

Toward a social history of the love sonnet: The case of Quevedo's Sonnet 331

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(This brief paper was presented to the Fifth Annual Workshop for Ideologies and Literature, held in Minneapolis on April 2-3, 1978. The workshop was led by Professor José Antonio Maravall and focused on ways of structuring a social history of Hispanic fictional texts. The papers were meant to explore key issues of fiction and history which are often only implicit in practice. Lyric poetry, and especially love sonnets, were considered some of the good cases for testing known premises of literary history and social history. In this sense the paper is, as the title indicates, exploratory and tentative: rather than being fully developed it aims to raise—and test—the basic issues involved in ideologies and literature; to examine clues of literary analysis but in terms of historical sources.)

THE ISSUE OF STRUCTURE AND IDEOLOGY

«... todos esos campos de la cultura coinciden como factores de una situación histórica, repercuten en ella y unos sobre otros...»

José Antonio Maravall

A social history of a particular Hispanic text, say a love sonnet, would assume the following: an effective reconsideration of the structure or theme or ideology of Quevedo's Sonnet 331, no matter what critical approach is taken or literary technique applied, must consider the sonnet's historical context: that is, a concentration on Quevedo's range as writer around 1620-1640 might help explain his elaboration of traditional details and, in particular, the peculiar outcome which he built into his sonnet: an ironic cover-up of real «failure» in sexual liaison through idealistic claims of «success» in Platonic love. (See NOTE at the end.)

Such a traditional sonnet with an untraditional viewpoint would gather a fuller meaning than it has hitherto received if it could be analyzed within its true historical setting. But Quevedo's love sonnets are never analyzed in terms of the Spanish historical condition that helped to produce them. Nor is there available, anywhere, a veritable social history of the learned love critical writing and usually dominate literary histories but have found no place as yet in social histories of literary texts. In this sense they might provide a bona-fide «case» for testing the theories and practices of potential social histories of Hispanic literature.

What we propose to do here is to raise the matter of the social history of the love sonnet in Spain (from Garcilaso to Quevedo), but rather than confront that

general problem only in theoretical terms we shall focus on the possible relation of only one love sonnet by the conservative aristocrat Quevedo to the real history of Spain, at the time when she was more a decadent nation than a glorious empire. The plan is to identify the dominant ideology *in* the structural arrangement of Sonnet 331 and relate this ideology to the historical realities of 1620-1640 Spain. Our attempt implies the need to be aware of the historical conditions of ideological analyses of fiction. Thus, although this is not a theoretical paper, the theoretical implications of the social history of fictional texts will become evident as Quevedo's sonnet, used here as a pretext, takes us time and again to the questions: what is the social history of a love sonnet? What can the Hispanist do with the social world of learned lyrics? Because, as we expect to prove, while the formal properties and internal structures of Sonnet 331 have been handled by a good many critics, they acquire their true value only when examined as reflecting limited historical conditions.

The burden behind our title involves two main dimensions of discourse: first is the contention that one sonnet, «Amor que sin detenerse en el afecto sensitivo pasa al intelectual,» relies both on Quevedo's ideology of «Platonic over carnal love» or of «mind over matter» and his masterful skills of *conceptismo* to such an extent that the sonnet cannot be properly understood as a product of «ideology;» next is the premise that while ideological aspects of the sonnet's structure have never been attended to, the «modes» of intrinsic criticism and editorial scholarship applied to Quevedo's love sonnets have multiplied at such a pace that it becomes impossible or cluttering to attend to them enough if they must be examined one by one. We therefore take much of Quevedo's «art» (as well as «originality» or «brilliance») or the sonnet's «organic structure» for granted and concentrate, instead, on the relation of the one sonnet to contemporary ideology; that ideology of «idea over matter,» clearly identified as idealistic, was so constituted «as to reveal something of its relations to [Spanish contemporary] history.» We must determine first to what degree the Spanish ideology was produced within a traditionally composed sonnet dealing *strictly* with a courtier's choice to become a Platonic and not an erotic lover and, second, to what degree Quevedo's conservative idealism entered the «organic,» «internal» structure of the Petrarchean sonnet.

A WORKSHEET ON QUEVEDO'S LOVE SONNET 331

An explanation of the format: we enclose here a «worksheet» on Sonnet 331 with a review of the facts, such as they are, and a brief discussion of problems, such as they have become. We cannot take the necessary knowledge for granted, yet it would be counter-productive to give continual textual explanations during our arguments. The worksheet is a sort of appendix that can form the background of the discussion that follows; the details can remain in the reader's mind enough to give some impression of Quevedo's mode of composing as well as a view of what has been or can be done with a love sonnet. The worksheet might, in fact, dramatize the need to reconcile what has already been done effectively —e. g., refined analysis of the internal, formal, private structures of the language of love sonnets— with what has not been done but, hopefully, is to be done —e. g., spell out the sonnet's external, referential, historical, and public effects.

AMOR QUE SIN DETENERSE EN EL AFECTO SENSITIVO
PASA AL INTELECTUAL

Mandóme, ¡ay Fabio!, que la amase Flora,
y que no la quisiese; y mi cuidado,
obediente y confuso y mancillado,
sin desearla, su belleza adora.

Lo que el humano afecto siente y llora,
goza el entendimiento, amartelado
del espíritu eterno, encarcelado
en el claustro mortal que le atesora.

Amar es conocer virtud ardiente;
querer es voluntad interesada,
grosera y descortés caducamente.

El cuerpo es tierra, y lo será, y fue nada;
de Dios procede a eternidad la mente:
eterno amante soy de eterna amada.

(The following is the minimal, basic information —almost all of it «objective data» — that has been hitherto collected and made available to Hispanists. Quotation marks and italics help identify the specialized language of literary historians.)

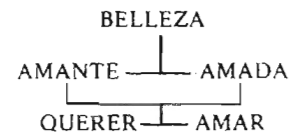
1. *Textual Problems*: J. Blecua's textual transcription of the first 1648 edition of *El Parnaso español* by Quevedo's close friend, José Antonio González de Salas is accurate; there are neither «doubtful» readings nor manuscript «corrections» nor known «variants» nor quarrels over «punctuation». Although «spelling» has been modernized, there is nothing at all here in the way of complex textual problems —which is *not* usually the case, as P. Crosby's teasing title suggests, «Has Quevedo's Poetry Been Edited?». That is: there is nothing problematic to distract literary or social historians from explaining and evaluating Sonnet 331. Since the «title» was not assigned by Quevedo but by his friend-editor, we have a hint that the sonnet's contents were read in a «Platonic» vein by contemporary friends, editors, and readers.

2. *Content, Theme, and Structure*: The *what* and *why* of the sonnet are inseparable from the *how*. Predictably, a young courtier confessed to a confidant that, because beautiful Flora rejected his attempts to seduce her, he is now willing and content to become her «virtuous» lover; he has converted his sexual desires into a Platonic love affair. «True» love is found *not* in the realm of the worldly senses but in the higher, spiritual realm of the ideal and the universal. «Imperishable» love is what the beloved Flora counter-proposed to the lover when he first made advances to her: a lady's wishes, within a conventional, literary court, was a young courtier's command (*Mandóme*). It is a shift from selfish to virtuous love, from the body to the mind, and from time to eternity.

The sonnet's structure is commonplace: a courtly «pseudo-autobiography» whereby a hypothetical lover is made *now* to explain how and why he made a crucial decision: he claims that he chose *amar* («ideal», «distant» love) only after, ironically, it was already imposed upon him. Accept *amar* and reject *querer*, yes, but in protest or, at least, with a lament (as the pained *ay* in the first line clearly indicates: «Mandóme, ¡ay Fabio!, que la amase Flora.»).

The disappointment beneath the serene acceptance is subtly acknowledged in the first-person structure: in the first quartet and the last climactic line, narrator responds to beloved's command (*Mandóme, la amase, mi cuidado, or eterno amante soy*), while in all of the other lines, lines 5-13, the reader is given the rejected lover's commonplace explanation —a miniature «essay» really— of the advantages of spiritual over carnal love (el humano afecto, el entendimiento, el cuerpo, etc.). In short, the «autobiographical» structure confirms, and at the same time, questions the representation of traditional, idealistic (Platonic) love.

3. *Semantic-Dialectics*: As with most figurative language that relies on «conceits», there are two terms involved in the pivotal words *amar-querer*: that which means, and that which is meant. *Querer* at that time connoted physical love or sexual desire while *amar* implied intangible or spiritual love that could lead to God. *Amante-amada* or *belleza*, however, had either sexual or spiritual connotations depending on whether the modifier was *querer* or *amar*. The binary oppositions are conventionally axiological and can be schematized:



AMAR leads to *adorar* > *entendimiento* > *espíritu eterno* > *virtud* > *mente* > *eternidad* > *Dios*. QUERER leads to *desear* > *humano afecto* > *claustro mortal* > *voluntad interesada* > *cuerpo* > *tierra* > *nada*. Thus the dialectic of «love» is expressed in Quevedo's text (as it was in tradition) by the known formula «A not-A»: *querer* is not *amar*, being its «opposition»; yet one «opposite» was presented and gained specific meaning only in terms of the «other». The two «contradictory» drives of love were represented through a «mutual dependency» of opposites: *eterno amante* because his *querer* was rejected; *eterna amada* because she would not be seduced. The «first» and «last» expressions of the sonnet are thus effectively —and subtly!— intertwined: *Mandóme* could only represent demands of an *eterna amada*.

The entire verbal discourse relies on the fundamental poetic figure of «conceit»: the *soy de* at the center of the last verse being the «resolution» of a crucial decision, depends more upon the notions and «intellectually» or «conceptually» related events and deliberations than upon sensations and physically or perceptually related events. This was the phenomenon of *conceptismo* and Quevedo is considered its most successful exponent; Sonnet 331 is highly strung with figures of «thought» —e. g. love, desire, human emotion, mind, eternal spirit, body vs. soul, virtue, earth, nothingness, eternity, God, etc. These concepts were suggested through the rhetorical figure of *catáchresis*, whereby concepts that might seem separated are joined by a deliberate intellectual act. A sonnet about love of the mind is verbally arranged to appeal to the reader's mind.

4. *Sonnet Tradition*: A Petrarchean model, shaped by connections in theme (Neoplatonic love reconciled with Christian principles); in form (an octave or two quartets rhyming abba, abba, and a sestet or two tercets rhyming cdc dcd and whose rhyme often highlights aspects of the theme); and in some of the most minute details of literary technique («comparisons» which lead to «contrasts»); solution in tercets following problem exposed in quartets; last verse functions as

a summary of what preceded: here the standard 4-4 + 6 (3-3) sonnet pattern becomes 4 + 9 (4-3-2) + 1, which is a viable variation within rules and conventions; parallels and plays on words; bi-membering of verses: «E! cuerpo.. nada»; witty or sententious turns and aphoristic generalizations; alliterated antitheses (*amartelado-encarcelado*); paradoxes («sin desearla... adora»), etc.

Everything in the sonnet is a «given» (form, pseudo-autobiographical structure, the confidant Fabio, Neoplatonic patterns of *amar-querer*, technique, courtly-love situation, Petrarchean echoes, Christianization of Platonic love, etc.); even some of the wording of *amor mixto* has been traced literally to León Hebreo and Pietro Bembo. Quevedo's elaboration, however, manages to whip the hackneyed situational imagery into a startling ironic posture: the lover only chose a sort of love that he did not seek but which already had been chosen for him. Thus the free choice of pure love against worldly pleasure is somewhat undercut.

5. *Bibliography*: Among the editors and literary critics who have dealt with Sonnet 331 are J. Blecua, J. Fucilla, Astrana Marín, D. Alonso, O. H. Green, A. A. Parker, B. Wardropper, A. Terry, R. M. Price, and indirectly, J. Crosby (whose *Guía bibliográfica para el estudio crítico de Quevedo* provides clues to the orientation of scholarship on Quevedo's love sonnets), Carlos Blanco (who analyzes Quevedo's originality within the Petrarchean tradition) and Wm. Woodhouse.

Attempts were made to identify Flora with La Ledesma or to argue that Flor/Flora/Floralba are all the same woman. This «truth or fiction» speculation is a toss-up and the lack of information has added little to the fact that, as autobiography or literary invention, sonnet-writing was fashionable among aristocrats. Most Golden Age sonnets, as with Quevedo's 331, were frequently conventional not only in their language but in the emotions and attitudes which they expressed.

Almost always the two types of love have been interpreted in general terms by ignoring the «situation», the «structure», and the fact that a formula, say Courtly love, was *not* in the seventeenth century what it had been earlier. The sonnet is treated as a serious one with no concern for irony when dealing with the narrator's problematic decision; in such straightforward, formalist approaches the «conflict» of values, *querer-amar*, is cleared of all sexual contamination.

Most studies are typically «ahistorical» and the assumption behind them is clear: sonnets of this sort belong more to «literary history» than to «social history». The extent to which they do fit in is at best probably related to courtly life with the dimension of disillusion replacing earlier optimism. One probable explanation (and here we borrow from A. N. Zahareas' publication on Juan Ruiz) is that possible links between sonnet and Spanish history (e. g. the defense of idealism) are not pertinent in elucidating the content and formal properties of Quevedo's poetry. There is no need to go outside the formal structure of the sonnet —except, of course, for the history of the genre and Courtly love. Thus what happened to the fictive lover and what might have happened to Spaniards, no matter how analogous ideologically speaking, are considered between them dissimilar and, at best, interesting coincidences.

Most of all we find critics conferring an autonomy on the formal categories of this sonnet that give them a life of their own, independently of the more general «intent» or «ideology» that produced them. This sonnet has been dealt with as a purely «literary» not «historical» object. Yet, the one important con-

tribution by scholars is, ironically, historical: «dating». Most Flor/Flora sonnets are from 1621-1628 or later. Fictional texts in their specific age is, of course, the beginning of particular social histories of literary works. Hence, the emphasis we place upon our tentative proposal... «toward...».

THE AGE OF QUEVEDO'S SONNET

The sonnet does not have an exact date but the approximate dates of composition were 1621-1628. Though the facts and dates of Spanish «decadence» have been debated, the phenomenon was, at least after 1620, quite indisputable. It is only the interpretation that has raised difficulties (in fact, one of the major interpreters was Quevedo himself). The realities of 1600 were harsh (State bankruptcy, large price rises, decline in population, ruin of Castile's industries, rampant poverty, governmental inefficiency, etc.) and by 1620, inevitably, the time had come when Spain was to confront her myths of empire and past glories with her realities of decadence and misery. Yet the beleaguered Spanish populace was being fed with claims of recovery by miracles. Spain was losing on the economic, military, and diplomatic fronts and simultaneously became more closed and isolated. The priority was now to defend her «Spanishness» by hunting down her enemies.

The decisive crisis of Spanish power, 1600-1620, coincided with the crisis of national self-confidence: on the one hand, the ideas and values by which Spaniards were experiencing their nation's decadence at that time were «idealistic», stressing the superiority of *spirit* or *idea* of Spain over European *commerce* or *materialism*. And much of this ideology of «idea over matter» was available to Spaniards in literature. The famous love sonnets of the period were no exception. The period of decadence and crisis coincided, in fact, with the most extraordinary moment of Spanish culture, the so-called Golden Age of Spanish art and letters.

How did the Spaniards react to this real crisis, that is, to Europe's rejection of their idealistic pretensions? For every González de Cellorigo who critically saw Spain as «a republic of enchanted men, living outside the natural order of things», there were many Spaniards who, having a false consciousness of the miserable conditions, uncritically defended Spain's «past», «greatness», «destiny», «spiritual values», etc.: that is, backwardness, impotence, crisis, and decadence were given idealistic interpretations. And the common denominator of this idealism was the so-called «unique» destiny of Spain founded on its glorious past which led to the Empire; its «originality» lay in its strong faith that «idea» and «spirit» ultimately triumph over «matter» and «progress».

Spain had already turned its back on Europe and progress in the name of preserving the dominating «idea» of ultimate or «eternal» grandeur. Now this ideology (in Carlos Blanco's terms «greatness of the 'idea' vs. 'misery' of 'matter'») is the very one that, during the sixteenth century, had been violently imposed and maintained by the dominant class of nobles. National life was led to economic disaster but the victorious class did not suffer the «material» consequences of having imposed its own idealistic ideology. The nascent bourgeoisie was liquidated, the hidalgos had been ruined, people sank in misery or died in wars or emigrated; yet it was during the decades of those losses when the power of the church and the nobility increased. National backwardness, then, side by side with brilliant literature; human misery side by side with satisfied nobility; and the reality of material decadence alongside the ideology of spiritual greatness.

QUEVEDO AND THE SONNETS

The myths of spiritual greatness became «ideological» when they gained social currency in formal expression. Many Golden Age sonnets participated, in one way or another, in such a formal expression. Paraphrasing some statements by T. Eagleton: the dominant ideological formation of the ruling, aristocratic, class was constituted by a relatively coherent set of «discourses» about spiritual values, glorious memories, idealistic representations, and religious beliefs which so effectively connected Spaniards to their social conditions as to guarantee «misrepresentations» of those very real conditions. It was the false consciousness of a real decadence that led many Spaniards to embrace an ideology of «idea over matter» imposed upon them by the ruling aristocracy.

Quevedo was a loyal, active member of that ruling class, and a propagandist of its ideology. As such he lived Spain's contradictory history of glory and collapse, grandeur and decadence. His view of the world was over-conservative yet, despite his defense and praise of old values, he also played a part in devaluing them. Old-fashioned yet practical and commonsensical. But on the whole he was *not* a critical thinker of the Spanish socio-economic system (even though he protested, in eloquent terms, Spain's decadence and loss of power). There is no reason why he should not have taken a rigid, conservative view of proposed social changes and why he should not have reacted violently to possible changes in the *status quo*. Quevedo's sympathies lay with the rule of the nobility and, though critical of its incompetence or degeneration, he was not roused by questionings that ran deep.

There may have been many liberal tendencies developed in his fiction and some may indeed seem today critical and, psychologically or existentially, rather progressive; nevertheless, the dominant ideologies of his time which he espoused, such as Neosticism or Neoplatonism or even Courtly love, were (and here we refer to the descriptive not pejorative sense of terms) radically conservative. Stoic values of acceptance and Platonic beliefs of mind over matter were the ideologies that gave coherence to all the structural details (continuously labeled «original» or «brilliant» by critics) of his love sonnets. Without any doubt, Quevedo shared fully in his group's passion for order, disgust with vulgarity, fear or mockery of self-seeking materialism, no pity for foolishness, propagation of refinement and idealism, belief in *noblesse oblige*, and defense of tradition and *status quo*.

THE LITERARY MODE OF SONNET PRODUCTION

Quevedo composed his love sonnets mainly for readers of his own aristocratic class. He was not a «professional» like Lope de Vega or Cervantes and did not bother to «print» his poems during his lifetime. (Textually speaking, it is possible that his posthumous editor used faulty manuscripts, or made false attributions, or corrected arbitrarily the poems he admired). What matters here is that his sonnets circulated privately, inside a chosen elite group of cultivated readers. Quevedo was a cultivated poet who composed lyrics to interest a local circle of friends, all members of the ruling class. This is why it is difficult to analyze the complex historical «articulations» of the various structures which helped produce this one love sonnet, 331. «Los escritores aristocráticos», as Noël Salomon argued, were those «para quienes tomar la pluma [era] un arte noble del espíritu, un como lujo en su existencia social palaciega.»

In short: Quevedo's love sonnets were «in» poems, probably hand-written, distributed on a hand-to-hand basis, within a palatial or courtly caste: within the Spanish superstructure, reflecting, even if indirectly, the moral, aesthetic, religious, and philosophical views which dominated the social consciousness of the ruling class. These idealistic views were inseparable from the Spanish ideology of «idea over matter». Quevedo's sonnets were products of a «learned» mode of literary production and, as such, were intellectually stylized, private, full of idiosyncratic introspectiveness. Thus any love sonnet «encodes within itself its own ideology» of *how*, by Quevedo and for those of his class, it was produced. The aristocratic Quevedo through poetry exercised extensive ideological influence over the informal coterie of his readers. The problem is to what extent did he question or play with the dominant idealistic ideology while producing it in a love sonnet like 331.

STRUCTURE AND IDEOLOGY OF SONNET 331

The Spanish ideology was a collective illusion, a distortion of actual conditions; deliberately or not, it managed to create a false consciousness of Spain's social and economic realities. The ideology of «idea over matter» was a cover-up for failure. Material failure underlying spiritual success was a key to the structure of 1620-1640 Spanish society. It was within that social structure that Quevedo's sonnet was read among people of the court. What his fellow aristocrats read was about a Platonic love which covered up a failure to seduce a woman. Sexual failure, then, underlying an intellectual relationship was the key to the structure of Quevedo's sonnet 331.

The Platonic ideology was, within the sonnet, an illusion, a distortion of original physical desires; it helped create a false consciousness of the lover's frustration at failing to seduce Flora. Like the Aesopic model of the fox and the «sour» grapes, a man chose to become a Platonic lover because he could not have what he could not reach; likewise some Spaniards chose to become idealistic defenders of the «idea» of Spain because they no longer had the economic power they once could have had. Platonic love blocked a true perception of the situation that led to its choice; love of the mind interposed itself and screened out the lover's real erotic concerns. This parallels the Spanish ideology of «idea over matter» that served as a screen interposed between Spaniards and their «real» history.

There was a relationship, then, between the structure of Sonnet 331 and the structure of the Spanish society in which it was produced. The connection is in the pattern of verbalizing real dilemmas; and the dilemma of compensating for failures was built both into the courtly-love situation of the sonnet *and* into the socio-economic conditions of Spain. Being taken in by attractive ideologies in times of decadence or failure just happens to be a typical aspect of the history of societies. Through idealistic ideologies Spaniards were given an inverted, distorted reflection of their backward economy; through Platonism the lover and his rejected condition appeared upside down. In both cases ideology, in the guise of «ideals», entered the daily language of Spaniards as illusion and mystification; but the ideology of ideal, Platonic love (*amar*) can be accounted for by simple reference to the concrete reality of *querer* which it distorts and transposes. Ideology, though transparent, is as efficient in the structure of Sonnet 331 as it was in the structure of the Spanish court where Quevedo composed and privately distributed his sonnets.

We are not suggesting here that the ideology articulated within the sonnet had to be necessarily «identical» to that of seventeenth-century Spanish society, nor that Sonnet 331 was a timely documentary. Rather, the sonnet did not only reflect but also produced indirectly in its verbal structure the Spanish ideology of «idea over matter». The narrator, in the role first of «rejected» and next of «accepted» lover, acted out, as if following a script, an idealist solution to his dilemma of *querer-amar*. He became noble, spiritual, and gentle only after his love options were severely limited. For *mandóme* was not only his beloved's command to act nobly, that is, «ideally» with her, but also a euphemism (well-known in the vocabulary of courtly-love literature) for having «failed» to gain sexual privileges with the attractive lady.

Curiously, it is the sonnet's production of an aspect of the Spanish ideology that renders its verbal structure so unique: Platonic love here is structured differently from the propagated virtues of other love sonnets and any two sonnets, even when they share the same ideology, are productions of «different», «unique» texts. The ideology of «idea over matter» is not simply translated into the ideology of purity over sex or eternity over time; the «contradictory» nature of the ideology of «idea over matter» created in Quevedo a process of selection, organization, and exclusion and thus helped produce a varied, even ironic, version of this ideology.

It is here we can see no less than the «aesthetic» limitations of aesthetic critics who defend the so-called «autonomy» of Quevedo's text: for the ideological issues lurking behind the lover's resolve to change his love habits as explained (stylistically, culturally, symbolically, structurally) by critics has turned out to be too reductive or too abstract for the fictional situation produced by Quevedo's witty text for the private consumption of the court around 1621-1628; it is ironic that formalists have read this sonnet as a manual on a spiritual or intellectual love relationship without the ironic considerations of carnal desire and let-down. The ironic situation of a «noble», «ideal» decision being imposed upon the rejected lover covers much more ground than what has been offered to us by traditional interpretations. Ironically, even a partial social history of Quevedo's sonnet shows it to be subtler in structure, richer in contradictions, and sharper in ideological orientation than literary historians have shown. The Spanish ideology is the «determining» structure of Quevedo's love sonnet but, as we have hopefully shown, the peculiar character of the sonnet cannot be mechanically derived from the Spanish ideology.

Authorial originality, so often defended by Quevedo experts, is stressed and even proven by social history; the art and originality of Quevedo, often defensively propagated by literary historians, are not taken for granted here and are not undermined. Quevedo's skill in constructing love sonnets, at least as examined in the structure of 331, was an integral part of his ideology.

(NOTE: Since the paper is explanatory and its presentation more conversational than formal, the body of our essay contains few technical references. Footnotes have not been included, permitting the main arguments to be studied without distraction. Yet any tentative attempt at a social history of fictional texts relies on many sources and much outside help. We are here acknowledging the key sources and figures. For problems concerning ideology and literature we utilized Kenneth Burke, Terry Eagleton (*Criticism and Ideology*), Raymond Williams, B. Brecht, and H. R. Jauss; for social history and fiction, besides various works written for the journal *Ideologies and Literature*, we were influen-

ced by J. A. Maravall, Noël Salomon, Carlos Blanco Aguinaga (especially his introduction to the *Juventud del 98*), Pierre Vilar (in «The Age of *Don Quixote*»), as well as by our colleagues H. Vidal N. Spadaccini and Ed. Baker; on the formal properties of the sonnet we used the known modern critics and, among our colleagues, we had critical readings from R. Hamilton and R. Sousa; for the historical background we relied on the standard works of Vicens Vives, J. H. Elliott, P. Vilar, Dominguez Ortiz, and Maravall; most bibliographical problems are covered in J. Crosby's works (especially the *Guía bibliográfica* mentioned previously); we consulted for Quevedo's poetry A. A. Parker, D. Alonso, A. Alonso, O. H. Green, R. Lida, Astrana Marín, C. Blanco, J. Fucilla; finally most textual and editorial problems were covered by J. Blecua, A. Terry, R. M. Price, B. W. Wardropper. We thank especially the Quevedo expert Professor William Woodhouse who helped us collect and organize all of the pertinent information about Sonnet 331. We do not mention the sources on Courtly love and the Platonic tradition because they are both numerous and standard).



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