



Autonomy and the Other: Andalusian Regionalism and Seville's *Cigarrera*

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In 1898 the Spanish Empire experienced the final stage of its collapse when it lost the last of its colonies: Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. A crisis within the Spanish nation ensued, prompting peripheral regions of the Iberian Peninsula to campaign actively for autonomy. Regionalist activists from Galicia, Valencia, the Basque provinces, Catalonia, and Andalusia interpreted the end of Spanish imperialism as Madrid's failure to let an empire of regional differences thrive—be they Cuban or Catalan. They considered that if Cuba could be “liberated” from Madrid's centralized rule, then Catalonia, for example, should also be granted independence (González Antón 517). Thus, they decried their position vis-à-vis the central power, and they conducted campaigns for regional autonomy—even separation—on the basis of political, cultural, racial, and linguistic differences.

In Andalusia's capital Seville, the regionalist movement after 1898 found its voice more slowly and with more difficulty than the movements of other Spanish regions. Though it claimed racial and cultural difference, it could not use these factors or that of a distinct language as the basis for autonomy. Furthermore, until the 1920s, the regionalist movement did not call for Andalusia's actual separation from Spain.¹ The challenge for Andalusian regionalists during the first two decades of the twentieth century, then, was to articulate the cultural difference and political causes of their region without breaking away from the central power in Madrid, for they depended on this power to hear their collective voice and fulfill their region's needs. Lacking a language of their own and requiring official recognition, Andalusian regionalists first found a way to articulate their region's autonomy and to expose their cause, not only to their people but also to Spain's central power, by publishing the journal *Bética* from 1913 to 1917.²

A close examination of these bi-monthly issues reveals that in advocating regional reform, the journal uses literal and visual representations of women to express, promote, and produce Andalusia's autonomy. These representations culminate in the focus on the historical figure of Seville's *cigarrera*, or female cigar maker, the characteristically independent factory worker with a reputation for public protest, the other of Andalusia's female other. The *cigarrera* not only embodies Andalusian specificity and cultural

difference in *Bética*; as a regionalist figure, she simultaneously expresses the tensions and contradictions produced in the practice of representing regional autonomy through the other.

At the turn of the twentieth century, Andalusia's capital was in a precarious state. Seville was uncomfortably caught between the process of rapid modernization and the persistence of poverty and misfortune. Only in the last two decades of the nineteenth century did the city's public works and services begin to resemble those of other European cities. Telephones were installed in 1880; the municipal water-works company was founded in 1882; electric streetcars began operating in 1887; and an electric company began servicing the city in 1894 (Colón Perales 35). Despite these modernizing changes, Seville's mortality rate placed third behind Madras and Bombay. This could be blamed on the physical conditions of the land, the crowded living conditions in *corrales*, and poor standards of hygiene—factors that also contributed to recurring epidemics throughout the nineteenth century. Low standards in education were also a serious problem: in the first decade of the twentieth century, there were only 8 bookstores for 160 taverns, and 60% of Seville's population was illiterate, which marked no change at all over a twenty-year period (Colón Perales 36; Salas 110).

A debilitating drought started in 1905 and lasted several years. A local journalist at the time reported:

Más de cien mil obreros, repartidos por toda Andalucía, careciendo de trabajo y hambrientos, ven la necesidad retratada en el rostro de los individuos de su familia, la miseria imperando en sus hogares. . . . Los hombres caen desfallecidos en las calles, las madres piden con voz desesperada pan para sus hijos, las personas pudientes huyen de los pueblos, los municipios concluyen con sus recursos, y los pobres, después de vender hasta el humilde lecho, y de reclamar en balde trabajo o socorro, danse cuenta de que tienen derecho a la vida. . . . (qtd. in Salas 107)

Those who suffered the most from this drought were agricultural workers. As Adrian Shubert's study shows, most of Andalusia's workers were agricultural day laborers of the vast landed estates known as *latifundia*. By the 1930s, these workers made up 76% of all workers in western Andalusia (the area of Seville), compared to 17% in Cantabria (on Spain's northern coast), 33% in Aragon, and 41% on Spain's Mediterranean coast. Shubert observes that the employment of agricultural day laborers was marked by irregularity and low wages: they were hired either for a day or for specific tasks, such as those related to the harvest, and wages fell below the national average (84). The predicament of Andalusia's day laborers reflected the land's natural disasters so diametrically that, as Nicolás Salas notes, in the early twentieth century, “la mendicidad era una plaga en Sevilla” (116).

In contrast to this destitution and misfortune, Andalusian culture flourished in the second half of the nineteenth century. The springtime festival of Seville—*la Feria de Abril*, famous still in the twenty-first century—was instituted as an annual event in 1847. A year later

the *Semana Santa*, or Holy Week of Easter, filled with religious street processions, was revived. Flamenco dance and music enjoyed a golden age between 1860 and 1910. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, twenty-five periodical publications circulated through the city, and cultural life thrived in cafés, theaters, and clubs.

From this society that endured penury and squalor yet so enjoyed music, dance, fairs, and fiestas, an elite group of regionalist activists and intellectuals emerged. They began to organize their thoughts and precepts for their movement in *tertulias*, or informal café discussions, in the late 1880s. By 1907 these male intellectuals attached themselves to Seville's Athenaeum and began to work for radical social and economic transformation—or “regeneration,” as it was called in the post-1898 vernacular—of Andalusia, even for its autonomy. In 1907 the Athenaeum held the annual societal festival, which functioned doubly as an affluent debutante ball and as a public forum for formal debates on culture and politics. The theme for debate that year was “[h]asta qué punto es compatible el regionalismo con la unidad de la Patria” (Lacomba 48). That is to say, for the first time, Seville's intellectuals formally and publicly questioned the extent to which Andalusia could be autonomous while still functioning as an integral part of the Spanish nation.

Here, the regionalist movement became official. Its principal thinkers—José Izquierdo, Alejandro Guichot, and Blas Infante—subsequently presented their cause to the central power by publishing articles and contributing speeches on Andalusian regionalism in the newspapers and at the Athenaeum of Madrid.³ From these essays and speeches, Blas Infante produced the movement's official doctrine entitled *Ideal Andaluz*. It was printed as a series of essays in the journal *Bética* in 1914 and as a book in 1915, and it officially marked Infante as the movement's leader. In this regionalist doctrine, Infante calls upon intellectuals, artists, and the economically and socially privileged to execute the following plan of action: to guide the Andalusian people “spiritually,” making them aware of their productive and creative potentials; to build the collective character of the people by promoting patriotism and regional identity; to enlighten the people's consciousness by educating them in general and teaching them practical skills and specific trades; and to end the poverty and unemployment of agricultural day laborers by breaking up the vast landed estates, or *latifundia*, and “returning” the land to the people. *Ideal Andaluz* thus laid down the theoretical groundwork for regional reform; however, in order to initiate this reform, regionalists needed to communicate their plan to the people and integrate regionalist activism into the dialogues and practices of everyday life.

Periodicals from around the region generally reached out to the people and broadly broached the subject of regional autonomy with articles that discussed “la necesidad de que Andalucía definiese su personalidad, para poder luego afirmarla políticamente” (Lacomba 49). But beginning in November 1913, *Bética*, the official journal of the regionalist movement, explicitly took on the mission of educating and persuading the Andalusian public. Bearing the name of Andalusia under Roman rule, the journal *Bética* presents essays on the *latifundia* system of land tenure, the plight of agricultural workers, the history of the region, and cultural reform as well as photographic features of local churches and towns, public celebrations, and the works of Andalusian painters. Punctuating these scholarly essays and photographic spreads are lithographs of Andalusian women and laudatory prose and verse addressed to the anonymous female

“tú” or to any woman who happens to have blond hair, for example, or a particular name such as Carmen.

In an article titled “La ciudad y el campo: el campesino andaluz” (*Bética* 20 Jan. 1914: n. pag.), Blas Infante defines the difference between the landowner and the Andalusian peasant: the former resides in the city or in another region while living off the rent he receives from his tenants in the country, and the latter lives in shanties and feeds his family from a pittance of daily wages. Employed as an agricultural day laborer, or *jornalero*, the peasant is thus a “slave of misery,” unable to care truly for the land he cultivates because it is not his: “o arrastra su vida miserable en una tierra que no puede amar, . . . o emigra.” Infante attributes this social-economic inequity to the “sad reality” of the latifundium. He writes: “El latifundio en Andalucía es, desgraciadamente, una triste realidad. La base, quizás, de todas las realidades tristes que acusan en nuestra Región la existencia de un cuerpo muerto.” This “dead body” represents what was lost under the *Reconquista*: “El alma de un pueblo grande, inspiradora potente de genios ilustres del Arte y de la Ciencia, se perdió con las perfumadas emanaciones que emergían los vergeles andaluces, obra del cultivo intensivo de Romanos y de Arabes. . . .” For Infante, the plight of Andalusian peasants began with the ousting of the Moors and the imposition of the Castilian system of land tenure, the latifundia system.⁴

Given the peasants' lack of education and social-economic power, Infante concludes, the people of the region from both town and country must come together to create a new class of agricultural workers, *la clase media campesina*, who own the land they cultivate. The productivity of these new landowners will resuscitate the “dead body” of the region, and their contentment will revitalize the existing social body. Infante defines these new Andalusians as follows:

Para ellos, el trabajo no es el penoso cumplimiento de un destino fatal, sino la expansión voluptuosa de una caricia; la expresión ingenua de su amor sencillo, a la tierra fecunda. . . . El sano optimismo, la ruda lealtad, la independencia viril de esta clase dichosa cuya felicidad resplandecerá en la gloria de la ciudad futura esparcida por los campos, oxigenan la sangre del cuerpo social, purificando su fortaleza. (n. pag.)

In this plan for regional regeneration—in what Infante calls “la obra del Renacer”—those who live in the cities must populate the impoverished countryside not only to form settlements in the country but also to create the Andalusian folk: “Aquello será *hacer* el pueblo andaluz.” The double meaning of “town” and “folk,” conveyed by the word *pueblo*, permits the regionalist project to reform both land and people in its endeavor.

As if in immediate response to Infante's directive, the journal *Bética* presents figure after figure of Andalusian women as signs of fertility and abundance that function symbolically to resuscitate the dead body of the region, refresh the blood of the social body, and (pro)create a new breed of Andalusian folk. Repeatedly pointing out the region's lack of linguistic difference in contrast to Catalonia and the Basque provinces, the writers of *Bética* were forced to express regional autonomy in Castilian, the language of their perceived oppressor, the central power in Madrid. They thus relied on a system of

signification that is the visual and verbal representation of Andalusian women in order to convey and produce Andalusian difference.

Indeed, visual and verbal images of women crowd the pages of *Bética*. They populate the journal as illustrative drawings, as subjects of featured paintings and photographs, and as anonymous addressees of poems, but nearly never as speakers, writers, agents, or real women. To hold any issue of *Bética* is to be confronted with myriad drawings of women. The frontispiece and first-page header of all the issues bear the same female figures while the cover page of each issue displays different, sometimes folkloric images of female Andalusian types (see figs. 1 and 2). And the written text reflects the visual representation. For example, in the issue dated 15 April 1915, a set of prose poems entitled “Fémina” sings praises to “Las rubias,” “Las morenas,” and “Las trigueñas” (n. pag.). In the words of the poet, violets radiate from the eyes of blond women, and their hair is made of gold. The lips of brunettes are red carnations, says the poet, and their dark hair falls on their shoulders like the storm clouds of an obscure night. The woman of olive complexion is a “multi-faceted rose,” and her parted lips are “fragrant strawberries.” The poet concludes: “Unas y otras forman el ramillete de la poesía del amor y de la realidad de la vida. Las morenas, claveles, las trigueñas, rosas y las rubias, violetas. Sin estas flores sería para nosotros el mundo de los sentidos un verdadero valle de lágrimas.”

Despite the female anonymity, the journal leaves no doubt that these figures are meant to represent the specificity and difference of Andalusian culture. For example, in the 5 December 1913 issue, the women of the poems entitled “Carmen,” “Consuelo,” “Asunción,” and “Lola,” under the collective title “Mujeres andaluzas” (n. pag.), stand for the particular beauty of the region and the charm of distinct neighborhoods in Seville. Carmen is from the Macarena in Seville, a neighborhood famous for its patron Virgin, dark-skinned and mysterious. The poet imagines this emblematic figure as follows:

Carmen, la pitonisa, nació en la Macarena,
y es alta y arrogante, flexible y majestuosa
y tiene la voz fina, vibrante y melodiosa
y la mirada ardiente de una virgen morena.

...

Y ante sus abismales ojazos de sultana,
yo, postrado de hinojos, proclamo a esta gitana
por reina de esta tierra de la gitanería.





BÉTICA

REVISTA ILUSTRADA



AÑO III — 15 y 30 DE MARZO DE 1915 — N.ºs. 29 y 30

Director: FÉLIX SANCHEZ-BLANCO

Administrador y Redactor jefe literario:
FELIPE CORTINES Y MURUBE

Redactor jefe artístico:
SANTIAGO MARTINEZ Y MARTIN

PATRIA Y REGIÓN

A mi querido amigo Antonio
Mesa y Moles, sabio catedrático de
la Universidad de Granada.

E

L principal representante de la famosa teoría «de las nacionalidades», Stanislao Mancini, exige para la Nación comunidad de origen, costumbres y lengua, y también, como si no fuera bastante, la conciencia de esta absoluta unidad (1). Tal principio, llamado de la escuela italiana, es inconsistente y falso. Para definir con exactitud la Nación sólo deben considerarse como atributos de esencia el territorio propio, las partes orgánicas inferiores, conviene a saber, familia, municipio, comarca y región, y la realización común de los fines humanos con carácter especial.

Tocante al territorio, la contigüidad y convivencia permanentes, producen la cooperación continuada y con ello la concreción y arraigo de los demás elementos de la nacionalidad común, pero hemos de advertir que la discontigüidad del territorio no impide en manera alguna que se forme un cuerpo social con todos los caracteres peculiares de la Nación.

La variedad de razas tampoco se opone a la unidad nacional, aunque la diversidad sea tan acentuada como la que distingue a blancos, negros y amarillos. La misma doctrina sostenemos sobre las lenguas y costumbres, cuya variedad es indiferente a la Nación.

Estos elementos son la pluralidad en que la unidad Nación se resuelve, y se incurre en un error al pedir su identidad estimándola indispensable, porque su verdadera significación es la de caracteres exteriores, físicos, accidentales, y lo que esencialmente constituye el vínculo nacional es que se haya elaborado interna y silenciosamente esa intimidad social, esa unión moral o sentimiento colectivo, que yo llamaría *solidaridad consciente en fines determinados*.

En suma, lo que da vida a la Nación no es la comunidad de elementos naturales, psicológicos y etnográficos, según la clasificación de los tratadistas de De-

recho político, sino la comunidad moral y psíquica, la cooperación armónica de las personas físicas y colectivas integrantes de la sociedad nacional.

En la interna y superior unidad moral radica el genuino cimiento filosófico del concepto de la Nación, y es muy importante proclamar este principio, porque ha logrado gran predicamento, en la teoría y en la práctica, el sistema de la unidad material, absoluta, de los elementos nacionales, cosa ciertamente útil y que revela una mayor perfección, pero que no es necesaria, imprescindible, como pretende el unitarismo nacionalista.

Es oportuno citar aquí, porque aclaran nuestro pensamiento, las siguientes palabras del ilustre sociólogo, historiador y político D. Francisco Silvela: «La tendencia a la unidad, que no debe abandonarse nunca, debe subordinarse a las condiciones reales y de sentimientos que constituyen esa nacionalidad; y cuando se quebrantan tales sentimientos y se atacan o hieren esas instituciones, háy que tener cuidado de que no se quebranten los elementos de vida, pues tal cosa supondría una disminución efectiva de energía nacional. Esto es, que importa mucho que al ideal de unidad no se subordine la realidad de la vida, porque es en vano querer que por medio de reformas, de leyes, de instituciones nuevas, se reemplacen sentimientos que, al ser heridos y lastimados, no se transforman, sino que se matan; y como quiera que la nacionalidad, para tener existencia, lo primero que necesita es la fuerza, y ésta no se logra sino por el conjunto de sentimientos colectivos que diferencian una agrupación de provincias de las que constituyen las nacionalidades vecinas, la cuestión capital es que esos sentimientos no se quebranten y que esas razones de diferenciación con los demás pueblos no se confundan en una unidad que, si bien realice ese progreso, sea a costa del quebrantamiento de las fuerzas nacionales que producen una depresión del espíritu nacional que contradice la idea de la nacionalidad misma» (1).

Hállase expuesta en este brillante párrafo la doctrina que defendemos, conviene a saber, que la unidad de raza, idioma, costumbres, cultura... es un ideal, un progreso, pero que la realidad de la vida y el concep-

(1) V. Della nazionalità come fondamento del diritto delle genti. Introduzione. — *Accademia di Scienze Morali e Politiche. Estratto di discussioni...* TOMO 1.º P. 45.

Fig. 1. First-page header for all issues of *Bética*.



Fig. 2. Cover Page of *Bética* 15 and 30 May 1916.

Consuelo is from Triana, a neighborhood separated from the center of Seville by the Guadalquivir River and made famous by the bullfighters and flamenco musicians it has produced. While Consuelo is a “flor de la tierra de los toros y el vino,” both Lola and Asunción are dancers: one performs the tango and the other the bolero. In the words of the poet, Lola is “la andaluza más morena y ardiente / que el Guadalquivir viera jamás en sus orillas.” While *pueblo* denotes both place and people, here, in these regionalist poems, the people—*mujeres andaluzas*—designate the place; moreover, Seville's and, by extension, Andalusia's otherness (that which makes the place unique and different, worthy of representation) is conveyed by the people's other, both different and underrepresented—that is, woman.

The practice of using typified human figures to represent the particular character of a location—a town, region, or nation—was more generally a style, or pseudo-genre, of writing known as *costumbrismo*, the writing of customs and manners, whose defining characteristics were also found in drawings and paintings later in the century. The literary historian Juan Luis Alborg states that *costumbrismo* is a Spanish literary practice, “independiente de la novela, cuya acción es poca o nula . . . y donde la descripción de tipos o escenas es lo principal” (709). And in a study of the influence of *costumbrismo* on Spanish realism and the nineteenth-century novel, José Montesinos notes: “El costumbrismo *tipifica* casos y personas, mientras que la ficción los *singulariza*—aun allí donde les conserva un *minimum* de tipicidad para hacerlos reconocibles como exponentes de algo, profesión, clase, etc.” (34). That is to say, *costumbrismo* paints a picture of characters, personal appearances, and behaviors considered to be typical of a particular location, social stratum, or profession.

Having developed during the Romantic period with the rise in number and circulation of daily newspapers and cultural journals between 1830 and 1850, *costumbrismo* took inspiration from French and British periodicals. Because of this influence, Alborg points out, *costumbrismo* must be understood in light of particular trends in European Romanticism: first, an interest in the customs of foreign peoples and lands, sparked by travel writing beginning in the mid-eighteenth century; second, an interest in what makes social groups unique, different from one another; third, the distinction of nationalities based on an insider's view of the peculiar character of individuals associated with particular nations or regions. Alborg further notes that regionalism was cultivated in large part through *costumbrismo* because of the Romantic characterization of the group through the individual and the emphasis on the point of view of the insider who observes his society like his family, like a group to which he will always belong (722).

Andalusian regionalists sought to define and depict what was unique and different, or other, about their homeland by using figures of women such as *las rubias* (“blondes”), *las morenas* (“brunettes”), Asunción, and Lola who assign recognizable character to the region. Not only in verse and prose but also in *Bética's* visual representation, these women offer an unmistakable impression of what a foreign traveler would see while walking through the streets of Seville. They conjure a specific idea of what would indicate to the visitor that he was in Andalusia and nowhere else. Representing Andalusia as feminine was a pervasive practice, arguably even a convention, in nineteenth-century art and

popular culture, and this recurring representation, like *costumbrismo*, can be traced beyond the boundaries of Spain.

In a study of representations of women in the nineteenth-century Spanish press, Lou Charon-Deutsch observes the consistent European characterization of Andalusia as female, often through the figure of an exotic seductress. In the drawings of Gustave Doré and in the works of *Carmen*, both the novella written by Prosper Mérimée in 1845 and the operatic rendition by Georges Bizet from 1874, Andalusia and particularly Seville are represented not only through sexualized, exotic images of women but also specifically through the figure of the *cigarrera*, or female cigar maker. Indeed, the feminine figure most repeatedly invoked to represent Seville during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is the *cigarrera*. Moreover, her image became a centerpiece for the journal *Bética* and a key signifier in the articulation of Andalusian regionalism and autonomy.

Seville saw its first *cigarreras* put to work at the Royal Tobacco Factory of Seville in 1786. Controlling the entry of major cargo from the New World—a function that was to last 260 years—the Andalusian capital had come to occupy a privileged position in Spain's tobacco industry. By the first quarter of the nineteenth century, a division of labor in the production of tobacco for general consumption relegated the making of powdered tobacco, or snuff, to men, and the rolling of cigars and cigarillos had become the work of women (Ortiz de Lanzagorta 62-63). Not only did cigar makers constitute an exclusively female workforce, but by 1900 the women employed at the tobacco factory equaled 40% of Seville's population of working women (Baena Luque 11, 23-24). By the 1880s *cigarreras* had gained a reputation for public protest, extending as far as Galicia,⁵ because of repeated strikes and uprisings, which were widely publicized in the Spanish press at the time. But when the journal *Bética* featured images of Seville's *cigarreras*, it did so in order to engender a regionalist message of regeneration.

The most pointed use of the figure of the *cigarrera* for the Andalusian regionalist cause is the double issue of *Bética* dated 15 and 30 June 1915, which documents a momentous event. On June 16, 1915 Gonzalo Bilbao, a reputable academic painter from Seville, stepped off the express train that had arrived from Madrid. Hordes of people escorted him from the station thorough the streets. Workers cheered him; women offered him flowers; local dignitaries greeted him; and families watched and waved from their balconies decorated with festive banners. The grand occasion was that this local yet nationally famous artist had *not* won the medal of honor for his painting entitled *Cigarreras de Sevilla*, depicting daily life in the Royal Tobacco Factory of Seville, at the Exposition of Fine Arts in Madrid (see fig. 3). The people of Seville—workers and intellectuals alike—were outraged by Madrid's refusal to honor Bilbao's talent, the painting that so aptly represented their city, and the city's *cigarreras*.

Expressing the people's indignation and protest, this double-issue of *Bética* not only documents the painter's homecoming and celebrations held in his honor; it also pays homage to Bilbao and his work. While a spread of photographs shows Seville's *cigarreras* greeting Bilbao at the train station (see fig. 4) and posing with him in front of the Royal Tobacco Factory, the bulk of the issue consists of reproductions of Bilbao's paintings as well as critics' reviews. Not surprisingly, the painting *Cigarreras de Sevilla* is reproduced not

once but many times, part by part, on page after page of the journal. While photographs of Seville's real-life cigar makers fill the opening pages and figuratively introduce this issue of *Bética*, Bilbao's painted cigar makers serve as the centerpiece for the entire issue.

Proving that art experts found the painting to be worthy of the highest praise, even if the judges at the exposition in Madrid had not, the journal reprints critical reviews from Madrid's daily newspapers that hail *Cigarreras de Sevilla* as one of the finest examples of contemporary Spanish painting. These reviews commend Bilbao for his depiction of life in Seville and for his use of impressionist-like technique: the way light filters through the windows of the vaulted factory walls and catches tobacco dust that fills the air to fall on the faces of working women, some of whom look on, as a *cigarrera* feeds her hungry infant. The reviews not only celebrate a master painter; they also praise the working-class women of the painting for so effectively representing the region. One critic remarks: “Estas cigarreras jóvenes, bellas y graciosas, tienen todas las alegrías y encantos del divino país donde ha sido ejecutado el cuadro” (n. pag.). Another critic describes the women of Bilbao's painting as “[a]quellas mujeres que se encorvan sobre las mesas, gastando su hermosa juventud en la conquista de un humilde jornal, vinieron todas, todas . . . de la Macarena, de San Bernardo, de Triana, de los barrios míseros, donde la belleza triunfa de la miseria” (n. pag.).

Like Carmen, Consuelo, Asunción, and Lola from the set of poems “Mujeres andaluzas,” the *cigarreras* of Bilbao's painting are seen to share the region's—and specifically Seville's—qualities of beauty, charm, and perseverance so that they come to function collectively as an emblem for Andalusia's uniqueness. The most typified figures in *Bética*, these painted women can only be from Andalusia: dark, of Moorish descent, wearing bright colors and flowers in their hair. Moreover, this scene is offered from an exclusive, insider's point of view, revealing the peculiar cultural intimacy that others could only have hoped to observe first-hand. Although a stroll by the gates of the Royal Tobacco Factory was considered a must for any tourist of Seville,⁶ men were generally prohibited from entering the all-female workplace. The man who painted this acclaimed work, then, could only have been an insider, a member of the Andalusian family. Like a painter of Orientalist harem scenes, Bilbao asserts dominion and renders his vision with the authority of one who has the right to look, the man to whom the scene belongs.⁷



Fig. 3. Gonzalo Bilbao, *Cigarreras de Sevilla* (1915), Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville. Reproduced with permission from the Consejería de Cultura de la Junta de Andalucía.



GONZALO BILBAO AL SALIR DE LA ESTACIÓN, RODEADO DE LAS CIGARRERAS

interrupción y el inmenso gentío que llenaba todos los andenes no cesaba en sus aclamaciones al insignia lino de Sevilla.

Con grandes trabajos se logró hacer pasar a los señores de Bilbao y al salir estos de la estación a la hermosa plaza de Armas, que totalmente estaba ocupada por miles de personas pertenecientes a todas las clases sociales, entre las que figuraban muchos cientos de obreros de las fábricas y establecimientos de la capital, el señor Bilbao fue objeto de una estruendosa ovación dando incesantes vivas al ilustre artista a los que este embelesamiento contestaba con vivas a Sevilla y a España.

Seguidamente Gonzalo Bilbao y su bella y distinguida esposa, acompañados del notario de esta capital, nuestro director D. Félix Sánchez-Blanco, ocuparon un lando y precedido de otros diez donde iban las lindas y simpáticas cigarrereras y seguidas de un sinnúmero de carruajes y automóviles se puso en marcha la comitiva entre onorificadores vivas y aplausos, que se sucedieron por todas las calles del tránsito, en las que arrojan gran número de flores al coche de los señores de Bilbao.

Al pasar la comitiva por la calle Tetuán, donde se encuentra el Ateneo, el Presidente del Centro y gran número de socios que esperaban el paso de Gonzalo Bilbao le hicieron una gran demostración de respeto y de simpatías.

Los balcones de la calle de San Fernando están en todos adornados con colgaduras y ocupados por gran número de personas y todas las amplias aceras de la calle materialmente ocupadas de público, y artísticamente engalanado con banderas y colgaduras todo el gran lino y

suntuoso edificio que la hermosa ciudad de Sevilla presenta tan cerca de la estación y que es el teatro de...

Al divisarse la comitiva se levantaron grandes grupos de volantes y una banda de música interpretó algunas composiciones, con lo que aumentó el entusiasmo y el entusiasmo redoblándose por ver al señor Bilbao salir de la estación en los amplios varanillos de la plaza y en medio de las cigarrereras, hasta tanto que el entusiasmo y la alegría fue superior a toda medida. Se pudo ver que se puso en marcha la comitiva para dirigirse al teatro de la calle de Gonzalo Bilbao, ya que en este teatro se proyecta el hotel está adornada con flores y volantes y en el teatro se esperaba al gran pintor a quien los cigarrereros le hacen constantes aclamaciones las cigarrereras y otros por el señor con sus vivas.

En el momento de irse para el teatro se vio a un calle de Sevilla, Sr. Marqués de Montemayor, con una insignia de comendador particular de la Orden de Carlos III, del pueblo de Sevilla.

El recibimiento que se hizo en el teatro de Sevilla, que tomaron parte los señores de Bilbao y su esposa y de todas las Autoridades y miembros de la capital, ya que tan entusiasta, tan simpática y tan importante la recepción que se hizo en esta ocasión en alguna.

La noche antes de la llegada de los señores de Bilbao de Tabares fue en Sevilla y allí se celebró un gran festejo artístico con gran entusiasmo y con un programa particular y sorprendente que se hizo en el teatro y otros artistas del Centro de las artes, ya que tentaban la estatua de la Fama que en esta ocasión...

Fig. 4. Gonzalo Bilbao and cigarrereras, *Bética* 15 and 30 June 1915.

Amidst their general comments, however, the reviews single out the depiction of maternity as central to the meaning of the painting. One art critic remarks: “Esta obra siempre hubiese sido de gran importancia, pero hubiese resultado, a mi modo de ver, incompleta e incolora, sin ese grupo ideal, sin esa nota tan tierna y sentida de la madre amamantando a su hijo” (n. pag.). The maternal scene also proves to be central to the regionalist message of reform expressed in *Bética*: the scene projects an image of social health through the depiction of human fertility, and it promotes a vision in which future Andalusians would be born into a nurturing environment of economic fertility. As if in response to Infante's complaint regarding the existence of a “dead body” in the region and his directive to “oxygenate the blood of the social body,” *Bética* presents Bilbao's painted *cigarreras* as industrious, productive, and reproductive bodies that lend corporeal form to the Andalusian ideal. Framed by the pages of the regionalist journal, the painting's central, maternal scene also suggests that the most valuable role these working women play in the regeneration of the region, its society, and its economy is their role not as workers but as mothers, their role in producing healthy Andalusians. This scene, which plays itself out in a factory, suggests that even as workers, these women are first mothers in the eyes of society and in the plan for regional reform.

Analyzing the “gendered nature of the republican political body” constructed out of the French Revolution, Joan Landes argues: “Though silenced, women's role was politicized as women were expected to perform the duties of republican mothers, instilling the home with a powerful political function” so that “the home could serve as the nursery of the state” (106, 138). In like manner, the maternal scene in Bilbao's painting plays out the Andalusian ideal of regeneration and indicates women's precise role in that process; however, here, the nursery of an autonomous Andalusian society is the tobacco factory, not the home. “Hacer el niño,” to do up or swaddle the baby, is cited as a phrase commonly used by *cigarreras* in the nineteenth century. Ortiz de Lanzagorta explains: “[E]sto es, liar un puro ejecutándolo con la misma precisión y delicadeza con que una matrona experta envuelve en pañales y refajo a un recién nacido” (72). The verb *hacer* primarily means “to make” or “to create,” adding the meaning of human procreation to the cigar-making phrase; moreover, the *cigarreras* in Bilbao's painting engage simultaneously in the activities of making cigars and making babies. In the promotion of *la obra del renacer*, the work of regional rebirth, *hacer el niño* functions as a fulfillment of Blas Infante's directive: *hacer el pueblo andaluz*. In a regionalist, regenerationist sense, the industrious act of rolling cigars is a concrete act of regional autonomy in that, as a physical act of labor, it transforms the region economically and, as a metaphorical act, it associates itself with transforming the region socially, which is bolstered by the depiction of maternity in the painting.

By bringing together the themes of manual labor and maternal labor, the presentation of Bilbao's painting in *Bética* expresses the following regionalist message: just as maternity provides new generations for culturally transforming society, industry and labor transform the society economically. More than a matter of changing society as an abstract notion, Andalusian regionalism concerned itself with changing its society as a concrete body; a body that could be reborn, regenerated, reshaped through social and economic reform; a body that could make societal change physical and visible; an otherwise “dead body,” as

Infante calls it, to be resuscitated by the breath of life and fortified by the exercise of labor.

Writing on the transformation of the human body through labor in nineteenth-century French and British novels, Elaine Scarry observes the following:

There is an enhancement—almost a physical enlargement—of the individual that results from his immersion in the materials of his work; for the two do not . . . simply leave a residue on one another or transfer parts of themselves back and forth across an intervening space, but are instead grafted together so that there ceases to be a clear boundary separating them; the surfaces of the two are continuous with one another. (56-57)

According to Scarry's description of the human body's enhancement through labor in literary representation, the body and the work it performs are bound in a process of continual, physical transformation. In the visual representation of Bilbao's painting, the *cigarreras* cannot be dissociated from the manual or the maternal labor in which they engage, the work of making cigars and making babies (*hacer el niño*). Their bodies are bound in the continual activity of their work, which transforms their economy, their society, and themselves as Andalusians. Given *Bética's* equation of women in general and *cigarreras* in particular with Andalusia, the painting thus signifies the transformation of a larger body, the body of the region—the *pueblo*—land and people, and the regeneration of both.

Representing Andalusia as a woman—or even as a *cigarrera*—was not a regionalist invention, however. In fact, in using this particular imagery, Andalusian regionalists were making use of common currency to valorize, circulate, and sell their cause. For example, in a triple issue (67, 68, 69) of *Bética* from 1917, an article entitled “El problema regional en España” points to the putative symbolization of Andalusia as Carmen, the protagonist of Prosper Mérimée's novella and Georges Bizet's opera, and it underscores Andalusia's and Carmen's value in coming to represent all of Spain. The author Juan Carretero Luca de Tena writes:

Sería interesantísimo estudiar seriamente la distinta participación que en la zona *nacional* de la psicología española han tenido las distintas regiones. Siendo Castilla la preponderante desde que se realizó la unidad, claro es que del mismo modo que desde entonces la historia de España es la historia de Castilla, la psicología española es casi toda castellana. Esto no obstante, después de la decadencia, otras regiones entraron por mucho en la formación de la noción psicológica de España. . . . Del Duque de Alba a Carmen. . . A Castilla—la tierra de los castillos, la tierra de la casta, como dice Unamuno—, sucedió Andalucía—la tierra castiza—en la misión de representar a la imaginaria nación española. (n. pag.)

From this author's point of view, the loss of Castilian power plays itself out on a representational level, on the level of national symbols: Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alba (1508-82), a renowned military general and patron of the arts who

contributed to Spain's Golden Age glory, ceded his position representing Castilian dominance in the national imaginary to Carmen, the seductive Gypsy *cigarrera* of Seville. In order to call attention to Andalusia's regional power vis-à-vis the nation, then, this contributor to *Bética* uses and reinforces the well-known image of Andalusia as Carmen. But the figure of Carmen was not born of Andalusian autonomy and self-representation: Carmen was born abroad, in France, and widely circulated throughout Spain in the nineteenth century before being claimed by Andalusian regionalists in the early twentieth century.

Regarding the feminization of Andalusia in the nineteenth-century Spanish press, Lou Charon-Deutsch states:

Many writers and artists looked no farther than Seville, Granada, and other cities that had played key roles during the reign of the Arab caliphs for their exotic female types. In this, they imitated their European and American models, from Flaubert to Washington Irving, and influenced the way that the north interpreted the southern character as indolent, sensuous, and passionate. In fact, as depicted in late nineteenth-century Spanish art, Andalusia could be said to be the female to an increasingly industrialized northern Spain, much as, as Said argues, the Orient was the female to a male Europe. (210)

Images of Andalusia as female circulated for decades throughout the nation and abroad, and Andalusian regionalists used these available, ready-made figures both to combat and to convey their self-perceived status of oppression and marginalization by the Castilian central power. Indeed, Andalusian regionalists constructed an idealized image of their region out of figures of women precisely because they also perceived Andalusia as others did: in the image of a sensuous yet promiscuous woman, passionate yet vulnerable to oppression and abuse, beautiful and praise-worthy yet relegated to the margins of politics and society.

In the 31 December 1914 issue of *Bética*, for example, Blas Infante invokes the figure of a weakened woman to represent the region. He stresses the need for cultural and economic reform, “[c]onsiderando tristemente, piadosamente, el estado de extrema debilidad de esta Andalucía, incapacitada y agonizante, esclava de la miseria espiritual y fisiológica, madre extenuada de un pueblo de mendigos. . . .” (n. pag.). And in an issue of *Bética* from 20 September 1914, a contributor invokes a sexualized female figure while lamenting the dispersion of Andalusian culture throughout Spain. The author Cagigas mentions that Andalusian song, music, and dance are performed everywhere from Castile to Valencia to Galicia. He further observes that idiomatic expressions, originating in Andalusia from Moorish and Gypsy influences, found their way to every part of Spain, unlike Galician and Valencian expressions. Cagigas sums up his complaints with the following extended metaphor: “Yo creo, en verdad, que si Andalucía fuese una mujer, sería una mujer buena de su cuerpo que se ofrecería con la exuberancia de sus nerviaciones y con la exaltación de su temperamento, sin meditar que aquel río de vida que ofrecía graciosamente era en desdoro de su pureza y en prejuicio de su integridad” (n. pag.).

Representing the transformation—regeneration, reform—of the regional body, images of Andalusia as healthy, productive, and reproductive women are thus haunted by the opposite: figures of weakness, vulnerability, and the wasteful expression of sexuality.

Indeed, the *cigarrera*-matron of Bilbao's celebrated painting is not without her other, the whore. Following the numerous reproductions of *Cigarreras de Sevilla* in the June 1915 double-issue of *Bética*, Bilbao's painting of prostitutes in a brothel, entitled *La Esclava* (see fig. 5), is presented with self-conscious focus. The painting features a cluster of four prostitutes: one with a come-hither expression; another with a smiling, vaguely detached countenance; the third looks away but is almost hidden by the others. And the fourth prostitute sits in the front and center, facing the spectator with a mixed expression of boredom, sadness, and resignation. One elbow is rigidly perched on her thigh, which is raised by a footstool, and her chin rests in the palm of that hand. The other arm stretches behind her at a perpendicular angle across the back of her chair, and the strap of her dress falls carelessly off that shoulder as if it mattered not whether she were dressed or naked.



"LA ESCLAVA" - MUSEO DE TRIESTE

Admirando el cuadro "La Esclava"

INCOMPARABLE PINTOR,
DE SEVILLA PREZ Y HONOR:
TU INSPIRACION HA MOSTRADO
QUE ES LA ESCLAVITUD MAYOR
LA ESCLAVITUD DEL PECADO.

Luis Montoto.

Fig. 5. Gonzalo Bilbao, *La Esclava* (n.d.); rpt. in *Bética* 15 and 30 June 1915: n. pag.

In this issue of *Bética*, *La Esclava* bears as a caption the following verse by Luis Montoto, entitled “Admirando el cuadro *La Esclava*”: “Incomparable pintor, / De Sevilla prez y honor: / Tu inspiración ha mostrado / Que es la esclavitud mayor / La esclavitud del pecado” (n. pag.).

Just as the image of Andalusia as healthy and (re)productive is constructed out of *Cigarreras de Sevilla*, here, in the presentation of *La Esclava*, another metaphor is evoked by calling attention to the Andalusian woman who prostitutes herself. Echoing Blas Infante's descriptions of the *jornalero* as a “slave of misery,” who “drags out his miserable life on land that he cannot love,” and of Andalusia as a “slave of spiritual and physiological misery,” Bilbao's prostitute is defined as “the slave.” Connected to the *jornalero* and the region through the metaphor of slavery, then, the painted prostitute sitting in a brothel evokes, within the regionalist context of *Bética*, the situation of Andalusian day laborers and of the region. Like the woman in Cagigas's critique who, like Andalusian culture, offers her body too readily only to be exploited and oppressed, *la esclava* is shown to be dominated by the vice of carnality and oppressed by the practice of accepting money in exchange for her body.

A central regionalist concern was Andalusia's political, cultural, and representational domination and oppression: by the central power in Madrid, by Castilian language and history, and by images that figured Andalusia as the so-called weaker sex in its partnership with the nation. Just as regionalists felt that they were dominated by the central power in Madrid, so do words and opinions from Madrid, in the form of critical reviews, surround and dominate the presentation of Bilbao's *Cigarreras de Sevilla* in the June 1915 issue of *Bética*. These reviews valorize the painting as a serious work of art and as emblematic of the region. Andalusian regionalists not only required Madrid's approval to claim autonomy, for they did not wish for Andalusia's separation from Spain; they also depended on official recognition in order to legitimate their performance of cultural autonomy and self-representation. But this performance was acted out through figures—*cigarreras*—that already represented Andalusia to others, to Castilians and other non-Andalusians. Because regionalists had to articulate their cause to Castilians in Castilian, they used the verbal and visual language that figured Andalusia as a woman, a language that was given to them, in part, by the very culture that they claimed oppressed them: northern Spanish, Castilian culture.

In making use of this language, Andalusian regionalists thus addressed a larger, national and international, audience of non-Andalusian others. They were, in fact, presenting themselves—their people, their region, their culture, and their political agenda—as others, those in power, saw them and dominated peoples like them. Indeed, articulating regional autonomy and difference through the presentation of Bilbao's *cigarreras* and “slave”-prostitutes in *Bética*, Andalusian regionalists were positioning themselves in a larger, Orientalist discourse of colonial power. Linda Nochlin discusses Orientalism in nineteenth-century French painting within “the more general category of the picturesque, a category that can encompass a wide variety of visual objects and ideological strategies, extending from regional genre painting down to the photographs of smiling or dancing native in the *National Geographic*” (51). Visually suggestive of the Romantic, voyeuristic scenes of harems and slave markets respectively, *Cigarreras de Sevilla* and *La Esclava* inscribe

themselves into the nineteenth-century practice of picturesque painting. They render Andalusia in the form of the exotic, sexual, Oriental, female other while simultaneously representing the region, from the position of political oppression and cultural domination, through the eyes of the other, the Western male imperialist.

Nochlin includes in her definition of picturesque imagery the important presence of he who is ostensibly absent, the Western colonial or touristic white man: “his is necessarily the controlling gaze, the gaze which brings the Oriental world into being, the gaze for which it is ultimately intended” (37). In *Cigarreras de Sevilla* and *La Esclava*, Bilbao's dominant gaze, which brings both these worlds into representational being, is the gaze of the controlling male who is also the spectator, the consumer of cigars and the client of prostitutes. The “slave”-prostitute in fact looks directly at the spectator, implicating him in the scene of the brothel; her gaze is his gaze returned. In Jean-Léon Gérôme's *Slave Markets* of the 1860s, Nochlin finds “two ideological assumptions about power: one about men's power over women; the other about white men's superiority to, hence justifiable control over, inferior, darker races, precisely those who indulge in this sort of regrettably lascivious commerce” (45). The *cigarreras* and the prostitutes exist in their social functions for men; as cigar makers, sex workers, mothers, and *jornaleras*, these women service the society that men control. The “Orientalist erotica” (Nochlin 44) of the *cigarreras* in the tobacco factory and the alluring sexuality in *La Esclava*, in conjunction with the condemnation of prostitution made explicit by the accompanying verse, show the producers of *Bética* as both sharing in Western, colonial, male power and possessing, within their politically marginalized society, the exotic female resources that make their culture desirable to those in power.

Nochlin notes that nineteenth-century manifestations of the picturesque are premised on the fact of destruction: “Only on the brink of destruction, in the course of incipient modification and cultural dilution, are customs, costumes, and religious rituals of the dominated finally *seen* as picturesque” (50). The regionalist endeavor to promote cultural specificity and autonomy necessarily included the attempt to preserve Andalusian uniqueness—its customs, costumes, and rituals. The politics in which Andalusian regionalists engaged pointedly opposed the appropriation of their culture by mainstream, Castilian and northern European cultures (Carr 209). In this representational and political act of appropriation, the writers of *Bética*, Andalusian intellectuals, saw their region's demise. Making a full-fledged attempt to save their culture from destruction while promoting regional reform and autonomy, Andalusian regionalists produced self-representations that were familiar and understandable because of both the long-standing tradition of picturesque painting and the journalistic conventions of *costumbrismo*, the representation of manners and customs.

The term *costumbrismo* is formed from the word *costumbre*, or “custom,” which means, first, a habitual practice and, second, collective habits or convention. Custom is the doublet of costume—that is, the two words derive from the same Latin source. Though the lexical commonality was lost between the Spanish *costumbre* (“custom”) and *disfraz* or *traje* (“costume”), these doublets remain in both English and French (*coutume* and *costume*). Furthermore, in English and French, costume—like the Spanish word *traje*—is a style of dress peculiar to a nation, social class, or historical period. The common lexical origin of

custom and costume is reflected semantically: both custom (a person's usual way of behaving) and costume (a person's usual clothing) indicate that person's geographic provenance or social class because, presumably, the person's habits in behavior and dress belong to those of a larger group. *Costumbrismo* plays itself out through the representational function shared by both manners of behaving and manners of dressing in the characterization of a town, region, or nation. And in this literary and visual practice, the particularities of *Bética's* regionalist agenda can be traced.

In order to regenerate Andalusia's social and economic body, the producers of *Bética* needed to promote Andalusian customs, people's way of behaving. In order to effect regional reform, regionalist thinkers needed to communicate the imperative to build up the Andalusian character, to perform local culture as an act of Andalusian autonomy. In the issue of *Bética* from 20 November 1913, the regionalist historian Alejandro Guichot argues that the basis for attaining the Andalusian ideal is to be found in the psychological character of the people: “Los factores psicológicos los encontramos . . . en los usos y las costumbres, las ceremonias y las fiestas, los ritos y las creencias, las tradiciones y los mitos, las leyendas y los cantos, las locuciones y los modismos, . . . en la vida privada y en la pública, en la intimidad del hogar y en los espectáculos colectivos” (30).

Here, as the author explains, the Andalusian character is formed out of the people's ways of behaving, their ways of practicing and transmitting culture, and their ways of living from day to day.

When Blas Infante declares specific imperatives for regional regeneration, *oxigenar la sangre del cuerpo social* and *hacer el pueblo Andaluz*, maternal images of women in *Bética* are conjured to illustrate them. And when Guichot calls for building up the Andalusian character so as to attain the regional ideal, this character is conveyed through figures of women in *Bética* as well. From their position as other, rendering their cultural image as others saw and created it, Andalusian regionalists sought to define themselves openly as such: as the other marginalized by the central Castilian power and as the other who resists oppression. In so doing, they represented themselves through their own other, the Andalusian woman. In representing themselves through her, they wore her image, her figure—indeed, her body—like a costume in which they performed acts of regional autonomy and self-representation. If customs constitute the character of a people to be passed on from generation to generation, then costumes are the physical markers, the visible placeholders—indeed, the material vessels that bear character, the bodies that practice customs. Seen in this light, the figures of women in *Bética* are the costumes donned by regionalists in their staging of Andalusian rebirth, the regeneration of the Andalusian character and spirit.

In the regionalist campaign for autonomy, Bilbao's *Cigarreras de Sevilla* symbolizes the transformation of the social body through work, manual labor and maternal labor, which both transform the body and give new life. Seen as costumes, these *cigarreras*—and all the figures of women in *Bética*—represent the transformation of the social character through changes in people's customs, their ways of being and behaving. That is, in order to promote change of the social character through customs, *Bética* stages the changing of costumes, which are these bodies, these female figures. They change from *las rubias* and

las morenas to Lola and Asunción, and in Bilbao's painting they become *cigarreras*. Even within the painting, these figures change in appearance, or type: one is an attentive, loving mother who fully cares for her child while earning a daily wage; another is an industrious, productive *jornalera* who dutifully stoops to the ground to perform her work; yet another is a coquettish, sociable type who wears a flower in her hair and leans over the nursing mother to smile at the infant. These *cigarreras*, these bodies as costumes, show different ways of behaving that constitute different aspects of the ideal Andalusian character, all of which contribute to social regeneration according to the regionalist plan.

It is in the very nature of costumes to change, to be taken off and put on, to change hands, to be worn by many, to be ex-changed for another. Because the Andalusian woman functions as a costume that denotes Andalusian customs, she is not constant: as a *cigarrera*, she changes hands from Mérimée to Bizet and from the Castilian press to Andalusian regionalists. Moreover, she is exchanged or replaced by another: *la esclava*, the prostitute, her other. Thus, woman in *Bética* is alternately the Andalusian ideal incarnate—she who builds up the region through the integrity of character that results from earnest, applied diligence—or the embodiment of the region's detriment, the slave who scrapes together a living by selling her body and wasting her spirit.

Given that she is Janus-faced, the Andalusian woman seems contradictory, even false, like the female addressee of the poem “Paradójica” in the 15 and 30 December 1915 issue of *Bética*: “A mis ojos te apareces / paradójica y falaz / con muchas perversidades / y con mucha ingenuidad. / Pero por eso te quiero, . . . y así, viendo tus extrañas / cosas, te encuentro ideal / entre tus perversidades / y tu mucha ingenuidad” (Eduardo de Ory, n. pag.). Here, the poet finds the woman ideal because of her contradictions. Indeed, constructing female figures as contradictory and Janus-faced functions as an ideal strategy of representation in *Bética*, for it allows male regionalists to inscribe themselves into these figures, to express the otherness of their region through the image of their other. That is to say, these figures of women are contradictory because they were fabricated and used by men who represented themselves in a language of power and control meant to engage other men.

Just as the practice of cross-dressing permits other aspects of the self—the self as other—to be expressed, female figures in *Bética* mask male self-expression. This function is itself unmasked by the end of the poem “Niña de los toros,” written by Gil Jiménez in the triple issue (67, 68, 69) of *Bética* from 1917:

Nadie me diría si yo no lo viera
 Al verte vestida con sedas y encajes
 Bailar sonriente y ceremoniosa,
 Que eres la amazona que en jaca cerrera
 Entre los palmares derriba y acosa.
 Niña de los toros, hermosa doncella,
 Varonil a ratos y a ratos mujer:
 Siendo siempre bella,
 Eres dos personas en un solo sér. (n. pag.)

Here, the female figure functioning as a costume actually reveals what in other instances she disguises: that she is half-man and half-woman. As a woman, she is a costume, or a mask, worn by the regionalist man. She is used to promote and perform the autonomy of Andalusian culture, but she does so only because she is animated by the expression of his ability to conjure and control. In speaking of her, he speaks through her, and it is his message that is conveyed.

On using figures of the other in oppositional politics, bell hooks observes the following: “Often this speech about the 'Other' is also a mask, an oppressive talk hiding gaps, absences, that space where our words would be if we were speaking, if there were silence, if we were there” (151). The obvious absence in *Bética* is woman herself, for her image—not her self—performs culture and reform for the regionalist cause. Those gaps and absences, found in the disjuncture of contradiction, constitute a break between the speech of the oppressed, the people marginalized by centralized rule, and the language of the oppressor. In using figures of women as costumes to promote and reform Andalusian customs, the male writers of *Bética* crossed a line, which marks a gap, as their language, which was born of the struggle to oppose oppression, became the language of the male oppressor, the discourse of male domination. Andalusian regionalists masked the gap between oppressed and oppressor with figures of women that represent both, and these women in *Bética* figuratively tell their own story: how the voice of an oppressed people can speak by using the language of the male oppressor who dominates by creating what he can control and controlling what he creates.

Producers of *Bética* figured Andalusia through the female other as a means of recasting images of the region as Spain's other. In so doing, they used *cigarreras*, the working-class female minority of the population, the others of the *pueblo* (“the people”), to represent their version of the otherness of the *pueblo* (“the place”). Surrounded by authoritative words of critics from Madrid in the June 1915 issue of *Bética* and framed by the political intentions of regionalist activists, however, Seville's *cigarreras* remain silenced and manipulated in their visual expression of Andalusian autonomy. Dominated by Castilian, the language of the oppressive central power, Andalusian regionalists used another language of domination and oppression, which is revealed in the presentation of the matron-*cigarrera*'s other: the prostitute, *la esclava*. Together, these figures make clear that the Andalusian regionalist language of autonomy is a language of dependence: a language that expresses the power generated by man's dependence on his ability to dominate, oppress, and represent the other.

THE CITADEL

Notes

- ¹ A proponent of regionalism from this period writes: “Andalucía no quiere la independencia absoluta de una lengua, un derecho, una raza, etc., precisamente porque no tiene ninguno de estos elementos como propios . . . Pero Andalucía sí podía desarrollar toda su vida mercantil, agraria, artística por sí misma, puesto que tiene vitalidad propia y porque puede desarrollar un espíritu social o público,” (Isidoro de las Cagigas, “Apuntaciones para un estudio del regionalismo andaluz,” *Bética: revista ilustrada* 20 Sept. 1914: n. pag.).
- ² All issues of *Bética: revista ilustrada* are housed in the Hemeroteca Municipal de Sevilla and may be viewed only on microfilm. With the exception of the first two issues (20 November and 5 December 1913), no page numbers are given.
- ³ In his monograph, Lacomba describes Izquierdo as an idealist who promoted a utopian vision of Seville, Guichot as the expert on Andalusian history, and Infante as the theorist for Andalusian regionalism and the leader of the movement after 1915 (53). Infante was executed in August 1936 at the outbreak of the Civil War (Lacomba 117-18).
- ⁴ This system of land holdings is peculiar to southern Spain and has been a principal source of economic woes in Andalusian and Extremadura for centuries. The process of ousting the Moors and instituting the latifundia system, a slow but definitive process, lasted 300 years, from 1085 to 1492. The Guadalquivir Valley was indeed fertile and prosperous under the Moors. The many small farms spread throughout the valley disappeared during the *Reconquista*, and the land became barren from Castilian pastoral uses. The Catholic Monarchs had granted extended tracks of land to Castilian military orders, individual nobles, and the Church, and these new proprietors saw little economic incentive to lease plots to small cultivators. See Carrión 71-76, 192-248, 275-89; and Malefakis 9-130.
- ⁵ For a fictionalized representation of *cigarreras* in Galicia and their reputed tendency towards protest and revolt, see Pardo Bazán's *La Tribuna*, written in 1882. On the working conditions, lives, and history of *cigarreras* in Seville and in Madrid, see Baena Luque, Candela Soto, Capel Martínez, and Pérez Vidal 227-96.
- ⁶ In one of the many reviews of Bilbao's *Cigarreras de Sevilla*, which were taken from newspapers in Madrid and reprinted in the 15 and 30 June 1915 issue of *Bética*, a critic praises the painting and its subjects because of their emblematic qualities. He adds that a visit to the Royal Tobacco Factory is a must for the local color it reveals to the foreign traveler. He writes: “La Fábrica de Tabacos de Sevilla constituye uno de los temas preferidos como base de españoladas de todo género. Ella es uno de los lugares a que el extranjero, en viaje por Sevilla, debe acudir en primer término. Ella es una especie de resumen y compendio del color local sevillano” (n. pag.).
- ⁷ Given that all the writers of *Bética* were educated men and that the photograph of the banquet given in honor of Gonzalo Bilbao's homecoming in June 1915 shows only upper-class men, it can be assumed that the journal's readership was primarily male and elite. Indeed, examining images of women as they are produced in a society controlled by men, feminist theory asserts that visual representations of women reveal more about the fantasies and fears of the male subject than about female subjectivity or reality. Feminist writers further posit that women function as links or mediators in the social and political communication between men and that, in an Orientalist

context, representations of women simultaneously enact the power of men over women and the power of Western white men over colonized peoples of darker races. See Charnon-Deutsch 2-9, 176-89, 209-11; Douglas 124-26; Hunt 2, 13; Kappeler 3-4, 44-46, 65; Mulvey x-xiii; Nochlin 37-45; and Warner 37, 277-81.

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