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ABOUT

PLVS VLTRA endeavours to publish exceptional papers that promote research and scholarship in all areas of Hispanic and Italian Studies at the University of Victoria.

PLVS VLTRA is indexed online through the LOCKSS Program based at Stanford University, EBSCO, and a physical copy of the journal is archived in Library and Archives Canada in Ottawa.

SUBMISSIONS

A maximum page length of 12 double-spaced pages is preferred by the Journal. Papers may be written in English, Italian, or Spanish. After each issue's submission deadline, *PLVS VLTRA* will submit the papers to an intensive selection process, including peer-review by undergraduates from both the Hispanic and Italian sections of the Department.

Each paper will be reviewed by at least two undergraduate students. Reviewers will address areas including clarity of writing, presentation, relevance to the theme of Hispanic and Italian Studies, originality, interdisciplinary relevance, and contribution to research in the area.

Should a number of submissions pertain to the same topic, the selection process may become competitive. Papers not selected for publication may be considered for a following issue, as declared by the Editorial Team, and with permission from the author at the time of submission.

PUBLISHING INFORMATION

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NOTES ON *PLVS VLTRA*

Today, Spain's coat of arms is flanked by two pillars, which together read *PLVS VLTRA*. This motto can be directly traced to the year 1516. Holy Roman Emperor Charles V adopted the Pillars of Hercules and the inscription "*PLVS VLTRA*" as his emblem. However, this motto was not created by Charles himself—it was his Italian physician, Luigi Marliano, who suggested it. *PLVS VLTRA*, meaning "further beyond" in Latin, was in reference to the Age of Exploration—going beyond the Pillars of Hercules, expanding the empire both westward and eastward. Going "further beyond" is very much an objective of the Hispanic and Italian Studies undergraduate journal, *PLVS VLTRA*. Both Italian and Hispanic cultures were immensely shaped by those who dared to go beyond the known world. In a similar sense, students here are encouraged to explore new things, make discoveries, and advance the state of knowledge.

Kyle McCreanor

PRESIDENT'S INTRODUCTION

It is a pleasure to introduce the fourth volume of *PLVS VLTRA*, the Hispanic and Italian Studies Undergraduate Journal. Congratulations on the continued success of this publication.

The University of Victoria is home to many talented researchers with extraordinary ideas and we are committed to ensuring that their research inspires and enriches student learning. We hope to foster a foundation for academic learning, critical and creative thinking, and innovation, where our students engage in the exploration and creation of knowledge alongside their peers and mentors.

PLVS VLTRA features some of our finest undergraduate researchers who are seeking to showcase the hands-on experience of the academic process through research, writing and publishing, as well as practice in copy editing and peer review. The result is a scholarly journal that features the work of students who are directly engaged in research-inspired learning. This journal includes a collection of work that explores both current and historical events—from an analysis of trends in modern feminism to Mussolini and the rise of fascism in Italy—encouraging readers to think critically and examine diverse perspectives.

Thank you to the dedicated students and faculty advisers who have created this impressive collection of research papers—a wonderful example of the dynamic scholarship we cultivate at UVic.

Professor Jamie Cassels, QC
President and Vice-Chancellor

FOREWORD FROM THE CHAIR

I am delighted by the publication of the fourth volume of *PLVS VLTRA*. This journal has become a respected and stimulating peer-reviewed venue in which the undergraduate students of the Department of Hispanic and Italian Studies at the University of Victoria share their research and writing with the academic community on campus and beyond. The topics addressed this year include Golden Age Spanish poetry, the emergence of transculturation as a theoretical lens to conceptualize Latin America, early feminist writing in colonial México, early Spanish encounters with Indigenous peoples of the Pacific Northwest, and anti-Semitism in fascist Italy. Written in Spanish and English, the articles gathered here showcase the skills that students develop during their studies in the Department, including linguistic proficiency, close textual reading, critical analysis, and historical contextualization.

Editor-in-chief Stephen Bagan and Assistant Editor Isaac Nazaroff fostered excitement and esprit de corps amongst the contributing students. While ensuring academic rigor, they successfully led the team of reviewers, copy editors, and other participants to go beyond what is normally expected of them. In so doing, they exemplified the meaning of the journal's title, the Latin motto *plus ultra*, or further beyond, as they worked with this collection of noteworthy studies. I applaud the achievement of these committed students and thank Professors Pablo Restrepo-Gautier and Dan Russek for the support they have provided to their endeavor. As academic advisor of *PLVS VLTRA* since its inception, I have been honored to serve in this role, one that has been most rewarding for me.

Beatriz de Alba-Koch, Chair

MESSAGE FROM THE EDITORS

We are very proud and excited to publish the fourth volume of *PLVS VLTRA*. There are a number of individuals to whom we would like to express our gratitude: Inba Kehoe, Scholarly Communication Librarian, for technical assistance; Adam Barron for passing on the torch and resolving our many questions and concerns; Oriana Varas for design help and the cover photo; Donna Flemming, Departmental Assistant, for disseminating our promotional material and reserving meeting rooms; Dr. Beatriz de Alba-Koch, Department Chair, for her invaluable advice and encouragement throughout the entire process, and finally, to all those who submitted papers to the journal. We could not have done it without you all.

With excellent preceding volumes, this year we were faced with an enormous challenge. For many of us, this was our first time working on an academic journal, and the diversity of tasks created a steep learning curve. From advertising *PLVS VLTRA* to organizing editorial meetings, the tasks were plenty. Our hard work in promoting the journal paid off when we received ten submissions, although only publishing five. The level of competition made for some tough decisions and required much deliberation.

Apart from publishing high calibre papers, one of our principal goals was to help foster a community of students in the Department of Hispanic and Italian Studies. On top of our weekly conversation café and gatherings in the Reading Room, we enjoyed a paella dinner that brought us closer together. We are proud to be part of a thriving Department, and our work over the past seven months has shown us both the academic ability and the well-roundedness of our group of students. We hope to see this community continue to flourish and push each other further and beyond. Until next year!

Stephen Bagan, Editor-in-Chief

Isaac Nazaroff, Assistant Editor

Garcilaso y Góngora: Un análisis del *carpe diem* en el Renacimiento y el Barroco

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El tema del *carpe diem* comunica la idea de aprovecharse del día; los sonetos de Garcilaso de la Vega y Luis de Góngora lo representan de manera distinta. La poesía renacentista, representada aquí por Garcilaso, busca la armonía, la naturalidad, la elegancia y la sencillez. A través de tales conceptos, la poesía evoca una sensación de optimismo al describir la belleza de la mujer y mostrar las maravillas del amor y la naturaleza. Al contrario, la poesía barroca está caracterizada por la exageración y el pesimismo. En la época de Góngora, la vida es vista como un largo sueño con un final inevitable, la muerte. Este artículo analiza las similitudes y diferencias entre estos dos movimientos literarios en base al estudio del “Soneto XXIII” de Garcilaso y “Mientras por competir con tu cabello” de Góngora. Estos dos sonetos se enfocan en la fugacidad del tiempo y la belleza efímera. Aunque hay similitudes en la estructura y el contenido, los dos sonetos expresan perspectivas distintas del *carpe diem* que aparecen claramente en los desenlaces.

Keywords: Renacimiento; Barroco; Garcilaso de la Vega; Luis de Góngora; carpe diem; tempus fugit; soneto

El *carpe diem*, que trata de “la fugacidad de la vida, que justifica la invitación al goce,” ha sido ampliamente explorado en la literatura desde la época romana (Berrio 246). Sin embargo, la forma en que este tema se manifiesta en la literatura varía mucho. Este ensayo explorará dos de los sonetos más conocidos del Renacimiento y del Barroco en España que comparten el tema del *carpe diem*: el “Soneto XXIII” y “Mientras por competir con tu cabello” (“Mientras por competir” en adelante).

Garcilaso es uno de los poetas más destacados del Renacimiento. Nació en Toledo entre 1501 y 1503 (“Garcilaso de la Vega”) y es reconocido no sólo como escritor, sino también como soldado que sirvió a Carlos I de España en sus campañas militares. Durante una batalla en Niza sufrió heridas graves y murió poco después en 1536 (Manuel 88). Aunque estaba casado con Elena de Zúñiga, se cree que la inspiración para muchos de sus poemas de amor, incluso al “Soneto XXIII,” fue Isabel Freire, una dama de la corte de la emperatriz Isabel de Portugal (Manuel 88). A lo largo de su vida, Garcilaso compuso más de cincuenta poemas que incorporan el estilo de los escritores italianos renacentistas, cuyas obras son reconocidas por su naturalidad, elegancia y armonía.

Góngora, uno de los escritores más relevantes del Barroco, tiene una influencia igual de enorme que la de Garcilaso. Nació en Córdoba en 1561 y murió en 1627 en su pueblo natal (Manuel 155). A los quince años empezó a estudiar derecho en la Universidad de Salamanca (155). Esta atmósfera escolástica le introdujo a la poesía, y no tardó mucho en obtener éxito. Su estilo se caracteriza por el *culteranismo* o el *gongorismo*; emplea metáforas, referencias coloridas, y palabras derivadas del latín con el propósito de crear imágenes precisas (152). Por lo general, el Barroco en España está marcado por un

sentimiento pesimista porque fue un período de decadencia política, económica y militar (147). Este sentimiento se ejemplifica en “Mientras por competir.”

A pesar de las diferencias entre los dos periodos literarios, hay similitudes importantes entre el “Soneto XXIII” y “Mientras por competir.” Uno de estos aspectos es la estructura petrarquista: compuesta de dos cuartetos, dos tercetos y en verso endecasílabo. Además de la estructura compartida, los dos sonetos tienen similitudes en el uso del marco temporal. Los cuartetos en el “Soneto XXIII” comienzan con “en tanto que,” así como “mientras” en el poema de Góngora, lo que indica un momento fugaz (Calcraft 335). Después de estos marcos de tiempo, ambos cuartetos describen la belleza de la mujer en el presente del indicativo. Por ejemplo, en el segundo cuarteto del “Soneto XXIII” dice: “[Y] en tanto que el cabello ... / ... / por el hermoso cuello blanco, enhiesto, / el viento mueve, esparce y desordena” (Garcilaso 5, 7-8). Asimismo, Góngora describe el cabello de la mujer después del marco temporal: “Oro bruñido, el Sol relumbra en vano” (2). Estos usos de “en tanto que” y “mientras” para unir las descripciones de los rasgos físicos le añade a la belleza una sensación de fugacidad que es fundamental para evocar el principio de aprovechar el día. Tanto Garcilaso como Góngora ilustran la belleza de la dama con imágenes de la naturaleza. Cuando se menciona la rosa y su color en el primer verso en el “Soneto XXIII” está en plenitud y luego, en el último terceto, la rosa parece estar a la merced del “viento helado.” En la versión de Góngora, las metáforas de la belleza juvenil se representan con la riqueza del oro, y la delicadeza del lirio y clavel. También coloca estas imágenes en los primeros versos para representar los años dorados de la dama, así como al final donde el oro se vuelve plateado y la flor marchita.

Entonces, queda claro que Garcilaso y Góngora eligieron la naturaleza para ejemplificar el efecto del tiempo al degradar a todas sus creaciones, aún a los humanos.

Además, los primeros tercetos comienzan con el imperativo para representar la noción de urgencia en el *carpe diem*; Garcilaso usa “coged” y Góngora elige “[g]oza” (Garcilaso 9; Góngora 9). Aquí cada poeta expresa la “exhortación al paso de la vida, de la vida siempre breve.” Estos verbos demandan el aprovechamiento de la belleza mientras dure (Carballo Picazo 382). Para la mujer en el “Soneto XXIII,” Garcilaso ilustra la urgencia de esta exhortación, la invitación al *carpe diem*, con la descripción del cambio de temporadas como una metáfora del envejecimiento. Insta a la mujer a aprovechar de la primavera de su juventud, y a disfrutarla antes de la llegada de la vejez, la cual Garcilaso representa a través del invierno. Del mismo modo, Góngora usa el imperativo con la palabra “[g]oza,” para invitar a la mujer a disfrutar de sus características individuales citando: “Goza cuello, cabello, labio, y frente” (Góngora 14). La repetición de las partes del cuerpo enfoca en la importancia del cuerpo.

Aunque los dos sonetos describen la belleza de la mujer, hay que notar los distintos estilos empleados por los poetas. En su artículo sobre el “Soneto XXIII,” Edward Stanton revela la paradoja de la pasión y la castidad de la mujer ideal, incitando el deseo del lector (199). Por ejemplo, en el primer cuarteto Garcilaso combina la azucena, un símbolo de la castidad, con el contraste de la pasión: “[V]uestro mirar ardiente, honesto, / con clara luz la tempestad serena” (3-4). Estos versos implican la tensión entre la pureza y la pasión femenina que está idealizada. Esta conexión pasional se realiza a través de la mirada aunque la dama no puede actuar debido a su castidad. Es posible que esta representación

del amor sea un reflejo de los propios sentimientos de Garcilaso hacia Isabel Freire. Si este es el caso, se puede creer que Garcilaso realmente sintió amor por la mujer del “Soneto XXIII.”

Por otro lado, la perspectiva desde la cual Góngora escribe en “Mientras por competir” es más barroca; es decir, más pesimista y oscura. El poeta, aunque fascinado por la belleza de la mujer, es consciente de que a todos les espera la muerte. Por lo tanto, ilustra su punto de vista con una serie de sustantivos que demuestran esta inevitable realidad: “[E]n tierra, en humo, en polvo, en sombra, en nada” (Góngora 14).

En consonancia con la relación entre mujer y poeta en ambos sonetos, las dos mujeres tienen una relación distinta con la naturaleza (Calcraft 336). En el soneto de Garcilaso, ella parece estar en armonía con la naturaleza:

[Y] en tanto que el cabello, que en la vena
del oro se escogió, con vuelo presto
por el hermoso cuello blanco, enhiesto,
el viento mueve, esparce y desordena... (5-8)

Como se evidencia en este último cuarteto, la dama se asocia con la naturaleza y su cabello es extraído del yacimiento del mineral. Al contrario, la mujer en “Mientras por competir” está en conflicto con la naturaleza, como se describe en los primeros versos del soneto: “Mientras por competir con tu cabello / Oro bruñado, el Sol relumbra en vano” (Góngora 1-2). Aunque ella resiste el tiempo para mantener sus rasgos hermosos, el tiempo siempre sale victorioso (Calcraft 336). Es interesante que en “Mientras por competir,” los labios de la mujer se mencionan claramente, pero en “Soneto XXIII” solamente se sugieren con la imagen de

la rosa (Calcraft 335). A pesar de ser un detalle, esto también ayuda a ilustrar el inevitable paso del tiempo. Góngora elige enfocar explícitamente sobre los labios, así como le parecen una de las herramientas más deseables, con las que ella cautiva la atención de los hombres: “Mientras a cada labio, por cogello, / Siguen más ojos, que al clavel temprano” (Góngora 5-6). Esta representación de sus labios, atrayendo más atención que un clavel floreciente, crea una tensión entre la mujer y la naturaleza que no existe en el poema de Garcilaso (Calcraft 336).

La última diferencia es el estilo en que cada soneto llega a su conclusión. Ante todo, los desenlaces son las indicaciones más claras de los distintos movimientos literarios. En el “Soneto XXIII,” se usa el tiempo futuro junto con el concepto del tiempo fugaz, o *tempus fugit* en Latín, para enfatizar la rapidez de la progresión de tiempo. Sin embargo, el desenlace temporal no es tan explícito como en la versión de Góngora: “En tierra, en humo, en polvo, en sombra, en nada” (Góngora 14). Esta última frase, “en nada,” ejemplifica el pesimismo barroco que siempre reconoce la inevitabilidad de la muerte. Garcilaso también insinúa la muerte, aunque se abstiene de destacarla de manera explícita. Por lo tanto, esta impresión es más optimista, o por lo menos, más ambigua que la de Góngora.

A pesar de que estos sonetos son de diferentes movimientos literarios, ambos tienen varias características en común. En base al tema compartido, es probable que el “Soneto XXIII” de Garcilaso influyera al soneto “Mientras por competir” de Góngora, publicado casi cuarenta años después. Los dos poetas usan los tiempos verbales dentro de la estructura petrarquista para mostrar el paso del tiempo, algo crucial para el concepto del *carpe diem*. Sin embargo, al examinar las

complejidades en el lenguaje y la metáfora en ambos poemas, resulta claro que cada uno proporciona una perspectiva única sobre el tema antiguo. Todo esto deja abierta la pregunta, ¿cómo se percibirá el tema universal del *carpe diem* en el futuro?

Agradecimientos

Quiero expresar mi gratitud al Dr. Pablo Restrepo-Gautier por presentarme las obras de Garcilaso de la Vega y Luis de Góngora, y también por ayudarme a navegar mis pensamientos a lo largo de este viaje. Además, agradezco a Stephen Bagan, Lynden Miller y a todos los otros editores que ayudaron a que este artículo sea lo que es, y a la Dra. Silvia Colas y Christine Forster quienes me ayudaron mucho con mi adquisición del español como segunda lengua.

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**Through the Lens of Proto-
Feminist Sor Juana Inés de la
Cruz:
An Analysis of Six Modern
Feminist Perspectives**

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The life and writings of the Mexican icon Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1648- 1695) have inspired many modern-day feminist theorists to further their research and have initiated discursive practices that adhere to a critical feminist perspective. The ways in which modern feminist scholars have read Sor Juana have provided discourse as a means of understanding women, both in Sor Juana's time and in the present day. Characteristics of a feminist perspective atypical of her time appear in Sor Juana's works and have lead to readings of the nun as a proto-feminist figure due to their anticipatory nature of modern feminist perspectives. Sor Juana's works have informed contemporary approaches to feminism within and beyond the literary discipline, therefore initiating a diverse discursive practice.

Keywords: Proto-feminist; initiator of discursive practice; contemporary approaches; critical feminist perspectives

1 Introduction

Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1648-1695) was a scholar, poet, musician, playwright, and nun of New Spain, what is now Mexico. Born out of wedlock to a Creole mother and Spanish father, and living in a time where access to education was reserved for the patriarchal elite, Sor Juana broke the societal constraints that silenced the voice of women in order to vehemently pursue knowledge by her own means. To devote adequate time to her studies, she elected the life of a nun: a decision that was in part fuelled by her aversion to marriage and any other distraction that could impede her ability to study and further her knowledge (Merrim para. 2). It was while residing in the Convent of Santa Paula (now dedicated to her as the University of the Cloister of Sor Juana) that she created works that address a broad range of topics and poetic themes that accentuate both her passion for knowledge (displayed in her mastery of the written word) and her acute attention to detail and logic (para. 2). With frequent appearances of philosophical and feminist characteristics in her works, Sor Juana continues to resonate in contemporary readings as an initiator of discursive practices.

In an era when feminism was an unfamiliar concept in the rhetoric of 17th century society, Sor Juana's works have been read as precursors to modern feminist discourse. It was not until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that feminism became a recognized theoretical concept that initiated political and social movements defending equality between the genders. It was with this rise of feminism that a new attention was given to Sor Juana's works, appearing anticipatory to the contemporary movement. Through the power of writing, Sor Juana challenged the oppressive, patriarchal

establishments with her repudiation of the enforced ignorance of women. By asserting women's intellectual abilities, she provided a space for women to be understood in terms of intellect, rather than being inhibited by expectations for their gender. Due to these characteristics that pertain to a feminist approach, Sor Juana's works may be read as anticipating the modern feminist perspective, and subsequently, allowing for her identification as a proto-feminist figure. Sor Juana's writings have created a space beyond her own works for modern feminist perspectives to develop by expertly employing subtleties that, with deeper readings, highlight the inequalities that feminism addresses.

This paper seeks to analyze six specific works produced by modern feminist theorists who have read Sor Juana as a proto-feminist figure in order to understand women within and beyond literature. Each work will be analyzed separately in order to discover trends in the chosen examples of feminist theorists who have interpreted Sor Juana as an initiator of discursive practice. These examples will support a discussion of how feminist scholars have read Sor Juana's works to generate their own analyses, as well as instigating other scholarship on theorizing the expression of women. The parallel that has developed between Sor Juana's works and how modern feminist theorists have read her is pertinent for both readers and writers of feminist discourse and will reinforce the analyses of the chosen works.

2 Tricks of the Weak

In "Tricks of the Weak," Josefina Ludmer has analyzed Sor Juana's *Respuesta a Sor Filotea de la Cruz* (Response to Sor Filotea de la Cruz) as a subversive

response to the oppressive social constructions of the patriarchal institution of the church and society in the seventeenth century. Ludmer addresses the language Sor Juana used as a tactful rhetorical device to deceive the recipient of the *Respuesta* (the Bishop of Puebla), in order to develop her own concept that Ludmer defines as “tricks of the weak” (Ludmer 87). The seemingly straightforward method of using two verbs and the negative: to know, to say, and no, employed in a multiplicity of combinations, form the “tricks.” Constructed in a way that produces a deceitful contradiction between the ostensibly compliant language used by Sor Juana and her resistance to patriarchal domination, these “tricks” offer a method for the “weak” to be heard. Ludmer states that “[t]o know and to say or speak...constitute opposing fields for a woman: whenever the two coexist, they occasion resistance and punishment” (87), resulting in a socially constructed weakness and an assigned subordinate role. The combination of the verbs with the negative inscribes a message that, when read as a “trick of the weak,” resonates much deeper than simply “not knowing how to say.” Ludmer has understood Sor Juana as a creator of a rhetoric that can be understood by those situated outside of the dominant discourse.

The “tricks of the weak” come into effect by distinguishing knowing from saying, while also paralleling knowing with not saying (Ludmer 87). In Sor Juana’s *Respuesta*, this translates into a silence that is used as a weapon against the dominant patriarchal perspective. Ludmer provides the insight that Sor Juana’s silence is not from a lack of knowledge, but rather not knowing how to speak from a place of subordination, as her silence “is a matter of a relative and positional not knowing” (88). The negation of knowledge acts as a

“double gesture [that] combines acceptance of her subordinate position (the woman “shutting her trap”) and her trick: not to say but to know, or saying that one doesn't know but knowing, or saying the opposite of what one knows” (91).

In acceptance of the socially constructed weakness, Ludmer argues that Sor Juana is writing from a place where the studied fields of politics, science, and philosophy are not removed from daily life (as they are in the dominant patriarchal society), but rather exist *within* the daily life of women (93). Ludmer has read the *Respuesta* as a text that is derived from the personal, private, and quotidian places of women writing from a position outside the dominant spheres of knowledge. The “tricks of the weak” is a language that provides a position from which women may speak, both subtly and subversively.

3 Creator of the Wor(l)d

The careful choice of rhetoric continues to be a focus in the reading and analyses of Sor Juana's writings by modern feminists. In her essay “Where Woman Is Creator of the Wor(l)d,” Electa Arenal has studied Sor Juana's poem “El Sueño” as a discursive tool that emphasizes the woman as an intellectual who is firmly situated in the literary canon, while also contributing to scientific discovery (125). An analysis of the rhetoric that Sor Juana used has highlighted the unification of the world of the personal with the world of the political. This reading of Sor Juana's works as a unification of two worlds leads to an understanding of the Mexican nun as a creator of a language and a space for women to not only exist but to resist. In this sense, Sor Juana has been read as both a linguist in her creation of the “word” and an

advocate for women's rights in her creation of a "world" where the word of women could be heard.

Arenal has read Sor Juana's texts as subversive and intertextual (both with Sor Juana's own works and the works of other writers). She emphasizes the double meaning of the rhetoric Sor Juana used in order to give a voice to the subaltern defined as "banned voices...of philosophical and scientific curiosity, those of indigenous Mexico [and] those of women" (130), illustrating her advocacy for those existing in the margins of dominant society. The "banned voices" of scientific inquiry are heard in the domain of the subaltern that Arenal argues is articulated throughout "El Sueño". Further, Arenal argues that the subtle, rhetorical tools and the manipulation of the language in Sor Juana's works act as tools used in current feminist perspectives that she describes as "prefigurements of the theoretical modes of twentieth-century feminist scholars..." (125).

Sor Juana has also been read as a composer who "provides program notes useful for 'listening' to El Sueño" (Arenal 126). By deconstructing dominant ideals, situating herself in opposition to authority, and attacking injustices through her subtle rhetoric in order to discover a "resolution without suppression," Sor Juana has composed a song that appeals to the ears of a modern feminist perspective (126). Her composition is essential in the development of a method of understanding the world in which she lived: "The Sueño is formed like a caracol; it is a manual for deciphering the music of Sor Juana's spheres" (134).

Alongside her advocacy for equality, Sor Juana has simultaneously appeared in Arenal's reading as an expert in human knowledge and an inquirer into the domain of the sciences, while critiquing the validity of acquiring knowledge by relying solely on the senses as a

source of information (133). Her insight into female intellect also produces a reading of her works as psychological, predating many prominent psychoanalytical theorists (129). Finally, Arenal has understood Sor Juana as a historian who wrote the history of Mexico into her own literary works, which protest injustices committed against the Indigenous population (136-7). The Mexican intellectual has appeared in Arenal's reading as the creator of a space for the voiceless amidst dominant society while "delineat[ing] a feminist epistemology" (137).

4 Traces of Sor Juana

In "Traces of Sor Juana in Contemporary Mexicana and Chicana/Latina Writers," Sara Poot-Herrera has read Sor Juana's works as a precedent to current discursive practices on women's rights, as well as a resource for the pedagogical discourse of modern feminist perspectives (256). In particular, she emphasizes the importance of "El Sueño" and *La Respuesta* as works that have resonated most powerfully within the modern feminist perspective (256). A continual and persistent resonance within modern feminist perspectives authorizes the "use of Sor Juana as a prototype and an antecedent when approaching the subject of contemporary women intellectuals," taking shape in a variety of forms, such as literature, theatre, film, and academia (256). To support her argument, Poot-Herrera provides examples of women who have read and re-created Sor Juana in a broad range of disciplines. This formation of works, beyond her own, permits readings of Sor Juana as an initiator of discursive practices, as her texts exist in a transdiscursive position.

La Respuesta has informed contemporary readings of the work as an anecdote for personal sacrifice

in the pursuit of knowledge. Poot-Herrera has interpreted this sacrifice as the removal of preconceived constructs that inhibit women in this pursuit. For example, she addresses the symbolism of the cutting of Sor Juana's hair "traditionally associated with sensuality" as an exemplary act for current women writers to produce works that first address, and then liberate women from the restricting definitions of gender (258). With this liberation come new possibilities: "The world promised trembling and unexplored paradises, throbbing like her shaven head"¹ (qtd. in Poot-Herrera, 263). Sor Juana's devotion to knowledge has been read as an example to advocate for the right to education, providing a lens through which to view and understand the world from the eyes of a woman (Poot-Herrera 258).

Sor Juana's words appear in modern feminists' books (both fiction and non-fiction), essays, and epigraphs that have initiated "new and informed readings of twentieth-century Mexican literature" (261). Poot-Herrera has interpreted Sor Juana as an initiator of discursive practices that exist within feminist pedagogy, describing her "as a subtext in almost any course that focuses on Mexican women writers, as well as those on Mexican artists and feminist thinkers" (263). By reading other women who have used Sor Juana as a source and inspiration to create their own works, Poot-Herrera has interpreted the intellectual as a historical figure, a teacher, an icon, and ultimately a proto-feminist figure from whom modern feminist perspectives may be developed and taught.

¹ This is an exaggeration; Sor Juana did cut some of her hair off as a lady in waiting when she failed to learn something. However, there is little evidence to support that her head was fully shaven.

5 Gendered Ways of Seeing

Sor Juana has appeared in Catherine Bryan's analysis, "Gendered Ways of Seeing with Sor Juana," as a prominent point of reference for current feminist perspectives. By providing a gendered lens through which to view and understand the world, Sor Juana has been read as a creator of a space in which women can position themselves in order to challenge issues of equality and the representation of knowledge (103-4). This space is produced in the connection between feminism and visual-culture studies: a field Bryan argues "was 'prefigured' by Sor Juana" (103).

The ideals of dominant society are transmitted to the public through the realm of the visual. The intertwining of the world of feminist discourse with that of visual representation has produced an intermediate space where the resistant feminist may be situated to adopt a critical perspective towards the ideals of dominant society. In this realm, the image becomes a form of language to transcribe meaning to its observer (Bryan 106). Sor Juana has been read to appear at the junction of these two domains, critical of the meaning transmitted by the image and its validity as a source of knowledge in her adoption of a resistant, and therefore, proto-feminist stance toward the repressive norms of her time (104).

Bryan has identified Sor Juana as a figure who embodies vision in relation to knowledge by adopting a gendered way of seeing the world that is resistant to the "violence of 'visualizing practices'" (qtd. in Bryan 111). From a transdiscursive position, her gendered ways of seeing permeates current feminist perspectives through her abilities to converse with the modern reader of her texts, and invites the reader to see with her (Bryan 106).

Sor Juana has been read as an exemplary figure for how to position oneself in relation to power, a position that has transitioned from an observer situated outside of the dominant perspective, to one that questions it: an example of a critical feminist perspective.

6 Toward a Feminist Reading

In “Toward a Feminist Reading of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz,” Stephanie Merrim has adopted a critical perspective toward Sor Juana scholarship that has restricted Sor Juana’s recognition as an icon, and that perspective has instead reduced her to an anomaly due to an expression of intelligence within a society that favoured the patriarchal elite. Merrim emphasizes the necessity to reverse these definitions of icon and anomaly in order to enforce readings of Sor Juana as an intellectual, without her re-creation as a woman subjected to the feminization of her word. To support her own analysis of Sor Juana, Merrim contrasts her reading with works that fail to accurately capture the nun from a feminist perspective (16-17). In this way, Sor Juana acts as an initiator of discursive practices that address literary misrepresentation.

The disparity between Sor Juana’s intelligence and the contemporary expectations for her gender has been analyzed by feminist theorists critical of recreations of Sor Juana that detract from her position as a role model in learning and intellectual prowess. She has been interpreted as an aberration due to her intelligence and her being a woman, characterized by her “feminine” emotions and beauty rather than her intellect. In certain cases, she has been read and rewritten to fit within the acceptable norms of her time to appeal to the constraints deemed appropriate for a woman in which to exist. These

“androcentric critical tactics involve what we might term the ‘domestication’ of Sor Juana’s person or life story and the ‘feminization’...of her écriture” (Merrim 17).

The excess and emotive characteristics of literature in the Baroque era have been used to support works that exaggerate the feminine qualities of Sor Juana’s writings, while simultaneously initiating a feminist discourse that negates the validity of this hyper-feminization. Merrim argues that the nun’s literary expression “represents an analogous threat, to conventional notions of ‘women’s’ writing as emotive, sincere, [and] transparent...The Baroque in the hands of a woman might seem to constitute a double transgression...” that has prompted other writers to delineate Sor Juana by her gender (17).

In her analysis, Merrim transitions to a discussion of Sor Juana’s work as a product of her position within a male-dominated literary and cultural tradition who “...all[ied] herself with the reigning (masculine) tradition” (21-22). This alliance suggests the neutralization of the definitive dichotomy between the masculine and feminine in order to produce a field of discourse in which both genders can write and exist equally. In order to achieve this equality, a shift away from the patriarchal tradition is apparent in Sor Juana’s works through her carefully chosen words, leading to her being interpreted as a proponent of equality and women’s rights (26). Merrim has read the nun as an initiator of other women’s writing and analyses, acting as an antecedent to discourse on women’s rights (29). To support her analysis of Sor Juana writing from the position of a woman in a male-dominated literary tradition, Merrim addresses the apprehension towards claiming authorship as a woman within this tradition: “If artistic creativity is likened to biological creativity, the

terror of inspiration for women is experienced quite literally as the terror of being...possessed...illustrat[ing] the pain of the passive self whose boundaries are being violated” (qtd. in Merrim 29).

As an initiator of feminist discourse, while being on the receiving end of misinterpretation of her life through the feminization of her works, Sor Juana has been interpreted as a martyr in her advocacy for women’s rights. Merrim concludes her essay reiterating Sor Juana’s works as exemplary to modern feminist critics in that they provide an understanding of “the many-layered and intermeshing spheres of the literary worlds in which she wrote and whose conflation brought her works to such admirable heights” (31).

7 A Feminist Rereading

In “A Feminist Rereading of Sor Juana’s Dream,” Georgina Sabat-Rivers has reread Sor Juana not as a woman who wished to draw attention to the similarities with the male gender, but rather as a woman who wished to identify with her own sex while existing both equally and intellectually alongside her male counterparts (145). With her declaration of equality with the opposite sex, Sor Juana “rectif[ied]...the prejudice against women and...demonstrate[d] by example what a woman writer was capable of achieving within the level of Golden Age literature,” and whose writings continue to inform a position from which to question and break the boundaries of dominating structures (Sabat-Rivers 145). Through addressing her rectification of the prejudice against women, Sor Juana can be interpreted as a proto-feminist who has initiated modern feminist discourse, as well as a prominent intellectual figure who cannot be ignored in the literature of Spanish America.

To support her argument, Sabat-Rivers has reread Sor Juana as an activist asserting the woman's place as equal within the intellectual field by analyzing sections of "El Sueño." She has read "El Sueño" with a feminist lens that focuses on the Mexican writer's emphasis of the female presence through her choice of specific, feminine grammatical structures and the prominence of female characters that subvert, and are resilient to the restricting, male-dominated structures in which women of her time existed. An analysis of the distinct, feminine grammatical structures throughout "El Sueño" that lead to the quieting of the male voice forms the basis of Sabat-Rivers' argument. Drawing upon the female mythological characters that appear in the poem, Sabat-Rivers describes Sor Juana as a creator of a world in which women exist in power (146). In the rereading, Sor Juana adopts the role of God—a traditionally male presence. The importance of the feminine is established with the highest ability of creation attributed to the female gender. The ambiguity and double-meaning of Sor Juana's language is argued to be attributed to the self-consciousness of the writer's femininity, while also blurring the lines of stereotypical characteristics of the genders with reversing the roles of power, and when a male presence is castigated for "being too talkative" (148).

In her analysis, Sabat-Rivers identifies Sor Juana not only as a woman-writer, who attributes power to the feminine, but also as a philosopher and scientist as passages of "El Sueño" are read as transitioning from baroque, to "scientifically analytical and precise" texts that address the fault of humanity in its futile attempt to grasp the workings of the universe (154). Further, her assertion of the right to learn and study in her tireless search for knowledge sparked Sabat-Rivers' reading of

Sor Juana as a pre-existentialist determining her own development through her willful perseverance “centuries before Camus and his existentialist theories” (157). The philosophical characteristic of Sor Juana’s writing is salient for Sabat-Rivers’ rereading of “El Sueño” as a philosopher with her epistemological questions about humans within the universe and the creation of a language and space where women can question the scientific world. “This gives us insight into how an extraordinary nun in New Spain invents a new feminine rhetoric to theatricalize everyday aspects of women’s lives, making them significantly relevant to the adventures of scientific thought” (154).

Sabat-Rivers has read Sor Juana as an advocate for women’s rights, a creator of space and language, a philosopher, and a scientist. Her salience in all these fields coupled with her advocacy for the abilities and intellectual potential of women and their resilience in male-dominated societies provides the foundation for Sabat-Rivers’ feminist rereading of Sor Juana’s “El Sueño.”

8 Conclusion

As a figure who predates current feminist movements, Sor Juana has initiated a discursive practice that appeals to modern feminist perspectives. She has been read as a source of feminist pedagogical discussion due to the survival of her word against censorship, her defense of women’s rights in the pursuit of knowledge, her prominence as a rebellious linguist, and her initiation of discursive practices within feminist scholarship. She has been understood as having an assortment of attributes, such as those of a scientist, psychologist, icon, and teacher. However, Sor Juana has frequently been read as

a creator of a malleable space for the feminine voice to be heard that predates modern feminist perspectives, and therefore, as a proto-feminist. The malleability of this space can be attributed to this feminine rhetoric existing both within and outside of the dominant discourse while challenging restricting patriarchal structures. Her texts exist in a transdiscursive position in that they have been read and re-created in a variety of disciplines and continue to inspire contemporary perspectives. Her advocacy for women's rights predates the modern feminist movement, with feminist theorists using her works as a point of reference as well as a source to create their own analyses. Sor Juana's works have been employed as a resource to teach, understand, and develop modern feminist perspectives. As a proto-feminist figure, Sor Juana has initiated discursive practices that provide a lens to view the world from feminist perspectives.

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Moziño's *Noticias de Nutka*: An Analysis of Spanish Documentation of Nuu-chah-nulth Vocabulary

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This paper compares Spanish documentation of words in the Mowachaht variety of the Nuu-chah-nulth language of Vancouver Island, made during the 1792 Expedition of the Limits, to entries in a dictionary compiled by the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council in 1991. The purpose of the paper is to investigate the transcription of Nuu-chah-nulth words by Spanish scientist José Mariano Moziño and shed additional light on an occurrence of early contact between the Spanish and the Indigenous peoples of Vancouver Island. A number of Mowachaht words and their sounds are analyzed and possible explanations for differences between the two documents are given. This paper shows that Moziño was able to, in many cases, accurately document words in this unfamiliar language. Instances in which his documentation was inaccurate could, at times, be attributed to key differences in the Nuu-chah-nulth and Spanish languages. Moziño's choice of orthography when presented with an unfamiliar sound was influenced by the widespread Mexican Indigenous language, Nahuatl. Issues of language documentation are discussed, including perception, transcription, and orthography. Background on the 1792 Expedition of the Limits, Moziño, the Nuu-chah-nulth language, and the Mowachaht people is provided.

Keywords: Nuu-chah-nulth; Vancouver Island; Spanish explorations; language documentation; first contact; Spanish Enlightenment

1 Introduction

In 1792, Spanish scientist José Mariano Moziño wrote a manuscript that included his documentation of approximately three hundred words in the Mowachaht variety of the Nuu-chah-nulth language of Vancouver Island. In 1991, the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council compiled a dictionary for the purposes of language preservation and revitalization. The objective of this paper is to compare the two documents in order to investigate the accuracy of Moziño's original work. First, I will provide background on Moziño, the Expedition of the Limits, and the Mowachaht language. Then, in order to investigate the accuracy of Moziño's transcriptions, I will compare individual entries that share meaning. The findings suggest that Moziño was able to document words in Nuu-chah-nulth with a relatively high degree of accuracy. The differences between documents can be explained, in many cases, by Moziño's linguistic background. Most importantly, this research adds to the body of evidence of early contact and cross-cultural exchange between the Spanish explorers and the Mowachaht people.

2 Background

2.1 The Expedition

In 1792, Commander Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra led the Expedition of the Limits from San Blas,

New Spain (present-day Mexico) to Nootka Sound on Vancouver Island. This was one of many such expeditions to the Pacific Northwest led by the Spanish between 1774 and 1796. The principal purposes of the 1792 expedition were diplomatic negotiations with the British over the Nootka controversy of 1789 and mapping of what they considered to be Spanish territory. The expedition also included among its company two scientists, José Mariano Moziño and Jose Maldonado, as well as an illustrator named Atanasio Echeverría. Their task was to gather information on the natural history of the coast, specifically of Nootka Sound (Tovell et al. 69-71). The voyage also included exchange with local Indigenous groups such as the Mowachaht.

2.2 José Mariano Moziño

José Mariano Moziño was born in 1757 in Temascaltepec, in the modern state of Mexico, to parents of Spanish heritage. A true Enlightenment-era scholar, he studied physics, mathematics, theology, and philosophy before receiving a degree in medicine from the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico. He later graduated first in his class from the Institute of Botany (Engstrand 19; Tovell et al. 70). At the time of the expedition, Moziño was employed as a botanist by the Royal Scientific Expedition of New Spain. The expedition spent four months in the summer of 1792 at Nootka Sound. During this period, Moziño compiled a manuscript full of observations of the customs, music, government, economy and language of the Mowachaht people, as well as detailed descriptions and illustrations of the botany and zoology of the area (Tovell et al. 71).

This manuscript, known as *Noticias de Nutka*², which remained unpublished until 1913, offers a valuable early ethnographic study of the people of the Pacific Northwest. Included in this book is a dictionary of about three hundred Mowachaht words learned and recorded by Moziño during his stay at Nootka (Moziño 99-110). His observations at the beginning of the section on language were the following:

Their language is the harshest and roughest I have ever heard; the pronunciation is done almost entirely with the teeth, each syllable being articulated by pauses. The words abound in consonants, and the endings are often *tl* and *tz*. The middle and the beginning of words consist of very strong aspirations... (Moziño 51)

While Moziño's comments about the language being "the harshest and roughest" are rather unscientific and reveal a Eurocentric mindset, his comments on the pronunciation seem to be born from careful observation.

Despite having instruction in a wide variety of fields, it seems Moziño had little, if any, experience in language documentation or linguistic training. However, according to British captain George Vancouver, present at Nootka in September 1792, Moziño spoke French "extremely well" (Tovell et al. 143). Moziño himself also makes a brief allusion in *Noticias de Nutka* to possibly having some background in Nahuatl, a language indigenous to Mexico (Moziño 51-52). Keeping these facts in mind, I will investigate the accuracy of Moziño's documentation of Mowachaht vocabulary.

² The data and quotations used in this paper are taken from Iris Engstand's English translation of *Noticias de Nutka*.

2.3 Muwačatḥ (Mowachaht)

The Spanish first encountered Nootka Sound and the Mowachaht people of Friendly Cove in 1774 while on a voyage led by Juan Pérez. During subsequent visits to Nootka Sound by Spanish, British, and American vessels, Chief Maquinna and his people were hospitable and helpful toward the Europeans, and Maquinna often dined with expedition leader Bodega y Quadra during his stay (Tovell et al. 17, 62).

Today, the Mowachaht (along with the neighbouring Muchalaht) are one of the fourteen First Nations along the west coast of Vancouver Island encompassed by the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council (“About NTC”). Data collected between 2011 and 2014 on the Nuu-chah-nulth language (also known as *Taataaqsapa*) found under 140 fluent speakers, most over the age of sixty, and only another few hundred speakers listed as *learning* or *understanding somewhat*. Within the Mowachaht First Nation there were only six fluent speakers in 2014 (“Nuučaañuł”). There are three main dialects within Nuu-chah-nulth: Northern Nuučaañuł, Barkley, and Central Nuučaañuł. The dialects are mostly mutually intelligible, but within the dialects there are multiple varieties in which vocabulary can differ (Powell and Callicum 4).

In 1991, the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council published a dictionary that included words in over ten varieties of Nuu-chah-nulth listed alongside their English translations. The dictionary, named *Our World -- our Ways: T'aat'aaqsapa Cultural Dictionary* (hereinafter *Tribal Council Dictionary* or *TCD*) was created for the purpose of documenting and teaching Nuu-chah-nulth. In order to investigate the accuracy of Moziño’s recordings, I will compare the documentation of words between

Noticias de Nutka (1792) and the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council’s dictionary. Because of the differences between varieties, I only collected words from the *Tribal Council Dictionary* which were listed under *Muwačath* (*Mowachaht*), as this is the variety traditionally found in the Nootka Sound area.

3 Data and Analysis

To gather data, I first looked for words that appeared in both Moziño’s dictionary and the *TCD* with the same meaning. I took a sampling of nouns from various subjects, such as body parts, animals, plants, family relations, and numbers. I then compared the words between the two documents and divided them into three categories: completely or almost identical, partially the same, and no similarity.

3.1 Completely or almost identical

While choice of orthography differs greatly, a number of words appear to be very similar in both documents, including the words listed in Table 1 below:

Table 1.

Muwačath (TCD)	Moziño	English
mahtii	ma-ja-ti	‘house’
muu	mu	‘four’
nučii	nug-chi	‘mountain’
qasii	caa-hsi	‘eye(s)’
kuuk ^w iniksu	cucu-nic-zu	‘hand’

I then looked for individual phonemes, or sounds, which I could compare across the two documents, in

order to learn more about Moziño’s choice in orthography and discern possible reasons for discrepancies between the two documents.

3.1.1 Vowels

In order to understand how Moziño transcribed the language, some background on the Nuuchah-nulth sound system is necessary. There are just three vowels in Nuuchah-nulth [a, i, u] which can be either long or short, written as [a, i, u] and [aa, ii, uu] respectively (Powell and Callicum 8). Instances of [a] and [i]/[ii] are seen below in Table 2:

Table 2.

Muwačath (TCD)	Moziño	English
qasii	caa-hsi	‘eye(s)’
čičiči	chichi-chi	‘teeth’

Comparing the word-final [i] in the data above, it seems that Moziño does not make a distinction between [i] and [ii]. However in Table 3, some distinctions are made between other long and short vowels:

Table 3.

Muwačath (TCD)	Moziño	English
taaʔtuus	taa-tuz	‘stars’
nača	naa-cha	‘tail’
suuḥa	tzu-ja	‘(spring) salmon’

Moziño writes ‘aa’ for the long [aa] in ‘stars’ but writes a single ‘u’ for the long [uu]. Similarly, in the word for ‘salmon,’ Moziño interprets the [u] as being

short while the modern dictionary says it is long. Then in the word ‘tail,’ he writes ‘aa’ for the first vowel but only ‘a’ for the second, while the *TCD* shows both vowels as short.

From this data, I conclude that Moziño was not accurately able to perceive the difference between long and short vowels in Nuu-chah-nulth. This seems likely given the fact that in Spanish, vowel length has no effect on meaning (Macpherson 41), and so Moziño would not have been accustomed to perceiving the differences.

3.1.2 Consonants

One of the more significant difficulties Moziño would have encountered in his attempt to learn and document the language is that Nuu-chah-nulth has many sounds that do not exist in Spanish, which could make it more difficult to perceive and represent. As Moziño noted in his chapter on the language of Nootka Sound, “the words abound in consonants” (51). And indeed, Nuu-chah-nulth has thirty-three consonants. Some are the same as in English and Spanish [k, m, n, p, s, t], but many do not exist in either language (Powell and Callicum 9). The two sounds, [č] and [š], are pronounced like the ‘ch’ and ‘sh’ in ‘church’ and ‘sheepish,’ respectively (Powell and Callicum 10-11). These two sounds can be seen in the Muwačath words in Table 4:

Table 4.

Muwačath (<i>TCD</i>)	Moziño	English
čičiči	chichi-chi	‘teeth’
nača	naa-cha	‘tail’
šašiči	a-ci-chi	‘eyebrow’
tašii	ta-xi	‘door’

The data above shows that Moziño tended to represent [č] as ‘ch,’ which suggests an accurate perception of the sound. I found only one word – *tašii* – containing the sound [š] in both texts. In *Noticias de Nutka*, Moziño represented this sound with an ‘x.’ While the sound [š] only appears in Spanish through foreign loanwords (Macpherson 155), it does appear in Nahuatl, and is represented as an ‘x’ in classical orthography. Moziño’s use of ‘x’ to represent the sound ‘sh’ suggests he relied on his knowledge of Nahuatl, either through his own speaking of the language or from its loanwords into Spanish, to represent sounds not found in his native tongue.

There is another sound, represented as [c] or [č] in Nuu-chah-nulth, that doesn’t exist in either English or Spanish, but is found in Nahuatl. The closest approximation to this sound would be the ‘ts’ in ‘nuts’ (Powell and Callicum 10). Table 5 below lists some words containing [č]:

Table 5.

Muwačath (TCD)	Moziño	English
čahčiti	chah-tzu-te	‘knee’
čaʔak	tza-ac	‘river’
čiyup	tzi-yup	‘intestines’

Moziño represents this sound using ‘tz,’ which is consistent with Nahuatl classical orthography (“Nahuatl”). This offers more evidence that Moziño was

using orthography from New Spain ³ to represent unfamiliar sounds.

3.2 Partial differences

While accounting for orthography shows that many of the words documented by Moziño are nearly identical to those of the *TCD*, as seen in the above analysis, there are other words in the two documents that differ partially or completely. For example, Table 6 shows words that differ partially between the two documents but are still transcribed similarly enough to see a relationship:

Table 6.

Muwačath (<i>TCD</i>)	Moziño	English
čums	chi-mes	‘bear’
hinaqsuł	ietla-tzutl	‘mouth’
k ^w aḥuuma	cua-ja-mitz	‘red-ochre’

For instance, ‘bear’ contains the word-initial ‘ch’ sound in both documents. The final syllable in ‘mouth,’ [suł] and [tzutl], is very similar, and the beginning of ‘red-ochre,’ [k^waḥ] and [cua-ja], are also the same. Aside from these similarities though, the words differ in pronunciation.

There are a number of possible reasons for these differences between Moziño’s entries and those of the *TCD*. One is that these words could have undergone a change in the last two hundred years. Another is that Moziño could have perceived them poorly and so

³ Variance in spelling existed between European Spanish and the Spanish of New Spain, often because of the introduction of loanwords from Indigenous languages.

transcribed them incorrectly. A third possibility is that the words were copied incorrectly after the fact, either by Moziño or someone else, as *Noticias de Nutka* remained unpublished for over a hundred and twenty years and there are several copies of Moziño’s dictionary. While the copy of the dictionary used in this investigation “appears to be the most accurate” (Engstrand xiii), there is always the chance that copying errors occurred in the intervening years.

3.3 No similarities

However, some differences between the two documents are more overt. In Table 7 below, the words from Moziño’s dictionary bear no resemblance to the corresponding word in the *TCD*.

Table 7.

Muwačath (TCD)	Moziño	English
huqsum	ma-matl	‘goose’
hinayił	nas	‘sky’
łučmup	ca-tla-ti	‘sister’

Again, it is possible the words have changed over time or were transcribed incorrectly, but the differences are so great there could be other explanations. For instance, perhaps the species of goose referred to is different in the two sources. It is also very possible that misunderstandings of word meaning occurred between Moziño and his Mowachaht participants. After all, Moziño was only at Nootka Sound for four months, and much of that time was spent on scientific investigations that did not include language documentation (Tovell et al. 71). As well, Moziño’s system of data collection and the

level of Spanish comprehension by members of the Mowachaht is unclear. All of these factors could have affected the accuracy of the data.

4 Conclusions, Discussion and Further Research

The above data and analysis offers insights into the accuracy of Moziño's documentation of Nuu-chah-nulth, specifically the Mowachaht variety. Despite his spending only four months learning the language and having little, if any, background in linguistic training, I found many instances where Moziño was able to document the language with a high degree of accuracy. The analysis also suggests that instances of inaccuracy often stemmed from his inability, as a Spanish speaker, to perceive the distinctions between sounds in Nuu-chah-nulth. Furthermore, the evidence reveals that Moziño's documentation of Nuu-chah-nulth was likely influenced by his knowledge of Nahuatl, as seen in his use of the letters 'x' and 'tz.' This research sheds more light on Moziño's time at Nootka Sound and his process of documenting the language of the people he encountered. It adds to the narrative of Spanish presence on Vancouver Island in the late eighteenth century and offers more evidence of first contact between the Spanish and the Mowachaht people.

While Moziño recorded over three hundred words, only a few have been analyzed here. Further comparisons and analysis could be done on his dictionary as a whole, particularly on the sounds that were not examined here. It would also be interesting to analyze the *Tribal Council Dictionary* to see if any Spanish loanwords may have made it into Nuu-chah-nulth. As well, any further studies should include input from members and/or speakers of Nuu-chah-nulth.

In the two hundred years following Moziño's visit to Nootka Sound, the Mowachaht people saw the continued arrival of Europeans on their shores. They suffered disease, colonization, marginalization, discrimination, and the residential school system, which sought to systematically wipe out their language and their culture. It is important to remember that Moziño came to Nootka Sound with a European colonial mindset and tradition (Inglis viii), and his reasons for documentation were not merely scientific curiosity. By learning of and documenting Indigenous languages and cultures, Europeans sought to wield power over the people they encountered. The links between the words Moziño recorded over two hundred years ago and the words the Nuu-chah-nulth peoples have worked so hard to preserve in their dictionary are tied up in this complicated history. I believe they ultimately speak to both the value of language documentation and the strength and resilience of the Nuu-chah-nulth peoples.

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Mussolini and the Jews: What Inspired Fascist Anti-Semitic Policy in Italy?

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Historically, Italy was considered among the least anti-Semitic states in Europe. Early in his rule, Benito Mussolini was clear in his aversion to anti-Semitism when he declared that there was no Jewish question and opposed the idea of biological racism promoted by the Nazi Party. He widely regarded Jews as being amiable, and worked closely with them in the Fascist party. However, throughout the course of his dictatorship, his treatment and rhetoric concerning the Jewish people drastically changed. This paper examines the history and transformation of Mussolini's policies toward Italy's Jewish population. Further discussed are Il Duce's imperialistic vision and its effect on his racial laws. This paper de-emphasizes the alliance with Nazi Germany as a factor, maintaining that Mussolini's imperialistic agenda, not influence from Hitler, fuelled the shift toward anti-Semitic policies in Italy.

Keywords: Italy; Fascism; Il Duce; Benito Mussolini; Jews; anti-Semitism; racial laws

1 Introduction

Fascism does not demand that Judaism renounce its religious traditions, its rituals, its collective memory or its ethnic particularities. Fascism desires only that the Jewish community recognize the national ideals of Italy, accepting the discipline of a national unity. In one word, there is no Jewish question in Italy. [...] Wherever I have detected even the slightest trace of anti-Semitic discrimination in public life I immediately repressed it. (qtd. in Cabona 110)

Benito Mussolini, known as Il Duce, shared this bold statement in a Jewish newspaper, *Nostra Bandiera*, in late 1935. Mussolini underwent an unclear and complicated evolution in his treatment and policy towards the Jewish community in Italy in the 1920s and 1930s. Early in his rule, he was clear about his aversion to anti-Semitism, but by the late 1930s and early 1940s, he began adopting discriminatory racial laws and interning Jews. What caused this radical shift in domestic policy? Historians have varying theories when it comes to Mussolini's support for Hitler and the level of influence of Nazism. Many argue that the German alliance and subsequent German pressure had an impact on anti-Semitic policy in Italy, but to what extent is this true? Would anti-Semitism and racism have been less consequential without the German alliance? Mussolini's feverish imperialism is arguably the root cause of the rise of racist doctrines and the idea of Italian superiority in the 1930s.

2 Mussolini and the Jews in the Early Years of the Regime

In order to adequately understand the evolution of anti-Semitism under Mussolini's government, one must explore how Mussolini viewed Jewish Italians in the first decade of his regime, while also appreciating the relationship between the Jewish community and Italian society. Italy was generally considered the "number one European state in which anti-Semitism had not played an important role historically" (Bernardini 431). In 1910 Italy welcomed Europe's first elected Jewish Prime Minister, Luigi Luzzatti. Jewish Italians were patriotic and had been since the Risorgimento. Many fought for their country in the First World War, which Mussolini spoke of on numerous occasions before 1938, praising the Jewish soldiers' bravery on the battlefield (292). In 1919, Jews even helped found the Fascist movement in Milan, and three died as "martyrs" leading up to Mussolini's March on Rome. In 1921, nine Jews were elected to parliament, one of whom, Aldo Finzi, became an undersecretary for the Ministry of Interior, as well as a member of the Fascist Grand Council (292).

Mussolini opposed the notion of biological racism from his earliest years. Gene Bernardini observes that as early as 1910 he "attacked the racial doctrines...that had already become popular in Germany"⁴ (438). Mussolini widely regarded Jewish people as friends and many Jews held important positions in the military and Fascist government in the 1920s and early 1930s. For example, Maurizio Rava was the vice governor of Libya, the governor of Somalia, and a

⁴ The doctrines of Arthur de Gobineau, Vacher de Lapouge, Houston Stewart Chamberlain and Ludwig Woltmann.

general in the Fascist militia; Giorgio Del Vecchio was the first Fascist rector of the University of Rome; and Guido Jung was the Minister of Finance (Cabona 292). Il Duce even had a Jewish lover, Margherita Sarfatti, whose son had fought and lost his life in the Great War. The Great War resolved many problems regarding Italy's land frontiers, but by the 1920s, Mussolini felt Italy had to shift its focus to the sea. In order for Italy to become a truly free and great power, it needed to turn the Mediterranean into an Italian lake, "expelling those who are...parasites" (Knox 19). While the word "parasites" was not necessarily used against the Jewish community, it is important to note that Mussolini started to use this language—language that Hitler would often use. Mussolini was suggesting that "parasites" in the Mediterranean, such as the British, prevented Italy from becoming a great power. Hitler later propagated this idea, specifically about Jewish Germans, once he gained influence in Germany. While the two appear to share similar views on this aspect, it is important to note that Mussolini was more interested in establishing a cultural hegemony in the Mediterranean, whereas Hitler desired domination and racial purity.

In 1922, Mussolini delivered a speech in Milan that is significant in understanding his sentiment towards democracy, something he linked to the 'International World Jewry.' He stated, "democracy has deprived people's lives of 'style.' Fascism brings back 'style' in people's lives," which is needed in order to achieve the birth of a "new man" (Falasca-Zamponi 26). By 1925, Mussolini wanted to reshape a new generation of serious, tenacious, and intrepid Italians. Democracy was a threat to this goal, which was ultimately to establish a long-lasting Fascist Italy. Similar to Hitler in the 1930s, Mussolini felt that he needed the full commitment and

participation of every Italian. Both Mussolini and Hitler felt that total unity, support, and trust in the leadership were needed for their nations' expansion and fulfillment.

Still, when it came to Jewish Italians, Italy was largely liberal, including its laws (Cabona 96). Generally, the Church, the population, and the Fascist government were either impartial to the Jews or amicable with the Jewish population and refugees in Italy (532). Mussolini himself held a rather ambiguous position regarding the "Jewish question." In his 1931 interview with German-Jewish author Emil Ludwig, Mussolini asserted that "...of course there are no pure races left; not even the Jews have kept their blood unmingled... [race] is a feeling, not a reality; ninety-five percent, at least, is a feeling" (qtd. in Bernardini 439). He stressed that no such proposition would find approval in Italy. This interview is essential in understanding Mussolini's view on anti-Semitism and racism. As historians debate whether or not racism existed in the basic Fascist doctrine, their attention should turn to how the main architect of the doctrine sincerely felt about such prejudice. Mussolini was characteristically inconsistent in many of his views and policies, but he remained largely consistent in his view of "racial purity" and biological racism: believing in cultural superiority while condemning biological racism.

3 Imperialism and Foreign Policy

Fascists in Italy wanted to work with the Jewish community in order to extend the influence of Fascism throughout the Mediterranean (Cabona 99). It is clear from the early years of his regime that Mussolini prioritized his own agenda and worked with foreign and domestic powers as deemed expedient. For example, in 1928, Mussolini authorized the creation of the Italy-

Palestine Committee, but shortly thereafter turned and denounced Zionists for their supposed disloyalty to Italy (Bernardini 440). Despite this allegation against Zionism, in 1934, Mussolini met with Zionist leaders to discuss the level of British influence in the Middle East. During his meeting with Nahum Goldmann, founder of the World Jewish Congress, he went as far as to declare himself a Zionist, promising to dissuade Chancellor Dollfuss from placing legal restrictions on Austrian Jews (Adler 293). This further proves how far Mussolini was willing to go in order to advance his own cause. He was ready to ally with nearly anyone for his own interests' sake, which later explains why he would form an alliance with the Nazi Party, despite the many critiques Il Duce had of Hitler and his racist doctrine. For example, in 1933, Mussolini rebuked Hitler for making anti-Semitism a racial question, when supposedly all it should have been was a measure to protect the Fascist movement (Bernardini 439). Even if Mussolini prioritized the preservation of Fascism, he was consistently against biological racism. Italy was more hospitable to Jews seeking asylum than most other European countries before 1938. Historian Renzo De Felice says that anti-Semitism had no place in the culture and politics of Fascism before 1938 (Cabona 98). So, knowing this, how did Italy come to adopt racial policies in the late 1930s?

In the 1930s, Italy survived the Great Depression better than many other countries. Therefore, Italians, unlike other nations, did not “seek scapegoats for the economic crisis” (98). Instead, what brought Mussolini to anti-Semitic policies was the hunger to advance an imperialistic foreign policy. Franklin Adler notes that anti-Semitism first surfaced politically during the Libyan war, but it was such a small movement that widespread political mobilization never followed (Adler 289). A

turning point for the Jewish Italian community came with the 1935 Italian invasion of Ethiopia that resulted in the creation of racial policies in order to assert Italian dominance in the African nation. This, in turn, lowered the threshold of bigotry against the Jewish-Italian population (296). It became a gateway that allowed anti-Semitic rhetoric to spread in Italy. While this was developing in Italy, Mussolini was not yet in an alliance with Germany. In fact, Mussolini continued to openly oppose many of Hitler's policies for a number of years, such as the *Anschluss*, or annexation, of Austria by Germany in March 1938. Therefore, it appears unlikely that Mussolini was successfully pressured by Hitler to adopt such dangerous racial policies in Italy. Furthermore, despite the rise of anti-Semitism in Italy, a distinction was always made between the 'International World Jewry' and Jewish Italians (289).

4 The Racial Laws

While anti-Semitism was not as violent in Italy as in Germany, that does not undermine the gravity of the case. It is interesting how Mussolini reached a point of passing racial laws, especially when, in 1937, he still claimed that Italy was different from Germany because Italians "... do not accept the racist theories nor their juridical consequences" (Bernardini 449). A key factor in understanding why the racial laws came into existence in Italy is recognizing that Mussolini was convinced an 'International World Jewry' existed, which was "by definition ... a natural enemy of Fascism" (437). Bernardini argues that increasingly through the 1930s, Fascists began to feel that Jews were outsiders who "functioned best in a social environment which... preferred democratic parliamentary governments" (437)

where power was checked. This was the threat Italian Fascists felt, unlike German Nazis who took it further and felt threatened by the “blood contamination” of Jewish people. Ultimately, despite the respect Mussolini said he had for the “intelligence, ambition and talents of Jews,” he simultaneously feared them and was frustrated by any Jewish failures to respond to Fascism (440). Ideological fear and the effort to protect Mussolini’s vision were at the core of the *leggi razziali*. The use of the word “*razziale*”⁵ in Italian needs to be contextualized. A primary reason that leads historians to believe Hitler convinced Mussolini to adopt anti-Semitism in Italy is the creation of these *racial* laws in 1938. In Italy, the term “*razza*”⁶ was most often used by nationalists and early Fascists to signify “nation” or “people,” embracing concepts of society and culture—not biological race (Bernardini 434). Notwithstanding this, early racial laws, initially created to solidify rule over African colonies, were not entirely devoid of biological consideration. Africans were referred to as “prehistoric,” and Mussolini worried that the “coloured races” were dangerous to European civilization (443). Unfortunately, this argument generally held up amongst Italians towards the “black races,” but few Italians took this argument seriously when it came to white races, which included Jewish people (443).

The deeper into expansionist imperial policies the Italian government got, the more isolated Fascist Italy became from the Western powers. This continued to push Italy towards an alliance with the Fascists’ ideological cousins, the Nazis. The rift between Mussolini and the Western allies after the invasion of Ethiopia can be used

⁵ *Razziale*, meaning “racial,” is the singular form of *razziali*.

⁶ Meaning “race.”

to explain the Rome-Berlin Axis that followed in 1937, despite Mussolini's continued critiques of Nazism.

In 1935, Mussolini took a major step in his imperial vision by invading Ethiopia. In the same year, Hitler's government released the Nuremberg laws, which Mussolini condemned as unscientific (449). The Nuremberg laws, created partially to protect German blood, banned marriage and sexual relations between Jews and 'Aryans.' Yet, Mussolini too would come to ban marriage between Jews and non-Jews in Italy. Arguably, however, Mussolini adopted this policy in order to ensure his Fascist movement would remain safe from what Adler calls the "imaginary Jew" and the obstacle they created for Mussolini's new Italy (294). It was an attempt to create unity and a total Fascist state. While it may appear that Mussolini was copying, or was pressured by, Hitler to adopt such racial policies, Il Duce made this decision of his own accord. What Mussolini seems to have done is take the Nazi doctrine and try to adapt it to the Italian situation. Mussolini wanted to eliminate a perceived threat, but he did not have a system as lethal as that of Nazi Germany. He saw what was done in Germany and attempted similar policies in Italy. This included both restrictive laws and internment camps. However, the camps in Italy did not serve the same purpose as the German camps. In fact, the largest internment camp in Italy, Ferramonti di Tarsia, was neither "death camp [nor] labour camp" (Giuffrida) according to Judith Itzhak, a survivor. She says the camp was "made to house people the Italian government didn't know what to do with," (Giuffrida). This further suggests Mussolini's anti-Semitic policy was due to the ideological threat he felt, and the fact that Italian Fascists did not wish to harm Jewish people. Jewish historian Jonathan Steinberg goes as far as calling Ferramonti the

“largest kibbutz on the European continent,” (Steinberg 229) due to attempts to create as normal a life as possible in the camp.

5 The German Alliance

Historians argue Mussolini was aware an alliance with the Nazis would lead to conflicts with the Jewish community in Italy (Bernardini 444). Due to the feared attacks from the Jews following an alliance with Germany, Mussolini decided to retaliate with repression: this came in the form of restricting Jewish activity and removing Jewish Italians from varying posts, such as diplomats, journalists, and military officers (444). It is evident that the alliance between Italian Fascism and German Nazism was a turning point for Jewish Italians. But the decision was clearly made by Mussolini in order to fulfill his purpose. Moreover, Mussolini was already beginning to realize as early as 1936, shortly after the ‘International Jewry’ spoke out against the imperial expansion, that the ‘Jewry’ he had long feared had been unsuccessful in preventing Hitler’s progress in Germany. So to an extent, Mussolini was inspired by German success. His alliance with Hitler was strategic, and the introduction of restrictive anti-Semitic policies came naturally out of an obsession for expansionist imperialism, not because Hitler compelled him to become a radical anti-Semite. Furthermore, Mussolini’s anti-Semitic laws differed greatly from Hitler’s, because they stemmed from a fear of the detachment of the Jewish-Italian population from Fascism, not from racial superiority. There is a crucial difference in severity and “science” between Italian and German anti-Semitism, which remains evident despite the alliance.

Mussolini believed that a “successful struggle against Jewish opposition was important for building Italian confidence in preparation for the struggles which lay ahead” (451). Mussolini was referring to the challenges that may have come with establishing a long-lasting Fascist Italy (Falasca-Zamponi 25): this argument reinforces the demand for a unified population. If Mussolini were to pave the way for a powerful, enduring Italy, he needed full participation and confidence of the people, which he feared the Jewish community hindered. *Tutto il potere a tutto il fascismo*⁷ (26) was at the core of the ideology that Mussolini undertook in the 1930s. MacGregor Knox believes that Mussolini’s radical policies were “simply more risky attempts to implement his program within his own lifetime” (Knox 46). Part of his mission included creating the *uomo nuovo*⁸ through combat, which would help create the enduring fascist state in Italy. It is important to establish another difference between Mussolini’s self-defined destiny and that of Hitler. From 1938 on, Mussolini’s mission, unlike Hitler’s, was less about restoring past glories, but rather it was about realizing some radically alternative future project: a new, imperial, culturally homogenous Italian nation (Adler 286). Ultimately, Mussolini’s blind obsession with imperialism, more than anything, was the crux of the rise of anti-Semitic policy in Italy.

According to Bernardini, even if the “German alliance hadn’t been an important factor, Italian Fascism had developed its own compelling rationale for racial anti-Semitism” (Bernardini 452). He argues this was a mistake by Mussolini that represented the “triumph of politics and ideology over personal preferences, of

⁷ “All of the power to all of Fascism.”

⁸ “New Man.”

system and structure over personalities” (452). Mussolini’s arrogance in the 1930s, which led him to the German alliance and involvement in the second world war, was ultimately disastrous to Italian Fascism, causing Mussolini to regret past decisions (452). Often when it is argued that Hitler “influenced” Mussolini, it is implied that he used Il Duce as a puppet in order to spread radical anti-Semitic policies to Italy. Hitler may have inspired Mussolini to face his fear of the ‘Jewry’ and to toughen his policies in order to attain his vision of a fascist state and Italian expansion. However, these are decisions that Mussolini made himself and thus, he alone bears the historical responsibility for these decisions.

6 Fascist anti-Semitism

Even following 1938, Mussolini continued to privately deny the concept of “racial purity,” saying, “a little Jewish blood, in the end, never hurt anyone” (Adler 294). Adler maintains that at heart, rather than being a principled anti-Semite, Mussolini was “a cynical opportunist who used anti-Semitism instrumentally.” It was a card pulled in order to secure the strategic alliance with Germany, which would assure German support in foreign Italian acquisitions and help solidify the fabrication of the New Fascist Man (294). Anti-Semitism evolved and became a necessary tool in order to achieve an imperial civilization, as great as that of ancient Rome. Notwithstanding the radicalization of Fascist policy in the late 1930s, Mussolini wished to protect his people from the gas chambers of the Third Reich (Robert Schwarz 531). In fact, according to Cabona, Italy had the highest number of Jewish survivors following the war, next to Denmark (Cabona 104). What is more, Zuccotti observes that, remarkably, “Italian Jews violated the racial laws,

while in other countries they were strictly observed” (104). What does this imply for Mussolini and his anti-Semitic laws? Perhaps they were applied generally but only used forcefully on by those whom Fascist observers felt truly threatened, further proving that Mussolini undertook such policies solely for the protection of his vision, rather than for a blanket hatred for the Jewish people.

Mussolini knowingly chose anti-Semitism over a more moderate course because he wanted to advance his directive and, at that time, did not care that it was wrong. Yet Mussolini’s anti-Semitism, while too harsh in the eyes of the general Italian population, was too moderate for the Nazis. Many Nazis who worked in Italy and Italian-occupied areas in the Mediterranean wrote back to their superiors describing how “Italians present an obstacle to the anti-Jewish measures ordered by the Fascist government” (102). Moreover, they shared that the Italian army had “used force to liberate the Jews arrested by French police” (102) in Vichy France. Helmut Knochen communicated a very interesting case in April 1943. He wrote that Guido Lospinoso, the principal counselor charged by the Italian government to oversee the “Jewish question” in France, was in fact joined by Angelo Donati, the former director of the Franco-Italian bank and leader of an important financial group of Jewish Italians (102). It is highly unlikely that the Fascist government was unaware of this. Perhaps the government felt Donati posed no threat to the regime, so they felt comfortable assigning him to this post without the Fascist movement being threatened. Despite the anti-Semitism within the government and society, even staunch nationalists such as Roberto Farinacci,⁹ an anti-Semite

⁹ Fascist politician.

himself, called for “Italian Jews to dissociate themselves from ‘international anti-Fascist Jewry,’” and to be “‘Jewish Italians’ instead of ‘Italian Jews’” (Bernardini 441).

7 Conclusion

The decision in 1938 to announce an official anti-Semitic policy through the *leggi razziali* was ultimately Mussolini’s. Bernardini writes that Fascism and anti-Semitism in Italy grew “naturally and logically out of one another” (431). By studying Mussolini’s own ideology, it is apparent he was willing to do whatever it took in order to accomplish his goals. To be sure, Mussolini was a populist, but also an appeaser—seeking approval from both his allies and the masses. Ultimately, however, Il Duce commonly acted out of perceived self-interest. Mussolini’s awareness that a German alliance could lead to animosity between Fascism and the Jewish community means that Il Duce was most likely willing to imprison Jewish Italians, even without pressure from Hitler. Furthermore, Mussolini would have deported Jewish Italians to German camps if his actions were in fact the result of Hitler’s pressure. However, the Fascist regime never willfully sent Jewish Italians to perish in the Nazi genocide (Italian-Occupied Areas, USHMM). Meir Michaelis says that racism for Hitler was a *raison de vivre*, but for Mussolini it was a political tactic (Cabona 100). In conclusion, it would be wrong to devalue the severity of Mussolini’s racial laws and anti-Semitic policies by considering them only to be the direct result of an alliance with Hitler. The evidence presented shows that such policies evolved naturally due to Mussolini’s desire to protect his ideology and imperialistic dreams,

which were the crux of the rise of anti-Semitic policy in Italy.

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Latin American Identity through Transculturation: The Work Of Cuban Writer Fernando Ortíz

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This paper examines the life and work of Fernando Ortíz, with a focus on his development of the term transculturation. Ortíz (1881-1969), a Cuban anthropologist, author, and ethnographer, developed the concept of transculturation using Cuba's colonial history as his platform. In his book, *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar*, he used the two industries as an illustration of the conflict present in the development of Cuban culture and identity. He saw the clash of cultures as an interaction that was ultimately transformative, creating a new Cuban identity. Transculturation is the creation of a new culture when people of different cultural backgrounds live in close relation, both interacting with, and reacting to each other. Ortíz identified race, and elements of culture particular to each race, as features of identity created by the process of transculturation; his concept overlaps with that of *mestizaje*, and has entered the discourse of race in Latin America. Finally, this essay examines the work of other critics as they pertain to Ortíz's theory of transculturation.

*Keywords: Transculturation; Fernando Ortíz;
Latin America; Identity; Culture*

1 Introduction

Transculturation was developed by Fernando Ortíz by drawing on his study of ethnography and anthropology. As a concept, it has been used in the search for a defining Latin American identity. This expository essay explains how transculturation is developed and illustrated in Ortíz's book *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar*. After a brief description of Ortíz's background and comparison of tobacco and sugar, the resulting development of transculturation, in relation to Cuban identity, is analyzed. The essay finally presents the ways in which the concept has been used by several scholars as a framework for analysis of Latin American culture and criticized by others for not accurately reflecting the reality of black culture in the Americas.

1.1 Fernando Ortíz

Fernando Ortíz is well known as the author of *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar* (hereinafter *Cuban Counterpoint*), originally published in Havana in 1940 as *Contrapunteo Cubano del Tabaco y el Azúcar*. At that point in his career, Ortíz was a published academic and expert on Cuban history, ethnography, sociology, and politics. Born in Havana to a Spanish father and Cuban mother, Ortíz then spent 13 years in Menorca, Spain, before returning to Cuba in 1895 to begin his studies at the University of Havana (Ortíz, *Contrapunteo* 33). Ortíz studied law and received his doctorate from the University of Madrid in 1901 (Catzaras 12).

In addition to his academic career, Ortíz was active in domestic politics. He was a member of the "Partido Liberal" from 1907 to 1927 in the Chamber of

Representatives where he participated in cultural delegations and worked on Cuba's penal code. His essays strongly advocated for Cuban autonomy and independence from foreign control, often opposing the dictatorship of Gerardo Machado (Rojas 12). As a result, he was exiled to Washington D.C. from 1931 to 1933 (12).

1.2 *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar*

In *Cuban Counterpoint*, Ortíz uses unique literary techniques to write a book that dramatically tells the Cuban narrative of tobacco and sugar, ultimately developing a metaphor for the theory of transculturation. The book is introduced by Bronislaw Malinowski, who gives it his anthropological stamp of approval by agreeing with Ortíz's theory and declaring it a "masterpiece of historical and sociological investigation..." (Ortíz xii, xvi). The title of part 1, *Cuban Counterpoint*, derives from the Spanish musical tradition *contrapunteo*, wherein two singers alternate verses, trying to outdo each other with their cleverness of music and lyrics (Santí 7).

In the first section of his book, Ortíz gives human characteristics to tobacco and sugar, saying "[t]obacco is a masculine thing. Its leaves are hairy...and sugar is female. The leaves of its stalks are always smooth..." (Ortíz, "Counterpoint" 16). He then further develops the personification, adding "there is no rebellion or challenge in sugar, nor resentment, nor brooding suspicion, but humble pleasure, quiet calm and soothing. Tobacco is boldly imaginative and individualistic to the point of anarchy ... sugar is an extrovert, with an objective, matter-of-fact soul, and tobacco is an introvert, subjective and imaginative" (16-17). This narrative style of

alternating between the two crops provides a greater sense of their contrasting natures and creates a launch pad for the later development of his theory. Ortiz addresses the two crops' contribution to the Cuban economy, detailing the labour and level of skill involved with each, as well as the agricultural and financial conditions needed to achieve economic success. He identifies sugar as being dependent on the seasonal work of Afro-Cubans, resulting in a life of poverty for them. He is clear, however, that this is not a racial distinction, but an economic one when he says:

It must also be set down that the union between sugar and the Negro had nothing to do with the latter's race or pigmentation...The alliance was not between the canefield and the Negro, but between the canefield and the slave. (60)

With the advent of machinery for harvesting and refining sugar, increased capital investments became necessary. As a result, most of Cuba's sugar industry came under wealthy foreign ownership and marked the beginning of the modern sugar mill. (Ortiz, *Contrapunteo* 629).

While sugar involves menial labour and mass production, producing cigars requires detailed cultivation and an acquired skill set (Ortiz, *Contrapunteo* 161). As a result, tobacco remained a more domestic, Cuban-owned industry due to the particular nature of its cultivation:

The personal element always predominated in tobacco-growing, and there was a patriarchal, intimate quality about its work...Tobacco has created a middle class, a free bourgeoisie: sugar has created two extremes slaves and masters, the

proletariat and the rich. (Ortíz, “Counterpoint” 65)

Here, Ortíz not only describes the different personalities and cultivation techniques of the two crops but also details their historical roots and the resulting cultural conflicts as their use was appropriated, developed and changed. Tobacco was originally used exclusively by Indigenous groups; however, the Europeans who arrived in Cuba began to use it in different contexts than the Indigenous groups had. Sugar cane, on the other hand, was native to the “other” Indies and introduced to Cuba by the Europeans, thus having no historic connection to the land. While sugar’s ownership and wealth belonged to foreigners, tobacco remained more vital to the Cuban identity because of its local origin and economy (62).

2 Transculturation

2.1 Construction and Development

Part II of Ortíz’s book, “The Ethnography and Transculturation of Havana Tobacco and the Beginnings of Sugar in America,” provides historical and sociological information about each crop, particularly tobacco, and outlines what he refers to as the “historical evolution” of Cuba (Ortíz, “Counterpoint” 98). Beginning with the Paleolithic cultures, through the Neolithic and the agricultural societies, and finally to the arrival of the Europeans, he makes it clear that as cultures evolved, the transitions were neither smooth nor peaceful:

A revolutionary upheaval shook the Indian peoples of Cuba, tearing up their institutions by the roots

and destroying their lives... [s]ince the sixteenth century all its classes, races and cultures, coming in by will or force, have all been exogenous and all have been torn from their places of origin, suffering the shock of this first uprooting and a harsh transplanting. (100)

Ortíz asserts that of the cultures in Cuba at the time he was writing, the Africans had suffered the greatest violence and loss in their move to the New World; however, he states that the oppressors also lived in fear due to the possibility of slave uprisings (102).

The history of Cuba, the economy's reliance on sugar and tobacco, and the violence experienced by waves of new Cubans whose cultures combined and collided, provide the framework for Ortíz's invention and use of the term transculturation. He proposes this new concept as an alternative to "acculturation," which assumes the loss of one group's culture as a result of assimilation into a dominant group ("Acculturate, verb"). Ortíz believes this term does not encompass the full meaning of cultures in a process of change. He compares the combining of cultures to biological reproduction, where the union of two individuals produces offspring that are different and new, yet they still retain something of each parent (Ortíz, "Counterpoint" 103). This scientific process of hybridization, with the merging of individual traits and characteristics, represents the way in which transculturation has created a "new" identity for Cuba (and all of Latin America), known as the *mestizo*. For Ortíz, culture is the focus of identity, and this emphasis on the cultural hybridity as an identity marker for being "Cuban" allows Ortíz himself to be defined as a real "Cuban."

2.2 Interpretation and Application

Since the twentieth century, Ortíz's idea of transculturation has been part of the continuing discourse of Latin American identity among scholars. In Liliana Weinberg's article "Transculturation," she explores the dynamic concept and its application on a global scale, as a less racialized theory of culture. Furthermore, the concept has been useful in shedding light on the violence and asymmetry associated with the ownership of power in the colonial relationship. Ortíz recognizes that the creative ability of people continuously propels humankind to create something new even after experiencing violent destruction of culture. As Weinberg points out, transculturation as a concept has stood the test of time, entering and remaining in the discussions about culture among anthropologists and intellectuals (332).

The Uruguayan literary critic Ángel Rama uses transculturation as a tool in the study of Latin American literature as a whole. He explains that Latin American authors, such as José María Arguedas, Gabriel García Márquez, and Juan Rulfo, have incorporated many elements and features of their local regions, often identified as "folkloric" or "primitive," into their works (Arnedo-Gómez 3). While using European literary forms, such as novels and poetry, these authors contribute to advancing the Latin American identity by focusing on regional topics (Gómez 2). Rama applies the blending concept behind transculturation to the formation of this literature and judges it by its originality and representation of the Latin American experience. This originality is due in part to the array of Latin American written language(s), as well as the inclusion of local myths and religions (Rama 158-160). For Rama,

transculturation is a link between history and culture, which allows for a defined Latin American literature, and by extension, a Latin American identity.

Antonio Cornejo Polar further contributes to the discussion of transculturation in relation to literature in his article “Indigenismo and heterogeneous literatures: their double sociocultural statute.” Polar refers to the efforts of Inca Garcilaso de la Vega (1539-1616), who “had to resort to a Neoplatonic philosophy to explain to others and to himself his personal and historic situation...” (107). This case is an example of how the blending of European literary techniques can be used to describe Latin American realities.

While Polar may view transculturation as a tool to analyze literature, he disagrees with Ortíz regarding the *mestizo* metaphor, which suggests that all peoples of Latin America are now a mixed race. Evidence of Polar’s critique of *mestizaje* is found in his essay “Escribir en el aire,” where he rejects the notion of one coherent and uniform Latin American identity. He believes Ortíz’s argument of *mestizaje* has more to do with metaphysics, that is, “wishful thinking,” than reality. Further, Polar claims, “quiero escapar del legado romántico—o más genéricamente, moderno—que nos exige ser lo que no somos” (qtd. in Badiane 57). In other words, the people of Latin America are not at all uniform products of hybridization, and many who live in the same geographically defined nation identify as, and are of, separate races. Unlike Ortíz, Polar does not see transculturation as leading to one brown race.

2.3 An Afro-Cuban Critique

Mamadou Badiane critiques Ortíz’s concept in her article “Religiones afrocubanas: ¿sincretismo o

desafricanización?” She discusses Ortíz’s earlier book, *Hampa afro-cubano: los negros brujos*, where Ortíz speaks in a disparaging way of African traditions, which he sees as uncivilized and amoral. For example, Ortíz predicts the grandchildren of African slaves in Cuba will no longer remember their African traditions. Using the metaphor of a stew (“un ajiaco”) being created, Ortíz predicts the Negroes will become “de-africanized,” forget their African culture, and become part of the “new” Cuban culture (Badiane 52). Badiane’s criticism of Ortíz is not surprising, as his prediction rejects any idea of African culture being part of the Cuban identity. Badiane believes these earlier writings of Ortíz are crucial to understanding his development of transculturation. Despite Ortíz later improving his attitude towards Afro-Cubans, Badiane believes this change in attitude was largely because enough time had passed and Ortíz believed his predictions to be coming true (that over the generations de-africanization was taking place), and once this was complete, the metaphorical stew had been made (Badiane 53). In fact, Badiane argues that the transculturation model relies on the loss of African culture in Cuba. Essentially, to Ortíz, the creation of a unified national identity in Cuba required the diminishing of African culture.

3 Conclusion

Fernando Ortíz provides a more objective and scientific study of culture and history. His recognition of the violence involved in cultural clashing and the subsequent consequences put Ortíz ahead of many scholars of his period. However, Ortíz’s work also represents the deeply ingrained racism and cultural narcissism of the dominant group to which he belonged: white European-educated

male. The history of colonialism and slavery is embedded in the Latin American identity and remains relevant today. Ortiz analyzed how culture was formed in Cuba, describing its culture as unique and a blend of many societal groups. Drawing on a simple biological model recognizable to all, the concept of transculturation provided a dynamic model that was authentically Latin American. The concept accommodated the complexity and creativity involved in the Cuban, and by extension, Latin American experience. The strength of Ortiz's concept is that it is dynamic and continues to provide a platform for discussion of Latin American culture and identity.

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