*Iberoamericana* 66 [1997]: 13-48), prosiguiendo consu compleja exégesis del *capricho 43* –“El sueño de la razón produce monstruos”– en varios artículos y un volumen monográfico publicado el año 2006 (traducido al español en 2001), y llega a su punto culminante en la recopilación que, con la ayuda de colaboradores, reúne el mayor conjunto de los comentarios que han suscitado los ochenta *Caprichos*; esta última obra se anuncia como novedad

editorial bajo el título de *Die Handschriftlichen Kommentare zu Goyas Caprichos* (3 volúmenes).

Una trayectoria de tal dedicación monográfica asienta sólidamente la calidad del *Goya en la poesía*, cuya edición original en alemán apareció impresa en 2015 bajo el título *Die Reception und Deutung von Goyas Werk in Lyrik*. La versión española ha sido posible gracias a la colaboración de la Universidad de Duisburg y la Fundación "Goya en Aragón" dedicada a recopilar información y estimular empresas investigadoras proyectadas sobre el genial pintor aragonés. En esta versión española del libro Jacobs reconoce las ayudas recibidas de varios colaboradores al tiempo que señala ser obra suya la traducción al español de la versión original alemana y de las diversas versiones de los poemas escritos en otras lenguas y recogidos en el volumen. Para que el simple lector de portadas de libros no tuviera ninguna duda, la cubierta de esta edición española se ilustra con una reproducción del alegórico óleo goyesco "La Poesía" que se custodia en el Museo Nacional de Estocolmo.

El libro ofrece una clara disposición editorial ya que se divide en una parte introductoria de carácter general (pp. 11-14) referida al orden y contenidos de los seis apartados que conforman el volumen. Los dos primeros apartados están dedicados respectivamente a la explicación de los conceptos estético-literarios sobre los que se fundamenta la monografía y a la exposición sintética de lo que ha sido la trayectoria de la obra goyesca en su proyección sobre la creación poética. Siguen otros dos capítulos dedicados a comentar los "poema efrásticos sobre los cuadros de Goya" y los "poemas efrásticos dedicados a dibujos y grabados", apartados a los que siguen otros dos en los que se reproducen las versiones textuales y plásticas de los poemas y las obras goyescas dedicados a los cuadros (apartado V) y a los dibujos y grabados (apartado VI). Por supuesto, cada apartado se organiza siguiendo una ordenación explícita de los trabajos goyescos que han sido objeto de réplicas poéticas. El libro concluye con una sección de índices sobre los poemas editados en el volumen, las ilustraciones gráficas que reproducen obras de Goya, la referencia bibliográfica de los poemas reunidos y de los estudios atingentes a ellos y la imprescindible lista onomástica de quienes han sido citados en el curso de la obra, una ayuda esta última que es imprescindible en este tipo de trabajos tan ricos en información.

La claridad orientadora de la disposición editorial corre parejas con la exposición diáfana del texto de Jacobs y el cuidado y rigor con el que éste ha recogido la bibliografía primaria —es decir, los textos poéticos— y la secundaria de índole crítica. Estos supuestos metodológicos a los que el autor sigue atento en los trabajos que ha hecho públicos con posterioridad a la publicación de *Goya en la poesía* se hacen patentes de forma obligada en el primer apartado del libro donde se ofrece una muy precisa explicación de los conceptos "intramedialidad", "transmedialidad", "intermedialidad" y

“écfrasis”, imprescindibles los dos últimos para el fundamento del análisis que efectúa el autor sobre los poemas de asunto goyesco.

Helmut Jacobs, siguiendo a teóricos anteriores, explica los conceptos básicos sobre los que trabaja al proponer que la “intramedialidad” se ocupa de “las relaciones que existen entre las diversas artes y que comprenden tanto la influencia de un arte en como su influencia mutua”, para pasar a señalar que “la *écfrasis* es aquella parte de la intermedialidad consistente en la interacción entre una imagen y un texto en la cual el texto constituye una reacción ante la imagen” (p. 17). Matiza seguidamente su entendimiento del *poema ecfrástico* afirmando que “es el resultado de un proceso hermenéutico-interpretativo: es la representación verbal subjetiva de cierto conocimiento de la imagen que el poeta adquirió mediante la contemplación directa del cuadro y la reflexión sobre este, o también mediante su análisis de la génesis del cuadro” (p. 22). Subraya, en fin, la cercanía de este tipo de poema con “el elogio del artista o encomio del pintor y su obra”. Admítaseme que en esta reseña reproduzca estas explicaciones ofrecidas por el autor ya que los conceptos en ellas implicados son el punto de partida de su trabajo.

Ahora bien, el libro no es una mera antología de poemas y trabajos plásticos presentados en correlación impresa de texto e imagen, pues el autor, sin entrar a fondo en los textos que hacen el encomio del pintor o que son poemas ecfrásticos acumulativos de diversas referencias a las obras de Goya, se centra en la edición de poemas ecfrásticos referidos a obras individuales del aragonés. La tendencia de este tipo de textos se inició ya en tiempos del artista con poemas de Leandro Fernández de Moratín, Jovellanos, Vargas Ponce, Bartolomé José Gallardo y prosigue ininterrumpida hasta ahora pues la potencialidad sugestiva de la obra del aragonés es inextinguible. Jacobs no se limita a presentar una antología de poemas inspirados en obras goyescas – un total de 193 textos de 179 autores- sino que comenta cada uno de los textos reimpresos en el volumen (unos pocos estaban inéditos antes de esta recopilación) situándolo en su contexto de redacción y sugiriendo la intencionalidad que pudo guiar a algunos de sus autores (por ejemplo, la voluntad política de los poemas escritos por Erich Arendt, Güntert Kunrt o Heinz Czechowski).

Este impresionante conjunto de textos poéticos pone de relieve la proyección universal de Francisco de Goya, proyección que se hace todavía más patente en las aproximaciones exegéticas de muchos ensayistas y en las creaciones teatrales y narrativas que también desde el siglo XIX ha ido estimulando. Nigel Glendinning lo sintetizó de forma magistral en un libro de 1977 —*Goya and His Critics*— cuya versión española acaba de reeditar la Fundación arriba citada sólo con el incremento complementario de tres monografías escritas por Valeriano Bozal, Jesusa Vega y Sarah Simons referidas al hispanista británico autor de este libro imprescindible.

Recuérdese que algunos poetas han dedicado un libro monográfico de poesía a Goya (el también aragonés Ildelfonso-Manuel Gil ha sido el más fiel cultivador de esta fórmula editorial) y que otros líricos le han dedicado

más de un poema, lo que se hace notar en el libro de Jacobs. A vía de ejemplo recuérdese que se inspiraron en trabajos de Goya poetas de primer rango como Rubén Darío, Unamuno, Alberti, Manuel Machado, Santos Chocano, Carmen Conde entre los hispanos o Charles Baudelaire, Roy Bennett, Jean Cocteau, Paul Éluard, Ferlinghetti, Seamus Heaney o Günter Kunert en otras lenguas. Las lenguas, en fin, en que están escritos los poemas del estudio de Jacobs (alemán, inglés, francés, portugués, danés, ruso, polaco y, por supuesto, español) subrayan, por su parte, la recepción universal de la obra plástica del genio de Fuendetodos.

Jacobs no ha agotado la reunión de poemas suscitados por un generador de creación lírica de tal envergadura pues, lógicamente, podrían añadirse otros poetas y otros textos no incluidos en el volumen además de los escritos con posterioridad a la publicación de su libro. De lo editado con anterioridad señalo dos poemas búlgaros de Konstantin Pavlov incluidos en su libro de poesía *Capriccio for Goya* (cito por su versión inglesa de 2003 editada por Ivy Press de Princeton), los tres poemas árabes de Muhammad Ali Sams al Din (traducidos por Martínez Montávez) y la respuesta en prosa de combate o en versificación de vivencia íntima que dieron los escritores españoles en torno a la guerra de 1936-39, aspecto este último aspecto tratado por José-Ramón López García en un estudio recién aparecido: "Nacionalismo y vanguardia. La presencia de Goya en los poetas del exilio republicano de 1939" (ed. en AA. VV., *Las musas errantes. Cultura literaria y exilio en la España de la primera mitad del siglo XIX* (Gijón: Trea, 2017: 297-310).

Esta aportación fundamental de Helmut Jacobs al conocimiento de la difusión universal que vive la apasionante obra gráfica de Goya, además de subrayar una vez más que el genial pintor es uno de los temas hispánicos de mayor proyección universal, regala al lector una amplísima antología de poemas cuyo editor comenta con precisión y un alto grado de empatía.

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Javier Alvarado Planas, ed. *La administración de Cuba en los siglos XVIII y XIX*. Madrid: Boletín Oficial del Estado Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2017.

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Between 1789 and 1848 the world was transformed, Eric Hobsbawm confirms, due to what he calls the "dual revolution"—the French Revolution of 1789 and the contemporaneous (British) Industrial

Revolution.” During this “Age of Revolution,” a bourgeois-liberal capitalist order assumed hegemony, toppling the Western world’s feudal and royal *anciens régimes*. Spain was no exception. During the Napoleonic Wars that saw France occupy Spain and dethrone its king, the Cortes at Cádiz promulgated the liberal Spanish Constitution of 1812. At the conclusion of the Peninsular War, Spain attained its political independence, but in the conflict’s chaotic aftermath so did its mainland American colonies. By the mid-1820s, the Philippines, Puerto Rico and Cuba were the only New World vestiges remaining of an empire that, at its peak, stretched over much of North and South America. This, along with a confluence of factors —paramount among these was the Haitian Revolution (1791-1804)—, compelled a remodeling of Cuba’s configuration in the Spanish imperial framework. For over two hundred years, the role slated for Cuba by Madrid had been limited to the duty of providing a port for the Spanish treasure fleet to converge from throughout the empire, resupply, and then return to Spain loaded with royal taxes. Now, the Pearl of the Antilles was made to embark on a quest for the sugar Eldorado and, by 1830, it would find it, assuming the mantle as the world’s foremost sugar producer, which was facilitated by technological innovation and a multiplication of the acreage under cane cultivation. How Madrid recalibrated the contours of its imperial administration to create the world’s sugar bowl and retain it through the end of the nineteenth century is the subject of *La administración de Cuba en los siglos XVIII y XIX*, a collection of essays edited by Javier Alvarado Planas.

Alvarado Planas opens the volume by setting the contradictory administrative-political stage. Even as Spaniards endorsed such liberal political postulates as universal male suffrage, freedom of the press, and free enterprise for those in the peninsula, they refused to extend them overseas out of fear that any loosening of the colonial manacle would ultimately lead to separation. The core of the book details the political and logical adaptations that guided Madrid’s continued denial to extend constitutional rights to Antilleans, who were instead promised “special laws” that were never extended or even defined, as a succession of Captain Generals ruled the colony with *facultades omnímodas* that invested them with total power. Still, diverse pressures coming from beyond the imperial boundaries as well as from within them forced Madrid’s hand on certain liberalizing concessions, for the most part limited to the economic sphere, as chapters by Antonio Manuel Moral Roncal and Consuelo Naranjo Orovio nicely synthesize. Political reforms, though, were never to materialize, eventually leading to several armed struggles for independence, as Luis Miguel García Mora reviews in an especially insightful chapter.

When discussing Cuba in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, certain questions are so profound —colonialism and slavery, for example— that they can often overshadow the exact mechanisms that underpinned them, such as tax policy, which is studied in chapters by Inés Roldán de

Montaud and Oscar Zanetti Lecuona. The latter, for instance, lays out the *quid pro quo* whereby creole oligarchs endorsed Spanish rule and in exchange, Madrid imposed minimal direct taxes on them, while protecting the slave economy against a Haitian-style rebellion and British abolitionist pressure (153). Capital —financial, political, and symbolic— would, however, flow from the old, landed creole aristocracy to the peninsular bourgeoisie, as chapters by María del Carmen Barcia Zequeira and Carlos Nieto Sánchez detail. Another less-studied area explored in *La administración de Cuba* is science, knowledge, and education which, as chapters by Miguel Ángel Puig-Samper, Juan Francisco Baltar Rodríguez, María Soledad Campos Díez, and Izaskun Álvarez Cuartero reveal, were intimately bound up with colonialism. To offer one example, Puig-Samper cogently discusses the cartographic, botanical, geological and other such scientific expeditions in these terms: “La ciencia fue uno de los principales elementos en la puesta en marcha de algunas políticas gubernamentales cuyo objetivo era el crecimiento económico de las colonias y las expediciones fueron un instrumento utilizado por las metrópolis para obtener mayores recursos de sus colonias a la vez que contribuyeron a la globalización y al desarrollo del conocimiento científico tanto en los centros de poder como en las colonias” (398). Juan Carlos Domínguez Nafra’s essay concludes the collection, in which he rereads how the Spanish military, decimated by disease, years of conflict, and inadequately maintained, defended the colonial arrangement between 1868 and 1898 “con valor quijotesco” (525).

The slave labor system in the Pearl of the Antilles formed the very cornerstone of late Cuban colonialism; as Félix Varela, one of the most influential Cuban intellectuals of the nineteenth century, put it in 1834: “la esclavitud de los negros es la causa de la esclavitud de los blancos.” Therefore, to omit an examination of the links between Spain’s administration of Cuba and slavery is, to my mind, miscalculated, even if it has been studied elsewhere. It is also unfortunate that such an intelligent collection should contain as many typographical errors as *La administración de Cuba* does. Nevertheless, the book connects the dots between colonialism and several of its lesser-studied elements, such as tax collection, education, and health services, and draws upon a vast bibliography of primary and secondary source materials to do so. For students of Spanish imperialism, this edited volume is a valuable resource, revealing much of the gear train that drove the Cuban colonial machine between 1700 and 1898.

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Javier Torre Aguado, ed. *Diario de la expedición Domínguez-Escalante por el Oeste Americano (Nuevo México, Colorado, Utah y Arizona)*. Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez and Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante. Madrid: Miraguano, 2016.

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Directed at a Spanish only-reading audience, Javier Torre Aguado's edition, introduction, and notes for the *Diario de la expedición Domínguez-Escalante por el Oeste Americano (Nuevo México, Colorado, Utah y Arizona)* (henceforth *Diary*) covers more territory than most critical editions I have read. A brief examination of this 321-page book reveals a curious ratio between the introductory study/historical context and the primary text. Torre Aguado's hefty 184-page introduction outweighs the 1776 Domínguez-Escalante expedition's route and diary (*Derrotero y diario...*), and included within these 121 diary pages Torre Aguado offers 231 "copious" footnotes.

Professor Torre explains that he includes "extensive" context for this 18th-century text in order to widen the *Diary's* reading public beyond scholars: "En mi investigación he mantenido rigurosamente los estándares académicos, pero en la escritura he evitado la jerga de la profesión para poder llegar a un público más amplio que el especializado. Entre el extenso ensayo introductorio y las copiosas notas a pie de página he querido solventar todas las dudas que a un lector medianamente educado se le pudieran plantear durante la lectura" (27). In an effort to make the primary text widely accessible, Professor Torre anticipates every possible doubt that might occur to "a moderately educated reader." He also invites more "prepared" readers to skip unnecessary context: "El lector que se sienta suficientemente preparado, puede saltar esta introducción histórica si está ansioso por conocer en detalle lo que les pasó a los padres Domínguez y Escalante y a sus acompañantes" (51). This optional historical introduction reads like a high school textbook and the footnotes accompanying the *Diary* of this sixteen-month expedition conducted at the time of the United States' Independence (1776) provide much more than geographical or ethnographic information. They also guide our reading in very specific ways.

A more detailed description of Torre's introductory study reveals context both wide (starting about 250 years before the Domínguez-Escalante 1776 expedition) and immediate, from a comprehensive chronology since the 16th-century of Spanish explorers and presence in what is now the United States Southwest and an overview of Spanish Viceregal colonial society (mission culture, presidios, and miscegenation in

New Spain more widely) to specific biographies of the key players in the Domínguez-Escalante expedition. Next the introduction offers general considerations of each native society the expedition encounters in the American Southwest (New Spain). Finally, it concludes with a well-researched chapter on the maps of the expedition's senior cartographer within the wider context of the history of Spanish Imperial cartography, concluding with Miera y Pacheco's legacy for Alexander von Humboldt's early-nineteenth century map of New Spain. 12 pages of bibliography for the primary and secondary texts cited anywhere in the book appear between the introductory study and the actual expedition diary.

This 2016 edition makes a welcome addition to previous publications of the Domínguez-Escalante *Diary*. The first edition in Spanish was published in 1854 in Mexico with, as Torre points out "numerous errors." Its second Spanish edition in 1915 was "incomplete." The first English translation in 1909 was both "incomplete and imperfect." Torre judges the bilingual edition 1945 by Auerbach, then the English-only by 1951 Bolton as fine, but lacking the wide historical context that he provides. The most recent versions are by Warner, the 1976 bilingual and then the 1995 English only. And while Torre's summary of the Briggs edition is a bit confusing (English only and published at the expedition's bicentennial in 1976?), there can be no confusion about Torre's evaluation of his own 2016 edition: "Sin menoscabo de trabajo de aquellos que me precedieron, puedo afirmar que la presente edición aventaja a las anteriores porque incorpora las aportaciones tanto de los investigadores citados como de otros críticos cuyo trabajo ha enriquecido nuestra comprensión del campo durante las últimas décadas. Mis propias observaciones y hallazgos dan más valor a esta edición." (184). Going much further than an editor of an archival *Diary*, Torre has placed himself both literally and figuratively on the trail with the Domínguez-Escalante expedition. Torre has followed in their footsteps, completing the entire journey by hiking and trading horseback for bicycle and when necessary the occasional car ride. While recreating their 18th-century journey, Torre explains, he tried "de recrear su morosa peregrinación, dejándome hechizar por el espíritu del lugar y consiguiendo, en momentos de inspiración, transportarme en el tiempo y ver desde lejos, en la dilatada estepa, la silueta del grupo de caminantes avanzar estoicos hacia el poniente" (24). Torre's "own observations and discoveries," build on the 1777 copies of the original 1776 *Diary* that he consulted at the Newberry Library in Chicago and the Library of the University of Arizona. There are also four copies in Spain. However, Torre's is the first edition ever published in Spain, where almost nothing of this expedition is known today (26).

Although Torre excuses readers from the introductory study, he does repeatedly mention this expedition (I stopped counting at 15 times). In fact, 500 years of general history clearly helps readers appreciate this specific 18th-century expedition. In addition, this introduction usefully mediates an

English-only bibliography for any Spanish-only readers by both translating quotes into Spanish and paraphrasing ideas and arguments published only in English. And while Torre may resist the jargon of theory, he effectively deconstructs the Turner thesis, engaging often with the convergence of cultures, knowledge, and transculturation (though after mentioning Ortiz, this theorist does not appear in Torre's bibliography). Torre also makes a commendable attempt to explain ways that concepts such as Spanish honor, status, and *limpieza de sangre* transculturated to North and South America. He discusses *mestizaje* from first contact through 18th century social categories and *castas* paintings, (here again he mentions a key source, Katzew, who does not appear in the bibliography). It takes almost too long for Torre to contrast rigid ideas about racial categorization with the more fluid social realities in New Spain. To reveal race in eighteenth century New Spain as a social construct, Torre provides key examples that demonstrate the fluidity of classifications, such as the same person recorded as a *mestizo*, a *coyote* then a Spaniard in government records. Torre's statements about how the frontier fosters convergence and fluidity in social structures promise important contributions well-beyond improving the publication history of this *Diary*. Yet exciting statements such as "trato de mostrar una imagen compleja de la frontera española en el suroeste norteamericano" (49) by pointing out how "la composición social de los miembros de la expedición y su interacción" (184) reveals that the "expedicionarios eran un microcosmos de la sociedad colonial de la época en la frontera" (26) then leave the reader to flesh out their implications. They underscore the self-imposed limits Torre has imposed on his theoretical engagement with key questions of borderlands theory in particular and postcolonialism more generally. This study could have acknowledged more, even in simple, layman's terms without naming them specifically, basic concepts and problems of contact zone theories and postcoloniality/decoloniality.

On the other hand, Torre's exciting plotment of the *Diary* as a drama in three acts guides readers' to see and feel dramatic tension they almost certainly would have missed. "El diario de la expedición, a pesar de lo tedioso de algunos de los pasajes puramente descriptivos, se lee en muchas secciones con la emoción y la intensidad de una pieza teatral. De hecho, aunque se trata de un adusto diario, podemos concebir la narrativa como un drama en tres actos, para distinguir mejor las etapas del viaje" (17). Many explanatory footnotes to the *Diary* provide straight historical, ethnographic or geographic context. In others, however, Torre proves the perfect guide to improve our reading enjoyment. Take, for example, footnote #90: "En este párrafo el diario crea una atmósfera de misterio propia de una novela, detalla con cuidado, y desde su perspectiva limitada, las múltiples sospechas que se levantan (las que pudieran tener los expedicionarios sobre los comanches, o las que debieran tener sobre los yuta Sabugana, o las que comienzan a tener sobre el propio guía) y la relajación final al darse cuenta de que son sospechas infundadas" (243).

This critical edition's theoretical engagement might be too subtle for specialized readers and less useful for advanced graduate students. But so successful is Torre's enthusiasm and emplotment that all readers will want to follow along. *Diario de la expedición Domínguez-Escalante por el Oeste Americano (Nuevo México, Colorado, Utah y Arizona)* makes a worthwhile contribution to Spanish-language studies of the United States Southwest, as well as Hemispheric Studies of Colonial-era North and South America.

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***Instrumental Music in Late Eighteenth-Century Spain*. Edited by Miguel Ángel Marín and Màrius Bernardó. Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2014.**

Gloria Eive

The traditional perspective in historical studies of eighteenth-century instrumental music in Spain has been a virtually exclusive focus on keyboard music and on the Italian composers who were active in Spain. As a consequence of this narrow perspective, instrumental genres that deviated from the accepted norms of Viennese Classicism were overlooked as inconsequential anomalies and composers working in Spain were ignored. The present anthology of twelve essays, edited by Miguel Ángel Marín and Màrius Bernardó, neatly refute these dismissive assessments and value judgments with comprehensive and very scholarly studies of instrumental music production in late eighteenth-century Spain and the oeuvres and activities of composers active in Spain during this period--from the 1770s to Napoleon's invasion in 1808. "Instrumental music" as addressed by these studies refers to chamber music, as distinct from music for sacred and theatrical venues, for "...it was in the ambit of the chamber...that music for solo instruments or small ensembles particularly evolved during this century...Instrumental music was at its peak in [private] royal and aristocratic palaces and the homes of music lovers" (2).

The essays are organized in four chapters according to musical perspective. Studies of Gaetano Brunetti's compositions frame the essays and discussions of Boccherini's lesser-known works and his roles in the Madrid music market provide new insights to understanding his special musical roles. *Section I. Shaping Instrumental Genres* opens with Joseba Berrocal's study of Gaetano Brunetti's solo sonatas for violin and bass: "Las sonatas para violín y bajo de Gaetano Brunetti: reconsideración de un género" (23-46). Brunetti (1744-1798) was initially appointed as Professor of Violin to the *Infante Carlos, Príncipe de Asturias*, and the musical demands

of the works Brunetti composed for him reveal the *Infante* was an accomplished violinist. When he ascended the throne as Carlos IV (1788), he appointed Brunetti *Músico de la Real Cámara*, later *Director*, thus placing the composer in charge of all musical activities at court. Notwithstanding Brunetti's musical proclivity and his authoritative position in the Spanish court, he has been given little attention in most historical surveys of musical activities in Spain. In Berrocal's careful study Brunetti emerges as a both violin virtuoso and skilled composer.

Xosé Crisanto Gándara examines an unusual collection of Italian sonatas in the monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra in "Italian sonatas in Iberian archives: the case of manuscript M M 63 of Coimbra" (47-68). The manuscript contains a large collection (113 compositions) of sonatas by Corelli and Albinoni, individual works by Pepusch, Pietro Paolo Capellini, and Carlo Ambrogio Lonati, and anonymous minutes, fugues, and theoretical exercises. The music was used for instructing organists and violinists in the monastery and the composers represented indicate the collection dates from the first half of the eighteenth century.

Ana Lombardía and Christian Speck address repertoires that reflected, in their growing popularity in Madrid, parallel trends in Central Europe. Lombardía's study of unaccompanied violin duets in Madrid ("Violin duets in Madrid: *divertimento all'europea*," 69-116), reveals the genre was extraordinarily popular in Italy and Central Europe, and especially so in Madrid which was actively participating in the international music trade based in Paris and London. The duets served many musical functions, from didactic pieces for amateurs, dance music, and technically demanding works for skilled virtuosos.

In "*As simple as possible: Boccherini's Piano Quintets and their Public*" (117-43), Christian Speck traces Luigi Boccherini's efforts to participate in the burgeoning music market with his two sets of six piano quintets for string quartet and piano: Op. 56 (G 407-412; 1797) and Op. 57 (G 413-418; 1799). These are unusual works, for Boccherini's extensive oeuvre indicates the composer really preferred composing for string quintet (string quartet with 2 violoncellos). Speck reviews the history of chamber music with piano in Spain with reference to this small group of Boccherini's late works. The piano parts in these quintets are not demanding, and Speck suggests Boccherini was making a special effort to both cater to the growing public preference for chamber music with piano, and also participate in the international music trade-- the 1799 set of quintets (Op. 57) is dedicated not to an individual or patron, but to the French Nation.

In *Section II. Copying Music*, Judith Ortega, Loukia Drosopoulou, and Stephen C. Fisher address the challenges and the provenance and authorship of music manuscripts created for the Spanish court and now displaced in collections far removed from their places of origin. Ortega's essay, "Los copistas del rey: la transmisión de la música en la corte española en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII" (147-82), is based on her painstaking

research to identify the various copyists employed in the royal courts of Carlos III and Carlos IV. She has successfully traced the copyists' years of employment in the very privileged positions they held at court, identifying their handwriting on music manuscripts now housed in distant archives.

Loukia Drousopoulou traces similar painstaking investigations in her research on Boccherini's copyists and his activities after 1785 in her meticulously documented essay "Luigi Boccherini's copyists active at the Spanish royal court" (183-201). The composer did not hold a specific appointment but he did receive a generous pension and enjoyed a privileged position at court. Drousopoulou has identified five of the principal copyists for the court who also copied music for Boccherini and has found their distinctive handwriting on his manuscripts that are now housed in Paris and Berlin archives, far removed from Madrid.

Stephen C. Fisher's investigations of Haydn's copyists add yet another perspective to this body of research. His essay "Manuscript dissemination of Haydn's symphonies in Spain" (203-12), is an account of his successful efforts to identify the principal copyists' hands on Haydn's manuscripts and the dissemination of these manuscripts in Spain.

In *Section III. The Musical Market*, José Carlos Gosálvez and Rudolf Rasch discuss music publishing in Madrid and Boccherini's use of the Madrid music market to sell three--possibly four--sets of his early trios and quartets. In "Aproximación al estudio de la edición musical manuscrita en Madrid" (215-57), Gosálvez examines the commercial production of music manuscripts in Madrid and publishers' and book seller's music trade practices. Music printing presses were available but were too slow to be profitable and in consequence commercial music copyists flourished. Published scores imported from Paris, London, Austria, and Italy were advertised and sold in Madrid as well as hand-copied manuscripts which were in high demand well into the nineteenth century.

Rudolf Rasch's investigations of the idiosyncratic operations of one of the important Madrid book- and music sellers further illuminate Gosálvez's studies. In "Four Madrilenian first editions of works by Luigi Boccherini" (259-300), Rasch traces the first Spanish editions of Boccherini's first four sets of trios and quartets. The Madrid bookseller, Antonio del Castillo, advertised and presumably sold the first published editions of Boccherini's early works prior to the Paris sales of these works:

1771: Op. B6 *Seys Tryos à dos violines i baxo*;

1772: Op. B9 Quartets, and

1773: Op. B15 Quartets.

Of Boccherini's first Madrid editions, only Op. B6 *Seys Tryos* is extant. The Madrid editions of the Quartets have been lost although the Op. B15 Quartets were later republished in Venice and the Op. B10 Quintets sold in Madrid may have been a Spanish edition of an earlier Paris publication.

With the exception of these early Madrid editions, Boccherini seems to have consistently sent his manuscripts to Vernier or La Chevardière in Paris to be published, and after 1774, to Marescalchi & Canobbio in Venice as well. The three firms—Castillo, Vernier, Marescalchi & Canobbio—acted as joint agents with respect to their music sales of Boccherini's and other works. An inventory of Castillo's shop in 1787 lists an extensive catalogue of vocal and instrumental music for sale by Spanish, French, German, and Austrian composers, many in publications by Boccherini's French publishers, Vernier and La Chevardière. Not surprisingly Boccherini's works, in 14 different genres, are the best-represented in Castillo's inventory. Boccherini was clearly an important figure in the Madrid music trade during his early publishing years (1770-1777). Except for a few publications issued in Vienna, first editions of Boccherini's later publications were issued by his French publishers. The 1787 Inventory of Antonio del Castillo's shop is reproduced in a detailed Appendix to this essay.

The concluding chapter, *Section IV. Issues of Style*, addresses Spanish musical composition in the late eighteenth century from the dual perspectives of theorists and composers. Dense contrapuntal textures and the *basso continuo*, which for decades had served as the central reference point in composition and performance, were rather abruptly replaced at mid-century by transparent melody-dominated musical textures, and a new aesthetic celebrating the elegant simplicity of this idiom. These stylistic and aesthetic 'upheavals' seem to have caused considerable consternation for theorists who discovered the new deceptively simple musical style required new theoretical explication, examples, and rubrics. In "*Componer con elegancia en el estilo sencillo: la teoría de la composición en la música instrumental del siglo XVIII*" (347-81)

Thomas Schmitt examines the musical theories of Joseph Riepel (*Anfangsgründe zur musikalischen Setzkunst*. Regensburg-Wien, 1752), José Teixidor (*Tratado fundamental de la música*. Barcelona, 1804), and others, and their efforts to illustrate the principles of graceful melodic and harmonic composition and phrase structure with schematic, often reductive examples and formulas.

Blasco de Nebra's (1750-1784) extensive oeuvre of keyboard sonatas and *Pastorelas* provide eloquent illustrations of the new lyric style and musical aesthetic that Riepel and Teixidor were striving to articulate in their labored theoretical examples. W. Dean Sutcliffe analyzes Nebra's compositions, regrettably still scarcely known in the musical world: "Poet of the Galant: the Keyboard Works of Manuel Blasco de Nebra" (303-43). Nebra was a prolific composer although of his 172 known compositions only 26 keyboard works are extant. Nebra's lyric melodic style, expressive harmonic idioms, and carefully constructed compositions are emblematic of the galant style at its most eloquent, and Sutcliffe's discussion is largely a very detailed analysis of the expressive and unusual details in Nebra's

compositions. Sutcliffe's extensive and very detailed musical analysis is better suited for an audience of musicians, all with copies of Nebra's scores in hand, and lecturer at the keyboard, performing selected musical excerpts. A small number of musical examples illustrating the musical details in Sutcliffe's discussion are included in his text, however far fewer than his extensive and very dense musical analysis requires. Absent copies of Nebra's scores and pertinent musical examples in hand however, a lecturer at the keyboard, or even audio recordings of the compositions under discussion, the reader is left vainly searching for germane textual references to illustrate Sutcliffe's intensive analysis.

The concluding essay in this comprehensive survey of instrumental music in late eighteenth-century Spain is Lluís Bertran's analysis of Gaetano Brunetti's trios in the broader musical context of contemporary European instrumental music: "*Eligiendo las piezas: los tríos de Gaetano Brunetti y la recepción de la música instrumental europea*," (383-424). Brunetti's trio composition extended throughout most of his life (1744-1798), from the early 17960s to 1795, but of the 65-95 string trios he is known to have composed during this period, only 52 are extant. These are divided almost equally between trios for two violins and violoncello (29) and those for violin, viola, and violoncello (23). Published editions of European composers available in Madrid were increasingly available after the mid-1780, and compositions by Sammartini, Capuzzi, Pleyel, Rolla, Viotti, and Haydn were known and performed in the musical establishments of Don Carlos, and the Dukes of Alba, and the Counts of Benevente-Osuna where Brunetti was as principal music director and composer. Bertran's essay includes a detailed study of Brunetti's musical style in his late trios, extensively documented with musical examples illustrating the melodic and harmonic idioms and the musical gestures Brunetti shared with his Italian and Viennese contemporaries. and Haydn, especially.

Editors Marin and Bernadó have compiled a comprehensive and very informative anthology of scholarly studies of instrumental music in late eighteenth-century Spain. The essays are lucid and well-documented, supported by the authors' extensive, and very careful research. Their dedication and their excitement in sharing their scholarly discoveries adds an extra dimension of warmth and immediacy to what otherwise might be detached statistical reports. With the exception of some evident proof-reading errors, the charts and tables of supporting documentary material and musical examples have been carefully prepared and presented. *Instrumental music in late eighteenth-century Spain* is a valuable contribution to this field of studies and a recommended addition to personal and institutional library collections.

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Elena Carpi. *La lexicogénesis del léxico filosófico español en el Siglo de las Luces*. Pisa: Pisa University Press, 2017.

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No abundan los análisis lingüísticos que traten el español del Siglo de las Luces, con lo cual, al centrarse en las innovaciones léxico-semánticas que vieron la luz en el círculo de filósofos de la Hispanidad ilustrada, el breve estudio de Elena Carpi viene a representar una modesta contribución al campo de la filología. El libro abre con una introducción que trata el contexto socio-histórico en que se incrusta la Ilustración hispánica —tanto la del dominio Peninsular como, en menor grado, la del de la América colonial—, enmarcándola dentro de un contexto sociocultural y geográfico más amplio. Luego, recogiendo sus primeras atestiguaciones, el estudio proporciona un listado de ítems léxicos innovadores ejemplificados a través de citas textuales, para un subgrupo de los cuales se propone también su origen etimológico. La última parte de la obra la constituye una corta bibliografía. *La lexicogénesis del léxico filosófico español en el Siglo de las Luces* aborda, en concreto, dos temas principales: (a) La creación de nuevas palabras, así como los procesos, i.e., composición, derivación, traducción, etc., mediante los cuales surgieron; (b) La variación semántica, o polisemia, que caracterizaba a un grupo de términos empleados en el Siglo de las Luces. Si bien el lúcido estudio que emprende Carpi constituye un loable primer paso en el seguimiento, y documentación, de un buen número de innovaciones léxico-semánticas del español ilustrado, podría decirse que este se halla en un estado inconcluso por lo limitado de sus datos. En todo estudio léxico-semántico debería proponerse el significado de los términos tratados, y la definición de algunos casos de léxico innovador no se incluye en los apartados correspondientes de la obra. Con todo, *La lexicogénesis del léxico filosófico español en el Siglo de las Luces* permite adentrarnos en los debates más intensos en que incursionan los pensadores dieciochistas más prominentes de la Península —así como, en menor grado, de la América Española—, p. ej.: Piquer, Puig, Valenzuela y Moya, Mutis, etc., en relación con el significado que “deberían” tener ciertos términos entre 1680 y 1830. Con ello, la obra, aunque de una extensión modesta, alcanza a abrir una ventana al círculo filosófico ilustrado de habla hispana que, como cualquier otro mundo filosófico, debe adaptarse —en este caso en el plano de las palabras y los significados— a las necesidades y exigencias del razonamiento en boga.

