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MATERIAL TEXTUALITY AND RUBÉN DARÍO'S *LOS RAROS*

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In Rubén Darío's 1896 *crónica*, "La casa de ideas," the city is a metaphor for the library, with houses and buildings representing different book forms. Some are like large cathedrals filled with "cantos" and "inciensos" where "misales antiguos" occur. Others, like Homer's Iliad, are "castillos feudales" that withstand the tests of time; "un mundo de ideas gigantescas" (83). He goes on to explain the crucial role of printers and bookbinders stating:

> Los impresores y los encuadernadores son los arquitectos de las ideas congregadas. Ellos les levantan sus palacios, o las alojan en casas burguesas; las visten de formas elegantes, caprichosas, clásicas, modernas, graves, cómicas: las ilustran, las refinan, o las ponen en aislados ghettos; las colocan, las recaman de oro como si fuesen personas imperiales; tapizan sus casas con las pieles de los animales, con costosos pergaminos, telas ricas, sedas y galones. (83)

In granting full authority to printers and bookbinders as architects

of the "congregated ideas" found in books, Darío underscores the importance of material form for *modernista* writers and the literary field of the period. He appropriates textual power to bookmakers who, as "arquitectos," design the "houses" that contain the ideas expressed in the texts. The majority of *modernista* writers actively sought to publish their literary works in book form. The authors, in their work for literary autonomy, elevated the book as a symbol of literary excellence and success. Yet, in contrast to the primarily aesthetic and symbolic function of the book, arguably aimed at a selective audience, through their extensive journalistic work and the invention of the *crónica* genre, *modernista* writers embraced a greater democratization of the literary and an increased presence of their works in the public sphere. In this essay, I explore the tension of book materiality in *modernismo* and argue that the book retains its symbolic importance in light of the complexities of the literary field of the period. Pierre Bourdieu's field theory will help me situate *modernista* book publication within the struggle for literary recognition and the tensions created by the desire for cultural autonomy by writers participating in an increasingly democratized and popular literary movement. However, although Bourdieu proves to be indispensable in establishing the importance of book form during the *modernista* period, his theory falls short in recognizing the power of materiality in relation to textual meaning and its role in the interpretation of the *crónica*.[1] Thus, along with an investigation of the book's role in the struggle for power in the literary field during *modernismo*, this paper will expand Bourdieu's scope of analysis through its application to a materiality-centered close reading of two different editions of Rubén Darío's seminal work *Los raros*.

Angel Rama's classic text *La ciudad letrada* has proven to be foundational in situating the literary as a central influence on the cultural discourses throughout Latin American history. Addressing the *modernista* movement and the appropriation of power in the literary field by authors of period, he writes that; "les correspondía un papel relevante en la conducción de la sociedad,

reemplazando a la declinante función de la Iglesia, y estuvieron dispuestos a ocupar ese sitial junto al poder, reconstruyendo la férrea y tradicional *ciudad letrada* que venía de los orígenes coloniales. Muchos lo hicieron y no pudieron hacerlo ya inocentemente" (182). According to Rama, *modernista* writers were conscientious of the exchanges of power necessary to recenter the literary in Latin American society. This essay supports and builds upon the notion that writers of the movement worked on a reconstruction of the aesthetic in order to position themselves as principal members of the field of cultural production at the turn of the twentieth century.

In the academic field of book history the book is seen as a cultural object that registers the moment of its production and the current societal dynamics. It also acts as a tangible historic representation that should be analyzed in its entirety in order to situate it properly in the context of production, as well as in the literary traditions from which it may stem. Bourdieu's field model helps to do just this. In the construction of a hierarchical model of positions and position-takings that constitutes Bourdieu's field of literary production, the material form of the book represents an important factor in the arranging of the field actors. For example, writers who produce only serial paper-back romance novels occupy a position vastly different than those who produce books of poetry with limited print runs. It is a commonly-held perception that hardbound books are more permanent or substantive than the somewhat ephemeral form of paperbacks or literary works that appear solely in magazines or newspapers. This permanence of the hardbound book may be either based on market-driven sales and success or permanence in terms of the symbolic function related to the literary prestige of the book. Bourdieu, in his analysis of the cultural field, uses literary genre as one of the leading factors of intra-field dynamics and prestige. He situates poetry and theatre at two opposite ends of the field, with poetry as the more "autonomous" and insular genre, primarily produced for and consumed by members of the field itself. In contrast, theatre is produced in

order to attract large audiences and is geared towards commercial success (*Field* 47-8). What Bourdieu overlooks is the influence of material form on the members of the field and how their struggles for power and distinction are manifest in these different mediums. Nevertheless, the inclusion of material form in investigating the ascendancy of *modernismo* helps to construct a more complete account of the literary field of the period. As MacDonald writes in his article on Bourdieu and the history of the book:

> What is true for publishers is true for writers, printers, distributors, reviewers, and readers as well. Each has a changeable and, indeed, often precarious status relative to his or her immediate competitors and to the field of production as a whole. [...] Publishers not only issue books, they invest them with prestige; just as printers produced both material commodities and status objects. ("Implicit" 111)

Publishers, then, have a central role in field dynamics and possess the ability to affect changes that impact the positions of other members of the field, most notably, the writers themselves. In turn, this influence has the capability to directly determine the writers' literary production. Therefore, by situating material form and its "architects," to follow Rubén Darío's metaphor, in their rightful places in the literary field, we are able to properly analyze their impact and the multifaceted importance that carries over to other field members. With this in mind, three components that represent the effects of material form in the literary field are: first, material form as an object of prestige (or lack thereof) that is desired (or looked down upon) by other writers, editors, critics, etc; second, as a cultural text itself that has a direct impact on the reception of literary production and the interpretation of the work; and finally, as a site of negotiation that reflects the tension between field members and the state of the field at a given historical mo-

ment. Thus, the study of print history and the players involved in print production is an imperative part of literary history analysis. As noted in the aforementioned Darío *crónica*, book printers and binders possess a textual authority external to the written text, yet are able to influence production and reception of the author's work. Bookmakers are able to form texts like "palacios," "casas burguesas" with "formas elegantes, caprichosas, clásicas, modernas," or cut them off to "aislados ghettos" ("Casa" 83). Hence, the use of Bourdieu and his concept of the competing fields of authority to illuminate the role of the book form and those who influence its production highlight aspects of the cultural dynamic that have not sufficiently been accounted for in *modernista* criticism.

Applying the same type of analysis that occurs in the field of book history to the *modernista* movement sheds light on both textual and contextual features that have been overlooked in previous criticism. The role of the *modernista* book, as it entails material features, dissemination and reception, editorial influence and a representation of the symbolic power of literature helps illuminate the tensions of the field at the time. Bourdieu conveys this sentiment emphasizing the authority of the book and publishers when he writes: "A book is an object with both economic and symbolic sides; it is at the same time product and signification. Publishers are thus double characters who should know how to reconcile art and money, the love of literature and the quest for profit" ("A Conservative" 14). This tension between symbolic and economic authority, a central thread that runs throughout Bourdieu's thinking, is also manifest in both *crónica* texts and the book publishing tendencies that coincide with the *modernista* movement.

In the decades surrounding the turn of the twentieth century, the production of the book was widespread throughout Spanish America and grew at an enormous rate. Unfortunately, little research has been done on book history and production in the region in this period. Adolfo Prieto's *El discurso criollista* and Milada Bazant's chapter "Lecturas del Porfiriato" in *Historia de la lectura*

en México stand out as an exemplary texts that offer invaluable publishing numbers and contextual analysis for Argentina and Mexico during the turn of the century. Nevertheless, Prieto admits that much information is missing regarding specific publishing runs and book sales (59-60). However, there are a few different ways to count for the rapidly growing book-reading public and the increase in book publishing during the *modernista* era. First, near the turn of the century many Spanish-American countries began to keep annual bibliographies that would record the works published during a given year. For example, according to Argentina's Anuario Bibliográfico, 560 works were published in 1881, 680 in 1885, 890 in 1887 and so forth (Pastormerlo 5). Another source of information comes from public library attendance, which, although failing to provide specifics regarding book production and sales numbers, reveals readership growth and the mounting interest of the reading public. To illustrate, a total of 40,000 visitors attended the national library in Santiago, Chile, in 1909. That number more than quadrupled in less than two decades, as 170,000 visited the library in 1927 (Castillo García 193). And finally, the number of editions published by *modernista* writers attests to a growing readership and interest in the literature of the movement. For instance, Guatemalan Enrique Gómez Carrillo published nearly 150 book editions of a wide variety of genres in his literary career, not to mention the issuing of second and third editions of many of his works resulting in the circulation of tens of thousands of his book editions throughout Spanish America and Europe during his lifetime. The novel, *La gloria de Don Ramiro*, by Argentine Enrique Rodríguez Larreta was first published in Madrid in 1908 and in that same year another edition was published in France. Its translation into French by Remy de Gourmont had twelve different editions between 1910 and 1926 and within six years of its initial publication it was also translated to Dutch and Portuguese (Ibieta 7, 12). In discussing the surprisingly high number of publications that Mexican *modernista* Amado Nervo achieved in Mexico during the period, Carlos Monsivais writes:

"Nervo consigue ver publicados en México casi todos su libros, y eso no es frecuente en una industria editorial muy débil en el período. [...] Sin libros que circulen con amplitud, ¿cómo o por qué funcionan tan vastamente los textos de Nervo? Entonces, a los poemas los seleccionan y consagran los lectores, convencidos de sus aportaciones humanas y literarias" (92). It was the knowledge of and affinity with *modernista* literature by a Mexican readership that caused them to seek out and purchase literary works in book form.

Regarding journalistic *crónicas* that were collected and published in book form like *Los raros*, the transformation of meaning that occurs due to the physical form of the text demonstrates how the book not only affected *crónica* readership but the very meaning of the *crónica modernista* and the *modernista* movement itself.[2] Thus it is necessary to take both the symbolic and economic nature of the book into account. The change in meaning resulting from transference in material form from the periodical to the book assisted in *modernismo's* long term canonization as well as a foothold in the turn of the century Hispanic literary field. As the *crónica* was disseminated and reproduced in book form it allowed *modernista* writers to secure a literary identity that emphasized both poetry and prose works without distancing themselves from their roles as journalists, a role they maintained throughout their literary careers.[3] Consequently, though, the proliferation of *crónica* books resulted in a shift in the way the *crónica* was viewed in respect to its generic classification.

By 1896, Spanish American *modernista* writers had formed a formidable network of intellectual and industry connections in the Hispanic literary field. They had been through the experience of creating literary magazines and watching them falter due to the lack of economic resources.[4] They also had seen four of the principal writers and founders of the movement, José Martí, Manuel Gutiérrez Nájera, José Asunción Silva and Julian del Casal, all pass away—three of them, Nájera, Martí and Silva in the preceding year. Nevertheless, 1896 became a watershed year

for *modernismo* because of two key publications, Rubén Darío's *Prosas profanas*, a groundbreaking edition of poetry and *Los raros*, a collection of biographical *crónicas*. Both of these works secured Darío's position as leader of the *modernista* movement and as the preeminent Spanish American writer in the literary field of the time.

By 1896 Darío was a renowned and prolific *crónica* writer, publishing frequently in magazines and newspapers across Spanish America, Spain as well as in the New York City Hispanic Magazine *La Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York*. In his gradual rise to the top of the Spanish American literary field after his 1888 publication of *Azul*... he quickly inserted himself within the cultural discourse of the Hispanic world though his journalistic writings. Dario's journalistic work also achieved a high level of prestige primarily due to the *crónicas* he produced for Buenos Aires newspaper *La Nación*. One of the more prominent *crónica* forms that Darío mastered was the biographical sketch of intellectuals, artists, and writers of the time. The cosmopolitan disposition of *modernismo* resulted in a dialogue with contemporary European cultural discourse. A way that *modernista* writers dialogued with European cultural norms was through the production of *crónicas* typically focusing on an intellectual or artistic figure and situating them within the cultural dynamic of the period. Through these texts, they also introduced important European cultural figures to a widespread Latin American audience and, in turn attempted to incorporate their own work as a part of the "universal" culture originating from Europe, particularly France. A relevant example of this dissemination of European cultural norms is *Los raros* itself as 14 out of the 19 figures represented in the first edition originate from France.

The series of articles written for *La Nación* under the title "Los raros" was published between 1893 and 1896. Darío, with the help of Argentine writers Angel Estrada and Miguel Escalada, compiled the *crónicas* and published them in book form in 1896 by the small editorial house Tipografía La Vasconia.[5] This first

edition of *Los raros* consists of 19 short chapters with a brief prologue. Two additional profiles were added in the second edition. Each chapter in the first edition is prefaced by a short titular phrase that relates to a theme developed in the chapter. For example, chapter XV on French decadent poet Edouard Dubus contains the title "Voces de los violines" which alludes to a poem by German poet Heine that begins the chapter and sets the mood for Darío's description of Dubus' melancholy literature.[6] These introductory phrases were not part of the *crónicas* published in *La Nación* and point to one of the significant differences between the book form and the original site of production of the journalistic texts. The chapter titles add to the literary nature of the book sections by taking the focus away from the notion that *Los raros* are journalistic biographical sketches written for a large reading public and emphasize the aesthetic and book-appropriate nature of the *crónicas*. Therefore, instead of titling each chapter by the name of the profiled figure, as is done in the newspaper-published *crónicas* and the index of the book edition, the title phrases give the reader a sense that the text goes beyond a journalistic biographical outline leading to a more aesthetized and consecrated *modernista* work. This is one of the ways that the *crónica's* status as a journalistic text is erased when reproduced in book form. This generic disruption points to the fact that much of Darío's readership read him expecting texts of a highly literary character, different from what one would expect from a typical journalistic piece. Thus, although book audiences differed both in terms of economic class as well as cultural capital which was represented in their ability to purchase book editions as well as which books they chose to acquire, newspaper readers were also culturally acclimated and consumed texts of a high literary value. Though his journalistic following was extensive due to the high number of daily newspaper sales, as we will shortly see, Darío had no problem in additionally affirming his symbolic authority through rapid book sales with the first edition of *Los raros*.

Because of *modernismo's* literary authority established prior to 1896 and Darío's rather recent ascent to the head of the movement, the publication of *Los raros* and *Prosas profanas* was essential in affirming the place of Darío in the Spanish American literary field. Reception of *Los raros* confirms *modernismo's* prestige, at least in the Argentine capital, during the period. The print run of the edition did not exceed 400 copies, a typical number for literary works at the time (Buonocore 182). What was extraordinary was how fast the edition sold out. According to Pedro Luis Barcia, "la edición de *Los raros* se agotó en quince días, plazo insólito para las prensas argentinas de fin de siglo" (55). This manifestation of Darío's success is a direct reflection of his standing in the literary field of the time.[7] Darío, though very active in the journalism industry, was known primarily as a poet throughout his lifetime. Therefore it is telling that his increase in authority in the literary field because of an edition of essentially journalistic articles precedes the publication of his most well-known collection of verse, *Prosas profanas*. Indeed his journalistic work and the publication of these texts in book form play a central role in Darío's rise to literary prominence.

Eleven years later *modernismo* was an established literary movement and had secured great influence among Spanish-American and Peninsular literary circles. Once 1905 arrived, Darío maintained his authority as leader of *modernismo* and a central figure in the Hispanic literary field. 1905 also proved to be a key year for the *modernista*. In that year he not only republished *Los raros*, but also released the definitive edition of *Azul*... with the Argentine editor Biblioteca de La Nación together with his important book of verses *Cantos de vida y esperanza* published by Madrid publisher Tipografía de la Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos. The first part of the twentieth century was a time of wide expansion for editorial houses in Spain. There was a burgeoning reading public, a great interest in newspapers and magazines and an increase in overall consciousness of the cultural events of the time.[8] Publisher Editorial Maucci from Barcelona

was in the midst of this publishing boom, publishing thousands of volumes on a weekly basis.[9] Editorial Maucci had distribution offices across Spanish America in cities such as Buenos Aires, Caracas, Havana, and Mexico City. Though the number of editions printed of the second edition of *Los raros* is unknown it likely exceeded the first Buenos Aires edition because the Editorial Maucci was known to print around 25,000 copies a week. Leona Martin explores Maucci's publishing empire and describes his press and book form stating:

> Aunque salieron de la imprenta Maucci tomos de gran lujo con encuadernación elegante, papel fino y textos pulidos, la mayoría de sus productos exhibían menos calidad material, consecuencia de una elaboración para la venta a precios moderados. Se trataba de literatura publicada para las masas: largas series de novelas traducidas del francés, inglés o italiano; libros de medicina popular y de "conocimientos útiles"; diccionarios; enciclopedias; textos escolares; y obras de espiritismo y ciencias ocultas. En las colecciones Maucci de los "grandes maestros" y "grandes pensadores" encontramos a figuras como Cervantes, Eca de Queiroz, Victor Hugo, Schiller, Dante y Shakespeare. (n.pag.)

Darío, who also published editions of *Cantos de vida y esperanza* and his autobiography *La vida de Rubén Darío escrito por él mismo* with Maucci, took advantage of the Barcelona publisher in the wide dissemination of his book editions.

The transatlantic connection between Spanish America and Spain in terms of literary production and dissemination was intensified by the emergence of *modernista* literature ever since Juan Valera introduced Darío to the Iberian Peninsula in 1888. Alejandro Mejías-López follows Venezuelan novelist Manuel Díaz

Rodríguez in calling Spanish-American literary influence in Spain during the period an "inverted conquest." He writes that:

> One of modernismo's more lasting achievements was not only to question Spanish cultural and literary authority, but to take it away from the Peninsula [...] By the time Rubén Darío made his second visit to Spain in 1900, the reversal of authority had already taken place, as modernismo had transformed the literary field of the ex-metropolis, whose readers were now following the lead marked by those on the other side of the Atlantic. Only then was the modernista literary revolution complete. (84)

Therefore, it is not surprising that Darío, having toured Europe, made extensive literary contacts, and having continued a far-reaching journalistic publishing regime during the years between the first and second editions of *Los raros*, had positioned himself at the forefront of the transatlantic literary field. This "inverted conquest" is not only evident in the symbolic capital used by Darío and other *modernistas* to shape transatlatlantic literary currents, but also reveals itself through the book publishing practices of the period. Argentina, though more developed than other Spanish American countries in terms of cultural dissemination, largely exceeded Spain's per capita book publishing around the turn of the twentieth century. A country of around four and a half million at the time, during the decade of 1889-99 there were 18,677 volumes published in Argentina. In contrast, Spain, during the same decade, having a population of 18 million, published 23,143 volumes (Díaz y Pérez 7). The Spanish export of books to Spanish America was also greatly exceeded by France, the United States, and Great Britain. In 1896 for example, Spain reached a book export sum of 5.2 million pesetas compared to the over 33 million pesetas exported to Spanish America by Northern Europe and the

U.S. (Díaz y Pérez 7). Despite this editorial dilemma regarding Spanish book exports to Spanish America, Spain remained an editorial center for *modernista* writers and many works central to the movement were published in Madrid and Barcelona.[10] It is in 1905 year that Maucci agrees to reprint *Los raros* in an edition that is "expanded and corrected." Along with this republication, Maucci instituted an ad campaign for the edition, printed primarily in the variety magazine *Pluma y Lapiz*, also published by the Barcelona editorial house (fig. 1).

The Casa Editorial Maucci printed both full and half page advertisements on the back cover of several 1905 editions of *Pluma y Lápiz*. The publicity is an example of how publishing houses played an important role in the struggles occurring within the literary field. The advertisement expresses that Darío "honors" Maucci with the opportunity to publish his book. The fact that the money-making editor is honored to publish Darío's book points to the Nicaraguan's current position in the field and a further strengthening of that authority. Being published by Maucci also situated Darío alongside canonical world authors such as Shakespeare, Milton, Dante and Dostoevsky, writers also published by the editorial house. Bourdieu has discussed the interests of publishers in catering to important figures in the field as demonstrate in Maucci's ad. As Frank de Glas has pointed out:

> The way that institutions in the 'field' of culture endeavor to consecrate their preferred works and to impose these judgments as authoritatively as possible on other institutions or persons. According to Bourdieu, a crucial element in this play is the denial of any direct economic interest on the part of the institution in long-term artistic recognition. (de Glas 380)

Darío "honoring" the publishing house by allowing them to republish *Los raros* is a clear example of the suspension of monetary

gain in return for an increase in symbolic capital. In addition, the ad announces that *Los raros* is a "nueva y importantísima obra" with an"originalidad inapreciable" which leads us to another important aspect of *crónica* book editions: the important role of the book prologue. As the *Pluma y Lápiz* advertisement states, by 1905, Darío was known on the Spanish peninsula and beyond as a "gran escritor." Nevertheless, this edition of *Los raros* was not new at all but a "Segunda edición: corregida y aumentada." The advertising rhetoric in *Pluma y Lápiz* sets out to resituate this lost work of the famous writer and make it new again even though this new edition may have been distributed throughout Spanish America, including Buenos Aires, the edition's original site of publication.[11] The contrast between the advertising campaign and the prologue of the new edition could not be greater. The prologue reads:

> Fuera de las notas sobre Mauclair y Adam, todo lo contenido en este libro fué escrito hace doce años, en Buenos Aires, cuando en Francia estaba el simbolismo en pleno desarrollo. Me tocó dar á conocer en América ese movimiento y por ello y por mis versos de entonces, fui atacado y calificado con la inevitable palabra 'decadente…' Todo eso ha pasado, - como mi fresca juventud […] En la evolución natural de mi pensamiento, el fondo ha quedado siempre el mismo [...] Restan la misma pasión de arte, el mismo reconocimiento de las gerarquías intelectuales, el mismo desdén de lo vulgar y la misma religión de belleza. Pero, una razón autumnal ha sucedido á las explosiones de la primavera. (v-vi)

In this nostalgic gesture conveying the central tenets of *modernismo*, Darío makes it clear that the book is a reaffirmation of artistic authority and not the creation of a new, original work.

Nevertheless, the advertisement, with its repeated emphasis on the title of *Los raros*, gives the sensation that the profiled authors are in fact rare or original in Spanish cultural production. Therefore, though the novelty of the writers is a thing of the past in Buenos Aires because of the 10 years that have transpired since the book's original publication, the advertisement portrays a different dynamic occurring in Spain with *Los raros* represented as Darío's "nueva é

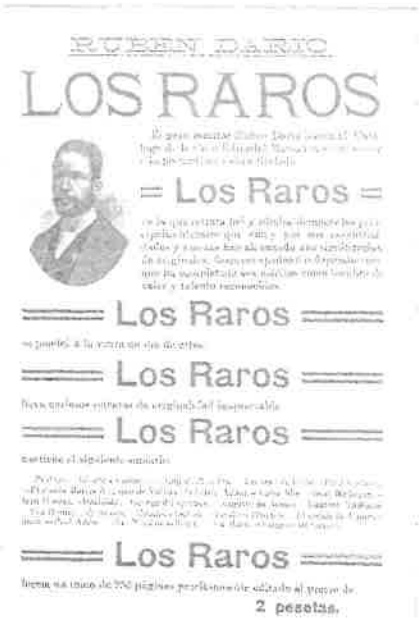

Fig. 1. Advertisement from Barcelona magazine *Pluma y Lápiz* (1905) promoting Rubén Darío's *Los raros*.

importantísima obra." Furthermore, the prologue is a ratification of the *crónicas* in the edition and what they represent—granting additional authority to the journalistic attributes of the texts which portray a time-based newness. The prologue is a renewal of the principals affirmed in the manifesto-like prologue of the 1896 first edition of *Los raros* which expressed a *modernista* ideology that

is just beginning to peak in Spain around the time of the second edition printing. Quoting from the founding statement of Darío's Buenos Aires literary magazine, *Revista de América*, the prologue of the first edition, articulating the labor of *modernismo*, reads:

> Ser el órgano de la generación nueva que en América protesta el culto del Arte puro y desea y busca la perfección ideal; ser el vínculo que haga una y fuerte la idea Americana en la universal comunión artística. [...] Levantar oficialmente la bandera de la peregrinación estética que hoy hace con visible esfuerzo, la juventud de la América Latina á los Santos Lugares del Arte y á los desconocidos Orientes del Ensueño. [...] Que nuestros esfuerzos no son vanos, lo demuestran los aplausos de los pensadores independientes. (2-3)

In this *modernista* manifesto, Darío creates a space for the organization of a literary movement; a cohesive group with a particular artistic ideology and purpose. The prologue of the 1905 edition echoes this sentiment adding an element of maturity and teleological development in the aesthetic stance of the poet.

The act of including a prologue in a published book edition is a factor that creates an explicit difference between the book form and the original journalistic form of production of the *crónicas*. Prologues, like other markers extraneous of the *crónica* texts (i.e. publication dates, artwork accompanying the text, etc.) provide important contextual information essential in interpreting the literary work in its broader cultural environment. Prologues, though, carry great significance in that they mark the work, either by the writer or another figure, in a particular literary manner. The prologues of the two editions of *Los raros* shed much light on the roles of both Darío and *modernismo* within the literary field of the moment. Utilizing a meta-textual approach that addresses the individual and collective motivations of Darío

and the *Modernista* movement, they specifically address the importance of the *crónicas* of *Los raros* as stand-alone literary works as well as the role of the book in the literary field in a more general sense by providing an additional space for expressing the rhetoric of the movement. Therefore, although the book editions of *Los raros* lack any formal trait of the journalistic nature of the texts, the prologues lend more credence to the collection of works in the book form as well as to the *crónica* genre because of the act of self consecration that substantiates *modernista* textual production—the majority of which was journalistic. In other words, the prologues validate the *modernista* literary movement and meanwhile confirm the central role of the journalistic genre in the literary field—a genre that allowed *modernista* writers to publish more books.

Notwithstanding the material form of the book and its impact on *crónica* readership, in *crónica* book editions, emphasis is transferred away from the genre's journalistic function towards the representation of the *crónica* as more literary prose writing. It also makes clear the literary intentions of *crónica* production by *modernista* writers, and further solidifies the journalistic texts as literature being consecrated in book form, far removed from the "minor" genre of the *crónica*. In contrast, Julio Ramos connects *modernista* journalistic production to the "exteriors" of literary expression in opposition to the "interiors" of poetry. He writes: "If poetry, for the modernists (Martí included, at certain moments), is the literary interior par excellence, the chronicle represents and thematizes the exteriors, tied to the city as well as the newspaper itself, which the interior *obliterates* (87). Actually, the relocation of the *crónica* to book form condenses the exterior and interior spaces as represented by Ramos, and elevates the journalistic texts to the same symbolic level as *modernista* poetry. This generic transformation evident in *crónica* book editions that seems to strip the texts of their journalistic context ends up validating the vast *crónica* library and the textual authority appropriated to the genre by *modernista* writers.

Additionally, a clear example of the shift in genre is portrayed in the lists of the author's publications printed in book editions. Printed at the very beginning or end of the book, after the index, these lists show the other books published by the author and often will note their genre. The following image, found at the end of the 1905 edition of Darío's *Los raros*, lists his published works in chronological order and following the book title the genre of the text is given (Fig. 2). As shown, each of the works listed as "prosa" are *crónica* editions. Though their classification as prose works is a correct one, as texts not written in verse form, the generic designation ends there. In literally all of the *crónica* book editions that that were published during the lives of the *modernistas*, allusions to the *crónica* as a journalistic genre are absent.

In addition, any notion of previous publication of the texts in newspapers and magazines does not exist. A few posthumous editions of the *crónica* have markers that indicate the journalistic nature of the text such as date of publication, journalistic venue, and/or city of publication. It is rare in these editions to see any full bibliographic attribution to the text. This lack of data fundamentally alters the nature of the *crónica*; the genre's very title is based on its journalistic, time-based nature. Instead, these once journalistic texts become essays, short stories, prose fiction or any other number of genres and sub-genres that classify the *crónica* stripped of its journalistic characteristics.[12] As one attempts to analyze the reception of the *crónica* and how the book form altered the way that these texts were received, the shifting nature of literary genre must be taken into account. Thomas Kent in his book *Interpretation and Genre: The Role of Generic Perception in the Study of Narrative Texts* points out:

> Our recognition that a specific text is a member of a particular genre creates, in turn, certain generic expectations, so that as we read a Gothic novel, we expect to discover certain elements common to this particular genre. Our generic perception—

> our ability to identify texts as members of specific genres—seems, therefore, to operate much the same as our reading experience. (15)

Following Kent's idea that genre is an organized structure that is also formed around our experiences as readers and the particular context of our readership, the publication of *crónica* editions transformed the journalistic nature of the genre by erasing the periodical-based qualities of the *crónica* and transforming the readers experience through the material form of the book.

Obras del autor

Primeras notas.	*Verso.*
Azul	*Prosa y verso.*
Abrojos	*Verso.*
Prosas profanas	*Id.*
España Contemporánea. .	*Prosa.*
Los Raros	*Id.*
Peregrinaciones	*Id.*
La Caravana pasa . . .	*Id.*
Tierras solares.	*Id.*

EN PREPARACIÓN

Los Cisnes y otros poemas.	*Verso.*
Opiniones	*Prosa.*

Fig. 2. List of published works and works considered for publication in Rubén Darío's 1905 edition of *Los raros* (Barcelona: Casa Editorial Maucci).

An economic shift is also evident with *crónicas* shifting away from mass production of the newspaper to the limited production of the book. Ultimately, the consequences of the changed mate-

rial form evolving from the newspaper and magazine to the book form were larger than solely textual or literary transformations. Book editors not only exercised their authority as "architects" of the way a text is read, but also had the ability to change the nature of literary history through the works they chose to publish, a primary criteria being the economic potential of the book. These purely economic decisions ultimately assisted *modernista* writers gain authority and positions of prestige in the literary field of the period.

The *crónica* published in newspaper format is embedded within layers of meaning that shape reading practices in a much different fashion than book reading. For journalistic readers, the *crónica* is a disposable text—being read one day and then discarded the next for consumption of the next day's edition. This brief experience where a newspaper text is read once and then never to be seen again eschews literary consecration and its sense of permanence. Newspaper texts are temporary objects and their reading is often done in passing. This momentary existence of the *crónica* allowed for serialized textual production, where writers often produced series of texts such as "Los raros," Enrique Gómez Carrillo's "La vida parisiense," and José Martí's "Escenas norteamericanas." This continuation on a theme is nevertheless fragmented in nature due to its publication in separate newspaper editions. The reader, then, may not be able to connect the texts to the long term thematic due to the expendable format of the newspaper in contrast to a book form containing the *crónica* collections. In contrast, a reader of the book edition of *Los raros* is much more likely to consume more than one *crónica* in each sitting, perhaps reading the whole text at once. In this way the reader is able to capture Darío's vision of a collective group of "raros." In addition, the mere title "Los raros," printed in the newspaper, loses its connotation as a collective group when published as individual texts separated by weeks or months of publication from the next *crónica* in the series.

Darío alludes to this difference of reading experience in the

introduction of the 1896 *Los raros* edition: "LOS RAROS van al mundo por vuestro esfuerzo: los habéis ido á sacar del bosque espeso de La Nación" (1). The original *crónicas* were lost in the thick forest of *La Nación* and had to be retrieved in order to form the book edition. The metaphor of a "bosque espeso" also refers to the act of newspaper reading as a continual, repeated exposure to textual material thus converting the form into a site of excess. Literary texts published in newspaper format fail to retain their stable individuality and are lost until someone performs the necessary labor to find them and bring them into their permanent existence in book form. This book-centered stability is due in part to the reader's capacity to recall and read the book at will, as often as one would like. Unlike the rapid and temporary consumption of the newspaper, the book reader can take a more leisurely approach to the text, knowing that the format is an enduring one, and one that he or she can come back to again and again.

The newspaper-based text is also published beside visual advertisements and illustrations, classified ads, other reporter-based news articles, games and supplements for children, political comics, among other miscellanea. Newspaper *crónicas* are inevitably read in conjunction with these utilitarian elements found in the newspaper thus intersecting meanings between these market-based forms and *modernista* literature. The newspaper reader experienced the literary as well as quotidian and consumer-based content in a much more explicit manner than book readers. This wide difference between material form and the meaning attributed to the text through its reading points to a *modernista* will to consecrate the works in order to extract them from the routine newspaper where the literary was saturated with the trivialities of the everyday.

Bourdieu writes: "Given that works of art exist as symbolic objects only if they are known and recognized, that is, socially instituted as works of art and received by spectators capable of knowing and recognizing them as such, the sociology of art and literature has to take as its object not only the material produc-

tion but also the symbolic production of the work." (*Field* 37) Darío's two editions of *Los raros* are excellent examples of how the book market at the turn of the century, both in Spain and Spanish America, helped to increase the symbolic capital of the *modernista* writer together with Spanish-American *modernismo* in a more general sense. Through the book form of these *crónicas*, Darío was able to substantiate and solidify his identity in the literary field and also give authoritative recognition to the journalistic texts because of their inclusion in the more consecrated form that the book represented. These two alterations brought about by the publication of *Los raros*, the positionality of Darío in the field, and the consecration of the *crónica* in book form give valuable insight on the role of the book market on the literary field of the period. They also highlight how the production and marketing of the industry, together with the change in reading experience based on material form not only affected the reception of a certain author, but the transformed an entire genre—in this case the journalistic *crónica*.

In 1903 poet and playwright G. Martínez Sierra wrote the following on Darío's recently published edition of travel *crónicas*, *La caravana pasa*:

> El cuento de viajes de Rubén Darío - selecto como suyo - es, sin embargo, de interés universal, libro de público, que alcanzará rápida y amable y legítima popularización. Por ello, maestro poeta, hemos de daros gracias todos los que quisiéramos hacer entrar en el pan cotidiano de las multitudes el grano de sal del amor al arte: estos libros preparados por el genio, con amable condescendencia para las muchedumbres, son como cuentos de hadas que al alma niña enseñan horizontes de belleza: de tales limosnas habéis de ser pródigos los que, poseyendo el secreto de la exquisitez, aun en lo pueril sabéis ser exquisitos, los siempre inspirados y siempre poetas. Las palabras que decís al vulgo narrándole los eventos vulgares que ante sus ojos pasan, suenan á inspiración y acostumbran su oído al noble sonar de la poesía. (124)

This commentary on the *crónica* book edition reveals quite a bit about the potential audience of the published editions and the ability of the *modernista* poet to appeal to a popular readership. It also refers to the transformation of journalistic texts into poeticized prose which inspires beauty and is praiseworthy by other important members of the field who praise Darío for producing such a work. The academic field of book history urges scholars to take this textual commentary into consideration when reconstructing literary history. Just as the investigation on *Los raros* has highlighted the centrality of Darío's *crónica* editions in the establishment and spread of *modernismo* in Spanish America and Spain, focusing on extra-textual marginalia can change the way literary history is perceived. The study of book history adds an additional layer of analysis that can potentially reveal complexities and tensions in literary production that have extensive repercussions in the rest of the literary field. Through analysis of *modernista* print culture, taking into account materiality of books and the editorial environment at the turn of the twentieth century, one can better situate writers and their texts in the literary field and come closer to achieving Bourdieuian reconstruction of the transatlantic Hispanic literary field during the *modernista* period.

NOTES

[1] Peter McDonald recognizes this limitation in Bourdieu. He writes, "By privileging the historically specific norms and categories of the field, without which literature as such could not exist, it underestimates the unpredictability of writing, which is always capable of transforming the field by exceeding or subverting its determinations. If Bourdieu makes possible a precise and richly historicized appreciation of every documentary version

of a literary text as a play like performance that evokes the field as a whole, he fails to deal adequately with writing's power to bypass any of the terms that its protectors, including authors and sympathetic critics, are able to formulate." ("Implicit" 226)

[2]Following Susana Zanetti in her index of Darío *crónicas* in *Rubén Darío en La Nación de Buenos Aires: 1892-1916*, I will be referring to *Los raros* essays as journalistic *crónicas*. One could also classify them under a variety of other sub-genres but for the purposes of my analysis I will position the texts as the under the broad journalistic definition of the *crónica modernista*; journalistic articles produced by writers of the movement around the turn of the twentieth century.

[3] For more information on the central role of the *crónica* in the *modernista* movement refer to the now classic works by Aníbal González, Susana Rotker, and Julio Ramos.

[4] There are several examples of *modernista* writers forming literary magazines, most of which had relatively short publication runs primarily due to scarce economic resources. A primary example is *Revista de América* formed in Buenos Aires by Bolivian writer Ricardo Jaimes Freyre and Darío in 1894. The magazine only lasted three editions due to economic limitations and a lack of readership (Pineda Franco 21).

[5]Contextualizing the era that encapsulated the existence of *La Vasconia*, Domingo Buonocore writes, "*La Vasconia*, de Francisco Grandmontagne. Se estableció aproximadamente en 1894 [...] la imprenta que nos ocupa es digna del recuerdo por haber dado a luz varios libros de fuste, algunos de ellos vinculados por su tema a la historia e nuestro modernismo literario. Bajo este aspecto, debe destacarse como singularmente fecundo y representativo el trienio 1895-1897. En ese lapso se advierte una fervorosa inquietud intelectual y cívica, cuyos vehículos de expresión son diarios, revistas, libros, exposiciones de arte, peñas." (182)

[6]The chapter begins: "'Los violines también se callan, los violines que tocaban tan vigorosamente para la danza, para la danza de las pasiones; los violines se callan también.' Estas palabras de la *Angélica* de Heine, escucháis al entrar al parque solitario en donde la fiesta tuvo sus luces y sus cantos. Eduardo Dubus es un raro poeta, poeta que enguirnalda con rosas marchitas el simulacro de la melancolía. Vamos allá, al recinto abandonado... Ya pasó la hora de la partida; ya las barcas van lejos; ya las marquesas, los caballeros galantes, los abates rosados van lejos. Callaron los violines y partieron, con su dulce alma armoniosa... Los violines, silenciosos, van ya lejos..." (165)

[7]In his autobiography, Darío states the following about the production and reception of *Los raros*: "Comencé a publicar en *La Nación* una serie de artículos sobre los principales poetas y escritores que entonces me parecieron raros, o fuera de lo común. A algunos les había conocido personalmente, a otros por sus libros. La publicación de la serie de *Los raros* que después formó un volumen, causó en el Río de la Plata excelente impresión, sobre todo entre

la juventud de letras, a quien se revelaban nuevas maneras de pensamiento y de belleza. Cierto que había en mis exposiciones, juicios y comentos, quizás demasiado entusiasmo; pero de ello no me arrepiento, porque el entusiasmo es una virtud juvenil que siempre ha sido productora de cosas brillantes y hermosas; mantiene la fe y aviva la esperanza." (77)

[8] Hipolito Escolar decribes the changes in Spanish cultural and literary perception at the time. He writes: "La oferta bibliográfica fue subiendo anualmente en número de ediciones, y se fue diversificando, respondiendo a la creciente elevación del nivel cultural del país. Se inició a comienzos del siglo con 1,300 obras [publicadas] y se acercó a las 3,000 en la segunda década" (263).

[9] Italian Emanuele Maucci founded Casa Editorial Maucci in 1892. The Italian museum holding a large collection of his manuscripts gives the following biographical sketch: "Emanuele Maucci established (1892) the publishing house - Casa Editorial Maucci, Mallorca 166, Barcelona - while still an itinerant book-seller. The prodigious output of the his company, Casa Editorial Maucci, includes Spanish translations of more than one thousand European and American writers and poets (Virgilius, Dante, Shakespeare, Milton, Goethe, Schiller, Rousseau, Hugo, Dostoevsky, Gorkj, Eça de Queiroz, D'Annunzio, De Amicis, Fogazzaro, *etc*.)" (Emanuele).

[10] During his lifetime Darío published 11 books in Spanish editorial houses. Amado Nervo also published a handful of books in Spain and prolific *cronista* Enrique Gómez Carrillo, while alive, published approximately 130 volumes in Spain.

[11] This idea that the 1905 publication of *Los Raros* is new and original is echoed in the illustrated variety magazine *Nuevo Mundo*, published weekly in Madrid at the time. At note in its "boletín bibliográfico" states: "A diferencia de los anteriores [mencionados en el mismo boletín], este es libro de público selecto. Es la expresión de lo que un espíritu culto y delicado piensa sobre otros espíritus pertenecientes, como él, á la aristocracia del arte literario. 'Los raros' son una serie de estudios sobre escritores extranjeros de gran altura y, los más, escasamente conocidos en España" (n. pag.).

[12] One can easily look at the critical editions of *crónicas* during the last twenty years and see how they have been published under the guise of different genres. Take the well-know Edición Catedra series for example that has published editions titled *Cuentos* written by both *modernista* writers Darío and Nájera, all of which could also be classified as *crónicas*. Catedra also published an edition of Martí's *Ensayos y crónicas* though one could easily categorize the *ensayos* as *crónicas* and vice versa.

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